Languages for All in Education: CLIL and ICLHE at the Crossroads of Multilingualism, Mobility and Internationalisation

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1 Introduction

At the beginning of this third millennium, educationalists, administrators and applied linguists are engaged in the project of promoting multilingualism at all levels within national educational systems, a goal which is not proving easy to achieve. For example, in the European Union, including 27 states, with 23 official and working languages and a population of 490 million, according to a recent survey, only 56 % of citizens are able to have a conversation in a language additional to their first language(s), with differences among the member states (European Commission 2006).

In accordance with the objective of promoting multilingualism, for the past two decades, languages have come to be seen as an asset for all students alike, no longer only for the language specialists, particularly at tertiary level. Tudor (2008: 52) describes the situation as framed in the realisation of the Bologna Process, whose goal is 'the development of a coherent and a cohesive European Higher Education Area (EHEA) by 2010 (Berlin Communiqué 2003, in European Commission 2012)' with transparency of accreditation and mobility across educational systems. Undoubtedly, language competence is necessary for learners to communicate effectively with counterparts, and this has been stressed in relation to the main tenets behind the multilingual project of the European Union: 'If you really want to connect with someone, you can do no better than speak their language' (Fox 2008: 68).

Language competence touches on the ability to gain access to specialised materials, participate in mobility programmes throughout Europe (Comenius, Leonardo and Erasmus, Erasmus Mundus, Tempus), engage in cross-border

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projects, relate to international partners and, later on in life, find employment and be professionally mobile. In sum, it is nowadays assumed that mainstream educational programmes should enable learners to be competent in several languages, which above all in European terms means 'not only in English' (European Commission 1995, 2005, 2007). However feasible this goal may appear, it has proved not to be easy. One key issue has been that efforts have been concentrated in learning English, to the detriment of other languages, as a direct consequence of market forces at play and English gaining the status of the international language *par excellence*.

Part and parcel in the multilingual policy strategy is the widespread and increasing success of a new approach to education in which curricular subjects are taught through the medium of non-L1 languages, again more often than not that language being English. The current name for such innovative initiatives at primary and secondary educational levels, which appears to have triumphed over others, is Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), and, at tertiary level, Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education (ICLHE). It must be noted that, as Smit and Dafouz (2013) rightly contend, there is an implicit tension implicit in the terminology chosen to refer to such programmes, undoubtedly reflecting differences between them. The tension exists between two pedagogical positions. On one extreme we find the 'dual-model pedagogical approach', which caters for both content and language teaching/learning, and this has been claimed to be what CLIL and ICLHE should do (see Coyle et al. 2010: 41–45; Wilkinson 2004: 10, respectively). In that respect, as Smit and Dafouz (2013) also emphasise, '[…] practices lacking such fused pedagogical teaching aims would not fall into prototypical CLIL programmes'. At the other end of the spectrum stand those programmes which focus on content only, so that at tertiary level, when this is the case, the term English Medium Instruction (EMI) or Integrating Content and Language (ICL) would appear to be more exact.

The general aim of the present chapter is to explore the extent to which CLIL and ICLHE innovative initiatives have contributed to the above-mentioned general goal of educating our younger generations as plurilingual individuals, ready to become active professionals in an increasingly international arena. It must be noted that CLIL is generally offered in combination with formal instruction (FI) in mainstream education. This is not so at tertiary level, where ICLHE/EMI/ICL are generally offered hand in hand with mobility programmes. Hence, this chapter seeks to highlight the instrumental role that CLIL programmes play as international experiences in their own right, and as preparation for experiencing mobility in the country where the target language of students is spoken. Such a specific induction role is a dimension of CLIL programmes which this chapter aims at bringing to the fore. In order to do so, it first offers an overview of the developments of the CLIL approach in Europe as a strategic feature in multilingual educational policies. Second, it presents the new status of English worldwide and how it has affected education and internationalisation, from initial to tertiary levels. Third, it offers an overview of the impact of CLIL or ICLHE and study abroad (SA) programmes from the perspective of second language acquisition. Finally, some conclusions are drawn as to how well these programmes serve the purpose of promoting multilingualism, allowing learners to become plurilingual and pluricultural language users with transcultural identities.

2 Taking Stock

If it is assumed that there is a role which curricular programmes through the medium of additional languages are to play in promoting languages for all, a question arises as to what specific contribution they may make towards that goal. Indeed, and prior to that, one may query the grounds on which such an assumption is made and what makes CLIL and ICLHE so attractive these days. In order to answer these questions, we first need to go back in time so as to take stock of developments in the field (see also Fortanet-Gómez 2013: 45–49 for another account of the early developments of CLIL).

