Teacher Identity in CLIL: A Case Study of Two In-service Teachers

Identidad docente en AICLE: un estudio de caso de dos profesores en ejercicio

Identidade docente na AICL: um estudo de caso de dois professores em exercício

Patricia Bárcena Toyos
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2942-1768
Universidad Internacional de La Rioja, Spain
patricia.barcena@unir.net

LACLIL e-ISSN: 2322-9721 VOL. 15, No. 1, ENERO-JUNIO 2022 DOI: 10.5294/laclil.2022.15.1.6 e1516

Received: 16/12/2021 Sent to peer review: 04/01/2022
Accepted by peers: 14/02/2022 Approved: 22/02/2022

DOI: 10.5294/laclil.2022.15.1.6

To reference this article (APA) / Para citar este artículo (APA) / Para citar este artigo (APA)

Bárcena, P. (2022). Teacher Identity in CLIL: A Case Study of Two In-service Teachers. *Latin American Journal of Content & Language Integrated Learning*, *15*(1), e1516. https://doi.org/10.5294/laclil.2022.15.1.6

ABSTRACT. The provision of CLIL teachers in Spain has outpaced the growth of the so-called bilingual programs, as there are no specific training requirements for CLIL teachers who are either content or language specialists. So, CLIL teachers have a preexistent teacher identity that could influence their pedagogical choices. This study examines how teachers negotiate their existing teacher identities in a CLIL environment and how they exercise those identities in the classroom. The study adopts a qualitative case study methodology using interviews and questionnaires. Findings show that the way teachers negotiated their identities was affected by their former personal and professional experiences, their conceptualization of the imagined community, and their investment in that community. The findings have implications for creating in-service training programs that enhance teachers' language awareness in CLIL and their association with the community.

Keywords (Source: Unesco Thesaurus): Integrated curriculum; identity; teaching profession; language of instruction; teacher attitudes.

RESUMEN. La oferta de profesores AICLE en España ha superado el crecimiento de los llamados programas bilingües, puesto que no existen requisitos de formación específicos para los profesores AICLE que sean especialistas en contenidos o en idiomas. Por lo tanto, tienen una identidad docente preexistente que podría influir en sus elecciones pedagógicas. En este estudio, se examina cómo los profesores negocian las identidades docentes existentes en un entorno AICLE y cómo ejercen esas identidades en el aula. El estudio adopta una metodología cualitativa de estudio de caso mediante entrevistas y cuestionarios. Los resultados muestran que la forma en que los docentes negociaron sus identidades se vio afectada por sus experiencias personales y profesionales anteriores, su conceptualización de la comunidad imaginada y su inversión en esa comunidad. Los hallazgos tienen implicaciones para la creación de programas de formación continua que se centren en mejorar la conciencia lingüística de los profesores AICLE y su asociación con la comunidad.

Palabras clave (Fuente: Tesauro de la Unesco): currículo integrado; identidad; profesión docente; idioma de instrucción; actitudes del maestro.

RESUMO. A oferta de professores vinculados à Aprendizagem Integrada de Conteúdos e de Língua (AICL) na Espanha vem superando o crescimento dos chamados "programas bilíngues", visto que não existem requisitos de formação específicos para esses professores que sejam especialistas em conteúdos ou em idiomas. Portanto, têm uma identidade docente preexistente que poderia influenciar em suas escolhas pedagógicas. Neste estudo, é analisado como os professores negociam as identidades docentes existentes num ambiente AICL e como exercem essas identidades na sala de aula. O estudo adota uma metodologia qualitativa de estudo de caso mediante entrevistas e questionários. Os resultados mostram que a forma em que os docentes negociaram suas identidades foi afetada por suas experiências pessoais e profissionais, sua conceitualização da comunidade imaginada e seu investimento nessa comunidade. Os achados trazem repercussões para a criação de programas de formação continuada que se centralizem em melhorar a consciência linguística dos professores que adotam a AICL e sua associação com a comunidade.

Palavras-chave (Fonte: tesauro da Unesco): Currículo integrado; identidade; profissão docente; idioma de instrução; atitudes do docente.

Introduction

According to Norton (2013), "the concept of imagined communities refers to groups of people" with whom we imagine ourselves connected across time and space (p. 8). In order to be part of an imagined community, we adopt an imagined identity that is considered to have an impact on our engagement with the practices of such imagined community (Norton, 2001). This process is also known as investment (Kanno & Norton, 2003). The concepts of imagined identity, community, and investment were originally coined by Norton (2001) and have been extensively studied in second language education. According to Norton (2001), "a learner's imagined community invite[s] an imagined identity, and a learner's investment in the target language must be understood within this context" (p. 166). Correspondingly, the same can be true for teachers, as teacher identity influences the choice of pedagogies and teachers' investment in classroom practices (Darvin & Norton, 2015). In fact, the closer teachers feel to the community practices, the more engaged they are and the more actively they participate in such a community, i.e., the greater their investment (Kanno & Norton, 2003). This study aims to examine the role that imagined identity and investment play in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) teachers because they must simultaneously assume a new role as teachers of both contents and additional language.

