On language teachers and CLIL

*Shifting the perspectives*

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Chapter 6
General discussion
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CLIL is an umbrella term for a wide range of bilingual education settings. In secondary schools in the Netherlands with bilingual streams, English teachers working in the first three years of the academic track teach English to learners studying at least half the curriculum through English. In the final years, English is taught through the International Baccalaureate English Language and Literature course, while the majority of other subjects revert to being taught in Dutch. The subjects the learners study through English in the lower years are taught by content specialists who are mainly non-native speakers of English. Teachers of English, some of whom are native speakers, teach their subject in separate, parallel lessons.

A national bilingual education network develops and implements policy for bilingual schools, supported by a government organisation for internationalisation in education (Nuffic). A Standard for Bilingual Education (European Platform, 2012) sets out requirements for schools wishing to be certified as recognised bilingual schools. Accreditation is carried out by a panel of auditors appointed by Nuffic. The Standard includes criteria for the percentage of lessons taught in English, learners’ and non-native speaker teachers’ language attainment levels, final exam subject attainment targets, and teachers’ pedagogical and collaborative practices. Language teachers are expected to support and collaborate with teachers of other subjects, and pay explicit attention to language form. Both subject and language teachers are expected to provide pupils with authentic, multi-media linguistic input, highlight subject-specific aspects of language, provide feedback on language, and pay explicit attention to the use of language learning strategies.

Although the Dutch CLIL context creates challenges for the pedagogical and collaborative practices of both subject teachers and language teachers, developments in the way that CLIL is conceptualised have led to a focus on subject-specific discourse and the practices of subject teachers, overlooking the pedagogical and collaborative practices of language teachers. Language teachers are under-represented in the research literature, in teaching handbooks, competence profiles, teacher education and teaching qualifications for CLIL contexts.
To further understanding of the pedagogical and collaborative practices of language teachers in these contexts, four consecutive studies were carried out. In this chapter, the main findings of each study are presented in turn. This is followed by a discussion of how firstly, the findings inform understandings of the nature and range of language teachers’ pedagogical and collaborative practices, and secondly, the studies provide building blocks for a knowledge base for language teacher education for CLIL contexts. Finally, the implications of this dissertation for further research, teacher education, and policy are discussed.

The aim of this dissertation is to provide practitioners, teacher educators, policy makers and researchers with insights into the pedagogical and collaborative practices of language teachers in CLIL contexts. The premise has been that educational policies, curricula and teacher development programmes should be informed by both formal theory based on research literature, and practical theory based on teaching practitioners’ beliefs and practices.

**Main findings**

In a literature review, I investigated what formal theories in primary and secondary research could reveal about the pedagogical and collaborative practices of language teachers in secondary school CLIL contexts. Chapter 2 summarised 69 papers on this topic. Research literature was selected using search terms reflecting foreign, second, and first language learning and teaching lineages. Thematic analysis of the literature subsequently identified five topics in total: type of language, aspect of language, type of content, theories for pedagogical practices, and issues for language teachers’ collaborative practices. The analysis showed that the field is characterised by considerable variation in possible language and content foci as well as by theories informing practices, and that cultural and disciplinary identity play a role in teachers’ choice of content and their collaborative practices. Whilst the topics identified were presented separately, I highlighted how in practice the topics may overlap and interact. I emphasised that in this context, teachers’ practices are not fixed, but dynamic.
To provide practitioners, teacher educators and researchers with guidelines for exploring and explaining the pedagogical and collaborative practices of language teachers in CLIL contexts, I developed an analytical framework to visually represent this dynamic field (Figure 1). The framework consists of two juxtaposed continua. A horizontal language and content continuum denotes content/meaning on the left, and language/form on the right. A vertical language discourse continuum denotes culture-specific discourse at the top, and subject-specific discourse at the bottom. Combining these two continua creates four quadrants. In quadrant 1, culture-specific discourse and content/meaning denote a focus on literature and language arts from the English-speaking world. In quadrant 2, culture-specific discourse and language/form denote a focus on language and communication in the English speaking world. In quadrant 3, subject-specific discourse and content/meaning denote a focus on supporting subject teachers in developing learners’ understanding of subject content. In quadrant 4, subject-specific discourse and language/form denote a focus on subject-specific language.
Figure 1. Framework for language teaching in CLIL contexts (Dale et al., 2018a)