At the end of the 1990s, in the early days of CLIL and ICLHE programmes, before they were even bore those names, many were the views put forward by European specialists on their status and role in education. Pedagogues and practitioners would argue about their educational and learning benefits (see, e.g., the edited volume by Grenfell 2002); applied linguists would claim that input, output and interaction through a non-L1 language mostly focused on meaning, without leaving aside from altogether, would spur linguistic development (see Muñoz 2007; Pérez-Vidal 2007 in the volume edited by Lorenzo et al. 2007); administrators and language policy makers would reflect on the social dimension of the initiative, often related to the idea of European citizenship and the ecological value of introducing linguistic diversity in the educational systems and mirroring linguistic diversity in Europe (Maljers et al. 2007). This was in sharp contrast, we would suggest, with the approach which seemed to be at the backbone of Canadian immersion programmes, or Content Based Teaching (or Instruction) experiences in the United States (Brinton et al. 1989), and granted European CLIL and ICLHE an identity of their own, a specificity. Whereas immersion programmes had the brief of enhancing second language learning, French in Canada, English in the United States (Lyster 2007; Genesee 2013), in Europe there were several different agendas behind our respective programmes.

Indeed, CLIL and ICLHE were clearly on several agendas and have remained so since those early days: they were on the political agenda, on the agenda of many families and on the educational agenda, as we have contended (Pérez-Vidal 2013: 60–65). Regarding the political agenda, second or foreign language medium instruction has played a prominent role in the European Strategy towards multilingualism, being actively promoted through a series of funded associations, projects and networks ever since the 1995 White Paper on Education and Training was issued. To this day, languages have periodically been discussed at high-level meetings held by the European Commission and the Council of Europe. The Directorate General for Education and Culture XXII had a budget for languages and even made multilingualism a separate portfolio for one of the Commissioners between 2005 and 2009. Indeed, a series of projects—including the European Language Council (ELC) association, the DIESeLL, the CLIL Compendium, the ALPME, the TICCAL, the TIE-CLIL, the ELAN, to name but a few, and the MOLAN and CASCADE networks—worked to refine the initial idea of bilingual education (see Baetens-Beadsmore 1993; Baker 1996; and later on García 2009, for a discussion of bilingual education with a US perspective).

Bilingual education was the term first used in European circles to refer to educational initiatives in which the language used as the medium of instruction is an additional language, different from the first language(s) of the learners. A Thematic Network Project on Bilingual Education in place between 1997 and 2001 still operated with that term (see Van de Craen and Pérez-Vidal 2000). By the end of the project, CLIL was adopted as a better term to capture the specificity of the European initiatives.

Several features make CLIL a differentiated European construct. Firstly, the fact that the whole approach had a socio-political remit cannot be forgotten. It is true that such a dimension is beyond the construct itself. However, it does underscore the fact that CLIL is an educational approach, not a simple 'methodology'. It was about the construction of a Europe united in diversity, the linguistic and cultural diversity of the different member states, in which the Schengen treaty fostered mobility of students and workers. Secondly, there is the fact that the non-L1 language used as the medium of instruction for curricular subjects is not only generally a different language from that of the learners, but also, and very importantly, from that of the teachers (see Lasagabaster and Sierra 2008). Thirdly and, in contrast to that, the 'culture' of the classroom and the curriculum remains that of the L1. The coursebooks adopted must follow the national curriculum of each specific member state, hence they cannot easily be imported from the target language country without significant adaptation. These features in particular allow us to draw a very clear line between European CLIL, on the one hand, and international schools, on the other, or schools which follow non-national curricula (Johnson and Swain 1997). Last but not least, the concept of integration has been presented as fundamental in CLIL for primary and secondary education. CLIL is about 'Integration [which] promotes subject or content learning to an equal position to that of foreign language learning' Coyle 2005: 8), as already mentioned above. In teaching terms, what this amounts to is clearly described in the following lines:

> Content teaching needs to guide students' progressive use of the full functional range of language, and to support their understanding of how language form is related to meaning in subject area material. The integration of language, subject area knowledge, and thinking skills requires systematic monitoring and planning. (Swain 1999, in Mohan et al. 2000)

Regarding the social agenda, CLIL is increasingly on the agenda of many families who had pinned their hopes on another main tenet of the European policy vis-à-vis languages, the early introduction of the first additional language in primary school, and had seen it fail as a linguistic policy geared to enhance English language competence. This was very much the case in countries such as Spain (García Mayo and García Lecumberri 2003; Muñoz 2006). The change was quite apparent: around the year 2000 any school that was getting ready to launch a CLIL programme would have had to deal with the parents' concerns, but concern gave way to enthusiasm.

