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Teacher Perspectives on Content and Language-Integrated Learning in Taiwan: Motivations, Implementation Factors, and Future Directions

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Abstract: This chapter reports the findings of a two-year qualitative project exploring how the Content and Language-Integrated Learning (CLIL) approach is interpreted and implemented by English teachers in Taiwan. There is a lack of evidence that such an approach, which places equal emphasis on the language of instruction (English) and the content being taught, is appropriate or feasible for the majority of Taiwanese primary or secondary school classrooms. The project addressed teacher beliefs, attitudes, and conceptions regarding the feasibility and appropriate implementation of CLIL in the Taiwanese context. To evaluate teachers' perspectives, a constructivist grounded-theory approach was adopted, using data co-constructed through group discussions and interviews, and triangulated with survey results from pre-service and in-service teachers, including current CLIL and non-CLIL English teachers, both local and foreign. The primary findings were organized into four main categories: motivations, implementation factors, obstacles, and future potentials for CLIL in Taiwan. Implications include increased investment in teacher training, increased use of students' first language to increase comprehension, and clearer guidelines and greater provision of resources to assist CLIL teachers.

Keywords: content and language-integrated learning, teacher education, foreign language learning policy, teacher beliefs, constructivist grounded theory

This research was prompted by a workshop with in-service teachers who were being asked to engage in Content and Language-Integrated Learning

(CLIL) instruction and were, therefore, being trained in teaching using an “English only” approach. After discussion, it became clear that several key factors remained undefined regarding the meaning and implementation of CLIL. First, from the initial meeting with teachers, the rationale or motivation behind the push for CLIL remained unclear. Teachers were originally only aware that they were being required to teach English without using Chinese during class. Later, teachers learned that when teaching other subjects, such as health, using English was a further goal of their local government. Thus, the first consideration was the motivation behind CLIL, as compared to more traditional English as a Foreign Language (EFL) methods, such as content-based instruction (CBI). Furthermore, our discussions led to the issue of how CLIL was to be implemented (the second area investigated by the study) and potential obstacles to implementation (the third area of investigation). Finally, great speculation was aroused through discussions of the potential future of CLIL for Taiwanese teachers and students (the fourth main research area).

CLIL Implementation

CLIL’s dual focus is on both language and content, which has been perceived as beneficial to students’ linguistic and conceptual development. However, modes and frameworks of implementation vary from teacher to teacher. From most of the successful examples of implementation in the literature, CLIL teachers were required to meet both linguistic and content-related standards and be, as such, proficient in both the language and the subject being integrated (De Graaff et al., 2007; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2010). In fact, CLIL had been used in Asia, and in Taiwan, in the past, with some success (Yang, 2015, 2018). However, this was at the tertiary level. After further reading, it appeared that these “CLIL” classes were more similar to English as a medium of instruction (EMI), in which academic subjects are taught in English and, as such, did not focus on language as much as content. Moreover, the “English Only” policy being implemented in some areas of the country was based on the value attached to increased exposure to English, particularly from native speaking teachers (Huang & Yang, 2018; Lin et al., 2018). However, the overemphasis on English “immersive” approaches contradicts important findings regarding the importance of the students’ first language (L_1) in CLIL (see, e.g., Lin, 2015). Similar common, but incorrect, assumptions have been widely held by teachers who viewed CLIL as involving monolingual immersion, which teachers believed did not fit the needs of local students. Overall, CLIL, while taught at work-

shops in Taiwan since at least 2009, is still generally a vague concept, loosely (and often inaccurately) defined and improperly conflated with monolingual immersion.

Despite a great deal of literature on CLIL, national and local initiatives remain largely “policy-oriented” rather than “practice-oriented” (Chern & Curran, 2019; Luo, 2017; Reynolds, & Yu, 2018). Since the infrastructure, linguistic resources, and teaching materials are not yet in place, policy for English-only CLIL instruction is implemented before teachers and students are ready. As such, foreign talent is being hired at an unsustainable pace. Furthermore, there are few concrete implementation guidelines or performance indicators, leaving CLIL teachers unaware of how to conduct a CLIL class. In an attempt to address several “political” issues simultaneously, early learners (first or second grade classes) and remote and rural schools are often selected for CLIL instruction, which means that the learners with the fewest linguistic and school-based resources are being taught CLIL in an English-only manner. As mentioned above, the concepts of “immersion education” and “bilingual education” are also being conflated with CLIL.

Through discussion with teachers during the initial workshop, several important issues fundamental to language learning were raised. Amongst the perceived obstacles to the successful implementation of CLIL in Taiwan was the issue of how students might learn a language without linguistic support from L1. “English Only” CLIL programs would potentially deny students this important resource. Furthermore, intelligibility must take precedence over content acquisition, meaning that the language element of CLIL should be based on students’ background knowledge. Additionally, the sustainability of EFL instruction in Taiwan must be considered in terms of local teacher training and placement. Since CLIL is largely a European model requiring a minimum level of target language fluency (for both teachers and students) and a more target language-rich environment, the question to be raised is whether this model can fit the Taiwanese pedagogical context.

