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Bilingual education in Spain:
A critical look at current trends

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Presentation

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Revista de Educación **does not necessarily agree with opinions and judgements maintained by authors**

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Presentación
La educación bilingüe en España: Una mirada crítica acerca de las tendencias actuales

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Bilingual education in Spain, also called CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) or CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning), has become a revolution in recent decades. Since the term was coined in the 1990s, CLIL has gone from being a way of increasing students' exposure to foreign or additional languages to becoming a social phenomenon based on a pragmatic approach that renews classroom practice (Ting, 2011). CLIL-based Bilingual programs are based on a new

conception of language teaching and learning that offers significant linguistic exposure through real curricular contexts, and that has reported numerous pedagogical benefits such as improvement at the linguistic level in both the foreign language (Pérez Cañado, 2018a & Ruiz de Zarobe, 2008) and in the mother tongue (Navarro Pablo & López Gándara, 2020). This approach can even act as a leveler of the socio-economic level (Halbach & Iwaniec, 2022, Rascón Moreno & Bretones Callejas, 2018). Today CLIL is present in almost all European countries (European Commission, European Education and Culture Executive Agency, 2023) and has also spread to Asia and Latin America (Morton, 2016). In Spain, CLIL programs have also become widespread since the implementation of the MEC-British Council Bilingual and Bicultural Project, which paved the way for other models such as the *Plan de Fomento del Plurilingüismo en Andalucía* and the Bilingual Project of the Autonomous Community of Madrid, to mention just two. Since 2010, Spain has been ahead of the European countries in their journey in bilingual education, as Coyle pointed out in the preface of Lasagabaster and Ruiz de Zarobe (2010):

> Spain is rapidly becoming one of the European leaders in CLIL practice and research. The richness of its cultural and linguistic diversity has led to a wide variety of CLIL policies and practices which provide us with many examples of CLIL in different stages of development that are applicable to contexts both within and beyond Spain. (Coyle, 2010, p. viii)

As in other bilingual programs in Europe, the CLIL approach was adopted to teach non-linguistic subjects, except Spanish Language, mostly using English as the vehicular language. Although the beginnings of these programs are in primary education, they would later be extended to the secondary stage, timidly advancing to vocational training and higher education (being better known in the latter as *EMI –English as a Medium of Instruction*). Furthermore, there are currently several autonomous communities that have implemented bilingualism in pre-school, just like in other international educational contexts (Otto & Cortina Pérez, 2023). In the words of the President of the National Association for "Bilingual Education", there are around one and a half million students who participate in programs of this type taught in more than 4,000 Primary or Secondary schools (Gisbert, 2022).

Bilingual and multilingual teaching is an approach that goes beyond the simple learning of a foreign language or using it to teach content.

It also requires methodological, curricular and organizational changes. In this sense, and in order to respond to the growing demand for fully trained professionals, various initiatives and programs have been developed. On the one hand, education degrees are becoming more international and on the other, there are already a large number of postgraduate degrees that have been created in response to the need to have professionals trained in bilingual and multilingual pedagogies. Likewise, education departments have intensified their efforts to offer quality training to graduates from various universities, primarily in language or foreign language training, and more gradually, at the methodological level in the area of CLIL. In relation to the educational centers, there is an increasing number of proposals aimed at providing teachers with the necessary tools and promote a work atmosphere that favors curricular integration due the importance of school policy in CLIL practice (Ortega et al., 2018). The studies coordinated by Pérez Cañado within the framework of two R&D projects (MON-CLIL, 2013-2017) have also been essential. They both evaluated bilingual programs from an empirical approach away from any political bias, and concluded that bilingual education implementation does not have to imply a decrease in the acquisition of knowledge or content despite what their detractors claim.

In *CLIL in Spain: Implementation, results and teacher training* (Lasagabaster & Ruiz de Zarobe, 2010) the emergence of bilingual programs looked at the following areas of improvement: Firstly, in relation to the supremacy of the English language, the consideration of other languages of instruction and not focusing exclusively on it; secondly, the need to carry out more studies – preferably longitudinal – that account for the results of such programs; thirdly, the urgency of initially training teachers in the CLIL methodology; and last but not least, adequate and sufficient linguistic training for teachers involved in bilingual programs, which is vital.

More than a decade after the publication of this volume, which unlocked the gap for future research, with English being the preferred language to access knowledge, an increasing number of studies have been devoted to this matter. Little by little, teacher education is progressing, although significant differences can be observed according to the different autonomous communities. One of the priorities is to change the discourse to talk about multilingual education and *not just bilingual* and thus welcome and represent communities that are bilingual *per se* and show that societies are increasingly diverse and multilingual,

as evidenced by the presence of students of various origins and cultures in our classrooms. Among other challenges to account for, without a doubt, are the need to begin the training of teachers in *pluriliteracies* (Coyle & Meyer, 2021) and pedagogies related to the CLIL approach, promote collaborative work among teachers (Pavón Vázquez & Ellison, 2018) and reach a full integration at the curricular level. In this sense, it is interesting to highlight that the current legislation clearly supports the integration of the various areas of the curriculum through the so-called learning situations and a formative and competence-based evaluation, which measures the progress of students as part of the learning process and that is aimed at ensuring that students are aware of their real learning. Finally, to ensure that bilingual programs have the quality they promote, it is essential that they be aimed at all types of students, regardless of their academic level and language proficiency. That is, they are capable of addressing the diversity of the classroom. It is worth mentioning here the ADiBE (*Attention to Diversity in Bilingual Education*) research projects and their various lines of action: collecting the satisfaction of the stakeholders involved, creating materials, organizing training courses, making videos with useful ideas or pills CLIL (*"CLIL pills"*) and study of the academic results of students according to their performance. For more information about them, consult, for example, the outputs (products) in ADiBE (2019-2022), the website of one of the four R&D projects, Erasmus+ KA201, also coordinated by Pérez Cañado from the University of Jaén (cf. Diario Jaén, 2020).

This volume aims at becoming an outstanding and long-awaited publication due to the rigor and scientific strength of its various papers when analyzing a topic that is often echoed by national newspapers. After more than 25 years since the first bilingual program in our country, it is time to examine bilingual education considering its historical evolution, the methodological training that teachers receive, the pedagogical renewal that it entails, the opinions of the participants in the mentioned programs and complex areas to get a critical vision of such as diversity and evaluation, among others.

This special issue begins with an article by Gonzalo Jover, Diana Paola Ponce and Rosa González García that thoroughly addresses the historical-political background of bilingual programs in Spain. The British Council-MEC agreement, which was signed in 1996, was based on an integrated curriculum for the teaching of language and culture. It opened

the doors to a new way of teaching English in Spain that until then had been reserved for the elite and which had a great impact on the design of subsequent programs.

After, Noelia Galán Rodríguez, Lucía Fraga Viñas, María Bobadilla Pérez, Tania F. Gómez Sánchez and Begoña Rumbo Arcas deal with the initial training of general teachers who teach in CLIL programs. Starting from the six competencies indicated by Pérez Cañado (2018b) that are essential to develop teaching work in non-linguistic areas, the teaching guides present in the public degrees of Spanish universities in primary education are analyzed to draw conclusions about the suitability of these degrees to prepare future teachers of bilingual contexts.

Without a doubt, one of the most interesting aspects of looking at bilingual programs is their evolution and the impact they have had on language teaching methodologies. The following article by Ana Halbach and Manuel Aenlle deals with how the so-called "Literacy approach", an approach to teaching English developed in CLIL contexts, based on the "Pluriliteracies Teaching for Deeper Learning" model (Coyle & Meyer, 2021) and textual analysis, can significantly increase the motivation of students in these programs who access content through a foreign language.

Another aspect worth the reader's attention which have brought a lot of criticism in Spain in our country is the supposed elitist nature of bilingual education, or that it may be oriented towards those students who have a better academic level, and more specifically, high levels in the language of instruction in which the subjects are usually taught. In this sense, Víctor Pavón Vázquez and Virginia Vinuesa Benítez offer a qualitative study on the critical vision of education professionals regarding egalitarianism and diversity in monolingual communities. Their research questions focus on the impact that socio-economic status and intellectual abilities have on academic achievement, and provides some potential considerations for perspective teachers.

In a similar vein, María Luisa Pérez Cañado presents a pioneering study in its field on the success factors involved in addressing diversity in bilingual programs in Spain. Through a cross-sectional study of mixed methods and concurrent triangulation, the opinions of the main groups in the programs (teachers and students) are analyzed to subsequently establish an original framework of key factors for the success of CLIL programs, which will predictably have an extraordinary impact on future results and programs.

The following article by Inmaculada Senra Silva and Diego Ardura deals with the impact of compulsory bilingual programs. Based on variables such as the attitude towards bilingual education, satisfaction with the job position and the perception of the academic results of the students, and following an ex-post-facto research design, the paper analyzes and contrasts the opinions of teachers of content subjects in secondary schools where the bilingual program is carried out optionally and also in those where it is mandatory.

The article by Raquel Fernández Fernández and Ana Virginia López Fuentes looks at the development of positive attitudes towards literature. This is a longitudinal empirical study that examines the impact of a 15-week pedagogical intervention on the attitudes of Teaching students towards the use of literature in the English as a Foreign Language (EFL – English as a Foreign Language)/CLIL classroom. To do this, three data collection tools were used: a questionnaire, a final written reflection on the course, and focus group meetings with each cohort and used the statistical software SPSS and NVivo for their rigorous analyses.

There is no doubt that, since the inception of bilingual programs, they have been the center of different type of criticism that tend to agitate public opinion for the mentioned reasons and some of them, such as the case of the Community of Madrid, have been a, easy-to-attack target under certain political postulates. Next, Elisa Hidalgo McCabe and Leah Tompkins analyze the media, articulating the points of controversy that affect that program to finally suggest some considerations about its sustainability.

In relation to another of the most frequent sources of criticism of bilingual programs, for instance that students learn less academic content by studying in a foreign language, Elena del Pozo brings us closer to the issue of assessment in CLIL, which she correctly refers to as "the pending subject" of bilingual education. Her longitudinal and exploratory experimental study focuses on comparing the written production of a group of 45 students of Social Sciences, Geography and History in 1st year and, two years later, in 3rd year of ESO (compulsory secondary education), to conclude that they satisfactorily acquire the contents of the curricular subjects.

In the last article, Alberto Fernández Costales and David Lasagabaster offer a systematic review of the teaching of content in English in universities (EMI) in Spain in the last decade (2013-2022) based on the

studies indexed in the three most prestigious databases. Therefore, this is an original work that also identifies themes and lines that need further research.

We, the editors, hope that this work will be most useful to the educational community, since it offers an informed perspective that helps debunk myths and unfounded beliefs, and it encourages critical reflection about bilingual and multilingual education in our country.

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Historical-political background of the agreement establishing the Spanish-British integrated curriculum

Antecedentes histórico-políticos del convenio para la implantación del currículo hispano-británico integrado

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Abstract

Introduction: The aim of this paper is to analyse the key political aspects that led to the signing of the collaboration agreement in 1996 for the development of an integrated curriculum between the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science and the British Council. Methodology: An exhaustive historical approximation will be conducted throughout the 20th century. The latter period leading to the agreement has been hardly studied, compelling us to conduct archive searches in Spain and the United Kingdom. Results: The analysis allows the identification of five factors that historically converged in the path towards the agreement: the strategic function of the Council in maintaining British influence in Spain during a period in which official relations were constrained by the dictatorship; the fundamental role that the British Council School played within the structure of the British Council in Spain; the limited importance attributed throughout decades to the teaching of foreign languages in the education system; the

political evolution of the system since its international opening during the 1960s and the constitutional period; and the personal endeavours of certain key players. Discussion: For a long time, the possibility of bilingual education in English and Spanish was reserved to the privileged classes. Nevertheless, the agreement provided opportunities to those who, if it wasn't for these programs, would have never been able to access bilingual education. To address the political instrumentalisation of bilingual education, nowadays further research is needed to assess whether it is the appropriate moment to bring the bilingual system to all the schools and under what conditions.

Keywords: British Council, bilingual education, educational policy, international relations, cultural diplomacy, English teachers.

Resumen

Introducción: el objetivo de este trabajo es analizar las claves políticas que llevaron a la celebración, en 1996, del convenio de colaboración entre el Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia español y el *British Council*, para el desarrollo del currículo integrado. Metodología: seguiremos una aproximación histórica de amplio recorrido a lo largo del siglo XX. Especialmente, la fase postrera de esta historia ha sido apenas estudiada, lo que ha obligado a la búsqueda en diversos archivos en España y en el Reino Unido. Resultados: el análisis permite identificar cinco factores que confluyeron históricamente en el camino hacia el convenio: la función estratégica del Consejo en el mantenimiento de la influencia británica en España, en una época en la que las relaciones oficiales estaban limitadas por la dictadura; el papel fundamental que en la estructura del *British Institute* español jugó la *British Council School*; la escasa importancia que durante largas décadas se dio a la enseñanza de las lenguas extranjeras en el sistema educativo; la evolución política del sistema desde la apertura internacional de los años sesenta y en la época constitucional; y los empeños personales de algunos personajes clave. Discusión: durante mucho tiempo, la posibilidad de una enseñanza bilingüe español-inglés estuvo reservada a las clases privilegiadas. El convenio abrió esta posibilidad a quienes, de no ser por estos programas, no habrían tenido nunca la oportunidad de acceder a la misma. Frente al uso político instrumental que a veces de hace de esta enseñanza, se precisa hoy más investigación que permita plantearse si ha llegado la hora de llevarla a todas las escuelas y en qué condiciones.

Palabras clave: Consejo Británico, educación bilingüe, política educativa, relaciones internacionales, diplomacia cultural, profesores de inglés.

Introduction

On February 1, 1996, the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science (*Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia*, henceforth, MEC) and the British Council (henceforth, BC) signed a collaboration agreement for the development of the integrated Spanish-British curriculum. The agreement entailed the implementation of a program that allowed for the early introduction of public schoolchildren, from the age of three, to bilingual education in Spanish and English. This model would be delivered through an integrated curriculum based on the national curriculum of Spain, England and Wales. The objective was that at the end of compulsory education students would be able to obtain qualifications in both systems and have an appropriate command of both languages.

In 2021, the bilingual program MEC-BC celebrated its 25th anniversary. Throughout these years, the program's development has not been exempt from controversy. For instance, not long ago, one could read in a newspaper headline: "Bilingual education: Education or politics? Those responsible for education from some of the national media outlets are mistaken. They should know that bilingual education has no ideology" (Gisbert, 2021). The headline is indeed correct in exposing the instrumentalisation to which education is often subjected within the context of political struggle. Nevertheless, even when this instrumentalisation may be abhorrent, one should not erroneously deny the intrinsically political dimension of education as it refers to ways of life and values, converting educational environments into civic spaces (Jover, López, & Quiroga, 2011).

The antidote against the political instrumentalisation of education cannot lie at the core of denying its intrinsically political nature. On the contrary, it is necessary to place the focus on its relevance, to investigate the political elements behind the educational proposals. This is what we intend to do in this analysis. Our objective is to analyse through a historical approach, covering much of the 20th century, the political background that led to the signing of the 1996 agreement. We will walk through the macropolitics of international relations, cultural diplomacy and educational plans and the micropolitics of the Administration's intricacies, diplomatic offices and school organisation.

Some general aspects of this history or specific aspects of the BC's activities in Spain during certain periods have been addressed in studies such as those of Taylor (1978), Donaldson (1984), Berdah (1998), Corse (2013), Martin García (2012), Martin García and Rodríguez Jiménez (2013 and 2015), and Pérez de Arcos (2021a and 2021b), among

others. However, a comprehensive, *longue durée*, approach was missing, such as the one addressed in this research that directly focuses on unravelling the historical factors that led to the signing of the agreement amidst the changing relationship dynamics between the two countries. The last phase of this history, in particular the one closest to the signing of the agreement, has hardly been studied, thus compelling us to search archives. We have consulted the *Archivo de la Fundación Felipe González* (AFFG) and the Margaret Thatcher Foundation (MTF), both online, and in person, the *Archivo Central del Ministerio de Educación y Formación Profesional* (ACME) and the *Archivo General de la Administración* (AGA) in Spain, and the BC section and other sources from the National Archives (TNA) in the United Kingdom.

The landing of the British Council in Spain

Government initiatives to reach out to audiences in foreign countries through culture and education already existed at the end of the 19th century. Worth highlighting the pioneering leadership of France with the creation of *l'Alliance Française* in 1883. In Spain, the involvement of the Duke of Alba, Jacobo Fitz-James Stuart y Falcó, was fundamental in fostering cultural and intellectual relations with the United Kingdom. In 1923, a few months before the military coup of Miguel Primo de Rivera, the Spanish-English Committee was created, leading several initiatives

for the dissemination of British language, literature and culture in Spain (Ribagorda, 2008). In the United Kingdom, the Foreign Office promoted the creation of the British Committee for Relations with Other Countries in 1934, later becoming the British Council. Sir Reginald Leeper, the advocate for the BC, insisted that the Council should not depend exclusively on government funding (Taylor, 1978, p. 251). Following the outbreak of World War II, the Council was granted a Royal Charter in 1940, becoming an independent legal organisation that promoted culture; nevertheless, the distinction between cultural action and political propaganda was far from clear particularly in the context of war (Berdah, 1998).

By 1938, the BC had already established its first four offices in Lisbon, Warsaw, Bucharest and Cairo. The establishment of the BC in Spain did not take long. It was prompted by the personal contacts of the Chairman of the Council, the conservative politician George Lloyd, with Francisco Franco and the support of the Duke of Alba who was the Ambassador in London (Donaldson, 1984. pp. 86-87). After the end of the Civil War, the BC offered the Spanish government material assistance, books for libraries destroyed during the war and scholarships for British university students to study in Spain. The BC also proposed the possible creation of a cultural institution that would serve as a meeting point for young English and Spanish individuals and youth from other nationalities (De las Bárcenas, 1939). The proposal came to fruition and, in 1940, the BC opened its headquarters in Madrid under the name of British Institute. The Spanish government made it a condition that its staff be Catholic. The person chosen to direct it was the Hispanist Walter Fitzwilliam Starkie, who had met the Duke of Alba in 1924 at a conference organised by the Spanish-English Committee (Hurtley, 2013, p. 253). The latter described him as "Catholic, Irish, educated in England, humanist, musician, epicurean, profound connoisseur of Spain, competent flamenco devotee, with great people skills, energetic, all of the qualities that my friend has" (El Duque de Alba, 1948, p. 6). These qualities made Starkie the ideal candidate to serve as the bridge between British and Spanish culture and to build a centre of cultural dynamization during the iron dictatorship of the forties. Eminent personalities, from the most diverse walks of life and relevant within the Spanish and foreign cultural and scientific scene of the time, gathered at the Institute.

The possibility of opening the Institute caused some friction and disputes over control within the governmental spheres. The Ministry of

National Education demanded from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the authority over the teaching degrees and the recognition of the studies taken at the centre (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 1940). Foreign Affairs clarified that "at the proposed British Institute, studies of any kind will not be delivered, since it will only be limited to housing a Library and Reading Rooms and to presenting lectures led by speakers specially sent by the British Council and who have received prior approval by this Ministry" (Peche, 1940). This was not the case and, in September 1940, the British Institute School began its operations within the structure of the Institute. The school initially admitted schoolchildren between 4 and 10 years old, offering a modern education based on the Montessori and Froebel methods (Pérez de Arcos, 2021a, p. 550). The children of families from the United Kingdom and other countries, who had settled in Spain, together with children of aristocratic and white-collar Spanish families who sought a different education, "in English, of a liberal nature and coeducation" (Urgoiti, 2016. p. 22) attended the school.

The BC's landing in Spain can be framed within Winston Churchill's policy of pragmatic rapprochement with the Franco regime, and his efforts to secure Spain's neutrality in World War II, even through bribes when necessary (Wigg, 2005). The presence of the BC represented a force of social attraction or "soft power", as Nye (2004) has called it, to act as a counterweight to the influence of the Axis countries both in Spain and in the international context. During the war, the Council's possibilities for expansion were greatly reduced because it could not operate in enemy or invaded countries, for this purpose countries considered to be neutral were especially coveted for "cultural" propaganda (Corse, 2013, pp. 32-37). Control over the Mediterranean was also important for the development of the war. Towards the end of 1942, these conditions existed in Spain as it was one of the few European countries accessible to the British, along with Portugal, Sweden and Iceland (Donaldson, 1984, p. 85). In turn, for the Spanish government, the presence of the BC could reinforce the country's image of neutrality. While the BC's establishment had Franco's support, it was also opposed by the influential Minister, fascist-minded, Ramón Serrano Suñer, who first acted from the Ministry of the Interior and then from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Thus, the Institute had to make its way through actions that enjoyed greater official and media support, such as the Italian Institute that opened shortly before and the German Institute established in 1941. However, it is worth mentioning that the Institute won the support of intellectuals such as Pio Baroja and the young Camilo José Cela (Corse,

2013, pp. 129-167). As the outcome of the war became more evident, the influence of the institution grew. In 1944 Starkie managed to secure from the Minister of National Education, José Ibáñez Martín, the commitment that Bachillerato would offer the possibility to choose between English and German which meant putting an end to one of the privileges that the German language had until then in Franco's policy (Hurtley, 2013, p. 271). Other Institutes were opened in several Spanish cities, originally as sections of the Madrid Institute: Barcelona in 1943, Bilbao in 1944, Valencia in 1945 and Seville in 1946 (Starkie, 1948, p. 271). There were also proposals to open it in other cities, such as Vigo (Barkworth, 1947).

The Spanish British Institute and its school in Madrid were impacted by the economic difficulties in the United Kingdom as the result of the war and post-war reconstruction. After the war, the continuity of the school was questioned by the BC offices in London. For the Foreign Office; however, the closure of the centre was "inadvisable on political grounds" (Regional Officer, 1948). The interest that the United Kingdom had for Spain during the war remained once the war was over. In 1946 the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution that urged the withdrawal of the member states' ambassadors from Madrid. Although the United Kingdom supported the resolution, it did not fully complete the diplomatic rupture, maintaining trade relations which were vital for its economic recovery (Johnson, 2006). In addition, Spain could be an ally to oppose communism, which in years after the war the BC considered a sign of their own identity (Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs, Colonies and Commonwealth Relations, 1951, p. 5). These and other circumstances, including the Francoist regime's strategic relationship with the Arab countries (Rein, 1998), could have contributed to the privileged treatment that, from the 1950s onwards, Spain received from the BC in order to maintain rapprochement through cultural diplomacy, despite not being a friendly country (Donaldson, 1984, p. 167). The favourable treatment did not prevent some of the previously opened British Institute centres from having to close.

International openness and modernization of the education system

In 1960, a decisive step was taken towards consolidating cultural cooperation between Spain and the United Kingdom, with the signing of a collaboration agreement for the promotion of mutual knowledge in intellectual, artistic, scientific and technical activities (Instrumento de

Ratificación del Convenio Cultural entre España y el Reino Unido de Gran Bretaña e Irlanda del Norte, 1961). The agreement established that each country would assign a specific agency to carry out the stipulated tasks. The BC would be the organisation entrusted by the British government. The signing of this agreement took place at a time when Spain began to experience significant economic growth due to increasing tourism and industrialization, a trend that is reflected in the BC's annual reports (British Council Spain, 1973). The modernization of the country was followed by what has been called the technocratic reform of the educational system, sponsored by international organisations such as UNESCO, the World Bank and the OECD (González-Delgado, 2023; Jover and González-Delgado, 2023). The result was the *General Act on Education and Financing of Educational Reform* (*Ley General de Educación y Financiamiento de la Reforma Educativa*, LGE), approved in 1970 with Villar Palasí as head of the Ministry, that a few years earlier had changed its name from Ministry of National Education to Ministry of Education and Science. The law introduced, among other measures, a greater presence of foreign languages in the school curriculum, establishing for the first time the teaching of these languages at the compulsory stage, Basic General Education.

The LGE had a great impact on the activities of the British Institute and the School. On one hand, some of its articles affected the work that the institution had been carrying out and it was discussed whether its legal status, derived from the 1960 agreement, exempt it from some of the requirements of the new regulations in educational, labour and tax matters. As a result of this discussion, it was clarified that the British Council was the representing body in Spain while the British Institute, as it had been called until then, was merely an operational extension of the British Council (Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1975). On the other hand, the law provided a new impetus to the English teacher training activities carried by the British Institute, which in 1962 had created an English language teacher training centre in Madrid (Martín García, 2012, p. 813). For this purpose, the institution established collaborative relationships with several Institutes of Education Sciences at the beginning of the 1970s, created by Spanish universities for the development of educational research and innovation and the training of secondary education teachers (British Council Spain, 1971, p. 2).

By the middle of the decade, the United Kingdom's official relations with Spain were characterised by uncertainty regarding the future of the

Franco regime. The Labour Party, unseated from government in the first half of the 1970s, returned in the second half with Harold Wilson and James Callaghan as Prime Ministers. The Labour Party had traditionally been hostile towards the dictatorship. However, during the regime's later stage there were some special conditions which, in the context of the economic crisis at that time, made the situation more uncertain. As a consequence, Wilson's government had to consider the possibility of reorienting its position, as evidenced by declassified documentation of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, compiled by Hamilton and Salmon (2006). The relationship between the two governments was conditioned by the Gibraltar matter and the attitude of European countries towards Spain's desire for closer ties with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), something that for many could not be foreseen as long as Franco remained in power. Nevertheless, similar to other governments, the British government was also concerned as to how events would unfold once Franco was no longer in power and the effect that the Portuguese revolution of 1974 and the influence of communism might have on Spain. This fear suggested a rapprochement with both the moderate opposition and the more open spheres of the regime, including members of the army. At the same time, British influence continued to be exercised through the cultural and educational activities of the BC. Between 1974 and 1977, the economic benefits obtained by the BC in Spain, with the direct teaching of English, increased considerably (Martín García, 2012, p. 804). The Council used this channel to disseminate greater knowledge of British society, history and institutions, as a way "to instil in young Spaniards traditional British habits of moderation", something that, at the political moment the country was going through, was considered of utmost importance (Cultural Relations Department, 1976).

Cooperation between the Ministry of Education and Science and the British Council

Francisco Franco died on November 20, 1975. Three years later, on December 6, 1978, the Spanish people ratified through referendum the Constitution, establishing a democratic political system. Within the framework supported by the Constitution, it became customary that when a region of the country acquired powers as an autonomous government,

it requested the BC to establish a headquarter in its territory for the teaching of English. Even, if necessary, they were ready to provide facilities and other assistance, something that, according to the Council, did not happen anywhere else (Cavaliero, 1983 and 1987). Correspondence between the BC, the British Embassy and the Foreign Office reveals a sense of success. It did not take long for private language centres to grow discontent which escalated to court in the form of an appeal against the Council for unfair competition and dragged on for several years (England, 1991).

The success achieved through the direct teaching of English enabled the BC to explore new possibilities. At the beginning of the 1980s, the preparatory documents for its activity in Spain mention: "to lead from the commercial success of DTE [Direct Teaching English] into a stronger teacher-training effort in the state sector" (British Council, 1981, p. 10). The Council redirected its policy of collaboration with the university Institutes of Education Sciences in teacher training towards a direct relationship with the MEC. Although some earlier steps had already been taken, the arrival of the socialist José María Maravall at the Ministry consolidated the definitive start of this collaboration. Maravall was well acquainted with the educational policy developed by the British Labour Party during the sixties and seventies, especially the one promoted by the Secretary of State for Education and Science, Anthony Crosland. Doctor from the Complutense University in 1969, Maravall also received his doctorate from Oxford University shortly after, having his thesis supervised by Albert Henry Halsey who was Crosland's former advisor. Marawall was part of the British Labour Party before joining the Spanish Socialist Party (González Moreno, 2021, p. 83).

This Labour adherent had to initiate the socialist reform of the Spanish educational system while Margaret Thatcher carried out the conservative reform of the British one. Thatcher's notebook contains an entry that, although anecdotal, highlights this dissonance. The situation was caused by Maravall's official trip to the United Kingdom in July 1984 to meet with the Secretary of State for Education, Sir Keith Joseph, and to visit British schools. Taking advantage of the trip, the education spokesman in the Labour Shadow Cabinet, Giles Radice, invited Maravall to meet with the opposition leader Neil Kinnock and other members of the Labour Party. This invitation led to a series of diplomatic consultations within the Prime Minister's office on the possibility of introducing contacts to

the opposition in the official program of a foreign minister's visit (Prime Ministerial Private Office, 1984). Beyond the anecdote, the visit marked the formal start of a collaboration between Maravall's Ministry and the BC. During the visit, the Minister had a conversation with the Council's Director-General, agreeing to strengthen cooperation in several areas including teacher training (British Council Spain, 1985, p, 2). A few days later, José María Maravall and the Director-General, John Charles Burgh, signed a letter of agreement in which five possible areas of collaboration were established: a) integrated research actions with universities; b) Fleming scholarships for postgraduate studies in the United Kingdom; c) teacher training; d) special education; and e) computers in education (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1984).

These five areas will be the foundation of a *Memorandum of Understanding on Collaboration between the Ministry of Education and Science in Spain and the British Council* signed by both organisations on June 15, 1987. This time, the signatories are Stewart Ranson Smith, Representative of the BC in Spain, and Joaquín Arango, MEC's Assistant Secretary-General. The *Memorandum* added to the areas detailed in the letter of agreement of 1984 a sixth element of collaboration due to recent joint interest in curriculum development (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1987). Between the signing of the two documents, two events took place, justifying this desire to consolidate and extend the collaboration: Spain's accession to the European Economic Community (EEC) through the signing of the Treaty of Accession on June 12, 1985, and the preliminary work that would lead to the approval, a few years later, of the *Act on the General Organization of the Educational System* (*Ley Orgánica de Ordenación General del Sistema Educativo,* LOGSE).

According to Pardo (2011), while Spain's transition to democracy in regards to domestic policy could be deemed completed in 1982, for foreign policy it would have to wait at least until 1986 with the entry into force of the Treaty of Accession to the EEC and the ratification of permanence in NATO. Despite the political change, several European countries were still wary of Spain's integration into the European institutional environment. But this attitude began to change, partly due to the process of democratic consolidation on its own, and also due to economic interests which were very important for the United Kingdom (Leigh, 1978). The problem of Gibraltar continued to be a latent issue in the EEC's integration process. To ease it, the Spanish government opened the fence to

pedestrian traffic which smoothed the negotiations leading up to the Brussels Agreement in 1984, in which London agreed to discuss sovereignty and Madrid to fully open the frontier (Pardo, 2011, p. 87). In a note sent by Margaret Thatcher to Felipe González in April 1985, the British Prime Minister congratulated the President of the Spanish Government on the progress of the integration process, reminding him that "we in Britain have consistently supported Spanish accession to the EC and worked for rapid conclusion of the negotiations" (Thatcher, 1985).

Entry to the European Community affected different Spanish public policies, including education. Once the reforms of the *Act on University Reform* (*Ley Orgánica de Reforma Universitaria,* LRU) and the *Act on the Right to Education* (*Ley Orgánica Reguladora del Derecho a la Educación,* LODE) were completed, and following the failed attempt of the experimental reform of secondary education, Maravall initiated the structural transformation that would culminate with the approval of the LOGSE in 1990. A fundamental aspect of the reform was teacher training. In 1984, Maravall's team proposed a profound modification of initial teacher education, facing various corporatist and logistical obstacles (Benejam, 1986, pp. 153-163). Having exhausted this path, the Ministry turned its attention to permanent education. In this strategy, Maravall knew how to take advantage of the BC's success and strengthened collaboration with the organisation through a professional development program for English teachers supported by the auspices of the 1960 agreement. The actions were implemented in Spain and in the United Kingdom, although the Ministry was particularly interested in strengthening training in British territory (Poe, 1985).

Therefore, this is the context in which the Ministry signed the Memorandum of Understanding of 1987. The BC in Madrid considered it a great achievement. In a note sent to the London offices the same afternoon of its signing, Representative Smith explained its significance, highlighting that "no such agreement exists with other countries and none is envisaged". This represented the continuity of the commitment signed by the Director-General of the Council and José María Maravall in 1984 and endorsed what had been done in the past. Smith indicated that, according to what he had been told by the Ministry's officials, "Britain remains for them the first priority overseas country", although they felt "políticamente ofendidos porque el gobierno británico en Londres muestra poco interés" (Smith, 1987b). The complaint had to do with the attitude of

indifference perceived by the Spanish Ministry of Education in the British Department of Education and Science as revealed by the correspondence between the Ministry, the BC offices in London and those in Spain.

The collaboration agreement for the development of the integrated curriculum

From the second half of the 1980s, the MEC and the BC had been working on consolidating their collaboration and extending it beyond the training of English teachers, placing special attention "over the entire curriculum" (Smith, 1987a). This interest was materialised through the signing, on February 1, 1996, of a collaboration agreement between the MEC and the BC for the development of the integrated Spanish-British curriculum. On this occasion, the signatories were the Minister, Jerónimo Saavedra Acevedo, the Ambassador of the United Kingdom, David Brigthy, and the Director of the BC, Peter John Wittaker Taylor.

Legally, the integrated curriculum stems from the regulation's update on foreign schools in Spain. The new legislative framework required the adaptation of the previous 1978 regulation. This was done through the Royal Decree 806/1993, signed by the Minister Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba. The Decree's first additional provision established the possibility of setting up an "integrated curricula of foreign educational systems and the Spanish educational system, whose completion would lead to the simultaneous award of foreign and Spanish academic degrees" (Real Decreto 806/1993). The British Council School soon became interested in this possibility. In mid-1995, its recognition as a foreign school, obtained in 1981, came to an end and was required to renew according to the new regulations (Vale, 1993, p. 1). Consequently, the School proceeded to adapt its curriculum and teaching staff to the changes required by the LOGSE, while simultaneously considering to request advice from the British educational inspectorate on the implementation of the national curriculum. A document from the school, dated February 15, 1995, stated that "both of these developments are linked to the development of the School's integrated curriculum in response to Annex 1 of the Royal Decree for Foreign Schools in Spain" (British Council School, 1995a).

The School's interest coincided with the efforts of the State Secretariat

for Education, led by Álvaro Marchesi, to strengthen and make public education more attractive particularly, among other areas, in the teaching of foreign languages. "In the case of bilingual education, we looked for the approach that could be the most beneficial and powerful: an integrated curriculum and English teachers to be incorporated into Spanish schools. It seemed to us that the *British* was the ideal partner and so it was" (personal communication from Álvaro Marchesi, January 8, 2023). The agreement came to fruition. Forty-three public infant and primary schools were initially linked to the program, together with the British Council School, foreseeing its subsequent implementation in secondary schools and other possible centres (Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1996). The project was based on the bilingual teaching experience of the School which would be in charge of BC's management of the integrated curriculum (personal communication from Sheila Estaire, December 26, 2022). For the BC offices in London, the centre then represented "a shop window for British educational excellence, and an influential vehicle for promoting the position of English in the Spanish education system" (British Council, 1996, p. 9). Gone were the suspicions of the past, when London did not always understand the role that a school for children could play as part of the British Institute.

In the selection of participating public schools, the Ministry prioritised those located in less favoured areas or conditions. The agreement thus embodied the social orientation of education that had inspired Maravall's policy years earlier. In Spain, there were private schools specialising in English teaching or offering the British curriculum. The novelty was that the agreement opened up this possibility to the public school system. In his intervention in the press, Marchesi made sure to emphasise this social aspect, stating that "the English language does not have to be the exclusive inheritance of those sectors that have economic means... The idea is that public schools should offer a wide range of options for children to master the Spanish and British language and culture" (Álvarez, 1996).

Conclusion

On February 1, 1996, the signing of the agreement establishing the Spanish-British integrated curriculum was the culmination of a historical process, tracing back to the first decades of the 20th century. Our

review of this history, built on matches and mismatches, enables us to identify five factors that converged on the road towards the agreement: (a) the strategic function of the Council in maintaining British influence in Spain during a period in which official relations were constrained by the dictatorship; (b) the fundamental role that the British Council School played within the structure of the British Council in Spain; (c) the limited importance attributed to the teaching of foreign languages in the education system for many decades; (d) the political evolution of the system from its international opening in the 1960s and during the constitutional period; (e) and the personal endeavours of certain key players.

The BC arrived in Spain in 1940, shortly after the end of the Spanish Civil War and at the dawn of World War II. Even though its arrival could be seen as a genuine effort to consolidate cultural relations between the two countries, the geopolitical context of the time was filled with questions that transcended the mere scope of a bilateral cultural relationship. Even with the status of Royal Charter, the BC continued to represent the governmental interests of the United Kingdom. It is indeed curious the relative ease with which the British Institute was established in Spain, and the limited political interference from the Franco regime, beyond the failed attempts of Serrano Suñer and the imposition – not entirely fulfilled – that its staff had to be Catholic. It can be stated that, in this sense, the BC's activity operated as a "soft power" tool to bring closer the Spanish upper middle class and aristocracy to the United Kingdom and its values (Martín García y Rodríguez Jiménez, 2013 y 2015).

The immediate opening of the British Council School in Spain, as part of the Institute, was a peculiar initiative within an organisation whose objective was to strengthen British presence in the postcolonial world through cultural propaganda aimed at the social elites (Corse, 2013). Coherently with this policy, in the field of education, the Council was particularly oriented towards higher education, the dissemination of science and the possible recruitment of students for British universities. This "uniqueness" of the British Institute School, as it has been regarded (Cultural Relations Department, 1988), has not historically ceased to present problems related to funding, location, staff, etc. Fundamental to the Council's objectives was the teaching of English, but its "worthwhile targets" were adults and young professionals rather than children (Director South Europe, 1949). Representative Walter Starkie's perspicacity consisted of understanding the instrumental role of the School to

capture the attention of the social segments to which the BC's action was directed (Pérez de Arcos, 2021a, p. 544). Years later, the School would be in charge of implementing the integrated curriculum established by the 1996 agreement thus acting as a pedagogical model.

The signing of the 1996 agreement has a precedent, the cultural agreement between Spain and the United Kingdom in 1960, the latter represented by the BC. The same process of modernization and international openness that gave rise to this agreement would inspire ten years later the approval of the *General Act on Education and Financing of Educational Reform*. The Act promoted the BC's activity in the permanent education of English teachers through a collaboration with the Institutes of Education Sciences of universities. This policy would gain momentum in the 1980s, especially from 1984 onwards, with the signing of a letter of agreement between the BC and MEC. In 1987, a further step was taken with the establishment of the Memorandum of Understanding, establishing collaboration in the area of curriculum development. Both documents stem from the period when the socialist José María Maravall was leading the MEC, being able to involve the BC in the objective of reforming the Spanish educational system with the purpose of adapting it to the new reality of the country – opened up by the 1978 Constitution – from a social point of view.

During those years, the BC underwent a great expansion in Spain. Since the end of World War II, funding had been a permanent topic of debate for the organisation. Within this debate, obtaining great economic benefits from the direct teaching of English, in what was called the "Spanish miracle", did not cease to amaze. The English press itself echoed this success, which mobilised private language teaching centres. In a chronicle published in the 1980s in the *Educational Supplement* of *The Times*, on the occasion of the establishment of the British Institute in Palma de Mallorca, the historian and journalist Richard Wigg ironically attributed this success to Franco himself, whose isolationist policy had awakened the necessity for knowledge of foreign languages (Wigg, 1985). The process of opening up the country shed even more light on this loophole. It soon became evident that it was not enough to only increase language teaching. First, it was necessary to act upon teacher training programs and then on the curriculum as a whole. The MEC found in the BC the ideal ally for this endeavour.

But all of these circumstances were supported by people, those who

promoted the processes that would lead to the signing of the agreement. Key names in this history are, in more distant times, the Duke of Alba or Walter Starkie and, in more recent times, Stewart Ranson Smith, José María Maravall or Álvaro Marchesi. In his chronicle, Wigg also alluded to this factor. He stated that the activity of the BC, "has the clear encouragement of Spain's education minister, Mr. Jose Maria Maravall, an Oxford University-trained sociologist, who sends his two children to Madrid's council-run British school" (Wigg, 1985). Maravall was himself a former British Council Scholar. His relations with the organisation date back to the late 1960s, after having recently received his PhD in Spain, he obtained a grant from the BC to study Industrial Sociology at the University of Essex (British Council Spain, 1970, appendix B). It was not an exceptional situation that his children studied at the British Council School. The school's memoirs from the period in which the agreement was established give an account of the personal or family links of numerous personalities from Spanish public life with the school, among them many politicians from different parties, several of whom held important positions in the MEC (British Council School, 1995b).

Approved in the final phase of the first period of the socialist government, it would not be up to the latter to carry out the implementation of the agreement, but to the government of the Popular Party and the head of the Ministry of Education, Esperanza Aguirre. She herself was an alumnus of the British Council School and a great admirer of Margaret Thatcher. From the previous government, the change was lived with the fear of stagnation (Marchesi, 2020, p. 24). In 2003, Aguirre was elected President of the Community of Madrid and made the bilingual program for the teaching of English one of the pillars of her government in the Community. Her commitment led many to identify these programs with a certain educational policy, if not to denigrate them for this reason. In this paper we have tried to show the tremendous simplification that this association implies.

The recognition of the intrinsic relationship between education and politics should help us identify when it becomes instrumentalised. This happens when the supposed success or failure of the program is debated without the support of rigorous research of any type. In this work, we have used a historical approach that allows us to comprehend the long-term circumstances that led to the establishment of the integrated curriculum. Much work remains to be done to unravel the results of the program,

both in terms of the level of English proficiency achieved by students and, overall, their academic achievement, as well as the differential factors that may be influencing them. This is not to undervalue the long effort made to consolidate the bilingual teaching program in Spanish and English through the integrated curriculum. Its value lies precisely in the fact that it opened this avenue to those who, if it were not for these programs, would never have had the opportunity to receive this type of education, restricted for a long time to the privileged classes. Further research should help us assess whether the time has come to bring this possibility, with the necessary adaptations, to all schools and under what conditions.

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Methodological training in plurilingual Education in the Spanish Higher Education training programmes: are pre-service teachers ready for CLIL?

Formación metodológica en educación plurilingüe en los programas de Educación Superior en España: ¿Está el profesorado en formación preparado en AICLE?

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Abstract

Following the guidelines provided by the Council of Europe, Spanish educational administrations have been carrying out different strategies towards the development of the plurilingual competence. This has led to the introduction of CLIL sections in Spain where 'generalist teachers' are in charge of carrying out their non-linguistic subjects using an additional language as the language of instruction. This would require the generalist teacher to know the main principles of this approach as well as working with a set of competences related to the CLIL practice (Pérez-Cañado, 2018). Consequently, pre-service teacher training should prepare generalist teachers to carry out these CLIL sections to their full potential. Therefore, the main aim of this study is to present the results of a long-scale study concerning CLIL training at university level by analysing teaching guides. These teaching guides complied with two criteria: (1) they are related to the area of FLT and (2) they are taught in Spanish public schools in the Degree of Primary Education. Preliminary findings show that CLIL courses are often offered to pre-service teachers training to become FL educators rather than the generalist teachers. Furthermore, most of the analysed teaching guides do not show to be working on the six competences established by Pérez-Cañado (2018) in her study.

Keywords: CLIL, pre-service teachers, Primary Education, teaching guides, university training.

Resumen

De acuerdo con las directrices proporcionadas por el Consejo de Europa, las administraciones educativas españolas han implementado distintas estrategias encaminadas al desarrollo de la competencia plurilingüe. Se ha llevado a la introducción de secciones AICLE en España donde los 'profesores generalistas' son los encargados de impartir sus materias de área no lingüística a través de una lengua extranjera. Esto supone que el profesor generalista conozca los principios fundamentales de dicho enfoque y, para ello, trabajar el conjunto de competencias relacionadas con la práctica AICLE (Pérez-Cañado, 2018). En consecuencia, la formación inicial del profesorado debe preparar al profesorado generalistas para llevar a cabo estas secciones AICLE de la mejor manera posible. Por lo tanto, el objetivo principal de esta investigación es presentar los resultados de un estudio a larga escala sobre las materias AICLE analizando las guías docentes. Estas guías docentes cumplen los siguientes criterios: (1) son guías docentes relacionadas con el área de DLE y (2) se imparten en los grados públicos españoles en Educación Primaria. Los resultados preliminares muestran que la formación AICLE a menudo se ofrece a futuro profesorado especialista en LE en lugar de a profesorado generalista. Además, la mayoría de las guías docentes analizadas no desarrollan las seis competencias establecidas por Pérez-Cañado (2018) en su estudio.

Palabras clave: AICLE, profesorado en formación, Educación Primaria, guías docentes, formación universitaria.

Introduction

For almost two decades Spanish educational administrations have been carrying out different strategies towards the implementation of linguistic polices in schools focusing on the students' development of the plurilingual competence and following the guidelines provided by the Council of Europe. With that in mind, the regional areas of Spain launched different programmes to stablish bilingual education or plurilingual education, depending on whether it is a monolingual community (such as Madrid or Andalucía) or a bilingual community (such as Galicia or Catalonia). In all cases, English becomes the language of instruction of non-linguistic subjects in Primary and Secondary Education. Besides that, European funds have been invested in in-service teacher training programmes, very often more directed towards the improvement of their linguistic competence in the foreign language than on actual methodologies and approaches to teach any subject through a foreign language. The approach encouraged by educational administrations is *Content and Language Integrated Learning* (CLIL). While all these policies might be effective at some level in enhancing the development of the Primary school students' competence in a foreign language, the first step to be taken in this endeavour is to train pre-service teachers pursuing a degree the Faculties of Education in such methodological approaches.

The adoption of the Bolognia Plan in Higher education in Europe prompted the transformation of all teaching guides of undergraduate and graduate degrees in the second decade of the twenty-first centuries. During that time, the Degree in Primary Education changed from a three-year programme to a four-year one. Both degrees qualified graduates to become generalist teachers in Primary Education. Those students interested in becoming English teachers in Primary education have to additionally complete the major in the area, such as it is the case with Physical Education or Music. In Spain's educational system 'generalist teachers' are in charge of introducing Maths, Science, Social Science, Arts and Crafts, but Foreign Languages, Music and Physical Education are taught by these specialists. Interestingly, while the transformation of the teaching guides during the Bolognia process took place almost simultaneously with the implementation of bilingual/plurilingual linguistic policies in schools, there was not coordination among Educational administrations and universities towards the definition of the common goal, in this case considering the pre-service teaching training needs to

prepare teachers for their future practice in bilingual/plurilingual schools and having to use the foreign language to introduce Maths, Science or Arts and Crafts through English.

Legally speaking, so far, the only mandatory requirement teachers need in order to become CLIL teachers in Spain is a language certificate: most autonomous communities only require their teachers to have a B2 language certificate in the target language to teach in bilingual schools, being Madrid and Catalonia the only communities which ask for a C1 language certificate (Durán-Martínez & Beltrán-Llavador, 2020, p. 171). This resonates with the idea of CLIL teacher training focused only on language proficiency, setting aside other competences a CLIL teacher may need.

In this study, the teaching guides of the Degree in Primary Education were analysed to see to what extent public funded higher education institutions in Spain are actually preparing pre-service teachers to exercise their profession in bilingual/plurilingual educational settings focusing on CLIL.

Theoretical Framework

Background

Plurilingualism has been promoted in all educational levels by the European Commission for more than two decades (1995, p. 47). Nevertheless, the aim of achieving bilingual education required not only foreign language learning, but also triggered the implementation of policies that would lead to significant challenges and changes in all the spheres of education. In a general level, the Common European Framework for Reference (CEFR; Council of Europe, 2001) must be mentioned due to its significant impact in the unification of foreign language levels, with an influence that has already surpassed the European borders (Nishimura-Sahi, 2020; Sidhu et al., 2018; Than Hai, 2018). In Higher Education, the creation of the European Area Education and Bologna Process (EHEA) endorsed the English-medium instruction (EMI), fostered the bilingual graduate programmes and launched the Erasmus+ initiative, among others. In primary and secondary education, *Content Language Integrated Learning* (hereinafter CLIL) appeared in 1994 and became a key methodology to meet the European objective of multilingualism:

Multilingualism is one of the cornerstones of the European project and a powerful symbol of the EU's aspiration to be united in diversity. Foreign languages have a prominent role among the skills that will help equip people better for the labour market and make the most of available opportunities. (European Commission, 2015, p.13)

As teachers are one of the main stakeholders and promoters of language policy, it is important that their teacher training caters to this plurilingual/bilingual reality. In regard to in-service teacher training, Durán-Martínez & Beltrán-Llavador (2020) argue that "training for bilingual teaching has not been homogeneous in Spain so far" (2020, p. 171) and point out to several studies which mention (1) compulsory training modules (Fernández and Halbach, 2011; Lova Mellado, Bolarín Martínez, and Porto Currás, 2013), (2) language courses (Olivares and Pena 2013), (3) summer programs and (4) optional postgraduate courses on CLIL teaching (Durán and Beltrán 2013). Concerning the different training courses, Palacios, Gómez & Huertas (2018, p. 145) mention five different courses taken by in-service CLIL teachers in several autonomous communities in Spain:

- Plan de Formación en Lenguas Extranjeras (Madrid): methodology-focused courses destined to in-service CLIL teachers from infant to secondary education in English, French or German (Comunidad de Madrid: Consejería de Educación y Juventud, 2021).

- Plan Estratégico de Desarrollo de las Lenguas en Andalucía. Horizonte 2020 (Andalucía): it endeavours to improve CLIL teachers' language proficiency through language courses and immersion programmes as well as fostering cooperation among CLIL teachers by implementing job shadowing into the Erasmus+ programme (Consejería de Educación, Junta de Andalucía, 2016)

- Programa Integral de Aprendizaxe de Linguas Estranxeiras (PIALE) & Programa de Cursos de Actualización Lingüística e Comunicativa (CALC) (Galicia): the former seeks to provide in-service teachers the opportunity to participate in language immersion modules and/or stays at different schools in other countries whereas the latter is language-focused course to improve in-service teachers' language proficiency (Consellería de Cultura, Educación e Universidade, Xunta de Galicia, 2021).

- Plan de Impulso de las Lenguas Extranjeras (PILE) (Canary Islands): it provides English online courses to in-service teachers (Consejería

de Educación, Universidades, Cultura y Deportes, Gobierno de Canarias, 2021).