Finally, as regards the educational agenda, poor achievements in foreign language results caused educational authorities to spring into action and to promote the new approach among schools and educators. To take only one example, in the UK, one of the countries with lowest percentages of multilingual speakers, CLIL managed to find a place in high profile reports (the Nuffield Languages Inquiry 2000), policy documents and initiatives such as Science Across the World (Coyle 2005: 9). Much can be said about the means used to such end, and even about political misuse of the approach in bilingual regions of Europe (see, e.g., Cots et al. 2012 dealing with Ireland, the Basque Country and Catalonia). Nonetheless, just as CLIL or ICLHE can motivate learners, they can also motivate both language and content teachers alike, and this has meant that top-down policies have often met with bottom-up enthusiasm and collaboration. Data from teachers and students in a recent study conducted in Austria seems to confirm this view (Hüttner et al. 2013). That is not surprising because, as has been previously argued (Pérez-Vidal 2009), CLIL represents 'the second time around' or a step forward in communicative language teaching (CLT), after the success of the communicative approach in the 1980s (see Canale and Swain 1980; Johnson 1982, on CLT). It was the natural development of CLT which proved flexible enough to encompass changes facilitated by autonomous learning premises (Little 1991), the central role of ICT in education and daily life and, last but not least, the ever increasing internationalisation of the world's economy and its impact on education, a central idea in this chapter which is discussed below. The enormous innovative educational potential of the approach is undeniable. However, a word of warning is necessary here. In as much as the European Commission has promoted multilingualism, it is more often than not difficult to promote competence in a second additional language. Indeed, in contrast with English, which since 2005 90 % of the primary and secondary education school population has learned, whether mandatory or not, German and French are only studied by 30 % of European learners and the figure will only tend to rise if they become mandatory (Eurydice 2008: 75–90). This takes us to the central topic in this chapter, multilingualism, and the status of English in the world in relation to the role of CLIL or ICLHE.

3 CLIL or ICLHE: At the Crossroads

Why should multilingualism need to be promoted? Besides the prominent position of English in education as often the only additional language taught, the fact is that the number of speakers of the 7,000 different languages in the world is clearly unevenly distributed, as there are currently only 200 countries for such a number of languages. Moreover, more than 4,000 of those languages are spoken by less than 2 % of the world's population (Cenoz 2009: 1). Consequently, the aim of educational policies with a multilingual goal is to promote competence in several languages, an indispensable requirement if we want to ensure the well-rounded plurilingual profile which we have stated our young generations need to have these days.

The European strategy towards multilingualism referred to in the previous section is a case in point (for overviews, see Tudor 2008; Fortanet-Gómez 2013). The strategy geared to ensure the 1 + 2 formula (that is knowledge of two additional languages besides the first language(s)) involves a combination of early exposure to a first additional language, both through conventional formal instruction and the additional hours of content and language integrated learning, and a second additional language introduced at the beginning of secondary education (see Pérez-Vidal 2009 for a summary).

Multilingual language competence allows people to communicate and function adequately in different circumstances, most importantly in daily communication and in academic uses (Canale and Swain 1980). Currently, educational institutions following European recommendations can promote communicative competence in several languages by three easily identifiable means: firstly, through CLIL and ICLHE; secondly, through an institutionally organised bilateral group exchange (Comenius or Leonardo schemes in mainstream education, or Erasmus in the EHEA, similarly to the study abroad programmes in the United States and Canada (Kinginger 2009)); thirdly, by using the Internet to link the local learners with learners from a different country, the so-called virtual mobility (see Prieto-Arranz et al. 2013 as an experience in point).

