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Language-driven CLIL in primary education: An analysis of General English coursebooks in Argentina

Introduction

The selection of content and language integrated learning (CLIL) teaching materials may present challenges for teachers in additional language learning contexts. L2 teachers wishing to incorporate CLIL in the primary classroom have, among other options, the possibility of using coursebooks (e.g., Bentley, 2009) which include a CLIL perspective. The aim of this chapter is to analyse how CLIL is included in four General English coursebook series for young learners usually adopted in primary education and language schools in Argentina. It should be clarified that in the context of this chapter the additional language is English.

The analysis is based upon Coyle, Hood and Marsh's (2010) 4Cs framework (content, communication, cognition, and culture) as it "takes into account content learning and language learning within specific contexts and acknowledges the symbiotic relationship that exists between the elements" (p. 41). According to Coyle et al. (2010; see also Coyle, 2007), content refers to the subject matter (e.g., science); communication includes language development (vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation, and language skills); cognition refers to thinking skills development; and culture entails areas such as intercultural understanding and global citizenship development.

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The chapter is organised as follows. First, we briefly discuss CLIL models and how marketed coursebooks and other publishing materials are shaped in order to respond to such models. Second, we describe the methodology underpinning our corpus-based study, a study based on a collection of documents, in this case, coursebooks. Third, we describe the general features of the corpus-series and analyse how content, culture, communication and cognition are developed. Finally, we discuss our findings and put forward a set of questions to help teachers evaluate other CLIL-driven coursebooks.

CLIL and coursebooks

Although CLIL may be seen as an elitist approach (van Mensel, Hiligsmann, Mettewie, & Galand, 2019), the spread of CLIL, in terms of innovativeness and versatility, in a myriad of educational settings, continues to grow through different models. CLIL is adapted to meet opportunities, affordances, and needs in consonance with educational and socioeconomic imperatives. As discussed in the introductory chapter to this edited collection (Chapter 1, this volume), CLIL models can be understood along a continuum with two ends: CLIL as an educational approach or CLIL as a language learning approach. As an educational approach, sometimes viewed as content-driven CLIL, CLIL means teaching a school subject through the medium of an additional language. This model is usually in the hands of a content teacher, who may be supported by an L2 teacher. At the other end of the continuum, CLIL as a language teaching approach is sometimes called language-driven CLIL. It means that English language learning lessons are contextualised in topics from school subjects, but the teaching is in the hands of an L2 teacher, and the main aim is learning English through curriculum content. Whatever the model between both ends, coursebooks are an important tool for CLIL provision.

According to Tomlinson and Masuhara (2018), the publishing industry continues expanding exponentially as new markets appear not only geographically but also in relation to generations and targeted populations. English language teaching (ELT) is extending with the inclusion of very young learners and adults in all spheres of language education. Therefore, the number of printed and online global materials (Bao & Shang, 2018) continues to rise. In this landscape, efforts are made to promote the use of teacher-made materials in ELT (Darici & Tomlinson, 2016) together with the critical adoption of coursebooks marketed globally (e.g., Gray 2010, 2016); however, coursebooks are still utilised as *scripts* in classrooms in a diversity of settings. By *scripts* we mean the practice of organising and delivering L2 lessons following a coursebook outline.

Given the multiplicity of CLIL models and the context-bound nature of linking language learning to a specific curriculum, coursebooks surface as a solution to perceived issues with materials provision for CLIL implementation (e.g., Pappa, Moate, Ruohotie-Lyhty, & Etelapelto 2019). Therefore, international publishers invest in producing coursebooks which they advertise as CLIL or CLIL-driven. The presence of such coursebooks as tools for CLIL implementation in different contexts has opened a new era of inquiry, and the literature offers a few studies on CLIL materials evaluation. Below, we review three of such studies.

