ELIA
Estudios de Lingüística Inglesa Aplicada

# STUDENT PERCEPTION OF CLIL: THE CASE OF ANDALUCÍA

# LA PERCEPCIÓN DEL ALUMNADO SOBRE AICLE: EL CASO DE ANDALUCÍA

**Adrián Granados**
*Universidad Pablo de Olavide*
agranav@upo.es

**Abstract**

This study aims to make a large-scale evaluation of the student perception of CLIL in Andalucía. To this purpose, 58 CLIL schools (29 primary and 29 secondary schools) were selected by stratified random sampling, controlling for socioeconomic status and geographical distribution in the region of Andalucía. All of them were English CLIL schools. The students in the final year of each school (N= 2104) were surveyed.

The survey, which was in Spanish, consisted of close-ended questions addressing CLIL methodology, L2 use, and extracurricular school activities. Questions covered how often students did certain activities in class, which were their favourite ones, how often and for which purpose they used the L2 during content classes, what extracurricular activities were offered in their schools and whether they thought that learning through an L2 was affecting their content acquisition.

Results show that, even if CLIL students have an overall positive attitude towards the programme, their preferred activities do not match the ones most frequently used in class. They also manifest that there is an imbalance between written and oral L2 use, oral communication playing a secondary role. Furthermore, differences between primary and secondary students' perception are observed.

*Key words:* student perception, CLIL, Andalucía, L2 use, CLIL methodology

## Resumen

Este estudio pretende realizar una evaluación a gran escala de la percepción del alumnado sobre AICLE en Andalucía. Para ello, se seleccionaron 58 centros bilingües con inglés como L2 (29 de primaria y 29 de secundaria) mediante muestreo aleatorio estratificado, considerando el nivel socioeconómico y la distribución geográfica. Se encuestó al alumnado de último curso de cada centro (N= 2014).

La encuesta estaba en español y consistía en preguntas cerradas sobre la metodología AICLE, el uso de la L2 y las actividades extracurriculares. Se preguntó al alumnado sobre la frecuencia con que realizaban determinadas actividades en clase, cuáles eran sus favoritas, con qué frecuencia y finalidad utilizaban la L2 durante las clases de contenido, qué actividades complementarias ofrecía el centro y si pensaban que el aprendizaje en una L2 afectaba a su adquisición de contenidos.

Los resultados muestran que, aunque el alumnado AICLE tiene una actitud mayoritariamente positiva hacia el programa, sus actividades preferidas no coinciden con las más utilizadas en clase. También que existe un desequilibrio entre el uso de la L2 escrita y la oral, con la comunicación oral desempeñando un papel secundario. Además, se observan diferencias entre la percepción de los alumnos de primaria y de secundaria.

*Palabras clave:* percepción del alumnado, AICLE, Andalucía, uso de la L2, metodología AICLE

## 1. Introduction

From a historical point of view, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) was defined in 1994 by UniCOM, a project from the University of Jyväskylä and the European Platform for Dutch Education (Darn, 2006). In 1995, the white paper on education and training (European Commission, 1995) emphasized the idea of learning academic disciplines through a foreign language (Chaieberras, 2019). The need to teach European citizens to communicate in a *lingua franca* made CLIL "a pragmatic European solution to a European need" (Marsh, 2002, p. 11). It was the European approach to bilingual education, as Content-Based Instruction in North America and immersion in Canada (Rascón, 2020).

CLIL was inspired by the European Schools, which were seen as a model for the development of second language and multilingual education (Housen, 2002; Vez, 2009). These elite schools started in the 1950s, out of private initiative, for the education of the children of European Union officials. In the Spanish context, the first implementation of CLIL was also inspired by a private school: the British Council School of Madrid (Dobson et al., 2010, p. 12). In 1996, the Spanish Ministry of Education and the British Council signed an agreement to make this programme extensible to 44 public schools distributed in 10 of the 17 regions of Spain.

After some years of piloting of this CLIL programme, most Spanish regions (in Spain regions have autonomous legal competence in education) decided to launch their own versions of the programme (Durán-Martínez & Beltrán-Llavador, 2016). Madrid, for example, launched its large-scale CLIL programme in the academic year 2004-2005, and Andalucía in the academic year 2006-2007 (Granados & Lorenzo, 2022; Lorenzo & Moore, 2009).

This nation-wide implementation of CLIL soon caught the attention of the research community. Ever since the first large-scale European study of CLIL outcomes, performed in Andalucía (Lorenzo

et al., 2010), many studies have followed suit (e.g., Abello-Contesse et al., 2013; Heras & Lasagabaster, 2015; Sotoca, 2016). They all found the different CLIL programmes to be a success from a language perspective. Nevertheless, studies such as Bruton (2011) and Anghel et al. (2016) set the alarm bells ringing over the CLIL programme's potential inequity. From that moment on, research on CLIL outcomes has been very sensitive to equity and socioeconomic status (Hidalgo-McCabe & Fernández-González, 2019; Llinares & Evnitskaya, 2021; Lorenzo et al., 2021; Rascón & Bretones, 2018).

In CLIL research, surveys are a common tool to unveil and understand stakeholders' perceptions. Nevertheless, studies tend to focus on teacher's attitudes and beliefs (e.g., Alonso-Belmonte and Fernández-Agüero, 2021; Cabezuelo Gutiérrez & Fernández Fernández, 2014; Fernández & Halbach, 2011; Halbach & Iwaniec, 2020; Lorenzo & Granados, 2020; Pavón et al., 2019; Pérez Cañado, 2018;). Despite this imbalance towards teacher's views, student perceptions and attitudes are important variables to effective teaching and learning (Ushida, 2005). Furthermore, listening to the voices of learners has been found to be a critical aspect to successful educational programs (Coyle, 2013).

