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The dilemmas of experimental CLIL in Catalonia

Eva Codó

Abstract

In the early 21st century Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) emerged as a distinctively European pedagogy for raising additional language competence.

Although CLIL scholarship has been abundant and has taken many different directions, there is a dearth of ethnographic research to shed light on the situated ambivalences of CLIL policymaking. This paper aims to fill the existing gap by analysing in detail the complex interlocking dilemmas faced by all stakeholders (including policy makers and parents) at a Catalan state secondary school (Spain) and the ways in which they were navigated. Through a focused analysis of actors’ discourse, triangulated with long-term classroom observations and a variety of other ethnographic data, the study argues that, despite the school’s praiseworthy efforts at capitalising its students through English, CLIL did not achieve its full potential. This is attributed to the absence of explicitly-set and graded linguistic goals. Such absence is said to be shaped by the intersection of the experimental nature of the policy and long-standing linguistic ideologies in Catalan education. The article warns about the consequences of such indeterminacy for the democratising agenda of CLIL.

Keywords: *CLIL; Catalan education; ethnography of language policy; language ideologies; oral output.*

Introduction

The first years of the 21st century witnessed what for some was a major revolution in the field of foreign language (FL) teaching and learning, and for others, a rebranding and updating of pedagogical models that had been around for some decades (Cenoz, Genesee, and Gorter 2014). Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), generally defined as ‘a dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content *and* language’ (Coyle, Hood, and Marsch, 2010, p. 1 italics in the original), emerged powerfully as a distinctively European initiative for additional language learning aimed at overcoming the shortcomings of previous approaches. Some of the hallmarks of CLIL are (a) integration -understood as fusion or merging (Nikula & Moore 2019)- of content and language work; (b) centrality of function, meaning-making and authenticity of purpose in relation to language use; and (c) advancement of interdisciplinary work, peer collaboration and learner autonomy (García López & Bruton 2013).

The emergence of CLIL was, in many ways, a product of the European institutions (Nikula, Dalton-Puffer, and Llinares 2013), which not only endorsed it, but funded projects and scholarship to disseminate its virtues (see also Relaño-Pastor 2018). Policy makers and researchers worked together in multifarious ways to spread the word of CLIL. Although, over time, virtually all EU member states have implemented some form of CLIL (becoming almost mainstream in some contexts, see Nikula and Moore 2019), countries with the most English-insecure populations, like Spain, have massively embraced this methodology, often presented as a ‘solution for all learners’ to once and for all become proficient in one (or more) foreign languages (see Pérez-Vidal 2013). Although CLIL rhetoric was decidedly multilingual, and CLIL was to be implemented in a variety of FLs, the reality is that CLIL has become mostly associated with English (according to Nikula et al. 2013, 95% of CLIL cases are in English).

Research on CLIL has taken multiple directions, which are unfeasible to summarise here. Studies have focused on linguistic outcomes (Pérez-Vidal & Roquet 2015), motivation (Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2014), integration of content and language (Nikula, Dafouz, Moore, and Smit 2016), policy implementation (Ruiz de Zarobe & Lasagabaster 2010), classroom practice (Dalton-Puffer, Nikula, and Smit 2010; Escobar & Evnitskaya 2013, 2014), L1 use and translanguaging (Lin 2015), as well as teacher legitimacy (Morton 2016) and development (Banegas 2012). Another strand of research has explored stakeholders' beliefs and perceptions (Hüttner, Dalton-Puffer, and Smit 2013; Pérez Murillo 2013; Pladevall-Ballester 2015).

In general, CLIL scholarship has been rather acritical. The following quote from Pérez-Vidal (2013) illustrates the often glorifying discourse surrounding this paradigm: 'CLIL is a motivating force for the stakeholders mentioned, but also and most importantly for the learners themselves who probably see that CLIL fulfils some of the demands of their mindsets, such as new technologies, access to mobility and global communication' (p. 76). Some scholarly voices have recently demanded more criticality in the field of CLIL. Lancaster (2016), for example, posits the need for complexifying accounts of CLIL implementation. In turn, Cenoz et al. (2014) state that 'it is time for CLIL scholars to move from celebration to a critical empirical examination of CLIL in its diverse forms to better identify its strengths and weaknesses in different learning contexts.' (p. 246).

The goal of this paper is, thus, to identify and analyse some of the complexities surrounding CLIL policymaking by foregrounding the dilemmas faced by stakeholders at *Els Pins*, a Catalan secondary school (in Spain), and the way they were navigated. We intensely collected ethnographic data during the school years 2015-2016 and 2016-2017, and continued with less intensity during 2017-2018.¹ Our ethnographic lenses, aimed at capturing rather than flattening or erasing complexity, allowed us to observe

the ambivalences and contradictions experienced by all CLIL actors (not only students, teachers, and school administrators, but also, parents, and quite exceptionally, policy makers and programme implementers). We argue that these ambivalences, rather than transient, are chronic in education (see Jaspers in the introduction to this special issue), and must be closely examined rather than dismissed. This article must be framed within current critical, political-economy and ethnographic approaches to CLIL as policy and practice (Codó & Patiño-Santos 2018; Relaño-Pastor 2015, 2018). In addition, our examination of *Els Pins* as an ‘average school’ attended by working-class/(lower) middle class students contributes to broadening the school types explored by CLIL scholarship in Spain. As García López and Bruton (2013) argue, moderately or non-enthusiastic CLIL school contexts are underexplored. The following section sketches the main lines of CLIL in Catalonia, with a special focus on the experimental programme analysed here.

CLIL ‘experimentation’ in Catalonia

In a context fraught with numerous language policy (LP) tensions,² CLIL initiatives in the Catalan state education sector have tended to avoid top-down imposition (Navés & Victori 2010). Catalonia was a forerunner of CLIL in Spain, but then slowed down considerably due to the nature of policy implementation. After two consecutive schemes (PELE and PILE) which schools voluntarily adhered to began what we have elsewhere called ‘third-wave’ CLIL (Codó & Patiño-Santos 2018). This new CLIL thrust was needed to make Catalan state schooling more effectively plurilingual, in keeping with the recommendations of the Council of Europe (Subdirecció general de Llengua i Plurilingüisme 2018). The goal was to equip students with ‘a solid plurilingual competence that contributes to their academic growth and ulterior labour insertion’ (Resolució ENS/1363/2017, p. 1). Thus, third-wave CLIL, encapsulated by the GEP

programme (*Grup d'Experimentació per al Plurilingüisme*),³ targeted 'average' schools or 'schools with the capacity to progress' as the programme implementer at the Catalan Department of Education put it (see Codó & Patiño-Santos 2018). These schools stood halfway between enthusiastic early-adopters of innovation and problem-ridden schools. The difference with previous programmes was that, this time, GEP candidates did not self-select but were chosen by the inspection services (see Resolució GEP, p. 2).

