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Excerpt

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Part I

The Educational Context for CLIL

1 CLIL in Multilingual and English-Background Contexts

Expanding the Potential of Content and Language Integrated Pedagogies for Mainstream Learning

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Introduction

Since the mid-1990s, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) has expanded on a global scale, but so too has the predominance of English as the main language of learning. In mainland Europe, where CLIL has been especially influential since its early development (Marsh, 2002), English has long been the most commonly taught modern foreign language in schools, and CLIL's more recent expansion throughout South America (e.g. Siqueira, Landau and Paraná, 2018), Asia (e.g. Ito, 2018; Yang, 2015) and the Middle East (e.g. Riddlebarger, 2013) has continued to spread the use of English as the main language of instruction in CLIL contexts.

Under-researched, however, are contexts where English is already the default medium of instruction for schooling (and society at large). In these settings, the CLIL language, by definition, cannot be English, leaving CLIL educators to work with other less commonly used languages. The typically unquestioned acceptance of English as the de facto global lingua franca and scepticism of the value of or need to learn any other language (Clyne, 2005; Hajek and Slaughter, 2015; Kirkpatrick, 2011; Seidlhofer, 2011) often lead to the marginalization of these programmes. Similarly, there are other contexts where multilingualism, in terms of the regional languages used within those settings, means that learners are schooled in multiple languages – one of which may or may not be English. Examples include the semi-autonomous communities of Spain and European borderlands, such as those between France and Germany.

What both contexts share in common is the need to better understand the impact of working with languages other than English – including how other languages are impacted and influenced by the presence of English in those settings – if we are to fully realize the goals of CLIL as an effective pedagogical approach. This is an important point of distinction in contrast to what is already known of CLIL's successful expansion throughout other parts of the world, where English has been the language of CLIL instruction.

An additional consideration is the global increase of linguistically diverse learners from minority ethnic backgrounds. Examples include those who may not speak the majority language of schooling at all, such as learners of English as an additional language (EAL) in what Holliday (1994) refers to BANA countries – Anglophone-dominant regions of British, Australasia and North America – or migrants in Spanish autonomous communities such as Galicia or the Basque Country with limited Spanish, let alone communicative competence in the regional language. In these contexts, CLIL educators are faced with finding ways to achieve CLIL-specific goals, mindful that many of their learners are finding the mainstream, non-CLIL setting an already challenging learning environment. This has the potential to create additional CLIL challenges if not expertly managed.

This hybridity and understanding of the distinct challenges that these settings raise for educators also provide opportunities to reconceptualize the knowledge base of CLIL by enabling new insights that transcend existing knowledge/practice boundaries. In this chapter, we set out a strong argument for extending the CLIL research agenda in new directions cognizant of and informed by these under-researched contexts. To illustrate the argument, we begin by considering the organic yet fragmented bottom-up trajectory of CLIL in an English-dominant setting. We then explore its expansion through the top-down, systemic approach adopted in another Anglophone context, Australia, which has enabled a shared understanding of what makes CLIL distinctive as a pedagogic approach. With this as our background, and how this evolution of CLIL's application in Anglophone contexts has continued to build knowledge about CLIL, we put forward three themes for future research that, we argue, offer significant contributors for extending current scholarship: sustainability, social justice and learner-driven pedagogies.

The Early Developments of CLIL in the English Context

As outlined in the Introduction, English is the dominant vehicular language used in CLIL contexts. However, owing to global sociocultural change, opportunities have emerged that enable other major home and/or indigenous languages to play a more prominent role in the development of CLIL. In this chapter, we take England as an example of how bilingual education has evolved in two parallel strands since the 1970s. This early period saw the introduction of projects inspired by the Canadian immersion model, whilst CLIL began to emerge later, in the 1980s and 1990s. Immersion strands were introduced into a few schools such as Goff's and Mill Hill. In the 1990s a few other schools (e.g. Millais, Heathfield, Hockerill and William Ellis) established bilingual sections in subjects such as geography, business studies and history through a 'foreign' European language (Coyle, 1996, 2007b; Hawkins, 1996).