This study will therefore review the research conducted so far regarding CLIL students' perceptions and make a large-scale evaluation of the student perception of CLIL in Andalucía (N= 2104) in aspects such as CLIL methodology, L2 use, and extracurricular school activities.

## 2. Student Perceptions of CLIL

The first studies addressing student perceptions of CLIL targeted this population in combination with other groups of stakeholders. Gerena and Ramírez-Verdugo (2014) surveyed 22 CLIL teachers, 80 secondary school pupils and 53 language assistants from Madrid. In

their rendition of results, authors highlighted student motivation and sense of pride, and their belief that CLIL would have a very positive impact on their future. However, a minority of the pupils complained that learning content in a foreign language required more effort and believed that they had knowledge gaps. Some of the negative adjectives they used to describe their participation in the CLIL programme were "tired, confused, and distracted" (Gerena & Ramírez-Verdugo, 2014, p. 127).

Pérez et al. (2016) focused on the French CLIL programme in Andalucía and analysed nine secondary schools by administering a questionnaire to pupils (N = 116) and conducting structured interviews (22 pupils and 28 teachers), as well as analysing the results of official French tests, university entrance exams and 100 examples of classroom materials. The study concluded that CLIL guaranteed language acquisition and functional bilingualism, while helping pupils to avoid constructing mono-cultural identities.

In the student questionnaires about their self-perceived competence, most of the 'can do' statements received over 80% of affirmative answers (e.g., "Can express his/her viewpoint on a current issue and provide reasons and explanations for his/her opinions"). The few exceptions referred to "communicative functions unrelated to academic classroom-based communication" such as speaking on the phone or expressing irony (Pérez et al., 2016, p. 496). On the other hand, the sociocultural competence questionnaire showed that pupils had a very positive attitude towards language learning, mobility and international contact, considering even professional development abroad. Finally, students' testimonies during interviews hinted at belonging and appropriation of the foreign language.

In a different study, Pladevall-Ballester (2015) surveyed 154 primary students from CLIL schools in Catalonia after only one year of CLIL implementation in their schools. The questionnaires elicited information about their perceptions of CLIL, and 10 students were also selected and interviewed. Most of the students in the sample

showed great satisfaction about the programme and acknowledged its potential benefits for their future. They also thought that their English had improved, and most of them found the CLIL lessons rather easy. In terms of learning methodologies, they preferred hands-on activities, group and project work, games and quizzes, and the use of visual organisers.

Nevertheless, around 30% of students reported not feeling satisfied and finding CLIL subjects too difficult. This difficulty was most strongly perceived regarding productive skills. Moreover, the fact that between 20% and 50% of students thought that the purpose of CLIL lessons was learning language, and not content, shows that CLIL methodology was not being correctly implemented (and that explicit language instruction was replacing subject content in these lessons).

In the Basque Autonomous Community, Lasagabaster and Doiz (2017) conducted a three-year longitudinal study on student perceptions of CLIL. Over this period, they administered the same survey to the same 195 students from CLIL secondary education. This questionnaire examined their perceptions on the importance of grammar and the different language skills, their preferences for instructional activities, and their self-perceived language improvement. The findings showed that students valued every component of language and preferred collaborative work and active participation (although these preferences diminished over time). Furthermore, they perceived their English to improve more strongly in CLIL lessons than in English as a Foreign Language lessons.

Back in Andalucía, Lancaster (2016) administered a questionnaire to 692 students from eight secondary schools in Jaén (one of the eight provinces from the region). In her study, students agreed that materials and methodologies were authentic, interesting, innovative, and collaboratively prepared by teachers. On the other hand, they reported some mediocre use of ICT tools and a lack of computer-mediated techniques. Furthermore, they thought that the oral component was missing from the evaluation, and they did not

take part in any mobility programmes despite being adequately encouraged by teachers and family. From a holistic perspective, however, students believed that taking part in the CLIL programme had increased their motivation.

In the same vein, Barrios and Milla Lara (2020) used questionnaires and focus group interviews to investigate the perceptions of 544 pupils, 92 teachers and 237 parents in Andalucía. The students described CLIL learning activities as "involving self-directed learning, analysis, discussion, teamwork, online searching and processing of information, and guided but largely independent content development" (Barrios & Milla Lara, 2020, p. 7). They also pointed to the extensive use of ICT resources (e.g., digital boards) and the internet as the main source of authentic (and potentially adaptable) materials. Finally, they considered that CLIL teachers were more coordinated and worked more closely than teachers in the mainstream programme.

On the other hand, this study also revealed differences among teachers, students, and parents' perceptions. For example, students believed that the CLIL methodology was more innovative and student-centred than teachers did. On the negative side, pupils thought that teachers used the European Language Portfolio (Little, 2012) and authentic materials less often than they claimed.

Navarro-Pablo and García Jiménez (2018) compared 352 pupils from seven state schools and one charter school. L2 competence and motivation tests were used, while pupils were matched for verbal intelligence and motivation. The results showed that CLIL pupils outperformed their non-CLIL peers in L2 competence and were more motivated. Even if the main focus was competence and motivation, this study is relevant regarding student perceptions of CLIL because motivational factors are disaggregated. The variable with the largest effect on competence test results was the 'lack of interest', especially at primary education. Furthermore, the effects of motivational variables seem to be more consistent in primary education than in

secondary education, supporting the idea that student motivation "diminishes progressively with time" (Doiz et al., 2014, p. 222).

In the Canary Islands, Oxbrow (2018) surveyed 221 students on ten main fields of interest: L2 use in class, L2 development, discursive functions, competence development, methodology and types of groupings, materials and resources, coordination and organization, evaluation, motivation and workload, and overall appraisal of bilingual programs. Her study brought to light student overall satisfaction with their development in English and their teachers, as well as high levels of motivation on their part. On the other hand, student perceptions also revealed that teachers were in need for further training on teaching methodology, CLIL resources and CLIL materials preparation.