Although GEP initiation needed the acquiescence of the school managing board and teaching staff, and was subject to negotiations between school heads and inspectors (see Codó & Patiño-Santos 2018), CLIL policies were, for the first time, introduced top-down in a clear attempt to push them further. The political strategy pivoted around the strengthening of distinctive language profiles for schools with a view to internationalising the system. The idea was to begin with GEP and then get schools to participate in Erasmus + programmes or eTwinning exchanges (interview with senior officers and policy makers, 28/10/2016). In principle CLIL can be done in English, French, German or Italian, the four curricular FLs in Catalonia (of which schools must choose one as first and one as second FL), but overwhelmingly, CLIL is implemented in English (see Resolució ENS/1363/2017).

GEP candidate schools had to meet various criteria, among which: (a) have foreign language-accredited content teachers (a B2 level being the minimum requirement); (b) be willing to participate in the training scheme (for both management and content teachers); (c) create a 'steering committee' aimed to consolidate and expand plurilingual policy in the school; (d) reform the School Language Project (*projecte lingüístic de centre*) to include the new actions; (e) inform the School Senate (*claustra*) about the goals and activities of GEP at the school. In short, candidate schools were required to meet practical and attitudinal requirements (Codó & Patiño-Santos 2018). GEP offered certified training for staff as well as other advantages, such as a special

innovation seal for the school, priority to participate in foreign language assistantship schemes (understood as some kind of ‘reward’ for the schools, see Codó & McDaid 2019) and ability to select teachers with a CLIL profile. In 2017 (after our fieldwork), GEP ceased to mean ‘Grups d’Experimentació per al Plurilingüisme’ and was rebranded as ‘Generació Plurilingüe: aprendre llengües estrangeres a través de les matèries’ (*Plurilingual Generation: Learning Foreign Languages through Content Courses*), see Resolució ENS/1363/2017. Despite keeping the name, this new GEP became a distinct CLIL scheme (‘the experimental project was transformed into a new programme of pedagogical innovation’ [p. 1]), which built on the ‘satisfactory results obtained’. The spirit of the new policy action was very similar, although with a more explicit focus on enhancing students’ proficiency levels in the FL (p. 2), project-based learning (p. 2), and above all, the introduction of a series of indicators for programme evaluation (pp. 3-4). School selection continued to be top-down (p. 4).

CLIL in Catalonia has always been defined by two key features: (a) the will to democratise CLIL (Escobar & Evnitskaya 2013), that is, make it available for all student types; and (b) methodological innovation. CLIL has been advocated by policy makers not just as a way to augment students’ exposure to a FL and raise competence levels, but crucially, as an ‘engine’ of pedagogical reform (Lorenzo Galés & Piquer Vives 2013, p. 145). This goal has materialised in at least two directions. Firstly, CLIL implementation has tried to foster non-traditional, student-centred pedagogies, in particular, project-based learning. In fact, a significant part of the GEP training that the staff at *Els Pins* received (and what teachers singled out as having taken with them) was suggestions on how to implement course projects. Secondly, the introduction of CLIL has been framed (see Subdirecció General de Llengua i Plurilingüisme 2018) as a step forward in the construction of an integrated language curriculum. This includes not only the planned entwined learning of different named languages but also an enhanced

language focus for all content courses. Because introducing CLIL is seen as entailing a methodological (mini)-revolution in the schools that might not be achieved overnight, CLIL schemes in Catalonia have recurrently included the word ‘experiment(ing)’ in their titles (the *E* in the PELE programme also stood for *experimental*). It was in this spirit (trying out innovations, slowly modifying teaching practices, etc.) that GEP was implemented at *Els Pins*. This succinct policy context description is followed by the presentation of my epistemological approach to the data.

A critical ethnography of language policymaking

This article situates itself within critical and ethnographic perspectives to LP analysis (see Tollefson & Pérez-Milans 2018 for an impressive broad selection of topics and authors). Language policymaking is understood as simultaneously happening at various intersections of scales and trajectories placing ‘the observations they [researchers] make at one point in time within a much broader picture of sociolinguistic change in particular policy contexts, taking account of the social and linguistic consequences for different social actors’ (Martin-Jones & Da Costa Cabral 2018, p. 82). Ethnographies of LP should, therefore, aim at understanding the histories of actors, institutions and language regimes, as well as their intersections, and the historical, socio-political and economic circumstances that have moulded them.

By definition, ethnography is *the* heuristics of complexity. As a multi-scalar process configured by a multiplicity of stakeholders acting in complex circumstances, there is no better epistemology than ethnography for examining policymaking understood *as a verb* (Street 1993) that is, as an ongoing process of rationalisation and situated decision-making.

Because of the unique entry point of ethnography, i.e. actors’ practices of intelligibility, researchers are hit in the face by complexity, encapsulated by the

hesitations, contradictions and paradoxes of contemporary institutions, schools being paradigmatic in this respect. There, heterogeneous actors have to reconcile contradictory pressures and demands as they navigate the constraints they encounter as they strive to give coherence to their work. Despite this, the profoundly complex and multi-faceted institutional embedding of educational policymaking has often been ignored. In one strand of research, policy makers have been ‘put on the spot’ for the homogeneising and deficit-based ideologies underpinning their policies without researchers considering the policy mediator role of teachers and other agents (Johnson 2017). In other research strands, teachers have been portrayed as either executors or challengers of policies (Jaspers 2018a), in analyses that are often mono-dimensional and that fail to grasp their everyday deliberations (Jaspers 2018b). Their (dilemmatic) engagement, disengagement or partial engagement with policy is far from being exclusively ideological but is often grounded on material and economic considerations. In Codó and Patiño-Santos (2018) we dissected the various rationalisations of teachers’ participation in a CLIL scheme depending on their personal and professional trajectories, work conditions (permanent vs non-permanent), and positioning within the school (head teacher vs regular teaching staff). This article will take a connected but dissimilar angle in that it will not examine who gets to do CLIL at *Els Pins* and why, but rather, what tensions CLIL teachers voice and experience in their practice, what options they decide to pursue and what consequences these choices have; that is, in Jaspers’ words (this issue introduction) ‘how dexterously or ineptly, and with which effects, teachers respond to linguistic dilemmas and other contradictions’. However, this chapter’s contribution goes beyond discussion of teachers’ dilemmatic practices; it tries to understand how teachers’ ambivalences and contradictions intersect with, are shaped by and feed into the tensions and paradoxes that the rest of stakeholders also face and must navigate. Ethnography’s hallmark, i.e. interpretative holism, in Markus’ words ‘a

holism that is sensitive to the both local meanings and historical political economy' (p. 39) compels us to explore the adaptative and permanently dialogical nature of the tensions practical and/or ideological experienced by all the social actors engaged in or affected by policymaking. Having presented briefly my theoretical and epistemological stance, I will now turn to a brief description of my main data source, the school Els Pins, in Barcelona.

