

Chicken, Egg or a Bit of Both?

Motivation in bilingual education

(TTO) in the Netherlands

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This thesis has been composed by the candidate and has not been accepted in any previous application for a degree. The work included in this thesis has been carried out by the candidate, and all quotations have been distinguished by quotation marks and the sources of information specifically acknowledged.

Signed: 

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Abstract

Conducted within the context of the general academic secondary school track in the Netherlands (HAVO), this study sought to investigate motivational differences between learners in bilingual (TTO) and in Dutch-language education (NTO). TTO being by now a well-established educational route, certain stereotypes and assumptions exist with regard to the type of learner it attracts. One of these assumptions is that TTO learners are particularly motivated to learn, although lack of previous research in this area means that there is little evidence to confirm that this is the case. As a bilingual approach to education that draws much of its inspiration from Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), and considering recent emphasis on contextual factors and the learning environment in (L2) motivation studies, it might also be assumed that the TTO learning context could have a motivating effect among learners. Again, however, there is little evidence regarding the motivational impact of teaching and learning in TTO specifically.

This two-phase study employed a range of methods, from inclusive research using discussions and online forums, to quantitative data collection using learner questionnaires. These were administered to approximately 800 learners in the first three years of HAVO, across four schools. TTO learners appeared to display more characteristics that aligned with various theories of general and language-learning motivation. The most prominent of these characteristics were the integrative motive, a sense of agency, and future self-guides. The motivation of NTO learners appeared less strong, but may also develop differently to that of TTO learners. There was little evidence to suggest that learners' experience of the TTO learning environment contributed significantly to the maintenance or development of these motivational characteristics, although it may have the potential to do so. Recommendations were made for how both learner-groups might be supported by schools in optimising their individual motivations.

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Glossary of Abbreviations and Acronyms

BERA – British Educational Research Association

CAQDAS – Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software

CDS – Complex Dynamic Systems

Cito – *Centraal Instituut voor Toetsontwikkeling* (Dutch national examination board)

CLIL – Content and Language Integrated Learning

CLIL ReN – CLIL Research Network

df – degrees of freedom

DMC – Directed Motivational Current

DUO – *Dienst Uitvoering Onderwijs* (government office in charge of education in the Netherlands)

EC – European Commission

ESL – English as a second language

FL – foreign language

FoF – Focus on Form

FoM – Focus on Meaning

HAVO – *hoger algemeen voortgezet onderwijs* (higher general secondary education track)

HBO – *hoger beroeps onderwijs* (higher vocational education)

ID – individual difference

L1 – first language

L2 – second language

L2MSS – L2 Motivational Self System

L3 – third language

MAVO – *middelbaar algemeen voortgezet onderwijs* (general secondary education track)

MBO – *middelbaar beroepsonderwijs* (further education)

NT2 – *Nederlands als tweede taal* (Dutch as a second language)

NTO – *Nederlandstalig onderwijs* (Dutch-language/monolingual/regular education)

p – statistical significance

PCR – pupil co-researcher

r – effect size

SaRs – Students as Researchers

SLA – second language acquisition

SPSS – Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

TL – target language

TTO – *tweetalig onderwijs* (bilingual education in the Netherlands)

VMBO – *voorbereidend middelbaar beroepsonderwijs* (pre-vocational education track)

VWO – *voorbereidend wetenschappelijk onderwijs* (pre-university education track)

χ^2 – Chi squared

1. Introduction

Every learner brings with him or her into the classroom an individual approach to and outlook on learning. For some, learning comes naturally and is sought and embraced eagerly; for others, a range of different factors can intervene and interfere with the enjoyment and satisfaction of gaining new knowledge and skills, making learning a negative experience that they would rather abandon altogether. Most learners will not conform to either one of these extremes, but will be located at different times at different positions along a continuum that ranges between them. The factors that influence the learner's position on this continuum can be internal to the learner, they can form part of the broader learning context or they may be a combination of both. Part of our goal as educators and educational researchers is to find ways of allowing learners positioned near the negative end of the motivational scale to experience what it feels like to move towards the positive end, in order to optimise the benefits of learning on both academic and emotional levels. What must not be forgotten, however, is that the learners on the positive end of the continuum may not always remain there. They too might need appropriate support in maintaining their enjoyment of learning and their drive to learn more.

This attitude – that every learner, whether naturally disposed to learning or not, has his or her own individual motivational needs – lies at the heart of this research and its findings. Specifically, the study described and discussed in the following chapters aimed to explore the motivational and learning characteristics of both learners and learning experiences in two distinct groups: those who had chosen to follow a bilingual route in their secondary education and those who had chosen to follow a 'traditional' first-language (L1) route, both in the context of early secondary education in the Netherlands. Due to the role of language in the distinction between the groups, particular emphasis has been placed on the implications of those characteristics in terms of language learning motivation, although the line between language motivation and learning motivation in a context where language and content are intrinsically linked is not always easily-defined.

This brief introductory chapter will begin by operationalising and explaining some of the key contexts and concepts integral to this study, before describing the structure of the remainder of the thesis.

1.1 The context for research

Before discussing the theoretical background to this study, it is important to explain the context in which the research took place. The workings of the Dutch education system will therefore be described briefly in Section 1.1.1, and the bilingual education movement in the Netherlands (TTO) in Section 1.1.2. The latter will also be explored in more detail in Chapter 2. These descriptions are aimed at an international audience, with no assumed background knowledge of the concepts and institutions involved.

1.1.1 The Dutch education system

The secondary school system in the Netherlands is tracked. Pupils leaving primary school are placed into different types of secondary education, each of which aims to lead them specifically towards either further vocational, higher vocational or university education. Different schools house different tracks, some accommodating only one and others providing for several. The placing of children into the different tracks is generally based on a combination of a standardised test administered by Cito (*Centraal Instituut voor Toetsontwikkeling*), the advice of the pupil's primary school and the pupil's personal preference. The main features of the different tracks are summarised in Table 1.1.

There are two degrees of flexibility in the Dutch tracking system. Firstly, it is flexible in terms of destination. As illustrated in Figure 1.1, having obtained a VMBO-tl or MAVO diploma, it is possible for pupils to join the HAVO track; strong HAVO school-leavers are likewise entitled to begin working towards their VWO diploma. In this way, it is possible for a pupil initially following a VMBO trajectory to ultimately progress to university and beyond. Meanwhile, approximately ten per cent of VWO students choose to go into higher vocational education rather than university after obtaining their VWO diploma.

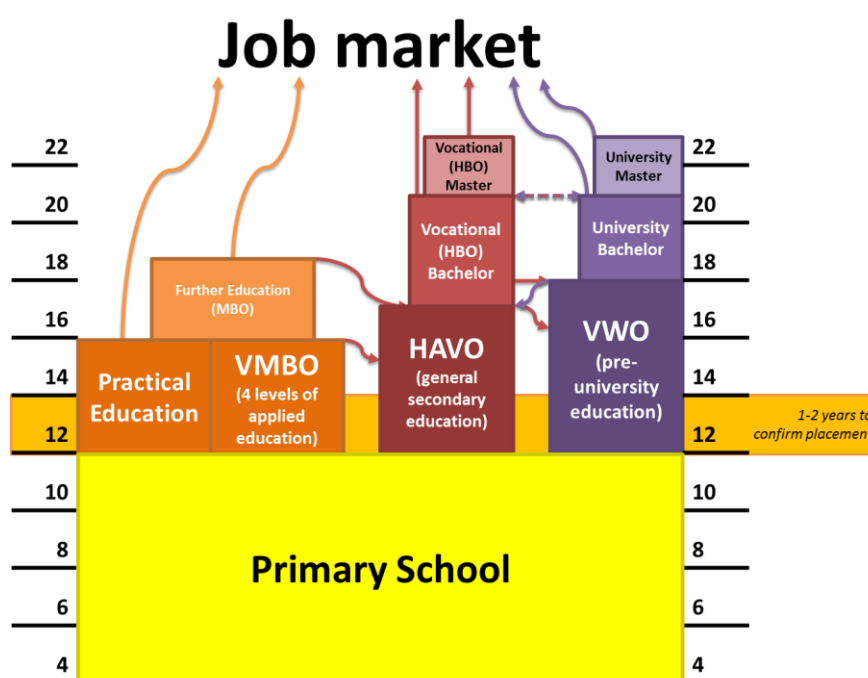
Table 1.1 Summary of tracks in Dutch secondary education (based on Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap 2014).