Finally, three more recent studies need to be reviewed. Navarro-Pablo and López Gándara (2020) compared 271 pupils from seven state schools. Semi-structured interviews and questionnaires were employed to know student perceptions of CLIL. Students at primary level agreed that English never took up more than 70% of classroom talking time in CLIL subjects (and observations confirmed that it took around 60-70%). At secondary level, even if some students thought that English took 100% of CLIL lessons, there were also some pupils pointing to levels as low as 30% (while observations indicated that it was 50-60%). As for the purpose of this English language use, students said that the most frequent functions were 'doing activities', 'asking questions' and 'interacting with teachers'. Furthermore, students considered that their Spanish (L1) and their language awareness had improved thanks to the CLIL programme (63.5% and 89.7% of agreement, respectively).

Barrios and Acosta-Manzano (2022) investigated primary students' perceptions of CLIL in Andalucía and the variations regarding individual and social factors. They selected 525 students from seven public schools in Málaga and Granada. By means of questionnaires, they found that there was a high level of student

satisfaction with the CLIL programme, and that students did not find CLIL particularly challenging from a linguistic perspective. Nevertheless, 20% of the students surveyed stated that they experienced mild to severe language difficulties, these responses strongly correlating with the mother's level of education, availability of help with homework at home, and relatives' use of English at work.

With a different focus, Fernández-Agüero and Hidalgo-McCabe (2022) used questionnaires and semi-structured interviews with 157 students from the CLIL programme in Madrid. Their goal was to elicit their perspectives and individual experiences in the CLIL programme during students' transition from primary to secondary education. As it is well known, the CLIL programme in the region of Madrid implements a screening procedure by which students with greater English proficiency are sorted into a "high-exposure" (HE) CLIL strand, and students with lower proficiency are admitted into the 'low-exposure" (LE) CLIL strand (see Granados & Lorenzo, 2022, for a full description of this CLIL programme and a comparison with the CLIL programme in Andalucía). Fernández-Agüero and Hidalgo-McCabe (2022) interviewed pupils immediately after they had been streamed into the LE-HE strands, concluding that HE pupils "see themselves more at ease and in control of their choices", whereas their LE peers "experience more ambivalence over the transition".

In light of this research, this study aims to make a large-scale evaluation of the student perception of CLIL in Andalucía (N= 2104), on aspects such as CLIL methodology, L2 use, and extracurricular school activities.

## 3. Methodology

### *3.1. Research Context*

The Spanish region of Andalucía (8.4 million people, €17,747 GDP per capita in 2020; Spanish Statistical Office, 2021) started piloting the

CLIL programme in 1998, with 18 Spanish-French schools and eight Spanish-German schools. In the academic year 2006-2007, a large-scale version of CLIL was launched (Andalusian Department of Education, 2005), envisaging the creation of 400 CLIL schools by 2008. This goal was reached, and the network continued to grow until reaching 1,226 CLIL schools in the academic year 2021-2022 (Granados & Lorenzo, 2022). This implies the current participation of more than 300,000 students and 8,000 teachers in the CLIL programme.

### *3.2. Research Questions*

The following research questions were formulated regarding CLIL students' perceptions:

1. What are the most frequent and most liked activities in the L2 class?
2. What use do students make of the L2 during CLIL lessons (time and purpose)?
3. Does CLIL affect students' content acquisition?
4. What are the extracurricular activities offered in CLIL schools?

### *3.3. Sampling*

In this research context, the Andalusian Education Assessment Agency (AGAEVE) used to design and administer annual regional diagnostic tests (*pruebas de diagnóstico* in Spanish) in the final year of primary and compulsory secondary education (involving students aged 12 and 16 years, respectively). These tests measure L1 and L2

competence, and content performance in science for primary education students and in history for compulsory secondary education students.

Additionally, the tests included questionnaires on contextual variables, like the participation in bilingual programmes and the socio-economic status (SES) level of students. As is the case with international tests like PISA and PIRLS, each one of the schools is assigned an SES index. This index is measured globally for schools. According to national and regional legislation (Andalusian Department of Education, 2017; Spanish Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport, 2017), the SES of students is calculated on the following basis:

— use of information resources (books, press, encyclopaedias, computers, tablets, and the Internet) by household members;

— number of information and communication technology (ICT) devices (computers, tablets, smartphones, smart televisions, e-readers, etc.) at home;

— number of household members;

— number of books at home;

— parents' highest qualification; and

— parents' occupation.

In the academic year 2016-17, the AGAEVE's test protocols required a random sample of 243 schools (147 primary schools and 96 secondary schools) across all provinces and school types (public, charter, and private) to perform external evaluations. Fifty-eight of those schools were bilingual (29 primary and 29 secondary schools). The sample was based on stratified random sampling: all the schools were selected in terms of their regional distribution and the proportional representation of all four SES quartiles (from SES 1 to SES 4). The resulting sample was composed of over 7,000 students.

### *3.4. Instrument*

Apart from AGAEVE's tests and questionnaires, the students enrolled in the 58 bilingual schools completed a survey addressing CLIL methodology, L2 use, and extracurricular school activities. The questions, which were closed-ended and in Spanish, covered how often students did certain activities in class, which were their favourite ones, how often and for which purpose they used the L2 during content classes, what extracurricular activities were offered in their schools and whether they thought that learning through an L2 was affecting their content acquisition. This survey was completed by 921 CLIL primary school students and 1183 CLIL secondary school students.

### *3.5. Data Analysis*

The survey results will be discussed in percentages indicating the proportion of students that selected each of the possible options. The answers given by primary and secondary students will be shown separately, so that differences between these two groups can be appreciated.