Els Pins: From socio-academic stigma to a forerunner of innovation

The ethnographic case study analysed in this article is grounded on research conducted for over three years at Els Pins (EP), a state middle- and high-school located in a city close to Barcelona. In the 1960s, the city received large numbers of economic migrants from various regions of Spain. As in many other cities of the Barcelona metropolitan area, this mass influx of workers caused a shortage of housing. High tower blocks were quickly built to meet the demands for accommodation of the newly arrived. It is in one of such neighbourhoods that Els Pins (EP) is emplaced.

The recent trajectory of EP is marked by a period of high social disruption and consequent low academic standards. This stigmatised the school and caused the (lower)middle classes to flee it. In 2013, a new school management board took office with the goal of consolidating the process of school regeneration. A young and dedicated FL department spearheaded the overturning of the school's bad reputation by focalising FLs as a marker of quality education. It is in this context that the school decided to engage in GEP (beginning in 2015). At the time of our research, EP was the only secondary school to offer CLIL in its city.

Methodological approach and data description

The ethnographic approach taken in our study includes a range of data types. To give readers an idea of the corpus generated, we conducted a total of 47 visits to the school, observed a variety of English as a Foreign Language and CLIL classes, and followed closely and audio-registered 30 50-min sessions belonging to three courses: Science Research (elective, 1st year of ESO, compulsory secondary education), Physical Education (PE) (core course, 2nd year) and Technology (elective, 4th year). We also conducted nine in-depth interviews with teachers (including a foreign language assistant) and administrators, as well as two focus groups with teachers and ten focus groups with students. We gauged students' perspectives through two sets of questionnaires: one aimed at 1st ESO students (aged 12) and another one aimed at 4th ESO students (aged 16). Additionally, we collected class material, copies of students' productions, as well as various other sorts of institutional and website data. We took our ethnography beyond the school walls: we interviewed policy makers and various programme designers and managers (with a total of five individual interviews and one focal interview) from the Catalan Department of Education, and also gauged the views of trade unions by interviewing a representative of the largest teachers' union in Catalonia.⁴ This article draws on a dialogue of actors' viewpoints and data sources, as can be seen in the following section.

The dilemmas of EP stakeholders

All the actors in our study showed a great deal of reflexivity about the ins-and-outs of CLIL policymaking. They voiced acute awareness of the multiple tensions and practical contradictions shaping CLIL, and reflected on their situated ways of navigating these ambivalences, as we shall see. Data analysis is organised by stakeholder group for ease of presentation, although a cross-cutting focus-on-dilemmas approach would have more accurately reflected the interlacing of dilemmatic threads.

Policy makers

Policy makers (here understood broadly as all actors intervening in policy design and implementation) are often depicted as being oblivious or insensitive to teaching conditions and classroom realities (Johnson 2017). My data shows this is not the case. Confronted with the ambivalences of CLIL in Catalonia, policy makers did not deny but acknowledged them. The following interview excerpt features the Department of Education officer in charge of the CLIL/GEP programme implementation (Àngels) in conversation with the researcher (myself). The extract opens with my pointing out one of the ‘paradoxes’ of CLIL, namely that the linguistic demands made on CLIL teachers are heavier than those made on EFL teachers, and yet, the proficiency level of the former is generally lower than that of the latter.

Extract 1. A (Àngels), government officer; E (Eva), researcher

01	E:	i en canvi::/ (.) els d'anglès són els que	E:	and by contra::st/ (.) the English teachers are
02		tenen més competència lingüística no/ es		the most proficient right/ it's a bit of a
03		dóna una mica aquesta paradoxa\		paradox\
04	A:	mhm\	A:	uhu\
05	E:	que els hi estem demanant/ als que\ (.)	E:	that we are asking/ those that\ (.) have\ LESS
06		tenen\ MENYS competència/ que són		competence/ things that are\ way more
07		coses\ (.) molt més complexes\		complex\
08	A:	=sí sí\ (.) estic d'acord amb tu\ (.) sí\	A:	=yes yes\ (.) I agree with you\ (.) yes\
09		(.)		(.)
10	E:	((riure))	E:	((laughs))
11	A:	jo et diré una cosa/ jo tinc\ (.) tinc\ bueno\	A:	I'll tell you something/ (.) I have\ (.) I have\
12		(.) tinc acreditat\ un B2 d'alemany\		well (.) I have an accredited B2 in German/\
13	E:	mhm\	E:	uhu\
14	A:	vull dir he fet cursos de C1/ (.) jo em	A:	I mean I have taken C1 courses/ (.) I would\
15		veuria\ (.) INCAPAC\ (.) incapaç eh\ (.) de		(.) NOT BE ABLE/ (.) not be able right\ (1.7)
16		fer aicle en alemany\ (1.4) incapaç\ (1.7)		to do clil in German (1.4) not able\ (1.7) I
17		vull dir no sabia ni per on agafar-ho\ (2.1)		mean I would not know where to begin\ (2.1)
18		no podria\ (.) vull dir jo parlo\		I wouldn't be able\ (.) I mean I can speak/\
19	E:	ja\ ja\ ja\ (.) sí sí sí\	E:	right right right (.) yes yes yes\
20		(.)		(.)
21	A:	jo parlo del que vulguis\ jo t'entenc un text/\	A:	I can speak about anything\ I can understand a
22		(.) però\ (.) a mi no em facis fe::r\ (.) ni		text/ (.) but\ do not ask me to tea::ch\ (.)
23		mates/ ni ciències/ ni res\ vull dir perquè		maths/ or science/ nothing\ I mean because I
24		no::\ em veig amb cor\ (.) no m'hi veig amb		do not see myself fit\ (.) I do not see myself fit
25		cor/ (.) per dir\ a vegades em poso a la seva		to do it/ (.) to be honest\ sometimes I put
26		pell/ i penso\		myself in their shoes/ and I think\
27	E:	déu-n'hi-do\ sí\	E:	blimey\ yes\
28	A:	=déu-n'hi-do/ (.) són valents\ eh/ (.) sí sí\	A:	=blimey/ (.) they are brave\ hu/ (.) yes yes\

