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Shifting the perspectives

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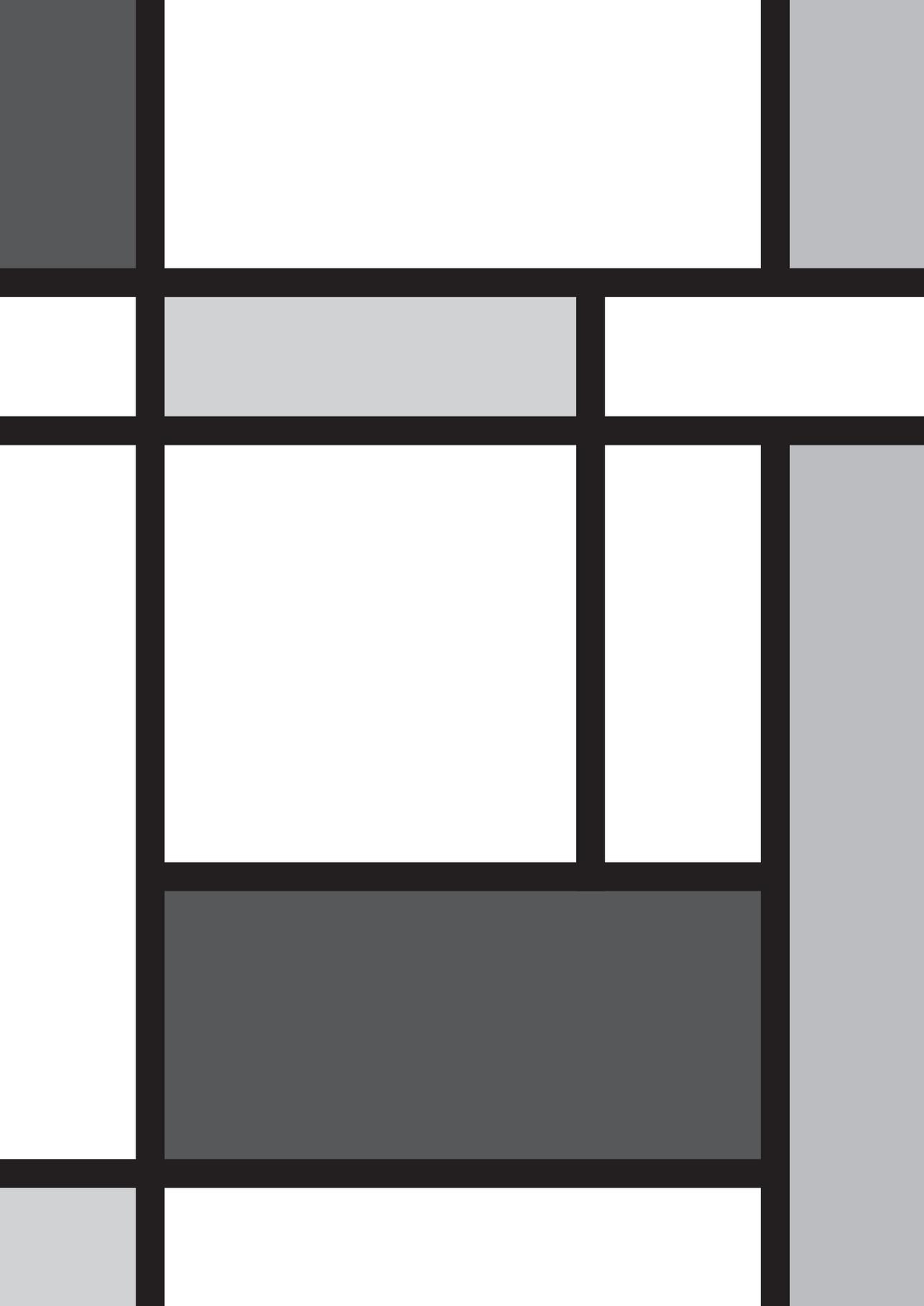
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Chapter 3

Juggling ideals and
constraints: the
position of English
teachers in CLIL
contexts

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Juggling ideals and constraints: the position of English teachers in CLIL contexts³

ABSTRACT

In bilingual streams in the Netherlands, school subjects are taught in an additional language so that pupils learn both subject content and the target language by using language meaningfully. Teachers of English in bilingual streams (TEBs) are often expected to collaborate with subject teacher colleagues (STs). In addition, they teach separate language lessons. This provides TEBs with specific challenges. This article reports on a focus group (FG) study exploring the extent to which the ideals of stakeholders in bilingual schools in the Netherlands reflect the literature on this topic, using a frame of reference developed for this purpose (Dale, Oostdam, & Verspoor, 2018a). Five FGs were held with TEBs and STs from Dutch schools in the network for bilingual education and with members of the network's quality assurance panels. Each FG consisted of between three and six participants with a similar role in bilingual education; audit panel chairpersons, audit panel secretaries and STs and TEBs from different schools. Participants were asked to discuss what an ideal English teacher would do in English lessons and in cooperation with subject colleagues. Data consists of five transcripts of the FG discussions. On the basis of inductive and deductive analyses (using MaxQDA), the ideals of stakeholders are positioned in the framework to explore to what extent different types of stakeholders have complementary or conflicting views. The findings suggest that stakeholders need to develop more shared understandings and a shared language to allow TEBs to realise their ambitions.

³ Based on Dale, L., Oostdam, R., & Verspoor, M. (2018b) Juggling ideals and constraints: the position of English teachers in CLIL contexts. *Dutch Journal of Applied Linguistics*

Introduction

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) is an umbrella term covering a range of models (Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010). The Dutch secondary school bilingual education model offers pupils the opportunity to join a bilingual stream in which 50% of the curriculum in the first three years (lower school) is taught in English, with CLIL as the preferred pedagogical approach. One aim of this approach is to produce proficient users of the target language (European Platform, 2013, p. 2) and in most bilingual streams in the Netherlands, the target language is English (Nuffic, 2017). The Dutch Standard for bilingual education (European Platform, 2012) gives both subject teachers (STs) and Teachers of English in Bilingual Streams (TEBs) a role in the teaching and/or acquisition of English, either separately in their respective subject lessons or language lessons, or together through collaboration.

Yet until recently, most publications on CLIL and bilingual education research, teaching methodologies and training courses have focused on STs rather than TEBs (Dale et al., 2018a). This tendency is also reflected in the Standard. The current Standard (European Platform, 2012) includes a competency profile for teachers in bilingual schools. It lists 28 competences for TEBs and STs in bilingual streams. Whereas 11 refer to STs, only two of these refer specifically to TEBs. The first of these (1.2) describes co-operating with other language teachers and STs on projects and initiating cross-curricular projects. The second (4.4) describes receiving information from STs on pupils' language problems and addressing these in English lessons.