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) is an approach to teaching content in another language, and it has expanded rapidly across educational programs in Europe. The profile of CLIL teachers incorporates several competencies that are not required for mainstream teachers (Custodio-Espinar & García-Ramos, 2020). However, the expansion of CLIL programs has outpaced the provision of CLIL teachers (Pérez Cañado, 2018), and CLIL lessons are taught by either content teachers with a minimum required level of English (B2 or C1) or English specialists (Bárcena-Toyos, 2020). These are teachers who were used to (or trained in) teaching a specific subject area, but now they must face a different reality that demands them to adopt a new teacher identity for teaching content and language (Martin, 2019). In addition, they face the challenge of teaching content in a language that is not their

LACLIL e-ISSN: 2322-9721 VOL. 15, No. 1, ENERO-JUNIO 2022 DOI: 10.5294/laclil.2022.15.1.6 e1516

first and to students who have limited proficiency in such language (Nikula et al., 2016), so CLIL teachers are juggling different identities at the same time: as language learners and as content and language teachers.

The literature on teacher identity in CLIL is relatively scarce (e.g., Moate, 2013; Pappa et al., 2017). A few studies have examined the role that teachers need to adopt in CLIL classes as both language and content teachers in Spain (e.g., Otto & San Isidro, 2019; Villabona & Cenoz, 2021), concluding that the dominant role was that of teachers' area of expertise, predominantly content-led (Villabona & Cenoz, 2021), due to teachers' lack of language awareness and training in language teaching (Lo, 2019). Conversely, this study focuses on the construct of identity, which involves a personal internal commitment, as opposed to the concept of role, which is assigned by external agents (Kanno & Stuart, 2011). The identity construct has been extensively researched in English language teaching (ELT). However, little attention has been paid to this phenomenon in CLIL (Pappa et al., 2017), despite the uniqueness of this professional context—which combines the teaching of content and language—and the fact that CLIL teachers are commonly either language or content specialists (Nikula et al., 2016). Thus, when they find themselves in the teaching environment where they must integrate language and content, they must renegotiate their pre-existing teacher identities and enroll in the practices of the community. In this new teaching scenario, teachers are no longer content specialists or language specialists but should embrace the new identity of the content and language integrated teacher, impacting their pedagogical choices. However, teachers often lack the necessary personal resources that would allow them to renegotiate their professional identities, namely, knowledge about the teaching approach of CLIL, language awareness, or motivation to teach in this environment. Thus, this study aims to answer the following research questions:

- How do teachers renegotiate their teacher identities in a CLIL environment?
- How do those teacher identities impact their pedagogical practices?

This article aims to explore how CLIL teachers negotiate their identities and investment in the community of practice through classroom

observations and interviews, which can inform future actions in CLIL teaching and teacher training.

Teacher identity

In the field of teacher education, Borg's concept of teacher cognition (2006) is vital to understanding how teachers' beliefs, attitudes, and knowledge affect classroom practices (Kanno & Stuart, 2011). Still, learning a skill such as teaching is not only a cognitive process but a reflection of the individual's participation in the shared practices of the community, they are willing to belong to (Lave & Wenger, 1991). These practices also reflect the teacher's prevailing identities (Darvin & Norton, 2015), which impact teachers' choice of pedagogical approaches and their communication with learners (Martin & Strom, 2016).

Identity is conceived as how a person understands their relationship to the world around them, how they position themselves and others as part of an imagined community, and how invested they are in the practices of that community (Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 2013). In the case of teachers, their professional identity includes not only how they perceive themselves as teachers but also how they are seen by others (Martin, 2019). So, teacher identity is influenced by the community's everyday practices (Norton, 2013); at the same time, identity affects how they exercise agency in that group (Martin, 2019), which is what Kanno and Stuart (2011) identify as identities-in-practice to refer to the "mutually constitutive relationship between identity and practice" (p. 240).

Teacher identity in CLIL

In CLIL teaching, attention to language is integrated into content teaching, with the additional challenge that such language is students' and teachers' L2 (Nikula et al., 2016), which becomes even more challenging in the Spanish context, where there is not a required qualification for these teachers in CLIL or any similar teaching approach. Content classes are usually taught by teachers who have no training

LACLIL e-ISSN: 2322-9721 VOL. 15, No. 1, ENERO-JUNIO 2022 DOI: 10.5294/laclil.2022.15.1.6 e1516

background in language teaching, so language awareness is commonly influenced by personal experience (Lo, 2019; Morton, 2012), and there is a significant lack of academic language awareness among teachers who predominantly show a content-led teaching identity (Karabassova, 2018; Villabona & Cenoz, 2021).