Title	Stands for	Translation	Details	Years	Age on completion	Gives access to
VWO	<i>Voorbereidend Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs</i>	Pre-academic education	• Final exam in up to twelve academic subjects, plus a dissertation • An average pass grade including passes in the core subjects allows immediate access to university education • Two sub-streams: <i>Gymnasium</i> (includes classical languages) and <i>Atheneum</i>	6	17-19	University; HBO ¹
HAVO	<i>Hoger Algemeen Voortgezet Onderwijs</i>	Higher General Secondary Education	• Relatively academic and oriented towards entry into higher vocational education • Final exam in between seven and nine subjects, plus a dissertation	5	16-18	HBO; MBO ² ; VWO
MAVO & VMBO	<i>Middelbaar Algemeen Voortgezet Onderwijs & Voorbereidend Middelbaar Beroeps Onderwijs</i>	General Secondary Education/ Preparatory Applied Education	• Accommodates approximately 50% of Dutch secondary school pupils (Truijman & de Vries, 2010) • Four sub-streams: MAVO/VMBO-tl (theoretical), VMBO-gl (mixed), VMBO-kl (vocational), and VMBO-bb (basic vocational) • ‘MAVO’ was the title for VMBO-tl until the introduction of VMBO in 1999; recently a number of schools have chosen to revert to the old title due to the social stigma sometimes associated with VMBO • Skills-focused • VMBO-bb is directed towards one particular work sector; The others are not	4	15-17	MBO; HAVO
Praktijkonderwijs		Practical education	• Mostly practical training • Tailored to learners’ individual needs: no set curriculum • Aimed at direct entry into the job market in a particular sector	4	15-17	MBO; Job market

¹ *Hoger Beroeps Onderwijs* – Higher vocational education / Polytechnic university

² *Middelbaar Beroeps Onderwijs* – Further/Vocational education

Figure 1.1 Summary of education in the Netherlands (design based on Stam 2006; ages are approximate)



The second level of flexibility lies in schools' constant attention to the development of individual pupils, in particular in the early years of secondary school. While pupils are placed in a particular track largely on the basis of test results and advice from their primary school, this placement is re-evaluated regularly, and in particular following the one or two-year 'bridging class' at the start of the secondary school trajectory. Should a VMBO or HAVO pupil be performing particularly well, he or she might be offered the opportunity to move to a more academic track. Similarly, pupils who appear to be having difficulty can be required to repeat a year and/or to move to a less academic track. It is not usual for secondary school pupils to skip a year, although this does occur in primary schools. The flexibility and individualised approach mean that pupils within one class in secondary school can differ in age by two years or more.

1.1.2 Bilingual education & tweetalig onderwijs (TTO)

As a concept that exists in a number of different forms in different parts of the world (García 2009), there has arisen some confusion with regard to the terminology used to refer to the teaching of academic content through two different languages within the same educational programme. Some of the most common paradigms of this type of education will be explored in detail in Chapter 2, but first it is important to define the terminology to be used throughout this thesis.

In the context of this study, the term '**bilingual education**' will be used as a blanket term to refer to any form of education where the same pupils are educated through the medium of two different languages. This includes immersion, English as Medium of Instruction (EMI), content- and task-based instruction, and other contexts where pupils are taught content through the target language (TL) (for a detailed overview of a number of these models, see García 2009). ***Tweetalig Onderwijs (TTO)***, described below, is the Dutch variant of bilingual education. **CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning)** is not synonymous with any of these concepts. Rather, it denotes the conscious integration of language and content in the curriculum and is not bound to a particular context. While 'bilingual education' may refer to specific educational constructs in which, for example, fifty per cent of lessons are taught in the TL, research and publications in the domain of CLIL offer guidelines and principles through which the advantages of bilingual learning can be fully exploited (Coyle, Hood et al. 2010).

Tweetalig Onderwijs (TTO) in the Netherlands

In a Dutch context, bilingual education refers specifically to the official construct of TTO (*tweetalig onderwijs* – literally 'bilingual education') in which a significant proportion of teaching and learning takes place in a foreign language (FL) or second language (L2). TTO has existed in the Netherlands since 1989 and it has grown rapidly in the intervening 25 years, for the most part due to high demand from parents and pupils (Maljers 2007). The term 'TTO' is often used interchangeably with 'CLIL', although in practice, the terms are not necessarily synonymous.

The spread and scope of TTO schools across the country has grown with increasing rapidity since the approach's introduction, as demonstrated in Figure 1.2-Figure 1.4, which depict the spread of registered TTO schools between 1989 and 2010.

Figure 1.2 TTO schools in 1989 (1).



Figure 1.3 TTO schools in 2000 (26).



Figure 1.4 TTO schools in 2010 (113).



At the time of writing there are 127 schools registered with the TTO network in the Netherlands. Of those schools, the majority (119) provide t-VWO³, but there are also 49 with t-HAVO and 24 with t-MAVO or t-VMBO certification, with the latter figures expected to increase rapidly in the coming years. There are currently 26 schools which have joined the TTO network but are still working towards full certification as TTO schools (Europees Platform 2014b). The vast majority of Dutch TTO schools provide education in English and Dutch, although there are two, both situated near to the German border, which teach in German and Dutch.

As schools in the Netherlands are largely in control of their own curriculum, there is no legal requirement for schools teaching bilingually to declare TTO status. The term 'TTO', however, is reserved for schools that are certified as TTO providers by the Europees Platform (the national body concerned with promoting internationalisation in schools). Criteria for TTO-certification were originally determined through a bottom-up approach by existing TTO schools, the aim being to encourage more consistently high standards across TTO providers, while still remaining culturally appropriate to the Dutch education system (Graaff, Wilgenburg in press). This, it was thought, would not only ensure that pupils receive high-quality education, but would also lead to easier mobility between TTO schools and to the creation of a reliable and trusted image of the TTO diploma (Maljers 2007). The TTO

³ Where education is offered bilingually by a certified TTO school, it is common for the bilingual stream of VWO, HAVO, MAVO or VMBO to be referred to as t-VWO, t-HAVO, t-MAVO or t-VMBO, although punctuation and capitalisation vary.

standard, introduced by the Europees Platform in 2003 (Europees Platform 2010a), incorporates criteria relating to academic results, curriculum content and aspects of the teaching and learning process. For example, they stipulate that the minimum proportion of target language (TL) contact hours in VWO or HAVO should be 50% across the first three years and approximately 25% in the upper school, across a range of subject areas, and, depending on their academic track, learners are expected to achieve between an A2 and B2 Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) level in the target language (TL) by the end of third year. A further stipulation is that TTO pupils should be actively involved in internationalisation activities, such as increased emphasis on other foreign languages (also taught through the TL), international visits and internationally-oriented projects. Importantly, it is also emphasised in the standard that the pupils' level of Dutch and their subject knowledge should not be adversely affected by the increased exposure to the L2. A minimum TL competency level for TTO teachers (B2 of the CEFR), emphasis on the importance of native speaker teachers and a requirement that teachers be trained in 'CLIL pedagogy' have also been introduced to ensure quality of L2 instruction (Europees Platform 2010b, Graaff, Wilgenburg in press).