■ Plan Integral de Enseñanza de Lenguas Extranjeras de Castilla-La Mancha (Castilla- La Mancha): language and methodological teacher training courses focused on plurilingualism are provided within their anual teacher training programmes (Consejería de Educación, Cultura y Deportes, Castilla-La Mancha, 2021).

CLIL implied that other subjects started to be taught in a foreign vehicular language in a meaningful and planned manner. In Spain, CLIL programmes appeared in 2004 and the number of schools participating on the programme has rocketed since then. Indeed, Coyle claimed already in 2010 that "Spain is rapidly becoming one of the European Leaders in CLIL practice and research" (p. viii). Just to illustrate the reality with some data, in the Autonomous Community of Madrid the number of state schools increased from 26 to more than 330 (Antropova et al. 2021).

Despite the repercussion that plurilingual programmes have had in the country, research in CLIL results, experiences and teaching guides is still quite scarce. Most research available deals with quantitative studies based on questionnaires to CLIL in-service teachers. As a common conclusion reached, teachers pinpointed deficiencies and needs in their respective training, particularly in their fluency in the foreign language (English) and researchers have pointed out significant gaps in teachers' knowledge of what CLIL is, CLIL methodology and resources. These conclusions are common to all the levels. Starting with primary education, Antropova et al. (2021) shared the results of their study with 75 in-service Natural and Social Science teachers of primary education in the Autonomous Community of Madrid. Data obtained revealed the concept of bilingualism is not clear among teachers, they do not have accurate knowledge of CLIL basic principles, and they do not use enough didactic resources associated to the method. Several teachers also claimed not to believe the bilingual programmes are being successful. Researchers object thought that the reason why is that the programme is not being correctly implemented, according to what they observed during the time they conducted their research and the results of the questionnaires. They also point out that teachers' belief in CLIL is fundamental to its success. In similar research, Durán-Martínez and Beltrán-LLavador (2020) surveyed 97 teachers of bilingual programmes about their needs.

Teachers numbered their priorities in training as follows: 1-language proficiency, 2-investment in training, 3-contact with native speakers, 4-CLIL specific training, 5-materials design, 6-pronunciation courses, 7-sharing experiences, and 8-ICT training. These results show how CLIL in-service teachers focus on language rather than CLIL methodology. Other studies (Estrada, 2021) with teachers at primary level reached out similar conclusions to the ones above mentioned.

Regarding studies with in-service teachers at secondary school, the results are akin. Morton (2019) made teachers reflect on language as a curriculum concern in CLIL, as a tool for learning, and as competence. Morton highlighted the global scarcity of training in CLIL existent for in and pre-service teachers, despite having been implemented more than a decade ago and its current popularity; and the shortcomings in research about CLIL programmes. Through some interviews with in-service secondary teachers, it was revealed that teachers do not plan learning sequences with systematic language goals, that they respond positively to observation, critical thinking and discussion practice with simulated CLIL classrooms; and they do not consider language as a scaffolding to build knowledge upon. Another study with 17 teachers of bilingual education centres of Madrid Autonomous Community carried out by Cabezuelo Gutiérrez and Fernández Fernández (2014) also pointed to teachers' perception of a need for improving the training they receive, their wish to receive more training and some acknowledgement that they need to enhance their language skills, although this last remark is way lower than in previous studies conducted.

Moving on to Higher Education, results are not very distant. Professors who took part in Plurilingualism Promotion Plan at the University of Almería, claimed to need more training in foreign language (English), particularly in speaking and interaction but showed no interest in more training in specific methodology in CLIL, materials or tools (Sánchez Pérez and Salaberri Ramiro, 2017). Teachers participating received some training programme on plurilingual teaching methodologies and were asked to evaluate it through 16 indicators after three years in the programme, with results showing a positive development of the elements analysed.

Palacios, Gómez and Huertas (2018) exposed the needs of formation in CLIL of future teachers such as the improvement in communicative/linguistic competence, methodological/professional competence and the

digital one; and the necessity of higher education centres to offer bilingual programmes. Likewise, Olmeda, Guillén and González (2016) pointed out how universities had to resort to masters or the offering of bilingual grades but those are often implemented without a proper reflection on the results aimed. In order to proof those allegations of teacher training flaws, Portolés & Martí (2020) surveyed 110 pre-service teachers before and after a short course on CLIL. Results indicated teacher's knowledge and perceptions on CLIL pre-course were wrong: they only seemed to conceive the benefits of the C for Communication and basically ignore the other three (Content, Cognition and Culture). Moreover, more than 65% consider it might endanger the learning of contents. After the short course on CLIL, results obtained were a little better but still far from the ones desirable.

Core CLIL teacher competences

As it has been previously mentioned, teacher training is a valuable tool for pre-service and in-service teachers. It goes without saying that CLIL teachers would need further training from the one given at a general level as teaching using the CLIL methodology comes with its own idiosyncrasies. After reviewing several studies on what a competent CLIL teacher profile should entail, Pérez-Cañado (2018) highlights several core CLIL teacher competences: (1) linguistic competence, (2) pedagogical competence, (3) organizational competence, (4) scientific knowledge, (5) interpersonal and collaborative competencies, (6) reflective and developmental competence.

The linguistic competence is generally understood as the ability to communicate as well as having linguistic knowledge and also encompassing "intercultural aspects" (Pérez-Cañado, 2018, p. 213). It can be divided into BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills) and CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency): the first one deals with language used on daily situations and social interaction whereas the second one has to do with abstract language used in academic settings. Although some studies point out to pre-service and in-service teachers' perceptions of their own linguistic competence to be subpar (Durán-Martínez & Beltrán-Llavador, 2020; Pons-Seguí, 2020), Pérez-Cañado (2018) argues that: after several further years of CLIL implementation, the need for linguistic training now appears to take a backseat. More recently, teachers seem to harbor a much more optimistic and self-complacent outlook on

their linguistic level, which thus seems to have reached adequate levels for them to be able to teach confidently (p. 215).

This is especially relevant in teachers with less than 3 years of experience in CLIL programmes who are reported to be more confident in their linguistic skill than their more experienced counterparts (Pérez-Cañado, 2018). Furthermore, previous experience abroad is also said to have a positive impact on language proficiency (2018, p. 215). However, the author also states that non-linguistic area and primary and infant education teachers still need linguistic training (2018, p. 215).

The pedagogical competence encompasses several methodological issues which the CLIL teacher should be aware: student-centred methodologies, different learning environments and resources (in which ICT should be considered) and a "transparent, holistic, and formative type of evaluation" (2018, p. 213). Many studies (Palacios, Gómez & Huertas, 2018; Durán-Martínez & Beltrán-Llavador, 2020; Pons-Seguí, 2020; Estrada, 2021) state the need to train CLIL teachers on these issues. Additionally, it has been pointed out that recent research has shown improvement in the following areas: more active methodologies, original materials, a greater use of ICT, attempts at curricular integration and diversified evaluation concerning techniques and instruments. However, some training needs remain constant over time: "materials design and adaptation; catering to diversity and mixed-ability groups; the use of the English language portfolio, project-based learning (PBL), and the lexical approach; the full incorporation of computer-mediated communication techniques; and the inclusion of the oral component in exams" (Pérez-Cañado, 2018, p. 216). Moreover, "it appears that preservice teachers are not receiving sufficient specific CLIL methodological training in existing undergraduate degrees" (2018, p. 216).

In similar lines, the organizational competence is defined by classroom groupings, learning modalities, classroom management techniques and control strategies. Concerning classroom management in particular, several studies regarding in-service CLIL teachers' perceptions of their training needs show this issue to be a concern (Cabezuelo Gutiérrez & Fernández Fernández, 2014; Pons-Seguí, 2020). It is significant to mention here that those who mentioned classroom management are in service teachers whereas pre-service teachers do not consider classroom management or other control strategies to be an important issue, focusing instead on language proficiency (linguistic competence) and

methodological implications (pedagogical competence) (Pons-Seguí, 2020, p. 289).

Concerning scientific knowledge, Pérez-Cañado (2018) establishes a dual categorisation between subject-specific knowledge (e.g., content knowledge) and the theoretical foundations of CLIL. Some studies (Antropova et al., 2021) show CLIL teachers' lack of familiarity with language and learning theories regarding CLIL as well as lack of interest on methodological principles concerning plurilingualism by teacher trainers at university level (Sánchez-Pérez & Salaberri-Ramiro, 2017, p. 151). In terms of teacher training, scientific knowledge about CLIL is relevant as "it is the area in which the lowest level and highest training needs have been detected" (Pérez-Cañado, 2018, p. 216). Furthermore, some differences can be found regarding nationality as pre-service teachers from Central and East Europe are said to have more theoretical knowledge on CLIL than their Latin American counterparts (2018, pp. 216-217).

As for interpersonal and collaborative competencies, the first one is linked to Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences (1983), specifically the interpersonal intelligence, based on the ability to relate well with people and manage (social) relationships: this is particularly relevant at classroom level to be able to handle problems and create meaningful relationships with students as well as create a safe space to promote participation (Pérez-Cañado, 2018, p. 214). Regarding collaborative competence, teamwork has increased in the CLIL classroom thanks to PBL "which increases coordination and helps attune the programs to specific student needs" (2018, P. 216). However, it bears noting that CLIL teachers also report lack of communication among them and other CLIL teachers, which is seen as a problem and a need (Durán-Martínez & Beltrán-Llavador, 2020; Galán-Rodríguez, 2020).

According to Pérez-Cañado (2018), all these competences are equivalent to the reflective and developmental competence, whose cornerstones are lifelong learning and continuous teacher's update on CLIL theories and practices. Studies such as Morton (2019) and Durán-Martínez & Beltrán-Llavador (2020) show that Continuing Professional Development (CPD) is an area which needs further improvement as CLIL teachers "have mostly never obtained study licenses for further research or participated in specific MA degrees in CLIL, in exchange programs, or in methodological upgrade courses abroad. They also lack familiarity with publications on CLIL" (Pérez-Cañado, 2018, p. 217). Therefore, working on CPD and fostering reflective practices should be part of a teacher

training curriculum in order to fulfil teacher training needs which would result into successful CLIL implementations.

Aims

The aim of this paper is to analyse the foreign language teaching guides of the Degrees in Primary Education concerning CLIL training. We seek to answer the following research questions:

- ■ RQ 1. What competences are students expected to acquire for their future profession in regard to CLIL?

- ■ RQ 2. What contents related to CLIL can be found in the teaching guides?

Methodological Approach

Research context

Initial training for bilingual teaching in Spain (the context of this study) has an institutional design. The higher education institutions follow the guidelines provided by the ISDC (UNESCO, 2012) in regard to pre-service teacher training degrees. With the purpose of establishing a common ground on the European Higher Education Area, the National Agency for Quality Assessment and Accreditation (ANECA) established some directions on the creation of teaching guides in 2003. Although it is possible for each higher education institution to adapt these general prescriptions (White Paper, 2005; Naya-Rivero, Gómez-Sánchez, Rumbo-Arcas and Segade-Pampín, 2021), all institutions have structured their degrees in Primary Education into four academic years where there are common mandatory subjects to all pre-service teachers and optional subjects which belong to different teaching majors (e.g., Foreign Languages, PE., Music, etc.).

In 2007, the specific regulations on official university degrees were approved and it has affected all higher education institutions. It has contemplated that primary school teachers must "effectively address language learning situations in multicultural and multilingual contexts"

(BOE, 2007, p.53747). Therefore, teacher training must endeavour to prepare future teachers for these plurilingual realities.

Data collection and analysis

After compiling all the documentation, a descriptive exploratory analysis has been carried out in order to extract all the information that refers to the subjects related to CLIL. Secondly, competences and learning results from these documents have been classified under Pérez Cañado's (2018) division of competences. The starting hypothesis, developed from the theoretical framework and the contextualization, establishes a great variability in the pre-service training of primary school teachers for CLIL.

For the purposes of our analysis, after a first selection of 501 foreign language teaching guides, we proceeded to analyse the main curricular elements (competences, learning goals, and contents). After a closer reading they were grouped in two main categories: whether CLIL is present or not. If the CLIL approach is present, the main curricular elements are analysed. An exploratory and descriptive analysis was applied to rank the most repeated categories and the conceptualization of these. After detecting and classifying curricular elements, an Excel programme was used to synthesize in figures the frequency of the categories, reflecting the overall picture of the syllabus' views on these aspects of the pre-service teacher training in CLIL courses.

The content analysis of the teaching guides was carried out by using the following software: MAXQDA for the qualitative data set and SPSS for the quantitative data. Contents were classified into four categories (syntactic-discourse, pedagogical, competence-based and CLIL-focused) after carrying out a thematic analysis of the data provided. Likewise, the contents of the teaching guides for CLIL courses were classified into five categories: 4 C's (Coyle et al. 2010), plurilingualism, planning, assessment and resources.

Sample

The overall sample of this study contains 501 teaching guides from the Spanish public funded universities that offer the degree of teacher

training in Primary Education (ISCED1). The teaching guides that mention CLIL explicitly add up to 19% (Figure I). In order to answer to the research questions, these are analysed in terms of competences and contents in the results section of this paper.

Results

From all the subjects that mention CLIL, 47.31% are optional subjects on the major in foreign language teaching (pre-service who wish to become foreign language teachers). Additionally, 33.3% of the analysed teaching guides represented were optional subject available for all students in the degree while only 19.35% were mandatory (Figure II).

Overall, there is a clear tendency towards 6 ECTS' subject (92% of the total) among the analysed teaching guides (Figure III).

As it can be seen on Figure IV, most of the courses (59%) that deal with CLIL are taught in the last year of the degree (4th year). This is

FIGURE I. Representation of CLIL in teaching guides
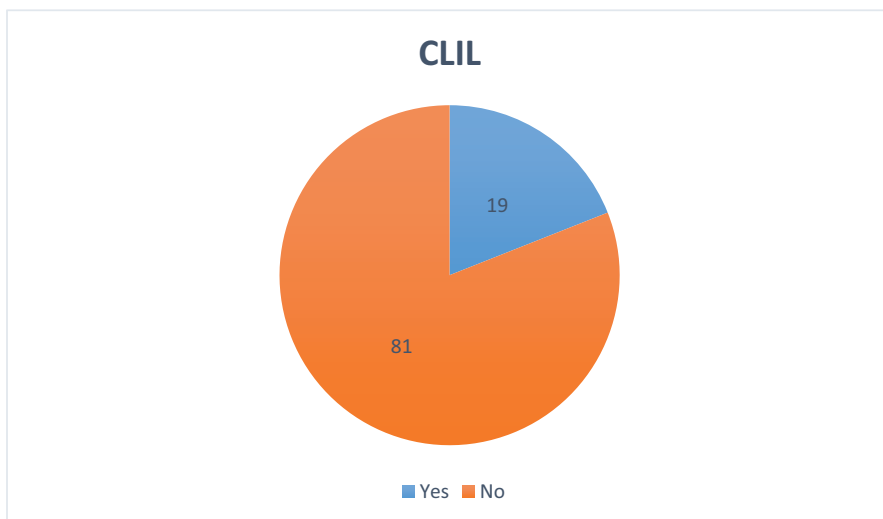
Source: Compiled by author.

FIGURE II. Type of subject
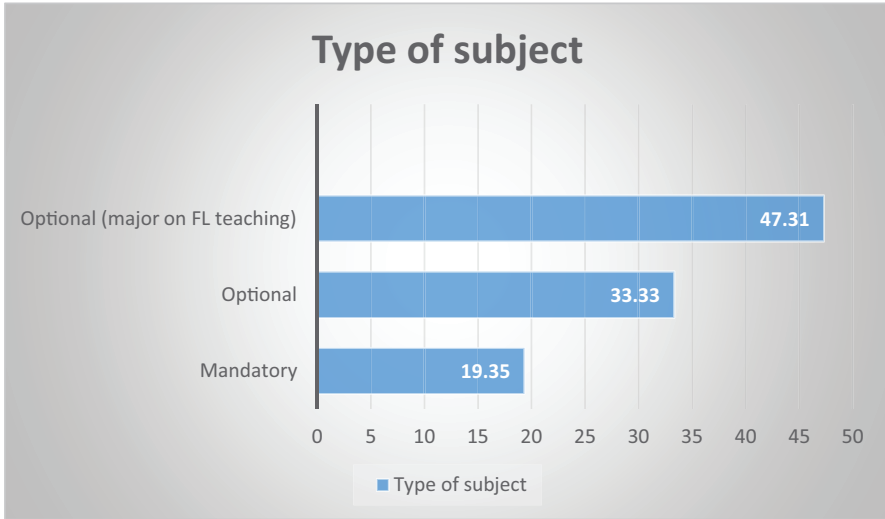
Source: Compiled by author.

FIGURE III. Number of ECTS
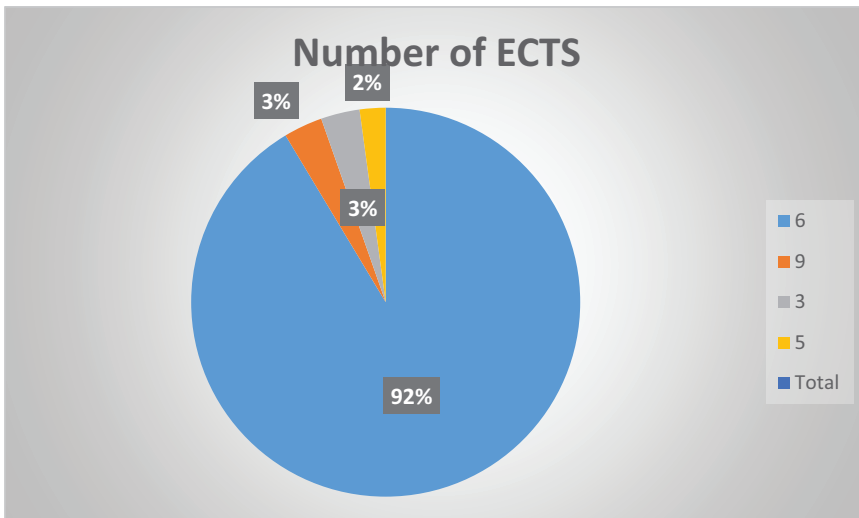
Source: Compiled by author.

FIGURE IV. Academic year
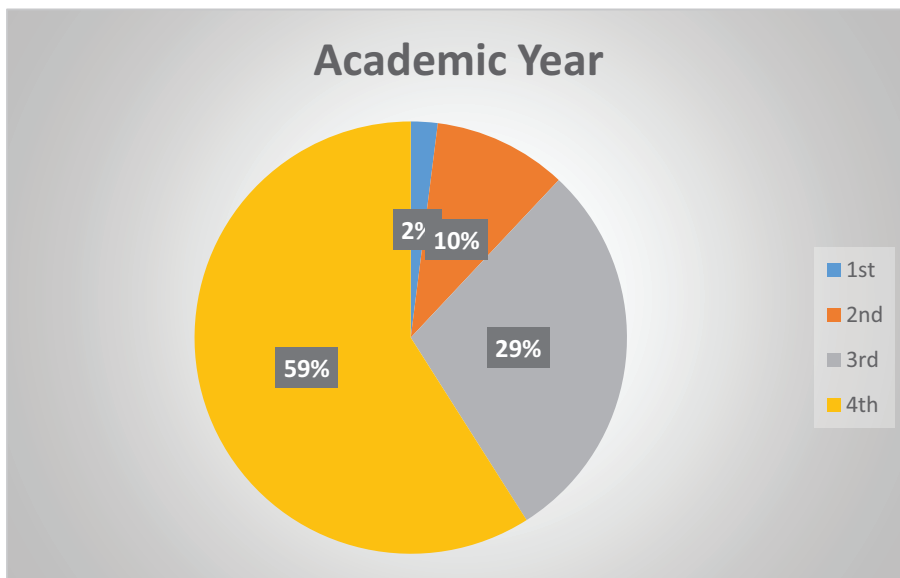
Source: Compiled by author.

not surprising as most of them are optional subjects which are usually offered in the last two years of undergraduate programmes in Spain.

As far as the language of instruction is concerned, there is a clear predominance of English over other languages which resonates with the idea of English as lingua franca (Figure V). Moreover, according to the language scale of proficiency of the CEFR, most of the courses mention the intermediate level (B2: 32%; B1: 27%) in their teaching guides (Figure VI). It bears noting that in Spain students are supposed to finish their upper secondary education with an intermediate level in their first foreign language.

Despite the fact the degree of primary education is taught in the faculty of education (social sciences), 43% of the professors in charge of these courses belong to humanities departments while almost 28% are part of FL didactics departments. The remaining 29% classified as "other" may have provided further information of the topic (Figure VII). However, in most of these cases the department in charge of these courses was not specified in the teaching guide.

FIGURE V. Language of instruction
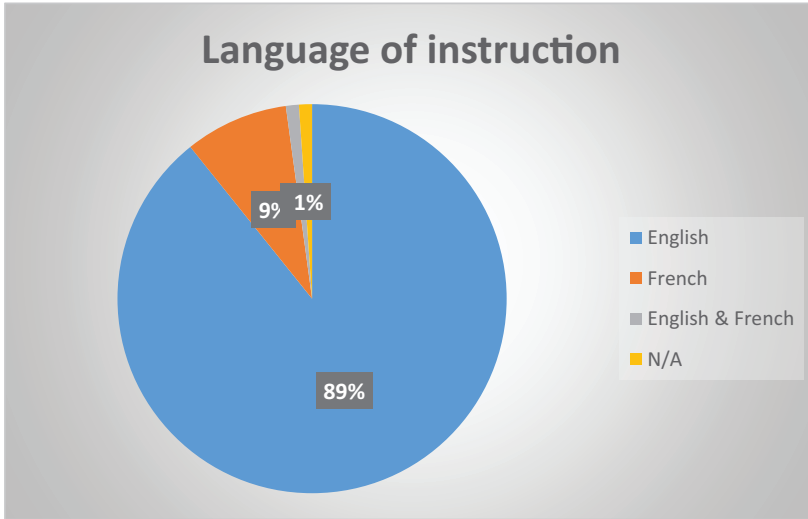
Source: Compiled by author.

FIGURE VI. CEFR level
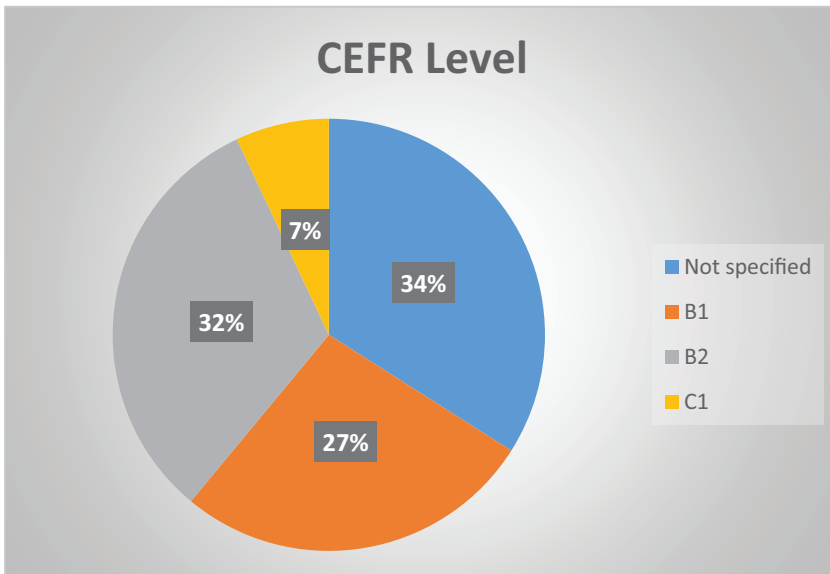
Source: Compiled by author.

FIGURE VII. Professors' Department
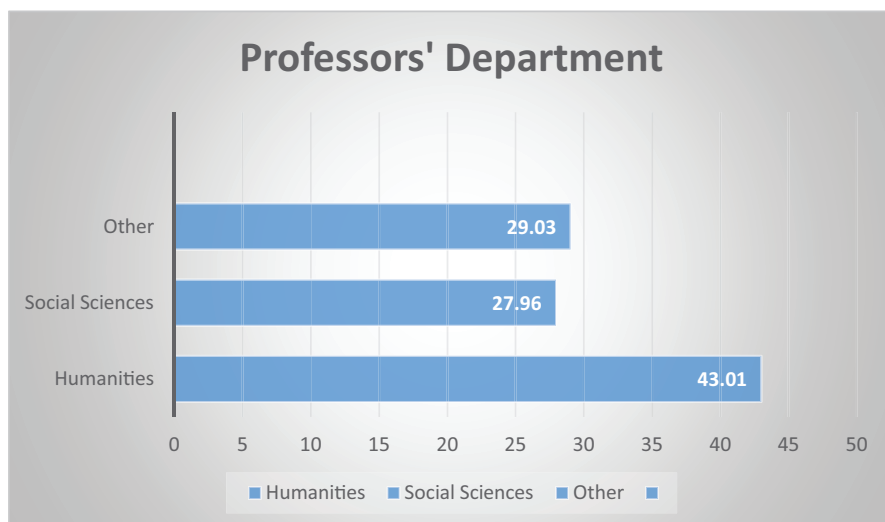
Source: Compiled by author.

Competences

Following Pérez Cañado's (2018) classification, the first competence to consider is the linguistic competence. It is not surprising to see that 89.2% of teaching guides work on the linguistic competence as one of the key factors in pre-service teacher training. This is so because we are analysing subjects that mention CLIL explicitly and language is one of the cornerstones of this approach. It also bears noting that the educational framework concerning CLIL requires teachers to have language certificate equivalent to, at least, a B2. Interestingly, the most frequent language level of proficiency found in the qualitative data analysis was 'B1' (50 documents). Furthermore, the analysis of this competence emphasises the communicative approach since several keywords evolve around the topic: 'understand' (f=81), 'oral/orally'(f=82/101), 'express'(f=86), 'communication' (f=83), 'situations'(f=88) and 'written'(f=87).

Regarding the pedagogical competence, 97.8% of teaching guides work on this, being the most frequent competence found in this analysis. This is to be expected due to the pedagogical nature of the degree these teaching guides belong. The descriptors for this competence focus on the

pre-service teacher as a conduct for the 'curriculum' (f=80) with emphasis on 'contents' (f=77) and 'competences' (f=71), as well as their role as evaluators ('evaluate': f=86) and designers ('design': f=57).

The organisational competence appears in 54.8% of teaching guides and highlights aspects such as the 'ability' (f=62) to adapt to the 'classroom' (f=72) and students' 'level' (f=66). It is also striking that several keywords from this data set such as 'contents' (f=93) often appear on the aforementioned pedagogical competence: this may be because the descriptors of both competences are of a similar nature as both focus on the practical aspects of teaching practice.

Surprisingly, although all the analysed teaching guides mention CLIL (and some are focused solely on the CLIL approach), competence wise, only 3.2% could be classified into the scientific competence established in Pérez Cañado (2018). This opens up a debate on how CLIL is seen at higher education: as a content element rather than a teaching practice that requires a competence-based view of the issue. From the data gathered, two of these teaching guides endeavour to teach pre-service teachers how 'to design CLIL projects' and the last one 'to know CLIL terminology.'

The interpersonal and collaborative competencies is found on 58.1% of teaching guides, which is striking bearing in mind the emphasis put on collaboration among teaching professionals in these last decades. In the same line, in the qualitative analysis of this set keywords such as 'cooperative', 'team' and 'collaboration' do not appear as much as expected (f=60, f=50 and f=10 respectively). In contrast, 'autonomous' is found in 100 documents. In regard to interpersonal skills, issues such as classroom atmosphere are the main ideas found on this data reading: 'problems' (f=82), 'develop' (f=76), 'situations' (f=75), 'boost' (f=78) and 'different' (f=63).

Having considered the importance of a lifelong learning experience based on continuous improvement of the teaching practice, the reflective and developmental competencies found in these documents underline 'practice' (f=116), 'autonomous' (f=118), 'skills' (f=80) and 'reflect' (f=73). Additionally, keywords such as 'develop' and 'development' appear frequently (f=66 and f=72 respectively). Quantitative wise, this is one of the competences found the most in this study (77.4% of teaching guides). This bodes well for the development of this competence and the idea of lifelong and reflective learning/teaching among future Primary school teachers.

It is worth mentioning that not all the competences found in the teaching guides could be classified under Pérez Cañado's (2018) classification as 51.6% of teaching guides contain learning goals related to the idea of education as a social agent ('contexts': f=89; 'social' =61; 'socials': f=51), critical thinking ('develop': f=113; 'boost': f= 66) and cultural expressions ('cultural': f=66; 'literature': f=45).

Contents

As it has been mentioned, CLIL teacher training at higher education is still very much focused on contents over competences. Therefore, in order to provide an overview on this matter, it is necessary to analyse the contents of these teaching guides. In this analysis, we can distinguish between CLIL-specific courses and other courses that mention CLIL. Overall, 23 teaching guides belong to CLIL-specific courses while the remaining 70 teaching guides just list it with other contents (e.g., Didactics of Foreign Language courses).

Following the thematic analysis, the contents of the 93 teaching guides analysed were classified as:

- Syntactic-discourse: contents on this classification rely on grammar points, lexical fields, cohesive devices, phonetics, etc. This is clearly related to the part of the linguistic competence which does not deal with the action-oriented approach and emphasises language form.

- Pedagogical: closely related to the pedagogical and organisational competencies, the contents on this classification deal with the teaching practice in regard to design, evaluation, planning, classroom management, methodological issues, etc.

- Competence-based: we refer here to the communicative skills established by the CEFRCV (Council of Europe, 2020) which are present in the content section of the teaching guides. These contents are also related to the linguistic competence with emphasis on language function: 'expressing their opinions', 'summarising', 'giving instructions', etc.

- CLIL-focused: BICS/CALPS, LOTS/HOTS, scaffolding, integrated learning are some of the contents found on this section (to be analysed later).

Overall, the syntactic-discourse category is the least frequently found on the contents for these teaching guides, represents 16.3% of the total data set. Similarly, the competence-based category represents 22.2%: both categories are related to the linguistic competence. This can be interpreted in two ways: on the one hand, the high frequency of the linguistic competence is further backed up by the contents; on the other hand, the limits of what competence-based learning and content-based learning are still blurred. Once again, catering to the pedagogical nature of the degree, pedagogical contents are the most frequently found among teaching guides with a total of 32.5%. In regard to the pedagogical contents concerning CLIL, 29.1% are classified as such (Table I).

Those teaching guides which were found to have CLIL-focused contents were further analysed into the following sections in order to determine what is taught about this approach (Table II):

- ■ 4 C's (Coyle et al. 2010): contents related to the four pillars of CLIL (Cognition, Culture, Content, Communication). Despite the widespread nature of the 4C's among academics, it is shocking that this type of content is only present in 17.2% of the total.

- ■ Plurilingualism: although the implementation of CLIL has been linked to the promotion of plurilingualism, contents related to plurilingualism are only found in 9.2% of the teaching guides. Some of the contents found were: 'intercultural axis', 'introduction to bilingual education' 'bilingual classrooms' 'understanding bi/multilingualism'.

- ■ Planning: in line with the high frequency of the pedagogical competence and keywords related to design and curriculum,

TABLE I. Content Analysis

		N	Percentage	Case percentage
Content Analysis	Syntactic-discourse	33	16.3%	37.5%
	Pedagogical	66	32.5%	75%
	Competence-based	45	22.2%	51.1%
	CLIL-focused	59	29.1%	67%
Total		203	100%	230.7%

Source: Compiled by author.

TABLE II. CLIL-focused Contents

		N	Percentage	Case percentage
CLIL-focused Contents	4 C's	15	17.2%	62.5%
	Plurilingualism	8	9.2%	33.3%
	Planning	23	26.4%	95.8%
	Assessment	23	26.4%	95.8%
	Resources	18	20.7%	75%
Total		87	100%	362.5%

Source: own elaboration.

contents such as 'design a CLIL project', 'Project-Based Learning' appear in 26.4% of the total.

■ Assessment: similarly to the previous section, assessment in CLIL is present in 26.4% of the data. Once again, this is explained by the fact that assessment is also a key element of the most recurrent competence: the pedagogical one.

■ Resources: contents related to the creation/analysis of activities and resources that can be used for the CLIL lesson are found up to a 20.7%. It is worth mentioning that only 6 teaching guides (26.08% of the CLIL-focused teaching guides) deal with the use of ICT.

Discussion

The analysis of the aforementioned teaching guides sheds light on a lack of CLIL pre-service teaching training, which is in line with Morton's (2019) study where in-service teachers reported the same. Furthermore, the predominance of English as the language of instruction in these guides is outstanding. In fact, it represents 90% of the total, which goes against the idea of the CEFRCV (Council of Europe, 2020) of equality among languages and setting aside 'dominant' languages. What is more, this focus on English would be understood as a bilingual practice rather than a plurilingual one.

Competence-wise, this study shows a clear imbalance among the competences set by Pérez Cañado (2018) on what a CLIL teacher should master. Unsurprisingly, there is an obvious emphasis on the linguistic competence focused on the communicative approach (specifically on working the four language skills) which could be directly related to the area of expertise of the professors in charge of those courses (mostly from the humanities areas). Although language is indeed part of the CLIL approach, the predominance of the linguistic competence could stem from the misclassification of this method as a language learning approach rather than an integrated one: however, further studies need to be carried out.

As expected, the pedagogical competence is found in the majority of the teaching guides which bodes well for the practical implications of teaching at primary school where different learning environments and resources are present. In contrast, the organisational and interpersonal and collaborative competencies report a low score: we presume the organisational competence may be worked more directly during internship periods as it is better acquired when working in context on a specific classroom. Concerning the interpersonal competence, it is especially necessary if we consider the challenges using a FL may have on students cognitively and affectively, thus, building rapport with them is something CLIL teachers should be able to accomplish. Similarly, collaboration among departments is fundamental when dealing with this approach: it is because of this that it is quite concerning that the collaborative competence does not present higher scores.

Despite the fact that all analysed teaching guides mention CLIL explicitly, it seems striking that only three out of these work on the scientific competence. Since this competence is directly related to this approach and its main principles, it would be expected that all those courses that mention CLIL would have competences or learning goals related to this matter. A possible explanation for this could be CLIL is seen as a content-based issue rather than a competence-based one. This resonates with the findings of this study concerning the contents of the teaching guides.

The analysis of the contents revealed that there is a tendency in the teaching guides to include competence-based elements to the contents section. This is why there is a clear link between some of the contents and the classification of competence (e.g., the competence-based contents are directly related to the linguistic competence). Moreover, an overall focus on pedagogical contents both of a general nature (classified

as 'pedagogical') and CLIL-related (classified as 'CLIL-focused') has been reported.

In regard to RQ 2, the analysis of the contents showed that Coyle's (2010) 4 C's, which are the cornerstones of this approach, are not to be found in most teaching guides, which resonates with the results found for the scientific competence. If future teachers are not aware of the idiosyncrasies of this approach it is quite likely that the CLIL-lessons they may teach would end up being 'translated' versions of the usual non-CLIL lessons. The absence of more contents related to plurilingualism does not cater to the education curriculum which has established the plurilingual and pluricultural competence as a key competence for lifelong learning. What is more, plurilingualism would help future teachers to reject the idea of compartmentalised learning and to encourage integrated learning into their teaching practice. In addition, plurilingual approaches would foster the presence of several languages of instruction apart from English. Practical aspects of the teaching practice such as planning, assessment and resources are found in most of the analysed contents. This is positive as it caters to the pedagogical, organizational and reflective competencies. The fact that these contents are specific to the CLIL approach can only help to better prepared teachers of CLIL practices.

Conclusions

All in all, the pre-service teacher training in CLIL and the current educational paradigm are at odds on several issues: language training seems to be an issue (Cabezuelo Gutiérrez and Fernández Fernández, 2014). Even though most autonomous communities require CLIL teachers to have a B2 or even a C1 certificate, the teaching guides analysed still mention a B1 level in 27% of the cases. This creates a void that higher education training does not fill. Another issue to consider is the optional nature of these subjects: most of them are optional subjects taught in the major in FL teaching. Therefore, generalist teachers do not receive this training. This leads to a bleak panorama: at school level, CLIL subjects are taught by generalist teachers, who need to rely on their university training to put CLIL into practice. However, as it has been proved, most of this training is focused on FL teachers, who will most likely not be CLIL teachers themselves.

This research points out to a lack of CLIL training among pre-service primary teachers in Spanish public funding universities based on their teaching guides. However, one of the limitations of the study is the fact that the teaching guides may not correspond entirely to the actual teaching practice: this could only be further analysed by carrying out systematic observation of the aforementioned lessons. Furthermore, some subjects listed in the study programme concerning the object of the study were not available, hence, impossible to analyse. Further research may include studies on pre-service teachers' perceptions on their CLIL training and their knowledge of said approach. Other possible lines of research entail the analysis of the whole data set in regard to plurilingual training.

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Cliling ELT: The effect of the Literacy Approach on students' motivation

Adaptando la enseñanza del inglés al enfoque AICLE: El efecto del Literacy Approach en la motivación de los estudiantes

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Abstract

This article examines the effect of the application of the Literacy Approach, an approach to English language teaching developed in the context of CLIL programs, on student motivation. The Literacy Approach was implemented in the English lessons in year 5 (N=50) and 6 (N=36) of primary education in a medium-sized charter school with a CLIL program in a village in the north of Madrid. Motivation analyses were carried out using a mixed approach (quantitative and qualitative), studying this construct in various ways: firstly, studying motivation itself in a holistic view. Secondly, distinguishing between its extrinsic and intrinsic components. Lastly, focusing on how this construct evolves in special groups of learners: those with a higher level of English and those who struggle learning the language. Results seems to reflect a positive impact of the Literacy Approach on students' motivation: an overall high level of motivation is seen throughout the academic year. The highest impact can be seen in the more internalized types of motivation, very much in line with what had been found for CLIL programs in an earlier research project. The increase in this more internalized motivation is especially noticeable in the weaker students in the group.

Keywords: Literacy Approach, ELT, primary education, motivation, CLIL.

Resumen

Este artículo examina el efecto de la implementación del Literacy Approach, un enfoque de enseñanza del inglés desarrollado en el contexto de los programas AICLE, sobre la motivación de los estudiantes. El Literacy Approach se implementó en las clases de inglés de 5º (N=50) y 6º (N=36) de primaria en un colegio concertado de tamaño medio con un programa AICLE en un pueblo del norte de la Comunidad de Madrid. El análisis de la motivación se llevó a cabo mediante un enfoque mixto (cuantitativo y cualitativo), estudiando este constructo de varias maneras: en primer lugar, centrándonos en la motivación en sí misma desde una perspectiva holística. En segundo lugar, distinguiendo entre sus componentes extrínsecos e intrínsecos. Por último, centrándonos en cómo evoluciona este constructo en grupos especiales de alumnos: los que tienen un mayor nivel de inglés y los que tienen dificultades para aprender el idioma. Los resultados parecen reflejar un impacto positivo del "Literacy Approach" en la motivación de los alumnos: se observa un alto nivel general de motivación a lo largo del curso académico. El mayor impacto se observa en los tipos de motivación más interiorizados, muy en línea con lo que se había encontrado para los programas AICLE en un proyecto de investigación anterior. El aumento de esta motivación de carácter más intrínseco es especialmente notable en los alumnos más flojos del grupo.

Palabras clave: Literacy Approach, enseñanza del inglés como lengua extranjera, educación primaria, motivación, AICLE.

Introduction

For over two decades, CLIL programs have been implemented in many European countries and beyond, with good results in increasing students' foreign language proficiency. However, beyond this expected, and rather obvious, effect on students' language levels, the approach has also shown an impact on teaching methodology, especially in more traditional teaching contexts like Spain. Since the language of instruction in the content subjects is not the students' mother tongue, CLIL requires teachers to put their students more clearly at the centre of their teaching (Madrid & Pérez Cañado, 2018) making sure that they scaffold their understanding while at the same time providing students with the linguistic tools necessary for their learning and interaction in class (Coyleet al., 2010). Interestingly, and despite the fact that the foreign language is central for the decision to set up a CLIL program, foreign language teaching seems not to have been impacted by its implementation: foreign language lessons

have stayed much the same and research has not focused on the effect students' increased language skills have on them (Halbach, 2014). While the impact of CLIL on content-subject teaching is most obvious, leaving foreign language teaching out of the equation makes little sense since the students come to their foreign language classes with different needs, different expectations and a different motivation to those of their peers in monolingual schools.

This article reports on the results of the implementation of the Literacy Approach (Halbach, 2022), a new approach to teaching foreign languages developed in the context of CLIL programs to meet the specific needs of students for whom the foreign language is the door to learning in their content subjects. While the effect of the Literacy Approach was measured in relation to different aspects (reading skills, writing skills and motivation), here the focus is on the impact of the approach on students' motivation throughout an entire academic year.

The Literacy Approach

For students in CLIL programs, the foreign language is no longer just that, a "foreign" language. Rather, it is the tool that will allow them to access knowledge and to express their understandings in the content subjects, or, in other words, the tool that will make it possible for them to succeed academically. Even though the more hands-on, student-centred, language-sensitive methodology proposed to teach content subjects in a foreign language (Pérez Cañado, 2018) will go some way to bridge the language gap, it is vital that students have the chance to develop their communication strategies and understanding of the language.

Taking these needs as a starting point, and in line with other approaches that place literacy development at the heart of learning like Pluriliteracies Teaching for Deeper Learning (Coyle & Meyer, 2021) or Text-based Teaching (Mickan, 2012), the Literacy Approach, developed for language teaching in CLIL contexts, works on developing students' ability to understand and skilfully produce a range of text types in different modes. Each unit will guide students to producing a specific type of text in a particular mode. By focusing on students' output, the Literacy Approach uses a backward planning model, where determining the final outcome of a unit is the first step in the planning process. It is from this

final product that the contents and the procedures are derived (Richards, 2013).

To learn about the specificities of the text type and its mode, students will use a model text as a starting point for their work. This model text is analysed at different levels, including a focus on the structure of the text and such specific features, as, for example, the use of image and music to support the message. Understanding of the input text at different levels paves the way for students' own production, which is worked towards through a carefully sequenced learning path which assures the necessary understanding and practice for all students to successfully produce the final text. At the same time, the learning path guarantees that all the tasks done in class are meaningful for students, since they all converge in the final task. This means that students immediately see the usefulness of what they learn.

Making students aware of the specific characteristics of different text types and modes will increase their ability to both understand and produce texts as tools for meaning-making. In addition, working at the level of text allows language to be contextualized meaningfully and the different communicative skills to be integrated in a natural way as texts can be listened to, viewed or read, and identifying their characteristics will involve a great deal of discussion. Students don't practice the communicative skills in isolation as "listening tasks", for example, but do so because the work on the model text or on the production of their own text requires using them.

The Literacy Approach has been used in primary schools in Poland, Slovenia and Spain, and participating teachers have designed a number of units based on different types of text for different levels. While the results so far are very promising and teachers experience working with the Literacy Approach as challenging but satisfying, its effect had not been evaluated in any systematic fashion, neither as regards its learning outcomes nor how it impacts students' motivation. The latter aspect is the focus of this article.

CLIL and motivation

The implementation of CLIL programs has long been related to heightened levels of motivation. Starting with Seikkula-Leino's (2007) study on motivation in Finland, studies by researchers in various European countries (Lasagabaster, 2011; Mede and Çinar, 2019; Navarro Pablo and

García Jiménez, 2018; San Isidro and Lasagabaster, 2020; Shepherd and Ainsworth, 2017) have all proved this effect of CLIL.

However, a number of researchers have recently questioned whether the increased motivation that characterises students in CLIL programs can actually be attributed to the program (Dallinger et al., 2018; Mearns, et al., 2020; Rumlich, 2017). According to Rumlich (2017) the purported effect of CLIL may be due to the fact that only the best and most motivated students choose to become part of CLIL streams, so that rather than being an effect of the program, increased motivation may be an effect of the selection of students allowed to join CLIL programs.

In most contexts, the debate about whether motivation is the result of CLIL or a characteristic of CLIL learners prior to entering the program is difficult to resolve since most research lacks the necessary baseline data. However, with CLIL programs in the Madrid region, where this study takes place, becoming widespread and increasingly starting at age 3, students or parents are less likely to choose the CLIL program due to their higher motivation. In this sense, it is reasonable to assume that the results obtained in primary education schools in Madrid can be attributed to the special characteristics of CLIL.

Most of the research on motivation in CLIL is based on the use of questionnaires and compares CLIL students with similar groups of students in non-CLIL groups at a given moment in time. There are hardly any studies that look at the development of motivation within a group of students over time, with the notable exception of Lasagabaster and Doiz's (2017) study which indicated that motivation in CLIL programs seems to vane over time, and San Isidro and Lasagabaster's (2020) with the contrary result. This lack of data from longitudinal studies constitutes an important gap to be filled by research, especially since

> [m]otivation is not stable but changes dynamically over time as a result of personal progress as well as multi-level interactions with environmental factors and other individual difference variables. It is therefore questionable how accurately a one-off examination (e.g. the administration of a questionnaire at a single point in time) can represent the motivational basis of a prolonged behavioural sequence such as L2 learning. (Dörnyei and Ushioda, 2021, p. 179)

Even though this multifaceted and dynamic nature of motivation makes establishing a cause-effect relationship difficult, Lasagabaster

(2020) ventures to propose three main reasons for the positive impact of CLIL on motivation:

> CLIL provides a cognitively challenging situation which is associated with a meaningful use of the foreign language and an improved sense of achievement. Secondly, CLIL seems to promote fruitful discussion on pedagogic issues and practices. And thirdly, it provides teachers and students with a sense of ownership of their teaching practice and the learning process (p. 16)

In line with the last aspect mentioned, ownership, Halbach and Iwaniec (2022) relate the higher levels of motivation found in CLIL programs to the fact that it caters for students' basic needs of autonomy, competence and relatedness, as identified in Deci and Ryan's (1985)self-determination theory. Thus, the fact that CLIL seems to cover these fundamental needs allows students to identify with the teaching goals of bilingual education in a different way than is typical in monolingual teaching (Buckingham, et al., 2022), and thus to "own" them.

This identification with the teaching goals of a program is further explained by Ryan and Deci's (2020) continuum of extrinsic forms of motivation where the more the student internalizes the teaching goals, the weaker the effect of external control and the more self-regulated the students' motivation becomes (see figure I).

It remains to be seen whether the Literacy Approach, as an approach to teaching English in CLIL contexts, can have a similar effect on students to that observed in the CLIL programs themselves.

Method

The study

During the academic year 2021-2022, the Literacy Approach was implemented in the English lessons in year 5 (N=50) and 6 (N=36) of primary education in a medium-sized charter school with a CLIL program in a village in the north of Madrid. Both year groups were divided into two groups (A and B) which were taught by the same teacher. The teacher in charge of year 5 had received some training in the Literacy Approach through

Strongest 5th grade students
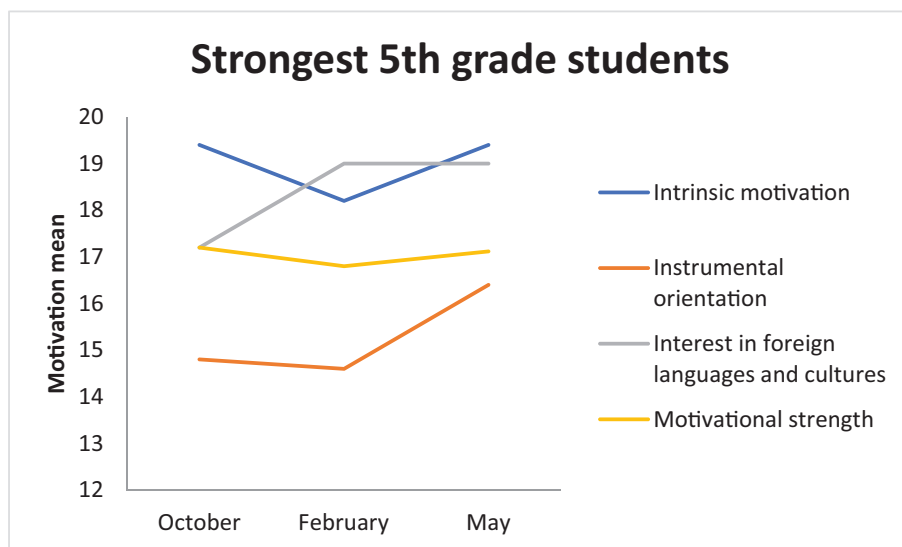
Source: Compiled by the authors.

participation in an Erasmus+ Project on the topic and had had some prior experience with it, while the teacher in year 6 was new to the approach. Both teachers were participating in an in-house professional development seminar on the Literacy Approach during the academic year. Students in year 5 had already been taught using the Literacy Approach in year 4, while for year 6 students this way of teaching English was completely new.

Research questions and hypotheses

The main question guiding the overall research project was "What is the effect of using a Literacy Approach for teaching English in a primary school with a CLIL project?", and, as mentioned above, this question was broken down to focus on different aspects related to students' learning and their motivation. In this article the focus is on the latter, and thus the research questions is:

RQ: How does using the Literacy Approach to learn English impact students' motivation?

Based on previous informal evaluations of the effect of the approach and on the review of prior studies on motivation, and specifically motivation in CLIL programs, we formulated the following hypotheses:

H1: the motivation of students exposed to the Literacy Approach will be high throughout the academic year

H2: there will be a transformation of students' primary motivators over the course of the year, showing an increase in their Intrinsic motivation according to Ryan and Deci's (2020) taxonomy

H3: motivation will depend on the language learning ability of the students, with greater growth in the group of more advantaged students compared to those with greater learning difficulties.

Research design

This research has been approached from a descriptive observational point of view in which the evolution of students' motivation to study English through the Literacy Approach was investigated over the course of an academic year. The first two hypotheses of this study can be addressed from this observational perspective using a combination of quantitative and qualitative data. In the case of the last hypothesis, it has been addressed from a mixed design (cross-sectional and longitudinal) which compares the evolution of motivation in students who were classified by their teachers as generally "high performers" and "struggling students". Five strong students and three weaker students were selected among the 50 students in grade 5. It was not possible to do the same analysis for year 6, as in this case students had not written their names on the questionnaires.

