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# Textbooks for Content and Language Integrated Learning: policy, market and appropriate didactics?

Libros de texto para el aprendizaje integrado de contenidos y lengua extranjera: política, mercado y ¿una didáctica adecuada?

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Abstract: The paper begins by approaching the concept of CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) providing a brief overview of the history of bilingual education. The influence of the linguistic policies of the European Union is discussed along with some beliefs about language teaching and how both have influenced the celerity of CLIL implementation, momentum and expansion. There are some indicators of the lack of a theoretical framework for CLIL, of insufficient teacher education and or inadequacy of materials. It is necessary to reflect systematically on to what extent commercially published textbooks match the demands of bilingual education. The second section centers on CLIL textbooks, mainly those commercialized by publishers, by referring to some recent studies which attempt to approach systematically their design and use. Since, by definition CLIL includes both content and language, our research question is if content books (in English) also include content and language objectives. A corpus of 25 books from different subjects, years, and publishers is analyzed. The analysis shows an insufficient presence of linguistic objectives. Some reflections are made about this scarcity with the warning that this lack could hindrance an efficient implementation of CLIL. Thus, it could be said that these textbooks are not the product of discipline or didactic considerations but the result of the logic of market, publishers and linguistic policy.

**Keywords**: content and language integrated learning; textbooks; teacher education; bilingual education; materials design.

**Resumen**: El artículo comienza con una aproximación al concepto de AICLE (Aprendizaje Integrado de Contenidos y Lengua extranjera), en inglés CLIL (Content *and Language Integrated Learning*) y una breve panorámica histórica de la educación bilingüe. Se discute cómo las políticas lingüísticas de la Unión Europea y algunas creencias derivadas de la enseñanza de lenguas extranjeras han influido en la celeridad de la implantación, expansión y auge de AICLE. La implementación de este enfoque educativo se está reali-

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zando sin suficiente fundamentación teórica, sin formación del profesorado y sin materiales adecuados. Es urgente una reflexión sistemática respecto a los libros que las editoriales comerciales ofrecen. Dicha reflexión debe comenzar por una investigación acerca de cuánto se adaptan a las nuevas exigencias planteadas por la educación bilingüe. La segunda sección describe los distintos tipos de libros de texto para AICLE y hace referencia a recientes estudios que intentan aproximarse sistemáticamente a su diseño y uso. Nos centramos en libros comercializados por editoriales, ámbito novedoso y apenas estudiado. Puesto que AICLE, por definición, abarca lengua y contenido, la pregunta de investigación es si los libros empleados en educación bilingüe incluyen también objetivos y contenidos lingüísticos. Para responder se crea un corpus de 25 libros de varias editoriales, asignaturas, cursos y años de publicación. El análisis muestra una insuficiente presencia de objetivos lingüísticos. Se reflexiona acerca de la causa de esta carencia, advirtiendo que puede impedir la implementación eficaz de AICLE. Este estudio parece indicar que estos libros de texto no son el producto de consideraciones de tipo didácticas o disciplinares sino el resultado de la convergencia de otras lógicas como las del mercado, las empresas editoriales o la política.

**Palabras clave**: aprendizaje integrado de contenidos y lengua extranjera; libros de texto; formación del profesorado; educación bilingüe; diseño de materiales.

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#### 1. Introduction

Textbook research is a topic of growing interest in education forums. This paper approximates the specific domain of textbooks for Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), an educational approach which has gained momentum and at the same time «theory-lessness» seems to permeate practice, beliefs and materials (Dalton-Puffer, 2007). It is imperative to observe if these books are actually following CLIL demands, and to what extend research findings are being applied in these materials. Given the relevance that literature gives to materials and textbooks for successful implementation of CLIL, a reflection is requested on whether they are the product of didactics and pedagogy or, on the contrary, these books are the outcome of marketing, policies and publishers.