1.2 Foundation and direction of this research

Over recent years an increasing amount of research has been conducted into the value, practices and outcomes of bilingual approaches to education both within the Netherlands and in other national and cultural contexts (Coyle 2007, Pérez Cañado 2011). As an advancing field in language education within Europe and throughout the world, and an area of increasing prominence in Dutch education (Bot, Maljers 2009), this growing body of research appears to have solid foundations. Much of the research published thus far, however, has been largely limited to exploring the academic benefits and downfalls of TTO and other bilingual approaches (e.g. Huibregtse 2001, Verspoor, Schuitemaker-King et al. 2010) and has focused less on the affective aspects of bilingual education such as its motivational potential.

There has likewise been very little documentation of the role of the individual learner and the unique characteristics that he or she may either bring to the bilingual classroom or develop as a result of it. In the current study, this is the area that forms the central focus. Learners in both bilingual (TTO) and Dutch-language education (NTO) were involved to varying degrees in the research, whose principal aim was to investigate the relationship

between learner (language) motivation and the TTO experience. In particular, the study focused on identifying the motivational traits that TTO and NTO learners appear to possess independently of the learning context and those upon which teaching, learning and other aspects of school appear to impact, with emphasis on the potential of both TTO and NTO learning environments to further nurture and support learners motivation.

1.3 The structure of this thesis

This thesis seeks to describe, analyse and draw conclusions from a two-year study into the motivational backgrounds of learners in the first three years of TTO and NTO secondary schooling in the Netherlands. The study aimed to address these two questions: firstly, whether TTO learners fulfil the common stereotype of being more motivated for school and specifically for language learning than NTO learners (Coleman 2006); and secondly, the extent to which this motivation is a natural or pre-existing characteristic of the learner or whether motivation is encouraged by the TTO learning environment.

While this chapter has placed the research in context in terms of the local setting, the literature review presented in Chapter 2 will explore the theoretical background to the main research questions. Primarily, it will focus on the history and theory of bilingual education and CLIL, both internationally and within the Netherlands, on the concept of motivation in language learning, and on theoretical, practical and research-based relationship between these two phenomena. The concept of inclusive research will also be introduced. The current research will be introduced in more detail in Chapter 3, which will address the design, methods and methodological considerations behind the study, and its findings presented and discussed in relation to each of the research questions in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively. Chapter 6 will bring these findings together in an account of the study's conclusions, implications for theory and practice, and areas of weakness, before making concrete recommendations for related future studies and presenting the reader with a fictionalised vision for motivational practice in both NTO and TTO.

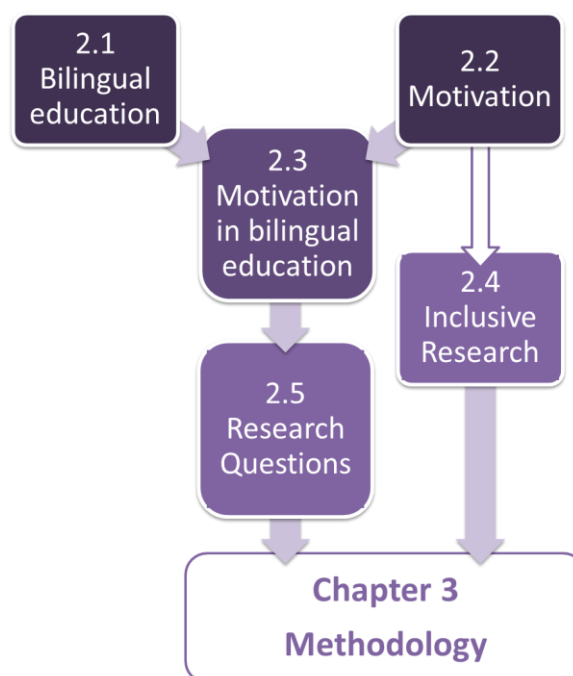
2. Review of Literature

At the heart of the current research are two main interests: firstly the theory and practices of bilingual education, especially in the Dutch model of *tweetalig onderwijs* (TTO); and secondly the driving factors that can cause one learner to engage more thoroughly than another in the learning process and to strive more persistently towards success in learning a language. Through the combination of these two interests has grown the current study, in which the causal link between these two concepts is explored in terms of whether teaching and learning content through the target language is a contributor to increased learner motivation, or whether the learners who tend to opt-in to bilingual programmes are naturally more motivated (Bruton 2011b).

The structure of this literature review, and its relationship to the research questions and methodology at the centre of this study, are depicted in Figure 2.1. As this figure highlights, this chapter will begin in Section 2.1 by exploring background theory and research in the fields of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) and bilingual education, including the reported benefits and complexities of bilingual approaches. There will be particular focus in this section on the Dutch TTO context. Section 2.2 will explore motivation in language learning, summarising the field's development since the 1950s and the modern moves towards a complex dynamic systems perspective. In Section 2.3, the preceding sections will be drawn together in terms of the potential connections between bilingual learning contexts and motivation. In particular, the direction of possible correlations between motivated learning behaviour and practices in bilingual teaching and learning will be considered. This area forms the basis of the study's research questions (RQs), which will be introduced in the conclusion to the literature review, in Section 2.5.

As also illustrated in Figure 2.1, a further area of interest in this study is the decision to conduct part of the current research in collaboration with participant researchers. This decision was based partially on the emphasis in recent motivation literature on the importance of regarding learners as individuals. The theoretical foundation of inclusive research with young people will form a distinct section of the current chapter, in Section 2.4.

Figure 2.1 Structure of the Literature Review.



2.1 The broader educational context: Bilingual education paradigms

The present study is set in the context of a particular bilingual education model, namely *tweetalig onderwijs* (TTO) in the Netherlands. TTO is one of many forms of bilingual education (i.e. teaching and learning of subject content through more than one language) that have developed in diverse educational settings in recent decades. These varied forms of bilingual education, while different, are often based on similar concepts, motivations and paradigms. In order to fully understand the goals and philosophies at the heart of TTO, it is therefore important to first acknowledge some of these paradigms as they appear in the literature.