A number of core questions emerged, focused on the motivations behind CLIL implementation in Taiwan, the lack of clear implementation factors, and the potential obstacles to successful CLIL programs. Certain issues, in addition to the four categories evaluated by the study (motivations, implementation factors, obstacles, and future directions), were utilized to guide discussions, interviews, and the co-construction of meaning regarding CLIL implementation. As such, the study sought answers to the balance of L1 and L2 in instruction, the roles and collaboration of foreign English teachers (FETs) and local English teachers (LETs), and any resulting impacts on future teacher training.

English Education in Taiwan

English, although having been taught for several decades at the primary level, particularly in private schools, has only been officially mandated in Taiwan since 2001 (Chou, 2013), originally beginning in fifth grade and then, from 2005, beginning in third grade. Some school districts or individual schools offer English learning from the first grade, despite no official mandate from the Ministry of Education. English education policy is characterized by four emphases: 1) individual school autonomy, 2) a focus on oral communication, 3) privatization of textbook publishing, and 4) emphasis on motivation and internationalization (Chen & Tsai, 2012). However, scholars have noted the lack of speaking opportunities, motivation, and intercultural contact as barriers to effective English learning (Yang et al., 2012), a reality that presents a motivation for an increased emphasis on EAC in Taiwan.

Parents are well aware of the need for English proficiency in order for their children to have a competitive advantage in an increasingly global environment where English is already considered the primary international language. However, as noted above, the current reality is that most children are seldom exposed to authentic opportunities for communication in English. Furthermore, it is questionable whether the language generated in either classroom-based English instruction or cram school English classes qualifies as “authentic” according to the definition of Rémi van Compernelle and Janice McGregor (2016). The description of “authenticity” offered by van Compernelle and McGregor (2016) involves familiar language patterns and meanings among users of that language, offering speakers freedom in language use for communicative purposes, rather than an emphasis on specific structural language patterns (an approach too commonly adopted by language teachers through the use of textbooks). In simple terms, children are not exposed to authentic language or language experiences in the classroom, and most Taiwanese children have very few chances for immersion in English environments due to the relatively homogeneous nature of Taiwanese society. This results in both the lack of authentic English learning environments, as well as the lack of intercultural contact (Yang et al., 2012).

Political and Social Pressures Regarding English Language Learning

A study by Yuh Fang Chang in 2008 found that Taiwanese parents were eager to have their children start learning English at an earlier age, such as in preschool, despite the Ministry of Education mandating that English learning start at third grade. Furthermore, parents looked to cram schools for support

in terms of their child's English learning, with a strong preference for FETs, regardless of their qualifications. Also, nearly 80 percent agreed that English in the classroom should be taught only in English (Chang, 2008).

Although parents' expectations and demands in terms of English language learning are not grounded in language pedagogy, parents are the voters. As such, several programs promoting either bilingual education or English-only, monolingual language learning have been used by certain politicians, at both the local and national level, as policy platforms. These programs, while criticized by some language experts and many language teachers, have been positively received by parents and non-parents alike, who believe that whole-English teaching and, if possible, native-speaking English teachers, are optimal for language learning. Parents are increasingly expressing their dissatisfaction with traditional English teaching models and, according to a recent poll, over 64 percent believe that more English should be taught in primary and junior high school (Hsu & Hsu, 2019). Likewise, nearly 70 percent of parents enroll their children in cram schools to learn English and 42 percent believe that English should be taught starting in preschool.

The fact that these policies, to a certain degree, are driven by parents' pressure on policy-makers, is reflected in the findings of Ai-hua Chen (2011), who notes that pressure from parents and discrepancies at the local, city, or national level create additional tension and a strong pressure towards sweeping reforms in English language educational policy. Among the issues investigated by Chen (2011) are the following five where parents may have the strongest concerns regarding EFL educational policy: differences in ages for starting English language learning, the wide range of English abilities within classes, the lack of teachers with English teaching qualifications, differences in textbook content among publishers, and the balance between learning English and learning other languages (such as Taiwanese, Hakka, and mother tongue aboriginal languages).

Trends towards English across the Curriculum

Under the umbrella of English across the Curriculum (EAC), several interventions have been implemented in Taiwan over the past decades, with varying degrees of success, generally at the tertiary level (e.g., Yang, 2015, 2018). In the past, teachers attempting to adopt a cross-curricular approach towards learning tended to integrate English into other curricular subjects using content-based instruction (CBI) for primary and secondary learners. Until recently, few studies of EAC for elementary or secondary education have been conducted in Taiwan, with limited results, such as improvements in listening

(Chou, 2013), or mixed results, such as no difference in attention and engagement but increased language complexity for students taking CBI versus non-CBI courses (Huang, 2011). While several options for EAC have been adopted by primary and secondary teachers, there is a lack of evidence that the CLIL approach (placing equal emphasis on the language of instruction, the native language, and the content being taught) is appropriate or feasible for primary or secondary school classrooms in Taiwan.