# 2. Policies endorsing the CLIL educational approach

This section provides an overview of the origins and development of the CLIL educational approach. More than a historical review, it aims at highlighting how educational and linguistic policies have contributed to the celerity of its implementation, outpacing teacher training and materials provision (Coyle et al., 2010).

The acronym CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) lacks a universally accepted definition. However, one of the most comprehensive is

... a generic umbrella term which would encompass any activity in which a foreign language is used as a tool in the learning of a non-language subject in which both language and the subject have a joint curricular role. The rendition of this term into French is Enseignement d'une Matière par I'Intégration d'une Langue Etrangère (EMILE) (Marsh, 2002, p. 58). The consequence of this flexible definition is a variety of curricular models containing, at least in theory, both language and non-language subject matter. This practice is widely spread across European first and secondary education systems (Eurydice, 2006; 2011). At tertiary education, the name *English Medium Instruction* (EMI) is preferred generally, though given the novelty of this field the conceptualization and nomination are still under construction.

## 2.1. CLIL in the history of education

The teaching of content through a foreign language is not new at all in the History of Education. The use of a foreign language as a medium of instruction at European universities dates from the Middle Ages with Latin as a *lingua franca* for teaching and publishing (Coleman, 2006). Also, colonies maintained the language of the metropole as language of schooling, differing from the use of the vernaculars at home. Coleman (*ibid.*) identifies two new elements in this practice at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: the predominance of English as the chosen language and the reasons and forces that drive educational institutions into the use of this language. In addition, at university level, the adaptation to the *European Higher Education Area* (EHEA) (Bologna Declaration, 1999) has accelerated the expansion and turned CLIL / EMI from an added value to a must at third level institutions in countries where English is not the first language.

In Spain, at the beginning of the 20th century the teaching and learning of foreign languages lived an innovative pedagogic movement, considered as a precedent of the communicative approach. In this proyect known as «Escuela Internacional Española» (1928) «estas lenguas no se aprendían como materias de estudio, sino como medios de comunicación por el uso, lo mismo que la lengua materna en el hogar (Viña, 2011, p. 57).

CLIL finds its more immediate precedent in Canadian French immersion programs (from 1960s onward). These programs were established so that Anglophone children could learn French, co-official language in Canada.

«Spain is rapidly becoming one of the European leaders in CLIL practice and research» (Lasagabaster & Ruiz de Zarobe, 2010, p. 9). Regional education authorities are endorsing plurilingual policies mainly at secondary level. This rapid expansion can be explained by the previous experience with more than one official language in compulsory education. Since the 1980s the main four minority languages in the Spanish state (Galician, Catalan, Basque and Valencian) have been co-official in schools. This practice aided the creation of a bilingual mentality which could be presently facilitating the transfer to the new situation with English, French and German as the new languages for schooling. Primary and Secondary education have large scale bilingual programs. These programs

comprise linguistic and methodological training for teachers coordinated and provided by the Education Department (Consejerías de Educación) of each one of the Comunidades Autónomas. The most relevant initiatives are compiled and well documented in two monographs: *CLIL in Spain* (Lasagabaster & Ruiz de Zarobe, 2010) and *CLIL across education levels: opportunities for all* (Dafouz & Guerrini, 2009).

In contrast, bilingual degrees were not offered at Spanish universities until 2002, mainly in the private sector (Dafouz & Nuñez, 2009). The current courses and subjects in English at Spanish Universities are compiled by *Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte* in the document «Degree Programs in English Language in the Spanish University System 2013». The areas with the higher number of degrees and postgraduate courses in English are Economy, Business Administration, Engineering, Architecture studies, Primary and Pre-primary Education (Ministerio de Educación, 2013). Requirements, intensity and types are also wide-ranging. The heterogeneity of CLIL at higher education is thus clearly seen in the Spanish context.

The reasons and forces behind the implementation of bilingual programs are also very diverse across educational levels. In Primary and Secondary education CLIL is promoted by European language policies, whereas higher education is driven by seven types of forces (Coleman, 2006): CLIL, internationalization, student exchange, research and teaching materials, staff mobility, graduate employability and the market of international students.

