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Comparing language ideology, policy and pedagogy implications for student outcomes in CLIL and immigrant education

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Abstract

As linguistic diversity is increasing in many classrooms, teachers across disciplines and educational levels are more often faced with students of different language backgrounds and needs. Concomitant with educational initiatives to develop students' foreign language skills and multilingual repertoires, urgent needs to fast forward immigrant students' proficiency in the language of instruction are calling for the attention of educators and policy makers. By comparing and contrasting educational contexts involving content and language integrated learning (CLIL) and mainstream education of newly arrived immigrant students (NAS), this article seeks to bring language policy and its underlying ontology to the fore, highlighting its implications for pedagogy and educational outcomes, as well as for individual students and society. The focus is on the role of language in relation to content, hence a discussion on different variants of language integrated approaches, i.e. CLIL, English medium instruction (EMI) and immersion, to see how the education of immigrants relate to those. The article lends examples from a Swedish comparative research study on teachers' experiences with language learners in CLIL and among NAS. The contexts differ in some respects, but as this text will argue, the questions of shared character and interest are many, some of which refer to matters of fairness and comparability in education. Teachers in both contexts are struggling with how to handle limitations in students' academic language skills and students not learning disciplinary content with the same depth and complexity as they might have done if the students had been using their first language, issues which are emphasized in assessment. At the same time as curricula and assessment imply standardized learning outcomes and target language, current discourse advocates translanguaging, leaving many teachers disillusioned as they find incompatibility between students' flexible use of their linguistic resources and standardized assessment expectations.

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Introduction

The central role of language in education has not diminished as globalization and immigration have increased. On the contrary, issues in relation to which languages should be targeted and how to help students develop both multilingual competences and disciplinary literacies have been accentuated. As education from preschool to university level turns more linguistically diverse, studying subject content in a second language has become the norm for many, but not necessarily out of choice.

One concern for education in the 21st century, is how to create equal opportunities for all by equipping learners with linguistic repertoires sufficient to navigate the established practices of formal education (Nikula et al., 2016, p. 4). Consequently, language policy and education become a matter not only of adding more languages to students' plurilingual repertoires, but also providing access to subject disciplines. If disciplinary literacy and discourse is left implicit and not taught explicitly it will risk being a barrier to learning. Research shows that while content teachers do not usually focus on the quality of disciplinary language, language teachers tend to consider subject-specific literacies irrelevant (Meyer et al., 2015). Consequently, when a second language is used as medium of instruction in subject content courses, learning the necessary language will hinge upon the individual. Scholars have set out to define the types of texts, genres and typical linguistic and grammatical features needed to develop the language of schooling and distinguish everyday language from academic language (Cummins, 2008; Cummins et al., 2006; Schleppegrell, 2004, 2011), arguing that subject-specific language must be taught for language learners to succeed. Written disciplinary genres should ideally be modelled and exemplified for students to build disciplinary literacy (cf Gibbons, 2002, 2018). Syllabi present learning objectives using active verbs, defined as cognitive discourse functions, CDFs, e.g. *describe, explain* and *analyze* (Dalton-Puffer, 2016), which postulate academic language skills, needing to be contextualized in subject-specific discourse.

The role of language in and for education is expressed in language policy, as text (e.g. syllabi) and as discourse (cf Ball, 1993). Spolsky (2004, 2017) argues that policy is embedded within practice and can be seen as the practices, the beliefs and organizational preferences in relation to language, referring to the interrelatedness of policy as text, discourse and practice. Language policy leans on ideological and ontological conceptualizations of language. The

notion of so called named or nation state languages refers to an essentialist ontology, in contrast to a post-modern non-essentialist view positing a more flexible and fluid view of 'languaging', allowing students to use their home languages or any linguistic resources to make learning more equitable, in line with principles of social justice (Ortega, 2018). The critical discourse builds on a post-modern view, juxtaposing monolingual language policy with the purpose to integrate immigrant students in mainstream education and multilingual initiatives, such as CLIL, aiming at equipping students with more languages, sometimes referred to as "elite bilingualism", with plurilingual and translingual approaches (García & Otheguy, 2020). As the intimate relationship between language skills and academic success becomes apparent, the critical discourse stresses issues in relation to identity, equality and social justice, a reaction against perceived oppression and 'a language deficiency discourse' where language is associated with power, stressing the importance of equitable language policy. In response to increasing linguistic diversity, the Council of Europe puts speakers and not language at the center of policy issues, for the sake of successful integration (Beacco, 2014). This article posits that both language and learners can and should be in focus in multilingual education.

Comparing mainstream education of newly arrived students (NAS) with CLIL programs where English is used as the medium of instruction in Swedish upper secondary education, this article aims at discussing language ideology, policy and pedagogy from a fairness perspective based on the notion of consequential validity, ensuring that all students have equal access to subject content (Kane, 2010; Messick, 1989; Stobart, 2005). A second aim is to compare the features of the language and content integrated approaches CLIL, EMI (English medium instruction) and immersion to discuss how the education of immigrants relate to these. Data is used from a previous Swedish research study on teachers' assessment practices in CLIL context and the instruction of NAS (Reierstam, 2020). A comparative analysis is made, looking at similarities and differences in policy and context, discussing whether any of these two, or both, can be considered as CLIL as it is defined in literature. Examples from the two contexts are used to illustrate how issues in relation to the role of language may impact the future conceptualization of CLIL and pertaining policy and pedagogy. At the core lies the effects of language policy and pedagogy across disciplines, where this article argues to bear the consequences in mind, for the sake of individuals as well as for society, postulating that a shared language policy and pedagogy across disciplines can bridge the gap by accentuating common needs of access to education, regardless of multilingual learning context.