Here 10–50 per cent of the curriculum was taught in a foreign language to certain groups of learners. However, the expansion of these immersion programmes was impeded by a refusal by examination boards to offer certification in curriculum subjects in languages other than English (with the exception of modern languages).

In contrast to the whole school programmes described previously, CLIL emerged as an alternative approach in the 1980s and 1990s led by individual language teachers aiming to promote and preserve language teaching in England. This was particularly relevant given the introduction of a new transactional curriculum characterized by predominantly irrelevant and boring content (Bell, 2004; Coyle, 2000), thus requiring a radical change to motivate learners. In the same period, the Department of Education and Science (1990) made the study of the same language compulsory between the ages of 11 and 16. Rather than meeting the intention of increasing the proportion of learners studying languages, the result was a marked decline in student take-up (Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research, 2003). Following this move, national policy documents were supportive of bilingual education approaches. The Nuffield Enquiry (Nuffield Foundation, 2000), for example, the only national review into modern language teaching since the Leathes Report (Leathes, 1918), introduced a wide range of ambitious proposals to raise national competence in modern foreign languages. These included a nationally coordinated programme of bilingual learning in the United Kingdom. In response, the Department for Education and Skills (2002) introduced a national strategy for language learning in England. Language Colleges were also introduced in the period 1995–2010 as part of the specialist schools programme, which was also supportive of bilingual approaches to modern languages provision.

Against this policy backdrop, some language teachers, driven by the prevailing demotivation for language learning, began questioning fundamental practices they believed needed to change to engage learners more effectively. This included asking ‘what is meant by content?’ and ‘what is meant by language?’, leading to the principle of teaching with a dual focus on both content and language (Coyle, Hood and Marsh, 2010). Flexible approaches were developed that could be applied in a range of contexts, from short modules in language lessons to school subject and curriculum strands for all or for a limited number of learners.

During the same period, partnerships began to emerge between UK university researchers and other European counterparts. Pioneering work – for example, at the University of Nottingham – led to the early development of professional learning and initial teacher education programmes, as well as collaborative projects funded by the European Commission through schemes such as Lingua and Leonardo. These included the Bilingual Integration of

Languages and Disciplines (BILD, 1998–2001) teacher education programme; the Advanced Level Programmes for Multilingual Education (ALPME, 2001–2003); the Curriculum Development at Initial and Intermediate Level for Bilingual Teaching (CDI-BIT, 2001–2004); and the CLIL Compendium (CLILCOM, 2003–2006). The focus at this time was on developing methodologies for teaching and learning CLIL, which led to the development of tools such as the 4Cs Framework (Coyle, 1999), the Language Triptych and models for CLIL and principles for materials development. A further innovation saw a network of Teaching and Learning Observatory (TLO) sites in the United Kingdom, which allowed student teachers, teachers, mentors, teacher educators and researchers to observe lesser taught languages and immersion/bilingual education being taught in real time (Coyle, 2004a, 2004b), thus overcoming the difficulties of a widespread geographical location. A willingness to develop these new approaches to language learning and teaching further saw the establishment of national guidelines (Coyle, Holmes and King, 2009) and a national advisory group, which in 2013 came under the auspices of the Association for Language Learning's (ALL) CLIL steering group, FLAME (Foreign Languages as a Medium for Education).

Yet, despite broad policy support for modern foreign languages and active professional and research collaborations, the development of immersion and CLIL approaches in England remained ad hoc due to the absence of a coherent national policy. Whilst the 2002 Barcelona Agreement promoted the learning of two languages in addition to mother tongue (Eurydice, 2006) as reflected in other European policies, government support for developing the two bilingual approaches in England was mainly restricted to the language colleges until their abolition under the coalition government in 2010. The government also initiated a number of projects of limited duration, such as the Anglo-French Bilateral Exchange Project (2007–2011) for teacher education, in which both subject and language specialist trainee teachers spent four weeks teaching a curriculum subject in a foreign language in the reciprocal country. Further, unintended consequences of subsequent government policy – in particular, a restrictive climate characterized by a punitive focus on examination outcomes at age 16 (Bower and Cross, 2019) – have prohibited the growth of innovative pedagogies such as CLIL in schools. In 2018 only a handful of schools had established projects.