Teacher identity in other content-based teaching contexts, such as North America, has received more attention. In one of those studies, Martin and Strom (2016) conducted an empirical review of previous studies on teachers of English language learners, using Lucas and Villegas's (2013) Linguistically Responsive Teacher Framework to define the characteristics of the identity of teachers in bilingual settings. Based on the similarities between CLIL and other content-based instruction methods (Cenoz et al., 2014), this study considers Martin and Strom's study (2016) to understand the factors contributing to developing that identity in order to attend to the linguistic and academic needs of their students. In addition to personal resources (attitudes, beliefs, knowledge, and motivation) that are part of teacher identity (Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2018), bilingual teacher identity is formed by attitudes and beliefs about language and language learning—which in CLIL can come from their own experience as language learners themselves (Nikula et al., 2016)— and their knowledge of pedagogies that support language learning (Martin & Strom, 2016). Teachers' linguistic backgrounds and perceived learning difficulties impact their choice of pedagogies that support learners' linguistic development (Martin & Strom, 2016). Linguistically responsive teachers (Lucas & Villegas, 2013) adopt pedagogies that support their students' language development. They identify the linguistic demands of the content, know, and apply principles of second language learning, and use scaffolding techniques consistently in their classes (Martin & Strom, 2016).

Several factors impact the teacher identity of bilingual teachers. Teacher's language background and their experience as language learners, the practice of teaching itself, including their previous training and PD courses, as well as the policies of the context where they teach can also impact the characteristics of a bilingual identity that teachers decide to adopt (Pappa et al., 2017; Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2018). So, we cannot consider teacher identity without the environment where teachers exercise that particular identity,

as the individual and the environment are considered "mutually dependent" (Moate & Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2020, p. 96).

From this ecological perspective, teachers' professional identities integrate the different roles they may adopt in any given context, which "are influenced by teachers' intricately connected personal and professional biographies" (Pappa et al., 2017, p. 62). When teachers act in a given community of practice, they draw on their knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs—or personal resources and experience—who they are as a person and the peculiarities of their personal lives (Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2018). So, for CLIL teachers, who usually come from different teaching backgrounds (i.e., content-specific or language-specific), their personal and professional backgrounds play a relevant role in shaping their teacher identity as CLIL professionals. In fact, identity "is multiple, a site of struggle, and continually changing over time and space" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 45). When teachers need to create a new teacher identity in a new context, such as a CLIL-teaching scenario, they can do it by either renegotiating their identities or adapting to the new situation. If they feel any discrepancy between what is expected from them in the new environment and the teacher's already-existing identities, they reject to renegotiate their identity and do not invest in the community's practices (Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2018).

Participants

The participants of this study were two elementary teachers teaching in a bilingual program with a focus on CLIL in the north of Spain at the time of the study. The selection of participants was made according to Patton's (2015) purposeful sampling to obtain cases that could provide the most information about the topic of study. Both participants were selected based on their experience teaching in bilingual programs and their previous training in CLIL. Each case presented opposed CLIL teaching and training experiences, which was expected to provide rich data about their teacher identities. In order to keep their anonymity, the names of participants are pseudonyms.

LACLIL e-ISSN: 2322-9721 VOL. 15, No. 1, ENERO-JUNIO 2022 DOI: 10.5294/laclil.2022.15.1.6 e1516

Elena taught Science in English during her third year teaching a content subject in English. She has an Elementary Education degree and has been accredited as a bilingual teacher with a certified B2 level of English. She is an interim teacher who works for the public system but does not hold a permanent position, changing schools every year. Accredited to work as a bilingual teacher gives her more opportunities to work each year. Observations occurred in her fourth-grade Science class, where one complete teaching unit was observed for ten sessions.

Marta is an experienced CLIL teacher who has been teaching content in English for 15 of the 28 years of total teaching experience she has in Elementary Education. Marta has an Elementary Education degree, specialized in EFL teaching, and a Bachelor's degree in teaching. She has accredited a C1 level, according to the CEFR, and has significant experience studying and working abroad. Additionally, Marta has obtained a tenured position in the public system and worked in the first bilingual school in Cantabria since its beginnings, where she received significant training in CLIL. Observations occurred in her fourth-grade Science class, where one entire teaching unit was observed for six sessions.

Methodology

The study follows a qualitative multi-case study design (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015), considering that an individual's different past, present, and future experiences and processes can help shape the complex dimensions of their identity (Duff, 2012). The study also uses data triangulation to validate findings with two data collection instruments.

The two instruments used to collect and triangulate the data were semi-structured interviews and observations. Each participant underwent two different interviews conducted in Spanish and aimed at collecting different data. The first interview occurred before observations started, and I asked both teacher participants about their educational and professional backgrounds and English language proficiency. The second interview examined the participant's teaching practices

in CLIL, the methodologies and strategies they used to integrate content and language, and their beliefs about the approach. The second interview was conducted after the teacher's observations had finished. Finally, during classroom observations, I was a non-participant observer (Curdt-Christiansen, 2020) and recorded data as field notes. Every session was also voice-recorded. These recordings were only used as a support to verify the data recorded in the field notes.

Both sets of data from interviews and observations of each participant were initially coded using descriptive coding (Saldana, 2013) to identify topics, which were analyzed through thematic analysis for "identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes)" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 6). The same method was used to analyze data across cases. The thematic data analysis consisted of six stages (Braun & Clarke 2006): 1) verbatim transcription of interviews, translation from Spanish to English, and familiarization with all sets of data; 2) generation of initial codes; 3) search for themes; 4) revision of themes; 5) naming of themes; and 6) the production of the final report.