CLIL, immersion, EMI and education of immigrants

CLIL, immersion, and EMI usually refer to subject content classes taught in an additional or non-native language. The actual focus on language in the classroom is shifting, depending on which of the three, but also based on context. CLIL has been described as a generic umbrella term (Coyle, 2008; Marsh, 2002) covering a range of different teaching approaches (Mehisto et al., 2008) and all types of provision where a second language (foreign, regional, minority or another official state language) is used as medium of instruction (Eurydice, 2006). Scholars have expressed a need to narrow the scope of CLIL. Cenoz et al. (2014) mention certain core characteristics needing to be clarified for educators to be able to share experiences and pedagogy, e.g. which target languages can be considered CLIL, the balance between language and content and the characteristics of the students. CLIL has been defined as content and language learnt in combination, a dual focus for students to progress in both language and subject area content (Coyle et al., 2009). The dual focus implies giving attention to the explicit learning of both subject content and language needed to process and understand content (Coyle, 2008; Marsh, 2002). While Coyle, Holmes and King (2009) address what they call a misconception that CLIL is aimed at successful learners and thus being elitist, other scholars claim that large groups of immigrant students risk being excluded from CLIL programs since they are still learning the majority national language, thus leading to elitism (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2010; Llinares et al., 2012).

When CLIL was launched in Europe in the mid-nineties, it had both an educational purpose, to provide a wide range of students with a higher level of language competence, and a political, to facilitate mobility across the European union. The first was inspired by immersion programs in Canada that grew during the 1960s (Marsh, 2011). The second was the result of EU promoting citizens' mastery of the native language plus two more EU member languages (Llinares et al., 2012).

Immersion is used both in the sense of *planned* bilingual education with a focus on additive bilingualism and more *incidental* education where the students are left to pick up language by themselves, described as leaving students to "sink-or-swim", often referring to instruction of immigrant students in the dominant language of society (Cummins, 2009). Some core features of planned immersion education have been identified as bilingual teachers offering overt support in the students' first language (L1) while using second language (L2) as the medium of instruction. Exposure to the L2 is largely confined to the classroom and students enter with a similar and limited level of L2 proficiency (Johnson & Swain, 1997).

If certain immersion is perceived as a sink-or-swim approach, English medium instruction, EMI, is even more so. EMI is especially common in tertiary education and students are expected to function as near-native speakers. The focus is on subject content mastery and not on fostering language skills. Brown and Bradford (2017) note that it is quite possible to conduct an EMI course with no attention of furthering the students' language skills. However, EMI is a door opener for many students to universities where English serves as a lingua franca, or "lingua academica", as English has a special status in higher education and education policy in many countries (Hult, 2017). EMI grew in importance in the late 1990s and can be attributed to the Bologna process, aiming at facilitating and increasing mobility and employability in Europe. The number of English-medium master's level programs in European universities have increased substantially (Hultgren et al., 2015) and the motives for using English as a medium in higher education ranges from increasing revenue, prestige and ranking by attracting international students to improving international competencies of a nation's own students. Contextual features of the countries, such as education and job market needs also serve as incentives for EMI (de Wit, 2013). EMI is increasingly being used in secondary and primary schools as well and a rapid expansion has been noted worldwide, with little guidelines or teacher preparation (Dearden, 2014).

Based on descriptions and comparisons made by Lasagabaster and Sierra (2010), Brown and Bradford (2017) and Johnson and Swain (1997), Table 1 offers an overview of identified similarities and differences between CLIL, immersion and EMI education. Sometimes the descriptions differ, resulting in both *yes* and *no* in the table below.

	CLIL	**Immersion**	**EMI**
Proficiency in both L1 and L2 without the detriment of content	Yes	Yes	No
Goal to reach native like proficiency in L2	No	Yes	No
The language of instruction must be new to the students	Yes/No	Yes/No	No
No exposure to the language of instruction outside of class	Yes/No	Yes/No	Yes/No
Parents/students choose the program to enhance L2 learning	Yes	Yes	No
The teaching staff must be bilingual	Yes	Yes	No
Teachers are native speakers of the language of instruction	No	Yes	Yes/No
Central focus on subject content knowledge	No	No	Yes
Language aims are specified	Yes	Yes	No
Lessons should engage students in all four key skill areas (reading, writing, speaking and listening) in the target language (TL)	Yes	Yes	No

Table 1: Similarities and differences between CLIL, immersion and EMI.

Brown and Bradford (2017) note that even in the research community the definitions are not always clear and can be used interchangeably. However, this comparison clearly shows that EMI is singled out as the only of the three with no language learning agenda, focusing only on content. CLIL and immersion show many similar features which is not surprising as they are often found in similar contexts in the literature. Various forms of immersion (total, partial, two-way, double) and language showers with natural exposure to language have been considered CLIL (Mehisto et al., 2008). For CLIL it has been stated that the target language (TL) should be an additional and foreign language, not a second language that can be found in the wider society (Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Mehisto et al., 2008), which in reality is not always the case as shown in the Swedish example below.

One similar rationale for CLIL and immersion is to give students more time for language exposure and thus more opportunities to receive input and produce output in the relevant language (Sylvén & Ohlander, 2014). Looking at Table 1, the only feature that differs between CLIL and immersion (of those presented and considered relevant for the purpose of this study) is language background of the teacher, where immersion presupposes that the teacher is a native speaker of the target language. However, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2010) posit that there are important differences between CLIL and immersion, not the least in relation to purpose, policy and underlying language ontology.

