Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (Spain, 2022)



Socieconomic Status and Teaching Practices in the Bilingual Education Programme of the Region of Madrid

End of master's project in:

English Applied Linguistics

Specialty: Linguistic Policy Planning of the English Language in Europe

Area of research: Policy planning

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Elsa Margaret O'Brien López September AY 2021/2022 To Juliana who deserved my time the most, while I was devoting most of it to this dissertation.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is difficult to define the order in which I'd like to express my gratitude to the people that have helped me throughout the process of this research.

Firstly, I'd like to thank my tutor M^a Ángeles Escobar Álvarez for inspiring me, guiding and encouraging me, even when I thought all the odds were against me.

I would also like to thank my life partner and my family for supporting me in so many different ways. They believe in my ambitions, regardless of how little timely they may sometimes be. This would not have been possible without their constant help.

A very special thanks is due to all the teachers who agreed to participate in this research. Hopefully, the time they invested will lead to an improvement in the education programme which they invest themselves in.

I would like to thank UNED university for making self-development and learning possible for those who are not able to attend face-to-face classes. Although this is becoming a commodity nowadays, UNED university has been granting this opportunity for many years now.

Last but not least, I would like to thank Juliana who has inspired me to pursue these studies in many ways. The wish to observe her language acquisition process with informed eyes led me to enroll in this master's. However, once she was in my life, it was the ambition to access professional opportunities that would allow me to spend more quality time with her that gave me the strength to finish it. I would like to thank her for her patience as, in the quest of spending more time with her, she had to make do with other people's time.

The fact is that given the challenges we face, education doesn't need to be reformed — it needs to be transformed. The key to this transformation is not to standardize education, but to personalize it, to build achievement on discovering the individual talents of each child, to put students in an environment where they want to learn and where they can naturally discover their true passions.

Robinson, Ken. (2016) *Keynote speech*. Vail Symposium's EDUCATE! 16 October 2016.

LIST OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	4
Index	6
Abstract and keywords	7
1. INTRODUCTION	8
1.1 JUSTIFICATION	8
1.2 BACKGROUND AND CURRENT SITUATION IN SPAIN AND	
MADRID	10
1.3 CONCEPTUAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK	12
2. STATE OF THE ART	14
2.1. BILINGUAL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMME	14
2.2 CLIL	15
3. METHODOLOGY	16
3.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS	16
3.2 PARTICIPANTS	19
3.3 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS	22
4. RESULTS	25
4.1 INTRODUCTION	25
4.2 QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS	40
4.3 INTERVIEWS RESULTS	48
4.4 DISCUSSION	53
5. CONCLUSION	55
REFERENCES	59
APPENDICES	65
APPENDIX 1. QUESTIONNAIRE	65
APPENDIX 2. NOTES FROM THE INTERVIEWS	

ABSTRACT AND KEYWORDS

There is no question about English being a global language. Its success as a lingua franca makes it difficult to define exactly how many people speak it worldwide. And yet, English can still exercise a 'gatekeeping' function in some countries (Joseph, M. and Ramani E. 2006). Bilingual Education programmes in the European Union have been developed and implemented in order to comply with the recommendation of the European Commission (2012) to grant access to quality English learning to students from all socioeconomic backgrounds. In this research we conduct an in-depth analysis of literature pointing at contradictorily successful implementations of bilingual programmes. Despite the initial controversy, all the latest research on the performance of the bilingual programme in the Region of Madrid, seems to converge in proving the competitive advantage of students attending these schools. In this paper, we explore the array of possible reasons pinpointing this methodology, that allow students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds to catch up with their peers. Qualitative interviews shed some light on the possible reasons behind the success of the Region of Madrid's bilingual programme and CLIL methodology. These results are in line with the ones obtained in previous research carried out in bilingual schools in Andalusia. However, this study highlights the relevance of teaching assistants as an educational resource in the bilingual classroom and calls for further research on this variable to quantify its importance and compare and understand the use that is made of it across different programmes.

Keywords: Bilingual programme. CLIL methodology. English as a Medium of Instruction. Teacher Perceptions. Region of Madrid.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 JUSTIFICATION

The disappearance of borders for the member countries of the European Union has only accelerated the natural process of an already globalising world economy. In this context, languages can create boundaries to self-development and prosperity, but they can also become a very powerful tool to reduce inequalities of access to opportunities (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977) (Higonnet 1980) and (Outram 1987) (Duchêne and Heller, 2012).

This promise of a golden future attributes the English language in particular with a 'symbolic value' (Joseph, M. and Ramani E. 2006) that leads parents to enroll their children in extracurricular tuition from an early age (Moreno, J.M, 2022).

The European Commission (2012) encourages its state members to develop and implement bilingual programmes based on the CLIL methodology in order to democratise access to quality learning of the English language from an early age.

Although bilingual programmes have been present in Spain since 1996, it has not been without criticism. Feedback coming from teachers, parents and students themselves have reported flaws in the design and conceptualisation that have even led some bilingual schools to abandon their regional programmes (El País, 2021).

Despite the recent very positive reports, it is hard to shake-off a bad reputation. Word-of-mouth is that children attending bilingual schools do not acquire the same level of content knowledge and the advantage in the English language is to the detriment of their L1. The many great cognitive advantages of bilingualism (Marsh, 2020) or the acquisition of core 21st century competencies through the CLIL methodology and project-based learning do not seem to get the same publicity.

It is for these reasons that the importance of improving the bilingual systems in place becomes an urgent matter. The figures show that students attending bilingual schools in Andalusia and the Region of Madrid obtain better grades than students in non-bilingual schools. Moreover, the former are helping students from disadvantaged backgrounds catch up with their peers and close the performance gap between different socioeconomic status.

The reasons behind this phenomenon are still unclear, but recent research like the one carried out in Andalusia sheds some light in the matter, pointing at some of the possible variables. This research aims at obtaining more detail on how these variables and others might be influencing student performance. The ultimate objective of this study is to offer food-for-thought and serve as a solid springing board for future research aimed at discovering the pillars of quality bilingual education upon which policymaking can rely.

1.2 BACKGROUND AND CURRENT SITUATION IN SPAIN AND MADRID

The Ministry of Education and the British Council signed an agreement in 1996 to introduce an integrated bilingual curriculum into Spanish state schools. The first wave involved 43 schools with 1,200 pupils soaring up to 44,000 in 2019. The bilingual curriculum is implemented in Early Years, Primary and Secondary.

Bilingual programmes have since been replicated across the country (Escobar, 2021). The Region of Madrid put in place its own bilingual programme in 2004. To this day, 46.6% Primary schools in Madrid and 51% of secondary schools are ascribed to this bilingual programme (Vicepresidencia, Consejería de Educación y Universidades, 2022).

In 2009, Madrid was the third region in Spain in the number of bilingual schools when taking into account both primary and secondary. It was the first region in terms of bilingual primary schools with 208 and occupied the fifth position in terms of secondary schools with 49 ascribed to the programme (Aparicio García 2009). In 2022, the numbers escalated to a total of 369 bilingual primary schools and 152 bilingual secondary schools.

CCAA	Primaria	Secundaria	Total
ndalucia	189	199	388
ragón	38	24	62
sturias	71	61	132
anarias	34	27	61
antabria	1	25	26
astilla y Leon	171	130	301
astilla-La Mancha	34	42	76
ataluña	25	15	40
euta y Melilla	2	1	3
xtremadura	12	18	30
alicia	41	79	120
a Rioja	0	4	4
ladrid	208	49	257
furcia	2	32	34
avarra	0	15	15
aís Vasco	0	31	31
OTAL	828	752	1580

Figure 1. Number of bilingual schools per Autonomous Region, from Aparicio García, Marta. "Análisis de la educación bilingüe en España". *Instituto Complutense de Estudios Internacionales* 2009, https://www.ucm.es/data/cont/docs/430-2013-10-27-ICEIpaper12.pdf

Both the national British Council's bilingual programme and the Region of Madrid use Content Language and Integrated Learning methodology (CLIL) in content subjects that are taught through English and offer extensive hours of the subject of English as a foreign language.

Access to the British Council's bilingual programme is open to any student who may apply to it and meets the official requirements of acceptance in a state school. This is also the case for bilingual Primary state schools in the Region of Madrid. However, two options coexist for bilingual Secondary schools: Bilingual Programme (Programa Bilingue) and Bilingual Track (Sección Bilingue). In order to access the Bilingual Track students must prove a minimum level of English of A2-B1 according to the Common European Framework (CEFR) by the end of Primary. To this aim, they will be tested by Cambridge English in their schools, although students can also provide an equivalent certification.

There is no language level requirement to enter the Bilingual Programme in secondary schools. It is accessible to students who come from bilingual primary schools but do not meet the minimum requirement to go into the Bilingual Track or to students coming from monolingual schools if they cannot certify a minimum level of English of A2-B1 according to the CEFR.

Organizationally speaking, both tracks offer 5 hours of English language teaching per week, however, the Bilingual Track will offer Advanced English.

In the Bilingual Track, the students will do at least 30 percent of their subjects in English, with the exception of Spanish Language and Literature, Mathematics, Latin and foreign languages other than English.

In the Bilingual Programme, the school will have to offer at least one subject taught in English out of the following: Physical Education, Arts, Music, Technology, Robotics and Programming, Ethics.

Every school in the Region of Madrid is provided with native teaching assistants that devote 16 hours a week to supporting the teaching of English. These assistants can be allocated to help teachers of content subjects taught in English if decided by the centre coordinator.

Teachers in bilingual schools in a mentoring programme called Mentor Actúa, that has been running since 2015 with the aim of sharing best practices. They can also take part in a number of international programmes if they wish to: Global Classrooms, International Programme Global Scholars and the Twin Schools programme among others.

1.3 CONCEPTUAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK

There are four main bilingual curriculums in the Region of Madrid:

- Bilingual Track Spanish-English (152 secondary schools)
- Bilingual Track in French (19 secondary schools)
- Bilingual Track in German (6 secondary schools)
- Bilngual Programme British Council (only primary schools in Madrid).

The bilingual programme in the Region of Madrid is subject to several external evaluations carried out by Trinity College Londres, Cambridge English Assessment, and the Spanish Official Languages School (EOI). The years that participate in this quality assessment are: 3rd and 6th grade in primary and 2nd grade in secondary (Informe sobre la Evaluación del Programa de Enseñanza Bilingüe de la Comunidad de Madrid, 2018).

Apart from these evaluations, the British Council carried out the 'English Impact study' in the academic year 2016-2017 together with the Australian Council and the University of Bath.

The aims of this study were to evaluate the student's English competence, compare results between bilingual and non-bilingual schools and try to understand the relationship between the motivation to learn English and performance.