In an examination of principles for CLIL, López-Medina (2016) puts forward a checklist for the development and evaluation of CLIL textbooks. The author highlights the need for coherence and consistency in scope and sequence between the textbook and the curriculum. She adds that the textbooks should include ICT-based tasks (e.g., Maggi, Cherubin & García Pascual, 2014) and supplementary materials to cater for the diversity found not only among learners' L2 proficiency but also among content or language

teachers' preparation. In terms of content, López-Medina (2016) underscores the importance of links with the curriculum and adds that there should be relevant and flexible tasks for proper scaffolding, and that content should include authentic materials, variety, and visual support. As for cognition, the author suggests that activities need to be challenging, motivating, and project-related, and should cater for different learning styles. In terms of communication and language, the author stresses that learners should be exposed to guided interactive activities in which specific and general new language is scaffolded for the development of spoken and written skills. We concur with López-Medina (2016) that these criteria may be applicable to all language learning materials regardless of the approach, as they underscore the complex nature of language learning.

Positioned in CLIL as an educational approach, Morton (2013) defines CLIL materials as "any L2 texts used for the teaching of non-language subject matter, presented to the students in paper-based and/or digital form, and the tasks and activities built around them" (p. 115). When marketed CLIL textbooks are not available, Morton (2013) invites teachers to produce and share their materials with a wider community. In the case of CLIL material designers and users, he urges both to ensure that materials meet the requirements for achieving content learning in integration with L2 learning in ways that are authentic, meaningful, and relevant to learners' age and cognitive and language development. The authors fear that CLIL materials for a global market may exacerbate teachers' dependence on ready-made materials and become pernicious to the very distinct feature of CLIL, which is that content should come from the learners' L1 curriculum.

The first author published an article in which he provides evidence of how CLIL was branded and included in General English coursebooks to be used among secondary school learners in Argentina (Banegas, 2014). By means of content and quantitative analysis, he surveyed four series from international publishers and found that less

than 10% of each series was devoted to CLIL. In addition, the tasks included in the CLIL sections did not promote higher-order thinking skills or engage students' prior knowledge acquired through the L1 curriculum.

These studies underline that CLIL coursebooks and materials should not only be aligned with the L1 curriculum but also with learners' interests, prior knowledge and cognitive development. In addition, the materials need to include a diversity of tasks to sustain learner motivation and engagement. It should be noted that while there are studies about CLIL with primary school learners (e.g., Alvarez-Cofiño Martínez, 2019; Massler, Stotz, & Queisser, 2014) and English language learning coursebooks in primary schools (Buckingham & Litzler, 2019), there is a dearth of studies which examine CLIL materials for primary education. Thus, in this chapter we seek to answer the following research question: In what ways does the 4Cs framework seem to inform four CLIL-oriented series used in ELT teaching in primary education in Argentina?

The study

To build our corpus, we selected four international series with a CLIL component marketed in Argentina. Our selection criteria were: (1) they are advertised as containing a CLIL approach, (2) they are targeted at primary school learners, and (3) they have been adopted by bilingual and state schools as well as private language schools in Argentina to teach General English with a communicative aim in mind. The four series are:

- Series A: *New treetops* (Howell & Kester-Dodgson, 2016)
- Series B: *Young Achievers* (Fash, 2017)

- Series C: *Tiger Time* (Ormerod & Read, 2016)
- Series D: *Comet* (Guerrini et al., 2016)

Readers should notice that even though we examine the whole series, particular attention is given to the student's book as this is the component most commonly used in the Argentinian context.

To answer the research question, we first analysed the structure of each series and carried out a content analysis (Harwood, 2010) of the CLIL sections and/or activities found across each student's coursebook in the series. For recording descriptive features of the series and content analysis, we used an Excel book to keep track of topics found across the series. As regards content and culture in the 4Cs framework, we analysed the alignment between the topics presented in each series and the Argentinian curriculum for primary education. Regarding cognition and communication, we also counted the activities and categorised them according to thinking and language skills (including skills and language focus such as grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation) involved, and sources of input such as continuous texts or visuals.

General features

Table 12.1 offers our initial approximations in terms of the physical features the series in our corpus exhibit.

INSERT TABLE 12.1 ('GENERAL FEATURES OF SERIES A-D') HERE

Each series includes different components for learners and teachers: a student's book with an integrated workbook (Series A), cut-outs and stickers (Series A), a separate activity book (Series B, C, D) and an online resource centre with multimedia-based activities (Series A-D).