English teachers in the Netherlands are free to determine the content of their English curriculum, within the boundary of nationally set attainment targets, based on the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), which assumes a communicative language teaching approach (Fasoglio & Tuin, 2018). The required proficiency level for pupils at the end of the third year for pre-university bilingual streams is B2. In bilingual streams, TEBs teach an English curriculum in separate lessons whilst pupils also use English meaningfully in subject lessons. TEBs may also be asked to support and collaborate with ST colleagues. TEBs thus have a combination of freedom to select their own focus, a context within which

their pupils use English in other lessons and expectations about working with ST colleagues. This provides TEBs with specific challenges about what types and aspects of English to teach, which content to focus on and how to teach and collaborate with STs. This paper builds on a previous study (Dale et al., 2018a) and uses a framework for language teaching in bilingual education to explore and position ideals for the pedagogical and collaborative practices of TEBs in the Netherlands.

Background

An analytical framework for language teaching in bilingual education

Our review of the literature on the pedagogical and collaborative practices of language teachers in bilingual education (Dale et al., 2018a) explored the challenges language teachers face. One of the main findings in this review was that the literature offers TEBs a potentially overwhelming set of choices with regard to the aspects and type of language TEBs can focus on, the type of content they choose, the pedagogical theories informing their choices and the issues which influence their choices when collaborating. We concluded TEBs may not all share the same disciplinary and cultural identity nor may they all choose a similar language or content focus (Dale et al., 2018a). To support practicing TEBs and teacher educators preparing TEBs, a framework for language teaching in bilingual education was created (Figure 1) to represent ‘a dynamic field in which [TEB]s can be positioned in terms of identity and focus’ (Dale et al., 2018a, p. 14).

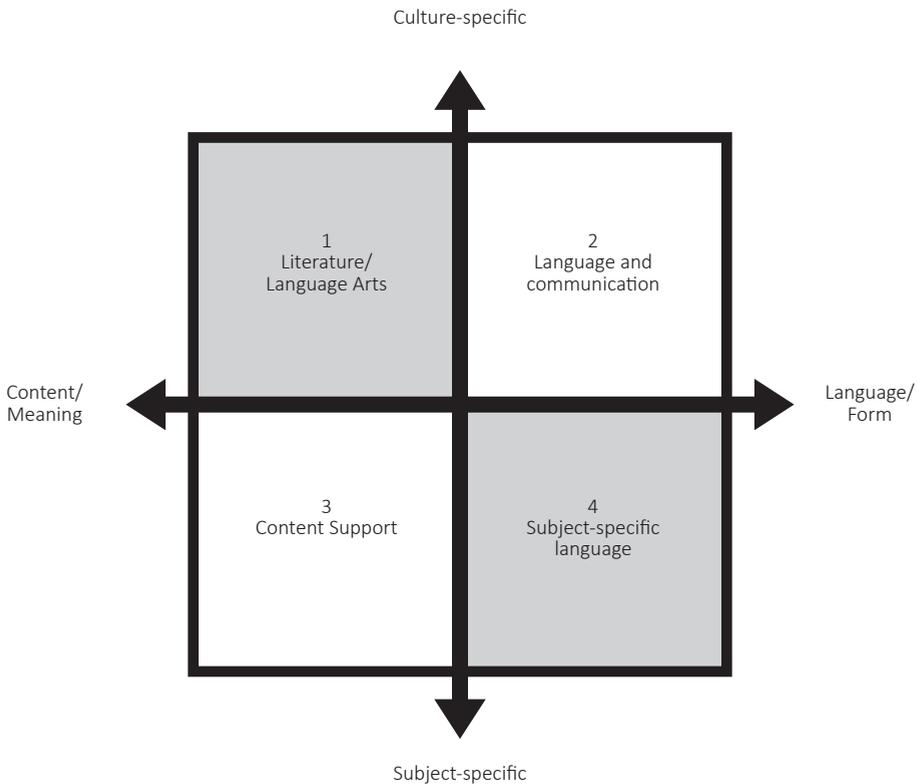


Figure 1.
An analytical framework for language teaching in bilingual education (Dale et al., 2018a).

In Figure 1, the horizontal continuum represents a position on language using and language learning (cf. Coyle, 2011). It ranges from a focus on content and meaning, to language and form. On the left-hand side language using is content-determined and meaning focused. On the right-hand side language learning involves form-focus and grammatical awareness. The vertical continuum represents the target discourse community. It ranges from a culture-specific discourse community to a subject-specific discourse community. At the top, pupils learn to communicate effectively with members of communities where the target language is spoken. On the bottom pupils are apprenticed into the discourse of school-subjects, e.g. the discourse of history or science.

Juxtaposing these continua creates four quadrants, representing four possible content and language foci. In quadrant 1 (Q1), culture-specific discourse combined with content/meaning creates a TEB focus on literature or language arts. In quadrant 2 (Q2), culture-specific discourse combined with language/form creates a TEB focus on language and communication. Quadrant 3 (Q3) combines subject-specific discourse with content/meaning to create a focus on TEBs helping STs support pupils' understanding of subject content; referred to as 'content support'. Quadrant 4 (Q4) combines subject-specific discourse with language/form to create a TEB focus on subject-specific language. For a more detailed explanation of the framework see Dale et al. (2018a).

From theory to stakeholder ideals

The framework for language teaching in bilingual streams, based on the literature (Dale et al., 2018a), provides a theoretical representation of the dynamic field for TEBs' pedagogical and collaborative practices. The present study sets out to populate this theoretical model with views from the field. It explores the ideals that different stakeholders- policy makers and teachers- in bilingual education in the Netherlands have for the pedagogical and collaborative practices of TEBs.

Dalton-Puffer and Smit (2013) indicate classroom pedagogies are part of an underrepresented reality in CLIL research and Freeman (1996, p. 112) argues research into teaching is "a matter of balancing and assembling different points of view, each of which knows – or can know- aspects of the story of teaching and learning." Teachers are part of the story of teaching and learning and as such are a rich source of information about the story. As they are encouraged to collaborate, we were interested in the ideals of both TEBs and STs. Also underrepresented in CLIL research are 'policy issues, comprising policy statements as well as stakeholders' perceptions of CLIL and its success' (Dalton-Puffer & Smit, 2013, p. 545). In the Netherlands, the Network of Bilingual Schools endorses audit panels that evaluate whether schools meet the Standard (European Platform, 2012). Audit panels provide feedback to the Network on the implementation and relevance of the Standard and influence policy statements. Therefore, members of the audit panels (auditors)

are also an important source of information on the desired pedagogical and collaborative practices of TEBs.