Research instruments

The instrument used for this research is a motivation questionnaire (see Appendix 1). It is divided into three parts, with the first measuring some demographic variables such as gender and age, but also issues related to language use in students' lives such as the languages spoken at home or visits to English-speaking countries. The second part of the questionnaire, a five-point Likert-scale with 26 items, was taken from Doiz et al.

(2014) and measured the constructs of instrumental and intrinsic motivation, motivational strength, anxiety, parental / family support and interest in foreign languages and cultures. Items k, r and v were reverse coded to avoid students' mechanically choosing a given answer to the items. The final part of the questionnaire contained three open-ended questions asking what students liked best and least in their English lessons, and giving them the opportunity to add any further thoughts about their lessons. The questionnaire was piloted with a group of seven 1st year secondary students from the same school and, based on their feedback, adjustments were made to assure its clarity. The final questionnaire was completed by students in years 5 and 6 on three occasions at the start (October), middle (February) and end (May) of the academic year.

The first two parts of the questionnaires were coded and analysed with the help of SPSS version 27.0. During the analysis stage it was decided to eliminate the scales for anxiety and parental support as results did not yield any interesting information about motivation in the way addressed in this study. This is consistent with the results in Doiz et al. (2014) who found that the two student groups in their study (CLIL and non-CLIL) did not vary significantly in these two dimensions. Considering this, we finally had a tool composed of 4 sub-scales. Three of them were made up of 4 items, so they are on a 4-20 scale, while the "Motivational strength" scale was made up of 5 items. A weighting was performed to transform the "Motivational strength" scale into a 4-20 scale giving it the same weight as the rest of the aspects measured with each of the motivation scales. Thus, we have a 16-80 scale questionnaire which measures the general motivation of the students, and which is divided into 4 scales (4-20): "Intrinsic motivation", "Instrumental orientation", "Interest in foreign languages and cultures" and "Motivational strength".

To address the first two hypotheses, a descriptive analysis of the means obtained by the different groups of students in each of the variables of interest was carried out. For the study of the third hypothesis, a descriptive analysis of the same nature was carried out and, additionally, a 2-way ANOVA with repeated measures on one factor was applied in order to study whether differences observed in the evolution of the students' intrinsic motivation throughout the course were significant.

The open questions yielded a dataset of 8037 words (what I like most: 3504; what I like least: 2504; other: 2029), which was analysed using NVivo software for coding. A mixture of emic and etic processes was

used to identify the themes, as the attributes of the different regulatory styles in Ryan and Deci's taxonomy were used as a first set of codes (see Table I), which was then complemented with the themes emerging from reading the students' answers. Thus, the different regulatory styles were related to the following themes:

TABLE I. Key words associated with the different regulatory styles

Regulatory style	External regulation	Introjection	Identification	Integration	Intrinsic motivation
Key words	Marks Importance of English for their future	What others think Self-awareness Shame	Learning aims Identification with learning aims	Personal importance of English	Enjoyment of learning activities Satisfaction with learning achievements
Locus of control	**External**	**Somewhat external**	**Somewhat internal**	**Internal**	**Internal**

Source: Compiled by the authors.

Results

To evaluate students' general motivation levels throughout the course, the results derived from the analysis of motivation in the 5th and 6th grade groups are presented separately, distinguishing between the different scales in questionnaire. The overall motivation as the sum of the scores obtained on the 4 scales was also calculated. The results obtained are shown in the Table II below.

As we can see, the general motivation of the students throughout the course remains relatively stable with only very small increases between the three moments in which measurements were taken (October, February and May). The scores obtained in the 5th grade group are 62.68, 62.35 and 63.43 in October, February and May, respectively. The scores obtained in the 6th grade group were slightly higher, at 64.99, 64.80 and 65.31 in the same months. Bearing in mind that the scale that defines total motivation has a range of scores between 16 and 80, the general levels of motivation are very high.

If we analyze the results of the different scales of motivation in both groups, we find that in both cases, "Interest in foreign languages and cultures" is the scale that obtains the highest scores throughout the course (17.09 in the 5th grade and 17.74 in the 6th grade), while the scale of "Instrumental orientation" shows the lowest scores (14.71 in the 5th grade and 14.81 in the 6th grade), with a difference of almost 3 points between them. In the middle, we can see the scales for "Intrinsic motivation" and "Motivational strength" (see Table II).

As a result of the high levels of motivation seen in all the different scores, between 14.63 and 18.03 points on a 20-point scale, variations during the course are only very slight. Thus, in the 6th grade, we can observe slight increases in "Interest in foreign languages and cultures", "Instrumental orientation" and "Intrinsic motivation", although the variations observed are very modest, while "Motivational strength" remains stable. In year 5 we observe almost constant scores in "Motivational strength" and "Instrumental orientation" and "Interest in foreign languages and cultures", while at the same time there is a small increase in "Intrinsic motivation" at the end of the academic year.

Students' responses to the open questions, confirm the high levels of motivation and highlight the strength of their more internally regulated and intrinsic motivation. For example, the concept of "mark" (nota or

TABLE II. Student's motivation averages per year

Grade	Motivation	October	February	May	*Global*
5°	Intrinsic motivation	15.96	15.61	16.78	*16.12*
	Instrumental orientation	14.80	14.67	14.66	*14.71*
	Interest in foreign languages and cultures	17.00	17.24	17.04	*17.09*
	Motivational strength	14.92	14.83	14.95	*14.90*
	Total	**62.68**	**62.35**	**63.43**	**62.82**
6°	Intrinsic motivation	17.03	17.03	17.46	*17.17*
	Instrumental orientation	14.63	14.64	15.16	*14.81*
	Interest in foreign languages and cultures	17.58	17.61	18.03	*17.74*
	Motivational strength	15.75	15.52	15.50	*15.59*
	Total	**64.99**	**64.80**	**66.15**	**65.31**

Source: Compiled by the authors.

calificación) only appears twice in the whole dataset showing that the extrinsic motivator of rewards or punishment plays a very minor role for students. The other more extrinsic motivator of the importance of English for students' future is a little more present in comments such as "we learn a lot of English for our future[1]" (year 6, October, what I like most), but there are no more than 5 mentions of the word "future" in the whole dataset and most of them come from the first set of questionnaires in October. This would coincide with the relatively lower scores given to "Instrumental motivation".

Not surprisingly, given the age of students, self-awareness is a theme that occurs fairly often in their responses, especially in connection with speaking in front of the class, and this is an issue mentioned throughout the year by a small number of students who express their fear of "Having to speak in front of the class because I am afraid of making a mistake" (year 5, June) since "sometimes when you mispronounce a word they laugh at you, but not always" (year 6, June). However, for other students, speaking is among their preferred activities, even if they get nervous: "Even though I get nervous when I speak, I like it when we have to speak" (year 6, June, other). This comment is interesting because it shows how in this particular case the enjoyment of the activity (speaking) overrides the students' self-consciousness and nervousness. For other students, speaking is a source of conflict not because of their self-consciousness, but because they feel they do not get enough chances to speak, as expressed in this student's complaint: "That some classmates go on speaking and don't allow me to speak" (year 5, October, what I like least).

A number of comments from students denote the identification with the learning goals of the subject, for example by valuing "that we do groupwork to understand the subject better" (year 6, February, what I like most), or mentioning that the Literacy Approach helps them learn much more than the methodology used in earlier years ("we learn much better in this way, at least I do" (year 6, June, what I like most). In general, the word stem "apren" (aprender, aprendemos, etc.) occurs 83 times in the question about what students like most, and 33 times in the space for other comments, and only 9 times in the question about what students like least. The negative comments are related mostly to taking exams, but also to aspects such as having to learn phrasal verbs. This awareness of

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[1] All quotes have been translated from Spanish by the authors.

their own learning and identification with the learning goals goes hand I hand with other comments where students express very personal learning goals such as "I like watching series and films about cars without subtitles and meet my favourite actors and to travel to Dallas, Houston and San Antonio and other places in the US" (year 5, October, other comments).

The identification with the subject's learning goals is also related with the high level of "Interest in foreign languages and cultures" reflected in the quantitative data and supported by comments such as "I learn a language and I like learning many languages" (year 5, October, what I like most). However, when analysing the dataset as a whole, comments that mention learning languages as something positive and desirable are rare (only 3 comments in the whole dataset). It seems that the interest in learning languages is more related with learning English specifically: "I love learning English" (year 6, June, other comments). Finally, another token of internal regulation can be found in comments reflecting students' satisfaction with their learning achievement: "Sometimes when I am speaking in English I feel as if I knew a lot" (year 6, February, what I like most), an awareness that is quite remarkable in students who are just entering adolescence.

However, by far the largest number of comments found in the open questions refer to the fact that students enjoy doing the tasks in their English lessons. This is the single most frequent comment, and the word stem "div" (divertido, divierto, etc.) appears 143 times in the data: "They are great fun, and I really like what we are dealing with" (year 5, May, what I like most). It is not only that classes and tasks are fun, but students also value that they involve a meaningful use of the language that is not restricted to learning it: "we go outside and do great unusual activities, even experiments with which we learn" (year 5, October, what I like most). Students derive pleasure and motivation from being able to use English, from learning the language and from the tasks they do in class.

In this sense, students also value teachers' efforts to create these tasks and design their teaching materials: "I love the fact that teachers make an effort to create the books and that they are really cool and fun" (year 6, June, what I like most). They generally express their admiration for their teachers (85 positive comments throughout the academic year), especially year 6 students, who at age 11 could be expected to be more critical: "The teacher, because I never used to like English but the way my

teacher teaches makes me love it because she plays games, treats us well and for me the most important thing is that she explains super-well and when you get home you have already learnt the contents" (year 6, October, what I like most). This effect does no wear off during the course, as might be expected when students get to know a teacher and become used to her methodology.

To look at the motivation in the two groups of more and less advanced students from year 5, the same measures as for the whole group were repeated, analysing the scores of the different motivational scales and the overall score of motivation at the three points in time where data were collected. Looking at the different types of motivation we can, once again, see very high levels in the case of the students with good abilities (14.80 to 19.40 on a scale of 20), and lower levels in the case of the low achievers (between 12.00 and 18.00). In fact, as can be seen in Table III, the average of the motivation scores of the weakest students are 61.87 compared to 69.70 in the group of the more advantaged students, showing a difference of almost 8 points. This difference is reduced slightly during the academic year, as the growth in motivation of the weaker students is 6.27, while in the case of the stronger students we see an increase of 3.32 points. More important than this slight difference in growth is the fact that overall motivation grows throughout the academic year, and that the two groups develop differently.

TABLE III. Average motivation of high and low achievers at the three points of measurement

Group	Motivation	October	February	May	Global
Strongest students (year 5)	Intrinsic motivation	19.40	18.20	19.40	18.87
	Instrumental orientation	14.80	14.60	16.40	15.27
	Interest in foreign languages and cultures	17.20	19.00	19.00	18.40
	Motivational strength	17.20	16.80	17.12	17.04
	Total	*68.60*	*68.60*	*71.92*	*69.70*
Weakest students (year 5)	Intrinsic motivation	12.00	13.67	16.00	13.89
	Instrumental orientation	16.00	15.00	14.67	15.22
	Interest in foreign languages and cultures	17.33	17.33	18.00	17.55
	Motivational strength	13.60	15.47	16.53	15.22
	Total	*58.93*	*61.47*	*65.20*	*61.87*

Source: Compiled by the authors.

The information contained in Table III shows the evolution of the scores on the different aspects of motivation measured over the course of the school year for the two groups of students selected. This evolution can be seen much more clearly in graphs I and II.

The graphs show a combination of almost level lines with others that show some changes over time. Thus, in the case of the stronger students, motivational strength and intrinsic motivation stay stable over time, while the other two scales show some slight positive variations (see Graph I). The first type of motivation that grows is students' "Interest in foreign languages and cultures". As was seen in the case of the whole group, this strengthened interest may be related to the nature of the tasks they do in their English lessons, which this group of students describes as "fun" and "interesting". In fact, students appreciate "that we learn new things I didn't know" (S, May, what I like most), which could refer both to the language or to the topics dealt with, as becomes visible in the analysis of the answers of the whole group.

Instrumental motivation also grows in the case of these stronger students from 14.80 points to 16.40 points, but only in the May questionnaire. This might be related to the external exam students were taking

GRAPH I. Evolution of the motivation scales for 5th grade advanced students

Source: Compiled by the authors.
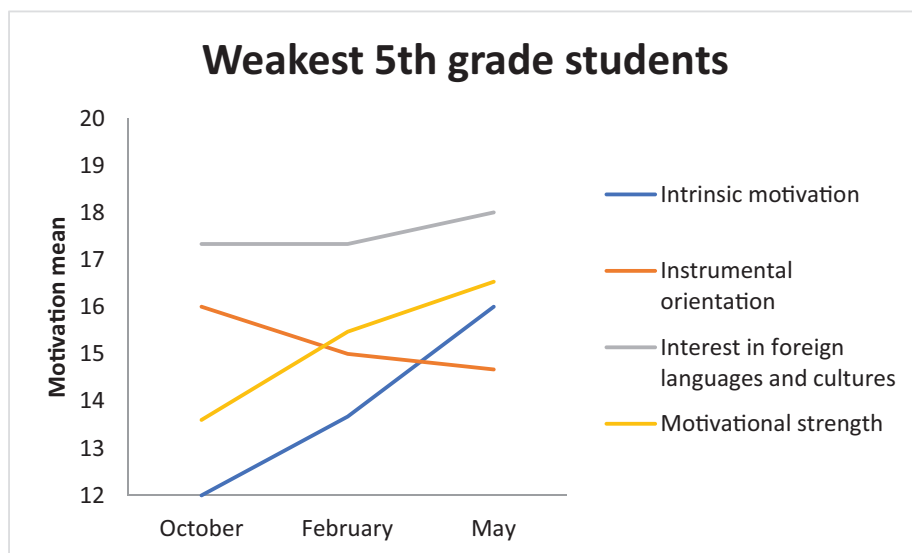
Source: Compiled by the authors.

a few weeks after completing this last questionnaire, or to their greater concern about marks at this time of the academic year, as can be seen in this response to a May questionnaire: "I'd like to have more 'extra tasks' like last year so I can get a better grade" (S, May, what I like least).

The changes over time experienced in the weaker students' motivation are slightly more complex as they show a relatively stable "Interest in foreign languages and cultures", a decreasing "Instrumental motivation" (16.00 to 14.67) and very pronounced rises in "Motivational Strength" (13.60 to 16.53 points) and "Intrinsic motivation" (12.00 to 16.00 points; see Graph II).This increase of 4 points, while still small, is much higher than any other we have been able to observe in the study, and therefore merits further analysis. A 2-way ANOVA was performed and the results show significant differences in the 2 main effects (time, sig.=0.017; group, sig.=0.014) and in the interaction effect (sig.=0.023), which leads us to conclude that there are significant differences in the level of "Intrinsic Motivation" between the three moments at which data were collected (time factor), between both groups (group factor) and in the evolution of intrinsic motivation throughout the course (interaction effect). Looking

at the open questions, we can find that for the weaker students the main motivator is fun, and they explicitly mention "games and songs" as positive. However, towards the end of the academic year, we can observe that these students also explicitly mention learning as something positive about the teaching approach: "That [the lessons] are very entertaining and I learn the same as with a textbook but having fun" (W, May, other comments). Learning is no longer related to fun only but also to achievement, thus aligning students' perceptions with the aims of the subject.

Discussion

Looking at the data collected through the questionnaire we find that, generally speaking, as was expected, students' motivation in relation to their English lessons is very high. In the case of year 5 overall motivation scores remain stable throughout the year, while in year 6 there is a slight but steady increase. This is in consonance with studies that find that motivation in CLIL programs, and specifically motivation towards English in CLIL programs, tends to be high (Shepherd and Ainsworth, 2017). These high motivation levels are maintained throughout the course with slight variations if we look at the groups at large, and greater variations if we look at specific groups of students. This is somewhat counter-intuitive, as motivation is subject to the influence of a great number of factors, and therefore can be expected to vary over time (Lazarides and Raufelder, 2017). At the same time, it coincides with San Isidro and Lasagabaster's (2020) finding of sustained motivation over time in CLIL programs.

Motivation scores for year 6 are slightly higher than for year 5, which could be related to the novelty of the Literacy Approach for this group of students, but the fact that in this group scores also increase during the academic year seems to indicate that they are more than the result of the novelty of the Literacy Approach, as this would wear off over time. Students' answers to the open questions in the questionnaire also stay similarly positive throughout the year, especially in relation to the tasks done in class and the teachers' closeness, work and engagement. This seems to indicate that both the high levels and the slight increase of motivation shown in year 6 can be related to the effect of the Literacy Approach.

Variations in the scores of the different motivational scales during the academic year are too small to draw any conclusions, but looking at the

overall scores we can see that in both groups "Motivational strength" and "Instrumental orientation" score below 16, while "Intrinsic motivation" and especially "Interest in foreign languages and cultures" obtain scores above 16. The two latter types of motivation could be placed at the more internally regulated end of Ryan and Deci's (2020) taxonomy, thus confirming the second hypothesis that predicted the Literacy Approach to foster more intrinsic types of motivation. This is also reflected in students' answers to the open questions in the questionnaire, particularly in their mention of activities as being fun and interesting. Given the characteristics of the Literacy Approach described above, we can also hypothesize that the high interest in foreign languages and cultures could be related to the use of different types of, mostly authentic, texts in different modes. This greater variety of texts not only gives students a more direct access to the culture, but also allows for different learning situations that include fun and interesting activities, and that make it possible to link the English language classes to the real world ("Doing unusual things such as trips or arts" year 5, October, what I like most). It seems that, as Lasagabaster (2020) argued for CLIL, the Literacy Approach allows for "the meaningful use of the foreign language and an improved sense of achievement" (p. 16). While in CLIL the meaningfulness of the language stems from the need to use it to learn the content subjects, in the Literacy Approach it comes from the contextualization of the study of language and the practice of the communicative skills on the path towards skilful production of texts with a clear focus on the success of all students.

This "inclusive" nature of the approach would then account for the performance of the motivation scales in the case of the more advantaged and weaker students studied. As was expected, the more advanced students showed higher levels of motivation, although contrary to our hypothesis, this group does not show a significant increase in their motivation levels throughout the course. The group that does show a significant increase, particularly in the levels of "Intrinsic motivation" is the weaker students. This is interesting, as it goes hand in hand with a decrease in instrumental motivation, as if these weaker students substituted the external motivators, for example the (bad) marks, for more internal ones, in this case the fun nature of the tasks or the feeling that they are capable of succeeding. In terms of the Literacy Approach, this evaluation of tasks as fun and leading to learning could be related with the meaningfulness resulting from the contextualization of all learning and practice within the Literacy Approach. It could also be the result of the orientation of the

approach towards success, since the fact that planning occurs from the end of the teaching process, i.e. from the expected student production, and from there determines the contents and the procedures in the unit of work, makes it possible to equip all learners with the knowledge, understanding and skills they will need for the successful production of the final output. The open nature of this output, in turn, will allow all learners to perform at their level. Thus, both advanced and struggling students will get to the end of a teaching unit having produced a text they can be proud of. That on the way they have also improved their language skills is shown in the results obtained in the reading part of the evaluation project reported in Fernández-Fernández and Halbach (2023).

Going back to the controversy in CLIL whether increased motivation is the result or a condition for participation in the program, we can say, first of all, that in the case of the school in this research, participation in the CLIL program is not limited to the most able students. As regards the Literacy Approach itself, the data suggests that it is particularly motivating for the weaker students, whose intrinsic motivation scores show a greater improvement, and that, above all, it fosters a more integrative type of motivation. Given the higher cognitive demand that is inherent in learning new contents through a foreign language, developing an approach to ELT that motivates students at all levels of ability, promotes the growth of internal motivators and has a positive effect on students' language levels will be particularly important precisely for these struggling students.

While the results of this study are promising, research in education is characterized by its messiness and dependence on a particular context. In this case, data collection on several occasions throughout a single academic year proved a challenge, thus leading to the loss of vital information such as year 6 students' names. Furthermore, the school in which the study took place was led by a very determined management team that had clearly espoused literacy development as the way forward, so much so that the implementation of the Literacy Approach and its effect had been reported on in the local newspaper. All of these contextual variables may have had an impact on the results obtained. Nevertheless, taken together with the results obtained about the development of students' reading skills (Fernández-Fernández and Halbach, 2023), the findings of this study seem to uncover a positive effect of the Literacy Approach. Hopefully other studies will follow that will allow us to further understand the impact of this approach to ELT.

Conclusion

Although not focused on CLIL programs as such, this article has evaluated the impact on students' motivation of an approach to teaching foreign languages first developed in CLIL contexts, the Literacy Approach. Results seem to point towards a positive impact of the approach on students' motivation, particularly on the more internalized types of motivation, very much in line with what had been found for CLIL programs in an earlier research project (Buckingham et al., 2022; Halbach and Iwaniec, 2022). Beyond this general effect, it was also possible to observe how it is particularly the students who are identified as struggling by their teachers who seem to develop this more internalized, intrinsic form of motivation, thus running counter to the claim of CLIL programs at large benefiting the most able and gifted students. On the other hand, while the effect of CLIL on motivation was related to the fact that it seems to cater for what Deci and Ryan (1985) described as the basic needs of mastery, autonomy and relatedness, it seems that in the case of the foreign language what the Literacy Approach fosters is mostly related with the pleasure derived from doing fun and interesting tasks that students perceive as relevant to learning. In the words of one of year 6 students "The method we are using is very interesting since we are always playing games and topics are dealt with that we don't normally know about. I wish we would always be taught with this method" (year 6, May, others).

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1. Questionnaire used in the study (adapted from Doiz et al, 2014)

En este cuestionario queremos preguntarte sobre cómo aprendes inglés. Verás que **no te pedimos ningún dato personal** para que sea confidencial. Nos gustaría que intentaras contestar a todas las preguntas con **sinceridad y confianza.**

Gracias por tu ayuda.

1. ¿Eres…

- l CHICO
- l CHICA

2. ¿Cuántos años tienes? _____

3. ¿Cuál es tu lengua materna, la que hablas con tu familia?

- l Español
- l Inglés
- l Otras (escríbelas aquí): _____

4. ¿Qué lenguas se hablan en tu casa?

- l Español
- l Inglés
- l Otras (escríbelas aquí): _____

5. ¿Has viajado alguna vez a un país de habla inglesa?

- l Sí, frecuentemente
- l Sí, he ido alguna vez
- l Sí, he ido una vez
- l No, no he ido todavía

6 ¿Qué actividades realizas en inglés?

- l Voy a una academia a mejorar inglés después de clase
- l Juego a videojuegos en inglés
- l Leo libros o revistas en inglés
- l Utilizo redes sociales
- l Veo películas y series en versión en inglés
- l Otras (escríbelas aquí): _____

7. Te vamos a indicar algunas frases para que nos digas si estás de acuerdo o no con ellas. Por ejemplo:

a. Estudiar inglés es importante porque lo necesitaré para mis estudios en el futuro

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

b. A veces los materiales que utilizamos en clase de inglés no son interesantes, pero siempre termino mi trabajo.

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

c. Me gusta utilizar inglés en clase

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

d. No me gusta aprender inglés

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

e. Me esfuerzo mucho en aprender en la asignatura de inglés

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

f. Estudiar inglés es una parte importante de mi educación

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

g. Estudiar inglés es importante para mí porque me ayudará a encontrar trabajo

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

h. Me siento con más tensión y nerviosismo en la clase de inglés que en las demás asignaturas

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

i. Aprendo inglés para entender las películas, vídeos, música, juegos y poder hablar a través de las redes sociales e internet

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

j. Me siento con nervios cuando tengo que hablar en inglés en clase

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

k. No me preocupa cometer errores cuando hablo delante de la clase en inglés

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

l. Me gusta conocer y hablar con gente de diferentes países y culturas

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

m. Me gusta aprender inglés

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

n. Mi familia intenta ayudarme con el inglés

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

o. Siempre pienso que los demás estudiantes hablan inglés mejor que yo

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

p. Mis padres piensan que debería dedicar más tiempo al inglés

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

q. Mis padres me animan a estudiar inglés

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

r. No me gusta que me obliguen a hablar en la clase de inglés, prefiero sentarme y escuchar

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

s. Mis padres siempre me recuerdan lo importante que será el inglés cuando salga del colegio

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

t. Trabajo mucho en mi clase de inglés incluso cuando no me gusta lo que estamos haciendo

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

u. Estudiar inglés es importante para mí porque la gente me respetará más si sé hablar inglés

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

v. Me gustan mis clases de inglés

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

w. Mi familia muestra mucho interés en todo lo que hago en la clase de inglés en el colegio

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

x. Me gustaría aprender varios idiomas

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

y. Me aburro cuando estudio inglés

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

z. Estudiar inglés es importante para mí porque puedo conocer y hablar con más gente

Nada de acuerdo Un poco Algo Bastante Totalmente de acuerdo

9. ¿Qué es lo que más te gusta de tus clases de inglés en el colegio? Cuéntalo aquí.

10. ¿Qué es lo que menos te gusta de tus clases de inglés en el colegio? Cuéntalo aquí

11. ¿Quieres decirnos algo más sobre las clases de inglés?

MUCHAS GRACIAS POR TU PARTICIPACIÓN

Between egalitarianism and diversity in CLIL programmes: What do teachers think?

Entre el igualitarismo y la diversidad en los programas AICLE: ¿Qué piensan los profesores?

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Abstract

Voices have been raised warning of the possibility that the approach Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) may produce some differences between students, favouring those who are better prepared and leaving aside those who are not. This position is supported by studies, mostly quantitative, which who try to demonstrate that this approach can lead to inequality in the classroom. We believe that to enrich knowledge about the extent of these potential problems it may be beneficial to have first-hand knowledge from teachers. To this end, the responses of 376 teachers from all monolingual regions of Spain and from all types of education (public, charter and private) were analysed to find out their perceptions of whether CLIL encourages segregation and neglect of disadvantaged students. The data obtained are quantitative in nature, providing relevant and complementary information on the role played by students' social extraction and the degree of teacher satisfaction with how CLIL addresses issues related to equality and inclusion. The results of this analysis show that there are notable differences in teachers' perceptions, but at the same time indicate that teachers are explicitly confident about the measures that need to be taken to prevent these potential problems from arising

Resumen

La enseñanza a través del inglés en las universidades españolas se ha extendido desde el año 2007 cuando España se adhirió al Espacio Europeo de Educación Superior. En las dos últimas décadas hemos asistido a un debate sobre los retos y los beneficios asociados al Aprendizaje Integrado de Contenidos y Lenguas Extranjeras (AICLE), así como sobre algunos potenciales problemas derivados de su aplicación. De hecho, han aparecido opiniones alertando de la posibilidad de que este enfoque pueda producir diferencias entre los alumnos, favoreciendo a los que están mejor preparados y dejando de lado a los que no lo están. Esta postura viene avalada por estudios, en su mayoría cuantitativos, que tratan de demostrar que este enfoque puede provocar desigualdades en el aula. Creemos que para enriquecer el conocimiento sobre el alcance de estos posibles problemas resulta beneficioso contar con el conocimiento de primera mano de los profesores. Con este fin, se han analizado las respuestas de 376 profesores de todas las regiones monolingües de España y de todos los tipos de enseñanza (pública, concertada y privada) para conocer su percepción sobre si AICLE fomenta la segregación y la desatención de los alumnos desfavorecidos. Los datos de naturaleza cualitativa obtenidos proporcionan información relevante y complementaria sobre el papel desempeñado por la extracción social de los alumnos y el grado de satisfacción de los profesores con la forma en que el AICLE aborda las cuestiones relacionadas con la igualdad y la inclusión. Los resultados de este análisis muestran que existen notables diferencias en las percepciones de los profesores, pero al mismo tiempo indican que son conscientes claramente de las medidas que deben adoptarse para evitar que surjan estos posibles problemas.

Palabras clave: Aprendizaje Integrado de Contenidos y Lenguas, igualdad, estatus socioeconómico, segregación, diferencias de aprendizaje, preocupaciones del profesorado.

Introduction

The emergence of the educational approach known as CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Language) has brought about a shift in the positioning and consideration of foreign language learning (Cenoz, Genesee and Gorter, 2013; Coyle, Hood and Marsh, 2010; Marsh, 2013). Despite its purported benefits, it is not easy to find a consensus about the results

of these programmes (Bauer et al., 2021; Cenoz, Genesse and Gorter, 2013; Cumming, 2012; Dalton-Puffer, 2008; Dalton-Puffer et al., 2014; Dalton-Puffer, 2018; Pérez-Cañado, 2018; Pérez-Cañado, 2020; Rodríguez Bonces, 2012; San Isidro, 2019).

Especially in the Spanish context, there have been some voices warning of the shadows and dangers of implementing CLIL, regardless of its characteristics (Anghel, Cabrales and Carro, 2016; Bruton, 2011, 2013, 2015; Martín Rojo, 2015; Paran, 2013), or at least unveiling some negative aspects (Mediavilla et al., 2019; Rumlich, 2020; Sanjurjo, Fernández and Arias, 2017; van Mensel, 2020). In general, these critical opinions have in common the claim that the results are greater because the students are better from the outset, so that the bilingual programme cannot be credited with success (Broca, 2016; Relaño, 2015). In the same vein, at the international level, de Courcy, Warren and Burston (2002), Kuchah and Kuchah (2018), Landau, Albuquerque and Siqueira (2021), Rodríguez Bonces (2012), and van Mensel (2020) argue that in a bilingual programme there is a clear relationship between the existence of low socio-economic status (SES) and the achievement of poor academic results.

Given that most of the empirical data available are of a quantitative nature, we concur with San Isidro and Lasagabaster (2020) in that "future research should focus on longitudinal qualitative studies" (p. 14), accepting and appraising studies in which the focus is more on the interpretation, flexibility, experience, and the research situation. This article aims to explore two main questions: whether teachers perceive differences in learners' achievement depending on differences in their families' SES, and whether CLIL adequately meets the needs of students with different learning capacities. In addition, we will also address the solutions suggested by teachers to provide adequate support to learners of different abilities and to ensure an inclusive learning environment. In order to draw valuable conclusions on these two important questions, a substantial number of professionals with experience in bilingual education were asked to express their views freely and unrestrictedly.

The Current Study

The question of selection in CLIL

When assessing bilingual education programmes and CLIL, the results may be different depending on the socio-economic environment in which they are located (Lancaster, 2018) or whether they are in a rural or urban environment (Alejo and Piquer-Píriz, 2016; Pavón, 2018), In any case, it seems clear that whether for one reason or another, fully equal access to bilingual education is very difficult to achieve: "CLIL has still a long way to go to become mainstream and still relies excessively on students' self-selection" (San Isidro, 2019, p. 35); which seems to determine the degree of effectiveness depending on who receives it.

In this context, within the areas of CLIL that are being researched, the study of the reasons why students with different social and educational characteristics may not achieve the same objectives are becoming increasingly important: "Attention has also been paid to egalitarianism: to the eligibility of students from different walks of life, their overt or covert selection, and the gradual attrition of the less privileged" (Lorenzo, Granados and Rico, 2020, p. 2). The concept of "egalitarianism" is understood here as the belief in or practising the idea that all people should have the same rights and opportunities.

With regard to a possible problem of self-selection associated to the students' socio-economic status (SES), Mediavilla et al. (2019) state that SES plays a significant role in assessing the typology of students in bilingual schools, as these students come from families with a higher professional status on the part of their parents and with greater possibilities of extramural exposure. Furthermore, van Mensel (2020) concludes in a study on the typology of CLIL and non-CLIL students in Belgium that students with higher SES tend to choose bilingual education to a greater extent. As we can observe, this type of criticism positions the socio-economic element as one of the central factors affecting families' choice of education.

Another important aspect related to the possible differentiation between CLIL and non-CLIL learners is the fact that families play an important role in the decision about whether or not to learn in a bilingual programme (Parkes and Ruth, 2011). The role of families, hence, should not be underestimated at all. In a comparative study on the motivations

and attitudes of students and parents towards CLIL, San Isidro and Lasagabaster (2020) concluded that the level of motivation of the families was higher than that of non-CLIL students: "This might possibly have to do with the higher socio-educational level of CLIL parents alongside the greater level of parental encouragement in the CLIL cohort" (p. 13).

Socio-economic status and learner capacities

When coming to the evaluation of SES in bilingual education and CLIL, the influence and value to be given to the importance of the socio-economic component has provoked a frontal positioning between two ways of judging this aspect. On the one hand, we find those conceptualisations of CLIL which state that CLIL provides an equal approach to foreign language learning for all learners (Coyle, Hood and Marsh, 2010; Marsh, 2002). On the other hand, other authors (Bruton, 2011, 2013, 2015; Paran, 2013; Rumlich, 2020), claim that CLIL attracts the most advantaged learners and, therefore, fosters a kind of educational elitism that favours those who have had the resources to advance in foreign language learning and disadvantages those learners who have not had those possibilities. Thus, according to these authors, students who end up enrolling in bilingual programs in which there is self-selection tend to perform better than most students.

In line with these negative views, we can find voices that warn about the relationship between obtaining poor results and the existence of a low socio-economic level in CLIL compared to non-CLIL students (Anghel, Cabrales and Carro, 2016; Sanjurjo, Fernández and Arias, 2017). On the contrary, other authors affirm that there are no significant differences based on different SES between CLIL and non-CLIL students (Hallbach and Iwaniec, 2020; Lorenzo, Granados and Rico, 2020, Pérez-Cañado, 2016; Rascón and Bretones, 2018; Shepherd and Ainsworth, 2017).

Another controversial aspect of CLIL is that pupils from lower socio-economic backgrounds are often less able to deal with academic and disciplinary language competence. In this situation, it is essential that schools propose a response to overcome language problems that may compromise the learning objectives of the whole programme. In this respect, attention to the development of disciplinary languages or pluriliteracies is a highly effective approach to reducing this deficit (Coyle and Meyer, 2021).

However, there is a final problematic area concerning the students' characteristics, regardless of their SES. Nowadays, one of the main problems for any educational proposal is that under the umbrella of "special needs" we can find a wide variety of needs. For instance, students with physical and cognitive problems (Rieser and Mason, 1990), multi-ethnic students (Blair et al., 1999), students with emotional problems due to family problems (Christenson, 1992), or students with high or low learning capacities (Sebba and Ainscow, 1996). It seems clear that one of the major difficulties of the CLIL approach is to offer the same learning opportunities to students with different abilities and, above all, to students with special needs (Durán-Martínez and Beltrán-Llavador, 2016). Even though there are promising projects in the field attention to diversity in CLIL such as the ADIBE project (adibeproject.com), in general, specific research, guidelines and suggestions regarding how to deal with this reality in CLIL are not frequent (Benito, 2014; Madrid and Pérez-Cañado, 2018; see the special issue of the International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism on the ADIBE project in 2021).

Moreover, the importance of attention to this type of student is crucial to prevent problems of segregation and elitism. Many families may feel that their children's learning will be slowed down by sharing a classroom with pupils who need specialised attention, so they may choose to enrol their children in other schools where there are no such pupils (de Courcy et al., 2002).

Method

Objective and research questions

The goal of this study is to investigate, through the analysis of the opinions of experienced teachers, how CLIL teachers perceive the programmes and how the different characteristics of students are handled in these programmes. More specifically, three research questions have been established:

— 1.   To what extent teachers believe that CLIL may segregate children and that there may be a connection between socio-economic status and success in CLIL?

— 2.   How satisfied are teachers with the way CLIL deals with students with different learning capacities?
— 3.   What measures should be taken to favour egalitarianism, equity and inclusion in CLIL?

Research design

We have opted for an interpretative paradigm as we believe that qualitative studies can contribute to offer a useful and interesting approach that is gaining more and more ground in the field of education, and which helps to acknowledge "a deep understanding of the diverse contexts and contingencies in language education" (Zappa-Hollman and Duff, 2019, p. 1030).

We also believe that providing qualitative data from a large group of participants will help to complement the interpretation of the findings from purely quantitative studies by offering a more internal and personal view of a given educational reality. Beyond collecting a large number of more or less targeted responses, the interest of this study, therefore, was to gather their opinions and views from a more reflective, interpretative and judgemental point of view.

Context and participants

The data have been extracted from a nationwide investigation to be published of the quality of bilingual education programmes led by the authors of the study presented here. Part of the vast amount of data collected related directly to their perceptions of possible problems of segregation in CLIL programmes and was specifically chosen to address this issue. The target audience was teachers working in bilingual schools from different Spanish regions. 421 primary education teachers participated in the study, whose objective was to find out the teachers' general assessment of the bilingual programmes in which they were involved.

Among the different questions, the teachers were asked to openly and reflectively respond to these two related to the scope of the study: a) does bilingual education lead to segregation?; b) do you agree with the criticisms of bilingual education? In both cases they were invited to give

reasons for their answer. The questions were provided in Spanish and the teachers were invited to respond either in English or in Spanish. The teachers were also informed that the research complied with the ethical commitments of scientific research in the field of education, and that the researchers guaranteed the privacy of the students and the confidentiality of the data collected.

Several teachers' responses were excluded from the analysis because they did not meet two essential conditions. One was to be a foreign language specialist, being a content specialist, or being both at the same time; and the second was to be working in a monolingual community.

The total number of teachers was 376. 73.7% foreign language and content teachers, 17% teaching only content through, and 9.3% only teaching the foreign language. 79.2% were teachers in state schools and 20.8% were teachers in charter schools. Their linguistic level ranged from B2 to C2, more precisely, 17% of the teachers had a C2 level, 67.8% had a C1 level, and 15.2% of the teachers had a B2 level. Also, 26.3% of the teachers stated that they had a very good knowledge of the CLIL programme in which they were involved, 21.3% that their understanding was good, 36.7% said that it was average, and 15.7% claimed that they did not have a good knowledge. This is interesting information for further interpretation of the results, as only less than 16% of the teachers alleged, they did not know the programme well. Officially bilingual regions were left out for their lack of responses and because they depict different realities. In these regions there are two official languages and the foreign language as an additional language, as opposed to the monolingual communities participating in the study, where there is only one mother tongue and one additional language.

Data collection procedure

The survey from which the data has been collected consisted of a questionnaire with 36 items distributed online to all the members of the association. The topics covered questions about organisational, managerial, or methodological aspects, and a specific question to find whether they considered bilingual programmes to be promoting segregation, an inquiry which obviously became our guiding quest in the analysis. This questionnaire also included an open section in which the respondents

could express their opinions about different aspects addressed in the questions.

The data analysed in this article corresponds to the answers provided by the teachers in this open section specifically about the topic regarding the existence of possible segregation. We would like to make it clear that the researchers have made a particular effort to collect the opinions as neutrally as possible, trying to ensure that the translation from one language to another was not contaminated by subjective considerations. Rather than adopting previous assumptions on the thematic variation that could be found in the teachers' excerpts, we have followed an inductive grounded-theory approach (Strauss and Corbin, 1998) to generate theory from data. There were not categories generated previously, the coding was made inductively, based on the exploration of the data. Two researchers carried out the analysis of the teachers' responses separately.

Each one of them was grouping the opinions of the teachers in terms of frequency and similarity; later on, the categories, themes and sub-themes identified were compared and agreed on. Three main themes emerged from a first analysis of teachers' answers: the possible existence of segregation in CLIL, attention to diversity, and potential solutions, which became the objectives in this study. Based on these three dimensions, different emergent thematic and sub-thematic divisions were ascribed to each of them in view of the specificity of the comments made by the teachers (see Table I).

TABLE I. Coding framework, emergent them es and sub-them es

Coding	Emergent Themes	Emergent Sub-themes
Segregation and SES	Acknowledgement of segregation	Leaving students behind, wrong organisation, geographical considerations, impact on motivation, migrants.
	Relevance of SES	Socio-economic and cultural reasons, lack of support, sense of inferiority.
	Positive views	Segregation is natural, great opportunities, fruitful, linguistically rewarding, intrinsically good.
Attention to diversity	Failure to cope with diversity	Disadvantaged students, feeling outside the pro-gramme, feeling of abandonment and frustration.
	Not successful	Special needs, late enrolment, poor handling, prob-lems with the mother tongue.
	Lack of support	Lack of resources, lack of specific support, need for compensatory measures.
Solutions	Organisation	Possibility to choose, flexible itineraries, possibility to drop out, early start, reduction of content subjects in the foreign language, continuity between levels, same as in non-bilingual education, more investment.
	Definition	Information to families, correct naming, quality con-trol, not obligatory, (but) obligatory for all.
	Support	Team teaching, individual support, small groups, more linguistic support, qualified teachers.

Source: Compiled by the authors.

Results

Data obtained from the teachers' opinions are detailed below. The qualitative results of this study are presented following the codification established by the three research questions posited. The quotes have been chosen and labelled according to this code categorisation and to the emergent themes and sub-themes identified. All the quotes have been identified with a code (T1, T2, …). A quantitative analysis of the frequency of occurrence of the categories is also shown at the beginning of each section.

Segregation and SES

From the outset, we could find negative comments about the lack of equality in the CLIL programmes. The concept "segregation" appeared in 73% of the comments provided by the teachers, and 68% of the negative comments included the term "socio-economic status". Thus, some teachers clearly pointed out that these programmes are segregating: "Bilingual education is segregating, many students are left behind." (T12). In addition, some of these comments included serious negative statements, alluding to the lack of opportunities for all students and, probably for all these reasons, the absence of a compulsory degree of quality: "All this, in my opinion, has made the result a disaster. A great name but very poor quality." (T4).

When analysing the reasons why some teachers argued that bilingual education is in essence segregating, most of their views emphasised that differences are created due to the existence of a different socio-economic situation: "I think it varies a lot from one school to another, depending on the socio-economic situation of the pupils." (T41). In the light of the opinions expressed by teachers, it seems clear for some of them that there is a visible link between the success of these programmes and the presence of students from more advantaged backgrounds: "Only those who have the means are going to succeed in this system, and they are not usually the most disadvantaged." (T7). Clearly, we are confronted with vehemently negative opinions, which also point out that in many cases families make a great effort to prevent their children from being sent to classes where pupils they considered problematic or lazy are grouped together: "Families have to make a financial and time effort so

that their children don't end up in the non-bilingual section where they think 'the outcasts, the troublemakers and the lazy ones' will be." (T10).

However, the terms "segregation" and "socio-economic status" were not always associated with negative visions and 21% of the teachers' comments exuded a positive view. Thus, for some the existence of this issue is natural and ordinary in education since it cannot be denied that students inherently possess different abilities: "Segregation does not happen because of the bilingual programme, segregation has always existed. It is absurd to think that all pupils are the same and have the same abilities." (T20). Other teachers emphasise the fact that, notwithstanding the difficulties, this type of programme is beneficial for the pupils: "Despite all the difficulties, the bilingual programme is bearing fruit." (T29). Finally, it must also be said that there are those who clearly separate the suitability of this type of programme from its actual implementation, pointing out that the problems derive from the inability to apply bilingual teaching correctly: "Appropriate bilingual teaching is good; the problem is that it is not being implemented properly." (T1).

Attention to diversity

The terms "diversity" and "different abilities" were present in 68% of all the teachers' comments, whether from a negative or positive perspective. Most negative comments have focused on the inability of bilingual programmes to deal equally with students with different abilities: "It's very difficult to deal with students who have difficulties." (T13). Thus, this lack of adequate attention causes students to feel abandoned and frustrated: "The bilingual system tends to exclude students with learning difficulties, which makes them feel frustrated." (T31). This alienating effect which seems to occur in this type of programme is a pervasive theme, as they stress that the students who really benefit from them are those with the best abilities while the rest are left aside: "Only useful for a sector of the student body (the most privileged in terms of abilities) leaving the rest abandoned." (T4).

Moreover, criticism has not only been directed at the problems of bilingual programmes in responding adequately to the different abilities of students. In fact, teachers repeatedly point out that such programmes also lay aside students with special educational needs: "Students with special educational needs are excluded or disadvantaged by bilingual

programmes." (T21). Similarly, they warn about the problems that exist when welcoming immigrant pupils: "There are students who cannot succeed in a bilingual programme: for example, late entrants to the Spanish education system (those who, for example, come from other countries)." (T3).

As for the reasons why the teachers believe that bilingual programmes are not coping with this reality properly, in many cases it is claimed that the main reason is that they do not have adequate resources: "The fundamental shortcoming I see in bilingual teaching is the lack of means and personal resources." (T23). This refers to the difficulty of dealing correctly with diversity, an argument which is repeated when teachers identify problems with special needs students: "Mainly, support is needed to attend to pupils with needs so that they do not fall behind, as they lack support in the classroom." (T17). It is important to note that we have also found some teachers who believe that. Although there is no segregation in principle in bilingual programmes, we can find it with students with learning difficulties: "I just want to say that it does not produce segregation in itself, but it does indirectly produce segregation for children with learning difficulties or special needs who do not have support at home." (T45). We should also note, anyway, that there are teachers who defend the idea that bilingual education caters for all pupils equally, regardless of their educational needs: "My experience in Bilingual Education for 22 years has been fantastic […], the results are good even with children with special needs." (T40).

Possible solutions

After reviewing teachers' perceptions, the term "solution" was by far the most frequent in general (84%), and particularly associated to the problems of the lack of egalitarianism and adequate attention to diversity. For example, a series of recommendations emerged regarding the necessity of facilitating the incorporation and exit of students from the bilingual programme: "Necessary issues such as flexible itineraries, the possibility to enter or leave the programme, smaller groups, etc. are not addressed." (T30), but also the advisability of starting the programme from the infant education stage: "I believe that the bilingual programme should start at infant education." (T27). On the other hand, some suggestions were

aimed at strengthening foreign language teaching to the detriment of the teaching of content. "An increase in the number of hours of English and a decrease in the number of non-linguistic subjects would help these programmes." (T38). Also, they acknowledged the fact that it all comes down to the educational institutions being fully involved: "In the end, it depends to a large extent on the economic investment." (T32).

Interestingly, the teachers warned of the need for a clearer definition of the bilingual programme and for more accurate information to be disseminated to society and provided to families: "There is a need for a foreign language learning system that is not called bilingual so that there is no confusion, as the environment is not conducive to bilingualism as a result of this type of education." (T14). They also suggest that this clarity of definition should be present even when a school is called a bilingual school: "Perhaps if the name were 'language reinforcement plan' it would be more in line with reality." (T11). On the other hand, to prevent disadvantaged students or those with learning difficulties from being obliged to pursue bilingual education, many teachers believe that participation in this type of programme should be optional: "In my opinion, primary schools should offer bilingual education as an option." (T33).

We would like to draw attention to those suggestions and proposals which have the teachers themselves as the main asset to offer possible solutions. For example, some teachers believe that the problem of coping with a possible segregation and with diversity lies in the implementation of a correct pedagogical model: "The difference lies in the didactic approach, not in the fact that bilingualism is not compulsory." (T35). Therefore, if the aim is to offer an education in which the different abilities of students are dealt with more adequately, what is necessary is to train teachers more adequately: "The training of teachers and the option of non-bilingualism for students experiencing difficulties are very important." (T23). More specifically, teachers believe that it is vital to have well-qualified support teachers, especially at the earliest ages: "Bilingual education in infants should be introduced through a support person who carries out daily and globalised activities in infants." (T14). In fact, many of the comments were along the line that having qualified teachers is vital for the success of the programme: "This is the main problem with bilingual teaching, that we do not have qualified teachers." (T2).

Discussion

As we have discussed in the theoretical section of this article, the discussion about the existence of possible segregation in CLIL programmes is a hot debate which is currently wide open and to which experts, educators and researchers are increasingly contributing their opinions and the results of their studies.

Progress in the implementation of CLIL has often been driven by the opinions of recognised experts who have been setting the standards in publications and books. At the same time, there has been a huge increase in research on the effects of this approach in recent decades, which we believe is also having an impact on the way in which CLIL is implemented. However, particularly when it comes to investigating what its effects are from a social perspective, there are not many studies that delve into this question, let alone consider the personal view of teachers. Unfortunately, CLIL is often seen as a monolithic approach that must be assumed and applied as it is, without taking into consideration either the context in which it is to be carried out or the participants who are involved. It is therefore necessary to explore in depth all aspects related to the essence of CLIL, but also to the problems that may arise from its imposition.

In the light of the data obtained in this study from the direct opinions of CLIL teachers, we can say that the confrontation referred to in the theoretical section is repeated in the same way. Thus, those who argue that segregation exists in CLIL (sharing the vision exposed by Bruton (2015), Paran (2013) and Sanjurgo, Fernández and Arias (2015), for example, affirm that there is a clear lack of attention to students who are falling behind in their learning or who started CLIL on a lower level of linguistic and/or cognitive ability, which has a very negative influence on their motivation and causes a feeling of frustration and inferiority that inevitably ends up affecting their performance. The fact is that the enrolment in CLIL programmes may or may not be determined by a decision of the families and learners themselves, and questions arise about the appropriateness of implementing such an education, as some authors have warned (Martín Rojo, 2015; Mediavilla et al., 2019). However, we have identified a second group of opinions, teachers who recognise some potential dangers associated with CLIL but are more focused on highlighting its benefits. They point out gains related to the opportunities CLIL offers students to learn academic content more effectively, together

with the substantial improvement it brings to foreign language learning. These positive views are in line with the findings of other studies. For example, Rascón and Bretones (2018) reported that successful results might encourage families with low SES not to give up their intention to have their students enrolled in CLIL, given that the academic results are no worse.

With respect to the relevance of SES, some teachers' opinions corroborated the findings in Anghel et al. (2016), who pointed out in their study that there was a notable difference between the learning objectives of CLIL learners with low SES and those with high SES, clearly in favour of the latter. However, the same authors pointed out that in cases where the quality of teaching, determined above all by the qualifications and experience of the teachers, was high, these differences were clearly attenuated. This raises the question of whether the differences in students' learning are solely due to different SES or whether other factors objectively determine students' learning in CLIL as, for example, shown by Hallbach and Iwaniec (2020) and Lorenzo, Granados, and Rico (2020). Therefore, whether from quantitative or qualitative studies, the evidence suggests that such is the amalgamation of variables that it is impossible to attribute responsibility for behaviour to a single set of factors.