Regardless of the mixed results, Jhih-kai Yang and Genevieve Leung (2018) cite several policies which have been implemented in recent years, including plans to make English a second official language. Another recent national policy includes the requirement that every school in Taiwan implement CLIL in school subjects including art, music, and physical education, at least on a trial basis, while local policies, such as that of New Taipei City, have promoted the establishment of bilingual experimental schools which will be staffed by at least one FET (Yang & Leung, 2018).

In December 2018, the Ministry of Education released a *Blueprint for Developing Taiwan into a Bilingual Nation by 2030* (National Development Council, 2018). Among the strategies related to education were the following: “conducting bilingual schooling and relaxed related enrollment regulations,” “implementing a teaching mode that allows for flexibility based on student aptitude and English proficiency,” and “integrating English into preschool” (p.12). While responding to parental and societal pressure, these strategies contradict years of policy, many of which were based on traditional beliefs, such as the concept that learning English at an early age may interfere with students’ L1 development. Further complications include the expectation that bilingual programs are inevitably offered by private schools with more resources, resulting in an imbalance along socio-economic lines, or that by grouping students according to English proficiency, lower-level students would be offered fewer resources and opportunities than those grouped in “advanced” classes. Thus, although the 2030 policy towards bilingualism is seen by many as a step forward, classroom teachers often have a more reserved view towards the feasibility of the policy.

Research Methods

This chapter reports on the evaluation of both in-service and pre-service teachers’ perceptions towards the meaning and implementation of CLIL in their classrooms. In order to evaluate teacher perceptions, the study adopted a constructivist grounded theory (CGT) approach (Charmaz, 2006, 2017) by collecting qualitative data, including group discussion and interview

transcripts, from various stakeholders. This data was then triangulated with quantitative data (using paper-based and online surveys). CGT, by definition, requires introspection and a recognition of the inherently subjective nature of qualitative research. The approach is used widely in education and other social sciences and is deemed valuable in that the direction of inquiry is guided by collaboration among researcher and participants. When issues such as “teacher perceptions” are being evaluated or, in particular, when new concepts are being uncovered, evaluated, and re-evaluated over a longer period, CGT can provide valuable insights. In addition, cross-checking with participants of ongoing construction of themes and use of codes was included to satisfy the condition of “co-construction.” As such, participants served as both co-constructors of knowledge as well as co-evaluators of the findings as they were constructed. That is, the coding and themes being constructed were negotiated and discussed with participants, both overall and through the selection of more experienced or expert participants. The research process is illustrated in Figure 7.1.

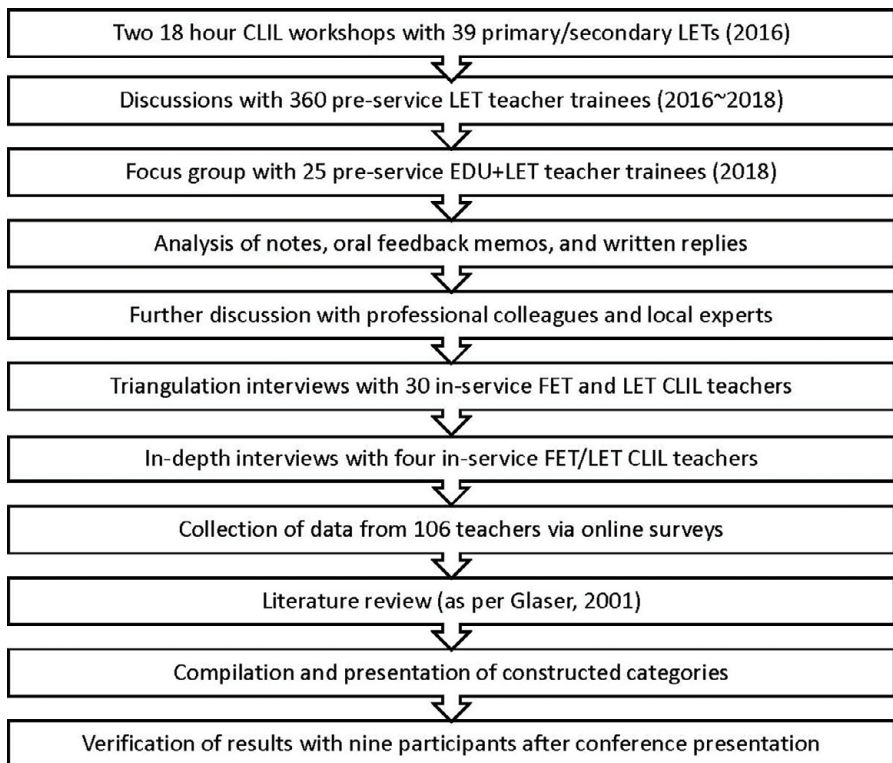


Figure 7.1. Process of data collection and analysis.