European policies are currently promoting multilingualism, multiculturalism, mobility and internationalization. For a successful construction of Europe, the promotion of linguistic diversity in education and training has always been an important consideration (Eurydice Report, 2006). In the 1990s, European institutions begin to reflect this concern in educational programs and legislation. Thus, the European Commission White Paper (1995) «Teaching and Learning: Towards the learning society» indicated that every European citizen should be able to communicate in their mother tongue and two other languages, the formula MT+2. This initiated a series of Action Plans, programs, projects, events and instruments for the promotion of high quality language education.

In addition to these policies, three main Pro-CLIL arguments (Dalton-Puffer, 2007, pp. 2-3) have endorsed the wide acceptance:

- 1. traditional foreign language classroom is not showing efficiency;
- non linguistic disciplines are a reservoir of concepts and lexis to establish real communication;
- 3. the belief that more exposure to target language input will derive in more learning outcomes.

CLIL comes into scene then as a «European solution to a European need» (Marsh, 2002, p. 11; Lorenzo, Casal & Moore, 2009, p. 19).

#### 3. CLIL materials and textbooks: a niche market

This section considers the key role of textbooks and materials for the successful implementation of CLIL. Sources of materials are presented along with their advantages and disadvantages. Particular attention is given to the different types of textbooks and how their use has evolved over the short history of CLIL education. The need for research on current commercially available books is made noticeable.

In the specific field of language teaching, «materials» refers to both the texts (written, visual or oral) and the language learning tasks (Harwood, 2010 mentioned in Morton, 2013, p. 115). The term textbook refers to the books that include all the materials in a written form. Frequently, teachers in all subject areas produce materials to supplement their textbooks, since these seldom completely meet the needs of a class. Even so, textbooks still constitute the syllabus in many contexts and teachers are expected to follow them more or less faithfully. In addition, end-of-course exams are usually based exclusively on textbook content.

In the particular context of CLIL the relevance of materials and textbooks has been repeatedly advocated in literature as a factor for successful CLIL implementation (Clegg, 2007; Dalton-Puffer, 2007; Mehisto, 2008; Navés, 2009; Coyle *et al.*, 2010; Kelly, 2014 *inter alia*). Thus, in one of the leading countries in CLIL education, Finland, the lack of suitable CLIL materials is one of the considered problems (Mäkiranta, 2014) and normally if materials are mentioned in literature, it is to lament their scarcity. Many European teachers report this as one of the main difficulties (Morton, 2013).

Commercially produced CLIL course books are only a recent phenomenon and many countries still lack them (Morton, 2013; Kelly, 2014). Teachers often have to prepare their own materials. Moore and Lorenzo (2007) report the three basic options teachers can choose, all with advantages and disadvantages:

- a) produce their own original materials from scratch;
- b) employ 'undiluted' authentic materials;
- c) adapt authentic materials in line with their teaching goals (p.28).

The rest of this section describes the strengths and weakness of authentic textbooks (L1 textbooks or textbooks designed for native speakers of English) and of commercially produced ones, understanding by the latter those textbooks published in a non English speaking country and following the country's official curriculum.

Moore and Lorenzo (2007, p. 29) point to the genuine models of the target language in use as the main strength of authentic textbooks. However, the linguistic accessibility of these materials has to be checked prior to use and will probably demand some adaptation, a challenge and a task (perhaps time consuming) for teachers. This is controversial and Mäkiranta (2014, p. 24) judges that «For obvious reasons L1 textbooks do not support language learning in CLIL».

Regarding the frequency of use of this option, literature shows discrepancies. Hence, Kelly (2014) reports that «In the vast majority of contexts I've worked and visited, schools import native speaker textbooks, usually British or from the US. While the quality can usually be guaranteed with these books, they are always going to be a challenge for CLIL learners on a number of levels.» On the contrary, other studies (Banegas, 2013, p. 4; Morton, 2013, p. 125) show most teachers do not use this type of material. The reason of this variance could be found in the countries investigated. Kelly refers to worldwide countries where teachers are being trained by the British Council, while the two other authors are talking about Latin America and Europe.