		A1	A2	B1	B2	С	Total
Sección	Alumnos	0	4	28	105	101	238
	% sobre total	0%	2%	12%	44%	42%	100%
	% acumulativo	100%	100%	98%	87%	42%	-
Programa	Alumnos	5	53	124	62	42	286
	% sobre total	2%	19%	43%	22%	15%	100%
	% acumulativo	100%	98%	80%	36%	15%	-
(no bilingüe)	Alumnos	21	112	275	194	71	673
	% sobre total	3%	17%	41%	29%	11%	100%
	% acumulativo	100%	97%	80%	39%	11%	-
Público (no bilingüe)	Alumnos	40	218	232	66	21	577
	% sobre total	7%	38%	40%	11%	4%	100%
	% acumulativo	100%	93%	55%	15%	4%	-

Figure 2. English level per type of secondary school from the English Impact study. Informe sobre la Evaluación del Programa de Enseñanza Bilingüe de la Comunidad de Madrid 2016.

This chart extracted from the English Impact study shows how 86% students attending the Bilingual Track do so with a minimum B2 level of English competence. The same is true for

37% of students from the Bilingual Programme and 15% of students from public non-bilingual schools.

The bilingual programmes, as any other state schools, are also assessed through international evaluations such as PISA, PIRLS, TIMS and the Spanish EVAU.

The Region of Madrid also carries out periodical assessments of 3rd year and 6th year primary students and 4th year secondary students. Until 2015 it also carried out an evaluation of essential competencies (CDI) of 3rd year and 6th year primary students. Some of the research we will analyse here has been based on the CDI.

Those students who fail to achieve the aforementioned level at the end of Primary can access the Sección Bilingue Track. This is also the expected path for students coming from Spanishonly schools.

2. STATE OF THE ART

2.1 BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMME

The acquisition and development of communicative competence in different languages are key objectives of the European Union and the Council of Europe. The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) recommends the learning of at least two languages and to begin doing so in the early stages of life.

In line with these objectives and recommendations:

"...the Region of Madrid has made the commitment to actively incorporate the English language as the first foreign language, promoting Spanish-English bilingual teaching in a number of schools. In fact, [the Region] has been carrying out its own bilingual programme since 2004 in public schools. This programme consists of not only learning English as the first foreign language, but also teaching other content subjects in this language." (Informe sobre la Evaluación del Programa de Enseñanza Bilingüe de la Comunidad de Madrid, Junio de 2018)

One of the reasons for establishing English as a medium of instruction in schools is for it to become a *lingua franca* and be learned in a more natural way, while being used.

The main features of the bilingual programme in the region of Madrid are the following:

- The content subjects that are taught in English are done so, only in English.
- Primary and secondary teachers must certify a minimum C1 level of English according to the CEFR.
- Secondary teachers who teach Advanced English must have the minimum level required to do so.
- The subjects of Mathematics and Spanish Language and Literature will not be taught in English.
- English as a Foreign Language will be taught by a specialist teacher.

In 2004, Madrid's bilingual programme started in the stages of Early Years and Primary. It is now present as well in Secondary education and Vocational Training.

2.2 CLIL

Content and Language Integrated Learning is the methodology associated with bilingual educational systems. Its aim is the learning of a language through the teaching of a content subject through this language.

The European Commission (2006) stated that: "[CLIL] implies a more integrated approach to both teaching and learning, requiring that teachers should devote special thought not just to how languages should be taught, but to the educational process in general."

In 2012, the European Commission also stated that the initial objective of CLIL was to grant access to languages to everyone to ensure the right of free movement of persons in the European Union.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

The initial aim of this research is to review the existing literature that evaluates the performance of the CLIL-based bilingual programmes in the Region of Madrid, Spain.

This objective stems from the initial intention to replicate the research carried out in Andalusia in 2020 by Lorenzo, Granados and Rico in the University of Jaen. This study concluded that, contrary to common belief, the bilingual programme in the region indeed contributed to closing the performance gap between students from different educational backgrounds. It has been traditionally believed, and true in many cases, that bilingual programmes have a negative effect on students from lower socioeconomic status. This belief is observed when the foreign language is seen as a barrier to learning, as generally, these students are not going to have the support they need to overcome this obstacle at home, or the means to receive additional tuition (Moreno J.M., 2022).

Studies such as Anghel, Cabrales & Carro (2012) and Relaño Pastor (2014) point in this direction with a special focus on the immigrant population who will often belong to the lower socioeconomic statuses and may also have an L1 that is not Spanish.

The latest official reports comparing the performance of students from bilingual and non-bilingual schools in the Region in Madrid already prove that students obtain better scores in bilingual programmes regardless of their socioeconomic status.

The availability of this information shifted the initial aim of this research to a somewhat more ambitious, narrow and qualitative one: exploring one of the possible variables that might be partially responsible for the better performance of students in bilingual schools regardless of their socioeconomic status, and the consequent closing of the gap between the higher and lower stratums.

Lorenzo, Granados and Rico (2020) suggest the following variables as the main ones that could be behind this effect: "the attitudes of the participants, curriculum organization, teacher dynamics, and methodology". (p. 409)

The questions that this research will aim to answer are the following:

Q1: Are bilingual programmes in the region of Madrid helping to close the performance gap between high and low income students?

As the main aim of this research is to try to understand a complicated social reality in which very many variables are likely to be having an impact, we decided that the best methodology to use in a preliminary study would be qualitative. An initial exploration of options, approaches and points of view is necessary in order to be able to narrow down identifiable variables that can lead to future quantitative research.

As Flick (2014, p. 542) stated, "Qualitative research interested in analysing subjective meaning or the social production of issues, events, or practices by collecting non-standardised data and analysing texts and images rather than number and statistics."

Q2: To what extent is the CLIL methodology responsible for this improvement in lower socioeconomic status students, if there is one?

The first step to understanding the particular reality of the bilingual public secondary schools in the Region in Madrid will be the gathering and analysis of literature and reports that can shed some light on the past and current performance of the system. This initial step will be of particular importance as there has been myriads of contradictory research around bilingual programmes and the performance of the CLIL methodology (Pérez Cañado, 2016).

This study will make use of three different interpretative techniques, being the first one, the aforementioned extensive literature research. Once the comprehension of a solidly laid out background taken place, we will go on to explore the perspectives of one of the main stakeholders: teachers.

Q3: What are teachers' perceptions of the application and impact of these pedagogical practices? Can this lead to future research?

"Qualitative research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive approach, [it is] an umbrella term covering an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world." Van Maanen (1979, p. 520).

Taking this into account it only seems natural that the initial research is complemented by detailed information coming from some of the participants in the bilingual programmes themselves. Our task here is what Geertz describes as uncovering "conceptual structures that inform our subject's acts, [...], and to construct a system of analysis" (1973: 27). We aim to obtain a 'thick description' because "thick descriptions create thick interpretations." (Denzin, 2016: 99).

In order to do so we will use questionnaires as a tool for getting some initial impressions on the tools and practices that teachers put into practice in the context of CLIL in state bilingual schools in the Region of Madrid.

The sample for this initial screening aims to be geographically representative as it will include a selection of secondary schools from all over the Region. However, the aim of this questionnaire is not to conduct statistical analysis, and therefore it is not a robust sample in terms of size.

In order to obtain more detail in research question Q3, we will run 2 in-depth interviews with teachers from two different bilingual secondary schools. Although the interview will mostly use open-ended questions in order to ensure rich and detailed answers, the items from the questionnaire will be used as prompts to help initiate the interview but in no case to curtail or restrict the participants' answers.

The analysis derived from these final interviews will be aimed at identifying areas which should be further explored and, especially at narrowing down variables that could be included in future quantitative research.

3..2 PARTICIPANTS

Participants in the initial questionnaire are teachers in public bilingual secondary schools in the Region of Madrid. No chartered or private schools were included in this study as the programmes in these would not necessarily be subject to the same quality standards, and the resources available in the centres would become a new and important variable of analysis

The bilingual schools selected can be part of the Bilingual Programme or the Bilingual Track. In many cases a secondary school will offer both options and the teachers participating in this research will teach in both areas. Moreover, very often, one teacher may teach the same subject in Spanish and in English in the same school as in the Bilingual Track there will be more subjects taught in English than in the Bilingual Programme. For more detail on this please refer to the BACKGROUND section.

Teachers participating in this study will be working full-time but may have fixed or temporary contracts. It is important to note that geographical mobility is high for teachers on a temporary contract.

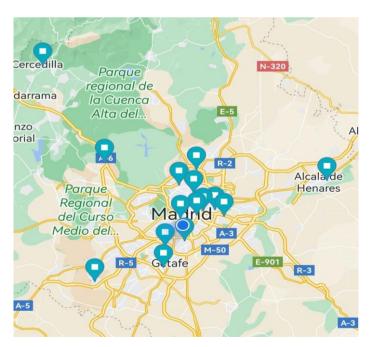


Figure 3. Overview of the geographical distribution of the schools participating. Source: Google Maps, own creation.



Figure 4. Overview of the geographical distribution of the schools participating. Zoom in from Figure 6. Source: Google Maps, own creation.

The schools participating in the initial questionnaire are rather evenly spread over the city of Madrid (Figure 6) with some representation of schools in the suburbs. The schools were contacted via email and asked to participate in the study. The schools being the main identifiable subject and the teachers remaining anonymous.

The sample of size n=21 includes teachers from the following secondary schools:

- IES Gabriela Mistral
- IES La Dehesilla
- IES La Senda
- IES Juan de la Cierva
- IES Isaac Newton
- IES Los Ángeles
- IES Gregorio Marañón

- IES Villablanca
- IES Complutense
- IES Francisco de Goya
- IES Santamarca
- IES La Estrella
- IES José García Nieto.

The schools are located in the centre and suburbs of the city of Madrid and in the following towns and cities in the Region of Madrid: Arroyomolinos, Cercedilla, Getafe, Alcalá de Henares, Las Rozas and Leganés.

The final sample is the result of the willing and voluntary participation of the schools. No quotas were established to replicate the geographical spread, although the layout is in line with the natural geographical spread of schools in the region (Figure 8).

Área Territorial de Madrid	Alumnos*	Centros
Capital	25.335	373
Este	7.790	88
Norte	4.499	54
Oeste	8.002	105
Sur	14.766	183
Total	60.392	803

Figure 5. Number of students and secondary schools in the Region of Madrid.. Informe de la Comunidad de Madrid: Resultados y contexto 2019 Evaluación Final de Educación Secundaria Obligatoria Cuarto Curso (2019); http://www.madrid.org/bvirtual/BVCM050143.pdf

The subjects taught by the participants in the questionnaire are the following:

- Biology and Geology
- Physical Education
- Geography and History

- Physics and Chemistry
- Music and Technology.

The medium of instruction of all the subjects is English although some teachers may teach the same subject in English and Spanish to different classes.

The interviews were conducted on the phone with two teachers who had previously answered the questionnaire and had volunteered to participate in more detail. One of the teachers has a permanent position in IES Gabriela Mistral, Arroyomolinos, and acts as "Jefe de Estudios". The second teacher has a temporary position in IES La Dehesilla, Cercedilla. Despite it being a temporary position, it is his third year working in this same school. In the past, he has worked in other bilingual secondary schools of the Region of Madrid.

The first participant teaches Biology and Geology and other science-related subjects such as Scientific Culture. In his case, he also has to deliver some of these subjects in Spanish as IES Gabriela Mistral has a Bilingual and a Non-Bilingual Track. The second participant teaches Physical Education.