So where does this comparison leave the education of immigrants? If it suffices to define education of immigrants as "education where a non-native language is used as a medium of instruction", any of the three might work (Coyle, 2008; Eurydice, 2006; Marsh, 2002; Mehisto et al., 2008). By adding native speaking teacher, the education of newly arrived immigrant students, at least as seen in the Swedish study (Reierstam, 2020), might be characterized as "incidental" immersion, without any focus on neither the students' L1 nor L2 in class. However, immigrant students who are integrated in regular mainstream education are exposed to the language of instruction outside of class, which differs from immersion according to the definition above.

The 'crossover alternative', CLIL mixing with the teaching of immigrant students and becoming more linguistically diverse poses other challenges. The suitability of CLIL for students for whom neither the CLIL nor the mainstream language of instruction is the mother tongue has been questioned (Somers, 2017). Regardless, immigrants' limited access to English will have consequences for their possibilities to access higher education where EMI is used, thus pointing at a different dilemma, with reference to elitism.

It has been suggested that CLIL can be seen through four applied linguistics lenses: second language acquisition (SLA), systemic functional linguistics (SFL), discourse analysis (DA) and sociolinguistics. (Llinares & Morton, 2017). Since the focus in this article is on comparing language policy, language status and language contact, the discussion will focus on sociolinguistic features underpinning the two educational contexts. The text balances between an SLA perspective, lifting language proficiency as a goal, and an SFL perspective, seeing language, content and meaning as intertwined. While curricula define intended learning outcomes (ILOs) including target language (TL) that need to be acquired, the SFL discourse and its focus on function rather than form, have shifted towards a more disaggregated view of language as a set of translingual meaning-making features (García & Wei, 2018), adopting notions of 'languaging', prompting a need to first discuss language ontology and ideology in the next section.

Language ontology and ideology

We live in a multilingual and linguistically diverse post-modern society, however, already this sentence is loaded with ideologically incommensurable concepts. If we are picturing a continuum, starting with monolingual, bilingual, multilingual, plurilingual and ending with translingual, we will at the same time travel a timeline, moving from modernist to post-modernist ideology. In the same way as the definition of monolingual says "able to use one language well" and "(of a group or place) using one language as the main language" (Cambridge Dictionary, 2023), modernist ideology rejected sociolinguistic diversity, ambivalence and multiple forms, functions and meanings. Instead, modernity advocated order and linguistic normality. Blommaert et al. (2012, p. 6) note that three 'axes' dominated modernist language policy as well as assessments of language proficiency, competencies and skills: *order versus disorder*, *purity versus impurity* and *normality versus abnormality*. According to Blommaert et al. (2012) the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) and its language descriptors can be seen as an example of modernist ideology. However, the CEFR Companion volume (Council of Europe, 2020) refers to both multi- and plurilingualism, stating that the framework is intended to promote plurilingual competence, defined as dynamic use of multiple languages (Blommaert et al., 2012).

The multilingual turn implied a critique of monolingual theories, pedagogies, policy and its related notions of idealized native speakers and language competence (May, 2013). An important political and ideological objective behind translanguaging is the disruption of language hierarchies and a desire to address inequalities and challenge modernist bilingual

epistemologies (García & Wei, 2018; Turner & Lin, 2020). The nature of language is seen as dynamic, shifting, fluid and any outcomes are the result of a never-completed process, produced in particular situations rather than having prior ontological status (Erdocia, 2020; Pennycook, 2006). Originally translanguaging was conceived as language alternation in bilingual classrooms and was grounded in a discrete multilingual approach to languages. Translanguaging theory has since evolved beyond a conceptualization of named languages and practices derived from a monoglossic norm, including code-switching, interlanguages, transfer and translation. Some scholars note that an important aim is to liberate language education from the societal and political constraints imposed by monolingual ideology, moving away from a mindset involving concepts such as native speaker, authenticity, second/foreign/additional language, and bilingual and immersion education, which requires a change in classroom practices and assessment (Erdocia, 2020; May, 2013).

García and Otheguy (2020) argue that foreign language education programs and the idea of increasing communication between people from different countries reinforce the construction of named languages. European plurilingualism has been criticized as being more about fostering multiple monolingualisms than encouraging interlingual use of the whole linguistic repertoire (Hult, 2017), thus described as epistemologically different than translangualism (García & Otheguy, 2020). The European separation of distinct languages, as in multilingualism, can be seen in a statement on the European Center for Modern Languages' (ECML) website where plurilingual learners in today's multilingual classrooms are defined as having "differing degrees of competence in two or more other languages" which teachers are encouraged to draw from to support their students' learning (European Council, n.d.).

From a CLIL perspective there is an epistemological conflict between the postmodern desire of disrupting language hierarchies while continuing to refer to an educational objective to learn named languages. Turner and Lin (2020) recognize this tension:

> In CLIL one could argue that the objective is to learn different content areas, but the objective is commonly greater proficiency in the target language as well. This conflict is inherent in the way that the social construct of named languages is recognized to be important even while promoting the full linguistic repertoire of students. (p. 424)

The question is if it is possible to resolve the inherent conflict and bridge the gap between ideologically, ontologically and epistemologically seemingly irreconcilable perspectives in

multilingual teaching contexts? The comparison from the Swedish context (Reierstam, 2020), which could potentially be seen as representing two different sides, i.e. CLIL mono-/bilingual ‘elitism’ versus pluri-/translingual ‘empowerment’, serves as a reminder of the areas of shared interest, namely issues of fairness and equal access to education, ultimately displayed in content knowledge assessment, and outcomes, including language.