In this extract not only do we see Àngels, the officer, agreeing (08) with the researcher's critical comment on CLIL implementation, but she even volunteers a personal narrative where she portrays herself as incapable (notice the emphasis on these words, indicated by capitals, in line 15) of doing CLIL in German despite her B2 level. Revealingly, she confesses that the mismatch between teacher abilities and CLIL demands are a recurrent concern of hers (see lines 25-26). So, despite the fact that it is the researcher, and not Àngels, who constructs the situation as paradoxical, we see how the dilemma is actually not alien to the programme implementer. Contrary to what might be assumed, Àngels displays awareness of the arduousness of the CLIL teachers' task and voices her empathy towards them (note how she aligns herself with my expressed admiration and voices her own awe towards the teachers in line 28). A few turns later, however, as I am telling the story of a CLIL Science teacher (actually Núria, from *Els Pins*) who is concerned about the quality of the English she is passing on to her students, Àngels reacts more ambiguously:

Extract 2. A (Àngels), GEP programme manager; E (Eva), researcher

01	A:	=amb raó\ (.) jo crec que amb raó\	A:	=and she's right\ (.) I think she's right\
02		(2.0)		(2.0)
03	A:	clar però aquí el/	A:	'course but here the/
04	E:	=però clar\	E:	=but 'course\
05	A:	=el discurs institucional és/ (.) si ens hem	A:	=the institutional discourse is/ (.) if we have to
06		d'esperar/ (.) a estar tots preparats/ (.) [si		wait/ (.) until we're all ready/ (.) [if we have
07	E:	hem	E:	[yes
08	A:	[ja\	A:	to wait/ [(.) right/ (.) how many generations
09	E:	d'esperar/ [(.) eh/ (.) quantes generacions	E:	[yes
10	A:	[ja	A:	will we lose on the way right/ [I mean
		perdem pel camí no/ [vull dir\		
11	E:	[ja\	E:	[yes
12	A:	no fem res/ mentrestant/ (.) anem esperant a	A:	do we do nothing/ meanwhile/ (.) we keep
13		veure si ara els profes de la u:ni surten/ (.)		waiting to see if graduate teachers come out of
14		més ben prepara::ts/ i si el nivell d'anglès/ i		uni/ (.) better prepara::red/ and if their level of
15		quan tinguem allò\ una sèrie de professorat		English/ and when we have like a bunch of
16		que bueno\ que parlen un anglès fantàstic/		teachers that wow\ speak fantastic English/
17		vinga! llavors els formem en aicle/ (.) i		come on! then we train them in clil/ (.) and
18		llavors va\ que faci:n/ (.) clar\ (.) això són		then off to do/ (.) of course (.) these are
19		decisiones polítiques\		political decisions\

Here we observe Àngels aligning and disaligning herself with policymaking, and navigating her mediator position skilfully. While we see her initially siding with the

concerned CLIL teacher (line 01), she then animates (in the Goffmanian sense) the policy makers' discourse (line 05) on the urgency to act on the CLIL front rather than wait longer (lines 05-08). Àngels could have stopped there. Instead, she chooses to continue her talk, and, crucially, transitions from *animator* to *principal* (Goffman 1981). Her stance switches from objectively reporting policy rationale to seemingly siding with it. Indeed, her chained conditional clauses (lines 14-15), hyperbolic expressions (fantastic English) and simplistic exhortations to action (lines 17-18), in our opinion, work to ridicule the perspective of those who question the timing of CLIL in Catalonia. She appears to be now fully (though not explicitly) aligned with the institutional discourse she was merely reporting on a few lines earlier. However, in a further stance shift, she retreats back to her professional role as mere policy implementer when she claims that these are all 'political decisions' (line 19).

Àngels discourse shows, first, her awareness of, declared concern for, and reflexivity around some of the key practical paradoxes of CLIL, and second, the way she skilfully enacts her policy mediator role, as she 'shuttles between camps' (Jaspers & Rosiers 2019, p. 11). In her discourse, she simultaneously puts herself in teachers' shoes, acknowledges the difficulties (and weaknesses) of CLIL in Catalonia, and sides with policy makers' decision to implement CLIL in spite of the limitations identified. Ultimately, through Àngels account, we gain a highly textured account of LP deliberation and decision-making which is a far cry from the detached bureaucratic policy making often depicted in the literature.

Parents

Although we did not interview tutors/parents formally, we were able to gauge their views informally, through personal contacts and also through students' and teachers' accounts of families' reactions. Some students told us, surprisingly enough, that their

families did not know that they were following courses in English; other families, by contrast, did. Among the latter, there was agreement that the initiative indexed the school's efforts at improving standards. However, while some complained that there was little English in the courses that were supposed to be taught in English (like Physical Education), others worried that their children would get lower marks than their classmates in cases where there was a parallel course taught in Catalan. Thus, although the families in general embraced CLIL, leading to soaring enrolment rates in the school —‘we will die of success,’ once exclaimed the head teacher—, they were also uncertain about the effect of CLIL on their children's grades. Parents' dubitations in relation to CLIL in secondary education have not been subject to examination. Existing studies either focus on primary education (Pladevall-Ballester 2015) or have assumed parental support (Pérez-Vidal 2013).

Students

Although we observed classes across secondary education, we followed a group of school leavers (4th ESO, 16 years of age) most closely. The observations reported here are based on our engagement with them in class and through one individual and six focus group interviews we conducted with them, involving a total of 21 students.

EP students did not embrace CLIL enthusiastically —unlike what is often claimed in the literature (Pérez-Vidal 2013). Both the high and the low achievers viewed the CLIL classes as an extra source of difficulty. Many had developed informal strategies for meaning making when understanding was at stake. In the interviews they reported (and we also observed them) asking ‘the smartest in the class’ (a sort of beacon student) to clarify meaning in Spanish or Catalan (group 3 interview, 24/04/2017). Despite this, a lot of them viewed these CLIL classes as too challenging for them because of their linguistic difficulties.

If following classes in English was hard enough for the high achievers (e.g. in the Technology course, as we shall see later), let alone for the low achievers. The difference was that while the high achievers were willing to try, the low achievers in general were not. This does not mean that they refused to use English altogether. They would often playfully utter English words or try to articulate English-sounding sentences in a clown-like manner, as I have described in Codó (in press). However, they refused to use English accurately or academically. Their ‘English’ expressions would be full of conscious subversions of the basic rules of English grammar, partly because they did not have enough competence, partly because speaking standard English required too big an effort, partly because it was at odds with their non-academic identities. The following extract contains students’ rationalisation of their stances towards their use of English in class.