Findings

The data coding generated different codes that were classified into two categories, based on the theoretical tenets about teacher identity and CLIL pedagogical principles, which were reviewed above. The codes were: 1) perception of teacher identity (beliefs, attitudes, motivations, and knowledge), and 2) display of teacher identity in class (pedagogy that supports learning of content and language, awareness of language demands, scaffolding strategies). These coding categories were used to code data from the interviews and the observations, validating teachers' perceptions and beliefs that they shared in their interviews with the actual practices they used in the classroom (through observations). From these categories, and based on the study's research questions, the following themes arose: 1) teachers renegotiate their identities in a CLIL environment based on their beliefs and attitudes towards the L2 and CLIL and their investment in the CLIL community; 2) teachers' pedagogical convictions are connected to their teacher identity and the way they display such identity in the classroom.

LACLIL e-ISSN: 2322-9721 VOL. 15, No. 1, ENERO-JUNIO 2022 DOI: 10.5294/laclil.2022.15.1.6 e1516

The following is an account of the findings from each participant. Both cases were selected according to their different CLIL teaching and training backgrounds. Therefore, the findings are presented by participant, with evidence from both data sources to support the emerged themes.

Marta: Investing in her CLIL teacher identity

Marta embraced a CLIL teacher identity, investing in the practices of the community, by displaying a proactive, willing, and participative identity. She affirmed: "I like teaching English, and I believe that teaching content in English is even more motivating because you need to be more creative, thinking of new ways to facilitate content, which is very difficult." This motivation led her to work as a volunteer at a school with a CLIL program, teaching EFL and two CLIL subjects (Science and Art) to different grades. Her creativity was evident in her classes, where she used adapted materials or even materials, she had designed herself. In the unit observed, Marta used a PowerPoint presentation with pictures of living things or kingdoms (this topic had been introduced previously) and an accompanying table that students had to complete, applying their knowledge of the subject matter. Creating and adapting new resources was a regular task for Marta, as she confirmed in her interview:

> I create my own worksheets or find some online, but most of the time, there's something I need to adapt because you can never use those resources as they are. Even if those are resources that had been designed by another CLIL teacher, they might not be adapted to the level of your students or to what you want to do with them. Even from one year to the next, I adapt my own resources.

Will and involvement were two traits that she highly valued in a CLIL teacher, together with good English proficiency, and these traits were part of her teacher identity. She stated, "CLIL teachers need to be really involved and really willing to search for, elaborate, and adapt resources. Otherwise, it is very complicated to simply follow a textbook."

Marta's time investment in the practices of the community was evident, not only in her lesson preparation but also in her training as a CLIL teacher. While she had received extensive training, she was

still very much invested in the practices of the CLIL community, and she voluntarily participated in different types of training courses as she stated:

> I am very fortunate [because] I received a lot of training from the bilingual school where I previously worked, and on my own account, I have sought and participated in CLIL and English language training in the UK. I have also visited CLIL schools in England.

As part of her CLIL identity, Marta considered herself part of the community of CLIL teachers, which she differentiated from her other teacher identities (e.g., that of an English teacher). During her interview, when she was asked whether she considered necessary a CLIL training requirement for new CLIL teachers in order to teach content and language, her response was an example of her identification with the community of practice and her identity as a CLIL teacher:

> It would be interesting [to have CLIL-training requirements]. I believe there should be state exams specific for bilingual teaching. There should be some jobs allocated to [CLIL] because it is not the same… Now, if you are an English teacher, unless you also have an undergraduate degree in Elementary teaching, you cannot teach Science in English.

In the classroom observations, Marta used not only her experience as a language teacher, but also her knowledge of the L2 in her CLIL lessons. During her interview, she explained: "I reinforce vocabulary and expressions that they need for CLIL subjects in EFL class." She used strategies to make content accessible for learners, providing scaffolded instruction frequently. For example, she used gestures and repetition of essential concepts and activated students' previous knowledge of the topic by using a song with a video that students knew from the previous year.

Her linguistic background made her aware of her own linguistic identity, and she displayed a language-led role using language learning strategies. For instance, she used L2 as much as possible, encouraged students to use it, and designed activities with interaction at their core. Students were sitting in groups of four, so she included collaborative tasks in which students could help each other as they interacted in English. One of her recurring tasks was 'think-pair-share' so students could interact progressively from smaller to larger groups.

LACLIL e-ISSN: 2322-9721 VOL. 15, No. 1, ENERO-JUNIO 2022 DOI: 10.5294/laclil.2022.15.1.6 e1516

As a result, it was observed that students used the L2 in most of their interactions.

In addition, Marta facilitated language learning in her Science class, not only by providing opportunities for students to use the language but also by designing communicative tasks, as evidenced by this quote:

> I first introduce the vocabulary related to the content [I use] a lot of repetition, not only of content but also of linguistic structures… and as many oral activities as possible, so [students] can listen [to the language] and express themselves [in the language] even if it's not correct. Everyone has the opportunity to speak, so I try to do several activities in pairs and in groups.