At university level, higher education outside English-speaking countries is adopting English medium instruction. To be exact, courses entirely taught in English have tripled in the last decade, with as many as 2,400 courses running in the non-English speaking member states (see the latest Wächter and Maiworm's 2008 ACA report). This development has been accelerated in Europe through the implementation of the Bologna Declaration, whose impetus may have been the need for harmonisation and transparency of higher education qualifications, irrespective of the language of instruction, these authors stress. EMI, however, has been greatly motivated by the increasingly competitive recruitment process of universities and the mobility policies within the European Union. The upshot has been a move towards English-medium education, perhaps simply as a result of economic factors. That is, European universities are trying to attract fee-paying international students. The trend has become what some call the *lingua franca* trap, as Coleman (2013: 3) reminds us of: 'While the global status of English impels its adoption in HE, the adoption of English in HE further advances its global influence'.

Against such a background, we can clearly state that a fourth new agenda lies behind CLIL and ICLHE through the medium of English, clearly as far as higher education is concerned, its 'market character' as again Coleman (2013: 3) has explained very clearly:

> In countries whose national language(s) are little taught elsewhere, bilateral exchanges are only possible if courses are delivered through an international language, most frequently English. An opportunity to study abroad is at the same time seen as better preparing domestic students for international careers. Regrettably, such student-centred impulses have often now been overtaken by a desire to share in the lucrative European and global markets of university students.

In this respect, and moving to the next point, CLIL and ICLHE together with mobility are striking examples of this new status of English in the world, which has made it indisputably an international language (EIL). Already non-native speakers of English outnumber native speakers in a ratio of about 5:1 (Crystal 2003: 69); hence its status as a Lingua Franca (ELF) (Crystal 2003; Graddol 2004; Alcón 2007).

The bad news here is what a few critical voices have clearly argued, the fact that this trend is a rather undesirable one for many reasons and particularly for linguistic diversity and multilingualism. Coleman quotes the article by Roy (2004) *Italian lies dying…and the assassin is English!* as an example. The good news is, as already mentioned, that CLIL and ICLHE/EMI teachers are more often than not non-native speakers. They would be classified as belonging either to Kachru's (1992) outer circle (English as a second language) or to the expanding circle (English as a foreign language), not to the inner circle (first language). Consequently, CLIL is clearly groundbreaking and cutting-edge as it has allowed us to move away from the convention of the ideal target in foreign language teaching and learning being that of achieving native-likeness. Instead, within CLIL, competence in a new language entails achieving functional use. This has been happening at a time when language acquisition research was also demystifying such an ideal and promoting models other than the monolingual native model (Cook 2002). Incidentally, this new approach to language learning based on communicative language use with partial competences as acceptable learning targets had also been clearly advocated by the two main instruments issued by the Council of Europe as part of the European multilingual policy and handed over to the educational community, the *Common European Framework of Reference: Language Teaching and Assessment* (2001) and the *European Language Portfolio* described by Little and Perclová (2001). Against such a backdrop, the answer to the main question addressed in this chapter, that is, the specific contribution which CLIL or ICLHE can make to educational programmes, is beginning to take shape.

To be more specific and to tackle the main point, the contribution of CLIL and ICLHE programmes to the promotion of plurilingual and pluricultural competence in education is to offer an invaluable qualitatively new dimension to teaching and learning. Beyond any other possible quantifiable gains, dealt with in the following section, these programmes prepare for internationalisation, which today is a must in education. We would assert that access to internationalisation for all students alike is a democratic right, which for a long time has been reserved to the elite. While agreeing with the critical voices who have made clear the new agenda behind CLIL, that is, the marketization trend of education particularly at its final tertiary level, with the instrumental role CLIL and ICLHE through the medium of English play in attracting 'shares' of that market, we would contend that one should not deprive students from the all-round profile which language knowledge and international experiences grant them for the following reasons:

1. International experiences have an overall positive impact on all learners': (a) motivation and attitudes; (b) capacity to interact face to face or through virtual environments; (c) developing transcultural identities and abilities; (d) linguistic and pragmatic abilities and (e) career prospects.
2. International experiences can take place at home and abroad and must reach all students alike.

Empirical research on the issue of whether CLIL or SA, or each of them separately, enhance an international stance in students (our working hypothesis) is scarce or even non-existent, albeit necessary. We have recently begun to conduct research along these lines within the COLE project (see Moratinos-Johnston et al. 2014), with a qualitative case study in which higher education students' self-perception as multilingual and multicultural speakers and their views of the potential professional benefits of such features are tapped into (see Pérez-Vidal 2014 for a presentation of the project's outcomes). The subjects declare that CLIL experiences made them feel at ease when they went abroad. They also attached great importance to their multilingual profiles in an evermore competitive labour market (Moratinos-Johnston et al. 2014). This is a view which Coyle (2005: 8) vividly reported through a quote from a 15-year-old Catalan learner in Barcelona:

> I want to study English because if I don't study English in the future I won't have a job […] Chemistry in English for the future is more important.