Teachers are supported by means of a teacher's book, flashcards, class CDs and an online resource centre with printable activities and further ideas for the classroom.

Series A, B and C have two separate sections, one explicitly labelled as *CLIL* and a second section labelled as *culture*. Upon examination of the explicitly labelled CLIL pages, *CLIL* appears to be linked with school subjects such as science, social studies or history. In contrast, *culture* seems to be aimed at providing opportunities for citizenship development (e.g., promoting the value of reading by describing a book in Unit 2, Book 4, Series C) although these opportunities were not already included in the learners' L1-medium curriculum. Series D does not have units explicitly labelled as CLIL or culture. Content is ingrained in each unit as an overarching theme.

Content

Content, understood as the subject matter framed in school subjects such as science or mathematics, appear across the series. Upon close examination, the main aim of the content seems to reinforce the L1 curriculum and to provide a curriculum-based context for English language learning. Since we have analysed only four series without their correlation to observable practices, it is difficult to determine the extent to which the content included in the series is conceptually new to Argentinian primary school learners. Despite this methodological limitation, we may offer an approximation of the commonalities between the series topics and the core priority learning suggested by the Ministry of Education (Ministerio de Educación, 2018).

Table 12.2 shows the topics found across the four series and how they can be organised in broad curriculum areas. The topics in bold are those found in the Argentinian core curriculum for primary education.

Banegas, D. L., & Tavella, G. (2021). Language-driven CLIL in primary education: An analysis of General English coursebooks in Argentina. In C. Hemmi & D. L. Banegas (Eds.), *International perspectives on CLIL* (pp. 239-258). Cham: Palgrave.

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INSERT TABLE 12.2 ('COMPARISON BETWEEN TOPICS IN THE SERIES AND THE ARGENTINIAN CURRICULUM') HERE

Judging by the number of topics that coincide between the series topics and the Argentinian curriculum for primary education, most content areas are covered. It should be noted that some topics are shared across the series. For example, topics such as *families, animals, food,* and *healthy habits*, or those related to curriculum areas such as biology or physical geography, occupy an important portion of each series through recycling and spiralling complexity. On the other hand, some areas are restricted to fewer topics. For example, the arts are mostly linked to mixing colours (except for portraits or types of paintings), and history is typically associated with ancient civilisations. As shown in Table 12.2, subjects such as social studies or the arts include aspects of the target culture through topics such as the British Museum, the history of British TV or American music. These topics are not connected to the L1 curriculum.

As language teachers, the authors find it remarkable and innovative that only Series C (Tiger Time) includes opportunities for L1-L2 awareness. In Tiger Time 6 learners are asked to listen to and read a text which includes information such as "Some languages don't conjugate verbs. Other languages have many different conjugations" (p. 46), and children's experiences with learning additional languages such as Japanese or English. On the same coursebook page, learners are asked to reflect on their own L2 learning experiences through two questions: "What do you like about learning English?" and "What do you think is easy and difficult?" (p. 46). While the questions may enable learners to develop language awareness and reflect about their own thoughts on learning English, teachers may need to clarify that there are no languages which are more difficult nor easier than others.

Unlike how CLIL topics were treated in coursebooks for teenagers (Banegas, 2014), the series in our corpus succeed at presenting topics at a language and content level that is initially compatible with what is expected for primary school learners. The topics are treated in a similar way to the L1 curriculum as there are different activities to promote learner awareness, language skills, and cognitive skills together with new language, particularly specific terminology.

An example to illustrate our analysis may be found in Series A, Book 5. The last CLIL unit in the book and in the series is about the body (Natural Science, Biology). In Activity 1, students are asked to listen and repeat some vocabulary items; names of bones and joints are given on a small table at the top of the page. Then, using the same lexis, they are instructed to label a picture of the human body. They are asked to distinguish between bones and joints so as to choose the word appropriately. In order to complete this activity, students have a very brief explanation at the bottom of the page *"Muscles help us move. Joints connect the bones and help the skeleton move"* (p. 65). This same CLIL unit is continued with a gap-fill exercise; students are asked to look at a poster and then read and complete a text (words are provided). The next activity is a poem that students should learn and repeat after the teacher/recording. Finally, they are asked to draw a picture of the human body and describe it to a friend. In order to be able to label the picture, students need to know the vocabulary and understand the concepts presented. The listening exercise at the beginning of the unit is for helping students pronounce the new vocabulary correctly. Content development as well as thinking skills are needed to cope with the activities.