Participants

Participants included in-service teachers (including CLIL, content, and English teachers) and pre-service teachers (teacher trainees taught by the researcher/author), as well as the researcher/author himself as a researcher-participant. Participant information is provided in Table 7.1. All participants provided informed consent regarding their participation in the study and the future use of the data collected. Participants were provided with details on the goals and objectives of the study and were invited to discuss the results of the study both during ongoing analysis and once the findings had been written up.

Table 7.1. Participant background information

Stage	Number	Experience	Background
1. CLIL workshops	39	2 to 30 years	In-service LETs attending a required workshop on whole English teaching and CLIL
2. Pre-service teacher trainees	360	2 nd through 4 th year English teaching majors	Possessing some theoretical background in the Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), including CLIL. Some teaching experience
3. Focus groups	25	3 rd and 4 th year education majors	Some background in CLIL, required to select a subject major
4. Collegial discussions	6	Professors in linguistics or TESOL	Most research CLIL, and all have attended CLIL conferences.
5. Triangulation interviews	30	FET and LET CLIL in-service teachers	At least two years of active CLIL teaching or support
6. In-depth interviews	4	Two FET and two LET CLIL in-service teachers	At least two years of successful CLIL teaching
7. Online survey	106	11 pre-service and 95 in-service teachers	50% have experience teaching CLIL; 20% are FETs
8. Post-conference meetings	9	Two in-service CLIL teachers (one FET, one LET), two pre-service CLIL interns, five CLIL researchers (two master's students, two professors)	Firsthand experience with CLIL teaching or teacher training. Research in CLIL practice in Taiwan

Data Collection

The motivation for the study stems from in-depth discussions from two intensive, 18-hour in-service CLIL training programs for primary and secondary school English teachers ($N = 39$) taking place in 2016, and is further enriched by discussions with pre-service teachers, ranging from first to fourth year TESOL and education majors ($N = 360$). A focus group of 25 pre-service teachers was used to clarify and triangulate the findings of the prior interviews and discussions. After an analysis of the research notes and consultation with local CLIL researchers through collegial discussions ($N = 6$), further triangulation and co-construction of meaning was accomplished through discussions with 30 LET and FET CLIL teachers, in-depth interviews with four in-service CLIL teachers with over two years of experience, and questionnaire feedback from 106 in-service teachers based on the Questionnaire on Teachers' Attitudes, Perceptions and Experiences in CLIL adapted from Jermaine McDougald (2015). Finally, after the preliminary results were presented at an international conference, a core group of nine CLIL experts was recruited to evaluate the process and the results and to share their perspectives, adding nuance to the findings. A timeline of the data collection procedure is provided in Figure 7.1.

Data Analysis

Research was conducted and analyzed employing a constructivist grounded theory approach using constant comparison, reflexive and iterative questioning, flexible approaches matched to the context (e.g., interviews, focus groups, and surveys), theoretical sampling, and a focus on co-construction of meaning. While variants of grounded theory abound in the literature, the perspective adopted by the study is based on the writings of Kathy Charmaz (2006, 2017). A fundamental concept of the adopted approach is based on the famous quotation by Barney Glaser, a pioneer in grounded theory, who wrote, "all is data" (2001, p. 145). As such, all of the data collected through the variety of techniques used, such as interviews, question and answer sessions, assigned reflection reports, researcher notes, messages and emails, survey responses, and many others, are considered valid sources of knowledge that can be used to construct meaning. In terms of the constant comparative method, at first an area of interest was selected, namely the perceptions of pre-service and in-service teachers towards the meaning and interpretation of CLIL in the Taiwanese setting. Then, features, principles, and topics of this area of interest were identified (see the sections below), before making decisions based on initial data collection and areas which still required investigation.

Then, the concept of theoretical sampling was applied, wherein individuals or stakeholders who could provide the necessary information to fill gaps or resolve conflicts were selected purposively. Eventually, themes were constructed through continual reflection and data collection, and the relevance of the constructed theoretical structure was re-evaluated.

Findings

The qualitative results of the two-year study are based on a constructivist grounded theory approach to co-construction of themes related to teachers' perspectives on the meaning and implementation of CLIL. In order to organize the findings, four categories were developed, based on the qualitative data obtained from teachers. As noted above, teachers included both in-service and pre-service teachers, as well as both LETs and FETs, and both CLIL and non-CLIL teachers. The four main categories include: motivations, implementation factors, obstacles, and future potentials for CLIL in Taiwan. These categories are specific to the Taiwanese context but do bear some relevance to implementation of CLIL in other non-European settings.