Borg (2006) reminds us that language teachers' classroom practices and beliefs are influenced by the context within which they operate. TEBs may have varying levels of training or experience and may differ in their disciplinary and cultural identities. Moreover, Dutch bilingual schools vary greatly in the way they facilitate teachers in terms of policies, funding, providing extracurricular activities, supplementary materials, training, timetabling, time for STs and TEBs to meet, etc. Therefore, there is a myriad of situational or contextual factors which may have a bearing on what English TEBs choose to teach, which content they focus on and how they teach and collaborate with STs (cf. Chohey-Paquet, 2015). To allow expression of different views without being restricted by such contextual factors, we chose to focus on ideal rather than actual TEB pedagogical and collaborative practices. We chose to situate those ideals in the lower school of pre-university track schools, as bilingual education in this track is both well-established and the most common (Messelink, 2018). We explore to what extent four groups of stakeholders (audit panel chairs, audit panel secretaries, STs and TEBs) share similar ideals (between group variance) and the extent to which the members of each group agree with each other (within group variance). The participants section below explains the composition of audit panels and roles of auditors.

Positioning stakeholder ideals in the quadrants

The subject-specific quadrants in the lower half of the framework (Figure 1) offer opportunities to TEBs to develop innovative pedagogical and collaborative practices specific to the bilingual stream. Q3 allows space for TEBs to support their ST colleagues. Q4 allows space for TEBs to take account of their learners developing and using subject-specific language parallel to the English curriculum. We hypothesize that stakeholder ideals will be concentrated in this lower half, as this is where the opportunities lie. Still, we anticipate some differences between the stakeholders. Our literature review suggested disciplinary and cultural identity plays a role in TEBs' pedagogical and collaborative practices. This may make TEBs reluctant to depart

from a traditional communicative language teaching approach, as represented in Q2. TEBs may prefer to gravitate to their own subject area for content such as literature or language arts in Q1 or feel insecure about co-operating with STs. If this is so, we would expect to find the majority of TEBs' ideals positioned in the upper half of the framework. Auditors, who have seen a variety of existing practices and play a role in quality assurance and policy development for bilingual schools, may push the envelope in terms of their ambitions for TEBs' pedagogical and collaborative practices with regard to the lower half of the quadrant. If this is so, we would expect to find the majority of auditors' ideals for TEBs in the lower half of the framework. We assume that STs' main concern is pupils' development of subject-specific knowledge and skills and therefore predict that their ideals will also mainly be positioned in Q3 and Q4.

To explore stakeholder views and test these assumptions, we formulated the following research questions: 1) what are the ideals of stakeholders regarding pedagogical and collaborative practices for TEBs and how are these ideals situated in the framework, and 2) to what extent are the ideals of different groups of stakeholders complementary or conflicting?

Method

An exploratory focus group (FG) study was carried out. A focus group is a small group of people, with a shared characteristic which provides qualitative data in a focussed discussion to help understand the topic of interest. Focus groups are recommended when a range of opinions is sought, to provide insight into complex topics and for understanding differences in perspectives (Krueger & Casey, 2015). Each FG consisted of between three and six people with a similar role in bilingual education; audit panel chairs, audit panel secretaries and three groups of teachers (TEBs and STs) from different schools.

Participants

All schools offering bilingual streams in the Netherlands participate in the Network for Bilingual schools. The Network uses a closed Facebook group to communicate with TEBs and STs from participating schools. We chose this group as a recruitment site because teachers who join are generally active and engaged in the Network. At the time of this study, the group had 337 members, who were all approached to participate. A total of 16 teachers (11 TEBs and 5 STs) responded. These were grouped according to availability and location to create three teacher FGs containing both STs and TEBs.

Audit panels consist of three auditors: a chair, usually an expert in language teaching and language development, a member who is an expert in European and International Orientation (related to the second stated aim of bilingual education), and a secretary (an employee of Nuffic, previously European Platform, the body responsible for quality control of bilingual schools in the Netherlands), who compiles a written report on the audit panel findings. Because of our focus on language teaching, we chose not to carry out FGs with experts in European and International Orientation. While audit chairs carry out a limited number of audits per year, audit secretaries carry out many visits, giving them a wider overview of differences between schools, hence we held FGs with both. Audit chairs (eight in total) and secretaries (three in total) active at the time were recruited via email. Four audit chairs volunteered and all three audit secretaries agreed to participate. This resulted in two auditor FGs, one with audit chairs, and one with audit secretaries.

The FGs were composed in such a way as to allow for both between group variance (between teacher FGs and auditor FGs) and within group variance (within teachers in the three teacher FGs and within auditors in the two auditor FGs). Table 1 gives an overview of the composition of the FGs and participants' backgrounds. Each row shows the composition of one FG, e.g. row 1 shows the audit chairs FG consisted of 4 participants, 2 male, 2 female, whose native language was Dutch and whose experience in bilingual education (BE) ranged between 4 and 10 years.

Table 1.

Overview of FG composition and characteristics of participants

Focus Group	Number and gender (F/M) participants	Native language	STs (subject and role)	TEBs (role)	Experience in BE (years)	Schools' location in NL
Audit chairs	4 (2F/2M)	Dutch			4-10	n/a
Audit secretaries	3 (2F/1M)	Dutch		2 (Ex-TEBs)	2- 8	n/a
Teachers 1	4 (4F)	Dutch	2 (biology, BE coordinators)	2	1- 15	West
Teachers 2	6 (5F/1M)	Dutch (4) English (2)	1 (Physical Education, BE coordinator)	5	6- 13	West & South
Teachers 3	6 (5F/1M)	Dutch (3) English (3)	2 (history, geography)	4 (1 BE coordinator)	3- 15	South & mid-East

Materials and procedure

All materials used in the FGs were available in both Dutch and English. Participants were free to choose which language to use at the start of each interview. The auditors chose to use Dutch, the teachers chose to use English. Each FG lasted 60-90 minutes. Participants were asked individually to consider the questions: What would an ideal English teacher in the lower school bilingual stream do 1) in English lessons, and 2) with subject teacher colleagues? All participants made individual notes on a handout. The handout provided prompts for English lessons (Type of English – Lesson topics/content – Materials/resources – Language focus [grammar, vocabulary, skills, strategies, other] – Feedback – Assessment – Other) and for collaboration with ST colleagues (Lesson planning – Teaching – Lesson evaluation – Assessment – Projects – Coaching – Other). Next, participants were asked to discuss their individual notes and come to agreement on their answers. One member of the group was asked to volunteer to act as secretary and note points of agreement, whilst also participating in the discussion. This could be problematic for some participants, but each of the volunteers who took this role had experience in note-taking and leading discussions. The transcripts revealed all note-takers both contributed to and led the discussion while taking notes. Similarly, the number and length of contributions by individual participants was more or less equally

divided. Participants were then asked to rank the points they had agreed on in order of importance. The ranking process was used solely as a means to encourage participants to expand on, explain and justify their ideals. The ranking was not used in coding the results.