3.3 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

In order to answer research questions Q1 and Q2 a descriptive process will be necessary. Rather than a mere background research, this part of the study will constitute thorough and extensive analysis of literature on bilingual programmes worldwide but also in Spain and the Region of Madrid. In the past years, researchers have profusely produced materials around the topic of CILL and bilingual programmes. This has led to what has been called, the *pendulum effect* (Pérez Cañado, 2016), which has, in turn, derived in a series of papers describing the strengths and flaws of bilingual educational systems. This situation calls for a detailed description and interpretation of the results in order to find an explanation for the differences and nuances.

The expectations from conducting this descriptive analysis are to answer the main questions of whether bilingual programmes in the region of Madrid are helping or not to close the performance gap between high and low income students (Q1), and to what extent is the CLIL methodology responsible for this improvement in lower socio-economic status students, if there is one (Q2).

In order to obtain detailed information regarding the teachers' perceptions of the application and impact of these pedagogical practices (Q3) we will use a questionnaire and two in depth interviews.

The questionnaire consists of 20 questions 7 of which are screening questions and 14 information gathering questions. There is a balanced mix of open-ended and closed-ended questions considering that the main aim of this questionnaire is to obtain items that can be used as prompts in the interviews.

The questionnaire was conducted in Spanish and emailed to the public bilingual secondary schools via their public contact address.

The key questions used as guidelines for the interviews are the following:

15. Para impartir mi asignatura en inglés, he tenido que poner en práctica técnicas I have had to implement new

educativas nuevas y/o de apoyo a mis alumnos: Piensa en aquello que has hecho de manera diferente de si tu asignatura fuera en Español.	pedagogical/support strategies for my students: Think of those things that you have done differently than if your subject was taught in Spanish.
Sí No	Yes No
16. ¿Qué técnicas educativas/de apoyo has puesto en práctica para impartir mejor tu asignatura en inglés? Piensa en aquello que has hecho de manera diferente de si tu asignatura fuera en Español.	16. What pedagogical/support strategies have you implemented in order to improve the teaching of your subject in English? Think of those things that you have done differently than if your subject was taught in Spanish.
Respuesta abierta	Open answer
17. ¿Crees que estas técnicas han mejorado la calidad de tu enseñanza?	17. Do you think that these techniques have improved the quality of your teaching?
Sí No Tal vez	Yes No It's possible
18. ¿Crees que estas técnicas han contribuido a mejorar los resultados de tus alumn@s?	18. Do you think that these techniques have contributed to improving your students' results?
Sí No Tal vez	Yes No It's possible
19. ¿Has recurrido a la tecnología para apoyar a tus alumnos de manera mayor que si tu asignatura fuera en Español? (Kahoot,	19. Have you made use of any technology in order to increase the support given to your students to a greater extent than if your subject were taught in Spanish? (Kahoot,

Quizlet, Quizizz, YouTube, LyricsTraining, Wordle, Bamboozle u otros.)	Quizlet, Quizizz, YouTube, LyricsTraining, Wordle, Bamboozle u otros.)
Sí	Yes
No	No
Tal vez	It's possible

The follow up questions that stemmed from the main prompts will be described in the RESULTS section and also shared in the APPENDICES section.

4. RESULTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

There is a pool of research that aims to scrutinize the common belief that content and language integrated learning (CLIL) or bilingual programmes hinder the learning opportunities of weaker students. Lorenzo, Granados and Rico challenge previous research which alerted about the possible danger that CLIL might impose upon an egalitarian public schooling system.

The modern-nation state, that is, any capitalist nation in a globalised world 'can be understood as a means of constructing and regulating a market of a size and capacity amenable to industrial capitalism' (Hobsbawn 1990). Duchêne, A., & M. Heller further developed this idea in their book Language in Late Capitalism: Pride and Profit (2012). They described how, in its foundation stage, capitalism demanded an emerging middle-class who would have access to certain economic and material resources in order to ascertain economic and political control. According to the authors the division of labour can only but perpetuate a difference in the access to those resources involved in the attainment of power. Duchêne and Heller align with previous authors such as Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), Higonnet (1980) and Outram (1987) who claim that languages can be both a tool to reduce inequalities of access to opportunities in the capitalist economies as well as a way of creating boundaries.

For a long time, the English language has dominated domains such as international commerce and diplomacy, industry, technology, communication and, undoubtedly, education. In some countries and for some time, access to English was a way of creating the aforementioned boundaries between classes. Even nowadays, English still exercises a 'gatekeeping' function in some countries (Joseph, M. and Ramani E. 2006).

Becoming aware of this situation, parents around the world pursue an education that can grant their children with the English competence that will ensure future opportunities in the modern globalised economy. The value of the English language is such that, in countries with endangered minority languages, or among minority communities in English speaking countries, parents will often choose to put their own heritage languages at risk by prioritising an education in English (Joseph, M. and Ramani E. 2006; Colin Baker and Wayne E. Wright 2017).

Higher salary ranges for those who speak English in European countries are an appeal for learners and their parents. A case in point is Spain with an increase of 39% in salary ranges (Ginsburgh and Prieto-Rodríguez, 2011).

The promise of a golden future after having gone through a bilingual or English-only education system, is what Joseph and Ramani describe as the 'symbolic value' of English. The 'symbolic value' as opposed to the 'real value' is based on the students' longing of acquiring proficiency in English, which is not met by the educational system. More often than not, this is the case and students are left with this longing and their future prospects curtailed due to an underdeveloped CLIL, bilingual or ESL curriculum.

CLIL education programmes, generally through English and another majority language, are already an established reality in an increasing number of regions in Europe (European Commission 2006). Relaño Pastor (2015) points out how this type of programmes intend to 'perpetuate the ideology of English as a commodity', that is, democratising access to it. By doing so, the symbolic value of English (Joseph, M. and Ramani E. 2006) should decrease as, the higher the number of students learning in this language, the fewer would be left with a longing for it.

The initial aim of CLIL was to grant access to languages to everyone (European Commission 2012), as a way of ensuring the real right of free movement of persons, services, and capital that European laws establish despite the multilingual nature of the European Union.

However, apart from the number of students learning, there is still the issue of quality of CLIL programmes. In this sense, Relaño Pastor (2015) notes that ignoring the multilingual reality of the Region of Madrid hinders access to bilingual programmes of immigrant students.

Although CLIL programmes have been put forward and developed for some years in order to correct those areas that made the acquisition difficult through traditional teaching of English (European Commission 2012), access to CLIL or the ability to succeed in these programmes by students of all social and economic groups is still at stake (Relaño Pastor 2015).

The implementation of bilingual programmes throughout Spain has been welcomed with varying degrees of success. The media are often speakers for detractors, filling pages with examples of unsatisfied teachers, centres who have abandoned the programme and overwhelmed parents (El País 2021). Among the main criticisms, teachers claim that some of their students do not have the linguistic ability in the *lingua franca* to achieve the expected level of content knowledge.

The Spanish education system has traditionally heavily relied on content knowledge. The new LOMLOE Education law (Ley Orgánica 3/2020) aims at adapting the Spanish Education system to the challenges of the 21st century, in accordance with the directions set by the UNESCO and the European Union for the decade of 2020-2030 (BOE-A-2022-4975). These changes go in the direction of attributing a greater importance to life-competencies and relying to a lesser extent on memorisation of content (BOE-A-2022-4975).

In the words of Pilar Alegría, the current Minister of Education, "Schools must be designed in a way that children learn and enjoy doing so." (El País, 2021). The Minister goes on to add, in the same press conference that, "[the objectives] must be attained with motivation and stimulating and supporting children instead of whit mere commands."

While the new LOMLOE law aims at increasing the importance of pedagogically sound techniques such as project-based learning, cooperation and the use of technology all across the public education system, using CLIL, by definition, had already pushed bilingual schools in this direction.

However, as Pérez Cañado (2016) explains in her research addressing the controversy about CLIL, there is still work to be done when it comes to defining the concepts making up content and language integrated learning. Criticism has come due to the variety of models identified within, and hence, the very many ways of implementing it.

Controversially, and contrary to this, complaints coming from teachers denounce the lack of training and support to successfully deliver a content subject in English according to CLIL methodology (Milla Lara & Casas Pedrosa, 2017) rather than an excess of *savoir-faire*. Moreover, teachers have been heard to complain about the lack of learning of their students in

the bilingual school context, in which the use of non-CLIL methodologies was still the norm (El País 2021).

Another frequent complaint from teachers relates to lacking the confidence to deliver the subject matter in another language (Milla Lara & Casas Pedrosa, 2017) (El País 2021). The minimum level required for teachers to be able to deliver a content subject in English in most bilingual programmes in Spain is a B2 level according to the CEFR for languages. In some regions such as Madrid, teachers are required at least a C1 level in order to teach in bilingual programmes.

Anghel, Cabrales & Carro (2012) show what seems to be a positive correlation between the teachers' level of English and the performance of students coming from less privileged socioeconomic backgrounds.

To sum up, there are many reasons why bilingual programmes can be subject to criticism. Stated so far are: the level of the foreign language of teachers; the variety of teaching methodologies within CLIL and, at the same time, the lack of training of teachers in any of these; insufficient use of technology in the classroom and the level of English of students themselves when entering the programme.

The last reason is more often than not related to the socio-economic background of the students. Relaño (2014) places immigrant students whose L1 is not Spanish at the centre of this disadvantage. She argues that when using the term 'bilingual programme' we are not acknowledging the multilingual reality of the Region of Madrid.

Anghel, Cabrales & Carro (2012) have proved the negative effect of bilingual programmes for the Primary age group, for students from the lowest social status. The authors point out the link between this socio-economic group and the immigrant population. This raises the question of, to what extent the variable determining a lower performance is related to income or to the need of a greater linguistic ability in Spanish before the immersion process in an L2 can start.

Research carried out by Admiraal, Westhoff and de Bot (2006) in the Netherlands in English/Dutch bilingual secondary schools suggests that, for the immigrant student population: "No effects have been found for receptive word knowledge and no negative effects have been

found with respect to the results of their school leaving exams at the end of secondary education for Dutch and subject matters taught through English."

Anghel, Cabrales & Carro (2012) wonder whether the difference with their own results in primary is attributable to the age difference. They therefore suggest that a later starting age in a bilingual programme might improve the immigrant students' performance in it.

Contradicting this hypothesis, Merino, Jon Ander & Lasagabaster (2015) confirm with their research, the importance of factoring in time when measuring performance. Longitudinal studies are the best tools to measure an improvement in the students' results in the CLIL context. Merino, Jon Ander & Lasagabaster (2015) state that "the success of CLIL programmes revolves around the number of years and the intensity of such programmes." Taking this into account, enrolling students at a later age would not seem to solve the problem of low performance in primary and would possibly decrease students' results in secondary as well.

The case of primary immigrant students who have not accomplished a full domain of the Spanish language should be addressed by intensive policy planning aiming at supporting them in this process. As it goes beyond the scope of this research, we will focus on addressing the performance of lower income students without specifically analising the mother tongue variable. However, it is clear that more research and policymaking effort should be dedicated to this matter.