The findings suggest that there are several perceived "meanings" of CLIL and even more modes of implementation. Although there is a lack of consistency in what pre-service and in-service teachers perceive as appropriate CLIL teaching, there is an overall trend towards a recognition of a lack of resources and support, a sense of CLIL as a burden on both LETs and FETs that requires a great deal of collaboration, and a skepticism regarding the sustainability of a "hard" form of CLIL which emphasizes an English-only environment. In fact, based on both qualitative analysis and a comparison of pre-service and in-service teachers, perceptions tended to align for both groups, with no significant differences found between pre-service and in-service teachers. Summaries of findings by category are provided below. Tables are provided which identify themes constructed for each category and a sample of "codes" that were used to tag key participant data (such as interview transcripts, written comments, questionnaire open-ended questions, or email exchanges). These codes were generated in collaboration with participants and used to reflect their frequency in both written and oral records. For each theme, excerpts are provided from pre-service teachers and CLIL teachers (both FET and LET).

Motivations for CLIL Implementation

In terms of motivations for CLIL implementation, two themes were co-constructed: "bilingualism as a present or future requirement" and "perceived

benefits of CLIL related to student-centered learning.” These two themes, with sample codes and excerpts from the researcher’s notes, are included in Table 7.2. Without fail, the perceived goal of CLIL among participants was to develop functional bilingualism as a “requirement.” Since teachers in Taiwan are currently required to be functionally bilingual in order to conduct CLIL teaching, the lack of English proficiency (as perceived or as tested) among subject teachers has escalated the hiring of FETs, who, although proficient in English, are often not familiar with the content they are asked to teach or associated national curricular standards. The long-term goal of bilingualism is focused on both students, in the short-term, and all teachers, in the long-term, which is in line with national policy (National Development Council, 2018) and parents’ expectations (Chang, 2008; Chen, 2011; Hsu & Hsu, 2019).

Table 7.2. Category 1 findings: Categories, themes, sample researcher codes, and excerpts

Category 1: Motivation for CLIL instruction		
Themes	Sample Codes	Excerpts
A. Bilingualism as a present or future requirement	bilingualism: current, near future, distant future, student, teacher	<p>1. Pre-service teacher: “teachers are bound to be required to have bilingual ability” [future; teacher]</p> <p>2. In-service CLIL FET: “the lack of English background affects the effectiveness of CLIL” [present; teacher]</p> <p>3. In-service CLIL LET: “In the long term, students’ English ability should be improved.” [future; student]</p>
B. Perceived benefits of CLIL related to student-centered learning	hands-on, critical thinking, motivation, independent thinking, L2 exposure, interaction, breadth of learning, flexibility, language as a tool, scaffolding	<p>1. Pre-service teacher: “Curriculum mapping for CLIL should design interesting subject content for students to learn and then motivate students to learn more about the knowledge of that subject extensively by using target language.” [scaffolding; L2 exposure; motivation]</p> <p>2. In-service CLIL FET: “I can observe the benefits of gradually adding CLIL by starting with the lower grades and adding a grade each year. I find this more successful than adding CLIL to all grades across the board.” [scaffolding]</p> <p>3. In-service CLIL LET: “CLIL is good as FETs interact with students for more than 45 min per week.” [L2 exposure; interaction]</p>

Another perceived benefit of CLIL is the nature of the classes which are taught by CLIL teachers. They are, by definition, cross-disciplinary, using more hands-on learning, requiring independent and higher-order thinking, increasing language use, broadening learning, and providing flexibility within a scaffolded routine, focusing on language as a “tool” rather than subject. The preceding items were included as “codes” and were commonly cited by participants as either current or potential benefits of CLIL. The issue here is that these perceived benefits could be obtained from almost any project/problem-based learning curriculum, as mentioned by teachers participating in the initial 2016 workshops. Thus, the instructional design philosophy of CLIL, rather than its actual implementation, may lead some stakeholders to believe it is an appropriate paradigm for EFL. In fact, reported comprehension difficulties in many CLIL classrooms suggest that language use in CLIL classrooms is not “authentic,” according to the principles of a) familiarity with language patterns and meanings and b) freedom in language use for communicative purposes, as characterized by van Compernelle and McGregor (2016).

Current CLIL Implementation Factors

From the current CLIL teachers, some implementation factors became immediately apparent, namely the role of FETs as “resources” and LETs as “guides.” FETs were regarded, by themselves and LETs, as “resources.” These two themes, with sample codes and excerpts from the researcher’s notes, are included in Table 7.3. Their duty was perceived as allaying LETs’ fears regarding English language proficiency and lack of preparation time. FETs also self-perceived this role and, while some considered this as a negative role, others embraced it. They were also seen as conveying culture and globalization. In fact, Taiwanese parents have pushed strongly for FETs in schools, with an emphasis on their role as language resources (Chang, 2008). They were often assigned content-creation tasks with relative freedom about what they wanted to teach, although many lacked the background in the subject being integrated with English. Although assessed and evaluated, the FETs often lamented the fact that they were provided with almost no feedback from the professors or administrators assessing them.