The question at this point is: what is the real impact of SA and CLIL programmes? CLIL seems not to be widespread across European educational systems. Belgium (in German), Malta and Luxembourg have it across educational systems. Italy has had one subject in upper-secondary since 2010, and in Austria the first foreign language is taught through CLIL from 6 to 8 years, similarly to Liechtenstein. In the rest of European countries, as the Eurydice report states (2008), pilot projects abound. English-taught programmes (ETP) at Bachelor and Master 'are a very young […] and still not a mass phenomenon', with 2 % of the total 40 million HE student population participating in them (Wächter and Maiworm 2008: 10). As for mobility in the EHEA, the vast majority of countries have values of less than 5 % for incoming degree mobility rate, below 2 % for outgoing and below 1 % for outgoing outside Europe. South and Eastern countries tend to have more outgoing students, while North and Western countries have more incoming students. The current projection of short-term trends in the framework of the Erasmus programme anticipates a 7 % of mobility by 2020, far from the 20 % benchmark set at the Louven/Louvain-La-Neuve Communiqué (European Commission 2012). All in all, however, globally 2.12 million students were studying abroad in 2003, and the figure is set to rise to 7.2 million by 2025 (Coleman 2013: 10). Hence, with these low figures, it is clear that there is a key role to be played by CLIL and EMI as instances of 'internationalisation at home'. However, taking into account the relatively low current figures for CLIL and SA programmes in Europe, it is also quite obvious that they cater only for a very small portion of the student population. Hence, in our opinion the worry that the expansion of English-medium CLIL programmes and mobility experiences is going to revolutionise the face of education seems not to have much basis, whereas the concern for the status of English and the limited place it leaves for other languages seems to be well founded.

In brief, if it may be assumed that CLIL programmes followed at home help learners develop and change, in combination with formal instruction, then the experience of actually 'living' in the country where additional languages to one's own are spoken, and used academically, should do so to an even larger extent. However, this option is available to a small number of students. The question we shall now turn to is whether the expectations generated by these programmes hold true, and for all learners alike. Those for whom the experience is by and large extremely positive abound, as the following quote illustrates:

> It's now my last week in England, […] and I'll have to go back and get used again to my other life. It's also my life, and I like it, and I want to see my friends and family. But I would definitely come back. Three months is not enough. Three months is nothing. My English has improved so much since I came here that I think that it is a waste to leave now. One year would be perfect! […] I didn't think it was going to be like that, but I'm really happy about everything I've seen, done, lived, enjoyed, here. I can say, without a doubt, that these three months in Leeds have been the best thing I've ever done. I wouldn't ever change this experience!
>
> (Student in Leeds (UK), COLE Study Abroad Diary Corpus)

4 CLIL or ICLHE and SA Programmes Characterised

From the perspective of language acquisition and cultural development, what happens when learners find themselves experiencing learning contexts such as CLIL, ICLHE or SA is that they can in principle find the best conditions for their target language to develop and their identities, attitudes, motivation and beliefs concerning languages and cultures to change for the best. The following two sections include a description of these learning contexts and a summary of their impact on learners' profiles.

4.1 Context Features

What are the conditions learners find in language learning contexts which are different from the FI conventional classrooms they have experienced for years at school? CLIL programmes have been characterised by Dalton-Puffer (2007: 2) as follows:

> A common denominator for CLIL is that a non-L1 is used for classes other than those labelled as 'language classes' […] from kindergarten to tertiary level, and the extent of its use may range from occasional foreign language tests in individual subjects to covering the whole curriculum.

This is in fact what Llinares et al. (2013) call the 'weak' and the 'strong' version of CLIL, respectively, drawing on Baker (1996: 216). SA in turn is well depicted in the following quote by Howard (2005: 496):

> The instructed learner [at home] assumes the role of the naturalistic learner during a period of residence in the target language community […] while often simultaneously following language or content courses, carrying out several leisure and social activities and even working.