Another question that can arise from the difference between the performance of students in the research by Admiraal, Westhoff and de Bot (2006) and Anghel, Cabrales & Carro (2012) is to what extent the design and implementation of the bilingual programme is responsible. An educational system heavily based on memorisation can take a toll on primary students who have not yet acquired the metalanguage required for the acquisition of a foreign language (Carmen Muñoz 2006). To address this lack of knowledge, teachers would be expected to put in place pedagogical techniques that match their learners' abilities and not the other way around. However, as stated earlier, teachers themselves confirm that this is often not the case (El País 2021).

Considering this, to ensure successful learning of a foreign language is helped by early enrollment it must be in a bilingual programme that offers extensive exposure to the language.

However, this may positively condition learning, it is not sufficient. Teaching practices are tightly tied to student motivation and this, in turn, with performance: "[There are] significant positive correlations between the teachers' motivational practices and the learners' engagement behaviours" (Lightbown, P. M. & Spada 2018: 89). Among the so called motivational practices we can include: arousing curiosity and attention, stating communicative utility, pair work activities, competition and tangible task products. All of these practices are common in CLIL, which is often closely associated with project-based learning.

These facts seem to suggest a positive relationship between student performance and teaching practices and student performance in bilingual programmes. Research carried out in the Region of Andalucía and in Madrid point in the same direction as both studies show how students from low-income families perform proportionally better than their peers in monolingual schools in the case of Andalucía or than students in the same schools once the social-class effect is evened out.

Lorenzo, Granados and Rico (2020) in their research with secondary students in the Anadalusian Bilingual Programme state that "CLIL implementation seems to transform several aspects of the school experience: the attitudes of the participants, curriculum organization, teacher dynamics, and methodology." They believe that it is this atmosphere that has a positive impact on the performance of low-income students that attend bilingual schools, even in some subjects that are taught in Spanish. They conclude that "changing the language regime implies changes across the board."

This study analyses the students' performance in bilingual and monolingual schools in the Autunomous Region of Andalusia in the national diagnostic tests AGAEVE. In these tests, secondary students were tested in History taught through English, in Spanish Language and Literature and English as a Second Language. In the two latter, the skills measured were reading and writing. Students were aged 12 to 13 years old.

Figures 1 and 2 show the results of students from monolingual and bilingual schools with respect to their SES (Socioeconomic Status). The *staircase effect* is visible in Figure 1 and it is recurrent throughout all the subjects in monolingual schools. This effect consists of a steady increase of the students' grades along with the SES.

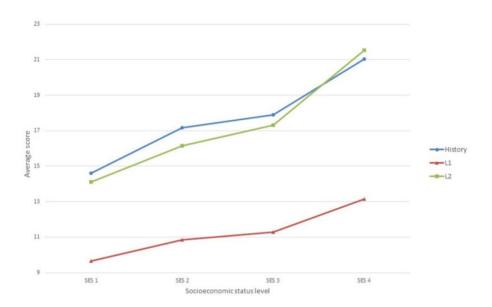


Figure 6: Non-bilingual average total scores SES levels from Lorenzo, Granados and Rico (2020); "Equity in Bilingual Education: Socioeconomic Status and Content and Language Integrated Learning in Monolingual Southern Europe"; *Applied Linguistics* 2021: 42/3: 393–413, 28 July 2020, https://academic.oup.com/applij/article/42/3/393/5877483

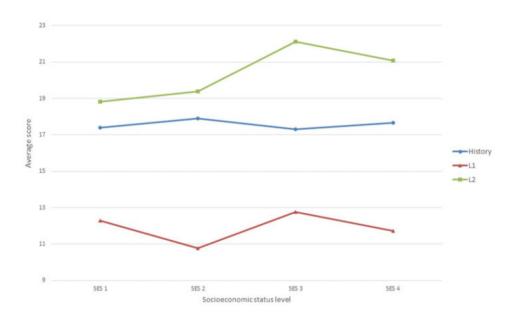


Figure 7: Bilingual average total scores SES levels from Lorenzo, Granados and Rico (2020); "Equity in Bilingual Education: Socioeconomic Status and Content and Language Integrated Learning in Monolingual Southern Europe"; *Applied Linguistics* 2021: 42/3: 393–413, 28 July 2020, https://academic.oup.com/applij/article/42/3/393/5877483

Figure 2, on the other hand, shows the absence of a correlation between students' grades and their SES. These results evidence the existence of other variables influencing the students' results that offset the effect of SES in students' performance.

Although Lorenzo, Granados and Rico (2020) admit the concurrence of many factors, they firmly believe in the impact that bilingual policies can have in reducing socioeconomic differences. Lorenzo and Trujillo (2017), Lorenzo and Meyer (2018), have observed how, in Andalusia, lessons are planned in a more cooperative manner in the bilingual-school context.

Lorenzo, Granados and Rico (2020) conclude innovation of this sort enhances language awareness with the possible outcome of reinforcing the competence of students from lower income families who are believed to count with less out-of-school support.

Moreover, the results shown in Figures 1 and 2 and in Table 1, contradict the common belief that students in bilingual programmes improve their literacy in an L2 at the expense of their L1. Literacy programmes aimed at the disadvantaged use similar techniques to the ones applied in CLIL lesson plans (Rose and Martin, 2012) so this supports the hypothesis that, among other factors such as teacher training and students' self-worth sentiment, the pedagogic procedures used in bilingual programmes across all the subjects could be playing an important role in the improved performance of students from lower SES.

Socioeconomic level	Non-bilingual	L1 scores	Bilingual L1 scores		
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
SES 1	9.66	4.22	12.29	3.68	
SES 2	10.86	4.09	10.77	4.20	
SES 3	11.29	4.34	12.76	3.72	
SES 4	13.14	3.58	11.71	4.22	

Figure 8: Bilingual vs. non-bilingual average L1 scores from Lorenzo, Granados and Rico (2020); "Equity in Bilingual Education: Socioeconomic Status and Content and Language Integrated Learning in Monolingual Southern Europe"; *Applied Linguistics* 2021: 42/3: 393–413, 28 July 2020, https://academic.oup.com/applij/article/42/3/393/5877483

The Region of Madrid shows similar results to the research in Andalusia. The Education Organic Law 2/2006, of May 3 (LOE) which was modified by the Organic Law 8/2013, of December 9 for the Improvement of Education Quality (LOMCE), establishes in the articles 20, 21 y 29 that students from 3rd and 6th grade of primary and 4th grade of secondary education must be tested towards the end of the year.

In the 2019 evaluation, secondary students aged between 14 and 15 years of age were assessed in the competences of Mathematics, English as a Second Language, Spanish Language and Literature and History. For secondary, part of the evaluations are carried out by an external organism and another part by the schools themselves, but teachers cannot evaluate their own students. The tests are delivered in Spanish even if the students attend bilingual programmes.

The report isolates several variables, such as ISEC (Índice Social Económico y Cultural), gender, origin and early enrollment in order to be able to analise the impact of each of them in students' performance. ISEC is equivalent and calculated in a similar way as SES in the Andalusian study.

This report also takes into account the performance of students attending bilingual programmes. Overall, the findings are that students attending bilingual programmes in the Region of Madrid obtain better scores than students in monolingual schools. Although the results are better in bilingual schools even in subjects taught in Spanish such as Mathematics, for the sake of comparison, we will focus on the same subjects analised in the study in Andalusia: English, Spanish Language and Literature and History (here Social y Cívica).

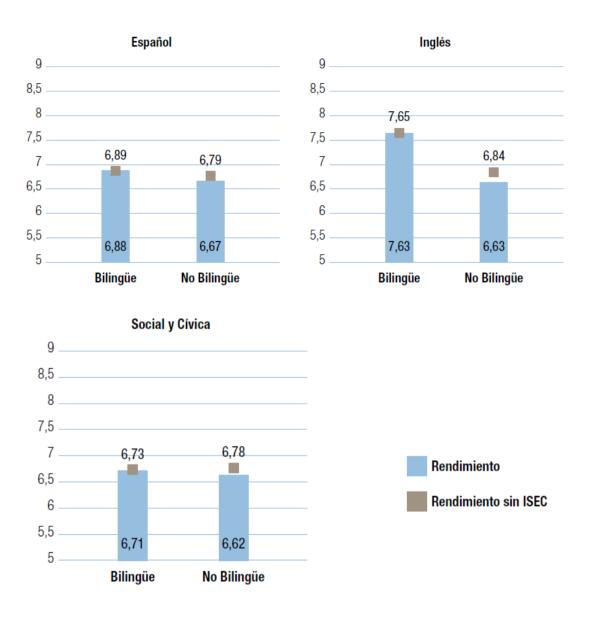


Figure 9: Scores of bilingual and non-bilingual secondary state schools with and without the effect of ISEC from Informe de la Comunidad de Madrid: Resultados y contexto 2019 Evaluación Final de Educación Secundaria Obligatoria Cuarto Curso (2019);

http://www.madrid.org/bvirtual/BVCM050143.pdf

In the case of Madrid, we cannot check the existence of a *staircase effect* such as the one in Andalusia, as the results of the exams have not been made available in a format that allows further analysis. However, it is clear from the comparison between the students' scores taking into account their ISEC and when withdrawing this effect, that they stay very similar.

When looking at the scores in Spanish in Figure 3., we can see that the effect of the socioeconomic group that the students belong to on the scores is negligible in bilingual schools. However, when looking at this figure in non-bilingual schools we can observe the toll that this variable pays on the students' scores.

Once again, the higher average score of students from bilingual schools in the subject of Spanish, contradicts the claims stated earlier that students are learning an L2 to the detriment of their L1 in bilingual schools. Moreover, a positive effect in the scores of a subject taught through Spanish, points at the effect signaled by Lorenzo, Granados and Rico (2020) in Andalusia: 'a change across the board' that suggests "that multilingual policies facilitate arrangements that ultimately lead to the reduction of socioeconomic differences as determinants of competence."

History (Social y Cívica), is the only subject in which low-income students from non-bilingual schools seem to get a slightly higher score (0.05 points) than those from a bilingual school after withdrawing the effect of the ISEC variable. In any case, as it is not a significant difference in the 2019 results, it should be looked at in future reports to check whether it becomes more noticeable.

As we can see for the subject of English as a Foreign Language, the result with and without the effect of the variable ISEC is practically the same for bilingual schools, meaning that the advantage of higher income students is somehow neutralised. This is not the case, however, in non-bilingual schools.

It is only natural that students in bilingual schools obtain better scores in the subject of English than students in non-bilingual schools. What is interesting about this subject in Figure 3, is the fact that bilingual schools seem to be having some kind of positive effect on the performance of lower-income students that non-bilingual schools are not.

As this is at least partially, to be expected in the subject of English, it is important to check for the occurrence of this same phenomenon in the content subjects. For the subject of Spanish which is taught in this language, both in bilingual and non-bilingual schools, the scores with and without the effect of ISEC are roughly the same. However, in non-bilingual schools there is an increase of 0.12 points in scores when withdrawing the effect of ISEC. That is, students from a lower socioeconomic background see their grades lowered due to this fact in this teaching context.