Returning to the challenges of a textbook for a native speaker the main of these is no doubt the language demands: subject-specific language and the general academic language. Therefore, recurring to imported books will imply the laborious task of adaptation. Kelly also warns about the culture specificity in the books which may entail difficulties for local learners. A solution in some contexts is the translation of local textbooks to avoid the miscommunications of culture specificity.

In any of the cases, the pedagogical adaptation is time-consuming and, in addition it may require special competencies which perhaps teachers have not developed (Mäkiranta, 2014). For these reasons teachers require commercially available textbooks and therefore, publishers have found a niche in the market. A glossary of Marketing terms defines niche market as: «A small, specialist area of the market. A niche market is a specific, focused, portion of a market. A segment of the market that has different preferences or needs from the mainstream audiences.» It is essential to focus on the published «specifically designed» for CLIL textbook, though in some countries they are only beginning to emerge (Morton, 2013).

Kelly (2014) calls them «translated» textbooks and identifies three main disadvantages:

1. Too high linguistic level for learners. If they are translations they will whave language which is sophisticated in the native language, but simply expressed in English as a foreign language», unless the translator has adapted it to the learners level.

- 2. They could be mainly text based (no pictures or illustrations). We believe that very probably this feature refers to the textbooks Kelly has found in other countries but is very far from the reality of Spanish publishers (see section on corpus description and features of the books).
- 3. Translated textbooks can also lack activity. CLIL demands active methodologies and high order thinking skills more than a traditional methodology in L1. Therefore, as Kelly emphasizes «textbooks need to be written around a skills-based curriculum». The research carried out by Santo-Tomás González (2011) sheds light on how much activity is present in Science books for Spanish students. Her suggestions for publishers to improve a dynamic pedagogy should not be disregarded either.

Having described the types of textbooks, next question to be asked is: are these «specifically» designed CLIL books following the double focus (language and content) required by this new educational approach? Or, in other words: are these books mere translations, with minor adaptations, of the content books in L1, Spanish in our case?

Next section considers some of the didactic implications of the CLIL pedagogical approach so that we can proceed to respond to the proposed questions.

## 4. CLIL didactics: language and content?

As already said, CLIL is a concept with a theoretical framework still under construction. However, it seems obvious that «CLIL is more than just another method of language learning. CLIL has implications for the learning process as a whole and is as such an innovative way of looking at (language) education». (Van de Craen *et al.*, 2007, p.75) There is an urgent need of research in this direction, as studies have so far mainly concentrated on language learning (Dalton-Puffer, 2011; Pérez- Cañado, 2012). CLIL is about learning, about learning language and about learning contents. In consequence, didactics and materials should target the three dimensions. To be precise, there should be content objectives, language objectives and competence objectives in textbooks and materials. In theory this is clear enough. The question is how this equal significance is maintained in the practice.

Rigorous classroom observations and well documented studies in Canada (Lyster, 2007), in Austria (Dalton-Puffer, 2007) and in England (Creese, 2005) have proven that language-learning goals remain implicit in CLIL classroom practices. These results point at the (unaware) belief that students will learn the language by exposure to it. This naturalistic view of language learning is now being rejected in the light of, among others, the studies previously mentioned.

There is a tendency towards «a counterbalanced approach» (Lyster, 2007) and a defense of a focus on form and explicit language teaching (Dalton Puffer, 2007, 2011; Clegg, 2007; Martín del Pozo, 2015, *inter alia*).

It becomes pertinent to investigate whether CLIL textbooks make explicit the language learning objectives and language contents or these are diluted and left to naturalistic and incidental learning, as investigations into CLIL classroom discourse have proven (Lyster, 2007; Dalton-Puffer, 2007). Next sections aim to respond to this research question.