The framework is explicitly descriptive rather than prescriptive; little is known about the effectiveness of practices in any particular quadrant in terms of learner outcomes. I argue that, as the range of practices available to language teachers in CLIL contexts is unexplored terrain, the framework could help researchers and practitioners explain the practices available to language teachers. The framework forms the theoretical basis for the subsequent studies, all situated in the first three years of academic track bilingual secondary school streams in the Netherlands.
In the focus group study, I was interested in the practical theories of stakeholders (Teachers of English in Bilingual streams [TEBs], subject teachers, and auditors) in CLIL contexts regarding the pedagogical and collaborative practices of TEBs. Chapter 3 reported on five focus group interviews exploring the ideals of stakeholders in bilingual streams in secondary schools in the Netherlands. This study showed, firstly, how the framework I developed based on formal theories could accommodate Dutch stakeholder ideals and that the ideals of practitioners and policy makers in this context reflected the range of views found in the literature. Secondly, the study revealed within group and between group differences in the ideal pedagogical and collaborative practices of stakeholders (subject teachers, TEBs, auditors). Whilst the ideals of some TEBs and auditors reflected traditional communicative language teaching approaches to language teaching, others embraced opportunities for teaching literature, and supporting or collaborating with subject teacher colleagues. Whilst some TEBs and auditors were hesitant to advocate an advisory role for TEBs towards subject teachers, subject teachers both acknowledged and welcomed the expertise of TEBs.

This study demonstrated how stakeholder ideals were shaped by multiple realities and concerns. In the analysis, I did not claim to represent one universal reality, but aimed to illuminate and tease out the complexity of language teaching in a CLIL context. By using sample comments to illustrate the themes identified (Appendix A), I aimed to give a voice to those directly involved in the field.

I argued that this study demonstrates the potential of the framework as a tool to enable practitioners, policy makers, teacher educators and researchers to identify differences and work on developing a shared language for discussing language teachers’ pedagogical and collaborative practices in a range of CLIL contexts, in the Netherlands and beyond.
Chapter 4 recounted how a set of practices was developed for language teachers in bilingual streams. The set of practices (Table 1 in chapter 4) reflects current views on effective general and second language teaching practice and was based on the framework for language teaching in bilingual education (Figure 1). The set of practices was informed by both formal (research literature) and practical (stakeholder ideals) theories of teaching. For each quadrant of the framework, I formulated nine practices. The nine practices per quadrant included an aim, teaching materials, focus of understanding, focus on language, activities preparing, carrying out, and peer reviewing speaking and writing assignments, grading, and feedback practices.

In this study, I was interested in the extent to which the preferred and reported pedagogical and collaborative practices of language teachers in CLIL contexts reflected the formal and practical theories of teaching identified in the literature review and focus group study. The results of an online survey of the stated beliefs and practices of TEBs in the Netherlands with regard to the set of practices were reported. The findings showed a consistently hierarchical pattern. These language teachers both preferred, and reported focusing firstly, on language and communication, then on literature and language arts, then on subject-specific language, and finally on supporting subject teacher colleagues. They also provided evidence that the set of practices itself could serve as a reflection tool for teachers’ own teaching practice and a development tool for language teacher educators, by raising awareness of the range of potential practices open to teachers.

Although care should be taken when interpreting the results of a survey measuring teachers’ beliefs and practices, several steps were taken to mitigate well-documented limitations. For example, although standardised statements were used, these were not only based on formal theories, but informed by the views of a range of stakeholders. The survey gives a reasonable picture of the extent to which language teachers support and report using a specific set of practices, based on both formal and practical theory. In addition, the limitation of self-report as a measure of actual practice is acknowledge by the use of the term ‘reported practices’.
Taking these limitations into account, I argued that understanding language teachers’ beliefs and practices in CLIL contexts as hierarchical both consolidates existing research on teacher cognitions, and provides a planning tool for teacher educators when designing programmes. I suggested that a path to encouraging teachers to look beyond a sole focus on language and communication in CLIL contexts may lie in embracing the hierarchical nature of TEBs’ beliefs and practices, by building from their core identity as language and literature teachers. Teacher educators could first develop TEBs’ understanding of how to teach content and language through literature and language arts. Starting from a position where TEBs understand how to teach content and language within their own disciplinary identity may facilitate language teachers’ understandings of the challenges faced by CLIL subject teachers from other disciplinary backgrounds. This, in turn, could ease cross-curricular collaboration and enhance language teacher support for subject teachers.