This same fact can be observed when comparing Figures 10 and 11. If we focus on non-bilingual public schools we can see that, to some extent, the students' grades are being influenced by their socioeconomic background. However, if we look at bilingual public schools we can observe an almost nonexistent change in grades when taking the effect of ISEC away. This means that the income variable is not key in determining student performance in bilingual schools of the Region of Madrid.

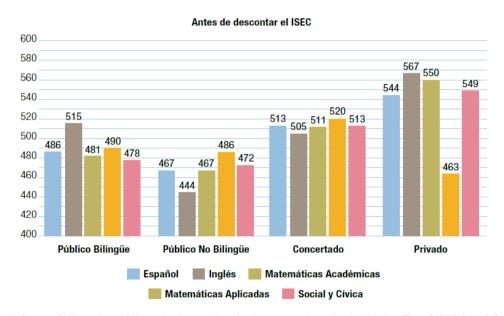


Figure 10: Scores of bilingual, non-bilingual, private and semi-private secondary schools with the effect of ISEC from Informe de la Comunidad de Madrid: Resultados y contexto 2019 Evaluación Final de Educación Secundaria Obligatoria Cuarto Curso (2019); http://www.madrid.org/bvirtual/BVCM050143.pdf

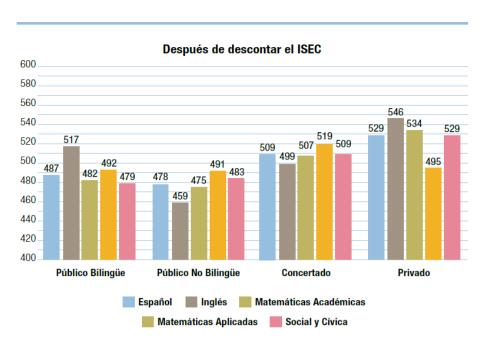


Figure 11: Scores of bilingual, non-bilingual, private and semi-private secondary schools without the effect of ISEC from Informe de la Comunidad de Madrid: Resultados y contexto 2019 Evaluación Final de Educación Secundaria Obligatoria Cuarto Curso (2019); http://www.madrid.org/bvirtual/BVCM050143.pdf

This is indeed highly striking information as there seems to be a variable intrinsic to the bilingual context of teaching that is having a positive impact on students from a lower ISEC. These results are in line with the 2020 study in Andalusia by Lorenzo, Granados and Rico.

According to this research, one of the most plausible explanations for this effect could be the implementation of the CLIL methodology in bilingual schools. As in Andalusia, the change in teaching style in the Content and Language Integrated Learning seems to have somewhat of a contagion effect in the other subjects.

As stated earlier, CLIL methodology is closely related to flexible teaching practices that encourage the use of technology, project-based learning, games, and student-centred activities (Sánchez Calderón & Escobar Alvarez, 2021) (Revista Universidad Internacional de la Rioja 2020). All of these techniques have a positive impact on student motivation (Lightbown, P. M. & Spada 2018), a possible improvement in student self-evaluation and are able to scaffold for students with additional support needs (Rose and Martin, 2012).

Although this research focuses on secondary students for the sake of comparability with the data from the study in Andalusia, I believe it would be interesting to take a brief look at the

results of the same subjects in students from primary, in order to try to explain any differences with the results obtained by Anghel, Cabrales & Carro (2012). Contrary to the results just analysed for Andalusia and Madrid, Anghel, Cabrales & Carro (2012) denounce a negative effect of bilingual schools on the scores of low-income students.

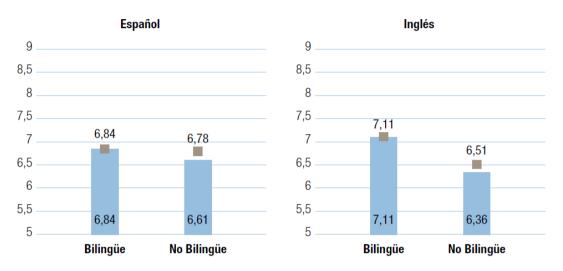


Figure 12: Scores of bilingual and non-bilingual primary 3 grade students in state schools with and without the effect of ISEC from Informe de la Comunidad de Madrid: Resultados y contexto 2019 Evaluación Final de Educación Secundaria Obligatoria Cuarto Curso (2019);

http://www.madrid.org/bvirtual/BVCM050143.pdf

For 3rd grade students the subjects tested are Spanish, English as a Second Language and Mathematics. History is not tested for primary students. In line with the secondary results, students attending bilingual schools obtain better scores in third grade than in non-bilingual schools. When looking at the results without the effect of ISEC, we can confirm, once again, that bilingual schools seem to have a positive effect on the scores of students from a lower socioeconomic background.

The same is true for students in 6th grade, the last year of primary. The content subjects tested in this case are Mathematics which is always taught in Spanish, and Science and Technology which can be taught in English only in some cases. For these reasons, we will exclude them from the analysis even if the results are in line with the ones for the subjects of Spanish and English.

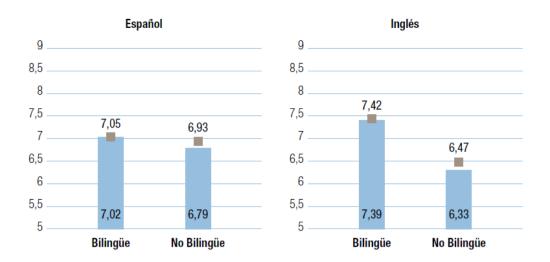


Figure 13: Scores of bilingual and non-bilingual primary 6th grade students in state schools with and without the effect of ISEC from Informe de la Comunidad de Madrid: Resultados y contexto 2019 Evaluación Final de Educación Secundaria Obligatoria Cuarto Curso (2019); http://www.madrid.org/bvirtual/BVCM050143.pdf

A possible reason behind the different results between this report and the research conducted by Anghel, Cabrales & Carro (2012) is that the scores analysed in the latter come from a test called Conocimientos y Destrezas Indispensables (CDI) only for 6th grade students, and the former from different assessment carried out on students from 3rd and 6th grade of primary and 4th of secondary. The initial aim of the CDI test was to assess what set of linguistic and mathematical abilities students finish primary with. The periodical evaluation exams stem from the previous education law for the Improvement of Education Quality (LOMCE). Both assessments are partially or totally carried out by external organisations. Deeper research into the nature of the tests themselves should be called for in order to understand the differences in scores from the two sets of assessments.

All in all, literature and reports seem to suggest that the pedagogical practices implemented in bilingual schools are having a positive effect on the students' scores. More importantly, they seem to be contributing to closing the gap between the scores obtained by students from different socioeconomic groups.

The European Commission (2006: 7) stated that: "[achieving the aims of CLIL] calls for the development of a special approach to teaching in that the non-language subject is not taught in a foreign language but with and through a foreign language. This implies a more integrated

approach to both teaching and learning, requiring that teachers should devote special thought not just to how languages should be taught, but to the educational process in general."

It is a well-known fact that bilingual systems around the world and in Spain perform with varying degrees of success. Grades reports and independent assessments show proof. The media broadcast complaints by frustrated teachers and parents. In the case of the Region the Madrid results prove that the programme is moving in the right direction.

Parent satisfaction is also higher than one might believe when looking at headlines like the ones aforementioned. 81.4% agreed with the idea that their children's content knowledge of subjects taught in English has improved (Chaieberras, Zahra 2018).

The key to this success appears to rely on the educational process in general that the European Commission was referring to when describing the CLIL methodology.

4.2 QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

As stated earlier, the aim of this questionnaire is to get an overview of what the teachers' perspectives are in relation with the CLIL methodology, the bilingual programme in which they work and the pedagogical strategies they put in place in order to support their students as a result of studying in English.

The objective of carrying out this questionnaire was not to incur in statistical analysis so the sharing of responses or graphs is for purely speculative purposes, to stimulate the analysis of the teachers' perceptions in the interview and to evidence the need of possible future research.

As explained in earlier sections, the questionnaire used was a short one comprising 21 questions 7 of which were there for screening purposes and 14 open and closed-ended questions which revealed information about teachers' practices and perceptions.

This part of the research aims at exploring the way opened by Lorenzo, Granados and Rico (2020) in Andalusia. They conclude that the positive effect that the bilingual programme in Andalusian secondary schools has on lower income students may come from a set of variables such as "the attitudes of the participants, curriculum organization,

teacher dynamics, and methodology". Moreover, they refer to "a change across the board" that trickles down from CLIL methodology. The literature shows that CLIL methodology is in line with the kind of teaching practice that supports the disadvantaged (Rose and Martin, 2012).

The European Commission (2006: 7) stated that to meet the aims of CLIL, "teachers should devote special thought not just to how languages should be taught, but to the educational process in general."

Taking all of this into account, the questionnaire focused on the following areas:

- the collaboration between content subject teachers and English Language teachers;
- the presence of teaching assistants (TA);
- the use of support strategies due to the fact that the subject is taught in English;
- the use of technology for the same purpose;
- the teachers' perceptions on the impact the use of these strategies has had on the quality of their teaching;
- the teachers' perceptions on the impact the use of these strategies has had on the scores of their students.

As stated earlier, in the section devoted to the design of this research, the charts that will be shown in the analysis of results are of no statistical value and are only presented for the purpose of speculating and inspiring future research with larger and more robust samples.

Collaboration between content subject teachers and English Language teachers.

The small sample size translated into high variability of the percentages. However, from this question we can see that collaboration is not altogether foreign for teachers of content subjects with English as a medium of instruction but when it takes place with varying degrees of frequency.

Para el desarrollo de tu asignatura, ¿llevas a cabo reuniones periódicas con el profesor de inglés? 20 respuestas

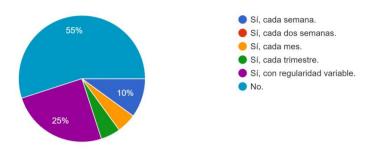


Figure 14. Question n.10. Source: own creation.

In any case, it is only natural that collaboration between content and language teachers is more present in a CLIL environment than in a monolingual school in which there is no apparent reason for it.

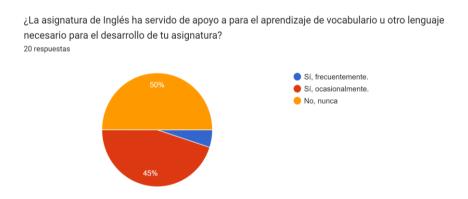


Figure 15. Question n.11. Source: own creation.

In line with the previous question, in some cases, teacher collaboration seems to result in support from the subject of English as a Second Language to teachers of content subjects in English.

Presence of teaching assistants (TA).

TAs are a permanent resource in bilingual schools. In the academic year 2021/2022 in the Region of Madrid, 2.743 native speakers of English and other languages assisted English and content subject teachers in bilingual schools and English teachers in non-bilingual schools (Consejería de Educación y Juventud).