It is often understood that bilingual education has Canadian roots and that it began with the 1965 St Lambert experiment in immersion education (Lambert, Tucker 1972). Teaching and learning through the learners' second language (L2), however, has actually existed for much longer and continues to be widespread (Cummins 1983). Forms of bilingual education across the globe have taken on different philosophies, pedagogies and labels over time, leading to the emergence of a large number of variations on the concept. While these variations are in many ways distinct from one another, they nevertheless cover common ground and have at times aided one another's development, in particular in theoretical and research contexts (Coyle 2007). This can be seen especially in the relationship between CLIL and bilingual education in a European setting and the 'original' immersion paradigm from

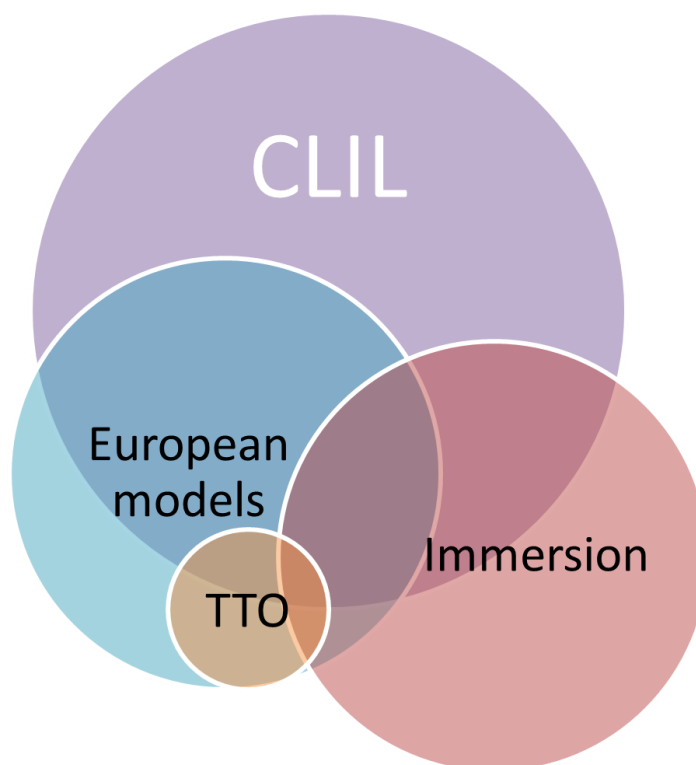
North America, which has been described as one of the most thoroughly researched areas of second language acquisition of the last century (Krashen 1984).

There are a number of reasons behind the existence of bilingual education programmes. The variations in these reasons can be the result of local, national and other contextual factors, such as social desirability, practicality or the politics of linguistic dominance (Cammarata, Tedick 2012). In the current context of globalisation, European integration and international fluidity, the need for fluency in more than one language is greater than ever, as is the need for sound subject knowledge and academic achievement (García 2009). This section of the literature review will address the phenomenon of bilingual education on a global, European and local level. CLIL and the theory at its heart will be described with reference to recent publications in the field. A distinction will be drawn between the specific term 'CLIL' and the more general 'bilingual education'. The origins of both will be explored in terms of the contribution of the North American model of immersion education and of the growth of bilingual models across Europe, with particular attention to the position of and practices in *Tweetalig Onderwijs* (bilingual education – TTO) in the Netherlands. In Sections 2.1.1-2.1.6, CLIL, bilingual education and TTO will be discussed in terms of their educational and linguistic value and of the growing research movement within the CLIL and TTO communities.

2.1.1 Relations of TTO: Immersion and CLIL

As described in Chapter 1, 'bilingual education' is a somewhat ambiguous term, which appears to hold different meanings in different contexts (García 2009, Baker 2011). It has since the 1960s become a widespread phenomenon, with countries and communities across the globe developing their own variations to suit their needs, their goals and their learners. In this section, two specific concepts in bilingual education will be explored. Firstly, the 'original' Canadian model of French immersion will be addressed; secondly, the term 'Content and Language Integrated Learning' (CLIL) will be defined and discussed in relation to theory, research and practice within Europe, and in relation to immersion. The relationship of these concepts to each other and to TTO is demonstrated in Figure 2.2. Here it can be seen that, while CLIL is interlinked with the other practices of bilingual education referred to here, including TTO, it does not entirely underpin them. This illustration will be referred to again later in this section and in Section 2.1.2.

Figure 2.2 Relationship between CLIL, Immersion, TTO and other European models of bilingual education.



Immersion: A predecessor to TTO

As Figure 2.2 highlights, immersion education overlaps with CLIL, TTO and other European models of bilingual education, but is nonetheless a concept that developed and exists independently of these. The extensive documentation of immersion in research has provided important basis for CLIL theory and for TTO. This section will therefore explore the concept and practices of immersion education as one of the earliest forms of deliberate additive bilingual education in modern times.

Similar to the development of TTO, Canadian immersion education began as a bottom-up movement in which parents in an English-speaking community in Quebec expressed a wish for their children to be given the opportunity to learn French to the same standard to which their Francophone peers learned English (Lambert, Tucker 1972, Bruck 1978, Boudreaux, Olivier 2009). Over the years, the movement has grown significantly in terms of both numbers and exposure. In their review of immersion education in a worldwide context, Johnson and Swain (1997) observe that what they term ‘immersion education’ now exists in a number of different contexts. In addition to contexts in which an official second language is used as the means of education for majority language speakers, such as with French immersion in Canada or Swedish immersion in Finland (see also Seikkula-Leino 2007), they

cite examples of immersion programmes in contexts where the target language is very much a foreign language (see also Wannagat 2007, Boudreaux, Olivier 2009), including in Western countries where Asian languages such as Mandarin, Japanese, Korean or Indonesian are the language of delivery. There are also examples of some heritage language immersion programmes, for example in Native American communities in the USA (Cammarata, Tedick 2012).

Campbell et al. (1985) differentiate between ‘immersion’, where (almost) all contact time in the early years of education is in the TL, gradually decreasing as the pupil progresses through school, and ‘partial immersion’, where less than fifty per cent of contact time is in the TL, although the majority of TL time is devoted to non-language subjects. A key difference between immersion and partial immersion, according to their account, is the emphasis on language form (*Focus on Form* – FoF). In immersion education, they propose, no explicit attention is paid to the learning of the TL, while partial immersion includes specific language lessons alongside the content lessons. Cummins (1998) advocates the promotion of language awareness as key to all language education, including immersion. In this respect, ‘partial’ forms of immersion may be more closely related to Cummins’ ideals and to CLIL, where language and content are given equal priority (Coyle, Hood et al. 2010). Likewise, partial immersion reflects much of the structure of TTO, where approximately half of learners’ subjects are taught through the L1, and the TL is addressed in discrete language lessons.

A distinction can also be drawn between early and late immersion. While much of the documentation of immersion education tends to refer to early immersion (i.e. from the first year of formal schooling), that is not to say that this approach is necessarily more effective. While the critical period hypothesis (Penfield, Roberts 1959), which proposes that languages are best acquired during a particular age ‘window’ ending before or during puberty, would suggest that earlier exposure to the TL will result in improved TL competency (DeKeyser 2000), there is evidence to suggest that this is not always the case (Collier 1989, Marinova-Todd, Bradford Marshall et al. 2000, DeKeyser, Alfi-Shabtay et al. 2010, Muñoz 2014). As Cummins (1983) reports, late immersion programmes, where immersion begins at a secondary school level (as in TTO), can be just as effective in promoting L2 skills as early immersion programmes, although the skills that they promote may be different. While early immersion pupils benefit from more hours’ exposure to the TL, the increased maturity of

late immersion learners allows them to learn the TL in a different way to their younger counterparts. Differences such as these can lead to heightened skills in certain areas, such as grammatical accuracy or reading comprehension, but disadvantages in others, such as spoken fluency or listening ability (Lapkin, Swain et al. 1980, cited by Cummins 1983), which tend to come more naturally to early immersion learners.