### 5. Data, methodology and qualitative analysis

Harwood (2013) identifies three distinct but interrelated levels for research on materials and textbooks:

- 1. Content: analysis of what is included or omitted in the materials and what pedagogical beliefs are behind them.
- 2. Consumption: the actual use of the materials by teachers and learners in or outside the classrooms.
- 3. Production: processes related to the design, writing or distribution of materials by whoever (professional materials writers, publishers or teachers) authors them.

This study will focus only on the first level: content of textbooks used in Primary CLIL.

## 5.1. Corpus description

The textbooks investigated were chosen according to the following criteria:

- Specifically address the Spanish program, that is, they have been «designed» for non native speakers (Morton, 2013).
- They cover the two most common disciplines in Primary CLIL: Science and Arts.
- They are of recent publication and covered an interesting range (years 2007 to 2014). The books published in 2014 are supposed to follow the demands of the recently established education law LOMCE (Ley Orgánica de Mejora de Calidad Educativa).
- They are in current use at bilingual schools (private and public).

The corpus of the study consisted of 25 books. Table 1 summarizes the data.

Total number of books	25		
Publishers	6		
Years of publication	From 2007 to 2014		
Course years	From 1st to 6th		
	Science 18		
	Arts 5		
Subjects	Social Science 1		
·	Natural Science 1 <sup>1</sup>		
	Student's Book 17		
Type of book	Teacher's Guide 8		

Table 1. Corpus description.

The books are printed by Spanish publishers and based on the Spanish Official Curriculum. At first sight the content seems inferior to L1 books. A simple structure and a visually attractive design are two frequent features. Some include a CD. The Teacher's Book and resources packages could be objects of study themselves.

Given the vast offer of available materials, 25 books is a reduced range. However, the selected sample is representative because it covers six publishers, six course years, seven publication years and the two main CLIL subjects in the Primary Curriculum. The corpus is, therefore, suitable to provide insights of the specific moment in the history of CLIL textbooks we are going through now.

## 5.2. Methodology

The aim of the current study is to analyze the CLIL primary textbooks above mentioned following a qualitative methodology to respond to the research question specified in section 3: Are language objectives /language content explicit in CLIL textbooks? Therefore, this is a content orientated research (Harwood, 2013).

It is important to begin by specifying how «analysis of textbooks» can be distinguished from «evaluation of textbooks». According to McGrath (2013, p. 53) «analysis is concerned with getting inside a book discovering what it is there. As the term suggests, its purpose is descriptive, analytical rather than evaluative». On the contrary, evaluation implies making judgments according to one's purpose or needs. Therefore, analysis does not attempt to determine their value in general or for a set of learners but only providing a description. Usually both procedures are related, as analysis precedes evaluation.

The instrument used for the analysis is a grid designed *ad hoc* for this study and for future investigations of a more linguistic orientation. In the current paper we focus mainly in the language objectives column.

	Item	Course	Subject	Publisher	Year	Language Objectives	Teacher/ Student	Vocabulary help	Com- ments
Γ									

Table 2: Grid for analysis.

### 6. Results, findings and discussion

The detailed results of the analysis are presented in Appendix 1. For obvious reasons the names of the publishers are substituted by numbers from 1 to 6. Column 5 «Language Objectives» records whether the books have or lack explicit reference to this item in their initial table of contents. As it can be observed only three books (n.13, n. 22 and n.25) include explicit language objectives.

Book 13 (Science, 1<sup>st</sup> year, publisher 6, 2008, Teacher's book) does not have any information about language objectives in the initial table of contents. Only in lesson 1 (My body) one language objective is specified: «Diferenciar singulares y plurales de palabras donde el plural es irregular» (figure 1). As figure 2 shows, some of the words to be learnt have irregular plurals. Apart from this, no other lesson in book 13 includes language objectives in an explicit form.