In Series D (Comet 5), learners are introduced to comets and planets. To understand what a comet is, they are provided with a short text and a true/false activity. If the answer is false, they are asked to state why it is incorrect. In order to solve the activity, the learners

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need to display content awareness as well as thinking skills. In addition, visuals are included on the page to support the understanding of specific terms such as orbit, nucleus or tail in connection to the topic of comets.

Culture

In series A and B, *culture* is associated with cultural aspects of English-speaking countries. In Series A, the teacher's book explicitly states that "the Culture pages … provide the opportunity to learn interesting things about British children's daily life" (p. 9). This quote reflects what Book 2 (Series A) offers – for example, British children describing their clothes or a summer fair. In the teacher's book for Book 4 of the same series, it is stated that children are encouraged to find similarities and differences between the Italian and British cultures, but this is not explicitly shown in the student's book itself. The Culture pages in Book 5 deal with English speaking countries (Wales, Ireland and Scotland). In our analysis, we noted a dissonance between the teacher's and the student's book. The teacher's book in series B states that the culture pages describe cultural aspects of English-speaking countries. However, the student's book develops topics such as describing endangered animals, describing celebrations, describing dinosaurs and aspects of British life such as describing a British seaside holiday or a school day at a British school. In the case of Series C, the Culture page is centred on a final project, a task usually found in CLIL practices as a synthesiser of input and collaborative work.

Across Series A-C, culture is presented as a monolithic practice. In other words, there seems to be a one culture - one country approach. In addition, it is not always clear what culture entails as, in Series B, celebrations and dinosaurs are both labelled as cultural

aspects. In Series C, Level 4, Unit 4, children are asked to write about "the kind of lunch you have at school" (p. 23). Thus, the authors take for granted that all children have lunch at school. This is not usually the case in Argentinian primary education, except for private bilingual schools, schools with a double shift or schools where lunch is served for those children in difficult socio-economic circumstances. Thus, we wonder whether the decision of separating culture from CLIL is based on the premise that culture and developing cultural awareness are not part of the curriculum or whether it is considered from a marketing move to advertise the series having both CLIL and cultural components.

Communication

In this section, we present the findings pertaining to the analysis of the four skills (listening, reading, speaking, and writing) and aspects such as grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation.

Sources of input and the four skills

Language development is supported by different sources of input. A common feature the CLIL components share across the four series is that pictures, comics (with no or very few words), songs and audio recorded lists of words, short dialogues or stories are used to introduce and recycle language and content in the first levels of the series. For example, in Series A, Book 1, 2 and 3, CLIL units have mostly pictures, keywords and songs and in all of them students are asked to make something (a shapes picture, a colour spinner, a shapes cube, a farm, a healthy meal plate). Audio recordings accompany some of the activities; they are aimed at listening to key vocabulary or songs. The CLIL pages in Books 4 and 5 provide longer texts (mainly sentences or one/two-paragraph texts) but again, lists of words connected to the

topics developed in each CLIL section prevail. In Series C, Level 2, the topic of furniture in the home is introduced by asking learners to (1) listen, point and say, and (2) listen, read, and repeat some sentences in the context of a comic where the main characters are animals who say: "You're dirty. You need a shower." "Is the shower in the kitchen?" "The shower is in the bathroom." (p. 34). However, in levels 4-6, input is delivered through continuous descriptive or narrative texts enriched with visuals such as maps, figures, or photos.

In our analysis, we noted that as children grow older, the preferred source and medium of language input is written. For example, in Series D, the CLIL sections are based only on written texts and illustrations (e.g. a map, a graph or a picture for labelling). Series C is systematic about having continuous texts (sometimes including bullet points or graphic organisers such as tables), and even though the instruction says "listen and read", there is no purpose in listening as learners can read the text without paying attention to the audio.