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL): A theory for TTO

As highlighted in Chapter 1, there is a tendency for the term 'CLIL' to be employed to describe any bilingual form of education, particularly within Europe (Seikkula-Leino 2007). As Figure 2.2 (p.13) shows, however, CLIL is a concept that overlaps with aspects of bilingual education programmes, including TTO and immersion, rather than enveloping or forming the basis for them. CLIL as a concept in its own right is relatively new, having been coined in Europe in the 1990s (Wannagat 2007) following the relative dominance of immersion in its different forms in the field of bilingual education between the 1960s and the 1990s. In the nearly two decades since the term was first used, CLIL practice, theory and research have evolved and developed significantly, as has their acknowledgement in the Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research community. In recent years, following calls for more clarity (Coyle 2007) and with the publication of an increasing number of definitive works on CLIL, its theory and its practices (Coyle, Hood et al. 2010, Llinares, Morton et al. 2012), a point may have been reached where the concept can be more clearly defined.

Defining CLIL

Ruiz de Zarobe voices the view that, *"CLIL must be regarded as a rich and flexible teaching approach"* (Ruiz de Zarobe 2013, p.240), while Cenoz (2013) considers in broader terms that CLIL can be found everywhere. It is therefore not surprising that definitions of CLIL have changed and evolved over the years (Llinares, Morton et al. 2012), much as has the concept itself. The European Commission has defined CLIL as language learning and teaching in which, *"pupils are taught different subjects in the curriculum in at least two languages"* (Eurydice 2006b, p.10), while Lorenzo (2007) has described it as simply *"subject matter teaching in languages other than learners' national tongues"* (p.502). These definitions are broad and non-specific, meaning that the distinction between CLIL and other approaches to bilingual education has not always been apparent (Llinares, Morton et al. 2012).

Throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, a narrowed definition of CLIL was elusive (Llinares, Morton et al. 2012). Studies conducted during this period into the various forms

and models of plurilingual education throughout Europe highlighted how much diversity existed. Variations included target language, number of languages, starting age, level of education, linguistic level, the level of priority given to either language or content (Grin 2005), and specific teaching and learning practices, yet the use of the term 'CLIL' was widespread. Sylvén's (2013) direct comparison of CLIL in four European countries emphasises significant variation in its implementation, but also in broader contextual factors, both of which, she suggests, might substantially influence its effectiveness as an approach. Likewise, Hüttner et al. (2013) emphasise that, within individual countries, policy-level understandings of CLIL can differ from those expressed by teachers and learners.

While the need for this diversity is recognised in terms of sociocultural and political difference, which in turn influence educational structures, fears have also been voiced regarding the risks involved in allowing the concept of CLIL to become too vague (Björklund 2006, Llinares, Morton et al. 2012). These risks include the term being assigned to practices not fitting with its pedagogical principles, as has been known to be the case with the term 'immersion' in the past (Cammarata, Tedick 2012). In response to this concern and following the natural maturation of the concept of CLIL as the result of research and documentation, the *"umbrella concept"* (Lorenzo 2007, p.503) of CLIL has recently developed into a more specific, defined model of effective bilingual teaching and learning. One of the most current definitions describes it as *"a dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language"* (Coyle, Hood et al. 2010, p.1), although researchers continue to formulate and discuss variations on the concept (e.g. Dalton-Puffer, Smit 2013, Graaff 2013). What theorists appear to agree on is that CLIL is a holistic approach, which gives equal weighting to both language and content and is grounded in educational, cognitive, applied linguistic and social theory. It is not bound to any particular cultural or educational context, but is dependent on effective practice. The early founders of the CLIL concept do not claim to have invented a new form of bilingual education, aimed at replacing existing models. Rather, their aim is and has been to define and promote existing effective practices in teaching and learning content through and with an additional language, in order to nurture further success in language learning, subject learning, and the cognitive, cultural and communicative development of learners (Llinares, Morton et al. 2012).

The theory behind CLIL

CLIL theories, while partially grounded in immersion and other literature, have largely been developed on the basis of effective CLIL practice (Coyle, Hood et al. 2010). Since the turn of the century, a number of frameworks and models have grown out of these advancing theories, and what has been described as *“the first comprehensive overview”* (Baetens-Beardsmore 2010, book jacket) of the approach, by Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010) has been published. As part of that volume, intended for researchers, policymakers and practitioners in CLIL, the authors address the concept from a theoretical perspective, drawing together the various theories and constructs that have been produced since the advent of the term ‘CLIL’ sixteen years earlier. They break down the ‘theoretical concept’ of CLIL into four central components, which have been summarised in Table 2.1. Figure 2.3 illustrates one of the concepts referred to in Table 2.1, the 4Cs Framework.

Figure 2.3 The 4Cs Framework (Coyle 2007).

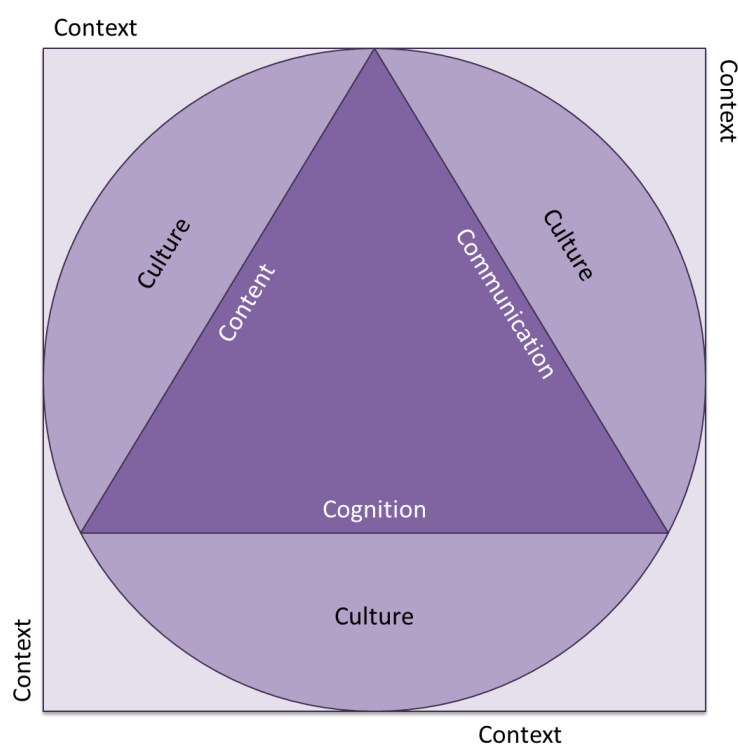


Table 2.1 Summary of CLIL Theory, as described by Coyle et al. (2010)