#### **OBJETIVOS**

- 1. Reconocer a las personas por sus rasgos físicos.
- 2. Reproducir nuestro propio cuerpo.
- Aceptar el propio cuerpo con sus limitaciones y posibilidades.
- 4. Identificar y ordenar algunas situaciones.
- Diferenciar singulares y plurales de palabras donde el plural es irregular.

Figure 1: Objectives.



Figure 2: Grammar explained with pictures.

Book 22 (Arts, 6<sup>th</sup> year, 2009, publisher 6, Teacher's book) also lacks information about language objectives in the initial table of contents. However, every lesson presents a brief section with «language objectives». They comprehend vocabulary and structures with a clear prevalence of the former. See figures 3 and 4. The analysis ob book 25 (Arts, 2<sup>nd</sup> year, 2009, publisher 6, Teacher's book) reveals the same as both items share all features excluding academic year.

## LANGUAGE OBJECTIVES

- Football positions: goalkeeper, winger, full back, striker, sweeper
- Geometric shapes
- Structures: superlative form

Figure 3: Sample from Science textbook.

### LANGUAGE OBJECTIVES

- Front, profile, three-quarters
- Axes of symmetry
- Structures: It's facing left/right ...

Figure 4: Sample from Arts textbook.

It must be taken into consideration that books 13, 22 and 25 are Teacher's guides. These books are expected to incorporate information on formal aspects of the educational process (competences, contents, objectives, values) which student's books do not need to present. Nonetheless, this information is quite limited. In addition, the fact of scattering this information about linguistic objectives throughout the lesson and not condensing it in the main table of contents could be interpreted as not relevant enough for the teacher. In consequence, linguistic progression throughout the book cannot be as easily appreciated as content progression. That is to say the overview provided by an initial table of contents gathers only the discipline contents (my body, plants, animals, for example) but linguistic contents (for example describing, comparing, etc.) are not made explicit at all. It is noticeable that both books are not among the most recently published ones in the corpus (2008, 2009). Surprisingly, most recent items of the same publisher (n. 17-20) omit these objectives.

Another 6 of the rest of the analyzed (22) books are also Teacher's Guides. Some of them are even by the same publisher as books 13, 22 and 25. Unexpectedly these other Guides do not present linguistic objectives. It would be interesting to investigate the causes of these changes which could be considered as a backwards movement.

One more prominent finding is that, though omitting the overt reference to linguistic objectives, all the books emphasize vocabulary. Many of them present sections such as «New Words», «Key vocabulary», «My words», «Picture Dictionary», «Glossary» (see figure 5 as an example). This could lead to the interpretation of CLIL= learning (Science /Arts) vocabulary. As defended in the theoretical sections of this paper, CLIL is more than learning vocabulary. The analyzed books seem to be leading towards this misinterpretation of this new educational approach. The detailed analysis (Appendix 1) illustrates a variety of means used throughout the lessons to deal with vocabulary learning.

Another issue related to language objectives is the explicit mention of «Competence in linguistic communication». The eight basic competences for education are listed at the beginning of each unit in items 13 to 19, all by publisher 6. It is expected that textbooks under the LOE (Ley Orgánica de Educación) make reference to the contribution to the development of the basic competences. Therefore, CLIL textbooks are also expected to include them. Competence in linguistic communication is crucial when the language of instruction is not the mother tongue. The analysis shows that these contributions to the linguistic competence refer to vocabulary, understanding texts and providing explanations. However, they are extremely general. For example, item 19, unit 1 reads: «Acquiring vocabulary related to the human body». The same is repeated throughout the book: «Acquiring vocabulary related to (topic of the unit)». This

repetition can be noticed in the rest of items listed in the competence. Though competences differ from objectives, and competences are not the scope of our analysis, it is relevant to mention the vagueness and generality in the treatment of an aspect closely related to linguistic objectives.



Figure 5: Sample from Science textbook.