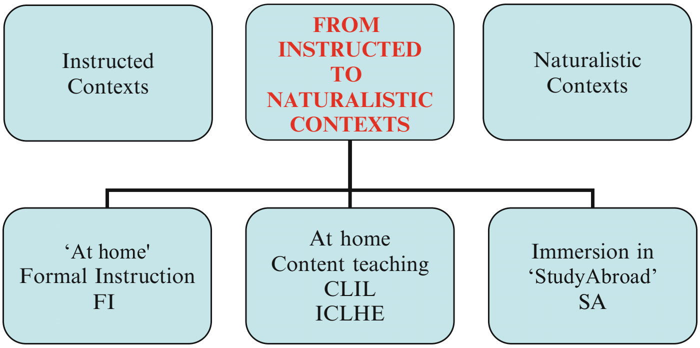
Instructed Contexts
FROM INSTRUCTED TO NATURALISTIC CONTEXTS
Naturalistic Contexts
'At home' Formal Instruction FI
At home Content teaching CLIL ICLHE
Immersion in 'StudyAbroad' SA

Fig. 1 Three main contexts of Acquisition

The changes in learner identity which take place while abroad and in CLIL or ICLHE classrooms are a central feature of the new dimension these programmes bring into the classroom. Indeed, robust CLIL programmes may be claimed to stretch learners' use of languages making them act as language users rather than language novices in the classroom (Dalton-Puffer 2007) and, accordingly, may lead them to develop new identities as multilingual speakers. Similarly, SA programmes offer learners a naturalistic environment in which they often seek to carry a 'local speaker's badge', as Regan (1995) vividly suggested.

Regarding the nature of SA and CLIL as naturalistic settings, if we represent language learning contexts along a continuum having formal conditions at the left end of the axis and naturalistic conditions at the right end, as shown in Fig. 1, CLIL and SA do have in common the fact that they are both placed towards the naturalistic end of the continuum (Pérez-Vidal 2011; taken up in Juan-Garau 2012), with CLIL standing half-way in between and SA right at the end, as communication in CLIL lessons only takes place within the four walls of a classroom.

Naturalistic conditions for language learning, according to initial second language acquisition theories such as Krashen's Input Hypothesis (1985), involve massive opportunities for high quality input, a requisite for linguistic development to occur. Subsequently interactional views of language learning (Long 1996; Gass 1997) have established the need for negotiation of meaning in communicative breakdowns, a type of implicit feedback which learners should avail themselves of for their linguistic development, either in the form of positive or negative evidence.[1] Finally, attention and noticing also play a role (Schmidt 1990, 2001) in order to push learners' uptake, that is, how learners process the feedback they receive (Ellis 2001). Both CLIL and SA allow for such processes to take place to different degrees.

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[1] Positive evidence has been defined by Gass (1997: 36) as 'the set of well-formed sentences to which learners are exposed' which allow them to gather data about possible and acceptable utterances. That is the sort of evidence which Krashen (1985) thought both necessary and sufficient for language acquisition to take place. Negative evidence offers cues about what is not acceptable in learners' output and pushes learners to reformulate utterances according to their own linguistic resources (Canale and Swain 1980).

CLIL contexts allow for practice which is meaning-oriented, while SA contexts offer out-of-class practice in multiple situations, with different speakers, within a variety of contexts and degrees of formality (Kasper and Rose 2002; Van Patten 2003). However, both programmes afford practice focused on meaning. This is in contrast with FI, in which communication tends to focus on form as the most common sort of practice, unless very committed communicative approaches to language teaching are adopted (Doughty and Williams 1998; Doughty 2006). In sum, in naturalistic language learning conditions such as those found in content-oriented CLIL lessons, and even more so in SA, learners should eventually manage to experience 'learning as [an] automatic reflex characterized by lack of control and even absence of awareness, a view associated with implicit learning and use' (Sanz 2014).

More recently, the CLIL and SA contexts of learning have also been viewed as providing complementary opportunities for meaningful practice, due to the differences regarding the skills most practiced in each context. Pérez-Vidal (2011) has suggested in the *Combination of contexts* hypothesis that different benefits might accrue in each context and in combination might in turn push learners to subsequent competence levels: 'Firstly an upper intermediate level of competence in the target language acquired through formal instruction is ideal for CLIL approaches to education to be beneficial in receptive skills competence, particularly reading, general fluency, vocabulary, and self-regulatory abilities. Secondly, after experiencing FI and CLIL, a SA period in the target language country would prove most fruitful for the improvement of productive skills, particularly oral, and socio-pragmatic abilities, especially a SA residence period of an adequate length, a minimum of 6 weeks' (Pérez-Vidal 2011: 117–118). In the next section, evidence from empirical research regarding differential contextual gains is presented.