This facilitation of language opportunities was also supported in Marta's lessons, where it was observed that while students were working on a communicative task in groups, she walked around the groups, guiding students to elicit the correct answer in English and giving them feedback. For example, in one activity, a student said, "non-living things *no reproduce," and Marta corrected his utterance: "**don't** reproduce." Since this was a repeated error that she was correcting across groups, she went to the board and wrote *can't* and *don't*, emphasizing the pronunciation *of 't* and giving examples of sentences.

In both her interviews, Marta shared the importance of cooperative learning in her lessons. By way of illustration, she stated:

> I introduce cooperative-work strategies, so they can help each other, and everyone gets time to think. I try to ask them questions that they can reflect on individually and then share their ideas with their partner or even the group. This helps them with the language and to consider other ideas.

Marta also used cooperative learning as a strategy to cater to the different language abilities of her students. She explained that she created "mixed-ability groups, so they can help each other and everyone has the chance to think… and to use the language."

Elena: Defending her teacher identity

On the other hand, Elena was resistant to investing in CLIL practices; her actions and her pedagogy reinforced her identity as a content-only teacher.

While she adopted some practices, in general, she was resistant to investing in the practices of the community of CLIL teachers. Her identity as a content-only teacher prevailed over a CLIL identity, and her beliefs about learning content and language played a significant role in defending her identity as a content teacher. Elena declared:

> These schools should not be called 'bilingual' anymore because they teach just one hour of CLIL per week without a [native teacher] assistant, with teachers working individually without coordination or training in CLIL, and the [bilingual] subjects are not even evaluated. In the end, [as a student], if you are not assessed on something, it is worth nothing.

As it stems from the previous interview extract—and other instances during her interview—Elena was dissatisfied with the bilingual program and was reluctant to be tied to it. Working in the bilingual system had been imposed on her, as she admitted when asked about her motivation for teaching CLIL: "Mostly, it was an imposition. You assume that if you are accredited with L2 level requirement, you will have to teach [CLIL]." She had the minimum proficiency level accredited, which was enough for her, and admitted: "I have a B2 level accredited the university, and I haven't bothered in getting another [certificate] because this one was enough."

Her discontent with the system and her lack of choice also affected her dissatisfaction and her lack of willingness to assume responsibility for students' language progress. She knew it was going to be a temporary situation, so she was not interested in investing in the practices of the imagined community, even though she understood that teaching Science in English had to be more practical because it was taught in L2, language was not the focus of her classes. She discussed this idea: "For me, [teaching CLIL] is certainly not teaching through linguistic concepts because, so far, I am not doing that. To me, it's just that students understand the content. I try not to focus on the linguistic part [of CLIL]." This excerpt provides evidence that Elena was resistant to adopting a new teacher identity and investing in the practices of such a community. Adding to the latter, she repeatedly denounced the lack of training courses on CLIL methodology offered or paid for by the department of education: "There are no [courses] about [CLIL], absolutely nothing, nothing at all." However, she admitted that she had found

LACLIL e-ISSN: 2322-9721 VOL. 15, No. 1, ENERO-JUNIO 2022 DOI: 10.5294/laclil.2022.15.1.6 e1516

some courses and master's degrees in content and language teaching but was not interested in investing her time and money.

Elena also felt frustrated with the workload and the isolation that, in her opinion, were part of being a CLIL teacher: "I have to fend for myself here. I must learn about the topic if it's something I've forgotten or don't know very well, think about how to evaluate it… I feel very much alone." This evidence supports the idea that she detached from the new teacher's identity and asserted her identity as a content-only teacher. In response to the question about the strategies used in lessons to integrate content and language, she openly admitted in her interview: "I have not been trained in CLIL, and I am not an English teacher either, so I don't know." However, Elena was not being able to exert her content-teacher identity either:

> I don't teach as much content as I would do in Spanish, that's for sure. I cannot go as much in-depth as I would [in Spanish], so here I am content with the fact that they understand [the content] superficially… In my opinion, most students just get the basic [knowledge], a much smaller percentage really understand the content, and another large percentage don't understand anything.

This statement suggests that she could not fully display her content-teacher identity because teaching Science in English was complicated for her and that she had lowered her expectations for her students, which impacted her lessons.

Her self-perceived difficulty in learning an additional language impacted her lesson delivery. She lowered her expectations about what students were able to do and learn in the L2, so instead of using strategies to deliver content in English, she translated into L1 most of the input that students received for fear of not reaching out to them and, consequently, of missing on content learning (see interview extract above). However, students disengaged from class and lost attention (for instance, some students were reading and others were talking to each other and walking around the class), expecting to receive that same input a few seconds later in their L1. For example, she said: "How can we call these? *¿Cómo podemos llamarlos?*" or she would translate every vocabulary word, both new and already-known by students: "lipids / *grasas*; your homework / *los deberes*."