Subsequently, these findings provide the obvious response «no» to the research question «do CLIL textbooks make explicit the language learning objectives and / or the language contents?» The results cannot be contrasted to any other similar study (presence of language objectives in Spanish published CLIL books) since, to our knowledge, there are no comparable studies yet. We would like to highlight that it is not a question of comparing analysis, complaining about scarcity or poverty of the materials and textbooks. It is a question of providing a systematic approach to the evaluation of these textbooks either from the content or from the language perspective so that we can:

- 1. Enable teachers or course coordinators to evaluate the quality and suitability of commercially available textbooks.
- 2. Help publishers and designers to improve, because we are in an initial moment of the history of this educational approach and many facets are *ad experimentum*.

The first step is to understand the present moment and the next one is moving forwards. The current moment shows that attention is concentrated on the content curriculum and language curriculum is disregarded or very diluted. On the other hand, there is consensus that CLIL is about language learning, but «why should be doing CLIL at all if there are no language goals present?» (Dalton-Puffer, 2007, p. 295). Our position concurs fully with the Austrian researcher: «I want to argue very strongly that language curricula for CLIL should be developed and language goals in speaking, reading, writing and listening concretized» (Íbidem). CLIL approach could be improved by the explicit teaching of language (Dalton-Puffer, 2007; Clegg, 2007). As a consequence, materials would adjust to it and as Morton foresees «in a more truly integrated or `fused' approach to content and language, CLIL materials would look rather different from the way they do now» (2013, p. 115).

## 7. Summary and final conclusions

The paper considered some of the linguistic policy issues which have manifestly endorsed CLIL. This educational approach has developed into a strategic constituent in the EU's policies for the promotion of multilingualism. The celerity of implementation has outpaced the provision of materials and teacher training, therefore CLIL seems to be moving under principles "from practice to theory" (Dalton-Puffer, 2007). Two types of textbooks used in CLIL have been described, considering the advantages and disadvantages of both. On the one hand, books written for native speakers; on the other, books "specifically" designed for CLIL, a recent niche market for publishers. Finally, the foundations of CLIL as a dual focus approach which integrates language and content have been highlighted in order to justify the relevance of the proposed research question: are CLIL textbooks giving the same attention to both content and language? Hence, this paper aimed to investigate whether Primary CLIL textbooks are following the elements which theoretically converge in this new educational approach.

A corpus of 25 CLIL Primary textbooks from different publishers, areas, courses and publication years was analyzed. Findings show that they center on the content curriculum and very few make the language curriculum explicit. The consideration of language is reduced to vocabulary presented in a rich variety of

# TEXTBOOKS FOR CONTENT AND LANGUAGE INTEGRATED LEARNING: POLICY, MARKET AND APPROPRIATE DIDACTICS?

forms such as «My glossary», «Key words» or «Picture dictionary». The attention given to lexis can lead to a misinterpretation of CLIL as equal to learning vocabulary. The analysis performed calls for a deeper and narrower analysis. Deeper, to identify causes and beliefs in these books production process. Narrower, to focus on how particular elements of language are provided, for instance definitions. Besides, the findings could indicate that CLIL books have emerged in response to an educational need which they are in fact not targeting entirely.

Nonetheless, this analysis has sufficed to show that CLIL textbooks emerged to satisfy an educational need and a market sector. Regarding politics, it is evident that the educational approach these books attempt to embody has political roots: EU multilingual policies. Didactics is the most relevant aspect. The data reveal insufficient consideration of one of the two CLIL foci.

The paper indicates the importance of textbook research in general. Morton (2013) condemns that the comments on CLIL materials seem to center around «what isn't there» or «what should be there». Our analysis has somehow taken that route to describe that materials do not reflect the state of the art of theory, inhibiting thus the opportunities for language learning. The paper also tried to provide criteria to those teachers or educational authorities who may have to evaluate textbooks. Further studies could consider other aspects such as the type of activities for language learning or the linguistic skills practiced.