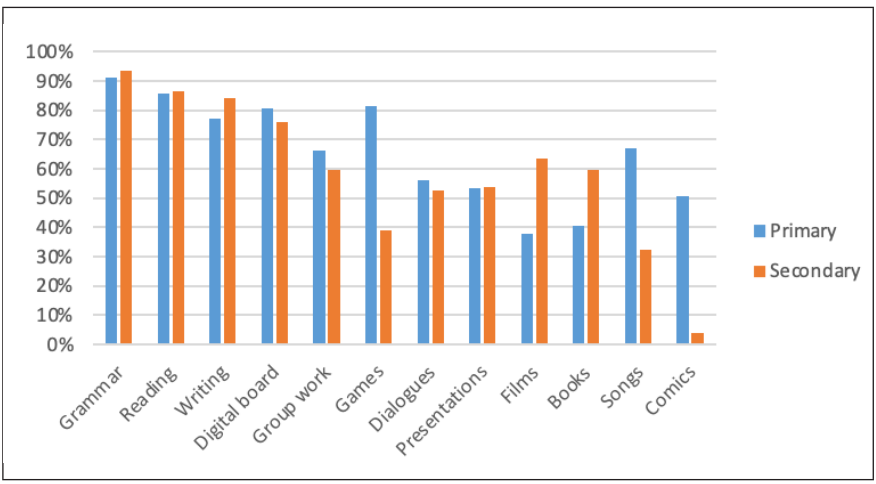
## 4. Results

### *4.1. Most Frequent Activities in the L2 Class*

First, students were surveyed about how often they did certain activities in the L2 class. As shown in Figure 1, grammar activities reign both in primary and secondary education, followed by reading and writing activities. The digital board also appears as a basic learning tool in both stages. Conversely, class presentations and dialogues receive almost half as much attention according to all CLIL students.

Nevertheless, there are also notable differences between primary and secondary education. While playing games and singing occupy prominent positions in primary school (reflecting the prevalence of gamification in this stage), they are among the least frequent activities in secondary school. In turn, watching films in English and reading adapted books go from the least frequent activities in primary education to the middle section in secondary education.

*Figure 1. Most frequent activities in the L2 class*



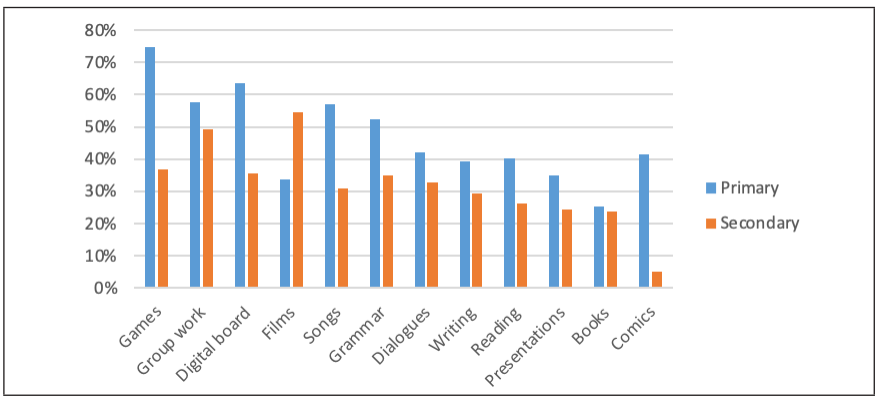

### *4.2. Favourite Activities in the L2 Class*

Students were also surveyed about which of these activities they liked the most (Figure 2). Surprisingly, students in both stages showed strong preference for playing games, while it was only a common activity in primary education. They also favoured collaborative work (which only occupied the middle section regarding frequency) and the use of the digital board.

Grammar and class dialogues occupied the middle-high sections of preference. Finally, among the least favourite activities, both collectives identified reading adapted books, doing class presentations, and writing.

Nevertheless, enormous differences can also be observed between primary and secondary students. While secondary students pointed to watching films in English as their favourite activity, primary students considered it almost their least preferred one. On the other hand, comics received medium support from primary students, but was considered the worst activity by secondary students.

*Figure 2. Favourite activities in the L2 class*

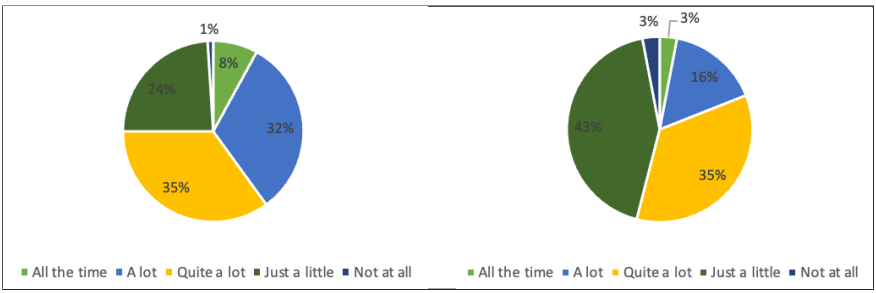



### *4.3. Student L2 Use in CLIL*

The survey also enquired about the use of the L2 during CLIL lessons. As shown in Figure 3, there are striking differences between student L2 use in primary and secondary education, at least in terms of perception. According to students, their L2 use during CLIL lessons would be greater in primary education. While 35% of students in both stages considered that they use it "quite a lot", the

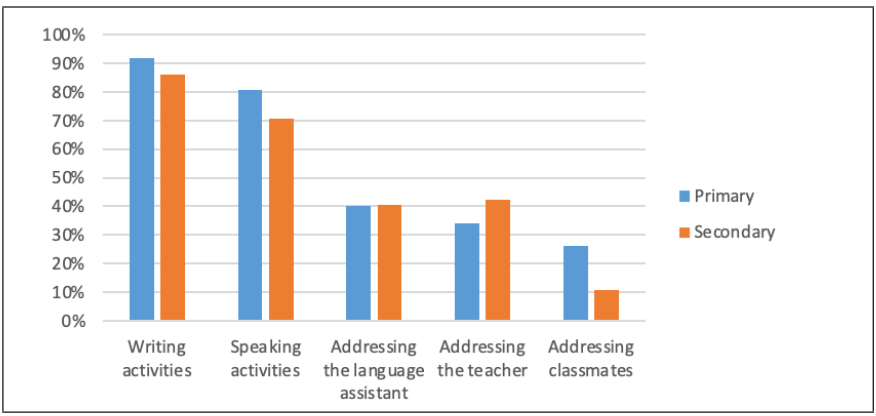
percentages for "a lot" and "all the time" fall from 32% and 8% in primary education, respectively, to 16% and 3% in secondary education. On the bright side, only 1% and 3% of students considered that they do not use English at all.