Observations evidenced her resistant identity and her struggle with adopting the practices of the imagined community. Her lack of focus on language elements was evident in her lessons. As mentioned, she overused the L1 instead of using other linguistically responsive pedagogies such as scaffolding, repetition, or building on previous knowledge (Echevarria et al., 2013; Martin & Strom, 2016). Elena did include a variety of visual resources, such as PowerPoint presentations with key vocabulary in English and explanatory videos, but for the latter, she played them once, without stopping to work on essential concepts or vocabulary. In trying to avoid her self-perceived linguistic difficulties, Elena included unchallenging tasks for students. For illustration, after working with the topic of the six nutrients and vocabulary (e.g., lipids, carbohydrates) for seven sessions, Elena projected an image of the Food Pyramid complete with words and pictures of foods and nutrients. The task consists of students copying the pyramid in their notebooks and cutting and pasting pictures of food from their food pamphlets. From this example, it is evident that Elena's resistant identity toward language teaching—which she shared during her interview—was executed in her avoidance of including language in her lessons. However, she lowered the level-appropriate content concepts, making tasks too easy for students' cognitive levels and age.

Discussion

In Spain, teachers of CLIL content subjects are either language or content specialists, which means that when they start teaching integrated content and language, they have a pre-existing identity, which is commonly influenced by their area of expertise—the content area or the foreign language. So, how CLIL teachers negotiate their identities can impact how they exercise those identities in their classes and the pedagogies they use, which can reflect the integration of language and content or a tendency towards one of them. In this case study, the aim was to analyze how teachers renegotiate their teacher identity in a CLIL environment and the way those identities are exerted. Two CLIL teachers with different backgrounds and teaching experiences were

LACLIL e-ISSN: 2322-9721 VOL. 15, No. 1, ENERO-JUNIO 2022 DOI: 10.5294/laclil.2022.15.1.6 e1516

selected to participate in two interviews and classroom observations of a teaching unit. The interviews showed that the participants' beliefs and attitudes played an essential role in reshaping their identities and openness.

Within the CLIL setting, teachers explore the areas that are more in tune with their prevailing identities and negotiate such identities differently (Moate & Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2020). According to the findings of this study, one participant emphasized the characteristics of her CLIL teacher identity that agreed the most with her language-expert teacher identity. She was critical of teachers with low proficiency in English and subtly suggested that language specialists were better prepared to teach CLIL. The second participant, on the other hand, was very defensive of her existing teacher identity and experienced a mismatch between the environment and her teacher identity, which led the teacher, during the interview, to display resistance to the imagined community. Each participant negotiated their identity in terms of what they considered was expected from them, based on their teaching and educational backgrounds. These findings resonate with Ruohotie-Lyhty's (2016, 2018) and Pappa et al.'s (2017), where teachers negotiated their identities by either adapting to the environmental conditions and embracing the imagined community or by rejecting the practices of the new community and shielding their preexistent teacher identity.

External factors influenced the characteristics of the participant teachers' identities in different ways. Elena's defensive identity seemed to be caused by a feeling of abandonment from the administration. Interestingly, not being part of a community prevented her from investing in the imagined community. Teaching CLIL was an imposition that was restraining her professional self, which she projected as blame on the deficiencies of the bilingual programs designed by the administration, one of them being students' lack of proficiency in L2. As a reaction, she rebelled against the system, rejected an imagined community that she considered weak, and refused to make any changes to her identity because she considered that negotiating her identity and investing her capital (time, effort, and money) in the practices of the imagined community would not bring any substantial benefit to her professional self.

Similarly, Pappa et al. (2017) identified the relationship between teacher identity and classroom agency, but in their study, teachers appreciated the autonomy of exercising their identities in the classroom in collaboration with other members of the CLIL community of practice. This novel aspect of the findings can be understood in Spain, where access to a teaching career in the public system[1] is usually filled with instability and uncertainty. Professional stability in a context such as CLIL —where teachers are L2 learners themselves at the same time they are integrating language and content teaching (Nikula et al., 2016)— is even more necessary so that teachers can feel that investing their resources is not a loss in their professional careers.

This study shows both sides of the issue. On the one hand, a well-trained CLIL teacher with a permanent position, who has felt part of the community from the beginning of her CLIL teaching days, so she invested her capital in the practices of the community (Darvin & Norton, 2015). On the other hand, there is a teacher who feels alone navigating the characteristics of the environment and a new teacher identity because she does not know how she is supposed to act. It is widely established that identity is influenced by access to resources, either material or symbolic (Norton, 2013). Therefore, by denying teachers a context where they can access other community members who can help them with their practice, teachers distance themselves from the community (Kanno & Stuart, 2011).

Following previous studies (e.g., Dafouz, 2018; Martin, 2019; Pappa & Moate, 2021), the findings also evidenced that teacher identity is highly constrained by teachers' beliefs, attitudes, and pedagogical knowledge. The classroom observations of CLIL instruction in the present study showed that teachers' beliefs and attitudes are also influenced by their experiences with the L2, including their language awareness and willingness to take responsibility for students' language learning (Martin & Strom, 2016). The way Elena and Marta understood language learning and its role in content and language learning influenced how they considered themselves professionally as

1 In Spain, public school teachers are considered civil servants, so access to the teaching career in the public system is regulated by a state-exam held every two years. Teachers can earn a permanent position, based on their merits (including exam results), or be interim teachers until they reach such status.