The Swedish multilingual school context

Sweden is a nation of 10 million inhabitants where Swedish is the official language and main medium of instruction in schools. There are also five officially recognized indigenous minority languages (Yiddish, Romani, Sami, Finnish and Meänkieli) and around 200 ‘migrated’ minority languages with no official status (Sylvén, 2019). Sweden became a country of immigration in the mid-1960s (Cabau-Lampa, 1999) and has been perceived as a role model in providing mother tongue instruction for all immigrant students. After 2015, when Sweden saw an unprecedented surge in immigration, the number of students with a mother tongue other than Swedish went up to one third of all students. In some schools close to 100 percent have another L1. Newly arrived students, NAS, tend to be perceived as a homogenous group which is not the case (Tajic, 2022). Greater differences are displayed between the NAS in Sweden due to background than the OECD average (Cummins, 2017). In 2015, Swedish schools had NAS from 165 different countries, with sometimes as many as 54 languages at the same school (SOU 2017:54, 2017). Many NAS are ‘late arrivals’ entering the Swedish school system in grades 6 to 9. Only approximately one fourth of these students were qualified for upper secondary education after 9th grade in 2018 (Reierstam, 2020), explained by the students’ academic background together with the short time to learn the language of instruction and the schools’ varying resources (SOU 2017:54, 2017). Researchers have been critical regarding the gap between well-intended measures and inefficient implementation (Cummins, 2017). The Swedish Education Act stipulates that a newly arrived student is entitled to receive guidance from a study-supervisor in the student’s “strongest language” (SFS 2010: 800, 2010 12§) and introductory classes are arranged as transitory classes to help develop Swedish skills before NAS are integrated in mainstream Swedish-medium instruction. The provision has proved to differ due to a decentralized Swedish school system, where individual municipalities with varying resources are responsible for the organization of public education.

English has a special status and could almost be considered a second rather than a foreign language (Hyltenstam, 2004). In current curricula, English is perceived as a key to accessing specialist knowledge, expressing a functional and communicative language view as seen in the CEFR. The prominent role of English in Swedish society resulted in a Language Act (SFS, 2009), expressed as a regulation stating that a maximum of 50 percent of the instruction in compulsory schools (up to 9th grade) can be in English. This policy has an effect on CLIL initiatives and international school providers, often resolved by a disciplinary division where subjects in the natural sciences are taught in English whereas Swedish is used in the social sciences.

CLIL has been suggested to offer more equal and favorable opportunities for learning for immigrants, since English, which is the most common target language (TL), is an L2 for all students. However, this is not necessarily the case. A government investigation (National Agency for Education, 2017), showed that very few NAS would profit from CLIL or EMI. Their English language proficiency was generally too low. Since the importance of EMI is growing in higher education (Airey et al., 2015), the aim to equip students with English in upper secondary may appear relevant, but, needless to say, it will still not be accessible for all immigrant students.

English proficiency is generally high in Sweden, in the top segment in international rankings among non-native speakers, often explained by extensive exposure to English via media and online activities (Sundqvist & Sylvén, 2016; Sylvén, 2005). English is introduced as a school subject in the third grade in elementary school at the latest. In 6th grade, students choose one more foreign language, typically German, French or Spanish. Students with a different L1 also have the option of choosing Swedish as a second language (SSL) or mother tongue instruction as an alternative. Legislation stipulates that schools are obligated to offer SSL for immigrant students if needed, to reach more advanced language skills in the official language. The role of SSL teachers across school subjects to help with immigrants' disciplinary literacy is contradictory according to a recent report. Although trained to support L2 students' learning in different subjects they are often restricted to their own language subject and classroom (Wedin, 2022)

Paulsrud et al. (2023) note that training in multilingualism is not a required component in teacher education, but probably should be, given the linguistic diversity in many schools. Collaboration with SSL teachers across disciplines is not an established practice, while at the same time subject content teachers acknowledge students' language needs in the disciplines.

Subject content teachers' beliefs and experiences are in focus in the following, comparing prerequisites for policy and pedagogy in Swedish multilingual education.

Comparing CLIL and education of newly arrived immigrant students

The data used in this article is taken from two studies on teachers' assessment practices and beliefs among language learners in secondary and upper secondary Swedish schools. (Reierstam, 2015, 2020). The first data set was mainly qualitative and comes from semi-structured interviews (*N* = 12), a follow-up questionnaire (*N* = 9) and document analyses of teachers' written assessment samples in CLIL schools. The second study included a survey (*N* = 196) and semi-structured follow-up interviews (*N* = 13) among NAS teachers in mainstream education. While the first study included teachers of biology and history as well as English as a foreign language (EFL), the second targeted subject content teachers in the natural and social sciences. However, since the survey indicated teachers' different subject domains, the data revealed that a certain number of the content teachers in the second study also taught a language subject (i.e., SSL, Swedish or EFL). This gave an opportunity for comparative analyses between teachers' with and without a language teacher background, showing that this had an impact on language pedagogy in the content courses. For more about the respective studies see Reierstam (2015, 2020).

Teachers in both contexts expressed challenges in assessment due to students' insufficient language competencies, which put the spotlight on language policy as inconsistencies surfaced in relation to language ideology and suggested pedagogy. The comparative analyses resulted in the adaptation of Biggs' (2003) constructive alignment, with the addition of a consequential validity perspective, see Figure 1 below. Consequential validity appraises the interpretation of outcomes, covering both actual and potential consequences of assessment outcomes, especially in relation to issues of bias and fairness (Messick, 1989, 1995). Fairness means equal access to the curriculum and implies assessment that is as equitable as possible for all (Bal & Trainor, 2016).