Extract 3. I (Irene), student; P (Pedro), student; V (Valentín), student; A (Adriana), researcher

01	I:	=a ver para ti es mejor\ pero::/ (.) cuesta	I:	= okay it’s better for you\ bu::t/ (.) it is
02		más\		harder\
03	P:	sí\	P:	yes
04	A:	cuesta más\	A:	it’s harder\
05	V:	y te tienes que esforzar más\ y::/ eso no::\ no	V:	and you have to put in more effort\ a::nd/
06		gusta\		that we don’t\ we don’t like\
07	I:	no gusta\	I:	we don’t like\
08		((risas de los estudiantes))		((students laugh))
09	P:	si se te da bien el inglés\ entonces no (.)	P:	if you’re gifted for English then you don’t
10		tiene:s\ tanto problema/ (.) pero::\ (.) no es mi		(.) ha::ve so many problems/ (.) bu::t it’s
11		caso\ al menos		not my case\ at least

Irene starts with a disclaimer, acknowledging that having classes through the medium of English is ‘better for you’ to then argue that ‘it’s harder’, to which her classmate Pedro agrees. The conversation continues with Valentín further specifying the meaning of ‘harder’: they have to put in more effort, and that they do not like. Irene aligns fully with that perspective. This causes general laughter. Finally, in an attempt to nuance the argument, Pedro admits that it may not be so hard for those students who, unlike him, are ‘gifted for English’. What we see throughout is how these students collude to construct and display non-academic identities through their reluctance to push

themselves academically, of which employing English was becoming a key aspect at EP. This is in line with the findings by Comellas (2009) and Flors-Mas (2013) in studies with working-class adolescents in Catalonia. These authors claim that English felt ‘remote’ for the students. This was pretty much also the case at EP. It is true that many of the students interviewed stated that they listened to music, played video games or engaged with social media in English. A large percentage attended (or had done so in the past) extracurricular language classes. However, only the most academically-oriented saw any (real) value for English in their adult lives that was worth pushing themselves for. This does not mean that the non-academic, like Irene, Pedro or Valentín, dismissed the significance of English. At one point Irene stated that ‘for employment it’s better to know English, although I am not good at it’. This sentence encapsulates perfectly their ambivalent stances, wavering, as it were, between acute awareness of English value and their pragmatic difficulties with the language.

In practice this meant that, in some cases, students sabotaged the CLIL classes. The only two courses that were entirely in English (GEP allowed for only some units to be taught in English) AND for everyone (some courses had English proficiency-based selection, like Technology) was PE in 2nd and 3rd years. In the interviews, students told how the 3rd year PE teacher ‘gave up’ on English after students complained and insistently signaled non-understanding. Although this was an extreme case, other CLIL teachers reported difficulties establishing English as the language of instruction, as we will discuss below. This, in turn, led some students to making air quotes when referring to CLIL at EP, to then claim that CLIL was not done ‘in earnest’, or say that they were ‘supposed’ to implement CLIL at the school. To sum up, we can see how it was the students’ practical reluctance to engage with content in English that drove the language away from some of the courses, but at the same time how that situation fed into perceptions that CLIL at EP was not for real.

Teachers

All stakeholders faced vacillations in relation to CLIL, but it was perhaps the teachers who confronted most ambivalences and of different types. One dilemma, which we already discussed in Codó & Patiño-Santos (2018), had to do with their ‘voluntary’ participation in the scheme. We showed how different sets of actors had different rationales for participation, grounded on their dissimilar roles or work conditions. In that sense, the cases of Anna (a PE teacher) and Juan (a Technology teacher) were the most paradigmatically dilemmatic. As non-civil servants,⁵ they were appointed to the school on a yearly basis. They knew that if they wanted to continue in a work environment they both found pleasant and stimulating (Anna had worked there for 11 years) they would have to accept the ‘invitation’ by Pepa, the head teacher, to commit to CLIL. Anna’s stance was straightforwardly put: she wanted to stay in the school, therefore had no way out. Juan, by contrast, showed a more nuanced discourse, and was more aware of the possibilities that CLIL offered, both to himself and to the school. Although he was overworked and felt exploited by the system, he saw participating in GEP as a moral obligation. Being of working-class extraction himself, he viewed the implementation of GEP as a major achievement for the school, a school ‘from the hood’ (*‘una escola de barri’* in Catalan), as well as for the school’s student body (working class or lower-middle class). For him, GEP was a way of improving the academic standards of the school through a form of practice that would give students enhanced access to English, viewed as an (upper)middle-class capital in Catalonia.

Another source of uncertainty was linked to teachers’ linguistic insecurity (see also Morton 2016 and Relaño-Pastor 2018). As we have seen in Extract 2, this was a key concern for Núria, the Biology teacher, but not for the rest of the teaching staff,

who in general expressed confidence about their capacity to communicate in English (see Codó in press).

The third dilemma, and perhaps the most central one, was linked to language policy in the classroom, and in particular, to the extent to which teachers' should allow L1 use.⁶ Note that this concern was a matter of degree rather than a monoglossic ideal of exclusive target language (TL) use. In fact, translingual practices (García and Wei 2014) involving Catalan and Spanish were recurrent in EP, both inside and outside the classrooms. In that sense, CLIL teachers viewed translanguaging as a fact of life ('it can't be avoided and it makes no sense to try prevent it [L1 use]', declared Jordi, the Technology teacher). However, they also worried that excessive L1 use would hamper the language learning goals of CLIL.

It is true that the staff had moderate expectations in relation to English outcomes. They summarised their CLIL goals by stating that they wanted their students not to 'fear' English, that is, as I have claimed elsewhere (Codó in press), to de-exceptionalise the language, to bring it 'closer' to the students, in an attempt to improve their communicative abilities. This was in line with the declared goals of the policy, which aimed to 'activate students' plurilingualism' (see Resolució GEP, p. 1) and was informed by educators' perception of the (limited) linguistic affordances of their social context. Indeed, teachers were aware that English was a language that felt distant for many students, as we have discussed. For these reasons, they had moderate expectations about what CLIL could achieve. This translated into two practices: (a) progressive use of English by the teacher; and (b) ample tolerance towards students' L1 use. Anna, the 2nd-year PE teacher, was the firmest defender of the slow introduction of English in line with the idea that they were 'experimenting' with CLIL.

Gradually introduced or not, English was employed mostly by the teachers, who in general made an effort to 'flexibly' stick to English. Teachers employed both planned

and random translanguaging, both for teaching/learning purposes (e.g. translations and discussions of key concepts, repetition of theoretical explanations, etc.) as well as for interactional purposes. In Nikula and Moore's (2019) words, they enacted being plurilingual educators as well as being plurilingual speakers.