Although TAs are present both in bilingual and non-bilingual schools, the former can use them in content as well as language subjects. This constitutes an invaluable resource as it can support the main teacher linguistically, pedagogically and in terms of class management. The importance of the latter should not be overlooked in an educational system in which the ratios have gone back up to the pre-pandemic values of 30 secondary students per teacher (La Vanguardia, 2021).

Very often TAs are associated with special needs because it is not very often that they are available in mainstream classrooms, even less so in secondary schools. In the context of inclusive education, it was found that teaching assistants promote student learning, teaching, and inclusion and have a beneficial effect on student learning (Sharma et al., 2016) (Haycock & Smith, 2011). They also had an impact in reducing the teachers' stress levels, workload and improving job satisfaction (Webster et al., 2010).

The use of support strategies due to the fact that the subject is taught in English.

Teachers were asked whether they had to put in place any pedagogical techniques or support strategies in order to make up for the fact that they were using English as a medium of instruction.

Para impartir mi asignatura en inglés, he tenido que poner en practica técnicas educativas nuevas y/o de apoyo a mis alumnos: Piensa en aquello que...ra diferente de si tu asignatura fuera en Español. ²⁰ respuestas

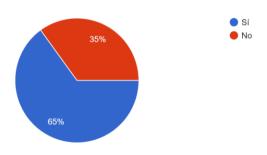


Figure 16. Question n.14. Source: own creation.

This question will be analised in more detail when describing the results of the interviews. However, it seems that teachers are not foreign to the experience of implementing scaffolding techniques in the context of CLIL.

The main types of support strategies put in place were the following:

- project-based learning,
- flipped classroom techniques or the involving students more in the learning process,
- visual aids and posters,
- repetition of vocabulary,
- videos and listening exercises,
- recycling vocabulary,
- games and competitions,
- creations of support materials and visual presentations and
- the use of the TA.

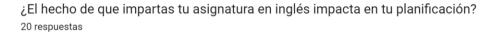
These are all strategies that have been proven successful to improve learner motivation and engagement (Lightbown, P. M. & Spada 2018) and to support disadvantaged learners (Rose and Martin, 2012). Therefore, an improvement in overall learner performance and scores is not surprising when effective support strategies are in place to help those who have less support outside the classroom. In most of the cases, it will be learners from a lower socioeconomic status. This shows the need of conducting additional quantitative research in which this variable can be isolated and it can be assessed to what extent it contributes to the improvement of students' scores in bilingual centres of the Region of Madrid.

In order to gather more detailed information around this topic, teachers were also asked in what ways, if any, their lesson planning had been influenced by the fact that they were teaching a subject through English.

Once again, without attempting to attribute statistical significance to the results, the fact that teachers seem to feel they have to make an extra effort in some way or another, should be enough to motivate additional research to explore this. As Lorenzo, Granados and Rico (2020) suggest, these could be some of the reasons behind the higher performance of students

attending bilingual schools and they should be defined and measured and compared to a control non-bilingual group in a quantitative study.

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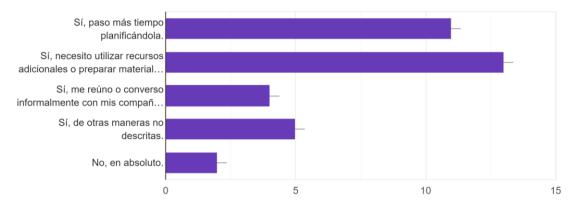


Figure 17. Question n.14. Source: own creation.

The use of technology for the same purpose.

As it has been made obvious in the previous section, the implementation of a lot of the CLIL-related support strategies imply the use of technology. Gamification and technology are, in fact, quite intrinsic to the CLIL methodology (Revista Universidad Internacional de la Rioja, 2020).

¿Has recorrido a la tecnología para apoyar a tus alumnos de manera mayor que si tu asignatura fuera en Español? (Kahoot, Quizlet, Quizizz, YouTube, LyricsTraining, Wordle, Bamboozle u otros.) ²⁰ respuestas

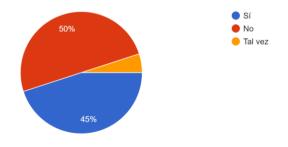


Figure 18. Question n.14. Source: own creation.

Although it is probably safe to assume that the use of technology is widespread in an important percentage of the classrooms of developed countries, it may also be worth checking to what extent CLIL methodology and project-based learning demands a higher use of it by both teachers and learners. The use of technology-based games is believed to increase student engagement. However, there is still insufficient research in this area despite the amount of data available (D'Mello, 2021).

Teachers' perceptions on the impact the use of these strategies has had on the quality of their teaching and on their students' results.

Although one might assume that the response to these two questions should correlate highly, teachers seem to perceive a higher improvement in student results than they do in their own teaching quality due to the use of support strategies.

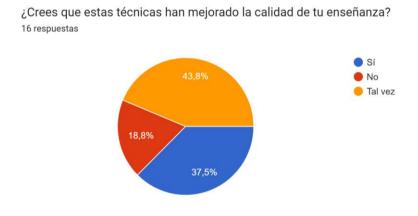
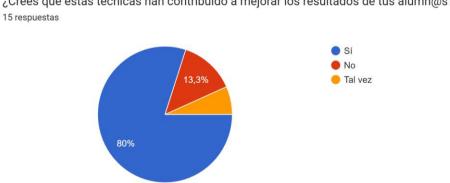


Figure 19. Question n.12. Source: own creation.



¿Crees que estas técnicas han contribuido a mejorar los resultados de tus alumn@s?

Figure 20. Question n.13. Source: own creation.

Once again, the data analysed from the Consejería de Educación y Juventud as well as from Lorenzo, Granados and Rico's (2020) research in Andalusia, prove that students obtain better results in bilingual schools than in non-bilingual. This includes students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. It would be interesting to explore more whether the teachers' perspectives of their own teaching match the students' performance in a quantitative study.

All in all, the questionnaire has provided enough information to narrow down the number of strategies to explore in the interview and it will serve as a backbone to help conduct it.

The results from this questionnaire have also evidenced the need to pursue further research in areas such as the impact of support strategies on learner performance, the role and impact of TA in students results and the impact of technology in student engagement.

4.3 INTERVIEWS RESULTS

The analysis of the results of the interviews will be described as one discourse but *verbatims* will be nominative and clarifications of what interviewee said what will be made when necessary.

Some of the most basic techniques shared by both teachers, but perhaps among the most important to ensure student comprehension and retention are: speaking slowly, using simple instructions, articulating, a lot of repetition and rephrasing. These strategies may often come unnoticed due to their simplicity but they are essential to make sure that every student is being taken onboard.

Both teachers had made use of different techniques to support their students in the context of CLIL. Flipped classroom, seemed to be a useful tool for engaging students. This methodology consists of asking students to do research or prepare a task in advance and then carry out in class what they have prepared (Revista Universidad Internacional de la Rioja, 2020). It is highly linked to project-based learning and heavily dependent on technology use. This type of methodology is also aligned with what the current LOMLOE (Ley Orgánica 3/2020) dictates is more autonomous, less memory based and, ultimately, more efficient learning.

"Algo que también hago mucho es como 'dar la vuelta a la clase'. Les pido a ellos que preparen o investiguen algo en concreto que lo traigan a clase para empezar a trabajar en ello juntos. Depende de en qué asignatura". INTERVIEWEE 1

"Una cosa que sí que hago para motivarles, y que ellos practiquen en casa, es pedirles que investiguen en casa algún deporte extraño en inglés, por ejemplo. Que lean sobre ello y vean unos cuantos vídeos y luego lo expliquen en clase. En lugar de explicárselo yo directamente, son ellos los que hacen el trabajo en casa". INTERVIEWEE 2

The use of technology-based games is a constant in their classrooms. They use it as a tool to introduce or review content. One of the online tools mentioned to support learners with their listening skills while they learn content was Edpuzzle. This app automatically introduces comprehension questions in the middle of YouTube videos, helping with understanding by checking the students' assumptions and breaking down the listening task into smaller, more manageable chunks.

Other online tools used to carry out formative assessment and review content when needed were: GetPlickers, Kahoot, Quizlet and Quizizz.

"En cuanto a tecnología, hombre, es que mi asignatura [Educación Física] es un poco especial. Lo que he usado más frecuentemente es EdPuzzle, que son videos de YouTube con preguntas de comprensión en medio. Esto lo he utilizado a menudo, para que practiquen el 'listening'. También utilizo mucho Get Plickers, para comprobar la adquisición de conceptos, hacer cuestionarios y tal'". INTERVIEWEE 2

Interestingly, both interviewees agreed with the trend detected in the questionnaire. They were unsure to what extent the quality of their teaching had improved due to the use of any of the aforementioned strategies but they were sure of the positive impact this extra support had had in their students' scores.

Both teachers believed that using English as a medium of instruction made it more difficult for their students to learn the content of the subject and they were not familiar with the reports that suggest that students from bilingual schools obtain better scores in evaluation exams than those from non-bilingual programmes.

The figure of the TA was put forward on several occasions. Although there were no relevant questions in the survey referring to this resource, the teachers were unanimous in expressing what a valuable tool TAs are in the bilingual classroom.

TAs are used for linguistic purposes (translating, explaining topics with complicated vocabulary, repeating explanations already heard in previous classes with more elaborate language); to assist students who need extra support (by spending time with them in class or taking them out to work on a specific area) and for class management purposes (by monitoring, supporting students when they are working in groups or pairs and even help them focus when there is a tendency to distraction).

"...una de las cosas que sí hago es utilizar muchísimo al auxiliar de conversación. Por ejemplo, veces me ayuda a explicar estos conceptos complejos con palabras más adecuadas. Dependiendo de la clase, también me ayuda a monitorizar el trabajo en grupos y a resolver dudas. Y además, con frecuencia ayuda a los alumnos que necesitan apoyo adicional. Ya sea

en la clase, sentándose con ellos o pasando a ayudarles de vez en cuando, o saliéndose de la clase con ellos un rato si hiciera falta".

"La verdad es que los 'teaching assistants' son seguramente el recurso más importante para mejorar la calidad de mis clases y ayudar a mis alumnos".

"...el resultado de tener un TA depende mucho del tiempo invertido a explicarle cuál va a ser su papel en cada clase. Yo todas las semanas me siento una hora con mi TA para explicarle lo que vamos a dar y cómo lo vamos a hacer. Así podemos planificar cómo me va a apoyar. Pero hay muchos profesores que no quieren 'perder' esta hora a la semana...". INTERVIEWEE 1

"Yo lo que más uso realmente es al TA. Es un recurso muy importante. Por ejemplo, cuando doy clase a un grupo más avanzado puede repetir una explicación que yo haya dado a otro grupo con vocabulario más específico o mejor utilizado. También puede ir a apoyar a unos grupos e ir hablando con ellos mientras yo atiendo a otros. Nos repartimos el trabajo". INTERVIEWEE 2

All of these uses of the TAs during the interview are in line with the ones described by Sharma et al., (2016): "teaching assistants promote student learning, teaching, and inclusion". The participation of TAs in these ways is known to have a beneficial effect on student learning.