"*The extended alignment model"* is used as a theoretical framework for the discussion in this article, pointing at the need to take both the learners'(L) varying backgrounds into account (arrows to the left) as well as the relevance and usefulness of education when aligning instruction and assessment with the intended learning outcomes (ILO) and target language (TL). The "And?" to the right signals that something happens after the ILOs have been achieved, or not. The extent to which the goal is reached will have consequences for the individual and for society. Stobart (2005) notes that fairness is a result of complex interactions of *inputs, processes*

and *outcomes*. In this figure, the students and their varying needs, can be seen as representing the inputs, the teaching and learning design (the middle part) the processes and the consequences include outcomes and its effects, as in consequential validity (Messick, 1989).

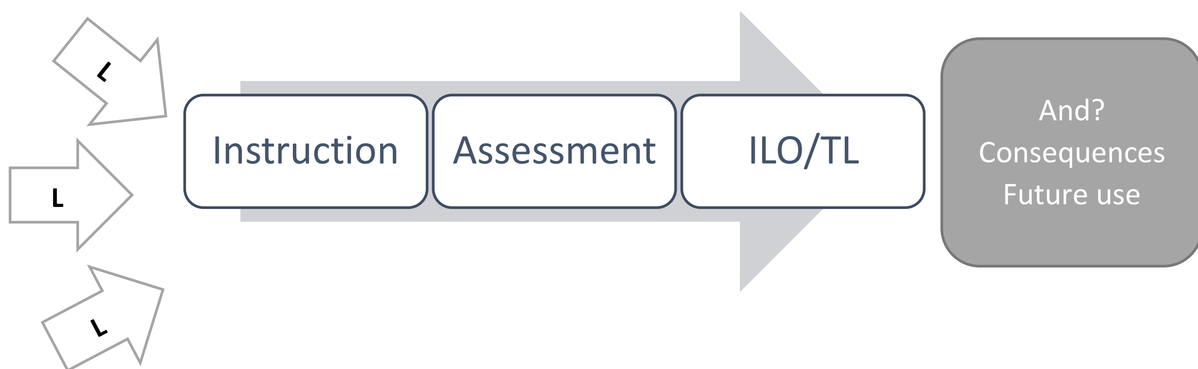

Figure 1: Extended alignment, (cf. Reierstam, 2020).

Comparing prerequisites

The inputs for learning used in the two contexts are: *student background* (language proficiency, language exposure, educational experience, student agency), *teacher background* (language proficiency/education, beliefs and attitude) and *language policy* (national and local). Teacher beliefs can also be argued to be part of policy as practice. Some of the features were not part of the initial investigation and are therefore described at a more general level as background data available from other sources, cited below.

Student background

The CLIL students have chosen a CLIL-program from 10th grade, using English as a medium of instruction. In two out of three schools there are also non-CLIL alternatives, mainstream education using Swedish. The CLIL students are either native Swedish speakers, or highly proficient in Swedish and/or English (cf Sylvén, 2019). The CLIL classrooms are more homogenous compared to the NAS context as regards students' L1 and previous schooling, although one of the three schools had several students with multilingual background, with 18% of the students not being born in Sweden compared to 2% in the non-CLIL classes (Lindberg & Johansson, 2019). CLIL students are defined as representing a privileged group (Otterup, 2019). The CLIL students in 10th grade are advanced learners and have generally reached B2 or C1-level according to CEFR.

The NAS have been in language introductory programs but are now in mainstream education (grades 7-12). Their Swedish proficiency can be defined as beginner to intermediate (A1-B1). NAS have per definition not been in Sweden longer than four years (SFS 2010: 800, Swedish Education Act, amendment 2015: 256). According to the teachers, the students' language proficiency varies a lot due to a number of reasons: time of arrival, educational and language background, how well the school has been able to provide study-supervising in their mother tongue. Teachers refer to the students' previous schooling as a hurdle, to make them understand how to engage in critical thinking and not only factual recall.

The students' language proficiency in various registers (disciplinary language, academic language, everyday language) varies. The NAS teachers mention that, while some students find all registers challenging, others struggle more with everyday language. They miss a frame of reference when comparisons are made to everyday activities such as bicycling or balancing a teeter-totter, a common play-ground activity for young children. Unlike the CLIL students, whose teachers mention that the students can use an interim-language, mixing subject-specific discourse with everyday language, the NAS teachers explain that many times their students are better versed in the language of schooling than in everyday language since they lack interaction with Swedes outside of school. The CLIL-students get ample opportunities for exposure to English outside of school (Sylvén, 2005, 2019). Students in both contexts display stronger listening comprehension skills than speaking and writing skills. NAS prefer to write short written texts over producing oral and longer written assignments. As regards CLIL they struggle with longer written assignments, which has an effect on teachers' assessment strategies as discussed below.

Teacher background

The subject-content teachers in the CLIL context are native Swedish speakers using English in class. Some express concern about not being native English speakers, making them feel disqualified to correct or comment on the students' language. Most of the NAS teachers are native speakers of the language of instruction, but even so, some are reluctant to correct the students' Swedish, arguing that they are not 'language teachers', as do the CLIL teachers. Some of the subject-content teachers in the NAS context have a double certification, language subject and content subject, typically in the social sciences. Both survey data and the interviews revealed a different

attitude to language and pedagogy as a result (see the section below, comparing pedagogy). A few of the NAS teachers had an immigrant background which contributed to an explicit desire to help the students become as proficient as possible in Swedish (Reierstam, 2020, p. 186).

Most of the CLIL teachers expressed satisfaction using English which they perceived as professional development, even though it was challenging without guidelines or teaching material in the target language. The NAS teachers expressed frustration to a higher degree, feeling inadequate to help students reach the learning objectives which remain the same for all students.