*Figure 3. Student L2 use (time) during CLIL lessons*




When students were enquired about what they use the L2 for during CLIL lessons (Figure 4), there was almost an exact match between primary and secondary education students. Doing written tasks took the lead, their frequency doubling that of addressing the teacher. Talking to classmates came last, with only 12-30% of support.

*Figure 4. Student L2 use (purpose) during CLIL lessons*

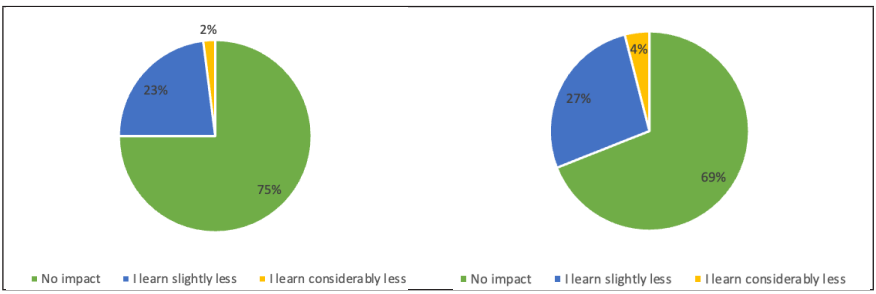


Only one slight difference was found between school stages. Primary school students seem to address the language assistant in English slightly more often than they do their teacher, while in secondary education it was the other way around.

### *4.4. Impact of CLIL on Content Acquisition*

Students were directly asked whether they believed that learning content in an L2 (as part of CLIL units) was affecting their content acquisition. The answers were, this time, very similar. The belief that it had no effect whatsoever oscillated between 75% in primary education and 69% in secondary education. Between 23% and 27%, respectively, thought that CLIL was making them learn "slightly less", and only 2% and 4%, respectively, that they were learning "considerably less".

*Figure 5. Impact of CLIL on content acquisition*

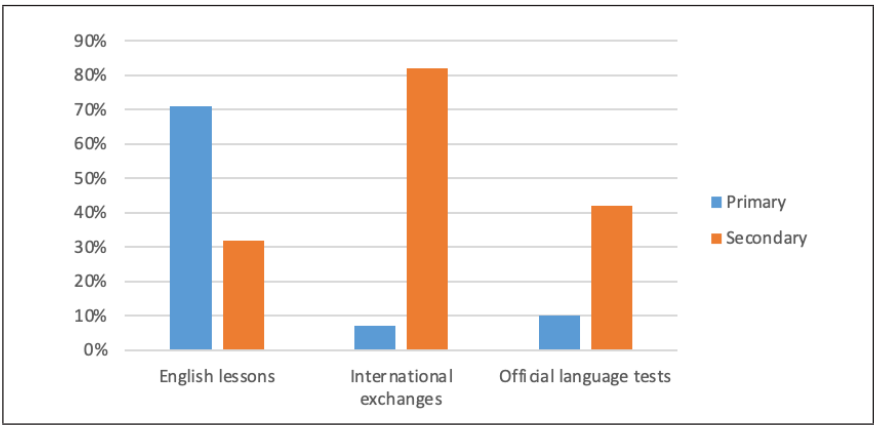



### *4.5. School Extracurricular Activities*

To conclude, students were asked what type of extracurricular activities were offered in their schools. Their answers revealed that exchanges with foreign schools was very common in CLIL secondary schools (82%), while they were extremely rare in CLIL primary

schools (7%). Conversely, extracurricular English lessons were offered in way more primary schools (71%) than secondary schools (32%). Finally, more secondary schools prepare their students to sit official language exams with certifying bodies (42% compared to 10%).

*Figure 6. School extracurricular activities*




## 5. Discussion

The frequency of activities (Figure 1) reveals that English lessons are still dominated by the Grammar-Translation method (Benati, 2018). Grammar is still at the heart of the lessons, with speaking activities receiving little attention. While teaching has somewhat modernised with the use of resources such as the digital board, there is still a long way to go until the implementation of more current pedagogical trends such as Communicative Language Teaching (Loumbourdi, 2018).

These frequencies also indicate that primary and secondary education teachers have different views on gamification (Sterling & Loewen, 2018). While this teaching method takes centre stage in the English lessons in primary education, its use is almost residual in

secondary education. Nevertheless, as secondary students manifest in the questionnaire on their preferences (Figure 2), they do not consider themselves too old to play games. Games are still among their most favourite activities, and perhaps lessons could still benefit from them during secondary schooling.

Regarding frequencies, it is also noteworthy that more immersive teaching methods such as watching films and reading books in English are not introduced until secondary education. In a way, it is understandable that these demanding activities are postponed until students reach a minimum threshold of competence in English. Indeed, they are among the least favourite ones for primary education (Figure 2). Nevertheless, in these early stages they could be replaced by adapted and ad-hoc materials, so that the transition to secondary education is not so abrupt.