Data collection and analysis

Each FG was audio recorded and transcribed. Points made in the individual and group notes were all referred to and discussed during the FGs and were therefore not included as a separate source of data. Inductive and deductive analyses of the transcripts were carried out iteratively using MaxQDA, qualitative data analysis software, which allows for the organisation, analysis and visualisation of data (Creswell, 2013). The process involved populating the theoretical framework, derived from the literature, (Figure 1) with stakeholder ideals for TEBs.

To explore research question 1, we carried out both qualitative and quantitative analyses. For the qualitative analysis, we first analysed the data inductively to identify themes. Thematic analysis is a “flexible and useful research tool, which can potentially provide a rich and detailed, yet complex account of data” (Braun & Clarke, 2008, p. 78). Inductive analysis is a process of coding the data “without trying to fit it into a pre-existing coding frame” (Braun & Clarke, 2008, p.84). The analysis was carried out at a semantic level, looking at the explicit or surface meanings of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2008). Initial coding was carried out by the lead researcher. This was followed by debriefings with the two co-authors as a consistency check (Thomas, 2006). During these regular debriefings, agreement was sought on themes, code names, the coded segments and the consistency of coding (Creswell, 2013). We then used the axes in the framework to position each theme (deductive analysis) in one of the four quadrants of the analytical framework for language teaching in BE (Figure 1). In the quantitative analysis, the number of coded segments per stakeholder group was calculated to produce a frequency table.

To explore research question 2, we also carried out both quantitative and qualitative analyses. We produced a radargram to visualise the distribution of comments per

stakeholder type and performed a chi-square goodness of fit analysis to calculate the difference between the observed and expected distribution of stakeholder ideals. Based on our hypothesis, we set the expected distribution of ideals for audit chairs, secretaries and STs conservatively as 60% in quadrants 3 and 4, and 40% in quadrants 1 and 2. We set the expected distribution of ideals for TEBs at 60% in quadrants 1 and 2, and 40% in quadrants 3 and 4. For the qualitative analysis we compiled quote matrices in MaxQDA (overviews of all contributions with the same code) per stakeholder type (audit chair, audit secretary, TEB and ST) per quadrant. Each quote matrix was reviewed and summarised, using participants' comments to illustrate the main points.

Results

The results are presented in two sections. In the first section, identifying and positioning stakeholder ideals (research question 1), we present an overview of themes within quadrants (Table 2), highlight patterns in the distribution of comments between quadrants per stakeholder type and theme (Figure 2), and present the chi-square goodness of fit results (Table 3). In the second section, we explore complementary and conflicting views of stakeholders (research question 2).

Identifying and positioning stakeholder ideals

The inductive and deductive analysis of comments yielded several themes per quadrant. Tables with sample comments illustrating each theme are given in appendix A. Sample comments were given an anonymised participant code that denotes the focus group (1, 2 or 3 for the teacher FGs), stakeholder type (TEB, ST, AC for audit chair and AS for audit secretary) and participant number (TEB1-11, ST1-5, AC1-4, AS1-3). E.g. 2TEB3 indicates Teacher Focus Group 2, Teacher of English in a Bilingual stream number 3.

Stakeholders felt that teaching English in a bilingual stream involves more than just language; there should also be a focus on culture and literature. We interpreted these two themes as content/meaning-oriented with a focus on culturally specific discourse and positioned them in Q1 Literature/Language arts (see Table 1, appendix

A for sample comments). They also felt that teaching English in a bilingual school involves focusing on general and academic English skills, strategies and language systems in a communicative context, using a variety of course materials (not related to other school subjects) and assessing and giving feedback on learner language in set tasks for English. We interpreted these themes as more language/form-oriented with a focus on culturally-specific discourse and positioned them in Q2 Language and communication (see Table 2, appendix A for sample comments). Stakeholders were also of the opinion that teaching English in a bilingual school involves providing support to STs: coaching STs in CLIL pedagogical skills, supporting and monitoring non-native speaker (nns) STs in language skills and formulating a language policy. We interpreted these themes as content/meaning-oriented in the sense that TEBs support ST colleagues in helping learners to understand the content of their subject (through CLIL pedagogical skills, accurate and appropriate use of the target language and provision of language policy), and positioned them in Q3 Content support (see Table 3, appendix A for sample comments). Furthermore, they also felt teaching English in a bilingual school involves a focus on transferrable language skills and strategies, language systems in subject contexts, topics and materials in English lessons from other subjects, preparing/assessing/giving feedback on language for subject tasks and team-teaching. We interpreted these themes as language/form-oriented with a focus on subject-specific discourse and positioned them in Q4 Subject-specific language (see Table 4, appendix A for sample comments).

In total, 14 themes emerged in stakeholders' ideal pedagogical and collaborative practices and were positioned across the four quadrants. Table 2 gives an overview of all coded segments ($n = 369$) per quadrant, theme and stakeholder group. To allow comparison between groups, we give the percentage of coded segments per stakeholder group in brackets. Each column shows the distribution of comments across the quadrants per stakeholder type. The final column shows the total number of comments (and percentages) per quadrant. Overall, most coded segments fell in Q2 Language and communication (39%), followed by Q3 Content support (24%) and Q4 Subject-specific language (23%), followed by Q1 Literature/Language Arts (14%).

Table 2.