Content selection and content-learning	<i>Selection of appropriate content</i>	• Content determined by local variables (e.g. needs, demands, curriculum, time, resources, facilities) • Could be curriculum-based or project-based • Content appropriate to subject and subject methodology • Collaboration between subject and language teachers may be necessary
	<i>Learning within the Zone of Proximal Development (Vygotsky 1978)</i>	• Offers active cognitive engagement through (inter)active, scaffolded learning which is both accessible and challenging
	<i>Development of cognitive and metacognitive skills</i>	• Engage and develop higher and lower-order cognitive skills, and metacognitive and thinking and learning skills • Development of understanding and skills, but also emphasis on practical applications and problem-solving
Language learning and use	<i>Equal priority given to meaning and language form</i>	• Communication and accuracy have equal importance • Balance varies according to learners' needs
	<i>Different types of language in the CLIL classroom: the Language Triptych (Coyle 2007)</i>	• 3 types of language: - Language <i>of</i> Learning: needed in order to access and work with subject content - Language <i>for</i> Learning: needed in order to function in the TL classroom - Language <i>through</i> Learning: supports the processing of new content, learnt through content learning and language use • Teachers are aware of which type of language is being used when, and of how to support it. • Collaboration between subject and language teachers may be necessary
The role of culture	<i>The role of culture</i>	• Cultural awareness and intercultural understanding form part of any language-learning context
	<i>Culture is more than just factual knowledge</i>	• Cultural understanding is constructed on the basis of interaction and communication on 2 levels: - Micro-level: interaction within the classroom - Macro-level: intercultural communication outside of the classroom.
Integration of content, language and culture	<i>Honouring the 4Cs (Coyle 2007)</i>	• The 4Cs (Communication, Content, Cognition, Culture – see Figure 2.3) are key features of the classroom • Based on development and progression in knowledge, skills and understanding, engagement in cognitive processing, interaction, and increasing intercultural awareness
	<i>Meeting learners both cognitively and linguistically</i>	• Learners need to be both cognitively challenged and linguistically supported • Every learner and learning context will have unique needs and demands
	<i>Importance of teacher TL competency</i>	• Secure knowledge of the TL will aid the teacher's judgement of the appropriateness of classroom language • Where this basis is lacking, collaboration with colleagues may be necessary
	<i>Expertise in both language and content</i>	• Active engagement in bridging the gaps in the knowledge or understanding of either language or subject specialist teachers can be achieved through collaboration, practitioner inquiry or professional learning communities.

A key difference between CLIL and earlier bilingual methodologies is its explicit emphasis on the integration and equilibrium of language and content (Ting 2010, Cenoz 2013). Some theorists refer to a continuum of language and content integration (Met 1998, Ruiz de Zarobe 2007), on which CLIL is centred between traditional learning of language and content as two distinct disciplines, and the totalitarian approach of full immersion. Some theorists emphasise the importance of careful planning in CLIL for Focus on Form (FoF) activities in which specific language areas such as grammar or vocabulary are addressed explicitly (Lorenzo 2007), alongside communication (Focus on Meaning – FoM). This contradicts the idea that there is no ‘one size fits all’ approach to CLIL. According to Coyle et al. (2010), one learner, class or context might require more emphasis on linguistic monitoring than another. *Language through Learning*, as represented in the Language Triptych (Coyle 2007), or the ‘language of schooling’, as it has been called elsewhere (Schleppegrell 2004), needs to be addressed as and when it is required by learners, even if it occurs unexpectedly (García 2009). Lorenzo (2007) voices the opinion that *“L2 acquisition should remain a by-product of the classroom interaction when working on other subjects. It is only on this condition that language is partially seen to and the authenticity of the CLIL approach is not challenged”* (p.510). This view, however, challenges that of the CLIL theorists, who view language as equally important to a successful CLIL environment as content (Llinares, Morton et al. 2012).

The thinking behind the theoretical framework in Table 2.1 has been echoed elsewhere. Cummins’ (1998) ideas on effective immersion teaching highlighted the importance of comprehensible input, of the combination of FoF and FoM, of the engagement of higher order cognitive skills, and of cultural (or social) awareness, expressing concerns that these needs were not being met in a large number of immersion contexts (Cummins 1998). Similar misgivings have been expressed with regard to the methodologies employed in CLIL classrooms, namely, that some bilingual programmes – often functioning under the label of CLIL – do not reflect the theoretical principles promoted in the CLIL literature (Lorenzo 2007).

CLIL theory is not without its critics. Lorenzo (2007) agrees with much of the theory, such as the importance of approaching learners on an appropriate linguistic level (Krashen 2009), and observing that over-ambitious input can be one of the main reasons for the failure of CLIL projects (Labov 2003). He also, however, highlights a number of areas which he believes could prove difficult to put into practice. For example, he highlights the difficulties

associated with finding opportunities for genuine TL communication outside the classroom, as advocated by the emphasis on cultural exposure in CLIL. Furthermore, he acknowledges the common problem of teachers focusing on content and neglecting language almost entirely (Stoller 2004, Cammarata, Tedick 2012), yet expresses the view that, while some monitoring of output is important for progression, it is the role of CLIL teachers to focus primarily on meaning and communication (Lorenzo 2007).

CLIL in Europe

As Figure 2.2 (p.13) highlights, while bilingual programmes in Europe are not always grounded in CLIL, it is the intention in many countries and contexts to reflect CLIL values in bilingual teaching and learning. A study into CLIL in Europe commissioned by the European Commission in 2004-5 stated that *“the great majority”* of EU countries had some kind of statutory CLIL provision in mainstream education (Eurydice 2006a, p.13, see also Baetens-Beardsmore 2009). The larger part of this growth had already taken place in the relatively short period between the first use of the term ‘CLIL’ in 1994 (Marsh, Maljers et al. 2001) and the publication of the Eurydice report in 2006.

This increase in the popularity of bilingual (and trilingual) education appears to have developed in part through a proactive desire from the European Commission, governments and citizens to create a more fluid and plurilingual European society (Eurydice 2006a, Baetens-Beardsmore 2009, García 2009). According to Llinares et al. (2012), the majority of CLIL programmes in Europe focus on English as a foreign language (Lorenzo 2007, Wannagat 2007). There are also examples, however, where countries (e.g. Finland) have employed bilingual techniques to teach a second language to children and young people already living in a multilingual community (Nikula 2007), or to promote a heritage language, as in parts of the UK and Spain (Eurydice 2006a). Furthermore, CLIL in FLs other than English, such as French, German, Spanish and Russian, have been documented both in small-scale projects in the UK (Hunt 2011) and in established and regulated programmes in Poland (Czura, Papaja 2013). Some countries (e.g. Austria, Estonia, Latvia, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Spain and Sweden), either due to a strong international orientation or due to local circumstances, opt to offer CLIL in contexts where three languages are spoken (Eurydice 2006a, Baetens-Beardsmore 2009). While many CLIL programmes are implemented in secondary schools, there are also examples from across Europe of CLIL at primary and tertiary levels (Hüttner, Rieder-Bünemann 2007, Nuñez, Dafouz 2007, Europees Platform 2014a).

There is no standard model of CLIL either within Europe or further afield, nor has its provision been standardised at a national level in the majority of European countries (Eurydice 2006a). Schools or regional authorities are largely free to determine how CLIL is provided, at which level(s), in which subject(s), by whom, and for what proportion of the school timetable. This is an area in which the Dutch model of bilingual education, TTO, differs substantially from the majority of CLIL programmes in Europe. This leads us on to closer examination of TTO, in Section 2.1.2.

2.1.2 Bilingual education in the Netherlands: *Tweetalig onderwijs* (TTO)

The current study focused on bilingual education (TTO) in a Dutch secondary school context. Section 2.1.1 considered immersion education as a precursor to TTO and other bilingual approaches, and CLIL as a theoretical construct upon which much bilingual teaching and learning in Europe, including TTO, is based. Section 2.1.2 will now consider TTO as a concept in its own right.

Figure 2.2 demonstrated the relationship between TTO, other European bilingual education settings, immersion education and CLIL. In this illustration, TTO was shown to be enveloped by the broader context of bilingual education in Europe, while overlapping in some respects with immersion and also with CLIL. Thus, TTO can be defined along similar lines to CLIL:

Tweetalig onderwijs betreft het gebruik van een andere taal dan de moedertaal als instructietaal bij niet-talenvakken (bijvoorbeeld geschiedenis, aardrijkskunde en biologie, waarbij niet het Nederlands, maar het Engels als voertaal wordt gebruikt).