In terms of skills, the CLIL sections include activities for the development of listening, reading, speaking and writing. By activities, we mean all those instances which involve guided interaction (instructions) with the input provided or with other learners. Due to literacy progression during children's developmental trajectory in primary education, the series prioritise oral skills, i.e., listening and speaking, in the first levels. However, as the series (and children) develop, reading and writing become more prominent. By the end of the series, reading tends to dominate the CLIL component even though it appears to be integrated with the other language skills. Below, we exemplify how language skills are treated in Series A and C.

In Series A, Level 4, the CLIL unit on the animal world presents five different activities. Activity 1 is a 'listen and repeat' activity in which students are asked to label some pictures using vocabulary

given in a chart. Activity 2 is a gapped text; students must complete it with the vocabulary presented in the previous activity. In Activity 3 students are asked to match animals with the places where they live. Activity 4 is a speaking activity; learners are instructed to work in pairs and act out a mini-dialogue asking about animals from Activity 3. Finally, in Activity 5, students are asked to write a fact file about an endangered animal.

As regards Series C, Level 3, Unit 4's CLIL section is about healthy eating. It begins with a written and audio recorded text about different ways to eat fruit and vegetables (e.g. making a smoothie). The text is followed by a true/false activity to promote reading comprehension skills. Learners are asked to listen and then check the correct answers. Next, learners are asked to work collaboratively on two speaking activities to ask or say what they or their friends like. At the bottom of the page there is a so-called extension activity: "Explore the internet with your teacher. Find out what vitamins we get from oranges" (p. 45). We view this activity as an extra opportunity for reading and writing while developing cognitive skills for online searches. The CLIL page is followed by a project. Learners are invited to write about the food they have at school or what they like/do not like.

Grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation

The development of language systems connected to grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation are found across the CLIL components through different procedures. However, a common denominator is that while grammar is usually recycled and revised, the CLIL topics provide the context and content to introduce new terms. The following examples attest to this finding.

In Series A, Book 3, one of the CLIL units is on materials. Activities integrate listening, reading and writing. There are four different activities in which students are instructed to identify

materials and textures of various objects followed by two listening exercises aimed at repetition of new vocabulary. Finally, learners are encouraged to investigate materials and textures in their own homes. They are asked to complete the template of a mind map the teacher provides from the teacher's book. The CLIL unit provides the content to introduce vocabulary items connected to types of materials and their textures. However, the structures *it is made of* and *it feels* are new and they do not coincide with the structures worked on in the previous unit. In other words, new structures are included but the main aim of the CLIL unit is to incorporate new vocabulary.

Turning to Series B (Book 3), Unit 7 is about summer camps; its language focus is on asking about past activities and comparing the past and the present. The CLIL lesson (Let's take care of the Earth!) has two activities. The first one is a one-paragraph text in which learners are asked to join parts of the text with the corresponding picture, e.g. "Some people are recycling bottles and cans" (Young Achievers 2, Student's Book, p. 94) is matched with a picture of a boy standing behind a recycling bin. The second activity is focused on vocabulary: students are instructed to put cut-outs into four different bins (paper, plastic and metal, glass, organic) and then say the items that are recycled. In this last activity, students should recall the name of the items (as they have only the pictures); the written word is not provided. To conclude, we can say that the CLIL page is mainly focused on reading and understanding and recalling lexis and lexical phrases related to the topic; grammatical structures do not coincide with the language focus of the unit.

In Series C, Level 5 – a unit with a language focus on describing people and events, doing routines and temporary actions (present simple and present continuous) – includes a CLIL page on the types of exercise and their benefits. Learners find new items such as: aerobic, flexibility, pump, and weight. In this series, every CLIL page includes

a "My words to remember" section. In this unit, the words to remember are muscle, heart, oxygen, blood, lungs and joints.

In Series D, Level 4, the topic of body temperature is used to revise present simple, comparative adjectives and intransitive verbs. For example, the reading text includes the following sentences: "Healthy bodies are always the same temperature: about 37 degrees. His body temperature goes up. His head hurts. The red line on the thermometer is higher now" (p. 30). However, new lexical items such as *thermometer*, *temperature* and *degrees* are introduced at this stage.