In terms of LETs, they were regarded as “guides.” They were considered to be the curriculum experts (although that is primarily because they could read the curricular guidelines or content-specific textbooks, which were only available in Chinese). Ultimately, they took the role of “designers” or “co-designers” of content, ensuring that the CLIL courses were in line with national objectives. LETs often considered that their main duty was translating textbooks

into English. Overall, some LETs considered their role was to act as guardians of local culture, as an English-only language class may tend to focus on internationalization over localization. While generally supporting classroom instruction in English, the role of LETs as L1 “guides” has been suggested (Lin, 2015).

Table 7.3. Category 2 findings: Categories, themes, sample researcher codes, and excerpts

Category 2: Implementation factors for CLIL instruction		
Themes	Sample Codes	Samples
A. Foreign teachers as CLIL “resources”	foreign teacher, teacher-as-resource, self-confidence, primary teacher, globalization, western culture, content-creators	<p>1. Pre-service teacher: “However, because countries have their own curriculum structure learning, it is easy for foreign teachers to misjudge the past learning experience of Taiwan students, which makes the design of curriculum teaching activities too difficult or simple.” [content-creators; western culture]</p> <p>2. In-service CLIL FET: “Course design should be conducted by CLIL professionals rather than asking new teachers to design.” [course design]</p> <p>3. In-service CLIL LET: “It appears many schools are simply dumping workload on the foreign teachers, telling them to teach CLIL, and leaving them to do everything without support.” [primary teacher; content-creators]</p>
B. Local teachers as CLIL “guides”	local teacher, teacher-as-guide, course design, curriculum, local(ization), translator, assistant, cultural guardians	<p>1. Pre-service teacher: “I feel very unfair because my salary is different and my working hours are longer than those of foreign teachers.” [local teacher; assistant]</p> <p>2. In-service CLIL FET: “Another very problematic aspect is the translation of textbooks into English. It is very time-consuming and often not accurate.” [translator; curriculum]</p> <p>3. In-service CLIL LET: “CLIL really depends on curriculum and how to help me develop it. Or if the curriculum can be appreciated and supported by all staff.” [curriculum; course design]</p>

Perceived Obstacles to CLIL Success

Themes co-constructed for this category include student and teacher rejection, as well as social and systemic factors. Obstacles to the success of

CLIL in Taiwan were strongly emphasized throughout the data collection process, but mostly by LETs (pre-service and in-service). Teachers feared rejection of CLIL based on several factors, three of which were most prominent: linguistic factors (language interference with L1 and the complexity/difficulty of L2 content), affective factors (confusion and frustration and incomprehensible input, lack of interest, or “learned helplessness”), and conceptual/developmental factors (such as the lack of appropriate schemata for processing the content provided through CLIL courses which were not matched to their developmental level). These three themes, with sample codes and excerpts from the researcher’s notes, are included in Table 7.4. These results mirror those of Kuei-Min Huang’s (2011), finding no improvement in motivational factors accompanied by increased language complexity in CLIL classrooms.

Other obstacles included societal or systemic factors, again most often cited by LETs. These include the fact that proficiency gaps are often caused by social and economic factors. The paper-and-pencil test culture of Taiwan was another factor which teachers feared would limit CLIL’s future implementation. Likewise, as mentioned in the literature review, Taiwan does not have English as an official language, and English is not commonly used outside of the classroom (Yang et al., 2012). Teachers noted that the policies are often superficial, and that the learning effectiveness and learning motivation of students is often not improved through CLIL programs.

Table 7.4. Category 3 findings: Categories, themes, sample researcher codes, and excerpts

Category 3: Obstacles to CLIL success		
Themes	Sample Codes	Excerpts
A. Student rejection of CLIL	linguistic (interference, complexity, L1) affective (confusion, interest, learned helplessness) conceptual (development, schemata)	1. Pre-service teacher: “Students might only learn English for a few months or even never learned English before. How can they learn the content if they don’t understand any meaning of English words? I can’t imagine how tough will it be for students.” [future; teacher] 2. In-service CLIL FET: “English’ only is one of the problems . . . and not starting at the same grade level and subject” [linguistic: L1; affective; conceptual] 3. In-service CLIL LET: “It is forbidden to speak Chinese. This will actually give students a potential message: Chinese is inferior, English is the first.” [linguistic; affective]

Table 7.4. Category 3 findings (continued)