It is clear that the possible levelling effect the CLIL may be due to other factors, for example, the obligatory nature of starting CLIL at an early age, since the level of linguistic competence is generally low and therefore homogeneous and, in addition, the influence of some of the different factors that make up the SES (parents' income and job's position, ethnicity, background, or neighbourhood) may not be fully at work, as stated for example by Hallbach and Iwaniec (2020) and Lorenzo, Granados and Rico (2020). If anything, it would be CLIL itself has brought about or accelerated these benefits, so probably for some teachers the question has been: why disdain or renounce its positive influence?

All that has been said so far would also apply to students with special needs, a problem which varies in importance according to the number of students with these characteristics that teachers must accommodate in their classes, a special concern for most teachers. It is not only that teachers have to cope with the difficulties arising from teaching to linguistically heterogeneous classes or with students exhibiting different learning styles. We concur easily with these opinions, what CLIL would require is the application of an educational policy of inclusion like that which is

carried out in non-bilingual schools, without the need for it to be special because it is a form of bilingual education. All in all, perhaps a flagrant lack of resources and support has led teachers to express their concern in this aspect. We can infer from this view that the inadequacy of CLIL to handle these circumstances is not intrinsically a flaw in this approach but the result of not providing the necessary compensatory measures to the students who require them.

Many of the negative opinions we have found are also because teachers are sometimes not prepared, do not receive support from institutions and do not know how to implement CLIL correctly, which results in pupils not achieving the desired objectives. Taking teachers' opinions into account can help to improve the quality of programmes, provide better training before, during and after. Another idea that can be inferred from the results is that those teachers need training by the very institutions that implement bilingual programmes, and that this should be carried out by means of study leaves or paid training. Attention to diversity is a key pillar of education today, it will remain so in the future, and it is our responsibility to ensure that all needs are equally addressed.

However, it is not all impediments and difficulties, and we believe that some of the teachers' suggestions might do well to the development of CLIL. For instance, naming bilingual schools to schools in which an additional language is used to teach several subjects generates a great deal of confusion among families and, also, among some of the teaching staff. Many of these parents and teachers believe 'bilingual education' is equivalent to 'bilingualism' and that they will finish the educational stage with a similar proficiency in two languages. That conception is not only dangerous as an idea because, for many, belonging to CLIL means much more than having more possibilities to learn a foreign language: "General academic excellence is at stake, because families and teachers often perceive the CLIL group as the 'good group'" (Llinares and Evanitskaya, 2020, p. 4). Informing families properly is an easy task that would help them really understand what CLIL is and would prepare them better for its lights and shadows. The problem would be that a particular policy seeks to promote this idea.

Another of the proposals to which teachers refer most often and which would have a positive impact is that concerning teacher training. Certainly, all the problems associated with the different abilities of learners, whatever their nature, could be adequately addressed if teachers were

equipped with the knowledge and resources to deal with this diversity. It is obvious to say that it is essential to train teachers to make them properly qualified in terms of the use of the foreign language, and regarding the methodological apparatus necessary to use it in content classes.

As one of the teachers rightly expounded it, everything will be more difficult if the necessary investment is not granted. As a final personal note, we believe that authorities might do well to think in the long term. What they are saving now will probably demand more investment in the future, leaving aside the damage we are doing to the learning process regardless of the type of CLIL programme they are running.

Conclusion

As noted throughout this article, there is a growing awareness of the importance of analysing context and social factors before even thinking about implementing CLIL. More particularly, many authors warn of the need to attend to the socio-educational characteristics of learners if CLIL is to be successful. Whether in a European context, for example in Britain, Belgium, Austria, or Spain, or in a more international context, for example in Brazil, Nigeria, Colombia or Japan, there is growing concern about the social effects of CLIL. Teachers are preoccupied about the relationship between results and student characteristics, irrespective of the context and country where CLIL is being implemented. The question of whether CLIL produces segregation or elitism and whether students' outcomes are subject to their social and educational characteristics have become a major concern for educators. In this context, we strongly believe that it is also important to listen to the teachers' voices, and we have modestly aspired with this investigation to complement with qualitative data the results obtained in other studies.

We are aware of the limitations of this study. The teachers who took part come from all the monolingual regions of Spain, which presupposes a certain geographical representativeness. However, the design of CLIL programmes and their subsequent implementation can be very different, so the results could be interpreted differently if correlated with other important variables such as years of experience, training, and pedagogical approach. In fact, one of the future lines of research that opens up

after this study is the possibility of conducting research with smaller groups of teachers with similar characteristics in terms of training and experience. As well as to address more specific studies in contexts with homogeneous characteristics, for example in schools located in socially and economically disadvantaged environments..

Acknowledgements

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Attaining inclusion in bilingual programs: Key factors for success

La atención a la diversidad en los programas bilingües: Factores clave de éxito

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Abstract

This article carries out a comparison of frontline stakeholder perspectives in order to determine the most successful practices to cater to diversity in bilingual education. It conflates school effectiveness research and attention to diversity in CLIL programs for the first time and reports on a cross-sectional concurrent triangulation mixed methods study with 2,093 teachers and students in 36 Primary and Secondary schools across the whole of Spain. It employs data, methodological, investigator, and location triangulation in order to determine the potential of CLIL to provide diversity-sensitive teaching on the main curricular and organizational levels of bilingual programs. On the basis of this data, it then sets forth an original framework of key success factors for attention to diversity in CLIL, comprising 22 indicators, grouped into input and success factors, macro-/meso-/micro-levels, and encompassing seven main fronts which range from policy and ideological issues to school and teaching practice. Three overarching take-aways ensue from our findings. First, a conspicuous overall alignment of teacher and student views can be discerned as regards successful strategies for inclusive CLIL programs, something which points to the fact that their opinions are a realistic snapshot of grassroots practice. A second conclusion is that headway is notably being made in this area, as key factors for success have increasingly been identified as present in CLIL classrooms by both cohorts. And, finally, there are certain recurrent issues which the specialized literature has repeatedly identified as niches to be filled, but which still stand in need of being adequately addressed (e.g. time for coordination

within teachers' official timetables or the preparation of language assistants). The main pedagogical implications accruing from the data are signposted and future pathways for progression are mapped out to continue reinforcing a success-prone implementation of diversity-sensitive teaching in the CLIL classroom.

Resumen

El presente artículo realiza una comparación de las perspectivas de los participantes clave en los programas bilingües con el fin de determinar las prácticas más exitosas para atender la diversidad en AICLE. Combina la investigación sobre la eficiencia escolar con la atención a la diversidad en los programas AICLE por primera vez y realiza un estudio transversal de métodos mixtos y triangulación concurrente con 2.093 profesores y estudiantes en 36 centros de Educación Primaria y Secundaria en España. Emplea triangulación de datos, metodológica, investigadora y de lugar para determinar el potencial de AICLE para proporcionar una enseñanza sensible a la diversidad en los principales niveles curriculares y organizativos de los programas bilingües. Basándose en estos datos, establece un marco original de factores clave de éxito para la atención a la diversidad en AICLE, que comprende 22 indicadores, agrupados en factores de entrada y de éxito y macro-/meso-/micro-niveles, y que abarca siete frentes principales que oscilan desde la política e ideología hasta el centro y la práctica docente. Tres conclusiones principales emanan de nuestros hallazgos. En primer lugar, se puede discernir una armonía entre los puntos de vista de docentes y discentes con respecto a las estrategias exitosas en los programas AICLE inclusivos, algo que parece indidicar que sus opiniones son un reflejo fiel de la práctica a pie de aula. Un segunda hallazgo relevante es que se están logrando avances notables en esta área, ya que ambas cohortes identifican un número creciente de factores clave para el éxito presentes en las aulas AICLE. Y, por último, existen ciertos temas recurrentes que la literatura especializada ha identificado reiteradamente como nichos a cubrir, pero que aún necesitan ser adecuadamente abordados. Se señalan las principales implicaciones pedagógicas derivadas de los datos y se explicitan futuras áreas de mejora para continuar reforzando una implementación exitosa de la atención a la diversidad en el aula bilingüe.

Palabras clave: AICLE, eficiciencia, éxito, diversidad, inclusión, diferenciación

Introduction

Bilingual education initiatives have been decisively taking root across our continent for the past two decades. Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), considered the European approach to favor plurilingualism, "has been a tremendous success story and its influence on practice is currently expanding quickly across Europe and beyond" (Meyer, 2010: 12). In its steadfast advance within the language teaching arena, it has been growing and evolving in exciting new directions, posing new challenges and throwing new curveballs to researchers, gate-keepers, practitioners, and participants alike. Two of the most conspicuous ones are undoubtedly determining the factors which shape the effectiveness of bilingual education and catering to diversity in CLIL.

Indeed, on the one hand, the variety of approaches encompassed within CLIL has led to a characterization controversy (Pérez Cañado, 2016) which continues to run deep and which prominently underscores the need to determine "what good CLIL practice should look like" (Mearns et al., 2023: 3) and to identify successful and "representative pedagogical practices" (Bruton, 2011: 5) within this approach. In turn, the increased mainstreaming of CLIL school- and program-wide (Junta de Andalucía, 2017) raises questions of whether it can truly create inclusive learning spaces, accommodate diversity, and encourage opportunity and access for all types of students. This remains "a blind spot" (Mearns et al., 2023: 13) in the specialized research. Taken in conjunction, both issues acquire a particularly sharp relief for the sustainability of CLIL programs. In Kirss et al.'s (2021: 192-3) words: "during the times of […] diversification of student populations, education policy-makers are in critical need of up-to-date and trustworthy concise information on the evidence of what works in multilingual education and what factors contribute to its effectiveness".

This is precisely the remit of the present article. It will address these two crucial aspects on the current CLIL agenda concomitantly by determining key success factors to cater for diverse student populations in bilingual education programs, an issue on which there is not as yet a structured research agenda. In doing so, it reports on a cross-sectional concurrent triangulation mixed methods study (Creswell, 2013) with 2,093 students and teachers which is distinctive on many fronts. To begin with, it polls frontline stakeholders' self-reported perceptions, which are

particularly relevant in our field, as "their interpretations and beliefs are crucial to understand how the CLIL programme is socially viewed, understood and constructed, and the expectations it raises" (Barrios Espinosa, 2019: 1). In addition, it works with most numerically and geographically representative sample to date in studies on this issue and factors in diverse types of triangulation: methodological (it not only employs questionnaires, as in prior research -Casas Pedrosa & Rascón Moreno, 2023-, but also semi-structured interviews), data (as it polls students and teachers), and location triangulation (since it works with both Primary and Secondary Education). Moreover, it does so within a country -Spain- with a firmly entrenched monolingual tradition (Ruiz de Zarobe & Lasagabaster, 2010) and which is considered to be a representative microcosm of the variegated CLIL landscape given the heterogeneity of models implemented across both its monolingual and bilingual communities (Pérez Cañado, 2012). Finally, it also extracts the chief pedagogical implications accruing from the data by distilling key success factors from an empirically valid and multifaceted perspective and drawing up and original three-pronged framework with concrete criteria which can be applied at the grassroots and policy-making levels in order to allow CLIL to continue advancing unfettered on the language education scene. After framing the investigation against the backdrop of prior research on school effectiveness research and on the challenge of diversity, the article goes on to describe the research design of the study, present and discuss its principal findings, and map out future pathways for progression through a new output-, input- and process-oriented model of key success factors for attention to diversity in CLIL.

The theoretical backdrop: Factors influencing the effectiveness of inclusive bilingual programs

School effectiveness research (SER) has traditionally aimed to identify key factors accountable for educational success (Kirss et al., 2021). However, it "has been only marginally addressed in multilingual education contexts" (Kirss et al., 2021: 1). In fact, according to these same authors, research on school effectiveness and on bilingual education has "largely developed as separate research paradigms" (Kirss et al., 2021: 1). Therefore, current studies on effective education do not provide clear evidence or conclusions about key success factors in bilingual education, lacking

a systematic approach. This dearth of research becomes notably more conspicuous when attention to diversity within CLIL programs is factored in. Nonetheless, the conflation of SER and bilingual education has been approximated from a four-pronged prspective. To begin with, general frameworks on factors influencing the effectiveness of bilingual programs have been set forth by key figures, based on research, observation, and critical reflection. Insitutional proposals have also been conceptualized by renowned associations (e.g. the Center for Applied Linguistics in the US or the British Council in Europe). More recently, systematic reviews (both holistic and in specific contexts like The Netherlands) have also been put forward. And, finally, questionnaires at different educational levels (Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary) and countries (Spain, Austria, Germany, Finland, pan-European) have also tapped into how diversity is being successfully accommodated in CLIL programs, albeit without a specific focus on identifying key success factors. Let us now examine each of these overarching research strands in turn.

Within the first thematic block, key figures have itemized factors that need to be set in place for bilingual programs to be effective. Tabatadze (2015), basing herself on Baker (2006), has isolated five key factors influencing the effectiveness of CLIL endeavors. These include type of program, human resources and school leadership and adminsitration (a solid top-down push is necessary from educational authorities, together with legislative changes and benchmarking), teachers' professional development (through pre- and in-service teacher education programs, resources, and an incentive system), bilingual education as a shared vision of the whole school (here, the creation of a common standard of education is highly advisable), and community and parental involvement in designing and implementing biligual education initiatives (via, e.g., extensive awareness-raising). In turn, Meyer (2010) also expounds on quality criteria for successful and sustainable CLIL, with a more specific focus on teaching and learning. In this sense, he identifies six core strategies: rich (meaningful, challenging, and authentic) input, scaffolding learning (crucial to reduce the cognitive and linguistic load of the input and to support language production), abundant interaction and pushed output (triggered by tasks, whose design lies at the heart of CLIL lessons), adding the intercultural dimension (by approximating various topics from different cultural angles), fostering higher-order thinking skills

(HOTS), and favoring sustainable learning (to ensure knowledge sticks and becomes deeply rooted in students' long-term memory).

In addition to these research-based and observation-induced proposals, more institutionally substantiated frameworks have been delineated on both sides of the Atlantic. In the US, a quality scheme for the effective analsyis, development, and monitoring of dual language programs has been designed by the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) through its manual Guiding Principles for Dual Education (Howard et al., 2018). It has become an essential reference for schools which implement these types of initiatives across the country. It identifies, in a flexible way, seven common strands, connected to effectiveness and firmly grounded in research outcomes, which are subdivided into concrete principles and key points, evaluated by means of progress indicators in the form of reachable levels of program alignment.

The strands span seven main dimensions. To begin with, programme structure measures the attainment of biliteracy and bilingualism, as well as of sociocultural competence, equity, leadership and ongoing planning, assessment and implementation. The curriculum is another crucial dimension, where three key principles are evaluated, namely, the revision of the curriculum, the alignment of the curriculum with standards, and the effective inclusion of technology in the process. Within instruction, the core aspects gauged include the use of student-centered methodologies, fidelity of instruction to the model, inclusion of strategies to achieve the core goals of dual education, and, once again, integration of technology in the learning process. Assessment and accountability also figure prominently in the CAL framework, and they revolve around issues such as attunement of student assessment with program objectives, language standards, and content; the introduction of infrastructure to support evaluation; the use of diverse methods in both languages for the collection and tracking of data; and the systematic measurement of student achievement with regard to the established goals. The fifth strand addresses staff quality and professional development, and assesses recruitment of high-quality teachers, professional development for dual-language education staff, and collaboration with other institutions. Family and community also acquire a sharp relief within this proposal, rating the introduction of adequate infrastructure to support relations between families and the community, the promotion of family engagement through activities, and the effective involvement of community members and families to

foster home-school links. The last factor considered affects support and resources, and it is calibrated by means of support by all stakeholders of the program, adequate and equitable funding, and the search for substantial back-up vis- à-vis program needs.

In turn, on the European continent, another recent proposal for quality assurance of bilingual programs has been propounded by the British Council, via its Self-assessment Framework for School Leadership Teams (British Council, 2021). It presents a toolkit for debate and self-assessment within schools which hinges on five main areas, usefully structured in tems of indicators and comprising features of highly effective practices, challeging questions, and a self-assessment template with strengths, areas for improvement, and future priorities. The initial tematic block pertains to self-assessment to improve schools and stresses the whole-school collaborative approach, the importance of ongoing profesional development for the entire school team, and the regular assessment, via research, of educational achievements to continue ameliorating the learning process. Leadership for learning then places the onus on sudent-centered, dialogue-based methodologies, fostered from a three-pronged perspective: via the capacity of the management team to generate an attitude of leadsership, through ongoing teacher reflection on the improvement of their pedagogical practice, and by supporting learners to become the protagonists of their own learning process. The third indicator -leadership for change- is achieved by reinforcing the social, economic, and cultural ties with the local community, by involving all key stakeholders in the stragegic planning for ongoing improvement, and by adopting a hands-on approch to practically implement changes and upgrades. In turn, leadership and staff management is linked to school management, duties, and responsibilites. It lays out a management strategy, relies on ongoing staff development, and fosters a policy of wellbeing, equity, and balance. The final indicator -resource management to promote equity- is underpinned by the equitable use of economic and material resources and by the adequate and flexible deployment of the variety of resources available (with digital ones being particularly emphasized) to create a motivating learning environment.

A third, and very productive, perspective from which the effectiveness of bilingual programs has been approximated is through systematic reviews of the existing literature in concrete contexts or globally. Indeed, Mearns et al. (2023) have recently canvassed three decades of

CLIL development in The Netherlands and have distilled key features of successful bilingual education in their context. Thes involve, on the linguistic front, the provision of rich comprehensible input; adjusting language to increase accessibility (e.g., through scaffolding by means of visual support or by adapting materials); offering opportunities to communicate in the target language; fostering higher-order questioning to elicit richer responses; or employing translanguaging as a pedagogical tool. Methodologically, the most success-prone techniques include encouraging learner-centeredness and engagement, conducting cross-curricular projects, ensuring differentiation, and recycling contents. Intercultural and collaborative elements also run through their identification of success factors, as international orientation, intercultural competence, and global citizenship, together with collaborative and team-teaching, are regarded as impinging on the effectiveness of bilingual education. Finally, creating a supportive and positive atmosphere and bolstering learner confidence also go a long way towards enhancing the adequate functioning of CLIL programs in Holland.

A more holistic perspective is favored by Kirss et al. (2021), who undertake a systematic review of research evidence on specific factors conducive to success in multilingual education. Theirs is an innovative and extremely useful proposal of nine key factors, classified in three levels (macro -country/region-, meso -school-, and micro -student/teacher) and three typologies (outcome, input, and process). Within outcomes measures, they suggest taking into account language proficiency, academic achievement in curriculum subjects, GPA, and dropout rate to gauge the success of a bilingual programs. In turn, four factors are subsumed within input factors. The first involves policy and ideology indicators, where aspects such as local autonomy to create programs that meet the specific needs of student populations or the possibility of adjusting regulations (e.g. to reduce class size) come prominently to the fore. Resources also acquire a sharp relief here, particularly vis-à-vis accesibility of teaching materials and ICTS, availability of funding and teaching staff with multilingual education competence, or specific training regarding multilingual education. Leadership indicators also come into play in this section, hinging primarily on commitment, cooperation, training for principals, and evidence-based management. Finally, whether the curriculum has a multilingual focus and can be adjusted according to students' needs is equally considered a relevant factor here.

Finally, another four aspects are subsumed within process factors. Climate, attitudes, and beliefs are the first one, where the multicultural linguistic landscape in the school and classroom is highly valued, together with an overall positive attitude towards multilingual education. An important cluster of school and teaching practice indicators are also proposed, involving the use of the students' L1, a cross-curricular approach to learning, evaluation systems adjusted to the multilingual needs of students, and an interactive, learner-centered, personalized, and meaningfully contextualized approach to language learning. The final two factors are related to collaboration with parents and support from the educational authorities. Within the former, involvement of parents in school life, fostering strong home-school connections, and commitment of external partners (e.g. researchers) to advance the school vision are regarded as pivotal. And vis-à-vis the latter, local governmental support for multilingual education (including support for professional training) and concrete support activities to address the linguistic, academic, and social needs of students are underscored.

The last batch of publications narrows down the scope a step further by conducting concrete studies, generally employing surveys and/or interviews, with teachers and students at Primary, Secondary and Tertiary level in order to isolate quality factors in bilingual education. Julius & Madrid (2017) do so in higher education, by polling 164 students and 27 teachers involved in bilingual teaching at undergraduate level. Their outcomes evince that the teachers' commitment to the program and L2 level are key variables for quality bilingual schemes, together with student motivation, language exchanges with native speakers, interactive oral activities, tasks and projects related to everyday language, and availability of materials and resources. More recently, Melara Gutiérrez & González López (2023) center on Primary Education teachers' needs for quality bilingual education. Of the 41 elements analyzed, only three came across as priority needs: the creation and maintenance of a local and external network of contacts for the purposes of collaboration, the promotion of intercultural communication, and the evaluation, selection, adaptation, and use of existing CLIL materials.

The remaining studies center on Secondary Education and zone in on the specific topic of attention to diversity in CLIL. Although they were not conducted with the remit of isolating success factors, but, instead, simply tap into stakeholder perceptions (teachers, parents, students) into

how differentiation is being accommodated in bilingual scenarios, they offer interesting insights to guarantee quality bilingual implementation for all. Linguistically, the purposeful use of the L1 as a lifeline transpires as beneficial for complex content comprehension (Bauer-Marschallinger et al., 2023; Siepmann et al., 2023). Methodologically, the incorporation of student-centered methodologies such as tasks and projects and of varied classroom layouts and arrangements, together with specific lesson design for students of differing abilities, also fosters successful attention to diversity (Bauer-Marschallinger et al., 2023; Casas Pedrosa & Rascón Moreno, 2023; Siepmann et al., 2023; Nikula et al., 2023; Ramón Ramos, 2023). Varied summative and formative assessment techniques and support from multi-professional teams equally stand out as hallmarks of good practice to balance out different learning paces and ability levels (Casas Pedrosa & Rascón Moreno, 2023). Finally, pan-European studies (Pérez Cañado, 2023) have revealed the highly beneficial nature of learning from the best practices of other countries, as key areas of expertise have been identified with can be usefully adapted to other scenarios. In this scene, Finland stands out for inclusive lesson planning, Austria is conspicuous for student-centered methodological practices, the UK excels at differentiated materials design, Italy is notable for the use of ICT options, and Spain particularly masters diversified assessment procedures.

Thus, three main take-aways accrue from this review of the specialized literature. A first lesson gleaned is that studies conflating school effectiveness and bilingual education are still thin on the ground. This is most glaringly the case when applied specifically to attention to diversity in bilingual education, as there is, to date, an absolute dearth of research into key success factors for inclusive bilingual education programs to be effective. Secondly, what research there is on effectiveness in bilingual education has set forth frameworks that, despite their multipronged and differing focus, tend to coincide in the need to set in place measures at the legislative, school, and grassroots levels, and which affect all curricular and organizational levels (language, methodology, materials, evaluation, parental involvement, multi-tiered systems of support, and teacher collaboration and development). Finally, a third valuable reading is that there is as yet no existing framework on the key success factors of bilingual programs that meet the intersectional needs of linguistically and culturally diverse students. This is precisely the niche which the present study seeks to address. Its research design is now presented below.

The study

Objectives

The broad objective of this investigation is to conduct a large-scale multi-faceted CLIL evaluation project into stakeholder perspectives of the current mise-en-scène of attention to diversity in CLIL programs in order to isolate key factors for them be successful with all types of students.

It canvasses teacher and student perceptions of the way in which CLIL methodology, types of groupings, materials and resources, assessment, and teacher collaboration and development are being deployed to cater for different abilities among CLIL students in three monolingual autonomous communities in Spain. Two key metaconcerns drive the study and serve as cornerstones for this project. They are presented and broken down into three component corollaries below:

■ *Metaconcern 1* (Program evaluation)
(1) To determine teacher perceptions of the most successful practices to cater to diversity in CLIL programs (in terms of linguistic aspects, methodology and types of groupings, materials and resources, assessment, and teacher collaboration) and of the main teacher training needs in this area.
(2) To determine student perceptions of the most successful practices to accommodate differentiation in CLIL programs (in terms of linguistic aspects, methodology and types of groupings, materials and resources, assessment, and teacher collaboration and development) at Secondary Education level.

■ *Metaconcern 2* (Framework of success factors)
(3) To design and original framework, based on the above research data, of key success factors for inclusive bilingual education.

Research design

This investigation is an instance of primary, survey research, since it employs interviews and questionnaires (Brown, 2001). According to this

author, it is mid-way between qualitative and statistical research, as it can make use of both these techniques. In addition, it incorporates multiple triangulation (Denzin, 1970), concretely, of the following four types:

(1) Data triangulation, as diverse groups of stakeholders with different roles in the language teaching context have been polled: students and teachers (and within the latter, non-linguistic area teachers, English language teachers, and teaching assistants) [1].

(2) Methodological triangulation, since a variety of instruments has been employed to gather the data: questionnaires, interviews, and observation (although only the results pertaining to the questionnaires and interviews will be reported on herein).

(3) Investigator triangulation, due to the fact that different researchers have analyzed the open data in the questionnaire and interviews, identified salient themes, and collated their findings

(4) Location triangulation, given that stakeholder opinions have been culled from multiple data-gathering sites: 10 Primary schools and 26 Secondary schools.

Sample

The project has worked with a substantial cohort of students and teachers, and parents in three monolingual autonomous communities which span Spain from north to south to west (Andalusia, Madrid, and Extremadura). The return rate has been significant, as the surveys have been administered to a total of 2,676 informants. The most numerous cohort has been that of students (with 1,774 participants), followed by parents (583 in all) and teachers (319). In terms of gender, women (53%) outnumber their male counterparts (46%).

If we focus specifically on the two cohorts considered for this specific study (2,093 respondents), the bulk of the students are from Madrid (53%), followed by Andalusia (36%) and Extremadura (11%). Roughly equal percentages are in the 11-12 (39.3%) and 15-16 (40.3%) age

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1 Parents were also polled in this study, but have not been included due to space constraints and also because they were not interviewed (they were only administered the questionnaire), as opposed to the other two cohorts who are reported on in this study, who were subjected to focus group interviews

brackets, something which points to a balance in the amount of respondents from the two educational levels considered: the last grades of Primary and Secondary Education. An equilibrium is also detected between female (50%) and male (49%) stduents, with 1% ascribing their gender to "other".

In turn, most of the respondents within the teacher cohort are from Andalusia (51%), followed by Madrid (29%) and Extremadura (20%).

However, in this second cohort there is more of an imbalance in terms of gender, as there are more female (69.1%) than male (30.9%) practitioners, and educational level, where Secondary teachers (67%) outnumber their Primary (33%) counterparts. Most are in the 41-50 (30.9%) and 31-40 (26.5%) age brackets and have mainly a B2 (34.6%) or C1 (25%) level of the target language. There is a majority of content teachers (52.2%), followed closely by language ones (36.8%), with language assistants (LAs) amounting only to a 9.6%. They are mostly civil servants with a stable job at their schools (55.9%) and have mostly 1-10 (39.7%) or 11–20 years (32.4%) of overall teaching experience. However, only 1-5 (39.7%) or 6-10 years (32.4%) of that time has been spent in a bilingual school.

Variables

The study has worked with a series of identification (subject) variables, connected to the individual traits of the two different stakeholders who have been polled through the questionnaire and interview.

The identification variables for each cohort are specified below:

Teachers
- Grade
- Age
- Gender
- Autonomous community
- Type of teacher
- Employment situation
- Level in the FL taught
- Overall teaching experience
- Teaching experience in a bilingual school

Students
  — Grade
  — Class
  — Age
  — Gender
  — Autonomous community
  — Language(s) spoken at home
  — Years in a bilingual program
  — Amount of exposure to English within the bilingual program

Instruments

The study has employed self- and group-administered questionnaires and semi-structured focus group interviews, categorized by Brown (2001) as survey tools, to carry out the targeted program evaluation. Three sets of questionnaires (one for each of the cohorts) have been designed and validated in English, Spanish, German, Italian, and Finnish. A double-fold pilot procedure has been followed in editing and validating the questionnaires, which has entailed, firstly, the expert ratings approach (with 30 external evaluators from Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Education) and, subsequently, a pilot phase with a representative sample of respondents (234 informants with the same features as the target respondents).

Extremely high Cronbach alpha coefficients have been obtained for the three questionnaires: 0.871 for the student one, 0.858 for the teacher equivalent, and 0.940 for the parent survey. The interview protocols, in turn, have been designed for teachers and students following a parallel structure for comparability across instruments and contexts (cf. Pérez Cañado, Rascón Moreno, and Cueva López 2023 for a detailed rendering of the design and validation process and for access to the final versions of both surveys and interview protocols for each of the cohorts).

Both instruments comprise a total of five thematic blocks: linguistic aspects (9 items for the teacher questionnaire, 5 for students, and 4 for the parents); methodology and types of groupings (12 items for the teachers, students, and parents); materials and resources (7 items for the teacher questionnaire, 5 for students, and 3 for parents); assessment (10 items for teachers and 11 for both students and parents); and, finally, teacher collaboration and development (15 items in the teacher questionnaire,

7 in the student survey, and 8 in that corresponding to parents). The parent survey only consists of four blocks because the items relating to materials and resources were merged into the methodology and types of groupings owing to the results of the statistical analyses obtained during the validation process. Finally, the interview protocol comprises one final block on overall appraisal of catering to diversity in the bilingual classroom. It was only administered to teachers and students.

Data analysis: statistical methodology

The data obtained on the questionnaires has been analyzed statistically, using the SPSS program in its 25.0 version. Descriptive statistics have been used to report on the global cohort results for each research question. Both central tendency (mean, median and mode) and dispersion measures (range, low-high, standard deviation) have been calculated.

In turn, to determine the existence of statistically significant differences across the three cohorts, assessment of normality and homoscedasticity has been carried out via the Kolmogorov–Smirnov and Levene's test, respectively. Parametric tests have been run, using one-way ANOVA and the t test, employing the Bonferroni correction for post-hoc analysis, and calculating effect sizes as eta squared and Cohen's d. In turn, Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) has been employed for the open data on the semi-structured interviews. The data has been subjected to qualitative analysis for commonly recurring themes by transcribing it, coding and collating it through NVivo, and identifying, refining, and naming themes.

Results and Discussion

Perspectives on attention to diversity in CLIL by cohort

Teachers: Global analysis

In line with the first metaconcern (objectives 1 and 2), our study has allowed us to paint a comprehensive picture of teacher and student perspectives à propos successful practices to secure diversity-sensitive

teaching in the CLIL classroom. The teacher cohort harbors quite a self-complacent outlook of their academic language mastery (m=5.01) and also their basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) (m=4.75) to create inclusive learning spaces, a finding which chimes with those of Bauer-Marschallinger (2023), Casas Pedrosa & Rascón Moreno (2023), and Pérez Cañado (2023). Providing scaffolding to comprehend complex content (m=4.75) shines through as a top go-to strategy. This bears out findings of prior research (Bauer-Marschallinger et al., 2023; Somers, 2017, 2018), according to which offering pedagogical support through scaffolding is present in CLIL classrooms to accommodate minority students' needs. This view is corroborated in the interviews, where especially visual and multimodal scaffolding comes across as a sine qua non in supporting differentiation in the CLIL classroom. The use of the L1 to clarify vocabulary or explore difficult concepts also emerges as a lifeline to make content accessible to all (m=4.79). This perspective is in compliance with that of previous studies (Bauer-Marschallinger et al., 2023; Pavón Vázquez & Ramos Ordóñez, 2019; Siepmann et al., 2023), where the principled and strategic use of the L1 was a recurrent and successful fall-back option. In this sense, the interviews offer a more in-depth angle on the development of this strategy. Teachers claim that the L1 offers essential support ("They do need reassurance in Spanish"), especially to explain abstract concepts, to translate key words, to leave no learner behind, and to save crucial time. Thus, in order to accommodate differentiation in the CLIL classroom, translanguaging (García & Wei, 2014) and perfunctory L1 use can be an enriching strategy, conducive to an enhanced learning of content, as Pavón Vázquez & Ramos Ordóñez (2019) have also corroborated.

Vis-à-vis methodology, teachers claim to deploy a varied repertoire of methods to accommodate different student levels and abilities (m=4.68). They uphold that student-centeredness has firmly found traction in the bilingual classroom (m=4.54) and particularly resort, as successful techniques, to peer mentoring and assistance strategies (m=4.66) and task- and project-based work (m=4.50). Personalized attention in individual and smaller groups is also capitalized on, albeit to a lesser extent (m=4.39), together with cooperative learning (m=4.33), mixed-ability groupings (m=4.24), and diverse classroom layouts (m=4.22). The least employed strategies according to this first group of stakeholders are newcomer classes (m=2.85), teacher-led instruction (m=3.38), and

multiple intelligences (m=4.10). Indeed, in the interviews, practitioners highlight that one-on-one teaching is extremely useful to determine students' level and to identify difficulties. They also consider that the use of baseline mixed-ability groups, where each student has a clearly defined role and which are employed in a stable or routine manner instill a sense of security in learners which positively impinges on their learning process. This accords with the findings of Bauer-Marschallinger et al. (2023), where pair and group work, together with spontaneous peer help, were employed to balance out different learning paces and ability levels. Other student-centered methodologies which are brought to the fore in the interviews are gamification, which is held to considerably heighten motivation, and the flipped classroom, regarded as one of the most inclusive pedagogical options, since it allows students to watch the audiovisual material at home as many times as necessary in order to fully grasp it.

Materials and resources come across as one of the major roadblocks to diversity in CLIL scenarios. Indeed, very limited access to tiered-level materials is still documented (m=3.97), so that practitioners are forced to resort to either adapting (m=4.78) or creating (m=4.72) them. On the upside, ICTs are present to a greater extent in fostering methodologically diverse learning spaces (m=4.55), as is the provision of multimodal input (m=4.58). This cohort further elaborates in the interviews on the technological options they primarily employ to balance out different learning styles: Google Classroom, IWBs, or gamification via Kahoot, Quizlet, or Padlet. The absolute lack of textbook is highlighted for certain subjects such as Music, which leaves teachers at a loss. This is the area on which they claim to need most training and guidance and feel disenfranchised in finding materials: the process depends on their generosity, time, and financial investment, they claim, and they do not feel supported by administrative authorities in this area. These outcomes are in harmony with those of Fernández & Halbach (2011), Casas Pedrosa & Rascón Moreno (2023), Pérez Cañado (2023), and Siepmann et al. (2023), where the dearth of materials and the challenge of designing and adapting them shone through, especially vis-à-vis access to ICT resources.

Although Spain particularly stood out on the assessment front as an instance of inspirational practice (Pérez Cañado, 2023), the present study slightly qualifies this trend. The current data reveal that ongoing evaluation is adapted to differing abilities (m=4.76) to a greater extent than summative assessment (m=4.70). Indeed, top strategies for

a success-prone evaluation involve, above all, adapting activities carried out in class (m=4.55) and offering detailed guidelines as extra support (m=4.5), along with personalized and regular feedback adapted to different levels of achievers (m=4.48). The only summative technique which is resorted to assiduously is providing different versions of an exam (m=4.48). Less use is made of self-assessment (m=3.14), varying grading criteria according to different abilities (m=4.25), or highlighting key words/adapting the vocabulary of exams (m=4.38). The interviews allow further insights into this topic, which comes across as major blind spot in the system, thereby disrupting previous positive trends in the research ("It's still a big mystery", as one of the respondents highlights). Teachers consider a greater effort is still required to diversify evaluation instruments and design them jointly, reinforce transparency in communicating assessment criteria, systematically work in self-assessment, deaprt from students' initial level, and adapt exams to the differing abilities of students without raising red flags. Considerable headway is thus still necessary on this front.

A final crucial issue to ensure an inclusive education agenda in CLIL affects multi-tiered systems of support, collaboration, and training. In general, teachers consider the back-up of multi-professional teams essential (m=5.15) and have largely positive outlooks on their coordination with colleagues (m=4.98). The curveball thrown by attention to diversity thus seems to have made increased coordination and collaboration a sine qua non for CLIL programs to stay afloat. However, in the interviews, they qualify these views by underscoring that time to coordinate is in need of urgent attention ("There is no time to coordinate – categorically", as one teacher claims). They have to resort to carrying out this task during recess, via WhatsApp, in the hallways, or at home in their free time, something which very negatively impacts their motivation. The figure of the guidance counsellor (m=5.47) is also vastly appreciated and appears to be firmly ingrained in the participating schools. However, parental involvement is only moderately present (m=4.66) and overall satisfaction with the support system in place is also lukewarm (m=4.49). The greatest training needs emerge on language scaffolding techniques (m=4.71), access to materials (m=4.71), and design and adaptation of the latter (m=4.64). The lowest scores can be located on teachers' needs to critically reflect on their own teaching practices (m=4.06), something which accords with the largely positive outlook they sustain on their

own abilities to step up to diversity. These findings resonate with those of Pérez Cañado (2023) and Casas Pedrosa & Rascón Moreno (2023), where similar highs and lows were found for the afore-mentioned items, unveiling an iterative pattern which seems to point to teachers' desire to fine-tune to perfection those methodological techniques they most claim to capitalize on. Finally, the preparation of the language assistant comes across as a major niche to be filled (m=4.06). "You're basically learning on your feet", as one of these assistants underscores. Their coordination with content and language teachers is also regarded as deficient. Maximizing the full potential of the LA has been a consistent concern in the existing literature (Buckingham, 2018; Sánchez Torres, 2014; Tobin & Abello Contesse, 2013), which has not as yet been sufficiently addressed, according to our very recent data.

Students: Global analysis

What is the outlook sustained on differentiation by the student cohort? That pertaining to linguistic aspects is commensurate with the perspective harbored by teachers. Indeed, the use of the L1 to thrash out difficult concepts is most often capitalized on, according to this second cohort (m=4.84), followed closely by language scaffolding (m=4.81). However, in the interviews, they qualify type of L1 use, as they claim to be constantly encouraged to use the target language in class, with Spanish not being resorted to immediately. First, teachers "repeat the idea as many times as necessary", paraphrase with different word, or explain in a simpler way. Translation is only relied on as a last resort, to ensure understanding of more complex ideas, key words, and concepts which have not been grasped adequately. The learners polled also evince quite a positive appreciation of their teachers BICS (m=4.52) and CALP[2] (m=4.5) to attend to diversity, a finding which accords with the findings of Casas Pedrosa & Rascón Moreno (2023), Pérez Cañado (2023), and Ramón Ramos (2023), where students' faith in their teachers' preparation shone loud and clear.

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2 Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency

In terms of methodology and groupings, students, like teachers, acknowledge the use of variegated methods to accommodate diversity in the CLIL classroom (m=4.32) and the firm presence of student-centered options (m=4.44). These results are congruent with Pérez Cañado (2018), Bauer-Marschallinger et al. (2023), and Siepmann et al. (2023), where the student-oriented nature of CLIL was ascertained as a trend which is increasingly becoming dominant in bilingual scenarios. The theory associated to CLIL methodology is thus trickling down to on-the-ground practice and becoming a hallmark of bilingual education. The most successful strategies are held to be task- and project-based work (m=4.55) and cooperative learning (m=4.41), a view which again concurs with that of teachers. However, unlike practitioners, students consider an element of teacher-frontedness still runs through CLIL programs (m=4.23).

In fact, in the interviews, students (particularly in the upper Secondary grades) worryingly report the presence of "bulimic learning" in content subjects, where they learn to memorize and "spit out", as they put it, contents which are fed to them in a homogeneous way by their teachers. Discrepant findings are also detected on the use of different types of groupings and varied layouts (m=3.92), the provision of personalized attention (m=4.07), or the use of peer assistance strategies (m=4.18), all of which are not as often deployed as teachers would have it. In the interviews the students clamor for more work in pairs and groups, as they are held to foster greater participation, interaction, and production ("we feel more comfortable and we help each other") and underscore that the language assistant is particularly prone to employing this type of classroom arrangement. Complex content, according to this cohort, is made more accessible through group work. This accords with the findings of Bauer-Marschallinger et al. (2023), where pair and group work, together with spontaneous peer help, were employed to balance out different learning paces and ability levels.

Cases of successful practice with materials and resources are very meager, according to this second cohort. Indeed, multimodality is the only strategy used beneficially to a greater extent (m=4.14). However, the textbook is clearly not fitting the bill vis-à-vis diversity-sensitive contents (m=3.15). Students do not perceive that tiered-level materials are adapted (m=3.54) or created (m=3.65) by their teachers and ICTs are not sufficiently present to accommodate different learner styles and paces (m=3.82). On the upside, the diversification of materials (textbooks,

videos, presentations, Kahoot, IWBs, virtual learning environments) is foregrounded in the student interviews, something which they claim facilitates their learning process and makes it more accessible, motivating, interactive, and competitive. Their open feedback also reveals that the textbook is not adequately adapted to different ability levels, but that it is gradually being superseded and complemented with other types of more diversity-sensitive materials, which they clearly prefer. Thus, a more positive trend seems to be detected in this study, thereby departing from previous ones, in that diversification of materials is acquiring a sharper relief, with its concomitant advantages in terms of accessibility and motivation.

A similar pattern emerges for evaluation. Here, only formative assessment seems to incorporate diversity-sensitive strategies (m=4.08), but students do not perceive any differentiated practice in concrete summative or ongoing techniques, except perhaps for the provision of detailed guidelines in activities as extra support (m=3.96). These outcomes echo those of Ramón Ramos (2023) in bilingual Spanish contexts, as well as Bauer-Marschallinger et al.'s (2023) findings in the Austrian context, Siepmann et al.'s (2023) in the German one, and Nikula et al.'s (2023) in Finland, where students did not perceive their teachers' differentiation between skill levels in assessment. Nonetheless, these outcomes could well be interpreted in a positive light, as it could be the case that students are simply not aware of different levels of assessment being incorporated by their teachers, something which practitioners underscored in the interviews they strived to avoid so that learners did nor perceive any sort of differential treatment.

Finally, as regards coordination and training, while students' viewpoints of their teachers' preparation to step up to the challenge of diversity are high across the board (for language teachers -m=4.75-, content teachers -m=4.69-, and language assistants -m=4.67-), their perceptions of multi-tiered systems of support pivot towards an average satisfaction (m=4.39). They are significantly less aware than their teachers of the support provided by multi-professional teams (m=3.85), although they do appreciate the role of the guidance counselor (m=4.61) to a greater extent. In the interviews, they mention that, although coordination among their teachers is not watertight, they do witness it, especially with the language assistant. Their view of parental involvement is more negative than that of their teachers (m=4.11). These outcomes are, however,

slightly more positive for both cohorts considered than those found in the latest research (Casas Pedrosa & Rascón Moreno, 2023; Pérez Cañado, 2023), which thus points to a shy, albeit gradual amelioration of these systems, which appear to be reinforced as attention to diversity continues to take root across bilingual education.

An original framework of key success factors for inclusive bilingual education

These outcomes allow us to identify salient themes which feed into 22 key success indicators to set in place for effective diversity-sensitive CLIL programs, thereby addressing our third and final objective. Following Kirss et al.'s (2021) taxonomy, they are grouped into input and process factors. The former hinge on three main fronts (policy and ideology, resources, and curriculum decisions), while the latter affect four main aspects (namely, school climate. attitudes, and beliefs; school teaching and practice; collaboration; and support). Many of these success factors are reliant on macro-level decisions stemming from the educational

TABLE I. A framework of key success factors for inclusive bilingual education

Typology	Factor	Indicator	Level
Input	Policy and ideology	Adjustment of regulations: reduction of class size (teacher-student ratio)	Macro
	Resources	Resources and materials adapted to different student levels (especially linguistic)	Macro
		Universal access to ICTs and teacher training in digital competence	Macro
		C2 level for teachers	Macro
		Adequate language level of students guaranteed and adequate contents offered per level, mixing student levels in certain subjects	Macro

TABLE I. A framework of key success factors for inclusive bilingual education

Typology	Factor	Indicator	Level
Input	Curriculum	Reduction of content load, as said contents are recycled in subsequent grades and educational stages	Macro
		Reorientation of the subjects taught in the target language, as some of them are more amenable to being taught through CLIL than others (e.g. Spanish History should be maintained in the L1)	Macro
		Provision of continuity for subjects taught through the target language, so that they are not implemented in different languages across grades	Meso
		Increase in motivation in the content subjects taught through the target language for their adequate acquisition by all students, especially at Secondary level	Micro
Process	School climate, attitudes, and beliefs	Awareness that setting diversity-sensitive measures firmly in place takes time	Meso/Micro
		Maintenance of a positive attitude towards the possibility of CLIL being for all	Micro
	School and teaching practice	Purposeful and strategic use of the L1 and analysis of the interaction between the L1 and L2	Micro
		Variety of student-centered methodologies and types of groupings (cooperative learning, tasks, projects, gamification, flipped classroom)	Micro
		Extensive use of visual and multimodal scaffolding	Micro
		Diversified, formative and summative, transparent, adapted, and commonly designed evaluation criteria and instruments, which departs from students' initial level and incorporates self-assessment	Meso
	Collaboration	Coordination through co-tutoring and co-teaching, in order to address difficulties, contrast information, and share good practices	Meso
		Time for bilingual teachers to coordinate within their in-school schedule	Meso
		Parental involvement through multi-tiered systems of support	Meso
		Coordination with language assistants	Meso
	Support	Teacher development options specifically on attention to diversity in bilingual education	Macro
		Adequate training for language assistants	Macro
		Increased support for teachers from the administration in coordination, training, and access to materials	Macro

Source: Compiled by the authors.

authorities (e.g. questions of ratio, language level certification, or the types of subjects taught through CLIL). However, another important batch of indicators depend directly on schools and teachers (including enhanced coordination, the development of student-centered methodologies, or the motivation and attitude necessary for these programs to be successful for all). Table I now presents the breakdown of the criteria, classified in terms of typology, factor, indicator, and level:

Conclusion

This study has focused on key success factors to cater for diversity in CLIL scenarios, a topic which has recently garnered heightened attention in the specialized literature, but remains as yet underexplored. Key informants (students and three types of teachers) have been polled and interviewed using four types of triangulation. Three RQs have been addressed in order to identify the linguistic, metodological, materials-oriented, assessment, coordination, and traning techniques which are best suited to accommodate differentiation in the CLIL classroom and to design a brand-new framework of success factors to guarantee they are adequately addressed in order to unlock the full potential of bilingual education for all.

Vis-à-vis our first RQ, practitioners evince self-confidence in their language level and preparation to step up to the challenge of diversity in CLIL. Multimodal scaffolding and purposeful, strategic use of the L1 are regarded as valuable strategies in this respect. A variety of student-centered methodological options also appears to be a reality to disrupt educational inequities, particularly through the use of tasks and projects, cooperative learning, gamification, the flipped classroom, and mixed-ability groupings. Materials, however, are still a major hurdle on the road to diversity, as their scarcity is clearly documented. Against this grain, ICTs appear to be used to a greater extent as a welcome solution to address diverse levels and paces. Progress equally needs to be made on assessment for differentiation (particularly in summative evaluation), to ensure it is diversified, transparent, adapted, attuned to diverse student levels, and self-assessed. Finally, our results lend credence to the fact that diversity has reinforced coordination, although it needs to be carried out within the in-school schedule. Parental involvement also needs to be

heightened and the LA's training and coordination surfaces as another niche which requires substantial reinforcement.

In turn, RQ2 has allowed us to ascertain that students' perspectives run largely parallel to teachers' on linguistic and methodological issues. Indeed, linguistic scaffolding and L1 use (albeit as a last resort) are also documented by this second cohort as successfully deployed strategies to ensure no learner is left behind. Students clearly value systematic language alternation to facilitate understanding of new content. Students' faith in their practitioners' preparation runs strong and they equally perceive student-centeredness and variegated methods as present in the CLIL classroom to cater for diversity. Some tensions have surfaced, however, betwen both cohorts' perceptions on the teacher-frontedness of CLIL lessons, which the students maintain still characterize bilingual teaching. Learners also underscore, to a greater extent than their teachers, the value of peer assistance through pair and group work. Conguent outlooks with teachers ensue for materials and resources. Multimodality and diversification of materials are ascertained, a positive finding since the textbook is not considered to be aligned with diverse needs. This tendency positively disrupts previous trends in the literature, as a timid yet firm progression seems to be characterizing resources for diversity. Differentiation seems to be less present in both formative and summative assessment, although this outcome can be positively interpreted since students' awareness might not have been raised in this respect to avoid feelings of disenfranchisement. Finally, a modest increase in coordination is also perceived by this cohort, especially with the language assistant, although parental involvement and multi-tiered systems of support are still scant.

Thus, on the basis of this track record, it is safe to say that three main tendencies are unveiled by our data. First, a conspicuous overall alignment of teacher and student views can be discerned as regards successful strategies for inclusive CLIL programs, something which points to the fact that their opinions are a realistic snapshot of grassroots practice. A second chief take-away is that headway is notably being made in this area, as key factors for success have increasingly been identified as present in CLIL classrooms by both cohorts. In this sense, it takes time for attention to diversity to become a hard-and-fast reality in our bilingual education system. And, finally, there are certain recurrent issues which the specialized literature has repeatedly identified as niches to be filled,

but which still stand in need of being adequately addressed (e.g. time for coordination within teachers' official timetables or the preparation of LAs).

These patterns necessitate new pedagogical considerations regarding the ways in which our educational system should accommodate diversity. And these didactic, evidence-based implications are precisely what have fed into an original theoretical framework (RQ3) comprising 22 success indicators, grouped into input and success factors, macro-/meso-/micro-levels, and encompassing seven main fronts which range from policy and ideological issues to school and teaching practice.

The validation of such indicators should seriously inform future investigation on bilingual education and this study hopes to be a stepping stone in mapping out future pathways for progression in this area. Indeed, more stringent and consistent research into quality assessment and bilingual education effectiveness for all will undoubedly help shed better light on the new challenges which CLIL is throwing our way, provide more substantial evidence to support changes in policy, and allow us to continue developing CLIL pedagogies attuned to the novel needs of an inscreasingly diverse bilingual learner population.