This organic evolution, in individual schools and often by individual teachers, meant that teachers' professional knowledge had limited opportunity for centralized systemic seeding resulting in a blurring of underlying principles and pedagogies between these approaches. Indeed, the exponential growth of CLIL over the past two decades brings to the fore the complexities and variance of how integrated learning is and could be interpreted and developed in many different contexts. The uptake of CLIL in mainland Europe,

for example, has followed the national policy of each country, resulting in further variations and nuances in how CLIL is being realized in each of those contexts (Eurydice, 2017). From its beginnings, CLIL has foregrounded the need for the approach to be rooted in and further evolve from the exigencies of different national and regional systems. This has resulted in a wide range of practices where educators have been tasked with interpreting evolving dynamic theoretical positioning into high-quality learning environments for multilingual learners. It cannot be underestimated what a complex undertaking this is.

CLIL's more recent take-up in the Australian context of Victorian schools provides an example of how educators, researchers and policy makers have worked through this process of interpretation and reinterpretation to apply CLIL in new contexts (Cross and Gearon, 2013). As in England, the Australian context shares English as the dominant language of schooling and wider society, contributing to similarly low levels of student engagement and motivation and falling numbers of students learning additional languages. This is where the development of CLIL took a distinctive turn from its organic origins in England. In searching for a solution to this problem, Australian research was positioned to draw on existing knowledge already developed in the United Kingdom. Of the various options explored for evaluation, Coyle's work with UK teachers, and others across Europe, was identified as having the greatest potential, given commonalities these settings shared as Anglophone-dominant contexts.

CLIL's Expansion across Anglophone Contexts: Distilling a CLIL Knowledge Base to Enable Systemic Professional Learning and Practice

Innovations in language teaching have typically been characterized by well-defined, clearly identifiable methodologies that prescribe how lessons should be taught, such as situational language teaching, total physical response (TPR), teaching proficiency through reading and storytelling (TPRS) and accelerated integrated method (AIM) – each approach being fairly consistent in its application across settings and easily recognizable despite variations in context. In contrast, Coyle (2008: 99) argues, with regard to CLIL, that there is 'no single blueprint that can be applied in the same way in different countries'. Whilst ostensibly 'teaching content through a language other than that of the students' first language', this, on its own, is insufficient to distinguish CLIL from any other approach to bilingual education – or even language education – that uses content to teach lessons through the medium of another language, such as content-based language teaching, English-medium instruction, or 'immersion schooling' (Baker and Wright, 2017).

In contrast to CLIL's development in England described earlier, the introduction of CLIL in the Australian context began with a coordinated, top-down approach to 'seed' CLIL into the Victorian education system through teacher capacity building – that is, through professional development aimed at building teachers' knowledge and skills of 'what CLIL is' and 'how CLIL is done' to integrate content and language in the context of their own school-based programmes and classroom practice (Cross, 2015). Although CLIL's organic, grassroots development in England enabled it to evolve into a flexible and contextually responsive language-teaching approach, it also diffused the essence, or common core, of CLIL practice across these otherwise largely fragmented, niche settings. This lack of immediate clarity in what these different instances of CLIL shared in common posed a challenge for Australia, which aimed to expand CLIL provision through a focus on teacher education. Collective professional learning requires a clear knowledge base, as does sustaining those new forms of practice through ongoing professional learning communities that share common understandings and goals.

Without a clear *methodological* 'blueprint' for CLIL, Australian teacher educators instead sought to identify fundamental touchstones that might instead distil CLIL's essence as a *pedagogic* approach. Following Adamson (2004: 605), methodology can be understood as being 'more narrowly focused and tends to be more dogmatic in its application, as it targets language learning as its main goal, is largely based on individual and theoretical insights, and is deemed applicable in different contexts'. By way of contrast, pedagogy 'has broader educational goals, is influenced by a wider range of theories and curricular influences and tensions, and is more rooted in and responsive to the practical realities of a particular classroom'.

This contextual responsiveness of CLIL as a broader pedagogic approach, in contrast to a narrow methodological blueprint, made it attractive to the Australian context as a potentially sustainable way to promote cross-curricular language learning in local Victorian schools. However, this also made it necessary to evaluate which concepts, tools and frameworks from the European CLIL context might have the greatest applicability under local conditions, including local education policies and priorities, curriculum and assessment frameworks and cross-sectoral (government, Catholic education and independent) governance (Cross, 2014; Smala, 2012; Turner, 2013).