B. Teacher rejection of CLIL	loading, burden, teacher fear, time constraints, lack (resources, support, collaboration)	<p>1. Pre-service teacher: “Teachers must prepare lessons with foreign teachers, which will increase the burden on teachers . . . Taiwan’s education system does not have a perfect plan for students to accept this innovative teaching method.” [burden; lack: resources, support]</p> <p>2. In-service CLIL FET: “From the beginning we were promised resources and help. We never received any. No books, proper and consistent training” [lack: resources, support]</p> <p>3. In-service CLIL LET: “CLIL is more suitable in the ESL context, and the EFL situation is difficult to push. Where are the supporting measures? [burden; lack: support]</p>
C. Social and systemic factors impeding implementation	SES, proficiency gap, test culture, assessment issues, official language, policy first, politics, environment	<p>1. Pre-service teacher: “Teachers must think twice about who your students are, their level of English, content knowledge, and requirements. In the elementary school, the students’ grades also have a large gap between the high and low level.” [proficiency gap; assessment issues]</p> <p>2. In-service CLIL FET: “CLIL focuses on background knowledge, but without any how can we teach CLIL [to students without this background knowledge]?” [proficiency gap; environment]</p> <p>3. In-service CLIL LET: “It is impossible for Taiwanese students to be completely exposed to the English environment” [environment]</p>

Future Directions for CLIL in Taiwan

Themes co-constructed for this category include “supporting the training of local teachers” and “alternatives to proposed public school intervention.” These two themes, with sample codes and excerpts from the researcher’s notes, are included in Table 7.5. Through the process of data collection and analysis, it became clear that teacher training of local English and content teachers is required for the future of CLIL in Taiwan. Related to this finding is the need for self-sufficiency and resource-sharing among teachers, schools, and districts. Professionalism and empowerment of local teachers is an investment which is fundamental for the success of CLIL and is a wiser use of resources than the importation of foreign talent (Chen, 2011), which is

becoming increasingly difficult to source, as the demand for qualified and certified teachers who are native speakers of English has increased globally. System-level development of theory-based, empirically sound pedagogy for CLIL in the Taiwanese context is needed at the policy level. Such a future for CLIL would need to embrace students' mother tongue and local culture, rather than relegate this to non-CLIL courses.

Other suggestions were provided which seem to suggest that CLIL, as an approach for EFL, can operate in parallel to regular English instruction until the infrastructure and resources are in place for courses to be taught by teachers, with increasing use of LETs and less reliance on FETs, who are confident in both the language and the content. Examples of alternative suggestions for integrating CLIL more effectively and consistently in the future include:

1. providing self-access materials for students, such as non-fiction readers,
2. using "English time" as a small portion of other content courses to allow English language learning to be integrated across the curriculum,
3. opening up the CLIL paradigm to greater use of translanguaging (see Wei & Lin, 2019) by allowing greater use of L1 for comprehension,
4. letting the private sector expand (e.g., through offering the design and promotion of reasonably priced and localized CLIL teaching resources),
5. by first starting CLIL teaching at the secondary level, before gradually offering courses to younger learners.

Teachers are eager for the benefits of CLIL but are wary of the English-only nature of the pedagogy. While FETs lacked this fear of English, their background and competency in CLIL subjects was often questioned. Teacher training must be emphasized before our teachers can embrace and succeed in any new pedagogy.

The necessity for comprehensibility of input cannot be overstated. Keith Graham et al. (2018), in addressing the mixed results of empirical studies on the effects of CLIL on both language and content outcomes, highlighted two prerequisite conditions for language learning proposed by Krashen's Input Hypothesis (1985): sufficient quantity of target language input and the comprehensibility of this input. Although, according to Graham et al. (2018), most implementations of CLIL will ensure an abundance and variety of target language input; if this input is not comprehensible to students, neither language development nor content knowledge acquisition will be possible. As such, any implementation of CLIL as an "English-only" model will inevitably lead to increasingly overwhelming cognitive demands and negative affect for learners who lack the sufficient linguistic or content background to comprehend the input provided by teachers without L1 support.

Table 7.5. Category 4 findings: Categories, themes, sample researcher codes, and excerpts

Category 4: The future of CLIL in Taiwan		
Themes	Sample Codes	Excerpts
A. Supporting the training of local teachers	self-sufficiency, resource sharing, professional development, training, empowerment, investment, systemic development, accommodate L1	<p>1. Pre-service teacher: “Teachers’ professionalism and professional communication and expression in professional subjects are still insufficient.” [self-sufficiency; professional development]</p> <p>2. In-service CLIL FET: “Subject teachers needs to have more training about how to teach though the target language” [training; self-sufficiency]</p> <p>3. In-service CLIL LET: “More information and training is needed on strategies, not only for CLIL teachers but also for co-teachers.” [training; investment]</p>
B. Alternatives to proposed public school integration	alternatives, self-access, parental choice, private sector, new approaches, additional methods	<p>1. Pre-service teacher: “I think our MOE shouldn’t spend too much money on promoting CLIL because it’s not appropriate for Taiwan now. Maybe some bilingual schools can use this method but not in every school.” [alternatives; private sector]</p> <p>2. In-service CLIL FET: “Foreign teachers only stay in short intervals and have their own teaching styles, so how do they benefit students?” [new approaches]</p> <p>3. In-service CLIL LET: “I think CLIL could be arranged into “specialty schools,” such as private schools.” [private sector]</p>