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The impact of the mandatory nature of bilingual programmes on the attitudes and perceptions regarding bilingual education among secondary education content subject teachers

El impacto de la obligatoriedad de los programas bilingües en las actitudes y percepciones sobre la educación bilingüe del profesorado de asignaturas de contenido de educación secundaria

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Abstract

The different legislative developments of the Spanish Autonomous Communities in relation to bilingual education in compulsory secondary education allow schools in various territories to offer bilingual education on a voluntary basis. However, in others all students enrolled in a particular school are forced into this type of education. The aim of this work was to investigate secondary school teachers' attitudes, self-efficacy and perceptions about students' achievements, establishing a comparison between content subject teachers from schools where bilingual education is compulsory and teachers who work in schools where students can choose whether to join the bilingual programme or not. To this aim, an ex-post-facto research design was used. Data have been collected using different questionnaires designed to measure the constructs involved in the research. To answer the research questions, psychometric analyses were carried out to ensure

the validity and reliability of the instruments as well as descriptive analyses, mean differences analyses, and a binary logistic regression. The results reveal better perceptions in teachers from schools where bilingual education is not compulsory for all students. Teachers in these schools show more positive attitudes towards this type of teaching, especially in instrumental attitudes, greater self-efficacy and better perceptions of student results and their involvement in the classroom. In view of these results, it would be convenient for the educational administrations to open a debate with teachers on the issue of bilingual education being obligatory for all students.

Keywords: secondary education, bilingual education, teachers' perceptions, obligatoriness, attitudes, self-efficacy.

Resumen

Los diferentes desarrollos legislativos de las Comunidades Autónomas españolas en relación con la enseñanza bilingüe en educación secundaria obligatoria permiten que en algunos territorios los centros oferten de manera voluntaria dichas enseñanzas. Sin embargo, en otros, todos los estudiantes matriculados en un centro bilingüe se ven obligados a cursar este tipo de enseñanzas. Este trabajo se planteó como objetivo investigar las actitudes, la autoeficacia y las percepciones sobre los logros de los estudiantes del profesorado de asignaturas de contenido en centros de educación sedundaria bilingües, estableciendo una comparación entre profesorado de centros en los que la enseñanza bilingüe es obligatoria y profesorado que trabaja en centros en los que los estudiantes pueden elegir si se unen al programa bilingüe o no. Para llevar a cabo el trabajo, se ha utilizado un diseño de investigación ex-post-facto. Los datos se han recogido utilizando diferentes cuestionarios diseñados para medir los constructos implicados en la investigación. Para contestar a las preguntas de investigación, se han llevado a cabo análisis psicométricos para asegurar la validez y la fiabilidad de los instrumentos así como análisis descritivos, análisis de diferencias de medias y de regresión logística binaria. Los resultados muestran percepciones más positivas en el profesorado de centros en los que la educación bilingüe no es obligatoria para todo el alumnado. El profesorado de estos centros muestra actitudes más favorables hacia este tipo de enseñanza, especialmente en las actitudes instrumentales, una mayor autoeficacia y mejores percepciones sobre los resultados de los estudiantes y su implicación en el aula. En vista de estos resultados, resultaría conveniente que las administraciones educativas abriesen un debate con el profesorado sobre la cuestión de la obligatoriedad de la enseñanza bilingüe para todo el alumnado.

Palabras clave: educación secundaria, educación bilingüe, percepciones del profesorado, obligatoriedad, actitudes, auto-eficacia.

Introduction

Bilingual education (BE), understood as teaching contents in a foreign language, has been developed in the Spanish education system for decades. BE began in Spain through a pilot programme promoted by the Ministry of Education and the British Council in 1996. In 2004 the Community of Madrid launched its first own BE programme and, between 2004 and 2009, it was followed by the rest of the Autonomous Communities. Cantabria took longer and it did not implement the bilingual programme until 2013 and, finally in 2016, the Ministry of Education completed the process in the autonomous cities of Ceuta and Melilla. According to Lacasa et al. (2021), 1 out of 4 students at obligatory secondary education (ESO) in Spain are enrolled in bilingual programmes.

At present, the legislative programme regarding BE in Spain is complex. The Autonomous Communities have been transferred part of the educational powers and bilingual programmes in Spain are regulated in the different Autonomous Communities, normally through an order which is complemented by annual publications which include operating instructions. It can be stated that nowadays there are as many bilingual programmes in Spain as educational administrations (17 Autonomous Communities plus the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training). As an example, the Community of Madrid is the only region which has the *sección/programa* structure. The 'section' was created for those students coming from bilingual primary schools with a good command of the foreign language. The 'programme' was aimed at students coming from bilingual primary schools with a lower command of the foreign language or from non-bilingual primary schools.

Overall, there is a great degree of heterogeneity in the compulsory/voluntary nature of bilingual programmes in Spain. In the Region of Murcia, for example, the Order 5085 of June 3rd 2016 raises the obligation to implement the bilingual programme in all infant and primary education schools as well as the "foreign language teaching system" in any of the modalities established by the order, in all educational centres in the Region for the 2018-2019 academic year. Therefore, the voluntary criterion which prevailed in the orders which regulated the selection of bilingual schools in the previous years has been abandoned.

In Andalusia, the Instruction 21/2022, July 21, of the General Directorate of Educational Planning and Evaluation, states that BE must be

implemented progressively in schools in all groups. Those bilingual schools where all the groups are not yet bilingual, because they are covered by the first transitory provision of the Order of June 28, 2011, must progressively increase them until they all become bilingual groups.

Most studies carried out up to now have analysed the impact of the bilingual programmes on the development of students' foreign language competence, most if not all showing their positive effects (Lorenzo et al., 2010). Other studies have analysed the impact on students' mother tongue (Pérez Cañado, 2018), while some others have focused on the impact on the contents of subjects taught in the foreign language (Hunt, 2011).

In general, there is a paucity of research on the topic of the compulsory/voluntary nature of bilingual programmes. Doiz & Lasagabaster (2017) carried out a study on the management teams' and teaching staff's beliefs about obligatory Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) programmes in three schools in the Basque Country with the aim to see whether CLIL should be optional or obligatory for the students. The study reveals that there is no consensus among the school management teams which participated in the study. As for the teachers, the study revealed that they tend to agree with their management teams on the CLIL model for their schools, and that experience seems to be a key factor in the school decisions. According to Doiz & Lasagabaster (2017):

> The implementation of obligatory CLIL generates tensions as some teachers and management teams (i.e. school B) are concerned about the need to make it available to all students, whereas others (i.e. school A and school C for the near future) opt for non-compulsory CLIL due to the different problems brought about by its universalization. Throughout this process strains are created between some teachers and their management teams, because, despite the fact that equalizing opportunity is one of the basic tenets of state education, students' selection is jeopardizing it. However, some CLIL teachers clash with the harsh classroom reality which leads them to conclude that obligatory CLIL is not an asset but rather a liability. (p. 106)

In 2021 the Spanish Association of Bilingual Education (Gisbert et al., 2022) carried out a study among primary and secondary BE teachers with the aim of collecting their impressions and information about bilingual programmes in Spain. When asked about when a school must

become bilingual, 71.25% of the participants believed the school should decide on this matter, followed by teachers (17.56%), the administration (7,37%) and parents (3.82%). Participants were also asked on whether or not bilingual programmes should be offered. 69.97% believed that these programmes should be implemented only in the schools which apply for it, followed by in all schools (25.30%) and those schools determined by the administration (4.73%).

Paran (2013) discusses some contextual factors needed to be present in order for a CLIL programme to be successful. According to him, the first element which contributes to the success of CLIL is selective implementation. He believes that, in general, self-selection is likely to mean higher initial competence as well as higher motivation. Paran mentions other elements, such as the fact that CLIL works best with high achievers, where teachers' L2 level is high, and in countries which have a higher academic achievement and a higher literacy level in general, among others.

Bruton (2011a, 2011b) suggests that in much of the research on CLIL in Spain there are social and motivational differences between the CLIL and the non-CLIL groups. Furthemore, Bruton (2011b) maintains that there is every reason to believe that some students may be prejudiced by CLIL. When talking about voluntary CLIL streams, open to everyone, it is generally acknowledged that essentially the students who opt for, and are very often encouraged into, the bilingual programmes are those who are highly motivated and whose parents are generally in the higher socioeconomic classes. Therefore, there is an implicit selection.

Senra Silva (2021) carried out a study with content subject teachers, and one of the conclusions was that BE was felt to be a form of discrimination and selection by many informants who believed that, in general, BE is a covert form of student selection and discrimination and it marginalises those who cannot function in bilingual settings, often because they come from disadvantaged social classes. Many informants explained that they had noticed that the students with the best results (in terms of knowledge of the subject and competence in English), usually have some English language academic support outside high school, such as private English lessons in private language schools. The main concern is for those families which cannot afford such lessons. In addition, students increasingly come to school with a higher level of English certified by official and authorised bodies; so that, when going up to higher forms,

the level of difference between those who do not study, or progressively pass official language tests during the following courses of the ESO, becomes evident. Some teachers also maintained that the positive segregation of bilingual students is a problem for the life of the school.

Gortazar & Taberner (2020) conducted a study aimed at analysing the influence of the implementation of the bilingual programme in Madrid from the academic year 2004/2005 on school segregation and student performance. The data analysis concluded that school segregation by socioeconomic characteristics in secondary education in the Autonomous Community of Madrid is the highest in Spain and the second highest amongst OECD countries. Segregation gradually increased between 2009 and 2018, and these authors indicate two reasons for this, namely, the expansion of publicly funded private schools over the previous decade and the expansion of the bilingual programme. Furthermore, they maintain that in 2015, when the bilingual programme reached the last course of secondary education in public schools, school segregation notably increased within the public system. Likewise, in 2018, school segregation notably increased within publicly funded private schools, consistent with the arrival of the bilingual programme in the publicly funded private sector at the end of secondary education.

Teachers' attitudes towards bilingual education

An attitude is a relatively enduring set of beliefs, feelings, and behaviours towards an object or a situation (Dragojevic, 2016). Previous studies on BE have shown the high relevance of stakeholders' attitudes in students' language performance, proficiency self-perception (Botes et al., 2020; Garrett et al., 2003; Li & Wei, 2022a, 2022b, Rubio-Alcalá, et al. 2019), and motivation for learning a language (Merisuo-Storm, 2006; Oxford, 2001). In addition, teachers' attitudes towards BE may be influenced by the lack of, for example, support, adequate teaching materials, unified curricula (Lazarević, 2022), preparation time, training, or teachers' linguistic skills (Senra Silva, 2021). Although Spanish teachers show general positive attitudes towards BE (Pladevall-Ballester, 2015), they also express some concerns regarding diversity outreach, how they can help and motivate low-achieving students or, as stated above, the fact that some students could be left behind in bilingual programmes (Senra Silva, 2021).

Content subject teachers' job satisfaction

Several factors have been addressed as sources of bilingual educators' job dissatisfaction. Among them, the lack of language proficiency (Vázquez & Ellison, 2013) or the responsibility to ensure students' second language learning (Cammarata & Tedick, 2012; Mehisto & Asser, 2007; Vázquez & Ellison, 2013) have been highlighted in previous research. Some studies stressed the impact of teachers' emotions on their satisfaction. For instance, Breeze & Azparren (2021) related teachers' satisfaction to their experience and confidence. Moreover, Pappa et al. (2017) uncovered the existence of anxiety in bilingual teachers related to reaching teaching demands and standards. At the administration level, Hofstadler et al. (2020) pointed out the relevance of avoiding the ambiguity in BE standards and policies. Interestingly, when teachers compare bilingual and non-bilingual teaching, the former seems to be more stressful than the latter. In addition, it was found that training protects BE teachers' well-being (Hessel et al., 2020).

Teachers' self-efficacy

Self-efficacy can be defined within the context of the Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 1997, p.3) as the "beliefs in one's capabilities to organise and execute courses of action required to produce a given attainment". Teachers' self-efficacy (TSE) in the context of language teaching and learning has been the subject of previous studies (see, for a review, Hoang, 2018). These studies linked high levels of TSE to very relevant aspects of language teaching, such as self-reported English proficiency (Chacon, 2005), reflecting teaching practices (Chacón, 2005; Karimi et al., 2016), teachers' self-regulation (Ghonsooly & Ghanizadeh, 2013), teachers' democratic values (Zehir & Yavuz, 2011), organisational commitment (Gao, 2022), work engagement (Yang, 2021), and teaching satisfaction (Klassen & Chiu, 2011). Moreover, previous studies have also related TSE with students' outcomes as it positively affects students' confidence and learning approaches in different contexts of education (Blazar & Kraft, 2017). Fewer studies have been conducted on TSE in the context of BE. Some of them have suggested that BE could be a good environment to enhance teachers' self-efficacy due to its challenging nature (Iwaniec & Halbach, 2021; San Isidro, 2018).

Teachers' perceptions on students' outcomes in the bilingual classroom

Research on students' outcomes within the context of BE has been profuse in the last decades (see Graham, et al., 2018, for a review). Studies on teachers' perceptions about the outcomes of their students are, however, scarce. Trang & Nga (2015) reported a general satisfaction of teachers with their students' performance. In the same vein, Brevik & Moe (2012) suggested that teachers in Norway find BE rewarding since they perceive improvements in their students' language skills and content learning. However, Yang et al. (2014) reported a different teachers' perception regarding their students' progress in tertiary education, since they were more satisfied with their pupils' language improvements than with their content learning.

Purpose of the study

In the present study we gather data from high school content subject teachers in Spain on the optional/compulsory nature of bilingual programmes in secondary education. By addressing one of the stakeholders working on the ground, namely content subject teachers, we intent to obtain better insights into the research problem we are tackling in this investigation. We present obligatory vs optional as a contextual factor which may contribute to the success or failure of bilingual programmes.

As stated above, the way students join a bilingual programme may be key to both the students' and the programme's success (Bruton, 2011a, 2011b, 2013, 2015; Paran, 2013), as self-selection seems to be highly relevant. However, in Spain, depending on the territory, some students will be forced to enrol in BE if this type of education is compulsory in their school, whereas other students in other schools will be able to choose if they want to join the bilingual programme or go to the monolingual stream. Despite the growing importance of BE in Spain, there is a lack of studies about the possible effects of obligatory BE on stakeholders. As a result, the purpose of this study is to look into the effects of mandatory BE at secondary schools on content subject teachers' attitudes towards BE, job satisfaction, and perceptions of students' outcomes. To accomplish this goal, two research questions guided this study: The first research question (RQ1) seeks to compare the perspectives of teachers

who work in schools with optional BE to those of instructors who work in schools where BE is compulsory.

■ **RQ1**. Are teachers' attitudes towards BE, their job satisfaction, their self-efficacy, and their perceptions about their students' outcomes affected by the compulsory nature of BE programmes?

Our second research question (RQ2) aims to elucidate the most relevant variables from those included in this study—attitudes toward BE, job satisfaction, and views of student outcomes—to classify the teachers into mandatory and optional bilingual schools. This will allow us to model how the variables compared to answer the first research question contribute to explaining the distribution of teachers in both types of schools (i.e., which of them are statistically significant and to what extent they contribute to the model). This model will provide information about what variables from those included in this investigation better define the profile of teachers in non-compulsory bilingual schools compared to teachers working in mandatory bilingual schools.

■ **RQ2.** What variables from those included in this study better classify the teachers depending on whether they are working in compulsory or non-compulsory bilingual schools?

Method

Research design

A cross-sectional ex-post-facto research design was used to undertake this investigation. This type of non-experimental design is used when events have already occurred at the time the study was carried out. In our case, the teachers who participated in the study were already working at the high schools when the data were gathered. According to the type of school they work at, teachers were classified into two groups depending on whether or not BE is compulsory for all the students in their school.

Sampling and participants

A convenient sampling based on the accessibility of the schools and the teachers was carried out to select the participants in the study. A total of

32 Spanish schools (26 public and 6 charter schools) from four Spanish Autonomous Communities (Andalusia, Cantabria, Madrid and Principality of Asturias) volunteered for the data gathering. The sample comprised 209 secondary school teachers who work as content subject teachers in bilingual programmes (59.8% males, 36.8% females, and 3.3% who preferred not to classify themselves in either. The teachers averaged 43.83 years of age with a standard deviation of 9.31. Their average teaching experience was 14.82 years and they had been involved in bilingual programmes as content subject teachers for 6.35 years on average. Of the total, 73 (34.9%) worked at a school in which BE was mandatory for all students whereas the rest of the teachers in the sample (136; 65.1%), worked at a school where BE was optional.

Instruments and variables

Teachers' attitudes towards bilingual education

The measurement of teachers' attitudes towards BE was carried out using a semantic scale proposed by Gardner (1985). This instrument has been previously used in the context of BE research (see, for example, Lasagabaster and Sierra, 2009) and consists of presenting a series of antonyms (unnecessary/necessary, awful/nice, unappealing/appealing, unpleasant/pleasant, insignificant/important, useless/useful, boring/interesting, and relaxing/stressful) intended to characterise both ends of teachers' possible attitudes towards bilingual education. To avoid central responses, participants were asked to express their answers on a 6-point Likert-type scale from 1 to 6. For instance, regarding necessity, 1 and 6 would mean totally unnecessary and totally necessary, respectively.

Teachers' job satisfaction

This construct was measured using an instrument designed *ad hoc* for this investigation. The scale consisted of five items, such as "I am satisfied with my job in the bilingual programme" (see Appendix). A 5-point Likert-type scale was used to measure the perceptions of the participants from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree). The writing of the items was

based on previous instruments (Macdonald & MacIntyre, 1997; Hessel et al., 2020). This instrument was validated for the study sample. Validation was ensured by Exploratory Factor Analyses (EFA) of the five items of the scale. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olking statistic confirmed the sampling adequacy for this analysis (KMO=.758), and the correlation between items was large enough to proceed with the EFA, $\chi^2(10) = 194.44$, p<0.001. Using the Kaiser-Guttman rule, only one factor, which accounted for 58.8% of the variance, was extracted (see the factor loadings in the Appendix). Then, this computation allowed the definition of the variable job satisfaction. The Cronbach's alpha of this variable was .714, showing reasonable reliability (Cohen et al., 2011).

Teachers' self-efficacy for bilingual education

The measurement of the teachers' self-efficacy for BE was carried out using the scale proposed by Vilkancienė et al. (2017) which consists of 10 items. The participants' answers were collected using a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree). To measure teachers' self-perceptions of their own competencies to teach in a bilingual classroom, items like "I am able to identify the appropriate content to be taught in my CLIL lesson" were employed (all the items of the instrument are collected in the Appendix). To ensure the instruments' validity, an EFA was carried out. The Barlett's test ($\chi^2(45) = 823.04$, p<0.001) and the KMO statistic (0.788) confirmed a suitable degree of item correlations and the sample adequacy to proceed with the factor analysis. Using the Kaiser-Guttman rule, this analysis allowed the extraction of a single factor which explained 56.8% of the variance (see the factor loadings in the Appendix). The reliability analysis rendered a Cronbach alpha of .877.

Teachers' perceptions of students' outcomes in the bilingual classroom

Teachers' perceptions of students' linguistic competence and outcomes were measured using an adaptation of the scale proposed by Lancaster (2016) which consisted of 10 items to be answered on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (totally disagree) to 5 (totally agree). To study the validity of the instrument, an EFA was carried out. The value of the KMO

statistic (.893) and the sphericity test ($\chi^2(45) = 1269.56$, p<.001) confirmed the fulfillment of the sample and correlation conditions to proceed with this analysis. The EFA rendered a 3-factor solution using the Kaiser-Guttman rule, which explained 76.12% of the variance. After a varimax rotation, the three factors were defined as teachers' perceptions of students' (i) linguistic competence (4 items), (ii) improvements associated with the bilingual programme (3 items), and (iii) involvement in the bilingual classroom (3 items), in light of the statements of the items associated to each factor (see the factor loadings in the Appendix). The reliability of the three sub-scales were, respectively, .894, .730, and .850.

Procedure

The research project was approved by the UNED's Research Ethics Committee ensuring the fulfillment of all ethical requirements for projects involving human beings. The schools were contacted, and the research team explained the aims of the data gathering and how it was going to take place. The collection of data was carried out through an online survey. This instrument comprised the aforementioned four scales: teachers' attitudes towards bilingual education (8 items), teachers' job satisfaction (5 items), teachers' self-efficacy (10 items), and teachers' perceptions of students' outcomes in the bilingual classroom (10 items). Besides, demographic information was gathered at the beginning of the survey (age, gender, teaching experience, and teaching experience in bilingual education) to characterise the participants. The teachers at each school were contacted via email to let them know the purpose of the research project, the instructions to fulfill the survey, and the link they needed in order to complete it. They were previously asked for their informed consent and a sincere response, being reminded that anonymity was ensured.

Statistical analyses

First, the validity of the scales was assessed by means of an Exploratory Factorial Analysis (EFA) using the principal axis factorisation (Goretzko et al., 2021). When more than one factor was extracted, a varimax rotation was used to facilitate the interpretation of the factors. The reliability of each scale was estimated using Cronbach's alpha. Once the latent variables

were defined, descriptive and inferential analyses were conducted using the software SPSS v.27 (Arbuckle, 2010). The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test confirmed the non-normality of the variables related to attitudes. However, the values of asymmetry and kurtosis of these variables rendered values below 2 and 7, respectively. Thus, the distributions of the latent variables are close to normality (Mishra et al., 2019). The means of the complete sample were compared using Repeated Measure Analysis of the Variance (RM-ANOVA). Mauchly's test revealed that the assumption of sphericity (ε=0.74) was violated (χ^2=207.71, p<.01). Consequently, the Greenhouse-Geisser corrected results are reported. In the case of teachers' job satisfaction and teachers' self-efficacy, the group comparisons were undertaken by means of the Students' t-test, and the effect size was estimated using Cohen's d statistic, being the threshold values for its interpretation < 0.20 very small, 0.20-0.49 small, 0.50-0.79 moderate, > 0.80 large (López-Martín & Ardura, 2023). However, given the correlations between the attitudes and the correlations between the teachers' perceptions about their students' outcomes, mean comparisons were computed on both sets of variables using a factorial Multivariate Analysis of the Variance (MANOVA) accompanied by an estimation of the effect size using the eta-squared statistic (η^2). The cut-off values for its interpretation were > 0.01 very small, 0.01-0.05 small, 0.06-0.13 moderate, > 0.14 large (López-Martín & Ardura, 2023).

To investigate what variables, from those included in this investigation, better classify the teachers in the sample as teachers working in non-compulsory vs. compulsary bilingual schools, a sequential stepwise binary logistic regression was carried out. This statistical technique allows contrasting models which can classify the participants into the levels of a dichotomous variable (criterion variable) by means of a linear combination of a series of variables (classification variables). In this investigation, the criterion variable was the type of school in which the teachers work comprising two levels: compulsory bilingual schools and non-compulsory bilingual schools. In our analyses, the classification variables were introduced in blocks, the first block being the teachers' attitudes towards BE, the second block being the three variables related to teachers' perceptions about students' outcomes in the bilingual classroom, and the third block being teachers' job satisfaction and self-efficacy. This sequential procedure allows to test whether adding a new set of variables improves the statistical model's predictability. To study the statistical significance of the models, we carried out a chi-squared test. Besides, the percentage

of well-classify participants by the models and the Nagelkerke's R^2 were computed to assess the quality of the models. The Hosmer and Lemeshow test confirmed the data fit to the model. All computations were made using SPSS v.27 (Arbuckle, 2010).

Results

The mean values and standard deviations of the teacher's attitudes for the sample as a whole and as a function of whether the participants work in a school in which BE is compulsory for all the students or not are shown in Table I. The mean comparison across positive attitudes for the total sample was carried out using a one-way RM-ANOVA. Statistically significant mean differences were found among attitudes ($F(4.57, 949.81)=4.64$, p<.01, $\eta^2=0.02$). The highest mean scores among all positive attitudes were found in the necessity (4.91) and usefulness (4.96) of BE, being the difference between these two mean values non-significant. *Post hoc* comparisons also uncovered significant differences between the usefulness and niceness of BE (4.77), its pleasantness (4.74), its importance (4.73), and its appealingness (4.71).

Regarding the comparison of the teachers' attitudes depending on whether BE is compulsory or not in the schools they are working at (see Table I), MANOVA found significant mean differences in all the positive attitudes (V=0.16, $F(6,203)=6.57$, p <.001, $\eta^2=0.16$) across these two groups of teachers. Follow-up univariate ANOVA allowed the comparison of each individual attitude. The highest effect sizes for this comparison were found in pleasantness with a large size effect followed by niceness, appealingness, importance, usefulness, and interest, with moderate to large effect sizes. Finally, even though statistically significant differences were found in necessity, this particular difference presented a small effect size ($\eta^2=0.04$) (see Table I).

As shown in Table II, the Students' t-test found that teachers' job satisfaction is significantly higher in the case of those who work in a school in which BE is taken voluntarily by students (t=4.55, p < 0.01, d=0.60). In the same fashion, teachers' self-efficacy for teaching in bilingual classrooms is significantly higher when BE is not compulsory (t=3.00, p=.03, d=0.50). The effect of the type of school on teachers' perceptions of their students' outcomes related to BE was studied by means of a MANOVA which found significant mean differences in students' improvements,

TABLE I. Descriptive and inferential results for the attitudes towards BE group comparisons

Attitudes	Total		Compulsory		Non-compulsory		p	η²
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD		
Necessary	4.91	1.18	4.58	1.39	5.09	1.01	.003	0.04
Nice	4.77	1.30	4.15	1.52	5.10	1.02	<.001	0.12
Appealing	4.71	1.17	4.15	1.27	5.01	0.99	<.001	0.12
Pleasant	4.74	1.26	4.07	1.42	5.03	0.97	<.001	0.15
Important	4.73	1.25	4.18	1.52	5.03	0.96	<.001	0.11
Useful	4.96	1.23	4.42	1.54	5.25	0.91	<.001	0.10
Interesting	4.83	1.21	4.34	1.39	5.10	1.01	<.001	0.09
Stressful	3.85	1.17	4.04	1.01	3.75	1.24	.094	0.01

TABLE II. Descriptive and inferential results of teachers' perceptions about their job satisfaction, their own competence, and their students' outcomes

Variable	Total		Compulsory		Non-compulsory		p	Effect-size
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD		
Job satisfaction	3.63	0.63	3.37	0.65	3.77	0.58	<.01	d = 0.60
Self-efficacy	3.87	0.51	3.73	0.53	3.95	0.49	.03	d = 0.50
Improvements	3.61	0.66	3.35	0.68	3.76	0.61	<.01	η² = 0.09
Involvement	3.45	0.74	2.99	0.71	3.69	0.63	<.01	η² = 0.20
Competence	3.36	0.76	2.91	0.68	3.60	0.69	<.01	η² = 0.19

Source: Compiled by the authors.

involvement, and linguistic competence (V=0.24, F(3,205)=20.99, p <.001, η²=.24) across the two groups of teachers. Follow-up univariate ANOVA showed statistically significant mean differences in the three traits, with large effect sizes (see Table II).

The role of the variables included in this investigation to classify the teachers in terms of whether or not they are working at a compulsory or non-compulsory bilingual school was studied by means of a sequential logistic regression model. Table III shows the results for the two statistically significant binomial logistic regression models developed in this study. In each model, the chi-squared tests, the percentage of

classification, and the value of Nagelkerke's R² are displayed along with the model coeficientes (B), the standard errors (SE) and the odd ratios (OR) for each classification variables.

The significant first model (Model I) was constructed using the students' attitudes as the classifying variables and grouped 71.3% of teachers adequately (R² Nagelkerke = .220). In turn, in the second model (Model II), the three latent variables regarding the teachers' perceptions of the students' outcomes were included in the analyses. This new model increases the classification percentage up to 82.3% and the Nagelkerke R² up to .349. Finally, the inclusion of teachers' job satisfaction and self-efficacy in the model did not render a statistically significant model.

As shown in Table III, pleasantness towards BE was the only significant classifying variable of working in a non-compulsory bilingual school among all attitudes (B=0.72; p<.01). For an increment of one unit in this variable, the probability of being a teacher who works in a non-compulsory bilingual school doubles (OR=2.05). When variables related to teachers' perceptions about students' outcomes were included in the analysis (Model II), positive effects of students' involvement (B=0.87; p<.01; OR=2.39) and students' competence (B=0.65; p<.01; OR=1.92) were found. Thus, as the level of the teachers' perception of students' involvement and linguistic competence increases, the probability of being classify as a teacher working in a non-compulsory school becomes higher. Interestingly, teachers' perceptions about students' improvements is not a significant classifying variable of the type of school they work at.

TABLE III. Results from the sequential logistic regression model

Classifying variables	Model I (χ^2=32.70, p<.001; 71.3%; R²=.220)			Model II (χ^2=61.00, p<.001; 82.3%; R²=.349)		
	B	SE	OR	B	SE	OR
Constant	-2.71	0.67	0.07	-5.55	0.97	0.01
Pleasant	0.72**	0.14	2.05	0.42**	0.15	1.52
Involvement	-	-	-	0.87**	0.33	2.39
Competence	-	-	-	0.65*	0.29	1.92

NOTE: only significant classifying variables from each block were included in this table, B: regression coefficient; SE: standard error; OR: odds ratio.
* p < .05; **p < .01. Source: Compiled by the authors.

Discussion and conclusions

According to Paran (2013), there is a need to understand the contexts in which BE succeeds or not. As stated above, Spanish secondary schools can offer their students bilingual programmes on a mandatory or optional basis depending on the Autonomous Community. The main goal of the present investigation was to study the effect of the mandatory nature of BE in secondary Spanish schools on content subject teachers' attitudes towards BE, job satisfaction, and perceptions of students' outcomes in bilingual programmes.

Our first research question (RQ1) was meant to assess how the fact that BE is mandatory in schools can affect teachers' attitudes towards BE, their job satisfaction, and their perceptions about their students' outcomes. Overall, the most positive attitudes in the sample of teachers were usefulness and necessity. Both attitudes are related to instrumental reasons to value BE rather than attitudes such as intrinsic interest or appealingness. Besides, there seems to be a correspondence between the teachers' attitudes uncovered in our study and the students' attitudes investigated in a previous study (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009). When the attitudes of teachers who work in schools where BE is voluntary were compared to the attitudes of those teachers who work in bilingual schools where BE is mandatory, our results showed significant differences in all positive attitudes, with the highest effect sizes in pleasantness, niceness, appealingness, importance, usefulness, and interest. Although the effect sizes do not vary much across the different attitudes, it is interesting to note that the largest effect sizes were found in those related to enjoyment (pleasantness, appealingness, and niceness). Although further studies should confirm it, this fact could be related to the better predisposition towards learning of students who voluntarily choose bilingual education compared to those who do not.

Differences have also been observed in attitudes such as importance, usefulness, and interest of BE in favor of teachers who work in schools with voluntary BE. In this case, the lower attitudinal levels found in schools with compulsory BE could be related to the fact that, as shown in this study, teachers' perceptions of students outcomes are worse than those of teachers in schools where BE is optional. Interestingly, the lowest effect size was located in necessity. This result shows that, regardless of the type of school, all the teachers consider BE a need for today's students, and instrumental attitudes are less impacted by the fact that BE is mandatory.

Teachers' perceptions about the stress level in BE does not seem to be related to the type of school they work at. In the same vein, teachers' job satisfaction is higher in schools where BE is voluntary. This trait has been previously linked to teachers' emotions (Pappa et al., 2017; Breeze & Azparren, 2021). Considering our results, the students' possibility to choose whether or not they want to join BE may be key to understanding the differences found in teachers' job satisfaction. The fact that students who opt for BE voluntarily may have better language skills would help alleviate teachers' anxiety (Pappa et al., 2017). According to our results, teachers in voluntary bilingual programmes had higher self-efficacy than those who work in schools where BE is mandatory. Thus, the fact that having students who choose whether or not they join BE (self-selection) may be playing an important role in teachers' self-perceptions of their own competence to teach in bilingual programmes. Given the importance of TSE and the challenging nature of BE, this finding could be particularly relevant to support voluntary BE policies in Spanish schools. It is interesting to note that TSE has been suggested by previous studies as an important predictor of teachers' skills for diversity outreach in other educational contexts (Yang et al., 2014), and it could also play an important role in bilingual approaches. Teachers' perceptions of students' outcomes were more positive in the case of those who are working in a school in which BE is voluntary. First, teachers seem to perceive that their students learn more than those in compulsory bilingual schools, with a moderate effect size. The same trend was found in teachers' perceptions of their students' language competence in the classroom; in both cases, large effect sizes were observed. Regarding students' language competence, self-selection can clearly play an important role, as those students who do not feel ready in terms of their language skills would opt out of BE. Interestingly, teachers' perceptions about students' involvement were also higher in schools where the bilingual programme is voluntary. The fact that students can have the opportunity to choose may allow for a specific selection of motivated and eager-to-learn students. This could be a potential explanation, which merits further investigation, for the differences found in teachers' attitudes and perceptions as a function of the compulsory/non-compulsory nature of BE in the school they work at.

Our second research question (RQ2) was oriented to uncover what variables among those included in this study (teachers' attitudes towards BE, teachers' job satisfaction, teachers' self-efficacy, and teachers' perceptions

about students' outcomes in BE) better classify whether the teacher is working at a compulsory or non-compulsory bilingual school. Despite the statistical differences noted in almost all the variables included in this investigation, only three were found to be significant classifying variables of the type of school the teachers work at. Among attitudes towards BE, only pleasantness increases the probability of teaching in a school where BE is voluntary. Interestingly, this result is in contrast with the mean difference analyses which yielded the largest size effects in the instrumental attitudes.

As one would expect, teachers' perceptions about students' language competence is an important classifying variable of the type of school. This finding could be related to the aforementioned self-selection of students as, in a school where BE is mandatory, all the students will end up in the bilingual classrooms despite their language command, whereas in schools where the bilingual programme is voluntary, the students with low standards in the second language are likely to be retained in the monolingual stream. Finally, it is interesting to note that teachers' perceptions about students' involvement in the bilingual classroom are more positive in schools where joining the bilingual programme is not compulsory. As previous studies have shown, students' involvement is key regarding performance, effort, initiative in learning, and interest (Groccia, 2018). Considering that all these traits are key in student-centred education, schools in which BE is voluntary for students seem to be in a better position to help students achieve their learning goals and boost their motivation to learn.

All in all, our study uncovered that content subject teachers' attitudes towards BE, their job satisfaction, their self-efficacy, and their perceptions about students' outcomes are better in the case of those who are working in schools where BE is voluntary for students compared to teachers who are working in schools where BE is compulsory. Interestingly, our binary logistic regression models pointed out that, among all the variables included in this investigation, only pleasantness towards BE and teachers' perceptions of students' outcomes in BE were key to classifying the teachers in one type of school or the other. In light of our results, a debate should be opened at the normative level since decisions that are made regarding the voluntary/compulsory nature of BE in schools have implications. For instance, diversity outreach could be highly affected by this sort of call. Administrations should discuss with the educational

community if it is more convenient to implement BE selectively and if participation in bilingual programmes should be a family choice or not.

Limitations and prospective research

The results shown in this study present several limitations which should be considered in order to understand our findings. First, as an ex-post-facto research design was used, it is not feasible to establish causal relationships. If possible, further studies using experimental designs should be conducted. Second, only self-reported data were employed in this investigation. Consequently, social desirability could be a possible source of bias and replication studies could be convenient to support our findings. Third, future studies using mixed method approaches could be useful in gaining a deeper understanding of the teachers' views regarding the problem investigated in this research. Finally, future studies should be undertaken to add other stakeholders' views, such as students, families or headteachers, on the impact of the compulsory nature of BE to this debate.

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Appendix

Items in each scale and factor loadings from the EFA

A. Job satisfaction scale

ITEMS	Loadings
Working in the bilingual programme has improved my academic and professional progression.	.809
My efforts in the bilingual programme have been acknowledged by my school.	.770
I am satisfied with my job in the bilingual programme.	.738
Teaching subjects using the foreign language generates additional paperwork and does not render positive academic results (reverse).	.556
Working in the bilingual programme classrooms presents working conditions benefits.	.504

B. Teachers' self-efficacy for bilingual education

ITEMS	Loadings
I am able to support learners in building their learning capacity.	.798
I am able to use strategies to support language learning in my content classes.	.783
I am able to design cognitively and linguistically appropriate learning/teaching materials.	.769
I am able to articulate CLIL-specific assessment needs and goals and to develop and implement related assessment tools.	.693
I am able to work with learners to jointly identify learners' needs in CLIL.	.691
I am able to create an authentic and meaningful safe learning environment for my learners (e.g., group work, pair work, etc.).	.665
I am able to use the language of appropriate complexity to ensure that my CLIL lesson goes smoothly.	.644
I am able to nurture cooperation with colleagues and have a repertoire of cooperation strategies and skills.	.624
I am able to plan content and language integrated lessons within the context of a general curriculum.	.617
I am able to identify the appropriate content to be taught in my CLIL lesson.	.610

C. Teachers' perceptions of students' outcomes in the bilingual classroom

ITEMS	Factor loadings		
	Competence	**Engagement**	**Improvements**
My students have adequate reading and writing skills in the foreign language.	.879		
My students have adequate linguistic awareness and reflect upon the foreign language.	.837		
My students have adequate listening and speaking skills in the foreign language.	.769		
My students have adequate knowledge of socio-cultural aspects and inter-cultural awareness in the foreign language.	.716		
My students are participative within the CLIL classroom.		.873	
My students are enthusiastic within the CLIL classroom.		.796	
My students are confident to get involved within the CLIL classroom.		.592	
My students' foreign language has improved due to my work in the CLIL classroom.			.834
My students' content knowledge of subjects taught in the foreign language has improved due to their participation in the CLIL classroom.			.728
My students' understanding of how language works has improved due to their participation in the CLIL classroom.			.554

Developing positive attitudes towards the use of literature in the bilingual classroom: a study with EFL teacher education undergraduates

El desarrollo de actitudes positivas hacia el uso de la literatura en el aula bilingüe: un estudio con estudiantado de Magisterio en Educación Primaria (Inglés)

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Abstract

Literature has always been a valuable resource in English as a foreign language learning. However, recently published research (Duncan & Paran, 2017, 2018; Calafato & Paran, 2019) indicates the need to motivate future foreign language teachers to use it. To do that, they propose the inclusion of literary experiences in the teacher education curriculum as well as the promotion of positive experiences that help them be ready to use literary texts in their future bilingual classrooms. The present cross-sectional empirical study examines the impact of a 15-week pedagogical intervention on teacher education undergraduates' attitudes towards the use of literature in the bilingual classroom. The intervention was based on the pedagogical principles of both the transactional theory (Rosenblatt, 1995,) and the dialogic theory (Flecha, 1997), which deal with literature as a complete educational resource. The participants were 37 undergraduates completing their degree in Primary Teacher Education with an EFL specialization and following a bilingual track. Data from three different cohorts (from 2017 to

2019) was collected using three data-gathering tools: a questionnaire based on Jones and Carter (2012), a written final reflection on the course, and focus-group meetings with each cohort. The information gathered was analysed using SPSS and NVivo statistical software. Results indicate that the intervention significantly increased students' favourable attitudes towards the use of literature, especially in terms of considering literary texts a valid educational resource for teaching content as well as for working on misconceptions and misbeliefs. Participants also showed a high degree of confidence in their abilities both to use literature and to motivate their students to approach literary texts with ease.

Keywords: initial teacher education, bilingual teaching, literacy, language and literature teaching, classroom research.

Resumen

La literatura siempre ha sido un recurso valioso en el aprendizaje de idiomas adicionales. Sin embargo, algunas investigaciones publicadas recientemente (Duncan & Paran, 2017, 2018; Calafato & Paran, 2019) señalan la necesidad de motivar al profesorado de lenguas adicionales a utilizarla. Para ello, plantean incluir experiencias literarias en el currículo de formación del profesorado, así como promover experiencias positivas que les ayuden a estar preparados para utilizar textos literarios en sus futuras aulas bilingües. El presente estudio empírico transversal examina el impacto de una intervención pedagógica de 15 semanas en las actitudes del estudiantado de Magisterio hacia el uso de la literatura en el aula bilingüe. La intervención se basó en los principios pedagógicos transaccionales (Rosenblatt, 1995) y dialógicos (Flecha, 1997), que tratan de la literatura como un recurso educativo completo. Las personas participantes fueron 37 estudiantes universitarios del Grado de Magisterio en Educación Primaria con especialidad en lengua inglesa y cursando un itinerario bilingüe. Se recogieron datos de tres cohortes diferentes (de 2017 a 2019) utilizando tres herramientas de recogida de datos: un cuestionario basado en Jones y Carter (2012), una reflexión final escrita sobre el curso y reuniones de grupos focales con cada cohorte. La información recopilada fue analizada utilizando el software estadístico SPSS y NVivo. Los resultados indican que la intervención aumentó significativamente las actitudes favorables del estudiantado participante hacia el uso de la literatura, especialmente en su consideración de los textos literarios como un recurso educativo válido para la enseñanza bilingüe, así como para trabajar conceptos y creencias erróneas. Las personas participantes también mostraron un alto grado de confianza en sus habilidades para utilizar la literatura y motivar a sus futuros discentes a acercarse a los textos literarios fácilmente.

Palabras clave: formación inicial del profesorado, enseñanza bilingüe, alfabetización, didáctica de la lengua y la literatura, investigación en el aula.

Introduction

Literary texts have proved to be a beneficial resource in the learning of additional language along decades (Maley, 1989; Collie & Slater, 1990; Hişmanoğlu, 2005; and Daskalovska & Dimova, 2012). However, the use of literature in bilingual contexts is still not a compulsory area in the teacher education curricula in Spain, and, when included, the pedagogical perspective taken isvery often centred on the study of literary texts rather than in their use in the classroom. Due to this, teachers are often ill-equipped, and seem unenthusiastic about using literary texts (Applegate &Applegate, 2004; Skaar et al, 2018). In this line, Calafato and Paran (2019) give a warning about the lack of reading habits and positive attitudes found in young EFL teachers, and advocate for a more explicit integration of literature into English language courses at university, especially those directed to pre-service teacher programs, based on enjoyable experiences around literature.

This study aims to measure the potential of a pedagogical approach to literature in promoting teacher education graduates' positive attitudes towards its use. The approach, which combines dialogic and transactional practices, was delivered in the subject "Exploring Children's Literature in English" over three consecutive academic years (2017-2018, 2018-2019, 2019-2020). Participants were Primary Education Teacher undergraduates in a bilingual track and completing an EFL teaching specialization.

This cross-sectional study collected both quantitative and qualitative information. Participants' positive attitudes were measured through a questionnaire based on Jones and Carter (2012) before and after the intervention. Written reflection and focus groups were used to gather qualitative information on the specific types of positive attitudes triggered.

This contribution also addresses a research gap identified in previous studies, such as Shanahan, (1997), Carter (2007), Paran, (2008), and Duncan and Paran (2018), concerning the lack of empirical evidence of the impact of the use of literature on students' educational development. To fill this gap, this study analyses and discusses mixed data collected along three courses to validate theoretical underpinnings. We hope that our conclusions will inform future research projects and classroom practice.

Theoretical framework

In the last decades, there has been a renewed interest in the role of literature in foreign language learning. The Common European Framework for Reference for Languages has recently incorporated literature as a resource to develop communicative dimensions, including mediation (CEFRL, 2020). Also, the Modern Language Association (MLA) suggested replacing the dualistic language-literature structure typical of higher education with a curriculum in which "language, culture, and literature are taught as a continuous whole" (2007, p. 3). Concerning bilingual education, its connection with the 4Cs (Communication, Cognition, Content and Culture) (Coyle et al., 2010) developed by the CLIL approach seems evident (Kramsch, 2013).

While literature is gaining momentum as a valid resource in the bilingual classroom, teacher undergraduates seem to be less prepared and less enthusiastic about its use. According to Calafato and Paran (2019), younger EFL teachers are less prone to use literature in their classes compared to more experienced teachers. The authors suggest that this lack of motivation towards literary texts may be balanced with the provision of positive experiences both at pre- and in-service stages. However, literature is not a compulsory component in many teacher education curricula, and when included, teacher educators often ignore how to design and implement a pedagogical approach that can favour those positive attitudes. In this line, Paran (2008) highlights some important elements that should be considered, such as:

> Tak[ing] different aspects of the learner and the context of learning into account, looking at the whole person and the whole culture, in which literature is part of developing the whole person, and in which affective development and affective factors are taken into account. (p.15)

Also, and following Bobkina and Dominguez (2014), it seems convenient to "combine different approaches to enhance the use of literature as an effective tool" (p. 255). All this considered, we propose a constructivist approach to learning based on the creation of a student-centred, communicative and respectful learning environment. More specifically, the pedagogical intervention has two theoretical pillars: the transactional theory of reading (Rosenblatt, 1995, 2005), which defines what type of

relationship between readers and text is considered, and what type of interaction is promoted in class, and, the dialogic learning theory (Freire, 1970, 2005), which explains the creation of a community of learners around literary texts and bring some specific strategies into play, such as the use of dialogic talks (Flecha, 1997). We consider these to be promising methodologies to increase students' positive attitudes towards learning using literature, as they ensure students' experiential learning, and create space for their voice and choice.

The transactional theory of reading, presented by Prof. Louise Rosenblatt in her book *Literature as Exploration* (1938) and developed until our times, was not designed for the teaching of additional languages. However, it serves to set up the type of interaction with the text we would like to promote in the classroom. Her philosophy about reading, very often wrongly classified as a reader-response theory, highlights the unique interaction between the reader and the text, which she considers to be 'a transaction'. In this exchange, the reader and the texts modify each other, and each reading event is unique. She also argues that this private sphere of reading should be promoted in education together with a public sphere, where readers can share their reading experiences in a positive learning atmosphere. Rosenblatt believed that using literary texts in this environment would ultimately promote active democratic citizenship.

The dialogic theory, started by Brazilian pedagogue Paulo Freire (1970, 2005), is based on power of words and dialogue to transform students' ways of seeing reality and the world. The presence of the dialogic theory in this study is more specifically found in the use of dialogic talks (Flecha, 1997). These talks promote the gathering of a group of people around a literary work. This instructional technique is developed in an environment of respect and tolerance. All the members of the community are invited to participate, and the experience is also open to people outside. Flecha (2015) also coined the term "dialogic reading" to define actions that take place in "numerous, diverse contexts at more times (during school hours and after school hours), in more spaces (from the classroom to the home and the street) and with more individuals (peers, friends, family members, teachers, neighbours, volunteers and other community members)" (pp. 39-40). These experiences consider the student's interests and daily lives, generate new spaces of equality and trust as to achieve a better relationship between the students and the community.

With the help of transactional and dialogic components as the theoretical basis of the intervention, it is expected exert a positive influence in EFL teacher education undergraduates' attitudes towards the use of literature in bilingual contexts. The learning environment created will also provide opportunities for discussion and reflection on the use of literature, thus encouraging metacognition as a core component of teaching professional development. In line with Bobkina and Domínguez (2014), we attempt to increase students' awareness of the multiple dimensions literature can cover.

Literature review

Recently published research on EFL teachers' approaches to literature in their classrooms. is generally focused on secondary and higher education. In an upper-secondary setting, Bloemert et al. (2016) report on a 20-item Likert-scale survey administered to 106 Dutch EFL teachers, who used literature as a compulsory component in pre-university courses. Findings indicate that teachers' practices differ greatly in the time devoted and in the methodology applied. The most influential factor in teachers' practices is 'curricular heritage': teachers embrace the practices and curriculum that is developed in the school as soon as they arrive. Participants found a slight predominance of the context approach (focused on historical, social and cultural elements), but made a case for the importance of implementing a Comprehensive Approach to "enrich literature lessons as well as increase FL students' understanding of contemporary literary prose" (p.184).

Duncan and Paran (2017) focused on the use of literature in the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme in the UK. The exploratory research sought to examine teachers' views and practices with literature in the foreign language classroom through a mixed methods approach involving, a 118-item online survey, teacher interviews, student discussions and student focus groups, open student questionnaires, and lesson observations. Three school case studies participated in this study. Results indicate that teachers are in favour of using literature and are aware of its educational potential. The participants were confident in their ability to teach literature, and at many times considered that their own engagement and passion for reading was the success factor in their use in the classroom.

In a second study (Duncan and Paran, 2018), the authors aimed to discover the different ways in which teachers negotiate the challenge of teaching literature inside the IB Programme. They conclude that it is important to allow teachers to choose the literary texts that may fit better to their contexts, and comment on how teachers who are passionate about literature transfer this to their learners.

The attitudes towards literature of 12 EFL language teachers at the University of Central Lancashire was studied by Jones and Carter (2012). Authors argue that literature is an essential teaching-learning resource in the Common European Framework for Reference (CEFR, 2010), and, therefore, it is important to use literary texts to "appreciate literature"; but also "as a resource for developing language and cultural awareness" (p. 80). Results show that most teachers (75%) find literature useful classroom material and recognise its potential to develop cultural awareness (66.6%). However, they consider it contains many difficult cultural references and low-frequency language (66.6%), and half of the respondents believe that understanding literature is not what most learners need to do, especially advanced learners.

A more specific view on how age can be an influential variable in EFL teachers' attitudes towards literature in EFL is offered by Calafato and Paran (2019). In their study, 140 Russian EFL teachers teaching at different levels completed an 85-item questionnaire. Their findings show that although they generally hold a positive view of literature in language teaching, the youngest group of participants (>30 years) uses literature to a statistically significantly lesser extent than the two older groups, and also report enjoying literature significantly less. The authors point to the need to enrich teacher education programmes (especially pre-service) with experiences that nurture a positive attitude towards the literary text.

Although studies on teacher undergraduates' attitudes towards literature in bilingual classrooms are scarce, there are some recent contributions located in Spain. Férez-Mora and Coyle (2020) measured undergraduates' beliefs before and after having used a lesson plan based on a poem in the EFL classroom. The data gathering tool was a 17-item Likert-type questionnaire covering three dimensions: linguistic, intercultural and motivational. Results indicate that students were more aware of the motivational and intercultural benefits of using poetry, but struggle to see their language learning potential.