4.2 Context Effects

From the point of view of language acquisition research, few contexts are as rich and complex as SA, and CLIL programmes are perhaps the other unconventional acquisition context with similar characteristics. The Study Abroad and Language Acquisition (SALA) (see Pérez-Vidal 2014 for a full account) and the Combination of Contexts for Learning (COLE) research projects have encompassed the analysis of both contexts in contrast with FI. The second part of this volume is precisely devoted to a thorough presentation of the results of the COLE project and their discussion against the background of the existing research on the effects of CLIL programmes on adolescent EFL learners' linguistic development.[2]

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[2] The author of this paper has been the principal investigator of the Universitat Pompeu Fabra and Universitat de les Illes Balears coordinated projects, SALA (2004–2007), COLE (2007–2010), both funded by the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science, and C03 (2010–2013), funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness (see for more information www.upf.edu/dtcl/recerca/allencam).

Interest in studying the effects of stays abroad had an initial impetus around the 1990s (see Freed 1995), with most publications issued in the United States and work coming from Europe only later on (Coleman 1998). Such impetus was regained in the early 2000s when several key volumes and journal monographs were issued (Collentine and Freed 2004; DuFon and Churchill 2006; DeKeyser 2007; Kinginger 2009). Research has also taken care of methodological shortcomings in current studies (see Rees and Klapper 2008; DeKeyser 2014).

The following brief overview offers a selection of studies showing benefits on linguistic abilities as a result of a SA period spent in the target language country, often measured in comparison with FI. The greatest progress is reportedly obtained during SA in the domain of oral production, particularly in the areas of fluency, lexicon and pragmatics (Milton and Meara 1995; Freed et al. 2004; DuFon and Churchill 2006; Trenchs 2009; Mora and Valls-Ferrer 2012; Juan-Garau 2014). Receptive skills also show significant improvement as far as listening goes (Kinginger 2009). Recent research on writing with European samples of students shows significant improvement in the domains of fluency, complexity and accuracy (Sasaki 2007, 2011; Pérez-Vidal and Juan-Garau 2011; Serrano et al. 2011; Barquin et al. submitted). The fact that findings are also rather mixed, clearly in reading (Dewey, in Collentine and Freed 2004), grammatical accuracy (DeKeyser 1991, but see Juan-Garau 2014) and pronunciation and phonetic ability (Diaz-Campos 2004; Mora 2008; Avello et al. 2013) has been acknowledged in most of the state of the art accounts to date such as Collentine (2009) or DeKeyser (2007). As this author has stressed (DeKeyser 2014):

> In spite of the almost magical image of a stay abroad as the one and only way to achieve high levels of proficiency according to some, or at least a dramatic accelerator of linguistic development, the available research paints a much more nuanced picture. […] the main determinant of success, besides perhaps aptitude, is the students' learning behaviour, which in turn is influenced by a variety of factors, including their preparation.

Studies comparing immersion abroad with immersion at home (DeKeyser 1990; Freed et al. 2004) find that students having spent greater time doing academic work at home would outperform those on SA. As for learners' self-regulatory ability, it is directly related to the degree of contact they have with native speakers (Dörnyei 2005). Collentine and Freed's (2004) seminal *Studies on Language Acquisition* monographic issue concludes and explains that it is not the context *per se* but the type and intensity of contact that the learners establish with the target language that condition the benefits they gain from an 'at home' immersion programme, in contrast with a SA period. The quantity and quality of contact with target language speakers is undoubtedly dependent on three elements: (a) the ability students show to benefit from the opportunities at hand; (b) their intercultural sensitivity (Paige et al. 2004) and (c) their ability to establish and maintain social networks (Mitchell et al. 2013). Regarding the architecture of programmes, age of onset has been recently analysed in two studies, which show that progress accrues at different ages and in programmes of different length (Llanes and Muñoz 2009, 2013; Avello and Lara 2014, on length of stay).

Regarding research on the effects of CLIL and ICLHE programmes, although altogether a recent subfield of enquiry, it has already accumulated a consistent set of empirical findings. To take but one example, Spain, a member state of the European Union which on the Eurydice (2012) report does not even appear quoted as having a systematic policy vis-à-vis CLIL, has produced over half a decade literature that includes around 15 books in addition to doctoral PhDs and journal articles on the matter (e.g., Lorenzo et al. 2007; Cenoz 2009; Dafouz and Guerrini 2009; Ruiz de Zarobe and Jiménez Catalán 2009; Salazar-Noguera and Juan-Garau 2009; Villareal and García Mayo 2009; Lasagabaster and Ruiz de Zarobe 2010; Escobar Urmeneta et al. 2011; Ruiz de Zarobe et al. 2011; Alcón and Michavila 2012; Abello-Contesse et al. 2013; Fortanet-Gómez 2013; Llinares et al. 2013). This does indeed provide evidence of the social interest of the phenomenon, as was emphasised in the first section of this chapter.