Chapter 5 reported on a multiple-case study providing detailed descriptions of eight pedagogical and collaborative practices in schools in the Netherlands. Each of the cases illustrated how a language teacher shapes practices associated with one of the quadrants in the framework for language teaching in bilingual education. This study demonstrated that bilingual streams can provide a context for language teachers which positively reinforces usage-based beliefs about language teaching (language is a set of conventionalised routines), but contrasting structure-based language teaching beliefs and practices (language is a set of rules) may also be held. It also provided evidence that language teachers have various ways of understanding what content is and what language is when they teach literature, collaborate with, or support subject teachers.

In addition, the case studies illustrated that TEBs feel the CLIL context in the Netherlands provides learners with sufficient time to learn and use English, and teachers with sufficient time to teach it. Teachers valued the autonomy they experienced in combination with the time available for language learning and teaching. Both of these factors encouraged teachers to actively and creatively shape their practices. In support of this, TEBs felt external guidelines from policy makers
and teacher education would help to ensure teachers are facilitated and supported in shaping innovative and collaborative practices. The study further showed how individual backgrounds of TEBs and the CLIL context interact dynamically with TEBs’ beliefs and practices. A model explaining the elements and process in TEBs’ cognitions and practices was presented (Figure 3 in chapter 5).

The eight cases presented in this study are not a statistically representative sample of the wider TEB population. They are presented rather as a means to offer analytic generalisation at the level of teacher education and policy implementation. Transferability is applicable in the sense that the cases are all examples taken from the messy realities of language teachers’ professional lives. The detailed case descriptions in this study (Appendix B) provide practitioners, teacher educators, policy makers and researchers with prototypical pedagogical and collaborative practices for language teachers in CLIL contexts. As they are grounded in language teachers’ everyday experiences, they may help to bridge the gap between formal and practical theories of language teaching. In addition, they offer a concrete basis for further discussion of what content can be for language teachers, and how language can be viewed when shaping pedagogical and collaborative practices in CLIL contexts.

**What does it mean to be a language teacher in a CLIL context?**

CLIL was first identified as a ‘fast developing phenomenon across Europe’ in 2006 (Eurydice, 2006). In the two decades since then, the number of schools offering CLIL via some form of bilingual education has continued to grow in the Netherlands (Mearns & de Graaff, 2018) and elsewhere (Pérez Cañado, 2012). During this time, and in particular as this research was being carried out (between 2014 and 2019) in the Netherlands, there have been considerable developments elsewhere in conceptualising what CLIL means for teachers in practice. The findings reported in this dissertation were reviewed in the light of these developments. This led to the distillation of four points regarding the nature and range of language teachers’ pedagogical and collaborative practices. Firstly, language teaching in CLIL contexts is not the same as foreign language teaching. Secondly, CLIL achieves integration
through subject-specific language. Thirdly, CLIL contexts can lead to transformative change in language teachers’ beliefs and practices. Fourthly, collaboration between language and subject teachers can be beneficial.

The studies reported in this dissertation generated four building blocks for a knowledge base for language teacher education for CLIL contexts. These building blocks acknowledge, describe and explain the nature and range of language teachers’ practices in such settings. They include a framework for language teaching in bilingual education (Figure 1), a set of practices for language teaching in bilingual streams (Table 1 in chapter 3), a model showing how language teachers’ beliefs and practices interact dynamically in CLIL contexts (Figure 3 in chapter 5), and eight case descriptions of prototypical practices for language teaching in CLIL contexts (Appendix B).

In the general discussion which follows, the four points regarding the nature and range of language teachers’ practices are discussed in turn. For each point, key developments in the literature are summarised. The findings of the four studies are then reviewed in relation to these developments and a corresponding building block for a knowledge base for language teacher education for CLIL contexts is presented.

1. Language teaching in CLIL contexts is not the same as foreign language teaching

In seeking to provide teachers in CLIL contexts with guidelines for pedagogical practices which focused on both language and content, researchers’ initial attempts drew on insights based on second language acquisition (e.g. de Graaff, Koopman, Ankina, & Westhoff, 2007). This approach emphasised a need for teachers to provide learners with rich and varied (minimally) challenging language input, including tasks which require them to make sense of input, tasks which raise their awareness of specific language structures, opportunities to produce language through spoken interaction or writing activities, and practice using receptive and productive strategies to overcome comprehension or communication problems. This knowledge base, and approach to language education is familiar to foreign language teachers,
but not to many subject teachers. To subject teachers it represents a different disciplinary field and unfamiliar pedagogical practices.