As refers to the students, their practices varied depending on whether they were oral or written, and planned or unplanned. All pedagogical materials were in English and students' written productions were also expected to be in English. As for oral output, there was a huge gap between prepared and spontaneous contributions. So, while oral presentations were delivered in English, in-class student talk, both in private work spaces (group work) as well as in public discourse, would largely be in L1. It must be mentioned that the language regime of the CLIL courses was never explicitly discussed with the students, whether in terms of expectations, requirements or assessment. Teachers' situated meaning-making practices regularly built on students' contributions —no matter the language(s) they were in. Only occasionally would teachers exhort students to use English (although this varied depending on the teacher).

For the purposes here we shall focus on the discourse and practice of two educators, i.e. Núria, the 1st ESO Science Research teacher, and Jordi, the 4th ESO Technology teachers. Both courses were ethnographically observed and audio-recorded (13 sessions of Science Research -the whole course, and 7 sessions of Technology). In-depth interviews and informal, regular chats were conducted with both teachers.

In 1st ESO, despite the elective nature of the Science Research course (a three-month course devoted to experimenting in the lab), students, who were aged 12-13, contributed to the public discourse of the class mostly in L1. This was not surprising given that 69% of the attendees (a total of 16) had either a low or low average English level, according to data from the Basic Skill Exam (*prova de competències bàsiques*) which all Catalan students must take at 6th grade of Primary Education (the year before).

In general, the teacher did not problematise translingual or polyglossic turns or exchanges incorporating L1 segments or entire turns, except in some circumstances, as we shall see below. Students not only drew extensively on their multilingual repertoires, but they played around with English in a creative and engaged way, as I have reported in Codó (in press). Hybrid expressions like ‘put the dit’ (Cat. finger) instead of ‘put your finger in’, syntactic calques like ‘mi computer no function’, ‘my computer does not work’ and anglicised morphology on a Spanish lexeme, as in ‘in aguanging’ (from the Spanish/Catalan verb *aguantar* instead of English *hold*) were all heard in the Science Research course. These translingual contributions ambivalently enabled students to collude with one another in accomplishing the task at hand while constructing an identity for themselves as Catalan/Spanish students-doing-CLIL (akin to observations in Relaño-Pastor 2015).

Núria was well aware that English constituted a barrier for some of her young students, even though they had voluntarily taken this elective (although maybe not as first choice). In one class, for example, Adri, a rather shy and weak student (she got the lowest final score and barely passed the course) refused to demonstrate publicly one experiment which she had actually prepared for at home if she had to do it in English. In those cases, Núria made sure no student was left behind due to language. After Adri’s refusal Núria got her to do the experiment by scaffolding her contributions, and was rather permissive with the student’s use of Spanish.

Núria was all in favour of ‘initiating’ her students into English by ‘encouraging’ and ‘helping’ them to use the language, as she stated in the interview. In the classroom, she would encourage the use of English by, for example, creating a competition frame among her students (e.g. ‘let’s see what student/groups have used more English’). On another occasion, students were completing some self-correcting exercises on their

laptops. Núria wanted to know who had got the highest score but she only took into account those scores that were reported out loud in English.

Núria was less demanding with some students, like Adri, whose ‘fear of’ English was manifest, than with others, like Alex or Maria, who had a fairly good level and were forthcoming. In the following extract we can see how Núria exhorts Alex to use English. This interactive moment happened while teacher and students were trying to complete the following activity.

Figure 1

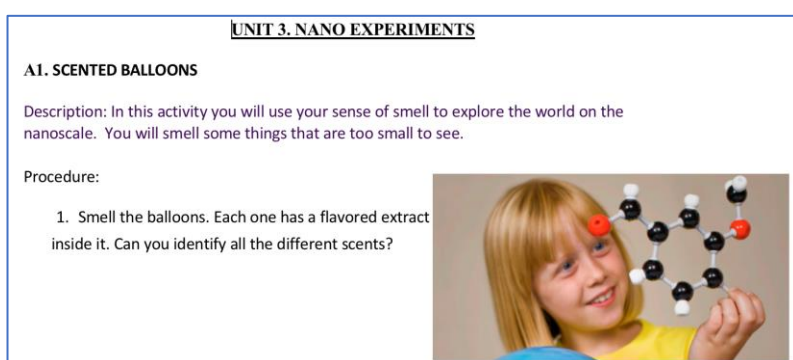


Figure 1. Extract from course dossier.

Extract 4. N (Núria), Science Research teacher; S (student, unidentified); A (Alex, student).

01	N:	we are- we are going to::\ (2.0) what can you	N:	we are- we are going to::\ (2.0) what can you
02		see\ (.) the other yellow\		see\ (.) the other yellow\
03	S:	no huele tan mal\	S:	it doesn't stink\
04	A:	son muy débiles\	A:	they are very weak\
05		((moltes veus))		((general chatter))
06	N:	maybe the/ (.) we have\ (.) I- I bought\ these	N:	maybe the/ (.) we have\ (.) I- I bought\ these
07		balloo::ns\ (.) three months ago/ and/ (.) they		balloo::ns\ (.) three months ago/ and/ (.) they
08		were there\ (.) maybe\ (.) the plastic is not\		were there\ (.) maybe\ (.) the plastic is not\
09		(.) good\ I don't know/		(.) good\ I don't know/
10	A:	porque que son muy:::\ (.) finitos\	A:	because they are ve::ry\ (.) thin\
11	N:	yes\ (.) they are (cheap)\ Alex\ try to speak	N:	yes\ (.) they are (cheap)\ Alex\ try to speak in
12		in English\		English\
13	A:	ok\=	A:	ok\=
14	N:	=because you speak a lot/ so\	N:	=because you speak a lot/ so\
15	A:	how do you say finitos/	A:	how do you say thin/
16	N:	erm	N:	erm
17	S:	Alex/ thin	S:	Alex/ thin

As students were inflating the balloons, the balloons kept bursting, and the class was disrupted. In the extract, we see Núria trying to get the students back on task (lines 01-02) amidst agitated balloon comments. Núria finally provides a possible explanation for

the bursting of balloons (lines 06-09) hoping to bring the topic to an end. Then Alex adds his own account (line 10). In the subsequent turn (lines 11-12), even though Núria agrees with Alex on the low quality of the balloons thus pursuing the topic herself, she problematises Alex's previous language choice. This seems like a random decision, as most student contributions up to then had been in Spanish (see lines 03 and 04). Aware that her (linguistic) tell-off of Alex's might be perceived as unfair, in line 14 Núria quickly adds the reason for it: Alex's regular chattiness (note the teacher's use of the present simple). Alex's contributions (often off-task) will be tolerated as a trade-off for doing them in English. Thus, in line with her pedagogy of encouragement, Núria constructs English not as a punishment for Alex, but actually, as a bonus.