Finally, a positive note regarding English teaching methodology is the implementation of collaborative work. This widely recommended pedagogical methodology takes the middle sections of the panel in terms of frequency (Figure 1), proving that teachers are adopting more student-centred approaches. Furthermore, this methodology has also been welcome by students, who rank it among their top preferences.

Moving on to the CLIL lessons, the L2 use questionnaire (Figure 3) provides a very alarming insight: according to students, their L2 use during CLIL lessons decreases in secondary education. While the proportion of students using the L2 "quite a lot" stays the same, the answers for "all the time" and "a lot" lose numbers to "only a little". This regression has been documented before and is considered a world-wide phenomenon. In early to mid-adolescence, students experience difficulties in understanding intricate language and a declining interest in reading, the so-called 'fourth-grade slump' (Sanacore & Palumbo, 2009). This coincides with the transition from *learning to read* to *reading to learn* (Chall, 1996). At his stage, new academic texts place higher demands on students, who may not

adapt. Thus, it would be advisable for teachers and educational authorities to monitor closely this transition and design programmes targeting this particular group.

On the other hand, when students were asked what they used the L2 for during the CLIL lessons (Figure 4), most of them pointed to the completion of written tasks. This shows the prevalence of writing over speaking, proving once again that Communicative Language Teaching is not being implemented. Furthermore, their answers also back our interpretation that immersive approaches are not being followed. The proportion of students using English to address their CLIL teacher was under 50%, and the use of English to address their classmate was even lower (26% for primary education and 11% for secondary education). Full immersion is not a goal in CLIL (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2010), and alternatives such as *translanguaging* are also encouraged (Nikula & Moore, 2019). Nevertheless, L2 attainment has been shown to be mostly determined by L2 exposure and use (Ellis, 2015). CLIL students would obtain further benefits if they spoke the language more often and in broader contexts, including addressing their teachers and classmates in classroom talk.

Students were also asked whether they believed that learning content in an L2 (as part of CLIL units) was affecting how much they learnt (Figure 5). They were thus invited to participate in the ongoing debate of whether CLIL affects content acquisition (see, for example, Anghel et al., 2016; Fernández-Sanjurjo et al., 2019). In this regard, more than 70% of respondents thought that learning content in L2 had no effect whatsoever in their knowledge. Only around 3% believed that they were learning "considerably less". However, around 25% did think that they were learning "slightly less". In this sense, students' perceptions do not diverge so much from teacher's perspectives and research findings. In the research context, CLIL has been shown not to have a significant negative effect on content learning (Lorenzo et al., 2021). Furthermore, it has been proved to have a levelling effect (Halbach & Iwaniec, 2020). Nevertheless,

teachers still fear that offering bilingual courses to all so as to avoid elitism may harm those pupils in the most precarious situations (Milla Lara & Casas Pedrosa, 2018; Pérez Cañado, 2018; Lorenzo & Granados, 2020).

Long-term analyses have ultimately proved that CLIL implementation is successful from a language point of view. Nevertheless, the attrition usually present in longitudinal studies (i.e., participant dropouts) prevents us from having a full picture of who falls along the wayside and who succeeds in the bilingual programme (Granados & Lorenzo, 2022).

Finally, students were asked what type of extracurricular activities were offered in their schools. The answers show that schools at different stages adapt their offer to what they perceive that their students need. English reinforcement is very common in primary education but loses popularity in secondary school. In this latter stage, it is replaced by preparation for official language exams.

Furthermore, almost all secondary schools offer some sort of international exchange. It could be ventured that these activities seek to compensate for the lack of immersion achieved in the CLIL classroom, described above. Nevertheless, as positive as they are, it could be questioned whether these short exchanges are enough to counterbalance the lack of L2 interaction, and why they are not pursued to such an extent in primary education.

## 6. Conclusions and Pedagogical Implications

Our study has surveyed 2104 pupils from 58 CLIL schools from Andalucía (selected by stratified random sampling, controlling for geographical distribution and socioeconomic level). It has concluded that, according to CLIL students, the most frequent activities in the L2 class are grammar, reading, and writing activities. Nevertheless, the most popular ones are playing games, among all CLIL students,

and watching films, only among secondary students. Regarding CLIL lessons, most students perceived that CLIL had no negative effect in their content acquisition. However, student L2 use in CLIL subjects has been found to decrease in secondary schooling, the answers for "all the time" and "a lot" losing numbers to "only a little". Furthermore, as for the purpose of L2 use in content classes, students indicated that they use it mostly for the completion of written tasks, showing once again the prevalence of writing over speaking. Finally, CLIL schools were found to adapt their offer of extracurricular activities to what they perceive that their students need in each stage (L2 reinforcement, in primary school, and language certification, in secondary school).

Based on the results, the following recommendations are made:

— English L2 lessons should distance from the Grammar-Translation method and embrace more recent methodologies such as Communicative Language Teaching. The implementation of collaborative work, which is already taking place, should be further promoted. Finally, gamification, which is so popular in primary school, should not be abandoned in secondary school.

— In CLIL lessons, immersion should go beyond classroom activities and also reach classroom talk (i.e. students addressing their teachers and their classmates in the L2). It should be particularly encouraged in secondary schools, age at which L2 use seems to fall.

— Even if most students do not think that learning in an L2 has a negative impact on their content acquisition, reinforcement programmes should be designed to support a minority of students experiencing difficulty.

## References

Abello-Contesse, C., Chandler, P., López-Jiménez, M. D., & Chacón-Beltrán, R. (2013). *Bilingual and Multilingual Education in the 21st Century. Building on Experience*. Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783090716

Alonso-Belmonte, I., & Fernández-Agüero, M. (2021). Teachers' narratives of resistance to Madrid's bilingual programme: An exploratory study in secondary education. *Linguistics and Education*, *63*, 100925. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2021.100925

Andalusian Department of Education (2005). Acuerdo de 22 de marzo de 2005. *BOJA*, *65*, 8-39.