Cognition

We studied the CLIL component of each series in terms of cognitive processes and categorised the activities following Anderson and Krathwohl's (2001) classification, which includes three lower-order thinking skills (LOTS) – remembering, understanding, applying – and three higher-order thinking skills (HOTS) – analysing, evaluating, and creating.

For illustrative purposes, we analyse a CLIL unit from Series A in terms of cognitive skills development. The unit is called "The Arts of Ancient Greece". Activity 1 is "listen and repeat" and "look and write"; vocabulary connected to ancient Greece is presented on a chart and there are pictures to be labelled. The instructions to Activity 2 are "Look at the poster. Then read and complete the text" (p. 15). An eight-sentence paragraph with gaps is given; learners must fill in the blanks with the words provided in the previous activity. In both activities, students need to understand and apply the lexical items introduced. In the next activity, students are asked to guess the correct order of pictures in the myth of Daedalus and Icarus; then, they listen to the story and check their guesses. Hence, students are developing understanding skills. Activity 5 presents a poem which students

should learn and say, i.e., the activity concentrates on remembering. They do not necessarily need to understand the poem in order to repeat it. The last activity turns to the use of another cognitive process not developed in the previous activities, which is creating. Students are asked to make a storybook and tell the story to a friend.

Concerning cognitive skills development, Series C stands out. In Levels 5 and 6, learners are explicitly told what thinking skills they are developing. This practice could be an instantiation of promoting metacognitive skills or developing learners' awareness of learning to learn processes. For example, in Level 5, Unit 1, the CLIL page closes with two activities about the pros and cons of using electronic gadgets. The 'think and say' activity asks two questions: "Do you and your friends use electronic gadgets? What's your opinion of the pros and cons?" (p. 40). Next to the questions there is a picture of a boy, and a bubble which reads "Thinking skills: Evaluating". Other thinking skills self-identified in Levels 5 and 6 for learners are, in order: categorising, associating, creating, comparing and contrasting, defining, deciding and justifying, paraphrasing, sequencing, analysing and associating.

Key learnings from the analysis

In this chapter, we analysed four globally-marketed General English series used in primary schools in Argentina which are advertised as CLIL-driven in terms of the 4Cs framework. As in General English coursebooks for teenage learners (Banegas, 2014), the series, with the exception of Series D, feature CLIL as a complementary approach that enriches the experience gained through a communicative language teaching approach. In Series A-C, CLIL is implemented as language-driven, and curricular content plays the role of acting as a safe environment for the learning of subject-specific vocabulary. Unlike

content treatment in Banegas (2014), the topics across the series tend to mirror the input, procedures, and complexity found in the L1 curriculum.

In terms of language development, the series respect learners' cognitive and literacy development. Hence, by the end of the series, learners have been able to develop both oral and written skills, even though reading, as in the L1 curriculum, becomes prominent. Special emphasis is laid on the development of lexical areas connected to the topics of the CLIL units.

Across the four series, the CLIL sections succeed in taking learners from less to more cognitively demanding tasks, as illustrated in Series A above. While lower-order thinking skills are prioritised in the first levels of each series, higher-order thinking skills are also included in the higher levels of each series.In general, the most practised cognitive skills are remembering, understanding and applying. It is worth mentioning that only Series C makes learners aware of the cognitive skills that the CLIL units intend to develop.

Drawing on the analysis of the four series following the 4Cs framework, we have identified how CLIL is incorporated in General English coursebooks for primary education. It is not necessarily the aim of the chapter to help teachers choose a coursebook from the series described here as these may have a short shelf-life or be available only in certain markets. Hence, the analysis can be of help to enable teachers to choose from the options available in their own contexts.