Frequencies of given comments per theme across quadrants per stakeholder type (subtotals and totals in absolute numbers followed by percentages calculated per column)

Quadrants and themes	Type of stakeholder				
	AC (n = 4)	AS (n = 3)	STs (n = 5)	TEBs (n = 11)	Total (n = 23)
Q1 Literature/Language Arts					
Focus on culture(s) of English-Speaking World	4	5	4	20	33
Focus on literature	0	2	2	15	19
Subtotal	4 (7)	7 (9)	6 (8)	35 (22)	52 (14)
Q2 Language and communication					
Focus on general and academic English skills and strategies	12	7	5	12	36
Focus on language systems in a communicative context	4	12	3	28	47
Use a variety of course materials	4	9	5	13	31
Assess/give feedback on learner language in set tasks for English	3	10	6	10	29
Subtotal	23 (42)	38 (48)	19 (25)	63 (40)	143 (39)
Q3 Content support					
Coach STs in CLIL pedagogical skills	10	7	12	6	35
Support and monitor nns-STs' language skills	3	4	7	6	20
Formulate a language policy	8	3	12	11	34
Subtotal	21 (38)	14 (18)	31 (41)	23 (14)	89 (24)
Q4 Subject-specific language					
Focus on transferrable skills and strategies	1	0	3	1	5
Focus on language systems in subject contexts	0	12	4	5	21
Use topics and materials in English lessons from subjects	1	4	3	6	14
Prepare/assess/give feedback on language for subject tasks	3	0	3	7	13
Team teach	2	4	7	19	32
Subtotal	7 (13)	20 (25)	20 (26)	38 (24)	85 (23)
Overall	55 (100)	79 (100)	76 (100)	159 (100)	369 (100)

Observed and expected distribution of comments per stakeholder group

Figure 2 provides a visual representation of the distribution in percentages of coded segments across quadrants per stakeholder type in a radargram. The gridlines represent a percentage scale from 10% to 50%. Each point on the radargram marks the percentage (Table 2) of comments made per quadrant per stakeholder type. The figure shows how TEBs' focus on Q1 Literature/Language Arts (22%) is greater than that of audit chairs (7%), audit secretaries (9%) and STs (8%). It further shows that STs place less emphasis on Q2 Language and communication than TEBs and auditors and that their emphasis in Q2 and Q4 is more or less equal. We also see a greater focus on Q3 Content support by STs and audit chairs than by audit secretaries and TEBs. In Q4 Subject-specific language, we see that audit chairs have the least focus on subject-specific language in comparison with audit secretaries, TEBs and STs.

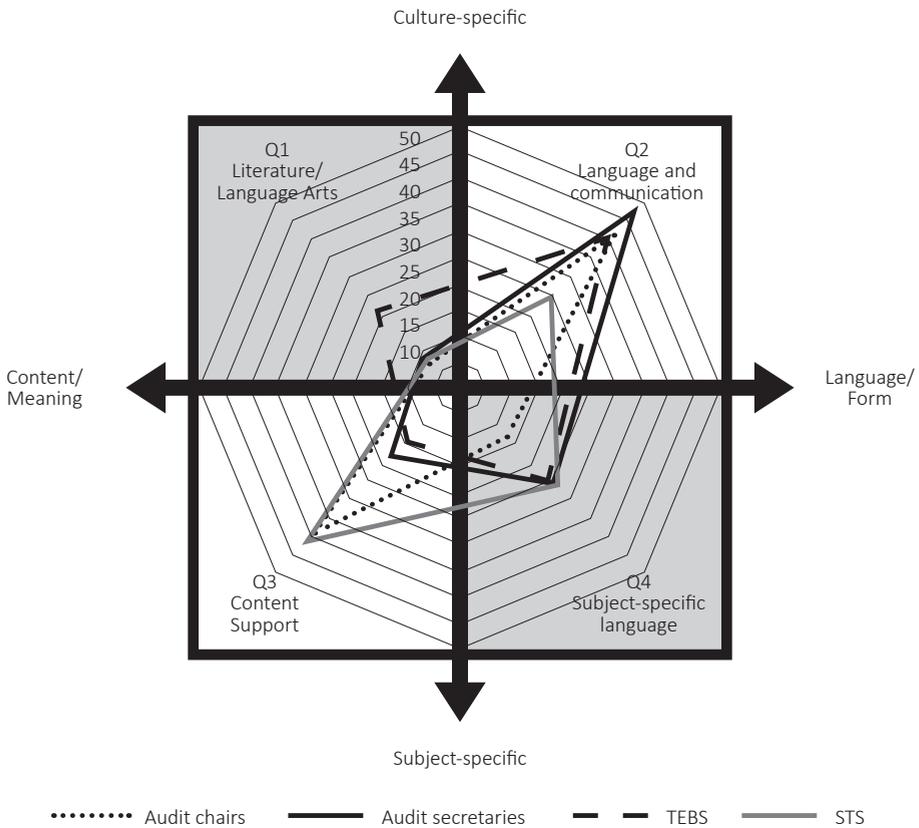


Figure 2.
Distribution of coded segments across quadrants per stakeholder type

Chi-square goodness of fit analyses (Table 3) showed there was a significant difference between the observed and expected distribution of ideals for each group of stakeholders. More audit chair ideals were positioned in Q2 and Q3 and fewer in Q1 and Q4 than we predicted ($c^2(3) = 24.2, r = .001$). Many more audit secretary ideals were positioned in Q2 and fewer in Q1, Q3 and Q4 than we predicted ($c^2(3) = 40.6, r = .001$). More ST ideals were positioned in Q2 and Q3 and fewer in Q1 and Q4 than we predicted ($c^2(3) = 9.8, r = .02$). More TEB ideals were positioned in Q2 and Q4 and fewer in Q1 and Q3 than we predicted ($c^2(3) = 11.9, r = .008$).

Table 3.*Observed and expected distribution of stakeholder ideals per quadrant*

Quadrant	Audit chairs			Audit secretaries			STs			TEBs		
	Observed <i>N</i>	Expected <i>N</i>	Residual									
1	4	11,0	-7,0	7	15,8	-8,8	6	15,2	-9,2	35	47,7	-12,7
2	23	11,0	12,0	38	15,8	22,2	19	15,2	3,8	63	47,7	15,3
3	21	16,5	4,5	14	23,7	-9,7	31	22,8	8,2	23	31,8	-8,8
4	7	16,5	-9,5	20	23,7	-3,7	20	22,8	-2,8	38	31,8	6,2
Total	55			79			76			159		

Complementary and conflicting views

This section explores, per quadrant, similarities and differences in the views expressed both between and within groups.

Q1 Literature/Language Arts

The overall percentage of comments (14%) in this quadrant is the smallest, and lower for all stakeholder groups than we hypothesised. The percentage of comments by TEBs (22%) in this quadrant is relatively high compared to auditors and STs.