Language policy

The Swedish Education Act, the national curriculum and subject-specific syllabi guide Swedish education. The Swedish national curriculum expresses the need for schools to be *a cultural meeting place in times of mobility and cultural diversity*, but also being able to provide *equivalent education* based on the students' backgrounds. The first two learning objectives relate to language, "can use Swedish […] in a rich and varied way" and second, "can communicate in English" (National Agency for Education, 2019), a juxtaposed vision of bi-/multilingualism where the status of Swedish and English is apparent. For the language integrated approaches among NAS and CLIL no coherent language policy applies. Whereas the Education Act stipulates measures for NAS, there is no policy or regulation for CLIL, other than the 50% limit for the use of English mentioned previously, but that is only up to 9th grade. For upper secondary there are no regulations or language policy at all, which has been called into question (National Agency for Education, 2017). The implementation of CLIL therefore varies within education provision at various levels (Sylvén, 2019).

The intended learning outcomes in the syllabi include various disciplinary skills, defined by cognitive discourse functions, CDF (cf Dalton-Puffer, 2016). A frequently used CDF is "to be able to apply well developed reasoning", which is challenging for language learners. The Education Act stipulates measures to integrate NAS in the schools, including the mapping of literacy skills and for the municipality to find study-advisors who knows the student's L1 to help overcome the language barrier until the students know enough Swedish. There are also recommendations to use the students' strongest language and translanguaging approaches.

Sometimes, local and even individual policy can be found among teachers in the schools (Reierstam, 2020). In CLIL for instance, which is a bottom-up initiative without national regulations, some teachers in the study argue that they should stick to English since “this is CLIL”, even if the students use Swedish, or “Swenglish” (a mix of English and Swedish). In the NAS context teachers acknowledge that the support students may receive differs depending on access to teaching staff and study-advisors who know the student’s language(s). It is more likely to find a teacher who knows Arabic than Thai for instance. Some NAS teachers mention the possibility of using English as an interim solution with some of the students until they get more well versed in Swedish. Other teachers simply note that “we are in Sweden now, students should use Swedish”. When asked about translanguaging practices, most NAS teachers question how this would even be feasible, considering the number of languages and their own limited knowledge in the students’ L1s. Nevertheless, some teachers state that students should have the right to show content knowledge in the language he/she masters, because content is not about a specific language. However, they are not sure how, or if it is allowed. Teachers declare that when the students come to upper secondary, they must be able to communicate content knowledge in Swedish, and in writing. This is an argument to focus on Swedish, if students are to succeed later in life and in their schooling, an incentive to not use the students’ L1 or translanguaging. Teachers in both contexts, CLIL and NAS, express a monolingual focus where the use of the target language is the norm, comparable with what is said about immersion in Table 1 above, “to reach native like proficiency in L2”.

Comparing pedagogy

Looking at the two teaching contexts, CLIL and NAS, the immediate reaction may be expressed as “business as usual”, which means many content teachers do what they usually do, without making any particular adjustments in pedagogy based on the students varying language backgrounds. Some scholars have been tempted to choose the label EMI instead of CLIL for the Swedish upper secondary CLIL programs investigated in previous studies (cf. Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014). The language of instruction differs, spoken by a non-native teacher without any language learning agenda. The situation for NAS varies. The NAS teachers are aware of the language skills needed to perform well in their subjects, but many do not see it as something they should teach. Some notice that all students, not only second language learners, would profit from explicit modelling of disciplinary discourse and literacy. The teachers who have a clear strategy how to model language often have a language teacher background and use SSL

pedagogy. One of the teachers in the study comments that as an SSL teacher you think about language automatically, reading texts from a second language perspective, drawing attention to language structures that may be new to the students, using an action-oriented approach similar to the teaching and learning cycle; familiarization with the field, modelling the genre, joint construction and finally independent writing (Gibbons, 2002). However, most subject content teachers in both contexts state that they are not language teachers, which is consistent with previous research (e.g. Meyer et al., 2015).

Teachers' accountability-perspective, to stay faithful to targeted outcomes in their syllabi, is strong, stating that the language of instruction will most likely have a negative effect on the students' grades compared with students who are learning in their L1. The teachers are uncertain how they should bridge the language gap in students' ability to use subject specific skills and academic literacy. The central focus is on the students learning subject content and no language aims are specified, which sounds like the description of EMI in Table 1. Teachers claim to target conceptual knowledge which seems to be perceived as content rather than language. One CLIL teacher mentions receiving input from a language teacher colleague to use flash cards to help students learn concepts in biology. When asked about modelling disciplinary literacy and subject specific language the teacher seemed surprised, responding that it might be a good idea but nothing the teacher has thought of. Interestingly enough, the non-CLIL biology colleague mentions modelling written disciplinary discourse. Subject content teachers and language teachers from both contexts note that collaboration between subject content and language colleagues is scarce, which they attribute to lack of time and organizational structures.

In assessments teachers in both contexts, grades 7-12, use the target language, however often without preparing the students by teaching or correcting language, pointing at a paradox in relation to language pedagogy:

- Content teachers do not see it as their role to correct or teach/model language (with a few exceptions for NAS teachers, some with a dual language/subject certificate),
- Students need to use the target language including subject specific discourse and general academic language in order to attain higher grades, but no language aims are specified.
- Teachers prefer written assessments, claiming that students do too. CLIL teachers posit that students prefer to write, giving them time to process the language, which agrees with NAS teachers' beliefs, although limited to shorter written assignments.

- Teachers in both contexts use oral follow up when students fail to show enough content knowledge in written exams.
- NAS teachers question the validity of oral test results, feeling they might have provided inappropriate support in the dialogic exchange.
- CLIL teachers question the validity of written tests due to students' limited language.