This literature review indicates that teachers generally hold positive attitudes towards literature, and believe in the transferability of their passion for books. However, when coming to grips with literary texts in the classrooms, they report experiencing a lack of confidence and knowledge to use them appropriately. Most research published insists on the need to clarify the role of literature in the language classroom and to include courses on how to use literary texts as part of the teacher education curricula. Concerning methodological remarks, comprehensive approaches to literature, which explore its full educational potential, are generally fostered. Finally, most works highlight that it is urgent to enlarge the body of research to measure the impact of the use of literature empirically.

Method

The present study is empirical, as it tests the impact of a given pedagogical intervention, collecting data before and after their administration. It is also cross-sectional, as it was conducted during three consecutive courses with different cohorts of students. Finally, it uses a mixed-method approach that facilitates the obtention of qualitative and quantitative information.

Aims

The present contribution aims to measure the impact of a pedagogical approach based on transactional and dialogic practices in improving students' attitudes towards the use of literature in the bilingual classroom. Two hypotheses have been formulated:

H1: Experiencing this methodology increases teacher education undergraduates' value and appreciation of literary texts as educational resources.
H2: Experiencing this methodology increases teacher education undergraduates' motivation and readiness to use literary texts in the classroom.

Attending to these hypotheses, we can distinguish two main variables of the study, further subdivided as follows:

- ■ Participants' value and appreciation of literary texts as educational resources:
    - – Value and appreciation of literary texts as educational resources to learn content.
    - – Value and appreciation of literary texts to modify students' thoughts and behaviour.
    - – Value and recognition of the role of different literary genres in learning.
    - – Recognition of the usefulness of literary texts at all levels, even with young learners.

- ■ Participants' motivation and readiness to use literary texts in the classrooms:
    - – Perception of ability to motivate students to learn.
    - – Confidence in their ability to prepare lessons using literary texts.
    - – Perception of ability to integrate literature in the learning programme.
    - – Identification of literature as having a key role in their teaching practice.
    - – Recognition of skills to create classroom libraries.

Sample and context

Participants in this study are three different cohorts of students (N=37) distributed as follows: 14 (2017-2018), 10 (2018-2019), and 13 (2019-2020). Concerning age, 83.8% of the participants were between the ages of 21 to 25 years, while the rest were older than 25. With respect to their English level, all students had to present a B1 certificate to enter the bilingual itinerary. At the time of collecting data, in their fourth year in the degree, 73% of the participants possessed a B2 level of English (estimated or certified).

Taking as a reference the parameters stated by the PEW Research centre (2016), students show a medium-low reading habit in their mother tongue (Spanish), as 45.9% of participants claimed they read 1 to 4 books per year,

and 40.5% read 5 to 10. Only 10.8% read from 10 to 20. When looking at their reading habit in English, figures are higher for the strand from 1 to 4 books (59.5%); however, there was a higher number of students reporting not reading any (32.4%), and just 8.1% read from 5 to 10 books.

Concerning the context of the study, this was a private university, Centro Universitario Cardenal Cisneros, administratively linked to a state university, Universidad de Alcalá (Madrid, Spain). The university offers bilingual itineraries for both the Infant and Primary Teacher Education Degrees. The bilingual track consists of more than 50% of the subjects delivered in the curricula in English, which means that subjects of different areas, such as Psychology, Pedagogy, Science, History or Arts, are delivered in English along the four years. Besides developing the well-known 4 Cs (Coyle et al., 2010): Communication, Content, Cognition and Culture, this specific bilingual project includes a fifth element, labelled as 'connection', which encourages students to approach learning considering affective factors (Fernández-Fernández and Johnson, 2016). The bilingual project also includes a strong metacognitive component that invites students to reflect on what they experience as learners and its application to the Primary classroom. It is also worth mentioning that this bilingual project was awarded the European Language Label (2016) by the European Commission through the Spanish Service of Internationalization of Education.

Participants of the study were all enrolled in a compulsory subject for the EFL specialization: "Exploring Children's Literature in English", which revolves around the use of children's literature in EFL/CLIL contexts, thus experiencing the same pedagogical intervention. The subject was developed in 15 weeks in 150 hours (6 ECTS), which included the attendance to on-Campus sessions four hours per week over 15 weeks (60 hours total), reading texts, coordinating group work, preparing reading and writing assignments, and designing and creating materials and resources needed for the tasks proposed.

Data gathering tools

The study utilizes three different data-gathering tools. First, an attitudes questionnaire based on Jones and Carter's (2012) (see appendix 1). The questionnaire was used both as a pre- and post-test. It contained a general information section that sought to find information about their age, level

of English, and reading habits in English and Spanish. In a subsequent section, students are presented with 11 sentences and are required to share their level of agreement using a five-point scale from 'I completely disagree' to 'I completely agree'. The original instrument was designed for EFL university lecturers. For this reason, some items were slightly modified to match the participants' profile: EFL teacher education undergraduates in a bilingual itinerary. The final instrument was piloted with a small sample of students with a similar profile to participants who provided feedback on the improvement of the wording of some items. Also, one item was discarded from the original version, as it requested information about participants' past experience with literature, and therefore, was not subject to variation in the pre- and post- measures.

The second instrument used was written testimonies. Students were asked to write a short text (no longer than a page) about how the subject had contributed to their learning and professional development. The task was suggested to students after final marks had been released. Students' writings sometimes included evidence of their work, such as photographs of the materials they had created or links to activities they had developed over the 15 weeks.

The third instrument was a focus-group interview carried out by two external research team members, university professors, who had a one-hour meeting with volunteer students for each cohort. Focus group interviews were conducted asking students whether the experience had changed their attitude towards the use of literature, how this experience could impact their teaching practice and what elements of the experience could be changed to improve the intervention. Participants were also given room to share other opinions or views. Interviewers provided a summary of students' responses and note down some literal sentences expressed by participants.

Research procedure and ethics

The data-gathering tools were administered in the same way to all three cohorts participating. The Likert-scale questionnaire was delivered in the first week of class in September/October. In December, participants could see their initial responses and change them using a different colour if they did not agree with them. Descriptive and bivariate analysis was performed using SPSS V.20.

Students' written reflections on this learning experience were gathered in December, and focus groups were organised in January as a voluntary activity. All students participated. Qualitative data was entered in NVivo software. Transcriptions were coded independently by two researchers using the variables for this study as categories. The Kappa coefficient for inter-rater validity was 0.82, which is considered to be excellent (Landis & Koch, 1977). All statistical calculations were revised by a statistics technician external to the project.

All participants in the study signed a written consent document to allow the researchers to use the information gathered and disseminate results, provided that their identities were not disclosed. The data was securely stored in the university virtual drive, which was only accessible by the two researchers.

Pedagogical intervention

Participants were completing the subject "Exploring Children's Literature in English", which presents students with different literary materials for the CLIL/EFL classroom. The subject was delivered over 15 weeks, from September to January, using a transactional and dialogic methodology, as presented by Rosenblatt (1995, 2005) and Freire (1970, 2005), respectively. Students were invited to explore literary texts in a collaborative environment which encouraged discussion and critical thinking. They were taking different roles: as readers of these literary texts, as teachers who will use these texts in their future classrooms, and as writers, as creative writing was also promoted.

The contents of the subject included: storytelling, jazz chants, shape poems writing, drama activities (readers' theatre, freeze frames, improvisation, preparing simple scripts), the analysis of nursery rhymes and fairy tales, and materials development. Also, students participated in dialogic talks once a week discussing a young adult work of literature. These talks were open to other members of the educational community. In all lessons students were asked to reflect on their experience and its potential impact on their future teaching practices.

Following dialogic principles, students were free to participate with their opinions and views. They were also invited to co-construct learning, contributing to the group with their knowledge and experience. In the same vein, the transactional theory highlights both the private and public

spheres in reading, as students' individual reading experiences are combined with group-sharing activities. In this meaning-making process, students use efferent and aesthetic stances, (Rosenblatt, 1995), to discover that reading literary texts requires skills other than retaining information, and that the use of representational language generates text layers that may be interpreted differently by readers.

Results

In what follows, the results obtained through each of the data-gathering tools (attitude questionnaire, written reflections and focus groups) are discussed. Information gathered is described in relation to the variables included in this piece of research.

Attitude Questionnaire

Regarding pre- and post- differences, results demonstrate that initial attitudes are already positive, as none of the criteria scored below 2.5 out of 5; however, in the post-test, these attitudes have increased, especially in the item "It is difficult to motivate students to read in English" (reverse coded), with a difference of 0.73, followed by "Using literature is a secondary goal for me" (reverse coded) increasing 0.7. The only exception is the item: "Using literature takes a lot of preparation", with a slight decrease (-0.03). We can thus assert that attitudes after the intervention tend to be more positive.

Concerning the items participants agreed on the most, the highest average score in the post-test corresponds with "Literature can change students' misbeliefs, misconceptions, prejudices, etc." (4.86/5); followed by "Literature can help children understand content-subjects, such as Science or History" (4.81/5). Both items are related to the educational value of literary texts beyond language learning.

An analysis of the clusters of items associated with each of the variables of the study demonstrates an increase in both. The items associated with the first variable ("Participants' value and appreciation of literary texts") are items 2, 3, 7, 9 and 10, while items for variable 2 ("Participants' motivation and readiness to use literary texts") appear with an asterisk in Table I (items 1, 4, 5, 6, 8 and 11).

TABLE I. Attitudes questionnaire (Pre- and post-test results)

	N	Av. (Pre-test)	Av. (Post-test)	Av. Differences	Dev. (Pre-test)	Dev. (Post-test)
1. I am ready to use literary texts using different resources, materials, techniques*	37	4.16	4.76	0.6	0.8	0.49
2. Literature can be introduced in the classroom when students have an intermediate competence in the language. (Reverse coded)	37	3.27	3.57	0.3	1.33	1.28
3. Literature can change students' misbeliefs, misconceptions. prejudices. etc.	37	4.51	4.86	0.35	0.61	0.35
4. Using literature takes a lot of preparation (Reverse coded)*	37	2.54	2.51	-0.03	0.87	1.04
5. It is difficult to motivate students to read in a foreign language. (Reverse coded)*	37	3.41	4.14	0.73	0.93	0.95
6. There is enough time in class to introduce literary texts.*	37	3.22	3.32	0.11	0.95	1.16
7. Literary language is not useful for everyday communication. (Reverse coded)	37	4.3	4.35	0.05	0.7	0.75
8. Creating a classroom library is very expensive and difficult. (Reverse coded)*	37	4.41	4.59	0.19	0.72	0.72
9. I'd prefer not to use poetry in my English classes. (Reverse coded)	37	4.46	4.65	0.19	0.65	0.63
10. Literature can help children understand content-subjects, such as Science or History.	37	4.57	4.81	0.24	0.5	0.57
11. Using literature is a secondary goal for me. (Reversed coded)*	37	3.81	4.51	0.7	1.08	0.9

Source: Compiled by authors.

When looking at the means for each of the clusters (see table II), results indicate that both variables increase in the post-test: (0.23 for variable 1, and 0.38 for variable 2). This reinforces the positive trend, although it indicates that there is a slightly higher increase in participants' motivation and readiness to use literary texts. Despite these results, the highest total score in the post-test is related to students' value and appreciation of literary texts. Total results demonstrate that students' positive attitudes increase from 3.88 (pre-test) to 4.19 (post-test), thus showing a difference of 0.31.

To check whether these differences are found to be statistically significant, it is necessary to conduct a paired samples t-test. To perform this, the sample was tested for normal distribution using a Kolmogórov-Smirnov test (Table III).

Once the normal distribution of the sample for each of the variables of the study was confirmed, three t-tests were performed between the total results of pre- and post-tests, cluster 1 and cluster 2. In each of the

TABLE II. Attitudes questionnaire (Pre- and post-test results). Clusters for variables

	Average (pre-test)	Average (post-test)	Av. Differences
Variable 1. Value and appreciation of literary texts (Items 2, 3, 7, 9 and 10 in table I)	4.22	4.45	0.23
Variable 2. Motivation and readiness to use literary texts (Items 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 11 in table I)	3.59	3.97	0.38
Total	3.88	4.19	0.31

Source: Compiled by authors.

TABLE III. Kolmogórov-Smirnov test

	Total (pre-test)	**Total (post-test)**	**Cluster 1 (pre-test)**	**Cluster 1 (post-test)**	**Cluster 2 (pre-test)**	**Cluster 2 (post-test)**
Z de Kolmogórov-Smirnov	.706	.991	.655	1.046	1.171	.824
Sig. (2-tailed)	.702	.279	.785	.224	.129	.505

Source: Compiled by authors.

TABLE IV. T-tests performed

	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Total pre-test- Total post-test	-6.020	.000
Cluster 1 pre-test-Cluster 1 post-test	-4.445	.000
Cluster 2 pre-test- Cluster 2 post-test	-3.085	.004

Source: Compiled by authors.

three cases, the p-value was below 0.05, as it is shown in Table IV. These results indicate that there is a very small chance that the observed differences in means would have occurred by chance, therefore, we can reject the null hypothesis. In other words, the scores on the post-test are significantly higher than the scores on the pre-test for all three groups. This suggests that the intervention that was administered to the participants was effective in improving their scores.

The pedagogical intervention was also equally effective for each cohort (Graph I/Table V). The 2017/18 group increases 4.9, followed by the 2018/19 cohort with 3.6 and finally the cohort 19/20 increasing by 1.8. The increase in the three cohorts demonstrate a steady positive effect of the intervention in the three samples. It is also worth noting that the standard deviation in all cases decreases in the post-questionnaire, which may indicate that students' attitudes tend to be more similar after the pedagogical intervention.

Although the quantitative results demonstrate a clear positive trend in participants' attitudes after the implementation of the pedagogical intervention, it is necessary to complete these results with qualitative information obtained from written reflections and focus groups, as they may shed light to formulate valid conclusions.

Written reflections & focus groups

Results from the 37 written reflections and the three focus groups will be presented together and in relation to the variables set for this study.

GRAPH I. Average scores for positive attitudes in pre- and post-questionnaires per year
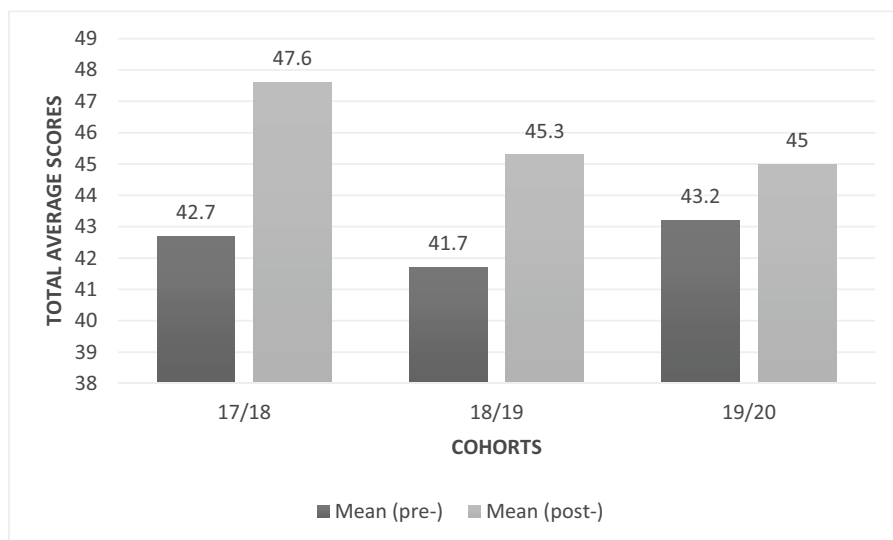
Source: Compiled by authors.

TABLE V. Average scores for positive attitudes in pre- and post- questionnaires per year

	N	Mean (pre-)	Mean (post-)	Mean differences	St. Dev (pre-)	St. Dev. (post-)	St. Dev difference
17/18	14	42.7	47.6	4.9	3.4	2	-1.4
18/19	10	41.7	45.3	3.6	4.5	4	-0.5
19/20	13	43.2	45	1.8	4	2.9	-1.1

Source: Compiled by authors.

Variable 1: Participants' value and appreciation of literary texts as educational resources.

Comments related to variable 1 are present in all the written reflections and all the focus groups conducted. When considering the sub-variables, 'Recognition of the usefulness of literary texts at all levels, even with young learners' shows the highest frequency (23 out of 37). 20 believe that the main reason for developing a negative attitude towards reading

is that teachers do not choose interesting books or that students are not involved in choosing the texts. In the same line, 12 participants would prefer multicultural texts, and six would choose contemporary authors. Three students pointed out that the literary materials used in class ail to represent all children, thus hindering the development of their identities.

The most frequent subvariable 'Value and appreciation of literary texts to modify students' thoughts and behaviour' is present in 25 reflections (67%). Teacher undergraduates indicate that shared reading impacts their knowledge, beliefs and actions. 23 reflections indicate that this practice allowed them to learn more "from the book and from my classmates" (ID 20).

Concerning 'Value and appreciation of literary texts as educational resources to learn content' students "generally agreed that literary texts can have a vital role in content-learning, but considered them as complementary material" (Focus group 2). In relation to 'Value and recognition of the role of different literary genres in learning', they mentioned that "it is difficult to enjoy poetry when we used to learn long epic poems by heart in our L1" (Focus group 3) and that "it may be a good idea to use literature in this way in the Spanish language classes" (Focus group 2). The transfer of practices between L1 and FL classrooms is also mentioned in 20 written reflections belonging to the three cohorts.

Variable 2: Participants' motivation and readiness to use literary texts in the classroom.

54% of the written reflections are related to "Participants' perception of ability to integrate literature in the learning programme". More specifically, they feel confident to take literature into their classrooms, because they firmly believe it can be enjoyed. One comment that illustrates this idea states (ID 31): "I just can say that I have never enjoyed opening a book. Never. And now I'm very motivated towards books and reading in any language." Other states that: "It is not just the book you choose, but how you present it to students to make the experience valuable. We have experienced this here." (ID 20). In the transcripts of the focus groups this is also a common topic, as it appears in all three.

The subvariable 'Confidence in their ability to prepare lessons using literary texts' is present in 19 written reflections. 12 explicitly refer to the dialogic-transactional methodology used: "This is much better than an

exam or work related to the book. Students can develop not only their English but also their critical thinking. Also, they can share their thoughts and predictions about the texts they read" (ID 29). In all focus groups participants shared their belief that what they had experienced could be transferred to their future classrooms.

Another frequent idea is the recognition of collaborative learning environments as a key pedagogical component, found in 10 written reflections and in all focus group conversations. One student refers to dialogic talks: "At the beginning I didn't even read the texts. I confess, but when I listened to my classmates reflecting on them, I felt motivated to discover them myself and see what I could get from them. If I can motivate my pupils to share and discover, they will enjoy stories" (ID 8). Some of them consider that resorting to their classmates (and not the teacher) means they can learn from their peers, and that "everybody can have a role in the classroom and, by extension, in society" (ID 25).

Students also generally agree that the creation of a positive learning atmosphere is pivotal to developing positive attitudes towards literary texts in the English classroom. One states: "It is difficult to participate when the teacher is just looking at your grammar, or you need to provide the correct answer" (ID 20). In this sense, participants highlight the importance of being part of authentic activities promoting real communication and fostering respect and tolerance. One of the participants shares: "I was surprised to find out that I could share my views, even if they disagreed with what was expressed earlier, and my classmates tried to understand my point of view. I felt heard and respected in the dialogic talks" (ID 6).

Participants also referred to the difficulties met and how they faced them. Five writings mention that experiential activities were challenging at the beginning. Also, in the transcript for focus group 1 we can find that students share that "it was difficult for them to think about their experiences, and sometimes they did not know what to say. They believed that this problem was solved through practice. Once students shared their views, they knew how to join the discussion." Language abilities seem to be another issue, as students in focus group 3 said that "most of the activities required advanced oral skills. They shared that they were shy to participate at the beginning. However, they highlight that the positive learning atmosphere encouraged them to participate and share their views without fear of making mistakes". Therefore, students had to adapt to a new learning environment where they were required to think and be active.

Finally, a common finding in written reflections is that some students longed to have experienced literature in a more positive way during their Primary and Secondary education studies. One comment representing this view is the one offered by this student (ID 25), who says: "I wish I had enjoyed literature as a child and teenager as I have done with this course. I'm sure I'd have been a more avid reader now. But it is never too late. I'm happy I can now enjoy stories much more".

Discussion

Results show that the pedagogical intervention based on transactional and dialogic techniques improved students' attitudes towards the use of literature in the three cohorts. Results are in line with Férez Mora and Coyle (2020), who recognised the positive impact of an experience with teacher undergraduates using poetry and recognize that it "amplified their identity systems as learners to a great extent" (p. 242).

The responses to the pre-test questionnaire show an initial positive attitude towards the use of literature. These results chime with previous exploratory studies in different countries, such as Jones and Carter (2012), Bloemert et al. (2016), or Duncan and Paran (2017). Although with caution as the attitudes of in-service teachers were not gathered, this may also indicate that this sample does not follow the trend indicated by Calafato and Paran (2019), which highlighted that younger undergraduates had fewer positive attitudes.

Data also indicates that the pedagogical intervention enhanced participants' confidence in their use of literature in the classroom, not only for language learning, but as an educational tool, promoting 'a passion for books' (Duncan and Paran, 2017). They increased their attitude towards their skills to motivate students to read literary texts using the techniques used in the intervention. This transferability may feed their teaching practices in the future.

Results in the post-test demonstrate that the highest scores belong to students' recognition of literary texts as useful resources to deliver content and change readers' prejudices and misbeliefs. The latter being a predominant area in the qualitative data gathered. This holistic consideration of the benefits literary texts may bring into the classroom are in line with Bloemert et al.'s (2016) wish to implement a Comprehensive Approach to

the teaching of literature. The transactional and dialogic strategies used in the pedagogical intervention of this study promote a more holistic view of the potential of literature in education, also considering it a springboard to discuss ideas with others, and to reflect on their own.

One common element in participants' contributions is their recognition of the value of a learning environment where cooperation and sharing were natural, as proposed by Rosenblatt (1995, 2005) and Flecha (1997, 2015). Many comments refer to the use of dialogic talks. These findings chime with previous studies focused on this instructional strategy, (Alonso et al., 2008; Chocarro de Luis, 2013; Fernández-Fernández, 2020). Participants' comments also indicate that their pasts experience with literature was developed in a much more controlled learning atmosphere. This can lead us to consider whether this use of literary texts deprives them of their very own nature: to be read and experienced.

Participants refer to the choice of texts as a predominant area. They refer to the use of predetermined reading lists of canonical authors or works, often in an adapted version. The lack of voice and choice draws education apart from student-centred learning environments. These results go in line with Duncan and Paran (2018) claim that indicates that teachers should be given the opportunity to select those texts they find more appropriate for their students.

Finally, a good number of participants blame past experiences with literature in the L1 classroom for their difficulties in approaching literature in the FL classroom. Therefore, the methodologies of teaching literature in L1 classes could require an urgent shift towards a more collaborative and reflective approach. Also, the connections between L1 and FL past experiences with literature may require further investigation, and classroom practices in both areas would need to be better aligned at all educational level.

It is important to acknowledge certain limitations of this study. Even if the sample encompasses the whole population available, the number of participants is low, and cannot be said to represent the whole population of EFL teacher education undergraduates. Concerning data gathering, the use of pre-questionnaires completed by participants as post-questionnaires could bias results, as they could see their initial responses. Finally, the focus groups transcripts have been limited to summaries provided by the interviewers, as they could not be recorded at the time of the experiment.

Conclusions

In the present study three different cohorts of teacher undergraduates (N=37) completing their EFL specialization and a bilingual track experienced a 15-week pedagogical intervention based on transactional and dialogic strategies. The evolution of their attitudes towards literature was measured through a questionnaire, written reflections and focus groups.

The findings indicate that there is a statistically significant improvement in their attitudes, present in the two variables studied: participants' motivation and readiness to use literary texts in the classroom, and their value and appreciation of literary texts as educational resources. It may be stated that teacher education undergraduates are now more motivated to read and to use literary texts in English in their future bilingual classrooms. They more specifically recognize the role of literary texts to teach content and to change students' beliefs.

The study has identified several success factors in the use of literary texts in bilingual teacher education programmes, such as the creation of a positive learning atmosphere, the promotion of collaborative learning, and the use of dialogic talks to share and comment their reading experiences. Also, students indicate that the choice of texts has been pivotal in letting them explore literary texts of their interest and taste.

Concerning future lines of research, this study could be replicated with in-service bilingual teachers to compare their attitudes towards literature. To do this, however, it would be advisable to design a new attitudes questionnaire which can cover highlighted areas, such as the connection between L1-FL, book choice or the use of collaborative learning spaces. Also, it would be interesting to measure the attitudes of the participants of this study after a few years of teaching practice. All in all, it is our hope that these transactional and dialogic learning experiences will inspire the, to design positive learning experiences around literary texts in their bilingual classrooms.

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APPENDIX

My name is:
DATE:

1. I am a:

- ☐ Man
- ☐ Woman

2. My age is:

- ☐ 21-25
- ☐ 25-30
- ☐ 30-35
- ☐ +35

3. My level of English is:

- ☐ Estimated
- ☐ Certified
- ☐ A2
- ☐ B1
- ☐ B2
- ☐ C1
- ☐ C2

4. I read literature in my mother tongue (if your mother tongue is not Spanish. indicate it here:_____)

- ☐ None
- ☐ 1-4 books per year
- ☐ 5-10 books per year
- ☐ 10-20 books per year
- ☐ +20 books per year

5. I read literature in English:

  ☐ None

  ☐ 1-4 books per year

  ☐ 5-10 books per year

  ☐ 10-20 books per year

  ☐ +20 books per year

6. If you don't read literature in English. why don't you do it?

  ☐ I don't have time

  ☐ I find it difficult to understand because of the language level

  ☐ I find it boring because of the topics

  ☐ I don't understand cultural issues

  ☐ I don't have the motivation to do it

  ☐ I don't know why

7. If you read literature in English. why do you do it?

  ☐ For pleasure

  ☐ As an assignment for my studies (University. E.O.I.,Language schools. etc.)

  ☐ For any other reason. please state it here: _____

With relation to **CLIL Primary Education**, indicate your level of agreement with the following statements:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. I am ready to use literary texts using different resources. materials. techniques					
2. Literature can be introduced in the classroom when students have an intermediate competence in the language.					
3. Literature can change students' misbeliefs. misconceptions. prejudices. etc.					
4. Using literature takes a lot of preparation					
5. It is difficult to motivate students to read in a foreign language.					
6. There is enough time in class to introduce literary texts					
7.Literary language is not useful for everyday communication					
8. Creating a classroom library is very expensive and difficult					
9. I'd prefer not to use poetry in my English classes					
10. Literature can help children understand content-subjects. such as Science or History					
11. Using literature is a secondary goal for me.					

Bilingual Education in the Media:
Addressing the Controversy in Madrid

La educación bilingüe en los medios de comunicación:
Abordando la controversia en Madrid

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Abstract

This article provides an up-to-date account of the evolution of Content and Language Integrated Learning under the so-called Madrid Bilingual Program (MBP), which serves as an illustrative case of the large-scale implementation of this approach in the compulsory school system. Since its initial introduction in 2004, the gradual expansion of this program across the network of public schools in the region has shifted from a predominantly celebratory tone to harsh critique, as portrayed in different media articles. Clickbait headlines have stirred public opinion, portraying a complex educational scenario where views appear to be polarized across different political and educational sectors. This paper addresses the areas of contention in the MBP to date through the selection of 10 media articles that include viewpoints by different organizations, including trade unions, platforms of collective action and stakeholders (local authorities, school administrators, teachers, parents, researchers), which were documented on four levels: (1) linguistic - i.e., the choice of English as a medium of instruction and expectations of language proficiency; (2) social - i.e., equity/inequity issues affecting schools and students; (3) pedagogical - i.e., subject learning and academic performance; and (4) professional - i.e., teacher training and language assistants' qualifications. This information is then juxtaposed with the

investigations in the region which have addressed these same issues. This leads to a discussion of the possibilities and challenges - present and future - faced by this program in the region, as well as the outline of some considerations for the sustainability of CLIL implementation.

Keywords: CLIL, bilingual education, media, controversies, headlines.

Resumen

El presente artículo proporciona una visión actualizada de la evolución del Aprendizaje Integrado de Contenidos y Lenguas Extranjeras (AICLE; del inglés Content and Language Integrated Learning) bajo el llamado Programa Bilingüe de Madrid, que sirve como caso ilustrativo de la implementación a gran escala de este enfoque en la enseñanza obligatoria. Desde su implantación inicial en 2004, la gradual expansión del Programa Bilingüe de Madrid en la red de centros públicos de la región ha evolucionado desde un tono predominantemente celebratorio a ser objeto de duras críticas, las cuales han sido reflejadas en diferentes artículos de prensa. Titulares de clickbait han agitado a la opinión pública, retratando un escenario educativo complejo en el cual los puntos de vista parecen polarizados en diferentes sectores políticos y educativos. Este trabajo aborda las áreas de controversia del Programa Bilingüe de Madrid hasta la fecha mediante la selección de 10 artículos de prensa que incluyen los puntos de vista de diferentes organizaciones, incluyendo sindicatos, plataformas de acción colectiva y partes interesadas (autoridades locales, administraciones escolares, profesores, padres, investigadores), documentados en cuatro niveles: (1) lingüístico - elección del inglés como vehículo de enseñanza y expectativas de competencia lingüística; (2) social - cuestiones de equidad/inequidad que afectan a centros y estudiantes; (3) pedagógico - aprendizaje de contenido y rendimiento académico; y (4) profesional - formación del profesorado y cualificación de los auxiliares de conversación. Esta información se yuxtapone con investigaciones llevadas a cabo sobre estas mismas cuestiones. Esto conduce a un análisis sobre las posibilidades y los desafíos - presentes y futuros - a los que se enfrenta este programa en la región, así como una mirada sobre algunas consideraciones para la sostenibilidad en la implementación de AICLE.

Palabras clave: AICLE, educación bilingüe, medios de comunicación, controversias, titulares.

Introduction

The turn of the 21st century brought a heightened interest - and investment - in language teaching and learning. Adding to the establishment of multilingualism as an iconic sign (Gal, 2012, p. 34), national

and supranational institutions (e.g. European Union) embraced the consolidation of the knowledge-based economy, which brought with it the understanding that multilingualism - or, in the European context, plurilingualism - necessarily "requires mastery of academic registers and genres" (Codó, 2023, p. 5) essential for EU citizens to compete in the global job market. It is in this scenario that Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) has spread quickly across Europe's nation states, becoming "normalized as a mainstream part of European school curricula" (Hüttner & Smit, 2023, p. 125). A particular case in point is the so-called Madrid Bilingual Program (MBP) of the Autonomous Community of Madrid (CAM). CLIL was chosen as the educational approach for teaching non-language subjects *through* a foreign language - English - alongside Spanish. This approach was soon conceptualized as a move forward/beyond the displeasure with the results of traditional foreign language classrooms in order to align with bi/multilingual European policies that seek "not only to promote language learning but also to secure and strengthen language rights, deepen mutual understanding, consolidate democratic citizenship and contribute to social cohesion" (Council of Europe, n.d.).

The introduction of the MBP in 2004 at the primary school level and, some years later, in 2010, in secondary schools, soon received attention from the research community, which was quick to point out the affective gains of all stakeholders involved, and the improvements in foreign language competence (Llinares & Dafouz, 2010). An initial craze for this program was heightened by the local authorities through the use of slogans such as "Madrid, a bilingual community", and by means of presenting it as the "hallmark" of Madrid's public schools, the reasons being twofold: on the one hand, the MBP has been said to "raise the overall calibre of education"; on the other, it has been endorsed as a guarantee of equity and equal opportunity in public schooling (Comunidad de Madrid, 2017, p. 46).

In the span of almost twenty years, the number of public schools adhering to the MBP has increased from 26 primary schools in 2004 and 30 secondary schools in 2010 to 404 primary and 196 secondary schools in 2023 (Comunidad de Madrid, n.d.e.). This "bilingual boom" (Relaño Pastor, 2015, p. 132) has been received with enthusiasm by some and with skepticism by others, sparking a heated debate on the precepts guiding the conceptualization and implementation of this program, as well as the effectiveness of CLIL, its signature feature. Different trade unions, platforms of collective action and organizations have manifested

disconformity with the program's trajectory, leading to the publication of a number of reports critical of the MBP, as well as campaigns. One example is the demonstration held at the entrance of the Ministry of Education organized by the trade union CC OO, the workers association CGT, STEM International, the state platform Escuela Pública de todas y todos, and different associations (e.g. Acción Educativa and Confapa) with the motto "Paremos el bilingüismo" [Let's stop bilingualism] in November 2021.

These biting critiques have been echoed in the media. Attention-grabbing headlines such as "Bilingüismo 'Fake'" [Fake bilingualism], "Ni Bilingüismo ni Enseñanza" [Neither bilingualism nor teaching], "El timo de la enseñanza bilingüe" [The scam of bilingual education], "Las sombras del bilingüismo" [The shadows of bilingualism], "Bilingüismo: ni se aprende inglés ni se aprende Science" [Bilingualism: neither English nor Science is learned] have generated clickbait content, agitating public beliefs within and beyond the educational sphere. In addition, the fact that the MBP has not been evaluated[1] by experts in the field of education since its inception has been pointed out as an important caveat, raising suspicion as to the potential deficits being concealed by the administration. Different press articles have included opinions on the shortcomings of the MBP as well as views that point to a relentless promotion and exaggeration (to some, even bragging) of its results.

The attention drawn to digital media in the present paper - mainly online regional and state newspapers - is informed by our awareness of the wide influence that online news has on public opinion. For this reason, a selection of 10 newspaper articles was carried out, which correspond to 6 state newspapers across the political spectrum: *La Razón* (1), *El Mundo* (1), *El País* (4), *El Salto Diario* (2), *Cuartopoder* (1) and *El Diario.es* (1). This selection was carried out by searching for key words in Spanish, including "bilingüismo", "bilingüe", "programa bilingüe", "colegios bilingües". We included articles on Spanish/English bilingual education at the national level, especially articles which included Madrid, as well as those which focused specifically on this

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[1] One exception is the Shepherd and Ainsworth's (2017) English Impact report, carried out by the British Council in collaboration with Madrid's Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, and in consultation with experts from the Australian Council for Research in Education and the University of Bath. This study compared students' motivation and English levels between bilingual and non-bilingual schools. Another study is that of Anghel, Cabrales and Carro (2016) for the Fundación de Estudios de Economía Aplicada (FEDEA), which compared the so-called "Essential Knowledge and Skills" (in Spanish *Conocimientos y Destrezas Indispensables*) at the end of primary, although this study was carried out by economists.

region. By analyzing the viewpoints portrayed in digital media of different organizations and stakeholders - including policy makers, school administrators, teachers, parents and researchers -, we intend to shed light on four dimensions of discord that affect the implementation of the MBP: linguistic, social, pedagogical and professional, in line with those identified by Pérez Cañado (2016). This information is juxtaposed with research carried out on CLIL in the Madrid region, ranging from in-depth studies of stakeholders' perspectives and investigations of classroom practices to more 'critical' examinations of CLIL that draw on linguistic policy and wider social, political and ideological processes. The ultimate aim is to document the controversies affecting the MBP to date in terms of public opinion and research findings on the same issues.

The Linguistic Controversy: The Choice of English and Expectations of Language Proficiency

One major controversy associated with the MBP is the choice of English as a medium of instruction of CLIL subjects. Presently, this is the case for all schools, with the exception of 23 secondary schools that offer bilingual education in French (17) and in German (6). Xavier Gisbert, spokesperson of Enseñanza Bilingüe, an association of educational professionals that advocates for bilingual education in Spain, supports the use of English as the language of instruction in the MBP. This opinion appears in an article written by Ferrero and Peinado for *El País* in 2021. Gisbert, who helped design this program during his former role as managing director of educational improvement for the Popular Party (PP)[2] in Madrid, argues that we live in a globalized world where English is basic for everything (Ferrero & Peinado, 2021). Additionally, Shepherd and Ainsworth (2017) maintain that the region is a "long-standing" and "well-known example" of how government policies have prioritized "the improvement of English proficiency", which nowadays is indispensable for "economic prosperity" (p. 8).

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[2] The implementation of the MBP in 2004 was carried out by the local administration, at the time governed by the so-called Popular Party, a conservative political party.

On the critical end, educational sectors and left-wing political movements as well as associations that bring together professionals in education have disagreed with the MBP's oversight of other languages - foreign, regional and minority - in favor of English. One example is a report carried out by the United Left political party (in Spanish, *Izquierda Unida*). The main points of the report were summarized by columnists Díez, García Martín and Moreno in 2017 for *Cuartopoder*, a digital communication medium dedicated mainly to opinion and analysis. One of the points in the report states that the term "bilingualism" is misleading because it refers to the languages of the north, mainly English. A different type of education is advocated for, one that moves away from a so-called "colonial mentality" which presents English as a super language to be acquired by all societies. Along these lines, José Carlos Tobalina, a member of the platform Acción Educativa, an association that brings together professionals from different education sectors, maintains that the European Union warns against the hegemony of English, adding that it should not be forgotten that in Madrid many people are coming from different places and with their own languages. These opinions are gathered in an article by Babiker for *El Salto*, a current affairs newspaper, in 2021.

Also critical of the dominant role of English in Madrid's bilingual schools is the research team MIRCo, based at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. For over two decades, MIRCo has been conducting sociolinguistic and ethnographic research on language education programs in different school areas of the region. One noteworthy study is that of Relaño Pastor (2015), whose investigation on language choice at a bilingual secondary school located in a multicultural area of Madrid provides a sociopolitical and historical context of bilingual education in the CAM. The author maintains that the reason to establish English as the main foreign language to learn is to provide social prestige to bilingual schools, given its status as a *lingua franca*. She adds that among the tensions surrounding the local administration's institutional and economic support to bilingual schools is the fact that it shifts attention away from linguistic diversity in Madrid schools as Spanish/English bilingual education continues "to gain social prestige and admiration among the school community" (Relaño Pastor, 2015, p. 133). Similarly, Martín Rojo's (2013) study of the role played by linguistic practices in the implementation of language education programmes brings forward the argument that the "bilingual evolution" of the region "has not benefited the languages of immigrants, or the other languages used in Spain, but rather has strengthened the

position of English, a language from another EU nation-state, and one that is already highly valued" (p. 122). According to the data published by the Regional Government, in the academic year 2021-22, 145.457 students of foreign origin enrolled in general education in the region, where the highest percentage corresponded to students from Romania (18.2%) and Morocco (13.4%), followed by countries such as Venezuela (6.9%) and China (6.7%), among others (Comunidad de Madrid, n.d.e.).

Adding to the dispute regarding the choice of English as a medium of instruction is a perceived lack of clarity regarding expectations of foreign language proficiency for students attending the MBP. Presently, students attending this program are expected to reach an A2/B1 level of proficiency, according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFRL), upon completing primary education (11-12 years), and a B1/B2 level at the end of secondary education (15-16 years) (Comunidad de Madrid, n.d.d.). On the critical side are views that question the extent to which students gain proficiency in the target language. For instance, Javier Marías, an acclaimed Spanish writer, states in a column for the *El País* weekly newsletter in 2015 titled "Ni bilingüe ni enseñanza" [Neither bilingualism nor teaching] that, because teachers are non-native speakers of English, they ignore the correct pronunciation of numerous words and their syntax and grammar tend to be a mere copy of Spanish. The result, adds Marías, is a "total disaster". However, supporters of the program argue that Madrid is at the forefront of English language learning thanks to the MBP, considered to be one of the most successful projects of the Madrid Education system, as detailed by Ruiz in 2023 for *La Razón*. In an article for *El Mundo*, de Vega (n.d.) presents a more balanced picture, contending that children know more English than previous generations, although the columnist argues that some parents - particularly those from affluent backgrounds - are dissatisfied with their pronunciation.

To shed some light on this issue, *El País* published an article by Torres Menárguez in 2021 that includes the views of different stakeholders - administrators and teachers - in order to "discuss the pros and cons of a system that many feel has failed to provide the desired skills". In addition, the opinions of David Marsh and María Luisa Pérez Cañado, two renowned CLIL experts, are included. For Marsh, parents tend to hold the opinion that if their children attend a bilingual school they will acquire the other language in the short term. These expectations, according to Marsh, lead families to believe that their children will master both languages on an equal basis. As he puts it, "the word bilingual is dangerous

and it creates false expectations". Pérez Cañado adds to this line of reasoning by stating that "it's a mistake to think that children will end up speaking English just like they speak Spanish", whilst emphasizing that "the purity of the accent is a thing of the past". Instead, the goal is for students to "achieve a functional level that will let them communicate and work in the future". By way of example, reference is made to a different program, the joint initiative of the Spanish Ministry of Education and Professional Training and the British Council[3], which was Spain's first English-Spanish bilingual program. The goal of this program, as explained in the article, was for students to become competent speakers of English by way of "fluency", considering the decisive role played by this language in favoring "employment prospects and professional ambitions".

Throughout the article, Torres Menárguez states that, whilst there are many teachers who believe that under the current system students are not learning English properly, this view is not widely shared. For instance, administrators interviewed report being pleased with the bilingual model as well as its results, highlighting that accent plays a secondary role. The article also mentions that studies carried out in other regions in Spain show that students' level of English has actually improved. Specifically, the 2018 Mon-CLIL report is referred to. This report found that students' level of English had improved and their marks in other subjects had not suffered in the bilingual programs of Andalusia, Extremadura and the Canary Islands. These findings are echoed in Shepherd and Ainsworth's (2017) assessment of students' English capabilities in grade 10 (15-16 years), which showed a higher level of proficiency in Madrid bilingual schools compared to non-bilingual schools.

The Social Controversy: Equity/inequity Issues Affecting Schools and Students

A second major controversy has to do with the social implications linked to the on-the-ground implementation of the MBP. As stated earlier, the MBP was endorsed as a means to raise the overall quality of the region's public schools under the premises of equity and equal opportunity. According to Shepherd and Ainsworth (2017, p. 85), attending a

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[3] The Spanish Education Ministry and the British Council Bilingual Education Program was launched in 1996 in different public schools across Spain.

bilingual school "brings gains in both proficiency and positive under-lying motivations" regardless of students' socioeconomic status (SES). Halbach & Iwaniec (2020) follow up on these findings by investigating several factors that could account for a leveling effect of CLIL, in a study involving questionnaires and interviews with teachers at bilingual and non-bilingual schools. Results show that participants perceived differences in CLIL and non-CLIL students' motivation and parental support which may reduce the impact of SES on students' performance at bilingual schools. However, reports published by trade unions and collective action organizations, such as FETE-UGT (2014) and Acción Educativa (2017), denounce MBP policies for perpetuating social inequalities because the different itineraries offered tend to be taken up by different social groups, criticisms which have been echoed in the media. Among the policies that have raised strong opposition are school choice and streaming policies. School choice policies establish that Madrid is a single district, allowing families to choose a school for their children within a wider area beyond their neighborhood boundaries. Streaming policies require that students attending the MBP in secondary schools are placed into one of two strands that differ in intensity or exposure to CLIL: High-exposure (HE, *Sección*) and Low-exposure (LE, *Programa*). Placement in these strands is determined by students' English proficiency level. This division is consistent throughout the whole of compulsory secondary education (grade 7, 11-12 years to grade 10, 15-16 years), and the possibility of changing strands is reduced to exceptional situations.

According to the authorities, school choice policies respond to the fundamental rights of the families with regard to their children's education (Royal Decree 29/2013, 11 de abril). The administration's official website draws on a study by Mayor (2017, as cited in Comunidad de Madrid, n.d.c) to show how this policy has promoted equal opportunities and diminished segregation in the educational system. Nonetheless, different media articles have reported opinions that criticize competition generated among schools to attract "good students" as a result of single district policies, which are said to equate public schools with charter schools. These critical views overlap with research studies carried out in the region, which suggest that the interplay between school choice and bilingual educational policies has potential implications for inequality. For instance, Hidalgo McCabe and Fernández-González (2020) draw on linguistic policy and political economy perspectives in their study of how school choice policies shape educational goals in terms of profit,

competition and consumption. This process conceals the educational segregation of children of different SES (see Murillo & Martínez-Garrido, 2021; Mediavilla et al., 2019) and produces an unequal distribution of resources that are detrimental to non-bilingual schools (Hidalgo McCabe & Fernández-González, 2020).

Regarding streaming, the two pathways - HE and LE - are said to guarantee that students' linguistic level allows them to follow the content that each strand provides (Comunidad de Madrid, n.d.a). Nonetheless, different opinions voiced in the media have argued that this organizational aspect of the MBP is segregationist for generating unequal academic and social experiences. For instance, summarizing the aforementioned report by the United Left, columnists for *Cuartopoder* argued in a 2017 piece that the students with the most difficulties, often from less privileged backgrounds, are concentrated in LE strands, and students with university-educated parents are overrepresented in HE strands. The potential inequalities of streaming have also drawn the attention of the research community. Llinares & Evnitskaya's (2021) study of classroom practices in HE and LE Science classrooms found that, despite similar pedagogical goals across strands, HE students were involved in a more dialogical approach to content learning. As regards affect, Somers and Llinares (2021) found that LE students displayed lower levels of motivation to "do CLIL" compared to their HE counterparts. Similar findings were reported by Fernández-Agüero and Hidalgo-McCabe (2020) in their study of CLIL students' affectivity in secondary education. Concerning SES, in Tompkins' (2022) case study of grade 10 (15-16 years) student profiles in a lower SES area, results showed that students with the most and fewest cultural/economic resources were allocated in HE and LE tracks, respectively. For example, the percentage of parents with education levels above the sample median was 15 points higher in HE than LE, and the percentage below the median was 10 points higher in LE than HE.

The Pedagogical Controversy: Subject Learning and Academic Performance

A third major controversy has to do with the teaching and learning of subject matter in the MBP. As mentioned earlier, CLIL was originally endorsed by the educational authorities and the educational community at large as a step forward from traditional methodologies because the

language becomes a working language of frequent use in the school, and so the students learn English naturally by means of continuous exposure to the language (Comunidad de Madrid, n.d.a). However, throughout the years, the adequacy of CLIL implementation in this program has been called into question, with stakeholders debating the effectiveness of the teaching strategies employed and the resulting learning outcomes.

Regarding the teaching strategies, multiple articles in the press describe them as relying too heavily on memorization – as exemplified in language assistants' comments in Ferrero and Peinado's 2021 article for *El País,* one of whom states that the students have boring material, boring teachers, [and] they are expected to memorize large quantities of materials without properly understanding what they're saying, – but individual voices diverge in their opinions about the reasons underlying this phenomenon. Some stakeholders believe that learning is rote precisely because of the communication problems which emerge when it occurs through an additional language. Others contend that rote learning is rather a symptom of studying in the Spanish education system, which has always been "traditional". In this group we find *El País* columnist Martín-Arroyo, who asserts in a 2017 article that pedagogies relying on students' short-term memory are replicated in bilingual classrooms, where students now memorize lists of words in two languages instead of one.

However, for Pérez Cañado and other CLIL experts, moving language education beyond teacher-centered, noninteractive methods is the primary goal of the approach, giving way to a more "social-constructivist, interactive, and student-led learning where teachers pull back from being donors of knowledge to become facilitators" (Pérez Cañado, 2013, p. 15). Still, she admits that there can be difficulties putting such innovation into practice: CLIL entails considerable investment in innovative pedagogical practices with which teachers may well not be familiar with, "not having experienced them first-hand as students" (Pérez Cañado, 2013, p. 19). A similar concession is made by other supporters of bilingualism in Torres Menárguez's 2021 article, where Professor Enrique de Lafuente argues that concrete methodological changes - such as greater activation of students' prior knowledge and more comprehensive linguistic scaffolding in content subjects - are needed to implement CLIL successfully in Spanish schools.

Perhaps even more salient in the media than the debate on teaching strategies is that surrounding the outcomes of these strategies, namely, whether students' content knowledge and academic performance have

been affected positively by their participation in the MBP. As summarized by columnists Ferrero and Peinado, writing for *El País* in 2021, supporters of the program do not think that bilingual teaching affects the academic performance of their students, and critics not only think that it does, but that the program benefits the most advanced students and leaves behind those who have learning difficulties and those who don't have economic resources. Both conclusions draw on research evidence, and this evidence also appears in the press coverage. Advocates of bilingual education, whose views are rescued by Torres Menárguez in *El País*, cite the 2018 Mon-CLIL report described above. In contrast, the program's detractors ubiquitously refer to a study carried out by economists at the Universidad Carlos III de Madrid (Anghel et al., 2016) that identified a negative effect on sixth-graders' standardized test results for subjects taught through English, which was particularly strong for those of lower SES. The lack of consensus on this matter is felt deeply by the educational community, who continues to call for a comprehensive evaluation of the program, according to Babiker (2021), columnist for *El Salto* (see also the article by Sánchez Caballero for El Diario.es).

Academic researchers are also responding to the need for more information on the conceptual bases, methodological premises and on-the-ground implementation of CLIL in the MBP. One noteworthy example is the UAM-CLIL Research Group (https://uam-clil.org). The group has been carrying out research on CLIL at different levels of education in Madrid since 2005, and their most recent studies have explored both the teaching strategies employed and students' learning outcomes by investigating aspects of methodology, disciplinary literacies, classroom discourse and interaction, and affective factors, among other foci. Particularly relevant to the present discussion are two which demonstrated that primary and secondary students attending the MBP were able to transfer academic linguistic resources between languages, according to the similarities found in their Spanish and English definitions of discipline-specific concepts learnt through the latter language (Nashaat-Sobhy & Llinares, 2020; Llinares & Nashaat-Sobhy, 2021). Additionally, the group's research on interactional practices has found that, in Technology and Science classes, HE students are engaged in a "dialogic/evaluative approach to content, as well as in the use of evaluative language", both of which are associated with higher order thinking skills (Llinares & Evnitskaya, 2021, p. 393). The implications of these findings are two-fold: on the one hand, programs with greater exposure to English may involve more active and

critical learning than those with less exposure and, on the other, students' academic linguistic abilities do not seem to be harmed by teaching/learning through an additional language.