Moreover, a number of studies have also begun to draw critical attention to claims about the apparent effectiveness of CLIL (Macaro et al., 2018). These include whether CLIL's impact on engagement is due to its novelty compared with the students' usual approach, resulting in short-term gains that diminish with time; the extent to which academic linguistic competence can sometimes be left under-developed; and even whether CLIL makes any significant difference at all, given a tendency in some parts of Europe to offer CLIL to students

who are often more motivated and able than their peers in monolingual control groups. These legitimate concerns about the *product* of CLIL programmes resulted in a need to focus on the quality of the *processes* to achieve desired outcomes and to ensure clarity about the kinds of principled pedagogic practices teachers should be using when ‘*doing CLIL*’ (Cross, 2015).

An early proof-of-concept study trialling elements of Coyle’s UK-based CLIL work with local teachers resulted in the successful delivery of a 5-week unit of work integrating Year 10 geography with Japanese, using the Victorian Essential Learning Standards (Lo Bianco and Cross, 2010). Although encouraging, the specific context for the trial – a socio-economically advantaged independent secondary boys’ school – left open the question that to what extent the same tools would remain useful in a wider variety of local settings. This led to a larger-scale evaluation commissioned by Victorian Department of Education and Early Childhood Development (Cross and Gearon, 2013) to document up-close qualitative case studies of how six local Victorian teachers worked with a specific set of pedagogic tools – Coyle’s (2006) 4Cs Framework, the Language Triptych (Coyle, 2007a) and the initial six pedagogic principles (Coyle, 2008, later revised to include a seventh in Coyle, Hood and Marsh [2010]) – to bring language and content together at primary and secondary levels, using Asian and European languages with content from the humanities, creative arts and STEM across schools in the government, independent and Catholic sectors (Cross and Gearon, 2013).

The evaluation confirmed that Coyle’s model for CLIL pedagogy was well suited to the Victorian context and needs of local teachers, when supported with sufficient professional learning. Together, the model draws teachers’ attention to ‘what’ demands emerge for learners when language and content are brought together with a dual-learning focus (the 4Cs Framework and Language Triptych) along with guidance for teachers on ‘how’ this is best managed in terms of the teaching and learning experiences best suited to CLIL activities (the pedagogic principles). As a knowledge base for CLIL professional practice in Anglophone contexts, CLIL’s systemic expansion into the Australian context helped distil key tools and principles formulated organically in the English context. We use these three key touchstones – the 4Cs Framework, Language Triptych and seven pedagogic principles – as our shared point of reference for this book in understanding CLIL as a pedagogic approach.

*CLIL’s 4Cs Framework and Language Triptych:
The ‘What’ of Content and Language Integration*

For Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010), CLIL’s integrated language/content focus is achieved at a pedagogic level by conceiving of learning as *driven* by content-based goals but analysed communicatively in relation to the language-based demands created by those content goals (Coyle, Hood and Marsh, 2010). These

immediate demands on the teaching or learning focus – the knowledge and skills being covered (*content*) and language features and functions needed to do so (*communication*) – are complemented by further attention to the processes needed to bring these together in terms of both thinking (*cognition*) and use (*culture*). These four ‘building blocks’ (Coyle, 2006: 9) comprise the core of CLIL as proposed by Coyle and are now widely referred to as the 4Cs Framework (Figure 1.1):

- *Content*: the subject matter, theme and topic forming the basis for the programme, defined by domain or discipline according to knowledge, concepts and skills (e.g. science, IT and arts).
- *Communication*: the language to create and communicate meaning about the knowledge, concepts and skills being learned (e.g. stating facts about the sun, giving instructions on using software and describing emotions in response to music).
- *Cognition*: the ways that we think and make sense of knowledge, experience and the world around us (e.g. remembering, understanding, evaluating, critiquing, reflecting and creating).
- *Culture*: the ways that we interact and engage with knowledge, experience and the world around us – socially (e.g. social conventions for expressing oneself in the target language), pedagogically (e.g. classroom conventions for learning and classroom interaction) and/or according to discipline (e.g. scientific conventions for preparing reports to disseminate knowledge).