[TTO involves the use of a language other than the mother tongue as the language of instruction in non-language subjects, for example History, Geography or Biology, in which not Dutch but English is used as the language of communication.]

(Edelenbos, Jong 2004, p.39)

A difference between this definition and that of CLIL offered in 2.1.2, however, is that this definition does not mention the *integration* of language and content, but simply states that content should be taught in the TL rather than in the L1. In this sense, the definition is closer to that of immersion education (Cummins 1998), and in particular to late partial immersion (Admiraal, Westhoff et al. 2006) where, as here, the emphasis is on TL exposure rather than language awareness.

Origins & growth of TTO

As Admiraal et al. (2006) observe, the Netherlands is an internationally-oriented nation that places important emphasis on the value of foreign language competence. This especially applies to competence in English (Coleman 2006), particularly for those who wish to work or study abroad or in an international context. It has been observed, however, that achieving a high level of FL competence is not always possible within the constraints of the regular school curriculum (Admiraal, Westhoff et al. 2006). TTO, which offers school pupils the opportunity to increase their linguistic competence without taking time away from other school subjects, presents a possible solution to this problem and has in the past 25 years become a widely-understood educational format at both local and policy level (Eurydice 2006b, Bot, Maljers 2009). It is perhaps for this reason that applied linguists and educationalists are not hesitant to exemplify TTO, which has been described as the only major advancement in secondary foreign languages education in the Netherlands in recent years (Bot, Maljers 2009), and as one of the most important recent developments in Dutch education (Westhoff 2004).

TTO, like immersion education, originated as a result of pressure from parents who wanted to increase their children's opportunities in the international employment market and broaden their intercultural awareness (Eurydice 2006b, Maljers 2007, Bot, Maljers 2009). The model that has since developed would be described by Baker (2006) as a 'strong' model of bilingual education, in which TL teaching and learning has been incorporated into the broader school curriculum, rather than in isolated pockets of individual subject curricula, as exists in many other contexts (Llinares, Morton et al. 2012). As an approach, it resonates strongly with late partial immersion, as described in Section 2.1.1.

Initially it seemed that many schools had introduced TTO as a means of setting their school apart and attracting more pupils (Bot 2007). This is similar to the introduction of immersion education in some 'magnet' schools in the USA, where an enriched curriculum is offered in an attempt to encourage middle-class Caucasian parents to send their children to racially mixed schools, helping to desegregate education (Boudreaux, Olivier 2009). The introduction of a set of official standards for TTO schools (Europees Platform 2010c) and of measures of quality control such as inspections, however, have led to the discovery that schools with TTO have not only worked to promote the values inherent to the standard within their TTO departments, but have also been observed to be engaged with pedagogical

development and new forms of teaching and learning beyond the realms of language education (Edelenbos, Jong 2004). Studies into the outcomes of TTO have shown positive results, although findings from research and inspections regarding teaching practices have been more mixed (Huibregtse 2001).

It has been predicted that as a result of its apparent success and rapid expansion, TTO will lose much of its distinguishing character in the coming decades, and become more of an educational 'norm' (Bot, Maljers 2009). Furthermore, what was – within the Netherlands – originally an educational approach aimed at the most academic learners has recently been expanding into the less academic, more vocational streams of education (see Chapter 1). TTO has also expanded beyond the boundaries of secondary education. 2014 saw the launch of bilingual primary education (*tweetalig primair onderwijs* – TPO) in 24 primary schools in the Netherlands, with eight more expected to join the scheme in 2015 (Europees Platform 2014a). At the opposite end of the age-range, an increasing number of university and higher vocational education degrees in the Netherlands is currently being offered in English (Klaassen 2001, Edelenbos, Jong 2004). This is in part due to the fact that a significant proportion of university staff and PhD researchers come from non-Dutch speaking backgrounds, but it is also a selling-point for universities that wish to attract international and EU students (Onderwijsraad 2005). It seems that colleges of further education are beginning to follow suit, with an increasing number of vocational training courses being offered in bilingual or English-medium variants (Edelenbos, Jong 2004, Westhoff 2004, Denman, Tanner et al. 2013).

The TTO standard and TL use

The TTO standard (Europees Platform 2010c) was described in detail in Chapter 1. This national standard for TTO is a feature that sets it apart somewhat from other countries (Dalton-Puffer, Smit 2013). TTO schools are required to be registered as such on a national level, which is not the case even in the extensive and intensive immersion programmes in the USA (Lenker, Rhodes 2007, Boudreaux, Olivier 2009). The TTO standard, designed on the basis of consultation with TTO schools, their pupils and their parents (Bot 2002), has much in common with the fundamental principles of CLIL (Coyle, Hood et al. 2010), its focus falling mainly on the linguistic, communicative, cognitive and cultural development of pupils, and competence of staff.

Like immersion, TTO attaches great importance to TL exposure and use. Emphasis in the TTO literature is on the side of maximised TL use, with little reference to suggestions that some L1 use might also be beneficial, nor of the intralingual skills that can be developed through practices such as codeswitching and translation (Cummins 1998, Llinares, Morton et al. 2012). Research has shown that learners often view consistent TL use as one of the strengths of TTO, although the quality of teacher TL use is also an area that learners are quick to criticise, and which may demand more attention (Huibregtse 2001, Coleman 2006, Denman 2014). As will be highlighted in Sections 2.2 and 2.3, an important aspect of the current motivation study is the attitude of learners towards the TL and its speakers. It is therefore also of interest to consider the role of English in TTO.

Language choice and the role of English

It has been suggested that the success of TTO in the Netherlands may be in part due to the fact that young people in Dutch society are commonly exposed to the English language in everyday life (Bot 2002, Verspoor, Bot et al. 2010, Llinares, Morton et al. 2012). Dutch people also report that they find English the easiest language to learn (Bot 2002). Llinares et al. (2012) identify the Netherlands as a country in which English has a particularly high level of prominence and sociolinguistic status, which Cenoz (2009) has emphasised could have a significant influence on the extent and effectiveness of bilingual education. Sylvén's (2007) findings in Sweden, where more extramural exposure to English actually appeared to correlate with less benefit from CLIL, however, might dispute this interpretation.

Indeed, the status and prominence of the English language in Dutch society, where levels of exposure and the adoption of English terminology and expressions appear in a range of professional, academic and informal contexts (Coleman 2006), might make it more appropriate to consider English for many Dutch people as an L2 rather than an FL (Verspoor, Bot et al. 2010). This might also raise the question of whether the English learned through TTO is bound to a specific Anglophone culture, or whether the goal is to develop fluency in English as *lingua franca*. Research carried out by Hüttner et al. (2013) in relation to the beliefs of learners and teachers in CLIL contexts in Austria revealed that, while English teachers believed that the language being taught was bound to a native model of English, CLIL subject teachers were concerned with English as a functional *lingua franca*, above all useful in professional and academic contexts (Hüttner, Dalton-Puffer et al. 2013). It is

possible that a similar belief may be held in TTO contexts in the Netherlands, although there is no published evidence on the subject.