Andalusian Department of Education (2017). *Administrative resolution of 10 May, by the Andalusian Department of Education, regulating the diagnostic tests for Primary Education and Compulsory Secondary Education in the academic year 2016/17*. https://www.adideandalucia.es/normas/resoluc/Resolucion10mayo2017EvaluacionesFinalesMuestral

Anghel, B., Cabrales, A., & Carro, J. M. (2016). Evaluating a bilingual education programme in Spain: The impact beyond foreign language learning. *Economic Inquiry*, *54*(2), 1202–1223. https://doi.org/10.1111/ecin.12305

Barrios, E., & Acosta-Manzano, I. (2022) Primary students' satisfaction with CLIL and perceived CLIL linguistic difficulty. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *43*(7), 665-678. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2020.1759610

Barrios, E., & Milla Lara. M. D. (2020) CLIL methodology, materials and resources, and assessment in a monolingual context: an analysis of stakeholders' perceptions in Andalusia. *The Language Learning Journal*, *48*(1), 60-80, https://doi.org/10.1080/09571736.2018.1544269

Benati, A. (2018). Grammar-Translation Method. In Liontas, J. I., T. International Association & M. DelliCarpini (Eds.), *The TESOL encyclopedia of English language teaching*. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118784235.eelt0153

Bruton, A. (2011). Is CLIL so beneficial, or just selective? Re-evaluating some of the research. *System*, *39*(4), 523-532. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2011.08.002

Cabezuelo Gutiérrez, P., & Fernández Fernández, R. (2014). A case study on teacher training needs in the Madrid bilingual project. *Latin American Journal of Content and Language Integrated Learning, 7*(2), 50-70. https://doi.org/10.5294/laclil.2014.7.2.3

Chaieberras, Z. (2019). *Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL):A qualitative study in Compulsory Secondary Education in the Community of Madrid (Spain)* [Doctoral dissertation, Universidad de Jaén]. RUJA

Chall, J. (1996). *Stages of reading development, 2nd ed.* Harcourt Brace.

Coyle, D. (2013). Listening to learners: an investigation into 'successful learning' across CLIL contexts. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *16*(30), 244-266. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2013.777384

Darn, S. (2006). *Content and language integrated learning (CLIL): A European overview*. Retrieved from http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED490775.pd f

Dobson, A., Pérez Murillo, M. D., & Johnstone, R. (2010). *Programa de Educación Bilingüe en España: Informe de la evaluación*. British Council & Ministerio de Educación.

Doiz, A., Lasagabaster, D., & Sierra, J. M. (2014). CLIL and motivation: The effect of individual and contextual variables. *Language Learning Journal*, *42*, 209-24. https://doi.org/10.1080/09571736.2014.889508

Durán-Martínez, R., & Beltrán-Llavador, F. (2016). A regional assessment of bilingual programmes in Primary and Secondary schools: The teachers' views. *Porta Linguarum, 25*, 79-92. https://doi.org/10.30827/Digibug.53890

Ellis, R. (2015). *Understanding second language acquisition*. Oxford University Press.

European Commission (1995). *White paper on education and training: Teaching and learning: Towards the learning society.* European Commission.

Fernández, R., & Halbach, A. (2011). Analysing the situation of teachers in the Madrid bilingual project after four years of implementation. In Ruiz de Zarobe, Y., Sierra, J., & F. Gallardo del Puerto (Eds.), *Content and foreign language integrated learning* (pp. 241-270). Peter Lang.

Fernández-Agüero, M., & Hidalgo-McCabe, E. (2022) CLIL Students' Affectivity in the Transition between Education Levels: The Effect of Streaming at the Beginning of Secondary Education. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, *21*(6), 363-377. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2020.1795864

Fernández-Sanjurjo, J., Fernández-Costales, A., & Arias Blanco, J. M. (2019). Analysing students' content-learning in science in CLIL vs. non-CLIL programmes: empirical evidence from Spain. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *22*(6), 661-674. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2017.1294142

Gerena, L., & Ramírez-Verdugo, M. D. (2014). Analyzing Bilingual Teaching and Learning in Madrid, Spain: A Fulbright Scholar Collaborative Research Project. *Gist Education and Learning Research Journal*, *8*, 118-136. https://doi.org/10.26817/16925777.117

Granados, A., & Lorenzo, F. (2022). A tale of two cities: The ideological debate on equity in bilingual schooling. *AILA Review*, *35*(2), 203–226. https://doi.org/10.1075/aila.22019.gra

Halbach, A., & Iwaniec, J. (2020). Responsible, competent and with a sense of belonging: an explanation for the purported levelling effect of CLIL. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *25*(5), 1609-1623. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2020.1786496

Heras, A., & Lasagabaster, D. (2015). The impact of CLIL on affective factors and vocabulary learning. *Language Teaching Research*, *19*(1), 70–88. https://doi.org/10.1177/1362168814541736

Hidalgo-McCabe, E., & Fernández-González, N. (2019) Framing "choice" in language education: The case of freedom in constructing inequality. In Martín-Rojo, L. & A. Del Percio (coord.), *Language and Neoliberal Governmentality* (pp. 69-90). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429286711-4

Housen, A. (2002). Processes and Outcomes in the European Schools Model of Multilingual Education. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *26*(1), 45-64. https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.2002.10668698

Lancaster, N. K. (2016). Stakeholder perspectives on CLIL in a monolingual context. *Canadian Center of Science and Education*, *9*(2), 148-177. https://doi.org/10.5539/elt.v9n2p148

Lasagabaster, D., & Sierra, J. M. (2010). Immersion and CLIL in English: more differences than similarities. *ELT Journal*, *64*(4), 367–375. https://doi.org/10.1093/elt/ccp082

Lasagabaster, D., & Doiz, A. (2017). A Longitudinal Study on the Impact of CLIL on Affective Factors. *Applied Linguistics*, *38*(5), 688- 712. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amv059

Little, D. (2012). The European Language Portfolio: history, key concerns, future prospects. In Kühn, B. & M. L. Pérez Cavana (Eds.), *Perspectives from the European Language Portfolio* (pp. 22-42). Routledge.