LACLIL e-ISSN: 2322-9721 VOL. 15, No. 1, ENERO-JUNIO 2022 DOI: 10.5294/laclil.2022.15.1.6 e1516

teachers of CLIL and their responsibility in the learners' progress in L2. Marta, the teacher who was aware of the language needs of the content and how language is learned, used strategies to support students' language learning. The more skillful teachers become in the community practices, the more they will increase their participation in the community (Kanno & Norton, 2003, p. 242). The findings of this study add to the literature of CLIL teachers on the dichotomy between content-led and language-led teachers, focusing on their area of expertise during instruction. Teachers' pedagogical identities in their classrooms were in accordance with their area of knowledge and prevailing non-CLIL teacher identity, i.e., language-teacher or content-teacher. Marta used more collaborative pedagogies, with a focus on interaction and the use of language. In contrast, Elena provided minimal opportunities for language use because she considered that she was not a language teacher, which resonates with Villabona and Cenoz (2021).

The implications of this research regarding the training of CLIL teachers are focused on teachers themselves. While continuous training in pedagogies that facilitate the integration of language and academic language teaching is undeniably necessary for CLIL (Bárcena-Toyos, 2020; Villabona & Cenoz, 2021), the findings suggest that teachers' self-reflection on their language experiences and their beliefs and attitudes towards the role of L2 are beneficial, too. Moate & Ruohotie-Lyhty (2020) concluded that participating in an English-mediated course helped preservice teachers recognize their language identities and transform them by following new forms of learning in line with CLIL principles. Those preservice teachers also created relationships with their peers that shaped new communities in which they displayed their new identities, which gave them "an empowered feeling of being not only language learners but also as part of the English language community" (Moate & Ruohotie-Lyhty, 2020, p. 101). In line with these results, I suggest that in-service teachers participate in preparatory training to expand their knowledge of CLIL and its pedagogies and reflect on their beliefs about language. Additionally, such preparatory training could help in-service teachers develop a sense of belonging to a community of CLIL teachers, where they can share resources, experiences, and fears.

This study followed a multi-case study methodology, which allowed examining the ecology of the participants' identities concerning the environment. However, the limited number of participants and the context constraints prevented the generalization of the findings. Both participants were females and had different teaching experiences and training backgrounds, so future research should consider a broader range of participants with similar personal resources, which can allow for an examination of the influence that teachers' beliefs, attitudes, teaching experience, motivation, and pedagogical training could have (together and separately) on shaping teacher's CLIL identity.

The relevance of this study lies in the fact that not many studies have examined in-service teacher identity in CLIL contexts (Pappa et al., 2017). Additionally, this study considered teachers' perspectives to understand how they navigate their identities as teachers in a CLIL environment. Teachers' adaptation to a new environment—such as CLIL—where they need to modify their pre-established teacher identities impacts teachers' pedagogical practices. Teachers can either renegotiate their identity and embrace new pedagogical practices or reject a new identity and continue with their practices. It is known that CLIL teachers are most commonly content-led (Villabona & Cenoz, 2021), and recommendations for teacher training in academic language and language awareness have been recurrently made in the literature (Lo, 2019). The findings of this study also add that not only teacher's beliefs and attitudes influence the renegotiation of their pre-existing teacher identities, but that a feeling of belonging to the imagined community is experienced when the teacher feels welcomed and supported by the administration. Therefore, further studies should examine how in-service CLIL teachers' identities are influenced by their identity negotiation and the characteristics of the environment.

Conclusions

This study has illustrated how teachers can renegotiate their teacher identities when teaching in a bilingual program and how those identities are exercised in classes. Teacher identity impacts teachers'

LACLIL e-ISSN: 2322-9721 VOL. 15, No. 1, ENERO-JUNIO 2022 DOI: 10.5294/laclil.2022.15.1.6 e1516

pedagogical choices and, ultimately, students' learning. Their different identities are comprised of their personal resources (attitudes, beliefs, motivation, and pedagogical knowledge) in relation to themselves and the environment. In Spain, teachers who teach in a bilingual program in primary education are either content or language specialists, which are part of their identity and how they see themselves as teachers.

This study showed two instances of how teachers could renegotiate their identities to either adapt to the new environment and embrace a new identity that can complete their former identity or reject the characteristics of a new identity entirely because they conflict with their already-existing teacher identity. However, this study found that not only did the teacher's former personal and professional experiences play a significant role in the way they negotiated their identities, but also in the way they conceptualized the imagined community and their investment in that community in a mutually constructed relationship between identity and commitment (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 37).

References

Bárcena-Toyos, P. (2020). Teachers' classroom practices to achieve integration of content and language in CLIL. *NABE Journal of Research and Practice*, 10(3-4), 94-106. https://doi.org/10.1080/26390043.2021.1890989

Borg, S. (2006). *Teacher cognition and language education: Research and practice*. Continuum.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3(2), 77-101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Cenoz, J., Genesee, F., & Gorter, D. (2014). Critical analysis of CLIL: Taking stock and looking forward. *Applied Linguistics*, 35(3), 243-262. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amt011

Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. (2020). Educating migrant children in England: language and educational practices in home and school environments. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, 14(2), 163-180. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/19313152.2020.1732524

Custodio-Espinar, M., & García-Ramos, J. M. (2020). Are accredited teachers equally trained for CLIL? The CLIL Teacher Paradox. *Porta Linguarum,* 33, 9-25.