Other researchers suggested a role in CLIL practices for genre-based pedagogies informed by systemic functional linguistics (Coyle, Hood, & Marsh, 2010; Llinares, Morton, & Whittaker, 2012). This approach emphasises the use of language for ‘making meaning in specific contexts’ (Mohan, Leung, & Slater, 2010, p. 221). Proponents of this approach suggest this is useful for subject teachers as it offers a way of specifying the language of different subjects (Meyer, Coyle, Halbach, Schuck, & Ting, 2015). Coyle, Hood, et al. (2010) suggested that for language teachers, this knowledge base and approach to teaching means ‘shifting linguistic progression from a dependency on grammatical levels of difficulty towards functional and notional levels of difficulty demanded by the content’. For language teachers, this line of thinking means language teaching in CLIL contexts is not the same as foreign language teaching.

The studies in this dissertation show that both formal and informal theories of practice suggest language teaching in CLIL contexts involves more than foreign language teaching. In terms of formal theories, the literature review revealed that consulting literature from second and first language teaching lineages in addition to foreign language teaching can enrich understandings of the practices of language teachers in CLIL contexts. Taking this approach expands the nature and range of language teachers’ practices to include a greater variety of types and aspects of language and content than traditional foreign language teaching. It also broadens the theoretical base for language teaching in CLIL contexts to include socio-cultural theories, systemic functional linguistics, and cultural theories as well as second language acquisition theories. Language and subject teachers’ differing views on what content and language should be learnt, and how these are best learnt can lead to challenges when they collaborate. If language teaching in CLIL contexts is narrowly conceived of as foreign language teaching, language and subject teachers may lack a shared understanding of what language they are teaching and how to teach it.
The four quadrant framework presented in chapter 2 describes the nature and range of options open to language teachers when language teaching is seen as more than foreign language teaching. This framework (Figure 1) is the first of four building blocks for a knowledge base for language teacher education for CLIL contexts provided by this dissertation. The framework sets out choices available to language teachers, encompassing different types of language and content, informed by differing theoretical perspectives on language and learning.

In terms of informal theories, the focus group study showed that in the Netherlands, some stakeholders see language teaching in bilingual streams primarily as foreign language teaching, whereas others see different roles for language teachers including teaching literature and culture, subject-specific language and supporting subject teachers. However, stakeholders do not agree in what way and to what extent language teaching in CLIL contexts is different to foreign language teaching. The survey showed that language teachers in CLIL contexts in the Netherlands see themselves primarily as foreign language teachers, and secondly as teachers of literature and culture. This is part of their core identity. Successively, they see themselves in relation to subject teachers, either through co-teaching subject-specific language or in a supportive or advisory role. In addition, the survey revealed that not all language teachers in CLIL contexts are aware of ways of moving beyond foreign language teaching. The case studies showed there are TEBs in the Netherlands actively seeking ways to do more than foreign language teaching. However, particularly when supporting and collaborating with subject teachers, they lack confidence. These TEBs are still searching for ways to support and advise subject teachers. Some TEBs who carry out practices other than foreign language teaching struggle to align their practices with a usage-based view of language. The teachers in this study appear to lack ways of conceptualising and teaching language other than in terms of structure-based views of language.

On the basis of this dissertation, it cannot be assumed that all language teachers in CLIL contexts in the Netherlands are aware of or equipped with tools to move their practices beyond foreign language teaching. The findings call into question using
structure-based views of language as the knowledge base for language learning in CLIL contexts. Such views do not provide language teachers with the tools they need to align their usage-based views of language with their teaching practices. Providing language teachers and subject teachers with a shared language when shaping their practices, requires broadening the theoretical basis for language teaching and learning to include ways of conceiving language as a vehicle for learning. Systemic functional linguistics and genre pedagogy, as usage-based approaches could offer a way forward in this. Hyland (2004) explains how genre-based pedagogies can be used in teaching writing to second language learners, including joint construction of texts by teachers and learners. Derewianka (2012) explains how systemic functional linguistics has informed the Australian language curriculum.