It can be concluded that, at this particular moment of the history of CLIL education, the «theory-lessness» (Dalton-Puffer, 2007, p. 267) which somehow still permeates CLIL practice and teacher training is also present in CLIL textbooks. A symptom is the lack of explicit acknowledgement of a language curriculum. It is desirable that there would be a shift, and hopefully these considerations may provoke an interest and effort in publishers to improve text books. The initiatives of the *Ikastolas* network of schools in the Basque country could inspire some solutions. As Kelly (2004) reports, English-medium content textbooks which are written specifically to meet the language needs of Basque learners are used along with English language support books. This combination is working efficiently and it could be considered a benchmark.

CLIL has now more than a decade of history in Spain. It has moved from its infancy to adolescence (Cenoz, 2013). Adolescence is only a transitional stage in development. Possibly, awareness that CLIL is still developing and the identification of lacunae to be satisfied, for instance language objectives, are steps towards maturity.

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#### TEXTBOOKS FOR CONTENT AND LANGUAGE INTEGRATED LEARNING: POLICY, MARKET AND APPROPRIATE DIDACTICS?

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# TEXTBOOKS FOR CONTENT AND LANGUAGE INTEGRATED LEARNING: POLICY, MARKET AND APPROPRIATE DIDACTICS?

# Appendix 1: Detailed analysis

Item	course	subject	Publisher	year	Language Objectives	Teacher/ Student	Vocabulary help	
1.	20	Science	1	2007		Student	Pictures with words	
2.	30	Science	2	2012	-	Student	Key words in different color in the text Pictures with words	
3.	4°	Science	2	2012	-	Student	Key words in different color Pictures with words	
4.	10	Science	3	2010		Student	Pictures with names	
5.	20	Science	3	2010		Student	Key words in bold	
	-		1 -	20.0		- CLUGGIN	Pictures with key words/expressions	
6.	6°	Science	3	2011		Student	New vocabulary in blue Pictures with names	
7.	10	Science	4	2010	_	Student	Pictures with key words	
8.	2°	Science	4	2010		Student	Pictures with key words	
9.	20	Science	4	2011	-	Student	Pictures with words New vocabulary in texts (in bold) Pictures with words to write	
10.	3°	Science	4	2008	-	Student	Key words in different color Pictures with words	
11.	4º	Science	4	2012	-	Student	Key words in bold Pictures with key words	
12.	2°	Science	5	2010	-	Student	Key words in different color Pictures and photos	
13.	1º	Science	6	2008	In one topic: Differentiate singular and irregular plurals	Teacher	Chant to introduce the vocabulary The key words appear at the beginning of each topic	
14.	2°	Science	6	2008	_	Teacher	Chant to introduce the vocabulary The key words appear at the beginning of each topic New words in a different colour	
15.	3°	Science	6	2008	-	Teacher	Key words in bold	
16.	40	Science	6	2008		Teacher	Key words at the beginning of the topic	
17.	5°	Science	6	2013	-	Teacher	Key words with a photograph at the beginning of the topi Pictures with names Some words in bold	
18.	6°	Science	6	2013	-	Teacher	Key words with a photograph at the beginning of the topi Pictures with names Some words in bold	
19.	5°	Social Science	5, 6 (joint publication)	2014	_	Student	Key words in texts in different colour	
20.	5°	Natural Science	5, 6	2014	-	Student	Pictures with words	
21.	5°	Arts	6	2009		Student	Words about material with picture	
22.	6°	Arts	6	2009	Language objectives: structures: What position is/arein?	Teacher	Key words for the unit Words about materials in a list with pictures	
23.	5°	Arts	5,6	2009		Student	Picture dictionary about art, materials and techniques	
24.	6°	Arts	5,6	2009		Student	Picture dictionary about art, materials and techniques	
25.	2°	Arts	6	2009	Language objectives: structure and	Teacher	Picture dictionary	

Table 3: detalied analysis.