A second group of researchers at the Universidad de Alcalá de Henares, directed by Ana Halbach, followed the evolving perspectives of MBP teachers towards the program's development during the first five years of implementation. The first of these studies showed that the promise of more communicative, motivating and student-centered methods was one of the main reasons that the participating CLIL teachers initially applied for positions in the MBP: they were enthusiastic to "revitalize" English language teaching (Fernández Fernández et al., 2005). Subsequent studies addressed the difficulties reported as teachers adjusted to a bilingual teaching mode, such as lack of materials and a need for clearer methodological principles at the primary level (Pena Díaz & Porto Requejo, 2008; Fernández & Halbach, 2011).

The professional controversy: Teacher training and language assistants' qualifications

A fourth major controversy has to do with the professional experiences and qualifications of educators in relation to the MBP. In order to teach through English in the program, content teachers must hold a linguistic qualification [*habilitación lingüística*] which demonstrates their C1, C2 or native proficiency in this language, while English teachers must also become certified to teach the Advanced English Curriculum (Comunidad de Madrid, n.d.a., n.d.b). Their participation is incentivized by a financial bonus for bilingual teachers and coordinators as well as a reduction in teaching hours for coordinators. Since entry into the MBP must be supported by a majority of the staff and board at each school, the educational authorities affirm that the entire educational community expresses its commitment and gets involved in the implementation of the program (Comunidad de Madrid, n.d.a). However, concerns have been raised regarding the effects of the program on teachers' professional trajectory and the role of the language assistants hired to support them.

As regards the teachers' experiences, voices in the media call attention to job insecurity for non-bilingual teachers and an increasing workload for bilingual ones, coupled with insufficient training. The regulations on the hiring of bilingual teachers have been criticized by columnists such

as Elorduy, writing for *El Salto* in 2017, who argues that they prioritize teachers with the aforementioned linguistic qualification and limit the job opportunities of those without it, even if they have earned higher scores on the official teaching examinations *[oposición oficial]*. For teachers with the linguistic qualification, labor conditions may also be worsening: according to Martín-Arroyo's 2017 article in *El País,* budget cuts have affected the program in all regions, with bilingual teachers in Andalusia reporting reductions in the time and resources available for planning, coordination, and training. Training opportunities include a number of courses in CLIL methodology available on the CAM's "Innovación y formación" platform, for which educators can earn credits. However, the adequacy of these efforts has been questioned by advocates and detractors of the program who, in their respective interviews with *El País* for "Defenders of bilingual education" by Torres Menárguez in 2018 and "Las sombras del bilingüismo" by Martín-Arroyo in 2017, report teaching 100% in English without prior methodological training and demand greater regulation and coordination at the regional level.

A number of research studies in Madrid document teachers' perspectives on the training received at different points in the MBP's implementation, indicating a prioritization of language competence over methodology in teacher preparation from the outset (Fernández & Halbach, 2011; Pena Díaz & Porto Requejo, 2008). Furthermore, by 2012/2013, obligatory training requirements for prospective MBP teachers had decreased to include only the C1 linguistic qualification. This came at a time when CLIL methodology was gaining importance for teachers, who expressed a need for further methodological training in the schools where they worked, deeming insufficient the voluntary pre-service training received by some and denouncing the fact any in-service training opportunities were organized in their spare time (Cabezuelo Gutiérrez & Fernández Fernández, 2014). In a more recent study (Alonso-Belmonte & Fernández-Agüero, 2021), MBP teachers continued to identify shortcomings in their methodological preparation and linguistic expertise, leading the authors to call for a greater prioritization of continuing education by the administration.

A second group involved in the implementation of the MBP are the language assistants (LAs) tasked with providing linguistic and cultural support to students and teachers. Most are young people from English-speaking countries who are either about to complete or have recently completed an undergraduate degree. They receive a monthly stipend for

helping teachers with their daily tasks, sharing the culture and history of their countries of origin, and organizing speaking and listening activities for students. The CAM states that they need not be trained in teaching, but rather should contribute to the school community with enthusiasm and an open mind (Comunidad de Madrid, n.d.a, n.d.b). The role of these participants has been questioned in the press with some language assistants being accused of taking a frivolous approach to the program and being underqualified (see, for example, Ferrero and Peinado's 2021 piece for *El País*). In the research literature, different studies show that teachers and LAs share similar expectations about the LAs' role at the beginning of the year, but these expectations do not always coincide with the classroom experiences reported later on, nor with the functions stipulated in the CAM's official guidelines for LAs (López-Medina & Otto, 2020). These findings may reflect a lack of training for both parties (Buckingham, 2018; Polo Recuero & Ordoñez Dios, 2020). On the positive side, these researchers claim that teachers and LAs may be willing to participate in such efforts based on the enthusiasm the latter express towards their roles (Buckingham, 2018) and the more positive collaborations reported by teachers more familiar with LAs and their functions (Polo Recuero & Ordóñez Dios, 2020).

Discussion/Ways forward

The four dimensions documented in the media's portrayals of the MBP hseem to highlight points of conflict linked to the mainstreaming of bilingual education in the region. Harsh criticisms have found a niche in different press articles, articulating a positioning against this program. At the same time, more conciliatory opinions have made their way into different media articles as a means to acknowledge the caveats of the program, clarify misconceptions and propose alternatives for improvement. It has become clear that much of the debate has a political undertone, where sectors that traditionally champion a public education system question the real intentions behind the local administration - governed by the conservative Popular Party - as regards the conceptualization, implementation and promotion of the MBP. In addition, the lack of any comprehensive evaluation of the programme's outcomes in content subjects has also allowed for disaffected opinions to circulate beyond the school community, and garner significant news coverage.

On the linguistic level, the choice of English as the language of instruction in most schools taking part in the MBP has led to opposing views. On the one hand, there is the view that mastery of the English language is indispensable in today's globalized, interconnected society; on the other, there is the belief that this system does not address the needs of the linguistically diverse body of students attending Madrid's bilingual public schools. This discussion overlaps a conversation in the area of CLIL research, which has led to an acknowledgement of the need to attend to languages other than English. This becomes even more pressing as CLIL *is* considered a plurilingual approach (Escobar Urmeneta, 2019, p. 9). Drawing on Nikula et. al. (2013), Codó (2023) argues that 95% of CLIL teaching is done in English (p. 8), which collides with a pluralistic view of the approach as fostering not only foreign languages but also second, minoritized and heritage languages. In this direction, it is worth noting that recently developed legislative documents at the state level emphasize foreign language learning as developing students' plurilingual competence, including communication and interculturality based on understanding and respect towards cultural and social diversity (Royal Decree 157/2022, 1 March). Still, the question remains whether this aim can be fully achieved with English being practically the only language represented in the MBP curriculum.

Furthermore, failed expectations of English language proficiency as a result of attending this program seems to be a recurring topic in different opinion articles. In the article by Torres Menárguez published in *El País* in 2021, both Marsh and Pérez Cañado were clear that the idea of achieving equal spoken abilities in English and in Spanish leads to erroneous expectations, when the actual goals of bilingual education are linked to a more pragmatic aim of achieving communicative competence, as measured by the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFRL). It is possible that a combination of factors (social, political) have contributed to a somewhat confusing picture of the language goals associated with this program. Conversely, such criticisms may indicate that, in some contexts, schools limiting themselves to "the minimum exposure time guaranteed by law fail to reach the threshold level of competence needed for effective communication in an L2" (Escobar Urmeneta, 2019, p. 8), thus restricting students' contact with the target language. Where each situation is unique, there is a dire need for a better understanding of CLIL's potential for boosting foreign language learning in compulsory education. Here, it would be worth highlighting that

studies comparing CLIL and EFL students suggest that the former have more positive attitudes towards English as a foreign language than the latter, as CLIL provides "much richer communicative situations and 'can do' opportunities which engage students and foster the development of language awareness" (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2009, p.13). Moreover, recent attention has been given to deeper understanding of the functions of language in different subjects (subject literacies and genres) and "the way language and content interact in a variety of classroom interactional activities" (Llinares, 2015, p. 58; see Dalton-Puffer et al., 2022, for the ways in which content-language interface, including subject-specific genres, is being addressed in current CLIL research).

On the social level, the MBP has been accused of fostering inequalities mainly through the implementation of two policies - school choice and streaming - that offer different levels of access and exposure to English. This view contrasts with the precepts guiding the implementation of the program, based on ensuring equal opportunities for all. As suggested in recent studies, CLIL can act as a leveler of opportunities because the "language across the curriculum approach" supports the academic literacy of all students (Lorenzo et. al., 2021). The introduction of this approach in compulsory school curricula can avoid the self-selection that tends to occur in voluntary CLIL programs, and which may favor higher achieving students from more advantaged social backgrounds. Greater attention to the effects of streaming and early tracking on inequality is needed (Condron, 2007; Oakes, 2005; see Rumlich (2017) for a detailed examination of the role of selection, preparation, and class composition regarding the implementation in CLIL programs), as well as paths to provide more inclusive contexts. For instance, Fernández-Agüero and Hidalgo-McCabe (2020) consider regrouping as an option - e.g. bringing together HE and LE students during non-CLIL content classes. At the wider regional level, we advocate for a more equal distribution of resources among bilingual and non-bilingual schools and among districts of different income levels. All in all, there is still large-scale research needed in order to tackle the social consequences of parental choice and streaming policies for equity/inequity in the region.

In terms of the methodology employed, CLIL researchers call for greater consistency between pedagogical and assessment practices and further integration of content and language. They find that teachers have implemented a number of methodological changes to compensate for linguistic barriers, such as more oral activities, scaffolding and visual aids, but such

classroom pedagogies do not always line up with the assessment practices in content subjects, which continue to require a high degree of written output (Otto & Estrada, 2019). Furthermore, students' linguistic accuracy bears some weight on these assessments, but it is not often explicitly taught in class, partly because many content teachers do not feel competent dealing with linguistic issues (ibid.). In the MBP, then, "some content teachers find it difficult to come to terms with their dual role in CLIL" (Alonso-Belmonte & Férnandez-Agüero, 2021, p. 63) and consider that the foreign language interferes with their daily practice. Looking forward, there is a need to develop clearer theoretical principles regarding the integration of content and language, which must then be translated into discipline-specific methodological options and materials for teachers, and disseminated via sustained in-service training and Master's level programmes (Fernández Barrera, 2018; see Halbach, 2016, whose case study makes the case for the integration of theory and practice alongside the development of a reflective mindset in trainee teachers).

As for the professional dimension, the MBP seems to have affected all teachers in the region. Bilingual teachers express enthusiasm about implementing CLIL but may find themselves at risk of burnout as a result, and thus call for more planning time and integrated teaching materials, as well as training opportunities organized inside working hours (e.g. Fernández & Halbach, 2011). For their part, non-bilingual teachers have constructed narratives of resistance against the MBP because newer teachers face difficulties accessing a position and more experienced ones fear displacement (Alonso-Belmonte & Férnandez-Agüero, 2021). In order to improve working conditions for both groups, who are ultimately responsible for the on-the-ground implementation of this program, the administration may wish to revisit (1) teacher allocation policies, so as to ensure their equitable distribution among schools, and (2) the provision of continuing education, so as to ensure that it is available to all teachers regardless of their commitments outside of work.

In spite of the limited number of press articles referenced in our analysis, the issues raised and their link to research findings contribute to the understanding of the debates affecting CLIL today and the search for pathways forward (see Pérez Cañado, 2016, for a detailed description of the controversies which currently affect CLIL characterization, implementation and research). We believe that collaboration with other fields and disciplines is a necessary step in order to tackle CLIL's possibilities and challenges - present and future. In addition to strengthening

applied linguistic research in this area, we argue that there is room for an interdisciplinary agenda in CLIL research, one that draws on bi/multilingualism, sociology, sociolinguistics, education, political economy and language policy, in order to identify how CLIL implementation relates to broader issues and processes. At the same time, collaboration with key stakeholders (e.g. policymakers, educational communities, platforms of collective action) is a necessary step for seeking specific measures that ensure its sustainability in terms of equitable access and learning outcomes.

The aforementioned lines of inquiry are intended to provide new avenues given that, as Pérez Cañado (2016) notes, "CLIL is still a thriving area of research" (p. 22). Concerning dissemination, it is possible that the speed of today's news production may at times involve a lack of "scrutinised information and considered reflection" (Le Masurier, 2015; in Dempster et al, 2022, p. 3), and the pressure to generate clickbait content might, in fact, reflect a preference for "newsworthiness ahead of scientific objectivity" (Dempster et al, 2022, p. 18). Whilst this may be a reality in today's way of consuming online news, the media can - and should - serve as conduit via which well-informed analyses of different lines of empirical research on CLIL and bilingual education, including relevant data findings and opinions on behalf of key stakeholders, make their way to a wide public. As long as the intention is not to oversimplify or exaggerate, press releases have the ability to provide readers with enough information that enables them to gain understanding of CLIL-related issues – as well as the debates – and judge for themselves.

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Assessment in CLIL: the *pending subject* in bilingual education? A case study

La evaluación en AICLE: ¿la *asignatura pendiente* en la educación bilingüe? Un estudio de caso

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Abstract

CLIL has been the most common methodological approach in bilingual teaching in Western Europe since the 1990s. It was created as a formula to define the teaching and learning of subject-matter content (non-linguistic) through a foreign language. The present study proposes to evaluate both competences: linguistic and subject specific, in the context of integrated learning of history in English. Starting from a formative assessment, an exploratory longitudinal experimental study is conducted. It examines a research problem that has hardly been studied from the perspective of a content teacher who is not a specialist in linguistics. The sample for the analysis is the written essays of 45 students from three public bilingual schools in three different towns, belonging to bilingual English groups in Y1 and Y3 ESO in the school subject of Social Sciences: Geography and History. This study is part of a larger research about the acquisition of history through English in secondary schools. The H-CLIL assessment model, consisting of rubrics designed *ad hoc* for the analysis of written texts is presented. It considers Dalton-Puffer's (2013) Cognitive Discourse Functions (CDF), which relate the learning objectives of the subject, interaction in the classroom, and production of discourse in a foreign language. The study aims to analyze the evolution in the acquisition of history knowledge by secondary school students in bilingual schools, and their ability to express that knowledge in an essay. Despite the limitations of the study, it can be inferred that students maintain a similar rate of learning history content, aligned with the curriculum

requirements, in the two academic years and an even better-written expression in Y3 ESO. It can be concluded that there is no loss of knowledge of the subject by studying it in a foreign language although more research is needed on this matter.

Keywords: CLIL, formative assessment, history, research, discourse, teaching, integrated learning, H-CLIL model.

Resumen

AICLE (Aprendizaje Integrado de Contenido y Lengua Extranjera) o CLIL ha sido el enfoque metodológico más común en la enseñanza bilingüe en Europa occidental desde los años 90 del siglo XX (Cenoz, Genesee y Gorter, 2014). Se creó como una fórmula para configurar la enseñanza y el aprendizaje de contenidos de una materia (no lingüística) a través de una lengua extranjera. Este estudio propone evaluar ambas competencias (lingüística y la propia de la materia no lingüística) en el contexto de un aprendizaje integrado de contenidos de Historia en inglés. Partiendo de la evaluación formativa, se presenta aquí un estudio experimental longitudinal exploratorio que examina un problema de investigación que ha sido poco estudiado desde el punto de vista del profesorado de contenidos no especialista en lingüística. La muestra para el análisis es la producción escrita de 45 alumnos de tres centros públicos bilingües en tres localidades diferentes pertenecientes a grupos bilingües en inglés en 1º y posteriormente en 3º de ESO en la asignatura de Ciencias Sociales, Geografía e Historia. Se trata de parte de una investigación mayor acerca de la adquisición de conocimientos de Historia en lengua extranjera por alumnos de secundaria. Se presenta el modelo H-CLIL de evaluación, consistente en rúbricas diseñadas *ad hoc* para el análisis de textos escritos, teniendo en cuenta las Funciones Cognitivas del Discurso (CDF) de Dalton-Puffer (2013), que relacionan los objetivos de aprendizaje de la asignatura, la interacción en el aula y la producción del discurso en lengua extranjera. El objetivo del estudio es analizar la evolución en la adquisición de conocimientos de historia por alumnos de secundaria bilingüe y su capacidad para expresar esos conocimientos en un texto escrito. A pesar de las limitaciones del estudio, se puede inferir que los alumnos mantienen un ritmo de aprendizaje de contenidos de historia acorde a los requeridos en el currículo para ambos niveles académicos y una mejor expresión escrita en 3ºESO. Con todo ello se concluye que no hay pérdida de conocimientos de la asignatura por cursarla en lengua extranjera, si bien es necesaria más investigación sobre este tema.

Palabras clave: AICLE, evaluación formativa, Historia, investigación, discurso, enseñanza, aprendizaje integrado, modelo H-CLIL.

Assessment for learning in bilingual history: from summative to formative assessment

Assessment is an effective pedagogical tool when there is a thorough understanding of what is going to be assessed, and the teaching process is designed to achieve the learning objectives. In 2014 Andreas Schleicher, Director of Education at the OECD, pointed out that quality should not be sacrificed to the detriment of equity: the more equity in educational resources, the better the results. In his analysis of assessment in Spain, Schleicher noted that equity is one of its strong points, with free compulsory education for all and the promotion of resilience. However, he added that the way of evaluating and retaking a course has negative effects on equity and makes education more expensive (Schleicher, 2014). Therefore, action should focus on the evaluation of the teaching and learning process from its beginning. This idea is also present in the evaluation in bilingual education: "*Assessment is so fundamental to the success of CLIL that it needs to be considered and planned for in detail before any teaching takes place (…); assessment is not something that comes after instruction, but it is an indispensable part of instruction*" (Llinares, Morton and Whittaker, 2012: 280). The Spanish regulation on evaluation in secondary education does not distinguish between bilingual and non-bilingual education but does refer to its objective, continuous, formative and integrated nature (LOMLOE, 2020). In other words, a formative assessment of the learning process is advocated as opposed to a summative assessment of the learning outcomes.

Summative assessment also has advantages: it is a precise diagnostic tool that reflects students' knowledge at a given moment and helps teachers identify specific learning problems (McLoughling, 2021). However, it does not involve students in their own assessment process, as formative assessment does. The implementation of a formative assessment approach in CLIL is taking time to occur since it involves a substantial methodological change (Otto & Estrada-Chichón, 2019): it must be integrated into the teaching and learning process, not outside of it, and extended throughout the course, not just at a specific moment.

Formative assessment emerges as the best option for meaningful teaching and the students' history portfolio can help reflect their progressive learning of the subject. The portfolio includes students' essays

-such as those used in the research presented in this article-, oral presentations, projects, short activities, and self and peer assessments. It can be used as an additional assessment tool for the subject content. Through the development of a history portfolio, students become more deeply engaged with historical issues since they learn how their contributions can impact them (Del Pozo, 2009). Furthermore, it is an instrument that allows assessing the use of language in the context of a non-linguistic subject, rather than the language in isolation. The teaching and learning process in history is structured into conceptual content (eg. the conquest of Granada), procedural skills (e.g. differentiation and description of assault campaigns), and the linguistic skills employed for the purpose (connectors, adjectives and comparatives used in the description) (Ball, Clegg y Kelly, 2015). To introduce the component of formative assessment into the equation, Mahoney incorporates others that contribute to assessing what students can do when learning content in a foreign language: purpose, use, method and instrument (2017). The factors that shape the assessment for integrated learning of history through a foreign language -within the context of a formative assessment-, determine the decisions that teachers make about what to assess (content, purpose), how to assess it (procedure, instrument), why to assess it (usage) and when to assess it (method, sequencing). Based on these factors, teachers adopt a specific pedagogical approach, design their teaching units to achieve the goals set out in the assessment criteria, and adapt their teaching practices accordingly (Council of Europe, 2020). The following sections of this article show a case study that illustrates the application of the H-CLIL model for the integrated assessment of history and language as part of a formative assessment practice.

Research method and phases in the study

Traditionally, in the assessment of historical knowledge, some teachers focused on students memorizing a huge amount of data, what Counsell called *fingertip*: only the superficial was evaluated. However, it failed to consider that the true value lies in students' understanding of the processes of change that occur in history, the *residue* -what remains when the anecdotal is forgotten- (Counsell, 2000). Cercadillo contributed to adding the international dimension to the acquisition of historical

knowledge: "*Alternative assessment approaches must be explored and international assessment of 'historical understanding' may represent a potentially useful option not affected by national bias*" (Cercadillo, 2006: 94).

For assessment to be formative, that is, to have an impact on the teaching and learning process, it must be focused on success criteria, aimed at ensuring the success of students (Pascual y Basse, 2017), which really value the *residue*. These criteria should address the learning objectives of each subject, which are included in the curricula (Anderson & Krathwohl, 2021). The teaching objectives place the focus on the conceptual content of the subject, but responsibility for the results of the learning evaluation lies in the validity of the instruments used to evaluate (Mahoney, 2017). On the other hand, the curricular contents substantiate the learning objectives but are separated from them to determine what should be assessed in each subject and academic level. For the proper development of the process, mediators are used to make it possible to achieve the success criteria with sufficient guarantee that all students, without exclusion, can work on and achieve them at their own pace (González et al., 2015). The last element, and the one that will be largely addressed in this study, is the rubric as the instrument that articulates the components of the learning to be assessed with the expectations of teaching a subject content at a specific academic level (López Pastor y Pérez Pueyo, 2017).

For this research, students were asked to write about historical events that they had previously studied in their history lessons in an essay that would be part of their portfolio. This task may be more effective in enabling students to express their historical knowledge than a true-false test (Ravid, 2005), however effortless the latter may seem, and easier to analyze statistically. When writing an essay, students articulate their ideas, reflect on the questions posed to them, and enhance their linguistic competence in conveying curriculum-related content that is not strictly linguistic (Del Pozo & Llinares, 2021). Consequently, the topics prompted for the essays to be written by the participants in this study, in both Y1 and Y3ESO, were aligned with the curriculum guidelines for history (LOMLOE, 2020):

- **Y1st ESO:** *Explain, providing as many details as possible, how the discovery of America took place. Use the words: Columbus, Asia, Earth, caravels, August, October and San Salvador (about 150 words)*

■ **Y3rd ESO:** *Imagine that you are one of the officers of the Christian army in the conquest of Granada. Write the campaign journal including all the details you can think of (about 150 words)*

The scoring of the essays was from 0 to 3 points. This is an exploratory longitudinal experimental study since the data were collected from the same groups of students at two different academic moments (Cubo et al, 2011) with two years of difference between them: Y1st ESO and Y3rd ESO. The researcher considered that a one-year gap between the data collection could have been sufficient to observe changes in the acquisition of historical knowledge and essay-writing skills. However, it was anticipated that a two-year interval would yield more statistically significant results. The exploratory approach of the study is grounded in the fact that it examines an issue that has not been extensively studied from the perspective of a historian. By definition, exploratory approaches identify trends, contexts and potential relationships between variables, but require more extensive research (Hernández Sampieri et al, 2010; Cubo et al, 2011), as is the case of this study. The first goal was to assess how students' learning of history had progressed over time and whether it had maintained a consistent path, unaffected by the language of instruction as a potential barrier to their learning. The second objective was to analyze the written expression of history in a foreign language. The starting point was a null hypothesis: secondary school students who study history in a foreign language experience content loss and a reduction in their written expression due to having learned it in a foreign language. The research questions were:

RQ1: To what extent do secondary school students acquire history content as measured by a written essay? (Independent variable)

RQ2: Are there differences (in terms of the evolution of integrated learning of history content in English) when students acquire knowledge in 1st and 3rd years of secondary education? (Dependent variable)

The phases in the study were:

■ Formulation of research questions (1)

■ Design of data collection and analysis instruments: tests and H-CLIL rubrics (2)

■ Data collection: written tests administered to 45 students in their 1st year of secondary education and then again two years later when they were in their 3rd year, across three public bilingual schools in three different towns within the same region (3)

■ Data analysis (4)

■ Conclusions (5)

The written tests were encrypted to protect the data of the participating students and schools, and corrected by applying the rubrics of the H-CLIL model; the data were processed with the SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) software (IBM, 2020). The mean, median, mode, standard deviation and variance were estimated from the total data obtained from the tests. Finally, graphs were created in a spreadsheet that better illustrated the results obtained to be presented here.

Research participants

The study participants were 45 students from three public secondary schools with a bilingual English programme (Las Encinas, Los Pinos y Los Álamos: pseudonyms) in three different towns. The students were in the Y1st ESO during the initial data dollection and in the Y3rd ESO two years later, at the time of the second data collection. Schools of a similar socio-economic profile were selected to ensure that the samples were initially homogeneous. Approximately 80% of the participating students were of Spanish origin, with Spanish as their native language; 20% came from immigrant families: 5% from Eastern Europe (with a native language other than Spanish and English), 12% from Latin America (with Spanish as their native language), 2% from China (with Mandarin as their native language) and 1% from Morocco (with Arabic as their native language). All of them had English as a first or second foreign language, and they had all completed their primary education in public English bilingual schools. The three schools were located in neighbourhoods with a profile of working class families. Los Álamos and Las Encinas schools were the first to implement a bilingual programme, Los Pinos school followed seven years later.

The history teachers in the groups of participating students were qualified to teach in the bilingual programme and they only assisted in

the collection of the tests, not taking part in them. Initially, more students were participating, but those who left the school before the study concluded, retook a year course, declined to participate, or did not meet the requirements for the research to be as consistent as possible, were discarded. It was agreed with the teachers that students with special educational needs and students with high abilities would not participate since that was not the object of the study, and the tests were not adapted to their needs.

Relationship of the data collected from the participants with the variables in the research:

- ■ Independent variable: the level of historical content that students were able to show in a written essay.

- ■ Dependent variable: the difference that the students presented concerning their knowledge of history and their written expression when they were in Y1st ESO and when they were in Y3rd ESO.

Instruments: H-CLIL (Integrated assessment in CLIL history)

The tests were taken in the three schools during the first term of Y1st ESO but rubrics were applied for correction only after the second test in Y3rd ESO, when they had been refined and their effectiveness had been tested. Rubrics designed *ad hoc* for the assessment were applied taking into account both the historical content and the language used by students in their essays: H-CLIL rubrics.

The rubric, as an assessment tool, takes each educational objective and develops scales -or descriptors- about what students know and can do. It is used to assess students' performance (Barbero, 2012) and it is presented in the form of a matrix. As noted by Newell et al. (2002) regarding the creation of rubrics, the highest levels of attainment indicate metacognition in students' knowledge of the topic they are writing about; the lowest levels reflect what they still need to learn and improve; and in the middle are intermediate levels of attainment. For this study, *holistic or comprehensive rubrics* were not used -with scores like excellent, good, satisfactory…-, but rather *analytical rubrics* -with a numerical index of attainment of the participating students- were designed for

the H-CLIL model to provide reliable quantitative data, more suitable for the research (Hernández Sampieri et al., 2010). Success criteria were followed in the rubric design, ensuring that even the smallest piece of historical information provided by the participants was considered. The objective was to attribute solid value to what the students knew and were able to express. A rubric was designed for each academic level -Y1st and Y3rd ESO- that analyzed the same parameters of content and language for each level, so that the progressive assimilation of historical knowledge and language writing skills could be studied (De Oliveira, 2011; Del Pozo, 2019).

The degree of knowledge required in history and language expression in each of the two selected academic levels is different. Regardless of the vehicular language used, history teachers expect an evolution both in the acquisition of the content learnt and its expression in a written essay. Obviously, this is not evident in the results of all the tests analyzed in this study since the cognitive development of students is not uniformly consistent (Wineburg, 1996). Thus, each rubric was articulated around Dalton-Puffer's Cognitive Discourse Functions construe (henceforth CDF) (2013). While Krathwohl (2002) revised Bloom's taxonomy (1956) providing the dimension of knowledge, Dalton-Puffer synthesizes both models and indicates to what extent the specific cognitive learning objectives of a subject -in this case history- are linked to the written production of students in the tests (Dalton-Puffer, 2013). Besides, the CDF construct provides teachers with a tangible means to perceive how the content and the language needed to learn, integrate in the classroom. It has "***proven to be a relevant tool for exploring academic language in contact with content areas***" (Lorenzo, 2017: 40), such as history. By including the component of analysis of the metalanguage used for teaching and learning, it facilitates the teaching and learning process in CLIL contexts (Gerns, 2023). The CDFs are articulated around the following classification (Table I):

The CDF *Classify* was recently revised and renamed as *Categorize* (Evnitskaya & Dalton-Puffer, 2023). The specific CDF that were included in the tests were *Describe*, *Report*, *Explain and Explore*. All of them are present in the curriculum of history in secondary, what reinforces the idea that CDF are part of the process of learning (BOE, 2022). The rubrics following the H-CLIL model for Y1stESO (see Appendix I) and

TABLE I. Cognitive Discourse Functions

Function type	Communicative intention	Label
CLASSIFY	Type 1 I tell you how we can cut up the world according to certain ideas	Classify, contrast, match
DEFINE	Type 2 I tell you about the extension of this object of specialist knowledge	Identify, characterize
DESCRIBE	Type 3 I tell you details of what can be seen (also metaphorically)	Label, name, specify
EVALUATE	Type 4 I tell you what my position is vis a vis X	Judge, argue, justify, reflect
EXPLAIN	Type 5 I give you reasons for and tell you the cause/s of X	The reason, express, cause/effect, deduce
EXPLORE	Type 6 I tell you something that is potential	Hypothesize, speculate, predict
REPORT	Type 7 I tell you about something. external to our immediate context on which I have a legitimate knowledge claim	Inform, recount, narrate

Source: Dalton-Puffer, 2013.

Y3rdESO (see Appendix II) were designed taking into account the following criteria prompted in the essay:

■ General and formal features: essay format, fluency, marking sentences using capital letters and full stops, verb tenses, coherence and textual cohesion. Rubric for Y1ºESO also considered the proper use of the prompted vocabulary (1)

■ Who participated, what happened (2)

■ Where did it happen (3)

■ When did it happened (recalling exact dates is not a priority in the learning of history as it is recognizing periods, understanding the key figures, causes and consequences of events; the temporal reference is considered when these parameters are respected). In the Y1st ESO test, the months between the start of Columbus's first voyage and the landing in the new lands were suggested in the vocabulary to help students and check if they were able to locate both events correctly (4)

■ How did it happen

■ Why did it happen

Research procedure and results

The tests administered were scored on a 3-point scale. First, quantitative data from the tests will be presented, followed by the most relevant linguistic aspects of the essays. The data collected were processed with the SPSS software (V. 27.0, IBM, 2020) and the measurements of tendency were obtained for every array of data: mean, median, mode, standard deviation and variance (Table II).

The mean provides information about the centre of data distribution and was expected to remain within a close range. This was the case for Las Encinas and Los Alamos schools, where the mean remained consistent between the Y1st and Y3rd ESO tests with a minimal variation of 0.11. In contrast, in Los Pinos School there was a difference of 0.33 points between the two tests. This could be attributed to the fact that when the participating students took the initial test, the bilingual programme had just been implemented at the school and neither the school's educational project nor the teachers in the programme had experience in bilingual education. However, in Y3rd ESO there was the mentioned increase of 0,33 points in the results, as the school had a stable qualified teaching staff and began to engage in bilingual innovation projects, which supports this improvement.

The standard deviation indicates the spread of data around the mean, and in this case, there a slight difference between Y1st and Y3rd scores in Las Encinas and Los Pinos (0.09 and 0.06 respectively), while in Los Alamos the difference is greater (almost o.17 points). The mode shows a higher score in Las Encinas (2.8) and Los Alamos (2.2), whereas in Los Pinos there is a clear difference within the group between Y1st ESO (mode 1.3) and Y3rd ESO (mode 2.3), which supports the observations concerning the mean.

Regarding the individual results, in Las Encinas most of the students increased their scores on the test, with the exception of four students (LE2, LE4, LE13 and LE14), although the decrease was minimal (0.2 points on average). Even the student who obtained the lowest score in Y1st ESO (LE8 0.9 points) scored 0.5 points higher in Y3rd ESO (Graph I).

In Los Álamos School, a similar trend of improvement or maintenance of results from Y1st and Y3rd ESO is observed. However, there are two students, LA6 and LA13 whose scores decreased by 0.4 points between the two tests. It is worth noting that this decrease is not significant since the starting grade for both was already high: 2.9 out of 3 in the initial test in Y1ESO (Graph II).

TABLE II. Results of the tests in the schools and measurements of general tendency

Las Encinas School

	1stESO	3rdESO	DIFF
LE1	2,8	2,8	0
LE2	2,8	2,7	-0,1
LE3	2,6	2,8	0,2
LE4	2,3	2	-0,3
LE5	3	2,8	-0,2
LE6	2,8	3	0,2
LE7	2,8	3	0,2
LE8	0,9	1,4	0,5
LE9	2,4	2,6	0,2
LE10	2,7	2,8	0,1
LE11	2,4	2,6	0,2
LE12	1,8	2,5	0,7
LE13	2,3	2,1	-0,2
LE14	2,6	2,4	-0,2
LE15	2,3	2,6	0,3
mean	2,43	2,54	0,11
median	2,6	2,6	
mode	2,8	2,8	
Σ	0,52	0,43	
VAR	0,27	0,18	

Los Pinos School

	1stESO	3rdESO	DIFF
LP1	1,9	2,3	0,4
LP2	2,5	2,8	0,3
LP3	2,3	2,6	0,3
LP4	1,9	1,7	-0,2
LP5	1,4	1,3	-0,1
LP6	1,8	2	0,2
LP7	1,3	1,6	0,3
LP8	2,3	2,2	-0,1
LP9	1,3	1,9	0,6
LP10	0,8	1,9	1,1
LP11	1,3	2	0,7
LP12	1,5	1,8	0,3
LP13	2	2,3	0,3
LP14	1,7	2,2	0,5
LP15	2,4	2,8	0,4
mean	1,76	2,09	0,33
median	1,8	2	
mode	1,3	2,3	
Σ	0,49	0,43	
VAR	0,24	0,18	

Los Álamos School

|	1stESO	3rdESO	DIFF
LA1	2,4	2,2	-0,2
LA2	2,2	2,7	0,5
LA3	2,9	2,8	-0,1
LA4	2,5	2,8	0,3
LA5	1,3	1,9	0,6
LA6	3	2,6	-0,4
LA7	2,7	2,8	0,1
LA8	2,2	2,7	0,5
LA9	2,3	2,5	0,2
LA10	2,5	2,3	-0,2
LA11	2,1	2,2	0,1
LA12	2	2,4	0,4
LA13	2,9	2,5	-0,4
LA14	2	2,2	0,2
LA15	2,6	2,6	0
mean	2,37	2,48	0,11
median	2,4	2,5	
mode	2,2	2,2	
Σ	0,44	0,27	
VAR	0,19	0,07	

Source: Compiled by the author based on data.

GRAPH I. Evolution of tests results at Las Encinas School between Y1st and Y3rd ESO
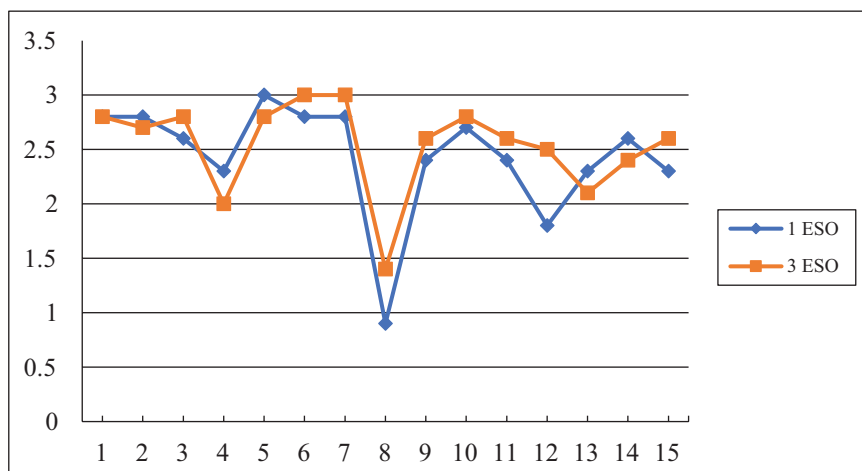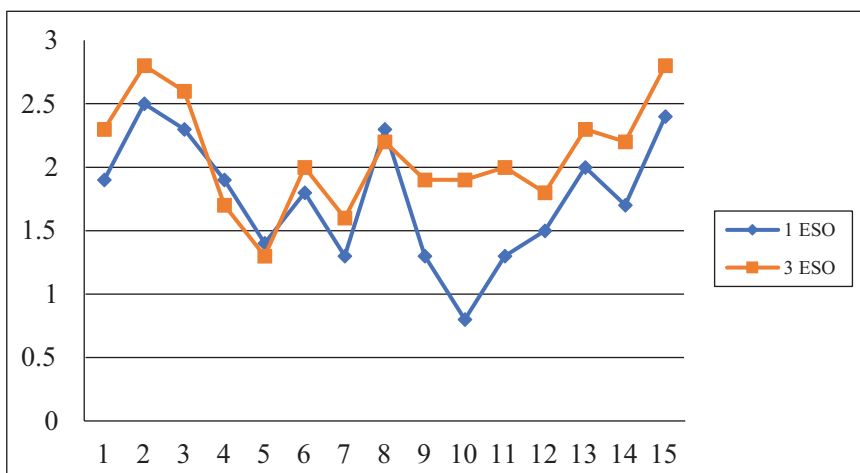

Source: Compiled by the author based on data.

GRAPH II. Evolution of tests results at Los Alamos School between Y1st and Y3rd ESO
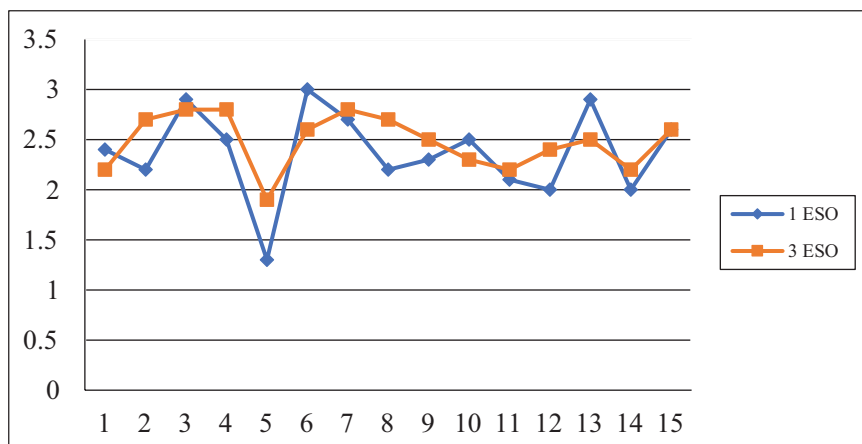
Source: Compiled by the author based on data.

It is in Los Pinos school where we find the largest difference in results between Y1st and Y3rd ESO. The scores improved by an average of 0.33 points between the first test and the second, with the most significant improvement being that of student LP10, who scored 1.1 points higher in Y3rd than in Y1st ESO. Only three students have lower scores in the second test (LP4, LP5 and LP8), and their decline is not very significant, ranging from 0.1 and 0.2 points, starting from a mean of 1.8 in Y1st ESO. Therefore, this decline would be considered of little relevance (Graph III).

GRAPH III. Evolution of tests results at Los Pinos School between Y1st and Y3rd ESO

Source: Compiled by the author based on data.

The comparison of data from the three schools contributes to explaining distinct aspects of the research (Ravid, 2005), such us observing contrasts within the region, since these are schools in different towns. Graphs IV and V show the previously mentioned trends. Starting from an initial situation (Y1st ESO), where only seven out of 45 students had results below the mean (1.5 points), the overall results of two of the schools already exceeded the mean: Las Encinas with 2.43 points and Los Álamos 2.37 points (Graph IV).

In Y3rd ESO, students have been consistently learning new historical content and writing essays for two years as part of the bilingual programme, both in English language and in non-linguistic subjects with high theoretical content -such as social and natural sciencies-. Graph V

GRAPH IV. Comparison among the three participating schools in the first data collection (Y1st ESO)
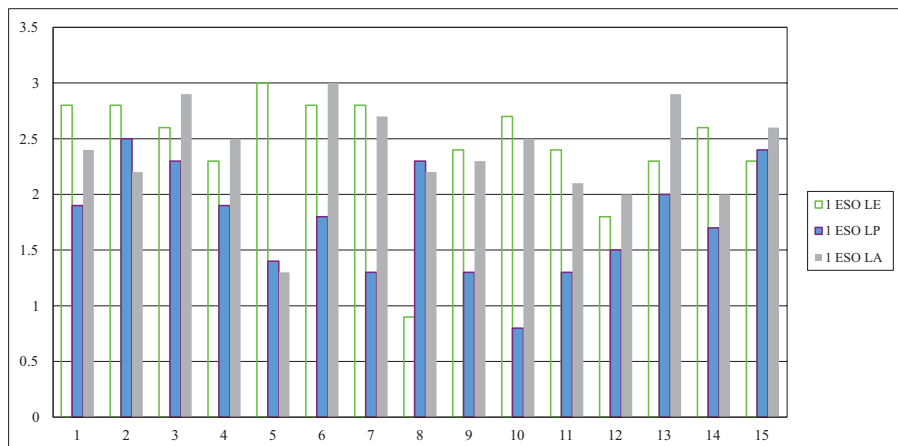
Source: Compiled by the author based on data.

illustrates this trend towards improved results. Only two out of the 45 students (LP5 and LE8) scored below what would be considered a passing mark (1.5 points), since the maximum score is 3 (Graph V).

Regarding the linguistic aspects that are included in the essays, it is necessary to point out a greater use of subordinate clauses in Y3rd ESO compared to the more commonly used coordinate clauses in Y1st ESO. In addition, the importance of using connectors in history text writing (Achugar & Schleppegrell, 2005), is extensively included in the H-CLIL rubrics concerning the writing style, addressing where, when, how and why the events took place. The use of connectors is more common in Y3rd ESO than in Y1st ESO tests. Similarly, the arbitrary use of tenses, such as the present tense (in the case of the campaign log in Y3rd ESO test), past tenses and historical present -always a challenge for students of history- is more prevalent in the texts written by Y1st than those written by Y3rd ESO. Below are excerpts from the essays of three students, one from each participating school, in Y1st and Y3rd ESO that illustrate the above:

LE11 – 1ºESO: "Christopher Columbus discovered America, but how? He was looking for another way to go to India. He thought the world was spherical. It was in August".

GRAPH V. Comparison among the three participating schools in the second data collection (Y3st ESO)
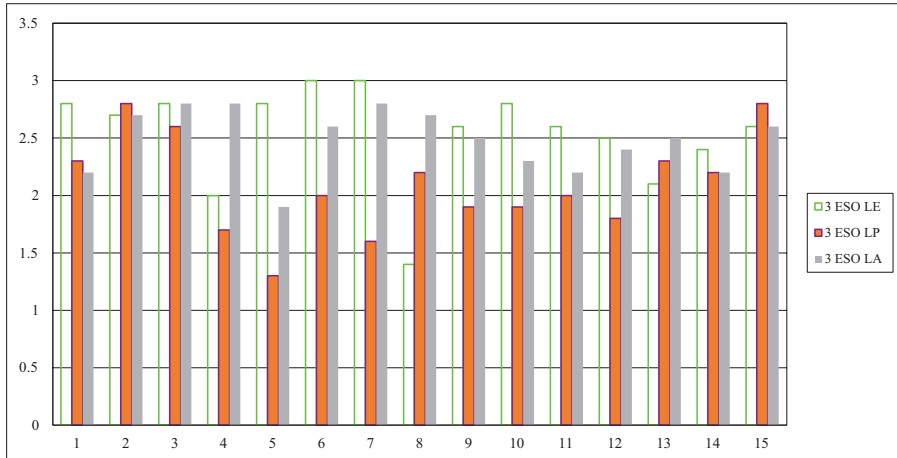
Source: Compiled by the author based on data.

LE11 – 3ºESO: "We are in Granada, the people runs in panic, some escape and the others stay without knowing what to do, we have entered the fortress and it's done. The reconquest of centuries finish and we won".

LP3 – 1ºESO: "Christopher Columbus goes to see if he could reach Asia from the other way. There it found America. San Salvador was the island he gets. He went in August and reach it in October".

LP3 – 3ºESO: "I have arrived to the campaign where we are gonna stay tonight so we could attack the day after tomorrow. Today we are only preparing the weapons, so they are prepared for war and others are looking for a good place to attack (…) Even if it seems simple, it isn't (…) What they [the governors responsible for the war] don't know is that with all this fights, somehow, trade routes are closing".

LA8 – 1ºESO: "Columbus crossed the Atlantic Ocean and he see a little bit of land. He and the navegants were so happy. First they see San Salvador. They went on Spain back and they told all the people that they saw other land out of Spain.

LA8 – 3ºESO: "Day 1. We reached Granada and start setting up the camps. Day 2. We are preparing the catapults and the assault towers. We also have shovels and pick axes to dig under the castle and make it collapse. Day 3. We started the siege, we have surround the castle".

Misspelling was not taken into account as a penalty either in the evaluation criteria outlined in the rubric or in the marking. Strategies for writing in history in a foreign language prioritize the authenticity of the provided information, the transmission of knowledge, the correct sequencing of events, the clarity and coherence of the discourse over spelling (Ministry of Education-British Council, 2010). Even the SAT (Standard Attainment Tests), administered in Great Britain to students between the ages of 7 and 14, prioritize the development of discourse over spelling (Gov.UK, 2014).

Conclusions and discussion

Based on the results obtained, the null hypothesis is refuted, as the study illustrates that students exhibit a learning progression of historical content in line with the curriculum requirements in both academic levels, along with an improved written expression of the content in Y3rd ESO compared to Y1st ESO. Despite the limitations of this study, it can be inferred that students acquire the curricular content of history even when they learnt it in a foreign language. However, these findings should be taken cautiously, as it would be prudent to expand the sample and repeat the tests in several-year courses. Further research is needed, for example comparing the results with those of students at the same academic levels in non-bilingual schools, where the subject is learnt in their native language.

It seems obvious to assert that the most authentic assessment situation is in which teachers select the assessment method that is most similar to the tasks that have been carried out in the classroom. A fair assessment is important, both in languages and content subjects. A poor way of evaluating can lead to failure for students and, therefore, for schools. Formative assessment models that take into account the process that leads to learning and consider all the elements included in the learning -the language of schooling- may help teachers to adopt the most appropriate methodologies for their teaching practice.

The use of assessment results in bilingual education is a pivotal issue, as it underpins or impacts the programmes: what areas need to be improved and what would be essential to achieve success? How can these programmes be enhanced and how can teaching practices be promoted?

This study aims to illustrate how an assessment approach that considers, not only the content but also the language, can contribute to supporting subject teachers to become aware of how evaluation influences their teaching and their students' expression of the learning. Encouraging students to write what they learnt, especially nowadays, with open-ended questions goes beyond focusing on exams as the only form of standard evaluation. It is important to meaningfully analyze the teaching and learning processes and formatively assess students by involving them in the process, since the results obtained influence the adoption of significant educational decisions (Mahoney, 2017).

It is essential to critically examine the assessment process in CLIL. It seems logical to consider measuring the content in the language embedded, as would be done in L1. An interesting debate revolves around the percentage allocated to every item in the assessment criteria. This study suggests measurement methods appropriate to bilingual teaching. Additionally, it proposes opening paths to possible lines of research in which data collection could be expanded to other non-linguistic subjects. The study of the potential implications that the socioeconomic profile could have in their academic results would be an extremely interesting aspect to explore. Another promising and yet under-studied research direction links the learning of history with the alternated use that students make of the native and the foreign language in the classroom when they want to effectively communicate*: translanguaging* (Celic & Seltzer, 2013; Lasagabaster, 2013). Far from being an obstacle to students' communication, the use of linguistic resources in two languages when expressing their knowledge of the subjects studied under the CLIL approach is an added value to bilingual education. Mahoney makes a controversial suggestion: "*If the objective is to measure history knowledge, then assessment could be conducted in English, Spanish or a combination of both languages, which are meaningful to the students and can better show what students know (…) Failing to assess [them] also in their native language may mean ignoring relevant information about the teaching and learning process*" (Mahoney, 2017: 11-12). During the research, some examples of translanguaging came up and the transmission of historical knowledge was achieved; there is also this example of metalanguage that a student included in his essay to explain the switching of languages to the reader:

> **LE10 – 1ºESO**: "*Then they put the objects in the carabela (this word is in Spanish) and they took gold and new products to Spain*".

Assessing in bilingual education entails recognizing and appreciating the resources, effort and time that teachers, students, families and public administrations have made for over 25 years. Eventually, it is all about enhancing education, particularly in the light of the current context when learning, including that of CLIL subjects, largely occurs in hybrid environments characterized by blended teaching, increased digitalization and online learning.

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APPENDIX I: rubric H-CLIL for Y 1stESO
(adapted from Del Pozo & Llinares, 2021)

ESSAY: Explain, providing as many details as possible, how the discovery of America took place. Use the words: Columbus, Asia, Earth, caravels, August, October and San Salvador (about 150 words). Up to 3 points

SCORE/ CATEGORIES	0.5 mark	0.4 mark	0.3 mark	0.2 mark
1. GENERAL FEATURES: Fluency	-The student writes between 150 and 100 words.	The student writes between 99 and 75 words.	The student writes between 74 and 50 words.	The student writes less than 50 words.
2. FORMAL FEATURES: **-Marking sentences using capital letters and full stops** **-Essay format** **-Verb tenses** **-Coherence** **-Textual cohesion**	-Coordinate and subordinate clauses. - Uses all formal features required. - Uses an essay format -Correct use of the past and/or historical present. -It follows a cohesive discourse.	-Mainly coordinate clauses, poor tries on subordinates. -Uses formal features and essay format but not completely correct. -Past and present tenses (historical present may not be used correctly). -The essay is coherent but may not follow a chronological order. Cohesive discourse	- Only coordinate clauses or just chunks of information. -Uses formal features but no essay format or the opposite. -Incorrect use of the past and/or present tenses. -The essay is mainly coherent but sometimes lacks cohesion.	The student does not use formal features.
3. REPORT 1 **Who participated?** **What happened?**	-(WHO) The student mentions Columbus, the Catholic Monarchs, Americo Vespucci, name of caravels or other historical characters or elements involved in the discovery. -(WHAT) The student mentions correctly at least two details of the trip.	-(WHO) The student mentions Columbus and the Catholic Monarchs (or other historical characters or elements involved in the discovery). -(WHAT) The student mentions one detail of the trip correctly.	- (WHO) The student mentions Columbus or any of the Catholic Monarchs (or other historical characters or elements involved in the discovery). (WHAT) The student mentions one detail of the trip but it is wrong.	The student neither mentions the participants nor what happened, or the answer is not consistent.