Triangulation with Quantitative Data

Quantitative results from the online survey support the qualitative findings and show a general sense of optimism towards CLIL, but a strong need for methodological, subject-specific, preparatory, material, administrative, and collaborative support. These findings demonstrate that the FET CLIL teachers possess more knowledge of CLIL than LETs when teachers are asked “How much do you know about CLIL?” ($p = .02$), based on a Likert-type response ranging from 1, “a lot,” to 3, “not much,” (FET $M = 1.77$; LET $M = 2.17$). As such, during interviews, it was found that FETs do most of the CLIL teaching and report greater satisfaction and confidence, despite a greater sense of burden. Burden, in the study, was evaluated by the online

survey, adopting a Likert-type scale from 1, “strongly disagree,” to 4, “strongly agree.” LETs reported significantly lower responses to “CLIL requires a lot of time (lesson planning and teaching)” (FET $M = 3.77$; LET $M = 3.52$; $p = .02$) and significantly higher responses to “CLIL requires more subject knowledge that English language teachers possess” (FET $M = 2.86$; LET $M = 3.47$; $p = .00$). This finding can be explained by reference to the reported role of LETs as “guides,” who perceive themselves as having fewer linguistic resources and confidence in CLIL pedagogy, thus teaching less CLIL content and underestimating the amount of time required for CLIL preparation and instruction.

Conclusions and Implications

The issue of CLIL implementation in Taiwan is complex. Through the evaluation of over three years of data collected through interviews, questionnaires, discussion sessions, and reflection reports, several themes related to the key categories of motivation, implementation, obstacles, and future directions were constructed. Principally, the motivations for CLIL implementation are based on the perceived need for Taiwan to become a bilingual (or English-proficient) society in the near future. In combination with the perceived “student-centered” benefits of a CLIL approach, which may or may not be adhered to in classroom settings, this push towards multilingualism is undoubtedly a contributing factor in the trend towards CLIL models of instruction. In terms of implementation issues, the use of FETs as “resources” (namely, providers of English language and culture) for schools to implement CLIL, with local teachers serving as “guides” (such as through translating documents or referring to local curricula) has become the norm. This model of implementation has led to several obstacles for students and teachers alike. Students, when facing the dual pressures of language and content, must overcome linguistic, affective, and conceptual challenges. The CLIL programs currently being offered are also perceived by teachers as lacking in the resources, support, and authentic collaboration necessary for successful implementation. These factors are compounded by societal barriers, which include inequalities in students’ English proficiency, as well as factors related to socioeconomic status (and resulting inequality in access to learning resources)—factors which policy makers should consider in future CLIL projects. Turning to potential future directions, teacher training should be the primary concern and receive additional investment. Sustainable development is only possible if local teachers are trained and supported in terms of both linguistic and discipline-specific knowledge and skills. Therefore, unless a critical evaluation of current policy and practice is conducted, with a clarification of

the definition, implementation practices, and roles of teachers, CLIL may be relegated to private educational institutions, such as bilingual schools, where ample resources and teacher qualifications are ensured.

Based on the findings, one major “tweak” to the current status-quo interpretation of CLIL by Taiwanese scholars (most of whom recommend English-only environments) is that greater use of translanguaging and L1 are deemed to be beneficial or even necessary for the majority of local teachers. This echoes the work of Amy Lin (2015) who critiques the idealization of “English-only” approaches and over-application of the “maximum input hypothesis.” Given the burdens faced by CLIL teachers and the lack of resources, it is essential that materials be either designed (long-term) or imported (short-term) to meet the needs of CLIL teachers, since many local teachers are faced with the challenge of translating local textbooks into English, while following Ministry of Education guidelines.

Furthermore, a slower rollout of CLIL is recommended, with guidelines and training being fundamental to the sustainability of CLIL in Taiwan. Additionally, the current reliance on foreign talent at the expense of local talent is not deemed sustainable, and local teacher training and preparation for CLIL is strongly recommended, along with a careful consideration of the role and future of foreign English teachers in Taiwanese primary and secondary schools. Overall, the research findings reported in this chapter demonstrate that multiple interpretations of the meaning and implementation of CLIL exist simultaneously, even within the same school or classroom, and that a clarification of how EAC can be best applied to achieving the stated policy goals of the Taiwanese government must be undertaken in order to clarify the expected roles of teachers and improve their perceptions towards EAC in their classrooms.

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