TAs were claimed to be the most valuable asset for teachers in the bilingual classroom. This seemed to be related with the belief that their level of English was not sufficient to successfully instruct as they would do it in Spanish.

This perception is a very relevant one as teachers in the Region of Madrid are among the very few that need to meet the requirement of achieving a minimum level of C1 Advanced (CEFR) in English or the language medium of instruction. The self-consciousness of teachers with an advanced level of English makes it easier to empathise with teachers in other regions who are only required to have a B2 Upper-Intermediate (CEFR) level of the language medium of instruction. This could be one, among other factors, that may have led to the decline of the programme in some areas.

¿Sientes que recibes el suficiente apoyo (centro, Comunidad de Madrid, Estado) para impartir tu asignatura en inglés? Tanto en aspectos lingüísticos como pedagógicos.

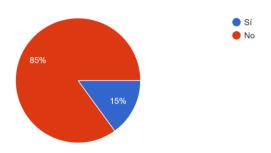


Figure 21. Question n.20. Source: own creation.

The fact that teachers believe their level of the language medium of instruction is not sufficient to deliver the subject makes the figure of the TA even more valuable. Although the questionnaire seemed to suggest that teachers were not satisfied with the amount of linguistic or pedagogical training they received, the two interviewees were aware of the training options available and content with them.

If the need for more teacher training were to be confirmed, it would be in line with the results of the quantitative and qualitative research on teacher perspectives on CLIL implementation carried out by Milla Lara and Casas Pedrosa (2017) in Andalusia.

TAs are available in every bilingual school. However, the use that is made of this major asset depends on the figure of the Bilingual Programme Coordinator. When some of the time of the TAs is allocated to support content subjects, then a competitive advantage is created over non-bilingual schools. The scores from regional evaluation exams reveal that this is probably the case in a high percentage of bilingual schools. Having one extra educator or assistant per class of 30 students could report important benefits in terms of pedagogical efficiency.

This is one of the key takeouts from this research that was not suggested by Lorenzo, Granados and Rico's (2020) as one of the possible factors that might be behind the better performance of bilingual students in Andalusia. A minimum required level of B1 for entering the secondary bilingual programme had been recently introduced in Andalusia. This factor might have also influenced student scores to some extent. However, only the students attending the Sección

Bilingue are required to have a minimum level of English in Madrid. Those attending Programa Bilingüe do not need a minimum entry level.

The interviewees stressed how important it is to invest time every week in order to go through the main points of the lesson with the TA and plan how they are going to support the teacher in delivering the lessons of the week. Sharma et al. (2016) suggest in their article that the utility of a TA is highly dependent on the correct definition of their purpose and the planning of their role in the classroom.

The percentages in the answer to question n.10 from the questionnaire are subject to high variability due to the small size of the sample, we can at least perceive that meetings with the English teacher do not happen on a weekly basis in most cases. This could suggest that this is not the case with TAs either.

Para el desarrollo de tu asignatura, ¿llevas a cabo reuniones periódicas con el profesor de inglés?

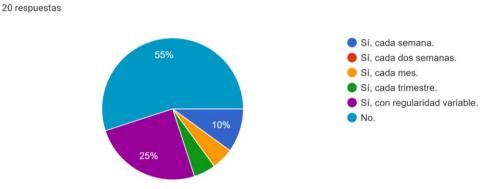


Figure 22. Question n.20. Source: own creation.

Among the pool of literature dedicated to CLIL and bilingual programmes, it is very frequent to come across criticism regarding the implementation of the programmes which, in turn, leads to flagging up the lack of a clear conceptualisation and definition (Pérez Cañado, 2016).

The effective use of TAs in bilingual programmes cannot be foreign to this lack of clarity all across the methodology. Together with the CLIL methodology that promotes collaboration between teachers, and a student-centred and more participative teaching style, TAs might be another valuable asset that is conferring bilingual education the competitive advantage that includes even the most disadvantaged.

4.4 DISCUSSION

Despite the bad press bilingual programmes have received in the past and still get nowadays, there is more and more literature such as Lorenzo, Granados and Rico's (2020) research in Andalusia and evaluation reports such as the ones published by the Region of Madrid, that evidence the better performance of students attending bilingual schools.

These claims are not without the controversy of studies suggesting the opposite phenomenon, such as the one carried out by Anghel, Cabrales & Carro (2012) in Madrid. Many reasons could lie behind these contradicting results. Firstly, the fact that Anghel, Cabrales & Carro were using the results from the CDI evaluations (Competencias y Destrezas Indispensables) that were carried out between 2005 and 2015, and the periodical reports published by the Region of Madrid are based on other external evaluations. Secondly, Anghel, Cabrales & Carro 's research focused only in primary. Although it is a common belief that when it comes to learning a language 'the earlier the better' it is not without some conditions. When the exposure to a language is not enough in terms of quality and quantity, learning it at a later age can be more beneficial, when the student has already acquired the metalanguage and the cognitive abilities to approach it in a more formal and structured way (Muñoz, Carmen, 2006).

Anghel, Cabrales & Carro's research focused on students who had started to participate in the Madrid bilingual programme in 2004 and 2005, that is, the first and second years of its implementation. During the first year, teachers were only required to have a B2 minimum level of English. It was only after the second year that they were required to have a C1 minimum level, a process which was not automatic. The teachers' level in the language medium of instruction is probably, and for obvious reasons, one of the key variables for the success of an immersion programme in which students are expected to learn a language in a natural, less structured way. Infact, Anghel, Cabrales & Carro's research seems to suggest that the negative effect of the bilingual programme on students seemed to decrease in those students that had started the programme in its second year, when the teachers were required to have a higher level of English.

The competitive advantage of students attending public bilingual secondary schools seems to be a fact. Moreover, the evidence of 'a change across the board' due to the presence of the CLIL methodology (Lorenzo, Granados and Rico, 2020) has shown to help decrease the gap between lower income students and those from a higher socioeconomic status in the Region of

Madrid (Evaluación de Educación Secundaria Obligatoria, 2019) and Andalusia (Lorenzo, Granados and Rico, 2020).

The outcomes of this research seem to confirm the presence of some of the same variables advanced by Lorenzo, Granados and Rico (2020): project-based learning, collaborative learning techniques, more student-centred and participative techniques and the use of technology in the classroom. The use of these pedagogical strategies are perceived as supportive of their learners' additional needs by teachers.

This kind of strategies have been proven to be successful in supporting disadvantaged learners by previous research (Rose and Martin, 2012), Therefore, it would only be natural that its presence in the classroom leads to an improvement in the performance of those students who would normally not get at home the additional support that others might.

Anghel, Cabrales & Carro (2012) and Muñoz, Carmen, (2006) among others, have evidenced the importance of quantity and quality of exposure to a native language to ensure efficient acquisition. The interviews carried out in this research, revealed the great value attributed by teachers to the teaching assistant as a *linguistic tool* to better meet their students' needs. However, being linguistically supported by a native teaching assistant does not, on its own, seem to explain the positive impact of the bilingual programme on lower-income students. If this variable were to be influencing these students' performance, it could possibly be attributed to the role they play as classroom assistants during individual and team work and in, many cases, expressly dedicated to support students with an additional need of some kind.

The presence of teaching assistants in Content and Language Integrated Learning should be explored in further research. Although, non-bilingual schools are also provided with teaching assistants in order to support the teachers of English as a Foreign Language, having an extra person in the classroom in a content subject could be a game-changer in an otherwise 1 to 30 teacher/student ratio.

Teacher perceptions as to what additional strategies they are having to put in place to teach through English should be confirmed in quantitative research with a wider scope and an ample sample. The figure of the teaching assistant should be included among these variables in order to try and measure to what extent they are each contributing to the improvement of an educational system that caters for everyone's needs.

This priceless information would help improve the face image of CLIL and bilingual programmes but, more importantly, it would allow to share with policymakers some key learnings on how to transform bilingual education into what the European Commission (2012) had stated in its initial aims: to democratise access to quality learning of the English language from an early age.

Although it escapes the scope of this research, the subject of the performance of immigrant students in bilingual systems was described in the section dedicated to reviewing existing literature (Anghel, Cabrales & Carro 2012) (Relaño Pastor 2014). With the same aim of extending access to quality English teaching to all, further research should be dedicated to understanding how and to what extent the needs of students with an L1 other than Spanish are being met. As Relaño Pastor (2014) states, the commodification of English should not be at the expense of a multi-lingual reality.

5. CONCLUSION

In light of these results, regarding the first research question, we can conclude that the bilingual education programme in the region of Madrid seems to positively contribute towards diminishing the performance gap between students from different economic backgrounds.

Whilst it has been traditionally believed that bilingual programmes had a negative impact on students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, the most recent official reports and research suggest the opposite is true. Not only do students from public bilingual students obtain overall better scores than their peers attending non-bilingual schools, but so is the case for lower income students, whose grades approach those of their fellow students from upper classes.

As to the question of whether CLIL methodology is to some extent responsible for the improvement of low income students' performance in bilingual programmes (Q2), finding evidence to back Q1 is a promising start in the quest of answering this second question.

Previous research pointed at the presence of pedagogical strategies stemming from CLIL that may be behind the advantage of students from lower income students in bilingual schools over those in non-bilingual schools. It did not, however, present concluding proof.

This study has detected the variables spoken of in previous research and has identified the belief in teachers that these techniques may be helping their students obtain better grades (Q3). Teachers also expressed the need to use support strategies as a consequence of teaching a content subject in English. One of the limitations of this research would be the inability to quantify these variables. For this reason, it calls for further quantitative research to compare, at least, the use of the following methodologies in bilingual and non-bilingual secondary programmes in the Region of Madrid: content-based learning, flipped classroom, gamification, technology. We would also recommend testing the comparative use of: repetition, speed of articulation, visual aid and material adaptation.

A possible variable undetected by previous research that could be behind the success of CLIL are teaching assistants. The interviews carried out in this research revealed the high

value that teachers attribute to this asset. In bilingual schools, content-subject teachers can often count on the support of classroom assistants that are, on the contrary, restricted to English lessons in non-bilingual schools. Teachers believe this is among the most important variables behind their students' success. Teaching assistants are not just of linguistic value to teachers and students but also contribute in terms of class management and student support. Having 'an extra pair of hands' in the classroom could be positively influencing students' performance in bilingual schools. Moreover, in a context in which autonomous student-centred work is promoted, having an assistant helping scaffold the students' work can make this task much easier.

The qualitative nature of this research could only but help confirm the presence of this variable as a possible contributing factor leading to better scores in bilingual schools. Therefore, we point out the importance of including teaching assistants as one more item in future quantitative research. In fact, the importance of this asset seems to be such, that we would dare call for research focused solely around the comparative use of teaching assistants between bilingual and non-bilingual schools. We would recommend carrying out quantitative as well as qualitative research in order to better understand the use that teachers' are making of this extra support. If teaching assistants were proven to be a determining factor behind the success of students in bilingual schools in the Region of Madrid, then it would be relevant for policymakers to regulate its use to make it more efficient and extensive to all content subjects taught through English.