Llinares, A., & Evnitskaya, N. (2021). Classroom Interaction in CLIL Programs: Offering Opportunities or Fostering Inequalities? *TESOL Quarterly*, *55*(2), 366-397. https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.60

Lorenzo, F., & Granados, A. (2020). One generation after the bilingual turn: Results from a large-scale CLIL teachers' survey. *Estudios de Lingüística Inglesa Aplicada*, *20*, 77-101. http://dx.doi.org/10.12795/elia.2020.i20.04

Lorenzo, F., & Moore, P. (2009). European language policies in monolingual southern Europe. Implementation and outcomes. *European journal of language policy*, *1*(2), 121-135. https://doi.org//10.3828/ejlp.2009.3

Lorenzo, F., Casal, S., & Moore, P. (2010). The Effects of Content and Language Integrated Learning in European Education: Key Findings from the Andalusian Bilingual Sections Evaluation Project. *Applied Linguistics*, *31*(3), 418–442. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amp041

Lorenzo, F., Granados, A., & Rico, N. (2021). Equity in bilingual education: socioeconomic status and content and language integrated learning in monolingual Southern Europe. *Applied Linguistics*, *42*(3), 393-413. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/applin/amaa037

Loumbourdi, L. (2018). Communicative Language Teaching. In Liontas, J. I., T. International Association & M. DelliCarpini (Eds.), *The TESOL encyclopedia of English language teaching*. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118784235.eelt0167

Marsh, D. (2002). *CLIL/EMILE. The European dimension. Actions, trends, and foresight potential*. University of Jyväskylä.

Milla Lara, M. D., & Casas Pedrosa, A. V. (2018). Teacher perspectives on CLIL implementation: A within-group comparison of key variables. *Porta Linguarum, 29,* 159-180. https://doi.org/10.30827/Digibug.54032

Navarro-Pablo, M., & García Jiménez, E. (2018). Are CLIL Students More Motivated? An Analysis of Affective Factors and their Relation to Language Attainment. *Porta Linguarum*, *29*, 71-90. https://doi.org/10.30827/Digibug.54023

Navarro-Pablo, M., & López Gándara, Y. (2020) The effects of CLIL on L1 competence development in monolingual contexts. *The Language Learning Journal*, *48*(1), 18-35. https://doi.org/10.1080/09571736.2019.1656764

Nikula, T., & Moore, P. (2019) Exploring translanguaging in CLIL. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *22*(2), 237-249. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2016.1254151

Oxbrow, G. L. (2018). Students' Perspectives on CLIL Programme Development: A Quantitative Analysis. *Porta Linguarum*, *29*, 137-158. https://doi.org/10.30827/Digibug.54026

Pavón, V., Lancaster, N., & Bretones, C. (2019). Keys issues in developing teachers' competences for CLIL in Andalusia: training, mobility and coordination. *The Language Learning Journal*, *48*(1), 81-98. https://doi.org/10.1080/09571736.2019.1642940

Pérez Cañado, M. L. (2018). The Evolution of Bilingual Education in Monolingual Contexts: An Andalusian Case Study. In Romanowski, P., & M. Jedynak (Eds.), *Current Research in Bilingualism and Bilingual Education* (pp. 207-241). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-92396-3_12

Pérez, A., Lorenzo, F., & Pavón, V. (2016). European bilingual models beyond lingua franca. Key findings from CLIL French programs. *Language Policy*, *15*(4), 485-504. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-015-9386-7

Pladevall-Ballester, E. (2015) Exploring primary school CLIL perceptions in Catalonia: students', teachers' and parents' opinions and expectations. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *18*(1), 45-59. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2013.874972

Rascón, D., & Bretones, C. M., (2018). Socioeconomic status and its impact on language and content attainment in CLIL contexts. *Porta Linguarum, 29*, 115-135. https://doi.org/10.30827/Digibug.54025

Rascón, D. (2020). Student perspectives on dual immersion in California: A comparison with the perceptions of CLIL learners in Madrid. *Linguistics and Education*, *61*, 100887. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2020.100887

Sanacore, J., & Palumbo, A. (2008) Understanding the Fourth-Grade Slump: Our Point of View. *The Educational Forum*, *73*(1), 67-74. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131720802539648

Sotoca, E. (2016). La repercusión del bilingüismo en el rendimiento académico en alumnos de colegios públicos de la Comunidad de Madrid. *Revista Complutense de Educación*, *25*(2), 481-500. http://dx.doi.org/10.5209/rev_RCED.2014.v25.n2.41732

Spanish Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport (2017). 'Order ECD/393/2017, of 4 May, regulating the final assessment for Compulsory Secondary Education in the academic year 2016/2017. *Boletín Oficial Del Estado*, *108*, 36868-97.

Sterling, S., & Loewen, S. (2018). Games. In Liontas, J. I., T. International Association & M. DelliCarpini (Eds.), *The TESOL encyclopedia of English language teaching*. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118784235.eelto186

Ushida, E. (2005). The role of students' attitudes and motivation in second language Learning in online language courses. *CALICO Journal*, *23*(1), 49-78. https://doi.org/10.1558/cj.v23i1.49-78

Vez, J. M. (2009). Multilingual education in Europe: Policy developments. *Porta Linguarum, 12,* 7-24. https://doi.org/10.30827/Digibug.31856

First version received: June, 2023
Final version accepted: September, 2023