TEBs made by far the greatest number of comments focusing on the culture(s) of the English-Speaking World. Auditors, STs and TEBs held differing views about which cultures TEBs should focus on. A native-speaker TEB expressed a sense of language belonging to a particular culture, “I put British English because I am. It’s the type of English that I choose and prefer” [2TEB4]. An ST, on the other hand, emphasised a broader, more international focus on English: “It’s the international background that I think really matters. That’s why we have teachers from South Africa and one from Australia, two from the United States and a few from England” [2ST3]. Auditors took a different view again, emphasising the role of English as a lingua franca, and exposure to non-native speaker models of English, because outside school, pupils “will probably use English with more non-native than native speakers” [AC2].

Whereas TEBs, STs and audit secretaries discussed an ideal focus on literature, this was not mentioned at all by the audit chairs. In addition, different stakeholders had different reasons why TEBs should focus on literature. Where audit secretaries and STs focused on backwash effects of the International Baccalaureate English exam taken by senior school pupils in Dutch bilingual streams (the need to prepare pupils or the use of rubrics), TEBs highlighted the enjoyment of teaching literature as opposed to grammar.

Q2 Language and communication

By far the greatest percentage (39%) of comments overall fell in this quadrant, with the fewest (19) being made by STs. The number of ideals in Q2 was higher than we hypothesised for all the stakeholders and much higher for audit secretaries. All stakeholders discussed an ideal focus on general and academic English skills and strategies. They shared the view that TEBs should focus on communicative skills rather than grammar and emphasised the need for academic English skills. However, although the Standard requires schools to demonstrate that 80% of the pupils reach B2 in all skills on the CEFR at the end of the third year, no teachers referred to this. Auditors alone placed an emphasis on the need for congruent testing, i.e. using the CEFR to monitor skills development.

Many comments (47 in total) identified a need to focus on language systems in a communicative context, with relatively the highest number by TEBs. However, where STs and auditors both clearly advocated an integrative approach to the teaching of grammar in bilingual streams, arguing against isolated attention to form, TEBs were divided on this issue. Some felt following a prescribed grammatical syllabus can be helpful: “I’ve been in task-based classes where they do not use any grammar and just learn chunks, etc. and vocab lists and these children are ... swimming around in this enormous sea of English. And they have nothing to hold onto” [2TEB7].

Table 2 shows that all stakeholders discussed the need for TEBs to use a variety of course materials. However, whilst auditors and STs shared similar views, TEBs were divided. Auditors and STs felt that the use of a course book for English lessons in

bilingual streams should be limited, e.g. in a discussion on the use of course books by TEBs, an ST commented that a course book should not be the main source in lessons, “It’s the other way round. [Teaching in bilingual education is] not with ...a book, but with a project” [2ST3]. TEBs on the other hand, varied. Some felt a course book has advantages, it “saves time sometimes... if you have no idea what you are going to teach that lesson or have no time to prepare, then of course it’s useful. And students like it because it is often a set programme each lesson. It gives them structure” [2TEB3]. Other TEBs felt the course book should be supplemented or were in favour of designing their own materials in the form of modules.

All stakeholders were in agreement on the importance of TEBs assessing and giving feedback on learner language in set tasks for English.

Q3 Content support

The overall percentage of comments by all stakeholders in Q3 (24%) is similar to that in Q4 (23%). More audit chair and ST ideals were positioned in Q3 than we expected, whereas fewer audit secretary and TEB ideals were positioned here.

Stakeholders shared some views. They all suggested CLIL coaches should be supportive, not judgemental and that both TEBs and STs may be suitable to be trained as CLIL coaches. Both auditors and teachers felt that being a CLIL coach is a specific skill and TEBs need separate training for this.

However, TEBs and STs differed with regard to who and what should drive STs’ professional development and teachers and auditors highlighted different issues. A TEB and an ST discussed tensions between professional development in CLIL settings being driven by the wants of STs or by needs identified by TEBs. A TEB commented, “The English teacher is the expert in [language teaching] and is therefore the driving force for the language part of the subject” [1TEB2]. Whereas an ST mused, “I am wondering whether ... the needs of the subject teachers drive the development of teachers or whether the English requirements in general drive what the subject teachers should do... I think maybe subject teachers should say what’s required and English teachers should support that” [1ST2].

Auditors felt TEBs should play a central or at least supporting role in the bilingual stream, partly because of the risk that they may not be supportive if they feel their subject is being hijacked by others, “If English teachers feel ‘my profession is being taken away from me’, then they will not coach teachers positively” [AC3].

STs’ language concerns differed from those of auditors and TEBs. STs felt insecure about the accuracy of their language, “The subject teachers [...] really need the English language teachers in order to produce their work in a proper way, so that there are no mistakes and that it also sounds English” [1ST1]. TEBs and auditors were less concerned with accuracy and more about register and linguistic complexity.

Various stakeholders suggested that language policy is important, should be school wide, for both Dutch and English and can provide transparency for both teachers and pupils. However, whilst both teachers and auditors expressed a need for a language policy, they differed in how achievable they perceived this to be. Auditors felt language policies may be utopian, whereas teachers provided several practical ideas for how to achieve them. For example, TEBs are willing to offer language foci updates (common mistakes, or aspects of language), design cross-curricular rubrics which include language criteria, or provide a marking scheme to be used by all teachers, with recommendations on how to give feedback and indicate language level expectations across years. STs are willing to provide curricular overviews so that colleagues can see content foci in other subjects.

Q4 Subject-specific language

In Q4, although there is a similar total percentage of comments to Q3, the comments are distributed differently per stakeholder type. Fewer auditor and ST ideals and more TEB ideals were positioned in Q4 than we anticipated.

Stakeholders agreed on the value of TEBs teaching transferrable language learning skills and strategies. TEBs and STs highlighted both opportunities for and a need for a cross-curricular focus on language systems, such as vocabulary and grammar. Whilst audit chairs did not comment about a TEB focus on language systems in subject contexts, audit secretaries did. Their comments concerned TEBs tackling

subject-specific vocabulary and grammatical items which STs reported pupils having issues with, a view shared by TEBs. An ST stressed how following a linear, prescribed language syllabus can be problematic for pupils and STs.

All stakeholders commented on the theme using topics and materials from other subjects in English lessons. However, TEBs and STs did so for different reasons. An ST said:

“I would suggest they would not look far if they want to get materials for teaching and just look at the subject teachers’ materials. Because that is the stuff that the kids have to understand and use and work with” [1ST2].