In any case, as we have been able to observe in previous research and official reports, students attending bilingual schools also perform better in subjects taught in Spanish. This suggests, that, despite the importance attributed to teaching assistants by teachers, this cannot be the only success factor. In spite of being aware of their own use of additional support strategies, teachers' lack of self-confidence in their command of L2 could magnify their perception of the role played by the teaching assistant. It is for this reason that, apart from individual research around the figure of teaching assistants, it should also be included among other variables in a quantitative study to assess its relative importance.

All in all, it seems safe to claim that in the Region of Madrid, the bilingual educational programme is also contributing to closing the performance gap between upper and lower-income students. As in Andalusia, the arrangements promoted by CLIL are reducing the

socioeconomic differences determinant of competence. This study has been able to confirm the egalitarian effect of bilingual education in the Region of Madrid and has suggested some of the specific areas that should be further explored in order to delve deeper into egalitarianism in bilingual education.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. QUESTIONNAIRE.

Question	Answers
1. ¿Trabajas en un instituto bilingüe?	Sí No Ahora no, pero he trabajado en el pasado.
2. ¿Cómo se llama tu centro?	Open ended
3. ¿Tu centro está en la Comunidad de Madrid?	Open ended
4. ¿Cuánto tiempo has trabajado en un instituto bilingüe?	1 año o menos Entre 1 y 3 años Entre 3 y 5 años Más de 5 años
5. ¿En qué tipo de centro trabajas?	Público Concertado Privado
6. Impartes clase en: Sección Bilingüe, Programa Bilingüe, Programa Bilingüe British Council	
7. ¿Qué asignatura impartes?	Open ended
8. Tu experiencia general como docente de un colegio bilingüe es:	Muy buena Buena Ni buena ni mala Mala Muy mala
9. ¿Existen auxiliares nativos de conversación nativos en tu centro?	Sí No Tal vez
10. Para el desarrollo de tu asignatura, ¿llevas a cabo reuniones periódicas con el profesor de inglés?	Sí, cada semana. Sí, cada dos semanas. Sí, cada mes. Sí, cada trimestre. Sí, con regularidad variable. No
11. ¿La asignatura de Inglés ha servido de apoyo a para el aprendizaje de vocabulario u otro lenguaje necesario para el desarrollo de tu asignatura?	Sí, frecuentemente. Sí, ocasionalmente. No, nunca
12. ¿Has recibido formación específica de la	Multiple choice

metodología CLIL? (AICLE en Español)	Sí, en el master de profesorado. Sí, en mi centro. Sí, de otras maneras. No, nunca
13. He recibido formación para poder impartir mejor mi asignatura en inglés:	Multiple choice Formación para mejorar mi nivel de inglés. Formación en diferentes técnicas educativas
14. Para impartir mi asignatura en inglés, he tenido que poner en practica técnicas educativas nuevas y/o de apoyo a mis alumnos: Piensa en aquello que has hecho de manera diferente de si tu asignatura fuera en Español.	Sí No
15. ¿Qué técnicas educativas/de apoyo has puesto en práctica para impartir mejor tu asignatura en inglés? Piensa en aquello que has hecho de manera diferente de si tu asignatura fuera en Español.	Open ended
16. ¿Crees que estas técnicas han mejorado la calidad de tu enseñanza?	Sí No Tal vez
17. ¿Crees que estas técnicas han contribuido a mejorar los resultados de tus alumn@s?	Sí No Tal vez
18. ¿Has recurrido a la tecnología para apoyar a tus alumnos de manera mayor que si tu asignatura fuera en Español? (Kahoot, Quizlet, Quizizz, YouTube, LyricsTraining, Wordle, Bamboozle u otros.)	Sí No Tal vez
19. ¿El hecho de que impartas tu asignatura en inglés impacta en tu planificación?	Multiple choice Sí, paso más tiempoplanificándola. Sí, necesito utilizar recursos adicionales o preparar material de apoyo. Sí, me reúno o converso informalmente con mis compañeros. Sí, de otras maneras no descritas. No, en absoluto
20. ¿Sientes que recibes el suficiente apoyo (centro, Comunidad de Madrid, Estado) para impartir tu asignatura en inglés? Tanto en aspectos lingüísticos como pedagógicos.	Sí No

APPENDIX 2. NOTES FROM THE INTERVIEWS

INTERVIEW 1.

Teacher of Biology and Geology in English and Spanish and other science-related subjects such as Scientific Culture also in English and Spanish. This teacher has a permanent position in IES Gabriela Mistral, Arroyomolinos, and acts as "Jefe de Estudios".

P. Buenas tardes, en primer lugar quería darte las gracias por participar en este estudio. Como te he comentado al convocarte, el objetivo de esta conversación es obtener un poco más de detalle en tus respuestas en el cuestionario inicial. Me gustaría empezar por la pregunta principal: "¿Para impartir mi asignatura en inglés, he tenido que poner en practica técnicas educativas nuevas y/o de apoyo a mis alumnos: Piensa en aquello que has hecho de manera diferente de si tu asignatura fuera en Español.?" Y que me explicases en más detalle cuáles son esas técnicas.

R: Sí, como te comentaba en el cuestionario pongo en práctica algunas técnicas, tanto para apoyar a mis alumnos como para motivarles. Utilizo mucho el aprendizaje por proyectos en los que los alumnos tienen que trabajar de manera autónoma, aunque en general en grupos. Algo que también hago mucho es como 'dar la vuelta a la clase'. Les pido a ellos que preparen o investiguen algo en concreto que lo traigan, a clase para empezar a trabajar en ello juntos. Depende de en qué asignatura.

Otras cosas que hago para facilitar la comprensión y el aprendizaje es hablar más despacio, articular más y repetir la información. También hago preguntas frecuentemente para comprobar que me han entendido. Intento involucrar mucho más al alumnado para comprobar que han entendido la explicación o lo que hay que hacer. Para esto mismo también les pido a ellos que repitan mi explicación con sus propias palabras.

A veces tengo que preparar Power Points visuales para facilitar la comprensión de ciertos conceptos.

No sé si la calidad de mi enseñanza ha mejorado con la utilización de estas estrategias pero sí creo que las notas de mis alumnos han mejorado. Pero de todas formas, tengo la impresión de

que hay cosas que se quedan por el camino. Sé que les cuesta entender más que si fuera en español y que eso puede repercutir en sus resultados.

De hecho, hasta a mí me cuesta explicar ciertos conceptos complejos en inglés.

Esto me recuerda que, una de las cosas que sí hago es utilizar muchísimo al auxiliar de conversación. Por ejemplo, veces me ayuda a explicar estos conceptos complejos con palabras más adecuadas. Dependiendo de la clase, también me ayuda a monitorizar el trabajo en grupos y a resolver dudas. Y además, con frecuencia ayuda a los alumnos que necesitan apoyo adicional. Ya sea en la clase, sentándose con ellos o pasando a ayudarles de vez en cuando, o saliéndose de la clase con ellos un rato si hiciera falta.

La verdad es que los 'teaching assistants' son seguramente el recurso más importante para mejorar la calidad de mis clases y ayudar a mis alumnos.

P: Entonces, ¿los TAs, no son sólo para las clases de la asignatura de inglés? ¿Quién decide cómo y dónde prestan apoyo?

R: No, depende del centro, también se pueden utilizar como apoyo en las asignaturas impartidas en inglés. Esto lo decide el coordinador bilingüe de cada centro en función del número de clases, de alumnos, de TAs y de las necesidades específicas.

En cualquier caso, el resultado de tener un TA depende mucho del tiempo invertido a explicarle cuál va a ser su papel en cada clase. Yo todas las semanas me siento una hora con mi TA para explicarle lo que vamos a dar y cómo lo vamos a hacer. Así podemos planificar cómo me va a apoyar. Pero hay muchos profesores que no quieren 'perder' esta hora a la semna...

P: ¿Y respecto a la tecnología?

R: Sí, utilizo las herramientas que se mencionan en el cuestionario para hacer juegos, comprobar que han entendido conceptos, etcétera.

INTERVIEW 2.

Teacher of Physical Education in English. This teacher has a temporary position in IES La Dehesilla, Cercedilla. Despite the temporary position, it is his third year working in this same school. In the past, he has worked in other bilingual secondary schools of the Region of Madrid.

The first participant teaches In his case, he also has to deliver some of these subjects in Spanish as IES Gabriela Mistral has a Bilingual and a Non-bilingual Track. The second participant teaches Physical Education.

P: Buenas tardes, en primer lugar quería darte las gracias por participar en este estudio. Como te he comentado al convocarte, el objetivo de esta conversación es obtener un poco más de detalle en tus respuestas en el cuestionario inicial. Me gustaría empezar por la pregunta principal: "¿Para impartir mi asignatura en inglés, he tenido que poner en practica técnicas educativas nuevas y/o de apoyo a mis alumnos: Piensa en aquello que has hecho de manera diferente de si tu asignatura fuera en Español.?" Y que me explicases en más detalle cuáles son esas técnicas.

R: Sí, claro que tengo que hacer ciertas cosas para ayudar a mis alumnos, pero tampoco hago nada especial. Sobre todo, explico las cosas más despacio, utilizo frases cortas y repito mucho más.

Algunos compañeros utilizan muchos visuales. Por ejemplo, pósteres con imágenes y los nombres del material deportivo. O en el gimnasio y cerca del material con los nombres en inglés.

Yo lo que más uso realmente es al TA. Es un recurso muy importante. Por ejemplo, cuando doy clase a un grupo más avanzado puede repetir una explicación que yo haya dado a otro grupo con vocabulario más específico o mejor utilizado. También puede ir a apoyar a unos grupos e ir hablando con ellos mientras yo atiendo a otros. Nos repartimos el trabajo.

En cuanto a tecnología, hombre, es que mi asignatura es un poco especial. Lo que he usado más frecuentemente es EdPuzzle, que son videos de YouTube con preguntas de comprensión en medio. Esto lo he utilizado a menudo, para que practiquen el 'listening'. También utilizo

mucho Get Plickers, para comprobar la adquisición de conceptos, hacer cuestionarios y tal. Pero esto no sé si tiene mucho que ver con la enseñanza en inglés.

Una cosa que sí que hago para motivarles, y que ellos practiquen en casa, es pedirles que investiguen en casa algún deporte extraño en inglés, por ejemplo. Que lean sobre ello y vean unos cuantos vídeos y luego lo expliquen en clase. En lugar de explicárselo yo directamente, son ellos los que hacen el trabajo en casa.

También tengo que preparar alguna presentación en ocasiones, para apoyar un tema en concreto, pero como te decía, al ser educación física, la forma de enseñar puede ser algo diferente de otras asignaturas.

P: ¿Cómo crees que ha afectado a tus alumnos el que utilices todas las estrategias que me acabas de contar?

R: Creo que sí les ayuda a mejorar su conocimiento de la asignatura. En cuanto al nivel de inglés no lo sé. Yo estoy a favor del bilingüismo y conozco sus beneficios pero ya decidí hace mucho tiempo que me iba a centrar en inculcarles los beneficios del deporte y el cuidado del cuerpo y lo que viniese de añadido, muy bien,