Research on CLIL encompasses issues to do not only with language acquisition and content learning but also with the dimensions of teaching practices, not present in the SA literature. At the higher education level, Smit and Dafouz (2013: 7) identify three areas of research: classroom discourse, teachers' roles and English-medium policy documents. Research has not been free of methodological pitfalls similar to those of the analysis of SA: control groups are not easy to establish; the group that is analysed often includes the best students; valid instruments for data collection are scarce; and the many CLIL experiences are experimental and therefore not generalisable (Moore 2009: 121–122). As other chapters in the book focus on an overview of empirical studies (see Ruiz de Zarobe 2015), a summary of benefits is provided here. Most studies seem to show that CLIL learners improve faster than learners in FI contexts (Dalton-Puffer 2007; Lasagabaster 2008; Moore 2009; Hellekjaer 2010; Escobar Urmeneta et al. 2011, to name but a few). A well-designed programme, like that of the Andalusia autonomous community in Spain, shows improvement in the four skills in 10- and 12-year-old learners in the two contexts (Lorenzo et al. 2010). However, just as with SA research, there is a proportion of studies which show clearly the opposite, this is the case of Sweden, for example, where, according to Sylvén (2013), CLIL 'does not work'. Based on the positive evidence, Dalton-Puffer (2007: 5) clarifies that for now we know that the receptive skills, vocabulary, morphology, fluency and emotional dimension of learners seem to improve. However, their syntax, writing, informal language, pronunciation and pragmatics do not. In brief, if we try and match benefits from one context and another, it becomes evident that informal language and pragmatics seem to require a SA context to make significant progress, as they do not seem to do so in CLIL contexts. However, both areas of research, and particularly CLIL, need further systematic empirical work, addressing the methodological issues identified to date. All in all, the main tenet in this chapter concerning the international dimension of these two contexts of acquisition may suffice to satisfy us while robust quantitative research findings accumulate.

Conclusions

In this chapter, we have underlined the different roles played by content and language integrated approaches to education in Europe and their contribution to the promotion of multilingualism. As innovative approaches they seem to be instrumental in motivating teachers and learners, demystifying native-likeness as the objective in language learning, improving language skills at certain levels and intercultural learning. In contrast to that, research also shows that not all programmes are alike and work so efficiently.

Most importantly, such innovative programmes have a specific role to play in promoting internationalisation. On the one hand, they represent international experiences in themselves or prepare for mobility. They become scenarios in which lessons are transformed into a novel further-reaching learning experience for mainstream and university students. Indeed, at all educational levels curricular programmes taught through the medium of English, French, German, Spanish or any other language different from the learners' language(s) may place learners in an international mindset. On the other, they may also serve the practical purpose of accommodating incoming students on mobility programmes, thus allowing for a 'share' of the existing HE market. Not only that, CLIL and ICLHE lessons may also serve as a fitting preparation for the local students' future mobility experiences, as they mirror the kind of classroom setting which they will encounter when they themselves enrol on a SA exchange. It is not surprising that the European recommendations made to the member states for the past three decades vis-à-vis languages, within the general strategy towards multilingualism, have promoted both CLIL programmes and mobility and residence abroad for European young, and not so young, learners as the main strands in their policies. Their goal is the democratisation of access to knowledge and mobility through different languages, a right which no citizen should be deprived of.

What the multilingual strategy did not initially set out to promote was the overriding role which English has taken in education, as a consequence of its new status in the internationalisation of market forces globally. Moreover, the well-known motto *United in Diversity* reflected a vision in which European citizens would have more than one additional language. To that end the strategy summoned a group of intellectuals led by the writer Amin Mahlouf to discuss how languages different from English might be promoted (European Commission 2008).

It is true that both the weight taken by English and the difficulties in promoting the second additional language stand as a serious threat to the effective implementation of multilingual policies. However, we have asserted in this chapter that such problems along the way must not blur the vision we share: languages for all and internationalisation for all.

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