TEBs valued the opportunity to explore language (particularly vocabulary), where STs felt recycling would support pupils’ understanding of the content in subjects. Auditors were more cautious. Although they saw some potential in this, they wondered if it was unrealistic, emphasising the relevance of any topic and materials which develop language skills.

Teachers and audit chairs discussed using subject tasks for language work. Although audit chairs were disappointed they do not often see this, some TEBs were enthusiastic about using STs’ or pupils’ work for other subjects in English lessons. TEBs felt this would allow them to tailor feedback to the individual needs of their pupils, provide opportunities to practise, repeat and track progress in skills, save pupils time, and save TEBs lesson time, freeing them up to focus on feedback. STs welcome the opportunity to practise, repeat and track progress, and to emphasise transferrable strategies. They would also appreciate flexibility in the English curriculum to deal with pupils’ subject-specific language issues as they arise.

TEBs made relatively more comments about team teaching than the other stakeholder types and auditors and teachers differed in how far they were prepared to go in this regard. Where TEBs and STs both advocate team teaching in the form of TEBs teaching language in subject lessons, and some TEBs even go so far as to suggest abolishing separate English lessons completely, auditors do not advocate

this, “But you can also take that to extremes. You can only deal with [language] in the courses where [content is offered in English] ... You do not want that. Because you still want [the subject] English” [AC1].

TEBs who advocate team teaching see potential for fun, time-saving and headspace, “[Team teaching is] also about headspace, as well. It’s not just about space in your time. It’s also about space in your mind. While you focus on the content, someone else is focussing on the language” [3TEB11]. They also value targeted use of expertise in terms of both language and content e.g. “So ultimately, we balanced each other. They got I think more specialised feedback [from team teaching]” [3TEB8] and “Maybe [TEBs] are doing something on, I don’t know, Rembrandt, but they’re doing it very superficially. If they did it with the art teacher, the art teacher would go into depth” [3TEB9].

STs felt a need for the language expertise of TEBs and were concerned about depth of content knowledge. Auditors emphasised the need for TEBs to participate in cross-curricular projects and for structural, formalised co-operation.

Discussion and conclusion

Our FG study explored the following questions: 1) what are the ideals of stakeholders regarding pedagogical and collaborative practices for TEBs and how are these ideals situated in Dale et al.’s (2018a) framework, and 2) to what extent are the ideals of the different groups of stakeholders complementary or conflicting?

Fourteen themes emerged from the data with regard to stakeholder ideals for TEBs’ pedagogical and collaborative practices. It was possible to position these themes in the four quadrants of the framework. However, there was a significant difference between the observed distribution of different groups of stakeholders’ ideals and the expected distribution of their ideals.

Overall, the results show how the analytical framework for language teaching (Figure 1) can be used to position the views of a range of stakeholders in Dutch bilingual streams. Using the ideals of stakeholders to populate the model has enabled us to

present a detailed picture of the field, underpinned by literature and informed by the views of both practitioners and policy makers. In doing so, rather than proving the model, we have demonstrated the potential of the model to accommodate this wide range of views and at the same time provide a framework for developing a common language to discuss the position of TEBs. The stakeholders in our FGs reveal stakeholder ideals which are coloured by multiple realities and concerns. Although debriefings were carried out to seek agreement on the themes which emerged and the positioning of the themes in the quadrants, our thematic analysis does not claim to represent one universal reality, but rather to illuminate and tease out the complexity of a CLIL context for TEBs.

The results confirm the findings of our previous literature study that we cannot assume that all TEBs share the same disciplinary or cultural identity or that they will all choose similar content and language foci, nor can this be assumed about other stakeholders: STs and auditors. There are also some findings we did not anticipate. Below we discuss how the findings differ from our predictions and explore, per quadrant, possible reasons for this.

Q1 Literature/Language Arts

Although we overestimated the proportion of ideals which would fall in Q1 for all stakeholders, we hypothesized TEBs would gravitate more to Q1 Literature or language arts for content than STs and auditors, for reasons of disciplinary or cultural identity. This was the case. More TEB ideals were positioned in this quadrant than auditor and ST ideals.

The qualitative data offers a possible explanation for the higher number of TEB ideals, suggesting disciplinary and cultural identity plays more of a role in TEBs' views in Q1 (Dale et al., 2018a) than for auditors and STs. The reasons TEBs gave for using literature as content and for focusing on culture were affective (enjoyment and their own cultural backgrounds), whereas those of auditors and STs were strategic (backwash from the International Baccalaureate). In addition, auditor and ST comments positioned in this quadrant related mainly to a focus on culture rather

than literature. Their ideas on culture were less culture-specific than those of TEBs, as they saw English more as a lingua franca. TEBs' comments in this quadrant were more evenly distributed between culture and literature and, in particular for native speaker TEBs, more culture-specific.

These findings show that some TEBs feel literature and a culture-specific approach could play more of a role in lower school bilingual streams than auditors and STs. However, literature is not mentioned in the competency profile for teachers in bilingual streams (European Platform, 2012) or in the attainment targets for English in the mainstream lower school (Trimbos, 2007) and it has a relatively limited role in the knowledge base for English teachers qualifying for lower secondary schools (HBO-raad, 2011-2012). They also show that TEBs' cultural identities may contribute to possible tensions between the expectations of auditors who influence policy making and those of TEBs with regard to the role of English as a lingua franca and the cultures of the English speaking world in bilingual streams.

Q2 Language and communication

We underestimated the proportion of ideals which would fall in Q2 for all stakeholders. More TEB, auditor and ST ideals were positioned in Q2 Language and communication than we anticipated. Most TEB ideals expressed an affinity with a traditional communicative language approach. However, within Q2, TEBs were divided on the ideal role of language systems in their teaching and the use of course books, and only auditors are concerned with measuring learner progress in terms of the CEFR. This discrepancy may be due to the fact that TEBs are not specifically trained for teaching in bilingual streams. As reflected in the knowledge base for lower secondary teacher education (HBO-raad, 2011-2012) and the attainment targets (Trimbos, 2007), everyday language and communication is the focus of all current mainstream English teacher preparation for lower schools, and there is not a separate knowledge base for TEBs, except for the attainment level (B2 on the CEFR) in the Standard, which the TEBs did not mention. No mention of monitoring and evaluating language skills using the CEFR is made in the bilingual secondary education teacher competences (European Platform, 2012) and existing

teacher education programmes for the grade 2 area do not prepare teachers to assess speaking and writing in the lower school at this level, as B2 is an attainment target in the upper school for mainstream learners. Moreover, assessing productive skills (writing and speaking) is more time-consuming than assessing grammar and vocabulary. Not until recently was a handbook published to support TEBs in monitoring and evaluating B2 (Nuffic, 2016).