2. CLIL achieves integration through subject-specific language
Dalton-Puffer (2013) argued that a way forward for bridging the pedagogies of language education and content education, lay in a focus on the ‘I’ for Integration in CLIL. To this end, she developed a new construct, ‘Cognitive Discourse Functions’, designed to allow subject and language teachers to identify the cognitive and linguistic demands individual subjects make on learners. The focus here lies very firmly on subject-specific language in CLIL and ways of teaching it. Subsequent conceptualisations of CLIL practice concentrated on further development of integration and subject-specific language. The focus shifted from different components of CLIL to ways of achieving integration in the learning of content and language (Llinares, 2015; Meyer, Coyle, et al., 2015). Coyle’s (2007) 4C’s framework had conceptualised CLIL as consisting of four components: Content (subject matter), Cognition (thinking processes), Communication (language learning and using) and Culture (at macro-level intercultural understanding and at micro-level, understanding subject-specific ways of thinking). These four components are embedded in a wider educational context, and so contextual variables, such as national examination systems, influence the realisation of CLIL.
Building on the 4C’s framework, Meyer, Coyle, et al. (2015) put forward a model to show how the complex interaction between these four components can be conceptualised. Their ‘pluriliteracies model’ places the development of subject-specific literacies in more than one language at the heart of learners’ progression in CLIL contexts. It further consolidates the shift in the role of language learning in CLIL from foreign language learning to an emphasis on ‘language using for learning’ (Coyle, Halbach, Meyer, & Schuck, 2018, p. 353), and in particular, subject-specific language.

The studies in this dissertation show that the disciplinary and cultural identity of TEBs in the Netherlands teaching in the first three years of academic track bilingual streams lies in both macro-level culture (intercultural understanding, cf. Coyle, 2007) and micro-level culture (subject-specific ways of thinking, ibid.). Both the focus group study and the survey show that for these TEBs in the Netherlands, subject-specific content is primarily language, literature and culture (represented in the culture-specific discourse half of the framework). The focus group study, survey and case study provided evidence that language teachers feel motivated and energised by teaching literature. These studies suggested that language teachers see themselves as subject teachers in their own right. When they do so, they see their subjects as language, literature and culture. The focus study and survey suggested their concern is to apprentice learners into the cultures of the English speaking world (cf. Coyle’s [2007] macro-level culture, intercultural understanding) and the discourse of text analysis (cf. Coyle’s [2007] micro-level culture, subject specific ways of thinking). A subject-specific way of thinking for language teachers in CLIL contexts involves analysis of literary or non-literary texts (which may be culturally specific to the English speaking world). When TEBs move beyond foreign language teaching, they seek to teach learners to think, speak and write as text analysts, whereby critical thinking skills are highly valued. The case study demonstrated that language teachers in a CLIL context in the Netherlands do not necessarily have a shared view of language for designing teaching practices to develop this kind of subject-specific literacy for the subject of English. Relying on structure-based views of language
can lead to tensions between their beliefs and their practices. Although language teachers in the Dutch CLIL context are motivated to teach literature and culture, they do not share an understanding of what subject-specific literacy means for this subject. They do not necessarily have common understandings of how to apply usage-based views of language to the teaching of their own subject.

The set of practices developed for the survey (Table 1 in chapter 4) provides a second building block in a knowledge base for language teacher education for CLIL contexts. It can be used by teachers and teacher educators to identify language teachers’ preferred and reported practices. This provides a route map for planning professional development for language teachers, starting from the core identity and beliefs of language teachers, then moving towards collaboration between language and subject teachers.

On the basis of this dissertation, I argue that language teachers would benefit from learning how language and content can be integrated in their own subject. A starting point could be identifying subject-specific language for the teaching of text analysis. Cognitive discourse functions for language teachers may help clarify the associated critical thinking skills. Applying the pluriliteracies model and genre pedagogies to the teaching of text analysis may offer language teachers a usage-based view of language, and provide usage-based pedagogical models for the teaching of their own subject. Once they understand and apply an approach which integrates language and content for their own teaching, the gap between the teaching of their own discipline and that of other subjects may become narrower. The approach to analysing a text for the subject of English can also be applied to analysing a subject-specific text for a different subject. This may help bridge the gap between the integrated language and content of language teachers and that of subject teachers.
3. CLIL contexts lead to transformative change in language teachers’ beliefs and practices