The results indicate that education for language learners in language and content-integrated contexts is not equitable and fair for all students. It is important to understand the role teachers play in supporting students' language learning as part of academic content to achieve validity in educational outcomes, as discussed below.

Discussion – Implications for policy, pedagogy and educational outcomes

In this article two educational contexts with language learners have been presented, comparing CLIL and the education of newly arrived immigrant students, NAS. As the number of students with another L1 than the language of instruction increases, it is critical to understand the language needs of the students when planning and designing a course to help them navigate the established practices in the subjects (Nikula et al., 2016). If language is left implicit and not taught it will risk becoming a barrier to learning. Language here is seen as a feature of fairness, arguing that language is key to educational access, meaning that educational institutions and policies must strive to ensure that students have equal and equitable opportunities to take full advantage of education. This requires that any barriers that prevent students from participating and understanding need to be removed. Fairness represents a complex judgement about the interactions of inputs, processes and outcomes (Stobart, 2005), as illustrated in Figure 1. The first feature, *inputs,* include socio-economic, cultural and language background as well as students' prior experiences, which indeed differ, especially for NAS who represent a more heterogenous group compared with CLIL. However, in this article the main focus has been on language to ensure that all students are granted relevant, comparable and equitable education based on their language background and thus equal opportunities to participate and access content.

Research has shown that minority language learners in monolingual CLIL and EMI are at risk to not succeed, both linguistically and academically. The most vulnerable students are those who have not had the opportunity to first develop academic literacy in their L1 and who do not receive sufficient linguistic support in the language of instruction to cope with the demands of the academic language. (Lightbown & Spada, 2020). Comparing the situation of CLIL and

NAS in the current study it becomes evident that the latter are at higher risk, but both groups are disadvantaged if policy and pedagogy fail to take their linguistic needs into account when planning and designing courses, especially when the language policy expressed as teacher beliefs and as practice (Spolsky, 2004, 2017) is more or less monolingual. This leads to the second feature of fairness, *processes*, as expressed in pedagogy and policy as practice. In the current study language learning is supposed to happen more or less incidentally in the content courses, with the exception of conceptual knowledge in the target language and there is not much collaboration with language teacher colleagues. The use of other linguistic resources is not common procedure as teachers focus on the target language and have not been trained to use multiple linguistic resources as in translanguaging pedagogy. Training all teachers to have an understanding of the decisive role language plays in the knowledge acquisition in the individual school subjects and basic language teaching skills seems as a reasonable, not to say necessary goal in linguistically diverse schools.

Education leans on policy which is imbued with ideological values. This article has sought to call attention to the underlying ontologies and the implications of different language ideologies for policy, pedagogy and ultimately for student *outcomes*, the third feature of fairness, as seen in Figure 1. In current SFL (systemic functional linguistics) discourse translanguaging is often mentioned as a way to avoid a deficit discourse and empower students to use their full linguistic resources to succeed in education. The common denominator in the current study is teachers' concern for content knowledge and language in assessment. They express a sense of failure in themselves as teachers, the organization and underlying language management policy, indicating concern about aspects they feel they cannot control. As for policy, whereas English holds a special status in national curriculum, no explicit guidelines are stipulated as regards the language of instruction for upper secondary school. The use of Swedish is taken for granted, but this could also mean opportunities to do CLIL in other foreign languages, which happens albeit to a very small degree, or to use other minority languages represented in society. However, NAS teachers are well aware of the need for students to be proficient in Swedish for future study and integration in society. CLIL teachers recognize the status and role of English for international exchange and higher education. The effects of the language of instruction can be seen in student outcomes. Consequential validity refers to what inferences can be made based on assessment results and outcomes. Pedagogy and policy which fail to give students adequate support and access in order to learn and show their content knowledge is a threat to the valid use of assessments.

Echoing the words of Erdocia (2020), language policy in education is a multidisciplinary social phenomenon. Policy should not be determined by language teachers only, as little as it should be decided by other disciplinary or political stakeholders. It needs to be a joint endeavor. Whereas CLIL and immersion (cf Table 1) target a bilingual norm with proficiency in L1 and L2, without any significant detriment of content, this is not the case in this context. Teachers state that their students will not be able to reach the highest grades or show their subject knowledge to a sufficient degree due to linguistic barriers. Moreover, a majority of the teachers in both contexts do not see language as their focus. The implementation of language management policy depends on individual school resources or teacher beliefs and training. A bilingual or multilingual approach would be desirable to enhance students' proficiency in the TL + the students' L1. If a pluri- or translingual ideology would be targeted instead, the consequences must be considered, for the individual, for society as well as for pedagogy. The greatest issue for teachers is how to assess without the use of the TL. Even if pedagogical translanguaging (Cenoz & Gorter, 2020) can be used as a means to an end, the translanguaging described by Wei and Garcia (2022) connotes the transcendence of named languages and thus the abolition of language standards which means it will be difficult to have comparable results. From a critical discourse and social justice perspective, translanguaging is then seen as a decolonizing project, raising questions as to 'whose goals' and if they are inclusive and equitable. A different way of approaching fairness is what has been proposed and presented here, providing access to target language, whether it be a "named language" or a subject specific language.

'The compensatory mission' is articulated as a well-intended objective in Swedish curricula and school policy, aiming at providing all students with equal opportunities in life, regardless of background. This has been a guiding principle for policy and pedagogy, as well as for this article and study. Investigating the two content and language integrated learning contexts, with differing student backgrounds but the shared feature of students learning subject content in a non-native language thus seemed an important topic for a comparative study, especially as scholars have disagreed whether the education of immigrant language learners in mainstream classrooms can be classified as CLIL. I believe it can, but only if the CLIL motive to pursue proficiency in both L1 and L2 without the detriment of content is pursued in practice.