Apart from Núria's elective, we also observed closely and recorded seven sessions of Jordi's Technology course. The students were three years older and the course had two strands, one in Catalan and the other one in English. Students in the English one had been previously selected based on their language abilities: they were all English high-achievers (having obtained an average class mark of 8.6 the previous year).⁷ However, it must be noted that in a survey we conducted, only 50% of them reported wanting to take the course in English. This is in line with the teacher's representation of the students' becoming distressed, complaining and trying to change classes after being selected for the English strand; a far cry from the enthusiasm described in Pérez-Vidal (2013) and other CLIL scholarship. In fact, in the interview Jordi reported having to do a lot of 'calming down' of students, parents and also form teachers (who voiced parents' anxieties) in relation to the course. So, rather than an opportunity, CLIL was seen by EP parents and students as an extra source of difficulty (this was the actual wording employed by students in the focus group discussion, group 6 focus group, 09/05/2017). Engaging in CLIL would lower their grades and hinder their achievement, or so they feared. This stance is different from the non-academic students' plain rejection of CLIL

we discussed in extract 3. The high-achieving Technology students (and their parents) worried about the potential comparative unfairness of the linguistic demands made on them, as the potential disadvantages of CLIL did not (at least initially) offset its potential benefits.

Those reactions clearly had an influence on Jordi's language management practices. Our overall impression of the course was that English was to a large extent only the teacher's language (see extract 5), a sort of surface language that somehow floated over students, as we wrote in our fieldwork diary (13/12/2016). As in the Lab Research course, there was no explicit discussion of language norms. Jordi merely told students 'that classes would be in English' (see extract 6 below). Students were left to imagine what that meant, and to empirically determine what was considered appropriate and inappropriate behavior. This gave rise to dissimilar views on the matter.

Extract 5

It has also become evident today that CLIL is a matter of input because there is very little output. Some students manage to ask full questions (p.e. Susanna) but when it comes to producing elaborate answers or creating an argument, they get stuck and quickly switch over to Spanish. Jordi builds on these turns and never ever makes reference to students' language choices. But the comment 'I vote for my moment in Catalan' makes me think how English inhibits some students (not all of them, though, e.g. Esther), despite the fact that nothing will happen if they contribute in Spanish. (Field notes, Technology, 4th ESO, 18/01/2016)

This field note reflects the ambivalences observed. While some students, like Esther, systematically contributed only in Spanish and Jordi never (at least in our presence) required her to use (at least some) English, others, perhaps more sensitive to rules, felt they had to ask for permission to contribute in Catalan. When asked in the focus group, students admitted (with some sense of guilt) to not employing English with Jordi because it felt 'awkward'. Interestingly, both guilt and awkwardness also appear in Jordi's interview (17/11/2015).

Extract 6. J (Jordi), Technology teacher; E (Eva), researcher

01	J:	=vale (.) normalment els hi dic que les	J:	=okay (.) normally I tell them that the classes
02		classes seran en anglès/ [llavors ells		will be in English/ [then they certainly at the
03	E:	[ah sí::/	E:	[oh oka::y/

04	J:	certament al principi fan l'esforç/ (.) i	J:	beginning they make an effort/ (.) and then
05		després es van deixant/ però ens anem		they let themselves go/ but we all let ourselves
06		deixant tots		go
07	E:	=fan l'esforç de participar vols dir/	E:	=they make the effort to participate you mean/
08	J:	=de participar en anglès/ [(.) i després es	J:	=to participate in English/ [(.) and then they
		van		let
09	E:	[mhm/	E:	[uhu
10	J:	deixant i i jo reconec que també no/ perquè	J:	themselves go and I- I must admit me too
11		de vegades (1.5) això de vegades pues de::		right/ because sometimes (1.5) erm sometimes
12		cinc classes una dic bueno va avui:: dubtes		okay in one out of five classes I say alright
13		en català no se què i els hi expliques una		today questions in Catalan whatever and you
14		cosa i en dos minuts/ [(.) doncs deu que		explain something and in two minutes/ [(.) ten
15		tenies perduts ho acaben entenent		that you'd lost were able to understand

We see how trying to contribute in English to the class is depicted as some kind of tacit agreement between teacher and students that requires constant effort through self-policing (line 4). This self-discipline gradually withers away. As I see it, this has little to do with rational decision-making, but rather, with the routine management of everyday sense-making in the classroom. It is to this mundane engagement with the policy, and its adjoining difficulties, such as the management of the interactional awkwardness created by language choice or the difficulties in ensuring students' comprehension, that Jordi refers to when he states that both the students and himself 'let themselves go' (line 10). Jordi's 'letting himself go' (note the sense of guilt conveyed by this expression and by his use of the word *admit* in line 10) does not mean that he was a reluctant CLIL teacher; he was one of the most enthusiastic promoters of CLIL at EP. However, this was not at odds with his situated difficulties for managing teaching/learning, language choice and student engagement.

Jordi's veiled sense of guilt at 'giving in' to Catalan had more to do with feeling that he was perhaps not trying hard enough than with defending an English-only policy; in his classes, he actually embraced various forms of translanguaging (in its broadest educational sense, see Nikula & Moore 2019). As can be seen in the excerpt, he had found a way of navigating students' content difficulties by periodically having entire classes or parts of them in L1 (however, note the concession tone in line 12), and, as he tells later in the interview, by also permitting some students' simultaneous ad-hoc

translating/explaining for their classmates (as we have seen reported by the students earlier). Extract 5 also referred to how Jordi systematically built on his students' contributions independently of language format. However, as with all educational dilemmas, he was aware of the compromises he had made and of the potential 'losses' that came with them.

Discussion and conclusions

Far from being smooth sailing, CLIL implementation in Catalonia -as in many other places- is deeply dilemmatic for all stakeholders. And yet, we rarely get to see those dilemmas. This is attributable to, on the one hand, what I call the 'politics of CLIL', that is, the positivisation to which this educational approach has been subject by scholars, politicians and other actors, and on the other, both the preferred foci of CLIL scholarship (linguistic gains, motivations, beliefs, etc.) and the quantitative research methods often employed. This study has attempted to fill an existing gap in CLIL research by bringing to analysis a variety of ethnographic data to throw light on the contingencies of CLIL implementation.

Situating the study squarely in the field of the ethnographies of language policymaking, I have harnessed the concept of educational dilemmas, the theme of this special issue, to dissect the interlocking deliberations of CLIL stakeholders. I have demonstrated that focalising on one set of actors in isolation is analytically not productive, as the practices and hesitations of all stakeholder groups stood in a dialectical relationship with those of others. I have also shown how, despite their vacillations, all actors had to make (and made) decisions in their day-to-day policy engagement. Although these decisions were rationalised, they left affective traces with actors, as with the sense of guilt that transpired in Jordi's and his students' accounts. It

is to the discussion of some of the key decisions made and of their consequences (see also Jaspers this issue) that I now turn.