Several researchers characterise CLIL as an agent of change for both teachers’ beliefs and their practices. For example, Hüttner, Dalton-Puffer, and Smit (2013) suggested that teachers in Austria were more willing to adopt CLIL than other innovative practices because the teachers perceived CLIL as facilitating successful language learning. Hüttner et al. (ibid.) highlighted a tension between practitioners’ and researchers’ differing definitions of CLIL and successful language learning. For practitioners, for example, success was defined in terms of learners’ increased motivation, and willingness to speak, whereas researchers defined success in terms of linguistic attainment. They argued that this tension arises in the absence of clear policy guidelines. However, they also suggested that more prescriptive guidelines may lead to more resistance to CLIL, if outcomes are defined in terms that do not reflect the gains that practitioners value. Pavón Vázquez and Méndez García (2017) also reported that although teachers find putting CLIL into practice challenging, they associate it with ‘positive, rewarding, motivating and stimulating outcomes’ (p.249) in terms of their own professional development. Their study showed that teachers in Andalusia, Spain, believed CLIL helped them to become more motivated, better professionals as training led to them adapting their materials and teaching approaches. In turn, Coyle, Halbach, et al. (2018) argued that the process of developing the pluriliteracies model enabled educators and researchers together to become agents of change, as they attempted to combine formal and informal theories of learning. Coyle (2018) takes this one step further and suggests CLIL has implications beyond bilingual education, as it has the potential to ‘transform classroom learning in bilingual classrooms, as well as first language classrooms’ (p.173).

The studies in this dissertation show that the pedagogical and collaborative practices of language teachers in CLIL contexts are dynamic, interactive, and influenced by several elements and processes. These include teachers’ background (their learning experiences and teacher education), their beliefs about language and language
learning, and organisational factors. The literature review suggests that portraying language teaching as a dynamic field in which the range of views intertwine and interact may offer a way forward for explaining the options open to language teachers wanting or needing to adapt to CLIL contexts. The focus group study and survey demonstrate, however, that teaching English in a CLIL context does not automatically lead to a transformation in language teachers’ beliefs and practices. Some language teachers make minimal adaptations in their beliefs and practices. Others are willing to consider alternatives, and are more ambitious than some auditors. The survey and case studies revealed how tensions between language teachers’ beliefs and the context in which they shape their practices affect the extent to which change is enacted. The case studies suggest that language teachers’ practices in CLIL contexts benefit from the amount of time they and their learners are able to devote to language using and language learning and from the autonomy that teachers have in shaping their practices. Language teachers actively use the autonomy this context offers them to become both creators and agents of change. These teachers also believe that policy guidelines can be supportive in facilitating their collaboration with subject teachers, as schools are more likely to encourage and resource collaboration if it is required by the Dutch quality standard. The case studies also show how language teachers working in a CLIL context hold more usage-based than structure-based beliefs. The CLIL context appears to nudge language teachers’ beliefs and practices away from foreign language teaching, but some teachers lack awareness of alternative practices or tools to help them make this transition.

Figure 3 in chapter 5 is a third building block in a knowledge base for language teacher education for CLIL contexts. The figure gives an overview of the elements and processes involved in TEBs’ cognitions and shows how language teachers’ beliefs and practices interact dynamically in CLIL contexts. This provides teacher educators with insights into how and why language teachers shape their practices, and illustrates the importance of eliciting teacher beliefs about language learning and teaching in teacher education.
On the basis of this dissertation, I suggest that although there is evidence that CLIL contexts can stimulate change in language teachers’ beliefs and practices, not all language teachers are aware of the nature and range of practices available to them, nor are they all equipped with knowledge and skills which will support them in shaping practices which go beyond foreign language teaching.

4. Collaboration between language and subject teachers is beneficial

The value of collaboration between language teachers and subject teachers in CLIL contexts has also been highlighted in literature. De Graaff, Koopman, and Tanner (2012), for example, argued that both subject and language teachers play ‘a crucial yet distinctive role in providing integrated opportunities for subject and language learning’ (p.157). Pavón Vázquez and Ellison (2013) suggested language teachers support subject teachers in two ways: through language support for the subject teacher in or outside their classrooms, and by offering learners ‘language rehearsal’ (p.76) opportunities for other subjects in the language classes. Furthermore, Pavón Vázquez and Méndez García (2017) show that subject and language teachers in Andalusia believe collaboration is important. Both sets of teachers perceived CLIL to be mutually beneficial to their practice. They felt stimulated to keep their practice up to date; subject teachers expressed both a want and need to collaborate with language teachers, and language teachers enjoyed using subject content in their lessons.