Dafouz, E. (2018) English-medium instruction and teacher education programmes in higher education: ideological forces and imagined identities at work. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 21*(5), 540-552. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2018.1487926

Darvin, R., & Norton, B. (2015). Identity and a model of investment in applied linguistics. *Annual review of applied linguistics*, 35, 36-56. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190514000191

Duff, P. A. (2012). Identity, agency, and second language acquisition. In S. M Gass, & A. Mackey (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of second language acquisition* (pp. 428-444). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203808184-36

Echevarria, J., Vogt, M., & Short, D. J. (2013). *Making content comprehensible for English learners. The SIOP model*. Pearson Ed.

Kanno, Y., & Norton, B. (2003). Imagined communities and educational possibilities: Introduction. *Journal of language, identity, and education*, 2(4), 241-249. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327701JLIE0204_1

Kanno, Y., & Stuart, C. (2011). Learning to become a second language teacher: Identities-in-practice. *The Modern Language Journal*, 95(2), 236-252. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2011.01178.x

Karabassova, L. (2018). Teachers' conceptualization of content and language integrated learning (CLIL): evidence from a trilingual context. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 1-13. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2018.1550048

Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511815355

Lo, Y. Y. (2019). Development of the beliefs and language awareness of content subject teachers in CLIL: does professional development help? *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *22*(7), 818-832. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2017.1318821

Lucas, T., & Villegas, A. M. (2013). Preparing linguistically responsive teachers: Laying the foundation in preservice teacher education. *Theory into Practice*, 52(2), 98-109. https://doi.org/10.1080/00405841.2013.770327

Martin, A. D. (2019) Teacher identities and English learners in mainstream classrooms: A discourse analysis. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies, 16(2),* 130-151. https://doi.org/10.1080/15427587.2018.1471693

Martin, A. D., & Strom, K. J. (2016). Toward a linguistically responsive teacher identity: An empirical review of the literature. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, *10*(4), 239-253. https://doi.org/10.1080/19313152.2016.1189799

Merriam, S. B., & Tisdell, E. J. (2015). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. John Wiley & Sons.

Moate, J. (2013). Reconceptualising teacherhood through the lens of foreign-language mediation. *Jyväskylä studies in education, psychology and social research*, (459).

Moate, J., & Ruohotie-Lyhty, M. (2020). Identity and Agency Development in a CLIL-based Teacher Education Program. *Journal for the Psychology of Language Learning, 2(2),* 92-106. https://doi.org/10.52598/jpll/2/2/7

Morton, T. (2012). Classroom talk, conceptual change and teacher reflection in bilingual science teaching. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *28*(1), 101-110. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2011.07.006

Nikula, T., Dafouz, E., Moore, P., & Smit, U. (Eds.). (2016). *Conceptualising integration in CLIL and multilingual education*. Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783096145

Norton, B. (2001). Non-participation, imagined communities and the language classroom. *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research*, *6*(2), 159-171.

Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and language learning*. Multilingual Matters. https://doi.org/10.21832/9781783090563

Otto, A., & San Isidro, X. (2019). Language as the articulator of a CLIL ecosystem: the Spanish case. *Revista Nebrija de Lingüística Aplicada a la Enseñanza de Lenguas*, *13*(27), 14-31.

Pappa, S., & Moate, J. (2021). Teacher Educators' Professional Identity in English-Medium Instruction at a Finnish University. *CEPS Journal*, *11*(3). https://doi.org/10.26529/cepsj.1053

Pappa, S., Moate, J., Ruohotie-Lyhty, M., & Eteläpelto, A. (2017). Teachers' pedagogical and relational identity negotiation in the Finnish CLIL context. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *65*, 61-70. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2017.03.008

Pérez Cañado, M. L. (2018). Innovations and challenges in CLIL teacher training. *Theory Into Practice*, 57(3), 1-10. https://doi.org/10.1080/00405841.2018.1492238

Ruohotie-Lyhty, M. (2016). Dependent or independent: The construction of the beliefs of newly qualified foreign language teachers. In P. Kalaja, A. M. F. Barcelos, M. Aro, & M. Ruohotie-Lyhty (Eds.), *Beliefs, agency and identity in foreign language learning and teaching* (pp. 149–171). Palgrave. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137425959_8

Ruohotie-Lyhty, M. (2018). Identity-agency in progress: Teachers authoring their identities. In P. A. Schutz, J. Hong, & D. C. Francis (Eds.), *Research on Teacher Identity* (pp. 25-36). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-93836-3_3

Saldana, J. (2013). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Sage.

Villabona, N., & Cenoz, J. (2021). The integration of content and language in CLIL: a challenge for content-driven and language-driven teachers. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 1-15. https://doi.org/10.1080/07908318.2021.1910703