It was mentioned that CLIL in Catalan state schooling, unlike in other Spanish regions (*communities*), has an ‘experimental’ character. What this means is several things, but most importantly, that there is no official blueprint for CLIL implementation. Under experimental CLIL, a range of teaching practices and institutional arrangements are validated -in line with enhanced school autonomy. No across-the-board CLIL requirements (such as a minimum number of hours of CLIL instruction) are established. Among other reasons (school autonomy for once), the indeterminacy of Catalan CLIL has also been a way of dodging political criticism at the introduction of FLs as vehicular languages (both from the Catalan language defender camp, which may see CLIL as a menace, and from the opposite side, which may instrumentalise CLIL to challenge the current status of Catalan as the preferred language of education in Catalonia).

The flexibility enabled by ‘experimental CLIL’ has certainly been motivating for teachers. In the school we investigated, the teaching and managerial staff felt that GEP gave them the freedom to adapt CLIL to their specific social and pedagogical context. However, it is my contention that the indeterminacy of the policy at the macro level permeated policy implementation at the school level, with consequences for students’ achievement.

At EP, staff did not have a clear understanding of how CLIL would contribute to the school’s goal of ameliorating their students’ communicative abilities in English. They commonsensically assumed that enhanced exposure would miraculously achieve the desired result. This vagueness translated into a lack of graded outcome goals for the CLIL project, that is, of what was to be achieved, when and by whom. Such specifications would have established, for example, different communicative

requirements for the 4th year students than for the 1st years, and would have served as the basis on which to establish graded norms of language use incorporating more output requirements as students progressed.

On occasion, staff voiced a certain disappointment at the achievements of CLIL, which was epitomized by the lack of student output in English. Teachers expressed their concern that CLIL was not ‘working’ on the production front, and a feeling of stagnation spread in relation to students’ output. As we have seen, an institutional CLIL *habitus* had developed in which teachers spoke in English and, by and large, students responded in Spanish, and occasionally in Catalan. Only the most committed students would try in English, but the consequences of not trying were not clear to anybody. While it is true that students were not provided with enough scaffolding to be able to intervene more confidently in class, it is equally true that the CLIL teachers lacked the methodological support to create those scaffoldings. Some teachers ‘gave up’; others ‘let themselves go’; others were too focused on the ‘slowly-but-surely’ ideology to effect significant changes on their students’ productive abilities.

In this context, it was very difficult to evaluate the policy. Although students’ level of English was considerably higher at 4th than at 1st year, their degree of (non)-participation in English remained significantly similar. At EP experimenting seemed to be the final destination rather than the beginning of the journey. In one of my later visits, in 2018, I was told the school was trying to apply for Erasmus+ funding as a follow-up on CLIL. One of the areas they sought to improve was students’ functional use of English. And yet, there was a lot of room for improvement in the existing practice. What was needed was, as I said, on the one hand, explicitly-defined linguistic goals, and on the other -and articulated with these- graded requirements for students, most notably but not exclusively, in relation to oral output.

It is true that lack of explicitness in relation to language policy and practice is not alien to Catalan education. It is actually quintessential to it. It has been a way of navigating the many tensions that the system as a whole, and individual teachers in particular, have had to endure. However, the indeterminacy of the policy has its consequences, both at the local and at the broader level. In Codó & Patiño (2014), we discussed the deliberations of a set of teachers who worried about their migrant students' lack of output in Catalan but who nevertheless feared that being vocal about language requirements would engender resistance. They conceptualised requiring students to use Catalan (even in the Catalan language classes) as 'forcing' Catalan upon them. This language ideology is fairly widespread in the system. In fact, Catalan educators have always treaded the fine line between *requiring* non-Catalan speaking students to use the language and *persuading* them to do so (we could argue that this is the ideological toll of non-state languages). However, in so doing, they might unintentionally be reproducing rather than trying to level out class-based inequalities, as we showed in Codó & Patiño-Santos (2014).

I would like to claim that the same ideological matrix informs CLIL policymaking at EP, where teachers skilfully navigated worries and anxieties, but at the same time, also prevented their students from developing higher competence levels. In turn, parents' and students' reservations towards CLIL came as a shocking surprise to us in the context of our simultaneous research with (upper)middle-class adolescents in an international school, and their (and their families') obsessive quest for English-medium instruction (Sunyol 2019). A class-based reading of the dissimilar stances encountered among families and students seems viable. What would be disturbing would be that such interpretation also explained EP teachers' reservation to push their students further in English. Rather than shying away from setting obligatory requirements, I claim that the teachers at EP need to establish the pedagogical

mechanisms to make sure that oral output *is* produced. This will inevitably require some obligation for English, but failing to do so, I argue, might risk undermining the democratising agenda of CLIL.

Symbols used in transcripts

(.)	short pause (up to 1.0 second)	-	self interruption
(1.5)	timed pause	=	latching
()	incomprehensible fragment	\	falling intonation
(guess)	best guess	/	rising intonation
AA	louder than surrounding talk	(())	paralinguistic or non-linguistic behaviour
a::	lengthening of sound	[...]	omitted talk
[beginning of overlap		
<i>italics</i>	in English in the original		

Notes

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² For a collection of papers on the Catalan education model, see Arnau (2013).

³ GEP and other initiatives to foster plurilingualism in Catalan schools are framed within the so-called Catalan government ‘strategy’ *Framework for Plurilingualism*, available from: <http://xtec.gencat.cat/ca/projectes/plurilinguisme/>. The rationale, goals and forms of implementation of this policy are fully described in the document *El model lingüístic del sistema educatiu de Catalunya*, published in 2018 (Subdirecció General de Llengua i Plurilingüisme, 2018).

⁴ We obtained clearance for our data collection protocol from the UAB Ethics Committee (ref. 3631_s). All the names that appear in this article are pseudonyms.

⁵ Permanent teachers in the public sector are civil servants in Spain, which means they have passed an official examination (*oposición*). To fill vacancies, appointments are made of non-permanent teachers on an annual basis provided they have the required qualifications. The appointment system has traditionally been centralised (i.e. not in the hands of schools) though it is now in the process of changing in some regions.

⁶ In this context, I use L1 to refer to both Catalan and Spanish. Although most students came from Spanish-speaking homes, Catalan was their language of schooling, and thus, in many cases, when an academic frame was activated, they would intervene in Catalan.

⁷ The school did not think the students’ level of English was high enough to have both classes taught in that language. The teachers’ decision to select students for the CLIL group was motivated by students’ manifested reluctance to enrol in that particular class.

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