The studies in this dissertation show that collaboration between language teachers and subject teachers is perceived as challenging by language teachers. The literature review revealed some key issues for language teachers collaborating with subject teachers. These include lack of expertise, knowledge and skills for collaboration, varied understandings of learning and teaching processes linked to differing disciplinary and cultural identities, and organisational factors. The focus group study, survey and case study provided examples of these issues for language teachers in the Netherlands. All three provided evidence that some language teachers feel ill-equipped and are thus reluctant to advise subject teachers on CLIL teaching approaches. The survey showed cross-curricular projects appeal more to language
teachers than working with subject teachers in an advisory capacity. In addition, both teaching cross-curricula projects and supporting language teachers are ranked lower and used less often than teaching language, literature and culture. In the case study, teachers put forward examples of language and literature teaching to exemplify practice more readily than they put forward collaborative practices. The case studies add to an understanding of why this is the case. It is not only a question of subject and language teachers having differing understandings of teaching and learning processes linked to their different disciplinary and cultural identities. The case studies showed that there can be considerable variation between language teachers themselves in the way they view language (e.g. as structure-based or usage-based), and that they lack a unifying view of ‘language-using for learning’ (Coyle, 2018, ibid) within their own disciplines (e.g. language, literature, culture). They also lack tools for teaching language informed by usage rather than structure-based views of language.

At the same time, although subject teachers in the focus groups and case studies valued language teachers’ support and advice, as noted earlier, both the survey and the case studies provided evidence that language teachers feel they lack policy and teacher education guidelines for collaboration. Their willingness and ability to collaborate is dependent on being facilitated with time and resources to do so.

The case descriptions provide teachers and teacher educators with examples of how to shape language teaching practices which move beyond foreign language teaching and how to collaborate with subject teachers. This is a fourth building block in a knowledge base for language teacher education for CLIL contexts. The case descriptions offer practitioners and teacher educators prototypical practices which can serve as a basis for discussing and developing practices and views of language appropriate to specific teachers and settings.

On the basis of this dissertation, it cannot be assumed that language teachers are prepared for and confident in collaborating with and supporting subject teachers. Language teachers feel policy and teacher education guidelines play a role in their ability to shape collaborative practices. A first step for preparing language teachers for collaborating with subject teachers would be to facilitate a shift in perspective
in language teachers’ own teaching. From teaching a foreign language to being a subject teacher of language and literature, building on a usage-based rather than structure-based view of language, and informed by, for example, cognitive discourse functions (cf. Dalton-Puffer, 2013), genre pedagogy (cf. Derewianka, 2012) and the pluriliteracies model (Meyer, Coyle, et al., 2015).

Implications and suggestions for future research
By investigating the pedagogical and collaborative practices of language teachers in CLIL contexts based on both formal and informal theories of practice, this dissertation has extended our understanding of what language teachers can do in these contexts, and why language teachers in the Netherlands do what they do. This section discusses the main implications for teacher education, policy guidelines, and further research.

The studies in this dissertation show that language teaching for TEBs in the Netherlands is not the same as foreign language teaching and that a structure-based view of language does not necessarily equip language teachers for the range of pedagogical and collaborative practices they may come across. The framework, set of practices, elements and processes in language teacher cognition in CLIL contexts, and case descriptions developed in this dissertation, combined with recent developments in conceptualising CLIL practice for subject teachers, provide a foundation for a knowledge basis for language teacher education for TEBs in the Netherlands. They may also be relevant to language teachers in CLIL contexts outside the Netherlands.

Teacher education clearly has a role to play in preparing language teachers as well as subject teachers for CLIL contexts. The framework, set of practices, elements and processes in language teacher cognition, and case descriptions can be used as a basis for developing and designing dedicated teacher education for language teachers in CLIL contexts. Based on the findings of this dissertation, three areas in which pre- and in-service teacher education in the Netherlands could provide relevant input are proposed; linguistics, literature and language arts, and collaboration.
In the area of linguistics, it would be helpful to expand the knowledge base for language teachers beyond structure-based second language acquisition theories and introduce them to views of ‘language using for learning’ (Coyle, Halbach, et al., 2018) in educational contexts. For example, dynamic usage-based theories of language, systemic functional linguistics and genre pedagogies provide language teachers with a view of language, and tools for teaching it, which could help them to move beyond structure-based views of language.