Elsewhere, Coyle (2007a) has deconstructed the *communication* dimension of the 4Cs Framework further, enabling a more focused, concrete understanding

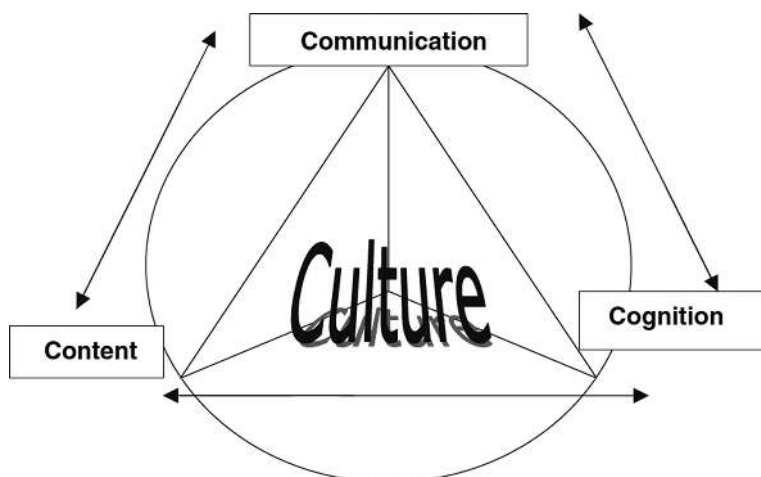


Figure 1.1 The 4Cs Framework (Coyle, 2006 in Coyle, 2007a: 551).

of the specific linguistic demands created when the other three elements – content, cognition and culture – come together. Referred to as the *Language Triptych*, ‘communication’ is broken down into specific types of language need, such as ‘language *for* learning’ (language that enables learners to function effectively in the classroom between other students and the teacher and for managing one’s own learning and understanding); ‘language *of* learning’ (language embedded in the content being studied and required to access those concepts, knowledge and/or skills); and ‘language *through* learning’ (language that emerges through higher-order engagement whilst reflecting on what the language and content mean and in trying to contribute their own interpretation and understanding of that through dialogic interaction with others) (Figure 1.2).

Language *for* and *of* learning can (and should) be established by the teacher in advance of the lesson to guide the planning of scaffolding, but language *through* learning typically occurs within the lesson itself. Driven largely by the learner, language *through* learning provides evidence of students’ own emerging mastery of the language as they attempt to put it to communicative use. It is learner language that emerges *through* higher-order engagement whilst reflecting on what the language and content mean and attempts to contribute their own interpretation and understanding of that meaning through dialogic interaction with others. It is evidence of a deepening understanding of how learners bring language, concepts, thinking and culture together in ‘moments’ of learning and development and an important element of the Triptych, in that it helps CLIL teachers to be attentive to what language demands lie ahead to inform future planning and scaffolding.

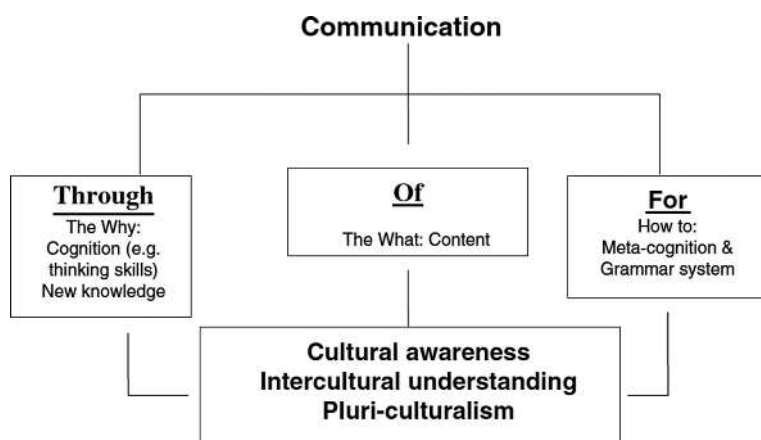


Figure 1.2 The Language Triptych (Coyle, 2007a: 522).