(Continued)

APPENDIX I: rubric H-CLIL for Y 1stESO *(Continued)*

SCORE/ CATEGORIES	0.5 mark	0.4 mark	0.3 mark	0.2 mark
4. REPORT 2 DESCRIBE **Where did it happen?**	-(WHERE) The student correctly mentions the place of setting off (Castile, Spain), the place of landing (new land, America) and the presumed destination (Asia).	-(WHERE) The student describes the trip; mentions some places but may miss one.	-(WHERE) The student describes the trip. The student mentions places that may not be correct.	The student does not follow the report features. The report is not consistent.
5. REPORT 3 DESCRIBE **When did it happen?**	-(WHEN) The student correctly mentions the date of setting off and the date of the discovery. -Time connectors	-(WHEN) The student mentions dates but fails one. -Time connectors (some may be wrong).	- (WHEN) The student mentions only one of the dates and may fail. -No time connectors used.	The student does not follow mention any date. The report is not consistent.
6. EXPLAIN DESCRIBE **How did it happen?** **Why did it happen?**	-(HOW/WHY) The student explains how the expedition sailed, direction East/West and how the trip ended up. -Sequence cause or effect connectors are used.	-(HOW/WHY) The student explains how the expedition sailed, just mentions correctly either East or West and how the trip ended up but one is incorrect. -Sequence cause or effect connectors are used. (some may be wrong)	-(HOW/WHY) The student tells only either how the expedition sailed or how the trip ended up (but does not mention East or West). -No sequence cause or effect connectors are used.	The student does not explain. The explanation is not consistent.

APPENDIX II: rubric H-CLIL for Y 3stESO

ESSAY: Imagine you are one of the officers of the Christian army in the conquest of Granada. Write the daily campaign including every detail you can think of (about 150 words). Up to 3 points

SCORE/ CATEGORIES	0.5 mark	0.4 mark	0.3 mark	0.2 mark
1. GENERAL FEATURES: **-Fluency**	-The student writes between 150 and 100 words.	The student writes between 99 and 75 words.	The student writes between 74 and 50 words.	The student writes less than 50 words.
2. FORMAL FEATURES: **- Marking sentences using capital letters and full stops** **- Diary format** **- Verb tenses** **- Coherence** **- Textual cohesion**	-Coordinate and subordinate clauses. - Uses all formal features required. - Uses a diary format -Correct use of the verb tenses. -It follows a cohesive discourse	-Mainly coordinate clauses, poor tries on subordinates. -Uses formal features and diary format but not completely correct. -Correct use of the verb tenses (may fail any). -The text is coherent but may not follow an order. Cohesive discourse.	- Coordinate clauses or just chunks of information. -Uses formal features but no diary format or the opposite. -Incorrect use of the verb tenses. -The text is mainly coherent but sometimes lacks cohesion.	The student does not follow formal features.
3. REPORT 1 EXPLORE **Who participated?** **What happened?**	-(WHO) The student names correctly the historical protagonists (allies and enemies) of the conquest. -(WHAT) The student narrates everyday life in the campaign (at least two historical items).	-(WHO) The student names the protagonists of the conquest and may miss any. -(WHAT) The student narrates the life in the campaign. The narration is incomplete.	(WHO) The student either names the protagonists of the conquest or (WHAT) narrates the life during the campaign. Part of the data may be incorrect.	The student does not mention who participated, what happened or the answer is not consistent.

(Continued)

APPENDIX II: rubric H-CLIL for Y 3stESO *(Continued)*

SCORE/ CATEGORIES	0.5 mark	0.4 mark	0.3 mark	0.2 mark
4. REPORT 2 **When did it happen?**	-(WHEN) The student mentions the date correctly or the century of the campaign or details of the period. -Time connectors/ markers.	-(WHEN) The student mentions time periods. The information is not complete. -Time connectors/ markers (some may be wrong).	- (WHEN) The student mentions either dates or just general time periods and may fail. -No time connectors/ markers used.	The student does not mention when it happened, or the answer is not consistent.
5. REPORT 3 **Where did it happen?**	-(WHERE) The student mentions the setting of the campaign correctly and refers to features of the site (castle, walls, river, mountain, forest, valley…). - Location connectors	-(WHERE) The student mentions the setting of the campaign and refers to features of the site. The information is not complete. - Location connectors (some may be wrong)	-(WHERE) The student either mentions the setting of the campaign or some features of the site. The student may fail some. -No location connectors used.	The student does not locate the action, or the answer is not consistent.
6. DESCRIBE EXPLAIN EXPLORE **How did it happen?** **Why did it happen?**	-(HOW/WHY) The student explains how the campaign happened and how it ended up. -Sequence/cause/ effect connectors are used. -(WHY)	-(HOW/WHY) The student explains how the campaign happened and how it ended up. The information is incomplete. -Sequence/cause/effect connectors (some may be wrong)	-(HOW/WHY) The student explains how the campaign happened or how it ended up. Part of the information may be wrong. -No sequence/ cause/effect connectors used.	The student does not explain. The explanation is not consistent.

English-Medium Instruction in Spanish Universities: A Systematic Review

La enseñanza de contenido en inglés en universidades españolas: una revisión sistemática

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Abstract

EMI (English-medium instruction) has mushroomed in higher education institutions (HEIs) in Spain since 2007, when universities joined the European Higher Education Area. Spanish institutions followed the example of their European counterparts, and nowadays most HEIs offer English-taught programmes, aiming to increase their presence in the global market, attract international students and teaching staff, and climb up rankings of higher education. The rapid development of EMI has caught theoretical frameworks and research studies off-guard. Therefore, a systematic review of the investigation on EMI in Spanish higher education institutions will contribute to identifying the most outstanding challenges for stakeholders and HEIs in this particular context. In order to find out the most significant findings in the field, the current paper puts forward a systematic review of studies analysing EMI in Spanish universities in the last decade (2013-2022). For this purpose, studies indexed in three most renowned databases – Web of Science, ERIC, and Scopus – were carefully reviewed. Several clusters of terms associated with EMI were used. The current review provides a detailed picture of the research undertaken on EMI in the Spanish context and the results achieved hitherto, while it will also help to pinpoint which issues or research lines have been neglected.

Keywords: EMI, bilingual education, higher education, Spain, systematic review.

Resumen

La enseñanza a través del inglés en las universidades españolas se ha extendido desde el año 2007 cuando España se adhirió al Espacio Europeo de Educación Superior. Las universidades españolas siguieron el ejemplo de sus homónimas europeas y, en la actualidad, la mayoría de instituciones ofertan enseñanzas impartidas en inglés con el fin de aumentar su presencia en el ámbito internacional, atraer alumnado y profesorado extranjero y obtener mejores resultados en los rankings de educación superior. La rápida expansión del inglés como medio de instrucción avanza a un ritmo superior que los modelos teóricos y los resultados de la investigación. Por ello, una revisión sistemática de los estudios realizados en el contexto español contribuirá a identificar los retos más acuciantes para el profesorado, el estudiantado y las instituciones en nuestro país. Con el objeto de lograr una mejor comprensión de los avances en el campo, el presente trabajo presenta una revisión sistemática de artículos que analizan los programas bilingües en universidades españolas en la última década (2013-2022). Para ello, se han examinado trabajos indexados en las tres bases de datos de mayor prestigio en la actualidad –Web of Science, ERIC y Scopus–Se consideraron varios clústeres de términos asociados con "Inglés como medio de instrucción en España". Consideramos que el presente trabajo puede contribuir al avance de este campo ya que no existen revisiones sistemáticas previas sobre este tema en España. La presente revisión proporciona una panorámica general sobre la investigación realizada en este ámbito en el contexto español y los resultados obtenidos, al tiempo que identifica los temas y líneas que han sido menos explorados.

Palabras clave: Inglés como medio de instrucción, educación bilingüe, educación superior, España, revisión sistemática.

Introduction

English-Medium Instruction (EMI) is usually defined as "an educational system where content is taught through English in contexts where English is not used as the primary, first, or official language" (Rose & McKinley, 2018, p. 114). EMI has greatly expanded in Higher Education institutions (HEIs) in Spain since 2007, when universities adapted their academic provision to that of the European Higher Education Area (Fortanet-Gómez, 2013). Spanish institutions followed the example of

their European counterparts, and nowadays most HEIs offer English-taught programmes: 415 degrees offered bilingual tracks in Spain in 2018 according to Macaro et al. (2018). A recent study by the British Council (2021) raises this figure to 995 English-taught programmes offered by 77 institutions. EMI is seen as the lynchpin of the internationalization process (Lasagabaster, 2021a) and Spanish universities have deployed bilingual courses to become more visible globally, attract international students and improve their position in education rankings (Dafouz & Smit, 2020). Although some attempts have been made to establish good practices in the design and implementation of EMI (Bazo et al., 2017), there is still no common national policy on the practice or evaluation protocols for bilingual programmes (Lasagabaster, 2021a) and the EMI landscape among Spanish HEIs is heterogeneous (Ramos-García & Pavón, 2018).

The rapid spread of EMI in the last decade follows the trail of primary and secondary education, where Content and Language Integration (CLIL) has bourgeoned, based on linguistic, intercultural and cognitive benefits for learners (Cenoz, 2015; Fernández-Costales, 2023; Lasagabaster & Doiz, 2016). This is especially relevant in Spain, where foreign language competence has traditionally been an issue of great contention (Arnó-Macià & Mancho-Barés, 2015). While the links between CLIL and EMI are noticeable, research (Aguilar, 2017; Lasagabaster & Doiz, 2021; Macaro, 2018) has persistently shown a lack of integration between content and language on EMI courses, which has led most researchers to use EMI[1] instead of CLIL to refer to English-taught programmes at the tertiary level. Although students' English proficiency correlates with their success in EMI (Dimova et al., 2015), research has confirmed that the neglect of language objectives is a critical issue in EMI (Doiz et al., 2019), together with the paucity of specific training for teachers (O'Dowd, 2018) and the necessity for some kind of accreditation framework for EMI lecturers (Macaro et al., 2019).

The fast spread of EMI has outpaced theoretical frameworks and research studies. Therefore, a systematic review of EMI in Spanish universities will contribute to identifying the most prominent challenges for lecturers, students and HEIs. Aiming to achieve a better understanding

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[1] The acronym ICLHE (Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education) is also frequently used.

of the most salient findings, this paper presents a systematic review of studies analysing EMI in Spain between 2013 and 2022.

This paper aims to contribute the field of EMI, as no prior systematic reviews have been documented in Spain, to the extent of our current knowledge. Secondly, the Spanish setting is of interest for the investigation of bilingual education due to its sociolinguistic characteristics: There are 17 Autonomous Communities, 6 of them[2] with co-official languages – Basque, Catalan/Valencian and Galician. Furthermore, bilingual education has been widely embraced in primary and secondary education and there is a large corpus of research evaluating the implementation of CLIL provisions. In this framework, we need to rely on solid research with empirical data that provides an accurate and precise picture of EMI in Spanish universities.

The Current Study

Systematic Review Process

Our review aims to provide a general panorama of the research conducted on EMI in the Spanish context and identify which topics have been overlooked. Our paper extends the current EMI research by answering the following questions:

- ■ What are the main topics analysed by EMI researchers in the Spanish context?

- ■ What does the literature tell us about the perceptions of lecturers and students regarding the implementation of EMI in Spain?

- ■ What are the EMI aspects that future research should address?

The review adhered to the guidelines presented by Macaro et al. (2018, p. 40), namely:

- ■ It was carried out by both reviewers.

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[2] The Basque Country, Navarre, the Balearic Islands, Catalonia, Galicia and the Valencian Community.

■ We used transparent procedures, from conception to final conclusions. An initial protocol was drawn regarding how the review was to be carried out.

■ It only included journal articles through a process of exhaustive and reliable searching.

■ The collaboration between the two reviewers endeavoured to reduce bias as much as possible.

■ The final goal was to write clear messages about the reliability of the review conducted.

Search Strategy and Review Protocol

Various search strategies were employed in order to obtain optimal outcomes. The search strategies underwent refinement through an assessment of the retrieved abstracts and the incorporation or removal of diverse search terms.

The following procedure was followed. Both authors analysed the title and the abstract of each study. Then, the researchers defined the main topics in the literature and agreed on what studies fitted best, following a content analysis strategy. Finally, they read the studies and summarized the main findings. Although each article was initially classified in one of the topics, the in-depth reading led us to move some studies from one topic to another. This procedure was carried out until an agreement between the two reviewers was reached.

Three databases were used to gather the studies being reviewed: Web of Science, ERIC and Scopus. The researchers looked for studies focusing on EMI in the Spanish context. Among others, the following key terms were used: "EMI Spain", "English Medium Instruction Spain", "EMI Spanish universities", "English Medium Instruction Spanish universities", "English instruction Spain", "Bilingual courses Spain", "Bilingual tracks Spain", "CLIL Spanish universities" and "ICLHE Spain". The initial corpus included 62 items, which were reduced to 42 after excluding conference proceedings and studies published before 2013 (as the time restriction applied was 2013-2022). After the first selection, studies that did not focus on EMI in higher education were also excluded (as some papers focused on CLIL in secondary education). The demographics of the final corpus of 33 studies are shown in Table I:

TABLE I. Number of papers published by region of origin

Autonomous community	Papers
Andalusia	4
Basque Country	6
Castilla La Mancha	1
Catalonia	1
Extremadura	1
Madrid	10
Principality of Asturias	2
Valencian Community	1
Cross-wise studies (several communities)	4
No context (theoretical papers)	3
Total	33

Source: Compiled by the authors.

Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Only research articles indexed in the three databases and reporting on empirical data were included. The corpus included quantitative, qualitative and mixed-research designs, and the eligible languages for the studies were English and Spanish. No geographical restrictions were applied, as the corpus intended to include studies investigating different settings in Spain. PhD thesis, book chapters, monographs and conference proceedings were discarded. If an article did not provide a quality contribution to the review, it was also discarded.

Findings

The most significant findings are presented below. The studies were categorized in five main topics: 1) Research on students' profile, motivation and satisfaction; 2) teachers' beliefs and perceptions on EMI; 3) student performance in EMI programmes; 4) analyses of classroom discourse; 5) some other topics, which include EMI certification, teacher training and motivation in EMI.

Table 2 presents the number of papers analysed by topic.

TABLE II. Publication frequency by topic

Topic	Papers
Research on students' profile, motivation and satisfaction	5
Teachers' beliefs and perceptions on EMI	13
Student performance in EMI programmes	4
Analysis of classroom discourse	6
Some other topics	5
Total	33

Source: Compiled by the authors.

Research on Students' Profile, Motivation and Satisfaction

In our review, we found several studies devoted to examining the profile of EMI students, their motivation towards English and their satisfaction with the bilingual programme. The characteristics of students enrolled in EMI and their perceptions of the advantages and drawbacks of bilingual programmes provide critical information for the optimisation of EMI.

Madrid and Julius (2020) examined the personal characteristics of students in the bilingual degree in primary education at the Universidad de Granada, which offers 50% of its courses in L2. An open-ended questionnaire was administered to 216 students. The study concluded that participants' language level when entering the EMI programme (B1 for 45% of first-year students) "may cause problems when following class discussions during the first trimester for some first-year students" (Madrid & Julius, 2020, p. 89). This outcome concurs with the results of Rubio Cuenca and Moore (2018), which determined that "the majority of students signing up for bilingual programmes are locals with limited L2 expertise (p. 99). The second finding established that students' motivation to choose the bilingual degree was driven by their desire to have better job prospects. Students' motivation correlated with their satisfaction with the EMI programme, which was rather positive (70% of positive answers). The participants proposed four improvements: i) officially recognize the bilingual section of the degree course beyond a normal teaching degree, ii) offer additional support to students experiencing difficulties in the bilingual track, iii) increase the number of courses taught in English and iv) incorporate native speakers into the programme.

In Extremadura, Delicado-Puerto et al. (2022) assessed students' profile and their satisfaction with the bilingual track in the degree of primary education (50% in the L2). This EMI programme is taught by university lecturers and also by primary education teachers who work as "advisor teachers" under this cooperative model. The research scrutinized 63 first-year students who answered a 23-item survey comprising written questions, multiple-choice questions, classification questions and Likert-scale items. Regarding students' profile, the EMI programme attracted high-performing students, although the authors reject the notion of elitism in EMI since most participants had no prior experience in bilingual education. The students had high expectations of the impact of EMI on their L2 proficiency and expected to see major improvements in their English competence upon graduation. In terms of the evaluation of the EMI programme, student satisfaction was generally high, especially regarding the collaboration of advisor teachers, which is rather exceptional in Spanish EMI settings. Delicado-Puerto et al. accentuate the need to monitor EMI faculty's needs for continuing methodological training.

The attitudes and motivation of students towards learning English in EMI have been investigated by González Ardeo (2016) in a trilingual setting: Data was collected via a 35-item questionnaire from 132 students of engineering enrolled in the EMI programme at the Universidad del País Vasco UPV(EHU), where Spanish, Basque and English are used as tuition languages. The results underlined the positive attitude of students towards learning the foreign language (FL), irrespective of their L1 (Basque or Spanish) and suggested a positive tendency when compared with the outcomes of a prior study carried out 10 years earlier by the author. The data also revealed that students' motivation towards the FL was high, with a mix of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation driving participants to learn English. Since no experimental groups were considered, the research did not estimate the direct impact of EMI.

Mira et al. (2021) approached attitudes towards EMI by focusing on a monolingual context (Madrid). Their study explored the attitudes, motivation and expectations of teachers (125 participants) and students (305 respondents) towards the bilingual programme in engineering studies implemented at the Universidad Politécnica de Madrid. Data was collected through two online surveys examining participants' L2 competence, motivation, attitudes and global satisfaction with EMI. Since only one-third of the students had the required self-perceived L2 competence –B2

or higher, according to the study– to follow the EMI programme, the authors emphasized the importance of official language requirements for enrolling in EMI. As for the teachers' willingness to join the bilingual programme, most respondents were positive, but they also showed some reluctance based on the main challenges EMI poses for teachers: Additional workload, language difficulties, and instructional concerns. In the conclusions, the authors stressed the need for stronger institutional support to reinforce EMI programmes in terms of language courses and methodological training for lecturers.

In general, the satisfaction of students with EMI programmes seems to be positive, and they keep high levels of motivation and good attitudes towards English. However, there is a need for longitudinal studies investigating the long-term effect of EMI on these dimensions. It is also worth noting that the high expectations generated by EMI seem not to be confirmed by the studies analysed in the section entitled "student performance in EMI programmes" below.

EMI Teachers' Beliefs and Perceptions

Teachers' beliefs and perceptions on the implementation of EMI is a burgeoning research line. Within this avenue of enquiry, several topics have arisen in the last decade in Spain. This is the area where a larger number of studies has been found, which may be due to the ease to access their colleagues on the part of EMI researchers.

Fernández-Costales and González-Riaño (2015) scrutinized the degree of satisfaction of 74 lecturers with the EMI programme of the Universidad de Oviedo, launched in 2010. The study took a quantitative perspective in which data was collected through a closed-ended survey. The research identified several improvement proposals concerning teacher training, which was insufficient according to lecturers. Moreover, results accentuated that interdepartmental collaboration might be the key successful EMI roll-out at the tertiary level.

Aguilar (2017) addressed lecturers' perceptions towards EMI or CLIL in their classes. The study scrutinised the opinion of 41 lecturers through a mixed research design that included a questionnaire and semi-structured interviews. When asked if they followed CLIL or EMI in their subjects, lecturers confirmed their lack of interest in approaching language

issues in their classes, acknowledging they followed EMI and not a CLIL approach in their subjects. Moreover, results confirmed that participants did not reflect on their teaching practice and they assigned L2 proficiency as being the key factor in EMI.

Pérez-Cañado (2020) analysed the perceptions of EMI lecturers in Andalusia. Her study investigated 153 lecturers involved in EMI, intending to evaluate their training needs and define a teacher-training proposal. The investigation relied on a mixed design with closed-ended questions and semi-structured interviews. The most significant results agreed with those reported in other settings: EMI lecturers were not sufficiently informed about the theoretical underpinnings of EMI and the information on the institutional policy had not been adequately transferred. The study underlined methodology as a focal point in EMI, since student-centred approaches may promote content learning in English.

Qualitative studies have also been conducted. Barrios and López (2019) analysed the perception of EMI lecturers at the Universidad de Málaga. They interviewed eight lecturers to elicit their interpretations of the first stages of a bilingual programme, of themselves as teachers in the programme, and of the overall set up. All lecturers taught at the bilingual track of the degree in primary education (which offered 35% subjects in English). Following a thematic content analysis, the researchers found there was an overall positive perception of the EMI programme, while lecturers confirmed content learning was not affected by L2 instruction. However, some challenges could be determined: Most notably, an increased workload for teachers and insufficient L2 competence on the part of students and lecturers to express complex meanings. It is worth mentioning that the study also found that lecturers denied the existing differences between EMI and monolingual teaching, and there was no conceptualization of the integration of language and content.

Roothooft (2019) investigated EMI teachers' voices at different Spanish universities located in Aragón, Catalonia and Navarre. Her study inspected the views of 59 lecturers from humanities and STEM who completed narrative frames. The results concur with prior research (Aguilar, 2017), as teachers acknowledged they focused on content and not on language when teaching in English. The study found some differences in opinion between STEM and humanities regarding their teaching style and L1 use: More teachers in humanities perceived they had changed their teaching

as a result of delivering their courses in English and they were also more likely to use the L1 in EMI classes.

Following a qualitative research design, Alfaro-Tanco et al. (2020) explored the effects of transitioning to EMI on lecturers teaching operation management courses (degree in business) in 13 universities. Using an online questionnaire, data was gathered from 20 lecturers. The study confirmed that lecturers were not initially enthusiastic about having to teach in English, but their perceptions changed soon after engaging in the EMI programme, reporting generally positive perceptions of their experience. Among the shortcomings, the authors highlighted the lack of incentives to teach in English, the need to use tools and strategies to improve the interaction with students and the amount of time needed to prepare lectures in the L2. Moreover, this study emphasized the importance of investing time in training seminars for EMI lecturers and promoting the exchange of experiences among teachers in these programmes.

Paradoxically, research also confirmed that despite their refusal to teach English (Aguilar, 2017; Barrios & López, 2019), EMI lecturers do provide corrective feedback in their lessons. Mancho-Barés and Aguilar (2020) contrasted the assessment practices of 14 EMI lecturers at the Universidad de Lleida with their expressed beliefs on language teaching. The researchers concluded that 80% of participants provided corrective feedback to learners' oral and written productions. The authors of the study emphasised the need for collaboration between content and language lecturers, as EMI teachers would benefit from the support of language experts that focus on linguistic improvement proposals.

Nieto and Fernández Barrera (2021) used semi-structured interviews to analyse the perceptions of three groups of EMI teachers at the Universidad de Castilla La Mancha (UCLM): EMI practitioners, lecturers interested in EMI and teachers from the Department of Modern Languages with expertise in bilingual education. The bilingual programme of the UCLM is more recent than in other Spanish HEIs, which may explain why teachers are required to hold only a B2 certificate in English (while most Spanish universities demand a C1) and enjoy L2 training courses but receive no methodological training on EMI. The authors took an ethnographic approach to analyse the perception of 20 lecturers. The data included informal discussions, EMI teaching resources and institutional guidelines and documents about the implementation of EMI. Interestingly, the analysis highlighted how most teachers did not want to be "left

behind" in the implementation of the EMI programme. Participants also felt teaching conditions in EMI were better, as they worked with more motivated students (higher L2 proficiency). The authors also provided some recommendations for universities and policymakers: i) the design of comprehensive teacher training plans offering accreditation to enter EMI and in-service methodology courses; and ii) the approval of a multilingual language policy with specific protocols for lecturer recruitment.

Teacher collaboration, or team teaching, is a topical avenue of enquiry in EMI, which emphasises language aspects in content-subjects delivered in the L2 (Lasagabaster, 2021b). Our corpus includes several studies that specifically investigate collaborative experiences in EMI programmes in Spain.

Martín del Pozo (2017) analyses the role of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) and English for Academic Purposes (EAP) as two fields that can cement the foundations of EMI practice at the tertiary level. In particular, this theoretical study claims that ESP and EAP precede the implementation of EMI in higher education and that experience harvested in the former can provide effective teaching practices and guidelines in tertiary education. Martín del Pozo advocates that research on academic listening comprehension could reinforce not only the design of learning materials but also the training of EMI lecturers to be more skilled in their lessons.

Lasagabaster (2018) claims that teacher collaboration in EMI has been overlooked and requires further studies to analyse the potential of team teaching in English-taught programmes. This study underscores how team teaching promotes reflective practice on EMI lecturers' pedagogy and knowledge and states that the few studies available consistently report favourable outcomes on undergraduates' learning and provides a motivational boost to content teachers since it helps to overcome the feeling of lack of support and loneliness in the classroom. Lasagabaster also emphasises the need to delve into issues such as lecturers' beliefs about team collaboration, its longitudinal impact on language and content learning and whether team teaching boosts both teachers' and students' motivation.

It is interesting to note that only one action research study was identified in our review. At the Universidad de Málaga, Griffith (2019) analysed eight experienced lecturers who were supported by a language specialist when they started to teach in English. Participants were encouraged to reflect on classroom interaction, while learners' outcomes and perceptions

were also analysed. Griffith concludes action research helped EMI lecturers to build on their expertise and enrich "the shared group experience as a whole" (p. 74). The study also reported no differences in the final evaluation between English and L1 courses and that students' perception of the EMI experience was positive.

In conclusion, research into teachers' beliefs and perceptions of EMI programmes in Spain identifies key elements regarding their methodological approach to EMI. First, as mentioned above, the distinction between CLIL and EMI is pivotal as research shows that EMI (rather than CLIL) is the approach followed by lecturers when delivering their classes. As concluded by several studies (Barrios & López, 2019; Pérez-Cañado, 2020), there is a lack of interest in language issues on the part of EMI lecturers and the integration of content and language is not being appropriately tackled. Second, EMI lecturers demand additional support from their universities (i.e., specific training to improve their methodological and communicative skills to be more competent in EMI settings). In addition, other challenges identified by teachers are an increased workload and the lack of specific and consistent language policies in Spanish HEIs.

Finally, the lack of collaboration between content lecturers and language experts is identified as a shortcoming of EMI by most teachers, who claim that interdepartmental cooperation should be stronger in bilingual programmes. The studies reviewed here confirm that teacher collaboration can contribute to making EMI teachers more reflective, as it is considered to be a key component in the success of EMI programmes.

Student Performance in EMI Programmes

Surprisingly, the assessment of student performance in EMI programmes in the Spanish scenario has received scant attention. Our corpus includes only four papers devoted to the analysis of learners' achievements in bilingual programmes. The first two studies focused on content learning, whereas the other two analysed English proficiency development of EMI students.

Dafouz et al. (2014) compared an EMI group and a Spanish-medium group of first-year students who were enrolled on a Business Administration degree at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid. The participants were matched on university entrance exam scores and their

results in three subjects (Accounting, Finance and History) contrasted at the end of the term. The results did not show any significant difference, which led the authors to conclude that EMI did not have any detrimental effect on content learning. Nonetheless, the authors underscored that the results had to be treated with caution because of the limited size of data, the reduced access to classroom practices and its analysis of a single HEI.

In a second study, Arco-Tirado et al. (2018) analysed the academic performance of students enrolled in the bilingual programme at the Universidad de Granada. This observational study estimated the causal effects of EMI on students' Grade Point Average by using a Counterfactual Impact Evaluation that considers two potential results of an intervention programme on learners' performance: Students' academic performance as a result of having participated in an EMI programme and students' performance had they not participated in the bilingual track. The research inspected a sample of 1288 undergraduates – including the experimental and the control group – enrolled in the degree of primary education. The empirical evidence showed that there is a cost in the academic performance of the bilingual program analysed. Among the potential confounding factors, Arco-Tirado et al. pointed to the self-selection in EMI programmes (families with higher socio-economic status "persuading their kids to register on the bilingual group", p. 86), the gap between students' L2 command developed in high school and required in EMI and students' motivation levels from being accepted or rejected in the bilingual programme.

We will focus now on the two studies on L2 development. Hernández-Nanclares and Jiménez-Muñoz (2017) investigated learners' language performance in EMI. Their study examined written assignments and video recordings of students in two first-year modules in business administration at the Universidad de Oviedo through one academic year. Participants' L2 performance was compared with descriptors of the Common European Framework of Reference for the Languages (CEFRL) to achieve content-related assignments. The study confirmed that learners' progress was less than half of a CEFRL level in one year. Considering that the framework estimates it takes 200 tuition hours to progress from one level to the next, the results were rather positive. However, determinant factors – such as the time of exposure to the L2 outside the classroom, whether students attended private lessons or not, etc. – were not estimated.

Following language learning in EMI programmes, Vidal and Jarvis (2020) examined essays written by 195 first- and third-year undergraduates at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. The objective was to estimate the impact of studying through English on students' written competence (focusing on their proficiency, essay quality and lexical diversity). The researchers used the Oxford Placement test, the CEFRL writing scale and three measures of lexical diversity. The most salient finding showed a significant improvement in L2 proficiency and essay quality, but no statistically significant differences regarding lexical diversity.

The analysis of students in EMI programmes allows us to draw several conclusions. Since the potential impact of EMI on content learning and improvement of English proficiency are two of the main concerns of stakeholders (Lasagabaster, 2022), there is a need for further research with experimental or quasi-experimental studies that provide empirical evidence that may help to optimize bilingual tracks by policy-makers and university authorities. Following this, the research available relies on small-case studies and we did not find articles analysing large samples (except for Arco-Tirado et al., 2018) or crosswise studies investigating more than one university. The paucity of studies focusing on students' performance is conspicuous by its absence, especially the lack of research analysing content learning in EMI. In fact, the two studies (Arco-Tirado et al., 2018; Dafouz et al. 2014) on content learning hitherto carried out reveal contradictory results, whereas the two on English proficiency (Hernández-Nanclares & Jiménez-Muñoz; 2017; Vidal and Jarvis, 2020) show improvement but less than stakeholders would expect. The aforementioned lack of integration of content and language may lie behind these poor results.

Analysis of Classroom Discourse, Interaction and Language Use

As previously mentioned, attention to language aspects in EMI is of paramount importance (even though most teachers neglect the language dimension in English-taught programmes). Therefore, the analysis of oral exchanges has drawn EMI researchers' attention, as it may shed light on student-teacher interaction and the way lecturers introduce new content and express themselves.

One of the first lines to be investigated was the assessment of stakeholders on the role of the different languages in contact in EMI

multilingual contexts. In the Basque Autonomous Community, Doiz et al. (2014) scrutinised the perceptions of teachers, students, and administration personnel on EMI and multilingualism at the UPV, an officially bilingual HEI in Basque and Spanish. 648 participants answered a survey comprising closed- and open-ended items intended to reveal their insights into EMI from a multilingual perspective, as well as their language use in the EMI classroom. Doiz et al. claimed some flexibility and that lecturers in EMI should focus on fluency and appropriate L2 use, instead of concentrating on grammar accuracy and sticking to strict British or American standards. Moreover, the authors of the study also stressed that code-switching – or translanguaging – should be promoted in EMI settings, following research supporting the benefits of this practice for language and cultural development.

In this line, Muguruza et al. (2020) investigated the flexible language policy established by an EMI lecturer also at the UPV/EHU. The reaction of students towards a planned pedagogical translanguaging strategy was quite positive, as it eased their following of classes and the learning of concepts. Concurrently, learners felt comfortable with the option of choosing freely among their three languages (Basque, Spanish and English).

The pedagogical functions of code-switching have been specifically investigated by Sánchez-García (2018a), who examined eight lectures taught by two teachers in two subjects of the degree of business administration at the Universidad Complutense (Madrid). Sánchez-García took a qualitative research design in her analysis of 671 minutes contrasting two subjects in which English was used as a lingua franca, as many students did not have Spanish as their L1 (one course consisted of 40% foreign students and the other 80%). The study concludes that code-switching from English into Spanish was a common practice and responds to four main pedagogical strategies (by frequency): i) to construct knowledge, ii) to manage the classroom, iii) to express personal/affective meaning, and iv) to establish interpersonal relations. Although code-switching may be triggered by the lecturer's teaching style, Sánchez-García underlines the linguistic difficulties in the L2 and the teacher's deliberate choice of the L1 to guarantee that students learn keywords in both languages.

The use of the L1 has also been addressed from the perspective of teachers' attitudes towards multilingualism in the classroom. Breeze and Roothooft (2021) report on empirical evidence from narrative

frames administered to 60 EMI lecturers at five HEIs in northern Spain to investigate their attitudes to L1 use in EMI classes. The most salient finding was that half of the participants believed L1 use was not acceptable in EMI classes, while most of the other lecturers only allowed using the L1 in very specific conditions (namely, to repair communication hampers, to foster empathy outside the classroom, or to refer to local phenomena).

Other studies by Sánchez-García (2018b, 2020) focused on how questions triggered student-teacher interaction by comparing EMI and Spanish-medium interaction lessons delivered by two teachers in the degree in business administration at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid. The study did not report differences between questions in the two languages, hence the author concluded that individual teaching style was more determining. The only exception had to do with the managerial mode, as both teachers were more concerned about lecture organization in EMI in their attempts to check students' comprehension. The analysis of the data suggested that most questions asked by the lecturers went unanswered, resulting in a lack of interaction. In this framework, the author proposes three lines of action: i) Provide students with more time to respond, ii) use more effective, open-ended questions and avoid narrowing down opportunities for lengthier discourse; and iii) ask more cognitively demanding questions.

Dafouz et al. (2018) measured how knowledge structures are developed in oral disciplinary reasoning episodes (DREs) – i.e., when there was a knowledge gap or epistemic problem and questions were consequently asked for clarification. In addition, the study concentrated on language related episodes (LREs) – i.e., instances in which speakers talk about the language they are producing. The researchers video-recorded four lectures delivered by two lecturers in the degree of economics and business administration at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid. DREs (91) prevailed over LREs (27), with the latter having a simpler structure due to their narrower focus on language issues. The conclusions point to the need for language specialists to equip content lecturers with a language-sensitive EMI pedagogy focused on the structure of disciplinary oral conventions.

The analysis of classroom discourse and teachers' strategies in EMI confirms that lecturers tend to resort to their mother tongue only under specific circumstances (e.g., classroom management, building

interpersonal relations, etc.), as many of them do not find this strategy acceptable. In fact, most of the studies reviewed above reveal that EMI teachers are reluctant to include the L1 in their classes. The only exception is the study by Muguruza et al. (2020), where students found that pedagogical translanguaging helped them to succeed in their EMI course. These results clearly indicate that the literature on the positive effects of translanguaging does not reach EMI teachers, a deficit that could only be overcome by introducing the use of the L1 as a topic in the much needed professional development courses.

In any case, since most HEIs do not have clear language policies and guidelines on code-switching and translanguaging, further research examining this issue is needed, not only from the point of view of lecturers but also incorporating the students' perspective.

Finally, conversational analysis contributes to a better understanding of the pedagogical dynamics of EMI lessons and to grasp an accurate portrait of the language teaching components required in EMI methodology courses. Again, teacher collaboration is a key strategy, since language experts can promote a more reflective approach on the part of content lecturers in their classroom discursive practices (Doiz & Lasagabaster, 2022; Sánchez-García, 2018b, 2020).

Other Research Topics on EMI in the Spanish Context

In this section, several topics to which individualised attention has been paid will be examined, namely the accreditation of EMI lecturers, teacher training, identity and motivation in EMI.

The certification of language competence of lecturers working in EMI is critical for the success of English-taught programmes. However, the number of universities that have developed some form of accreditation system for teachers is very limited and very few examples can be found in the literature (Bazo et al. 2017).

O'Dowd's (2018) transversal study surveyed 70 HEIs in 11 countries in Europe, including 22 Spanish universities. The research found that accreditation procedures and EMI training in Spain were very heterogeneous. While most universities offered training programmes in communicative skills in the L2, almost half of the HEIs did not offer any methodological training.

In our corpus, only one study specifically approached the certification of EMI lecturers in Spain. The study by Macaro et al. (2019) concluded that lecturers strongly sustained the need for EMI teaching certification and teaching-quality assurance. A survey was administered to 151 lecturers in Spanish HEIs to examine participants' beliefs on the skills required to teach in EMI programmes and whether it is possible and desirable to accredit those competences. The research found that less than 50% of the lecturers examined were offered training courses to engage in EMI programmes. Furthermore, 33% of participants did not know whether their universities provided training support and professional development in EMI. The study also found that, although lecturers believe some sort of certification is needed, most expressed their concern about a language-focused form of accreditation that neglects the pedagogical dimension. Furthermore, there was diversity in their perception of the body that should award such certification.

We found only one study analysing the perceptions of lecturers who have completed a professional development course in a Spanish university. Morell (2020) approached the mini lesson format in EMI, where teachers attended a 20-hour EMI training workshop with an interactive and multimodal approach. After completing the course, participants were more favourably disposed towards lectures in which more questions were posed. Lecturers who made greater use of verbal and non-verbal communication skills – i.e., writing, speech, non-verbal materials and body language – were regarded more positively.

The impact of EMI on two key dimensions in language learning – identity and motivation – has also attracted scholarly attention. Dafouz (2018) draws on two theoretical conceptualizations – Norton's (2016) investment theory and Dafouz and Smit's (2020) road mapping – in her assessment of the design of teacher education programmes. The study analysed the perceptions of 41 lecturers in Madrid through an online questionnaire focusing on pedagogy, ideology and identity issues, which are frequently neglected in teacher training programmes in favour of language proficiency. Lecturers (mostly, junior ones) perceived EMI as an opportunity to promote their academic careers and to enhance their linguistic capital.

The perceptions of lecturers and students regarding EMI programmes have also been approached regarding the characterization of the L2 motivational self-system (Dörnyei, 2009). The study by Doiz and Lasagabaster

(2018) inspected the insights of 15 EMI students and three lecturers through six focus groups at the UPV/EHU. The researchers determined that the notions of identity, investment and imagined communities (Norton, 2016) aligned with the experience of students and lecturers and with the components of the L2 motivational self-system. Doiz and Lasagabaster concluded that EMI works as a catalyser for lecturers' multilingual identity and upholds their international self-awareness, although significant additional investment is indispensable to teaching content in English at tertiary education.

Conclusions

The first research question focused on the main topics analysed by EMI researchers in Spain. Our review has shown that most of the studies on EMI (19 out of 33) investigated stakeholders' beliefs about the advantages and disadvantages that the introduction of EMI in higher education institutions entails. The perception of lecturers and students on implementing bilingual programmes has been of great interest since 2013, and this should not come as a surprise, as the consideration of the opinions of the stakeholders is vital for the success of EMI experiences. Not much research has been devoted to students' performance in EMI, which is why further research is sorely needed. The impact of EMI on both content and language learning needs to be looked into so that the potential weaknesses of the programmes can be appropriately tackled. In the past few years, other topics such as the cooperation between content and language lecturers and the analysis of classroom oral discourse, interaction and language use have also sparked increasing interest.

Second, we pondered if stakeholders were satisfied with the implementation of EMI programmes. Our analysis showed that students are mostly satisfied with their participation in EMI programmes, while their expectations on how bilingual degrees will impact their L2 command and prospective careers are rather high. Learners often demand more subjects in the L2, despite some struggle with language difficulties when they enter the EMI programme. As for lecturers, although the perceptions are also generally positive, they often feel isolated and left to their own devices to deal with teaching in a FL, and thus demand more support

from their institutions. Our review clearly emphasises the need for training programmes that not only address language issues but also provide specific methodological guidelines for lecturers. Several studies clearly show that interdepartmental collaboration and the cooperation of content and language lecturers has been neglected in EMI programmes, and cooperative initiatives should be on the HEI radar in Spain. The few experiences reported in the literature also show that lecturers are able to overcome insecurities and increase their degree of satisfaction with their teaching when they can collaborate with other lecturers. Boundaries between disciplines make cooperative experiences challenging, as there are many difficulties in subject design, implementation and assessment. However, whenever the initial strains are eased, the collaboration pays off.

As for the third research question, our review has identified several overlooked topics and research lines that deserve further scholarly attention. First, little research has been conducted to confirm whether the positive results found at pre-university level regarding language development and content learning in CLIL are also produced at the tertiary level (Lasagabaster, 2022). Strikingly, only four studies in our corpus deal with content learning or students' L2 achievement in EMI programmes. Second, there is a need to carry out comparative studies regarding different specialisations. Except for Dafouz et al. (2018) and Fernández-Costales and González-Riaño (2015), the remaining studies focused on a single specialisation, with an overwhelming majority of articles analysing EMI programmes in the degree of primary education. A third conclusion relates to the limited sample of lecturers in the studies under scrutiny, a flaw that should be overcome by including a larger number of participants in future studies. Furthermore, longitudinal studies analysing the cumulative effect of EMI programmes in terms of learners' and teachers' motivation, attitudes towards the FL, and impact on L2 competence would be most welcomed. Other pivotal lines worth investigating include the "Englishization" process in Spain (and possible tensions in multilingual settings), the requirements for EMI teachers, the teacher-student interaction, discourse strategies in bilingual programmes and, overall, the teaching pedagogy displayed in EMI.

Finally, we would like to add a caveat, as the current review is limited to three specific databases, while overlooking other journals and research outputs such as books and book chapters. Complementary sources –i.e.,

experts' opinions, relevant websites and grey literature– have been not examined and the corpus relies entirely on indexed papers. Also, it has to be noted that the current analysis does not follow a protocol (e.g., Campbell) to select the corpus, as it happens in other systematic reviews (see, for instance, Rubio et al., 2019). Despite these limitations, we feel that the studies analysed here provide the reader with a comprehensive panorama of the current state of affairs about EMI in Spain.

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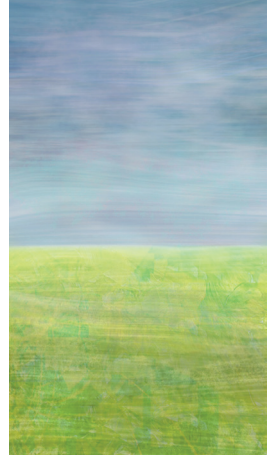
Reviews

García, A. (Ed. 9ª) (2020). *A different education is already possible. An introduction to alternative pedagogies.* **Litera. 256 pp. ISBN: 9788494601330**

In the current context, education has become a fundamental element of society. The teaching-learning process has undergone a substantial transformation, in line with technological advances and the changing needs of society. This process has produced a constant scenario of discussion about education. The book "Another education is already possible", written by Almudena García, emerges as a work that promises to shed light on new perspectives and unprecedented approaches in the field of education. This review will address the key elements of the book and evaluate its relevance in the current educational landscape. It will also undertake an in-depth analysis of renowned educational alternatives, exploring both their most evocative contributions as well as their controversial aspects.

In an age when the conventional education system is under constant criticism, the author highlights the proliferation of alternative educational approaches. These range from the well-established Montessori and Waldorf schools to innovative project-based learning methodologies and learning communities. With a rigorous and passionate approach, Almudena Garcia compiles information on more than 800 educational projects in her *Ludus* directory, attesting to the growing diversity of educational options available.

The book not only highlights these educational alternatives, but also answers a number of burning questions that often arise in their context: Is the learning process in these alternative schools effective? Are these trends ephemeral or are they a lasting change? Are they accessible to all or reserved for an elite? Do they enjoy legal recognition? These questions are addressed frankly and objectively, providing a balanced view that encompasses both the positive aspects and the challenges inherent in each approach, examined in detail and their applicability in the classroom context.

This book pays particular attention to established pedagogies such as Montessori and Waldorf, with decades of experience and global validation of their effectiveness. In addition, it explores contemporary approaches such as project-based learning and learning communities, which are emerging as key players in education today.

A distinctive attribute of "Otra educación ya es posible" is the inclusion of an abundant collection of images of real schools and situations in which these various pedagogies are applied. These images provide a tangible understanding of the practical application of these alternatives, further enriching the reader's understanding. It is worth noting that alternative pedagogies, although controversial, have acquired a relevant space in the educational field and have consolidated themselves as a solid and sustainable alternative.

In short, an invaluable and essential work has been conceived for those eager to understand the ever-evolving educational landscape. This book functions as a beacon of knowledge that illuminates the many educational options available and establishes a solid foundation for informed decision-making regarding the education of young people. "Another Education Is Now Possible" promises a comprehensive and clear view of the exciting world of alternative education in which traditional education is being challenged. This book offers a needed compendium of educational options that can shape the future of teaching and learning. It is time to leave behind traditional, systematic education, one that values overexertion and consequently promotes inequality for children facing economic or family hardship.

Finally, the book addresses the political and social situation in which the educational system finds itself, highlighting the laws that have promoted decentralization in education, support for democratic management, non-segregation of students and the defense of a secular school. However, despite persistent demands for a State pact on education, consensus remains elusive, especially on issues such as the role of religion in education and the curricula of the Autonomous Communities. These political and academic challenges further underscore the need to explore and consider viable educational alternatives, confirming the critical relevance of the present text in the current educational context.

Paula Martínez Enríquez

Santos Rego, M. A., Lorenzo Moledo, M. and García-Álvarez, J. (Eds.) (2023). *Networked learning. A multidimensional perspective.* Barcelona: Octaedro. 308 pp. ISBN: 978-84-19312-65-5

Globalisation has brought rapid socio-economic, political, technological, and cultural changes over the last few decades that have led to a rethinking of certain educational coordinates in order to promote networked education. On the one hand, with the development of new technologies, new forms of learning have appeared, which are linked to the construction of knowledge in the network, understood as the internet and social media, as well as new needs where digital literacy has not been able to arrive. On the other hand, education is paying more attention to new ways of building networks in the community fabric, and this is closely linked to learning that takes place in non-formal and informal contexts.

In any case, the different meanings attributed to the term *network* entail the challenge for education of favouring experiences centred on social interaction and the construction of knowledge by students as the protagonists of their learning. It is on these challenges that the work we review here focuses its analysis in eleven chapters.

In the first part we find different approaches to networked education. Chapter one examines entrepreneurial education from an ecological perspective, recognising the influence of contexts on the configuration of entrepreneurial identity. The second chapter deals with the networked training of education professionals, giving examples of experiences of strategic grouping. Chapter three focuses on the educational possibilities of ICTs, with a series of principles for the consolidation of training with new technologies. The fourth chapter addresses communities of practice, defined as groups of professionals committed to the construction of knowledge, and explores the functioning of these spaces and the advantages they offer. Chapter five discusses the impact of non-formal education on the generation of social capital, as it functions as a support for networking and a promoter of collaborative links in the community. The last chapter of this first part analyses the pedagogical remittances of three historical figures who attached particular importance to networked education.

Shifting the focus of analysis to higher education, the second part of the book begins by examining the foundations of lifelong learning and the changes that need to take place in universities in order to respond to the new needs of society. Chapter eight discusses the importance of

networking between universities and other educational institutions, an issue that gained particular interest after the COVID-19 pandemic. The ninth chapter presents a study about the learning ecologies of university teachers, alluding to the role played by new technologies in the training of these professionals. The penultimate chapter describes the European cooperation networks that have emerged to support and promote vocational training for employment. The book ends with a study that investigates the capacity of service-learning for the establishment of collaborative networks between university and community, also demonstrating its effectiveness in promoting networking, the connection of learning with real contexts, and dialogue with students.

We consider, therefore, that this is a suggestive book as it invites to reflect on the new scenario of interconnectedness in which educational practice operates and which has forced higher education institutions to reshape their philosophies and frameworks for action. At the same time, the authors explore new ways to build networks between university and other educational agents, as well as to promote networked learning at the service of educational innovation. It is undoubtedly an attractive read for all those interested in the development of quality educational practices.

Anaïs Quiroga-Carrillo

Bilingual education in Spain:
A critical look at current trends

La educación bilingüe en España:
Una mirada crítica acerca de las tendencias actuales

ANA OTTO, DIEGO RASCÓN-MORENO, ELENA ALCALDE-PEÑALVER, JESÚS GARCÍA-LABORDA. *Presentation: Bilingual education in Spain: A critical look at current trends.*

GONZALO JOVER, DIANA PAOLA PONCE, ROSA GONZÁLEZ-GARCÍA. Historical-political background of the agreement establishing the Spanish-British integrated curriculum.

NOELIA Mª GALÁN-RODRÍGUEZ, LUCÍA FRAGA-VIÑAS, MARÍA BOBADILLA-PÉREZ, TANIA F. GÓMEZ-SÁNCHEZ, BEGOÑA RUMBO ARCAS. Methodological training in plurilingual Education in the Spanish Higher Education training programmes: are pre-service teachers ready for CLIL?

ANA HALBACH & MANUEL AENLLE. Cliling ELT: The effect of the Literacy Approach on students' motivation.

VÍCTOR PAVÓN VÁZQUEZ & VIRGINIA VINUESA BENÍTEZ. Between egalitarianism and diversity in CLIL programmes: What do teachers think?

MARÍA LUISA PÉREZ CAÑADO. Attaining inclusion in bilingual programs: Key factors for success.

INMACULADA SENRA-SILVA & DIEGO ARDURA. The impact of the mandatory nature of bilingual programmes on the attitudes and perceptions regarding bilingual education among secondary education content subject teachers.

RAQUEL FERNÁNDEZ FERNÁNDEZ & ANA VIRGINIA LÓPEZ-FUENTES. Developing positive attitudes towards the use of literature in the bilingual classroom: a study with EFL Primary teacher education undergraduates.

ELISA HIDALGO-McCABE & LEAH TOMPKINS. Bilingual Education in the Media: Addressing the Controversy in Madrid.

ELENA DEL POZO MANZANO. Assessment in CLIL: the pending subject in bilingual education? A case study.

ALBERTO FERNÁNDEZ-COSTALES, DAVID LASAGABASTER HERRARTE. English-Medium Instruction in Spanish Universities: A Systematic Review.

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