Considering the similarities and differences in conditions and pedagogy discussed above, Table 2 below provides an overview, comparing key features based on the two contexts in Swedish upper secondary education.

	CLIL	NAS
Language of instruction	English	Swedish
Students' L1	Swedish (mostly)	Varies
Students' proficiency level in the language of instruction	Intermediate/ advanced (B2-C1)	Beginner (A1-B1)
Teachers' L1	Swedish	Swedish/other
Teachers' proficiency in the language of instruction	Intermediate/ advanced (B2-C1)	Native/advanced (C2-C1)
National policy for language use	Mono-/Bilingual	Mono-/ Plurilingual
Local policy for language use in class	Mono-/Bilingual	Monolingual (Plurilingual)
Translanguaging practices	No/yes ("Swenglish")	No
Language- and/or content-driven instruction	Content	Content (and language)
Language aims are specified	No	No
Collaboration with language teacher/ colleague	No	No/yes (oneself)
Bottom-up or top-down initiative	Bottom-up	Top-down
Opportunities for out of school exposure	Yes	Yes/no

Table 2: Comparing CLIL and NAS, overview of the Swedish context

The table reveals many similarities in language policy and pedagogy between CLIL and NAS education. Looking at the similar challenges expressed by subject content teachers in CLIL and mainstream education of NAS, is calling for policy makers' and teacher educators' attention alike to prepare all teachers for multilingual schools (cf Paulsrud et al., 2023). Teachers need training in language pedagogy to provide successful subject-matter instruction for L2 students (de Oliveira & Schleppegrell, 2015). As illustrated in Figure 1, this article argues that a language learning integrated approach can only be successful if it balances the language needs of the

participants on the one hand, and those of the subjects and society on the other. Teachers across disciplines must acknowledge the inherent role of language in teaching and learning, and not see language as someone else's responsibility.

As opposed to narrowing the CLIL umbrella to single out specific bilingual educational approaches, a disciplinary discourse perspective may propose that even supposedly monolingual teaching should have an interest in building teachers' literacy pedagogical content knowledge (Airey, 2012; de Graff, 2016; Love, 2009). This means that teachers need to be experts both in identifying relevant disciplinary language in their subjects and in equipping students by making language visible and engaging students in communicative tasks. From a fairness perspective, language integration is key, arguing that the validity of educational outcomes depends on the alignment of pedagogy, assessment and intended learning outcomes, including targeting relevant language.

Hence, this article posits that for comparability in outcomes to be achieved in linguistically diverse education, a fluid translanguaging ideology, opposing target language standards is not compatible with the needs to equip language learners with opportunities in education (Reierstam & Hellstén, 2021). The question is what measures need to be taken in educational policy and pedagogy to bridge the ideological tensions in a fragmented post-modern society. Teachers cannot be left alone to implement language policy, including pedagogical translanguaging without guidance (cf. Hult, 2017). Collaboration between disciplines must be facilitated in practice for SSL teachers to act as mentors for subject content teachers, for which they have been educated (Wedin, 2022). As much as a goal must be to strengthen the students' entire language competence including immigrant students' first languages, identity and motivation to learn, equal opportunities will eventually hinge upon the language used in society at large. As noted in the introduction, disciplinary literacy will risk being a barrier to learning if left implicit and not taught explicitly. Fairness in educational outcomes depends on fairness in access (Kane, 2010; Stobart, 2005).

Concluding remarks

The aim of the present article was to bring questions of fairness and access in plurilingual learning contexts to the fore by comparing and discussing inputs for language policy and pedagogy as well as implications for outcomes. Another purpose was to contribute to the discussion among CLIL scholars as regards definitions and consequences of various mono-, bi-, multi-, pluri- and translingual approaches in contexts where a second language is used as medium of instruction to identify if and how the education of immigrant learners relates to known approaches such as

CLIL, EMI and immersion. Regardless of language, students are in fact learning language and content simultaneously in all subject content disciplines, and in foreign language education, content is used for communication. From a subject content teacher perspective, the pedagogical similarities between CLIL and immigrant education are more striking than the differences, especially in relation to assessment where teachers are left wondering whether poor outcomes are the result of inadequate understanding and grasp of content, or due to lack of sufficient language to communicate, or maybe both.

The article has also intended to bring underlying ontologies and ideologies to the fore, problematizing how translingual ideology with a fluid perception of languages may counteract equal opportunities for all and the right to learn necessary language skills. Using the students' entire language repertoires, including L1, may serve as a tool for learning, using pedagogical translanguaging as a means to an end rather than an end in itself. The shared challenges in CLIL and the education of newly arrived immigrants accentuates the need to clarify necessary language, rather than deemphasize target language skills. To provide successful subject-matter instruction for L2 students, teachers need training in language and language pedagogy (de Oliveira & Schleppegrell, 2015; Lightbown & Spada, 2020; Paulsrud et al., 2023). Lack of teacher skills, coherent policy and pedagogy have implications for individual students' opportunities and for society.

Previous CLIL research confirms the need for a dual focus on content and language, and the same need appears in the education of NAS. The potential barriers to quality education and comparability in outcomes are similar, including inputs (in terms of language and policy) processes (in terms of pedagogy) and outcomes. This article posits that a cross-disciplinary responsibility for language as well as coherent policy is needed to achieve fairness in educational access, outcomes and opportunities in life, regardless of mono-, bi-, multi- or plurilingual approach. Remains to see if and how this may affect the future conceptualization of CLIL and pertaining policy and pedagogy.

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