Within Q2, this focus on language systems in communicative contexts also received the highest number of comments of all themes in all quadrants. This may be due to backwash from the Standard, with six indicators in this area for STs and TEBs. STs are required to focus on the language system by providing a variety of types of feedback on learners' language and by focusing on subject-specific language. TEBs are required to provide a variety of types of feedback on learner language, deal with frequently occurring language problems and focus on form. However, TEBs in particular were divided on what language focus should entail. It is possible that, also in this area, current teacher education programmes do not provide TEBs with specific resources for teaching language systems in bilingual streams. For example, although Systemic Functional Linguistics and joint deconstruction and construction of texts were identified in our literature study as offering potential for the teaching of language systems in CLIL contexts (Dale et al., 2018a), and Schleppegrell (2018) argues for their inclusion in English language teacher education, these do not feature in the Dutch knowledge base for English teacher education (HBO-raad, 2011-2012). We were surprised that a relatively high proportion of ST ideals for TEBs were positioned in Q2. A possible explanation for this may also lie in ideas about disciplinary identity for both STs and TEBs, which for STs is expressed by seeing themselves as content specialists and TEBs as language and communication specialists (cf. Arkoudis, 2006).

Q3 Content support

We overestimated the proportion of TEB and audit secretary ideals in Q3, and underestimated the proportion of ST and audit chair ideals. The TEBs and audit secretaries in our study showed a relative reluctance to advocate the practices

associated with Q3 but some AC comments revealed an awareness of the risks of inequalities in power and status if TEBs take on a role of facilitator with no content or subject of their own (cf. Arkoudis, 2006; Creese, 2000, 2002, 2005). The fact that audit secretary ideals were distributed proportionately in a very similar way to those of the TEBs in this quadrant can perhaps be explained by the fact that two of the audit secretaries were ex-TEBs, although this does not explain why that is not the case in Q1.

STs' insecurity about language and express need for support from TEBs was clear in their comments. Along with highlighting differences between audit chairs and audit secretaries, these findings highlight a mismatch between TEBs' willingness to provide content support and STs' experienced need for support.

Q4 Subject-specific language

We underestimated the proportion of TEB ideals in Q4 and overestimated the proportion of auditor and ST ideals. Despite the apparent 'affective pull', from Q2 to Q1, evidenced in the qualitative data discussed above, TEBs were indeed prepared to depart from the pedagogical and collaborative practices in the upper half of the framework. When they did so, TEBs' ideals gravitated in more or less equal measure to Q1 and Q4. This suggests TEBs may have a greater affinity with teaching subject-specific language (Q4) than supporting the learning of subject content (Q3). Disciplinary identity (see above) or unease about power and status may play a role here (see above). In terms of disciplinary identity, TEBs prepared for communicative language teaching may seek a focus on language and therefore incline towards subject-specific language as much as they incline towards literature. In terms of power and status, their comments suggested some feel uncomfortable facilitating the learning of subjects they are not experts in themselves or taking on a teacher education role with colleagues (cf. Arkoudis, 2006; Creese, 2000, 2002, 2005).

We were surprised fewer ST ideals were positioned in Q4 than we expected, in particular as almost an equal percentage of their ideals for TEBs were positioned in Q2 and Q4. These results suggest STs are concerned with the development of both

everyday language and communication and subject-specific language, and feel TEBs have a role to play in both. The qualitative data did, however, show that STs are enthusiastic about the practices we positioned in Q4. Perhaps their concerns about TEBs' lack of depth in content knowledge mean they are cautious about delegating the teaching of subject-specific language to TEBs.

We were also surprised that audit chairs made fewer comments than the other three types of stakeholders about the collaborative practices we positioned in Q4 and that they were more hesitant than TEBs in terms of team teaching and incorporating other subjects into English lessons. Whilst some TEBs were prepared to remove English lessons altogether, audit chairs explicitly rejected this idea. Perhaps the audit chairs, with language teaching and language development research backgrounds, are aware of research in immersion settings which highlighted the risks of only incidental focus on language (e.g. Swain, 1988, 1996). Some TEBs were also more enthusiastic than other TEBs about incorporating subject tasks into their lessons, suggesting that not all TEBs feel insecure about co-operating with STs. Perhaps the explanation for this lies in some of the comments made by the TEBs who advocate closer integration of subjects in English and team-teaching. These TEBs stress the added value of using the different expertise of STs and TEBs to create stronger learning environments for their pupils, citing affective factors such as fun and 'headspace' and organisational factors such as time-saving.

Overall, given such a wide range of both ideals and choices for TEBs' collaborative and pedagogical practices, this study shows it is all the more important that stakeholders are provided with tools which allow for the development of a shared language for portraying and explaining these choices. The results highlight the challenges that TEBs face in the absence of specific policy guidelines, an agreed knowledge base, and teacher profiles to inform teacher education programmes and professional development. They also highlight the importance of including both practitioners and policy makers when formulating these.

We have seen that whilst some TEBs may not consider adapting innovative practices and may minimally adapt to teaching in a CLIL context, other TEBs are more than willing to consider alternatives and are more ambitious than some auditors. Issues of disciplinary and cultural identity may mean TEBs gravitate more easily towards practices associated with Q1 and Q4 than towards Q3, whereas audit chairs and STs see more opportunities and relevance in Q3. If we want TEBs to consider and make use of pedagogical and collaborative practices outside Q2 Language and communication, in the form of Q1 Literature/Language arts, Q3 Content support and Q4 Subject-specific language, we suggest there is a need to consolidate and share descriptions of practices which do make use of opportunities in Q1, Q3 and Q4. We also suggest there is a need for policy makers to develop guidelines which acknowledge or encourage TEBs with a sense of adventure, and push and challenge them. The results suggest that backwash from policy documents could play a role in stakeholders' ideals. By formulating more ambitious guidelines, policy makers may steer schools to provide facilities which allow those TEBs with ambitions to realise them and stimulate teacher education programmes which explore opportunities beyond communicative language teaching in CLIL contexts.

These observations have several implications for the field and for further research. This is a small-scale study, designed to explore stakeholder ideals for TEBs' pedagogical and collaborative practices. Further research is needed to investigate the extent to which the findings in this study are representative of the desired and actual practices of more TEBs. It would be interesting to establish how a greater sample of TEBs feels about the ideals identified in this study and to describe in more detail how TEBs put comparable ideals into practice in their schools.