In the area of literature and language arts, teacher education could make use of cognitive discourse functions and the pluriliteracies model to develop tools for teaching subject-specific literacy for their own content. These provide language teachers who take literature and language arts as their content, with a view of language as a vehicle for learning and tools for teaching content which are applicable across all subjects. Meyer, Halbach and Coyle (2015) provide a planning tool for this, with exemplars for various subjects. Teacher education could support literature teachers in designing tasks which explicitly mirror the approach taken with subject content in other subjects. For example, developing tasks which show learners how to describe and label literary devices, explain and define literary terms, compare the use of literary devices and assess and evaluate writers’ use of literary devices, just as geography teachers design tasks which show learners these cognitive discourse functions for geography content. Using the same approach and language to design tasks may help to reduce the gap in understandings between subject teachers and language teachers when they collaborate.

In the area of collaboration, teacher education programmes could offer opportunities for language and subject teachers to collaborate in developing and delivering cross-curricular projects. This could provide both input on forms and levels of collaboration (cf. de Graaff et al., 2012), and other collaboration tools. For example, language and subject teachers could use the same planning tool (Meyer, Halbach, et al., 2015) based on cognitive discourse functions and the pluriliteracies model to co-design tasks for developing subject-specific literacies. Teacher education
could thus facilitate the development of a view of ‘language-using for learning’ which can be shared by language teachers and content teachers. Language teachers prepared in this way for the field may feel more confident and comfortable taking an advisory and pivotal role with subject teacher colleagues.

Within the existing structures of pre-service teacher education in the Netherlands, dedicated language teacher preparation for CLIL contexts could be provided in semester long minors (open to both language and subject teachers), in honours programmes (for subject or language teachers separately or together), or as a teacher specialisation profile akin to a profile for academic or vocational tracks. In addition, recent advice on revising the teaching qualifications structure in the Netherlands (The Education Council, 2018) suggests allowing teachers to qualify in more than one subject. Teacher education programmes could take advantage of this and offer a programme to qualify as both a language (Dutch or English) and a subject (e.g. history, biology, maths) teacher. ‘Language using for learning’ (Coyle, Halbach et al., 2018) and pluriliteracies could then be given a central role in teacher education.

TEBs in the Netherlands explicitly requested policy guidelines for collaborating with subject teachers. As pilots are taking place for a revised quality standard for bilingual education in the Netherlands, it would be timely to take this opportunity to adapt the teacher competences included in the standard to take account of the range of practices language teachers revealed in these studies, and a view of ‘language using for learning’ reflecting more usage-based than structure-based ideas. In doing so, it is important to maintain the level of autonomy which language teachers value by providing guidelines which will facilitate teachers with resources and time to develop and shape their pedagogical and collaborative practices.

To continue to bridge the gap between theory and practice in teacher education, future research could focus on using the framework for language teaching in bilingual education, and set of practices to provide more examples of the range of practices carried out by teachers within each quadrant. Much work remains to be done applying genre pedagogy, cognitive discourse functions and the pluriliteracies
model to the teaching of language, literature and culture, and to other subjects. Researchers and teachers could work together to develop and evaluate practices using these tools.

In this dissertation I scoped the nature and range of language teachers’ pedagogical and collaborative practices in CLIL contexts. In the future, it would also be useful to compare and contrast the learning outcomes of learners taught on the basis of practices associated with particular quadrants. For example, do learners who are taught primarily using practices associated with quadrant 1 not only increase their motivation and willingness to speak, but also achieve higher linguistic attainment targets than learners taught primarily using practices associated with quadrant 2 in CLIL settings?

Further research could also compare and contrast the collaborative practices of language and subject teachers who build practices informed by usage-based, ‘language using for learning views’, with current collaborative practices. In this way, an evidence-based programme for language teacher education could gradually be developed which builds on formal and informal theories of practice and takes account of the impact of teacher education on teaching practice, and on learner outcomes.

Language teachers in CLIL contexts face both challenges and opportunities. Stakeholders in bilingual education in the Netherlands have differing ideals for language teachers’ pedagogical and collaborative practices. English teachers in bilingual streams in the Netherlands are willing to play a pivotal role in CLIL, but are not always aware of how they could do so, or supported in doing so. A view of language in CLIL as a structure-based foreign language does not automatically equip language teachers with tools for the range of pedagogical and collaborative practices they encounter in schools. Recent developments which place subject-specific literacy at the heart of CLIL risk side-lining language teachers. The studies in this dissertation suggest embracing subject-specific literacies and exploring what these mean firstly for language teachers’ own pedagogical practices, and then for their collaborative
practices, basing this on a shared view of ‘language using for learning’ could offer a way forward. Teacher education and policy guidelines can and should do more to support, encourage and enable language teachers to be both creators and agents of change.