Using the questions below, we aim to help teachers analyse CLIL-driven coursebooks. The questions are built around the 4Cs parameters in order to support language-driven CLIL provision using a sound framework. These questions are only general suggestions and they may need to be adapted according to learners' age and context:

- Content: What topics (non-language ones) does the coursebook include? Are they coherent with the topic

units? What topics are addressed through CLIL? Are they connected to the L1 curriculum? Do the connections with the L1 curriculum refer to only topics or procedural knowledge? How is input provided? What sources of input are there? Is there variety in terms of texts and genres? Is there variety in terms of spoken and written sources of input? Can you provide learners with more input about such topics? Could you start a project which invites learners to find more information about a topic mentioned in the coursebook?

- Communication: Does CLIL promote the four skills? Are the four skills developed in a coherent manner and aligned with children's literacy development? Which language skills need to be further developed? Does CLIL provide opportunities for incorporating and recycling language (pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary and language functions)? Is there room for developing language awareness?

- Cognition: What cognitive skills are prevalent in the CLIL sections? Does CLIL respect children's natural cognitive development? Are CLIL activities sequenced from less to more demanding in terms of cognitive and linguistic load? How can you adapt them to ensure appropriate sequencing? Could you incorporate activities to help learners develop their HOTS?

- Culture: Regarding culture, how is it presented? Does culture refer to aspects of English-speaking countries only? Does CLIL treat culture as a monolithic entity? Does it help reproduce stereotypes? Can you make learners reflect on their own cultural practices? How can you help them see culture as something socially constructed, diverse and dynamic? How could you make

> learners aware of diversity and intercultural practices in their own contexts? How can you help learners value their own identities as well as others'?

Depending on the answers teachers obtain from the questions above, they may wish to develop their own CLIL materials. Helpful guidelines are found in Ball (2018), Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010) and Morton (2013) since principles for teacher-made CLIL materials exceed the scope of the chapter.

Conclusion

Adopting the 4Cs framework as a tool for the analysis of four coursebook series helped us provide a general picture of language-driven CLIL in young learners' coursebooks in Argentina. Overall, primary English coursebooks with a language-driven CLIL component or approach offer a productive source for language teaching and learning. Nevertheless, our findings should be taken with caution. First, the analysis is based on only four series. Second, we concentrated mainly on the student's book, with minor references to other components such as the teacher's book or the activity book. In addition, we did not engage in exhaustive analysis of the multimedia elements offered with each series.

When teachers and their institutions aim to adopt a CLIL approach, it may be helpful to orient their decisions by employing the 4Cs framework. It can be a useful tool to select teaching materials which respond to the school curriculum and promote the symbiotic relationship of content and language learning. In so doing, they will be able to exercise their agency to critically examine the implementation of CLIL through a context-responsive lens.

Suggested further reading

Bower, K., Chambers, G. N., Coyle, D., & Cross, R. (Eds.). (2020). *Curriculum integrated language teaching: CLIL into practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
This edited collection provides detailed informed accounts about how to help English language learners thrive in an English-medium environment. The volume rests on three principles: sustainability, pedagogy and social justice. The contributors' chapters provide insights concerning materials.

Kristen, L., & Hansen-Thomas, H. (Eds.). (2018). *Transforming practices for the middle school classroom.* Alexandria, VI: TESOL International Association.
In this volume, the editors have put together a robust collection of lessons carried out by teachers in the United States. Each chapter describes the lessons implemented, the materials and the rationale behind the teaching approach used to support English language learners. Although the accounts are contextualised in secondary education, they have transference potential for primary education.

Ogier, S. (Ed.). (2019). *A broad and balanced curriculum in primary schools: Educating the whole child.* London/Thousand Oaks: Sage.
Although this volume is targeted at primary school teachers in an English-speaking context, it provides educators in general with working frameworks for developing a holistic curriculum with young learners.

Engagement priorities

- How do coursebooks following a content-driven approach to CLIL treat language? In what ways do they achieve sustainable and systematic integration of content and language?
- Our chapter is based only on student's book document analysis. It might be helpful to investigate how teachers use the materials in class. What teaching strategies do they use to adapt them to the learners' needs? Do they engage in skipping, modifying and adding material?
- Little is known about teachers as materials developers for CLIL in primary education. What criteria do teachers follow? To what extent do they inquire into their own practices? What benefits and challenges do they find?

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