As remarked by Admiraal et al. (2006), if research were to be carried out into the effects of TTO where the TL is not English (i.e. in one of the two Dutch-German TTO schools), it would be interesting to discover whether results would be as positive (Admiraal, Westhoff et al. 2006). Oonk (2009) comments on the dominance of English in TTO and suggests that other modern foreign languages should attempt to 'cash in' on its success. His proposal is that TTO programmes become multilingual programmes with, for example, a quota of 50% Dutch, 40% English and 10% French or German. A similar format already exists in a TPO (bilingual primary) school in Friesland, where 50% of lessons are taught in Dutch, 30% in English and 20% in the local Frisian (Europees Platform 2014a). Oonk's proposal seeks to strengthen the general linguistic capabilities of pupils who, he believes, may be as likely to need to speak a 'neighbouring language' such as French or German in the future as to speak English. This approach is in accordance with the views of Hawkins, who advocates later language choice in schools, on the basis that children cannot possibly know which foreign language(s) will be of most importance to them in their future lives (Hawkins 2005). Nevertheless, there remains relatively little interest, either from schools or from pupils and their parents, in TTO with languages other than English (Edelenbos, Jong 2004).

It is perhaps not surprising given the rapid expansion of TTO and its prominent role on a national level, that it is a paradigm of bilingual education that has been applauded for its success (Koster, Putten 2014). The present study is concerned with regarding critically a particular aspect of that success that is often mentioned anecdotally but has featured less prominently in research, namely motivation in TTO. It is beneficial for one's understanding of TTO as a whole, however, to first consider evidence regarding the benefits and challenges of the approach. As Sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 have shown, TTO is closely connected to other approaches and paradigms in CLIL and bilingual education. Sections 2.1.3 and 2.1.4 will therefore refer to literature from immersion, CLIL and other bilingual settings, as well as to TTO.

2.1.3 Benefits of bilingual approaches: academic and linguistic outcomes

Why are we convinced that the CLIL approach is beneficial?

(Ackerl 2007, p.6)

The majority of European countries which have adopted a CLIL or bilingual approach appear to have done so for largely linguistic reasons (Cummins 1998, Eurydice 2006a). There are also, however, a number of other incentives for bilingual education, namely socio-cultural aims, relating to the promotion of tolerance and intercultural awareness, and more general cognitive and educational gains. Results of research into the value of both immersion and CLIL have been mixed (De Courcy, Burston 2000, Lorenzo 2007, Sylvén 2013), but their advocates, like Cummins (1998), believe that, with strong pedagogy, bilingual approaches can be beneficial to learners on several different levels. While the most obvious benefit might be to their learning of the TL, 'school bilinguals' (Craen, Mondt et al. 2007) may also improve their skills in their L1 and other FLs, as well as strengthening all-round academic attainment (Marsh 2000). In this section, the most prominent and well-documented of these benefits will be discussed critically. Specifically, the focus will be on effects on L2 proficiency, consequences for the L1, academic and cognitive development, and growth in cultural and linguistic awareness. The effects of bilingual education on attitudes and motivation will be explored separately in Section 2.3.

L2 proficiency in bilingual settings

Pupils in immersion, CLIL and bilingual programmes have nearly always been shown to out-perform pupils of the same age in mainstream education in terms of their TL ability (Campbell, Gray et al. 1985, Sampera 1994, Genesee 2007b, Seikkula-Leino 2007, Pérez Cañado 2011). For example, in a 1985 study by Campbell et al., nearly 400 primary school pupils learning either French or Spanish through immersion, 'partial immersion' and Foreign Language in the Elementary School programmes in the USA were compared to one another with regard to TL proficiency. Their scores on a number of language skills tests were also compared with those of high school students learning the same language. The results of the study suggested that increased TL exposure and more ambitious learning goals led to higher performance in all aspects of language proficiency, even in comparison to high school students. Furthermore, in Pérez Cañado's (2011) review of CLIL research in Europe, results favoured a CLIL approach as a means of raising foreign language attainment. There has been particularly strong evidence in favour of primary CLIL in this respect (Craen, Mondt et al.

2007, Hüttner, Rieder-Bünemann 2007). Evidence from further research shows that immersion can be equally effective whether the TL is closely related to the L1, as with English and Dutch, or largely unrelated, as with English and Japanese (Genesee 2007b).

Research has, however, also revealed some critical issues with regard to language proficiency. Campbell et al. (1985) describe the goal of early immersion as being that pupils become “*functionally fluent*” (p.45) in the TL, although the initial goal in Canada was near-native fluency. The reason for this ‘lowering of the bar’ was the realisation that, while pupils’ ability to communicate in the TL was far better following immersion education than following an equivalent number of years in mainstream schooling, it was not of the same standard as that of native speakers of the same age (Genesee 1978). In this instance, it was argued that the goal set for immersion had perhaps been too ambitious in a context where the TL is confined to the classroom (Campbell, Gray et al. 1985). Still there are concerns, however, that pupils graduating from immersion programmes do not achieve a high enough standard in the TL, in particular with regard to grammar, vocabulary and idiomatic communication (Harley, Allen et al. 1991, Walker, Tedick 2000, Genesee 2007b). In a CLIL context, a similar issue has been observed in Sweden, where the limited linguistic outcomes of CLIL have been attributed to learners’ exposure to English outside of school outweighing the amount of CLIL exposure in school, and to their teachers’ levels of training in CLIL methodology (Sylvén 2013). One of the suggested reasons for negative findings with regard to accuracy is that largely communicative approaches can lead to the formation of grammatically or lexically inaccurate habits (Swain 2000, Lyster, Mori 2006), of pidginised (Lyster 1987) or overly academic use of the L2 (Cammarata, Tedick 2012), or of communication strategies in which learners avoid using structures of which they are unsure and therefore do not improve their level of accuracy (Master 2000, Day, Shapson 2001). This could be attributed to instructional styles in which language is viewed as a vehicle for content learning rather than as an integrated learning goal in its own right (Cummins 1998).

In spite of these criticisms, however, it has been hailed as a benefit to learners’ TL proficiency that learners have the opportunity to develop TL proficiency in an applied and academic context, which could be more relevant to their future L2 needs. Dalton-Puffer (2005) observed that the language environment of the CLIL classroom was richer than first expected, with pupils being exposed to a wide range of linguistic forms. Learning academic content through another language gave learners access to a broad range of technical and

subject-specific terminology and to varied vocabulary and language structures (Ackerl 2007), which might be useful in professional or academic contexts later in life (Coyle, Hood et al. 2010). In an age when student mobility within Europe is high and an increasing number of international degree programmes is on offer (Verbik, Lasanowski 2007), the higher register of language available to learners through bilingual education could be an appealing prospect.

A contrary view, however, raises the question of where and how learners in bilingual education acquire 'everyday' language (Cummins 2003), such as that required to function in daily life in a foreign country (Byrnes 2008). As Dalton-Puffer (2005) observed, the language of the classroom (Schleppegrell 2004) does not always include the full range of registers and experiences necessary for the development of fluency in all areas of the language. As Marsh (2008) and Llinares (2012) maintain, however, the linguistic skills, knowledge and awareness developed by learners in bilingual settings provide them with the means necessary to acquire other language forms as and when they are needed in later life, should they be needed at all (Hawkins 2005).

In the Dutch context, results from studies into TTO English proficiency have been positive. In a longitudinal study of the effects of TTO on the language proficiency and academic attainment of secondary school pupils, Admiraal et al. (2006) found that the reading and oral skills of TTO pupils were higher than those of pupils in NTO streams, although their vocabulary did not generally improve at a greater rate. They suggest that this latter discrepancy might be due to the fact that higher-level vocabulary is learned more slowly. Edelenbos and de Jong (2004) demonstrated that pupils in TTO, after their third year of bilingual education, scored significantly higher for English than those in 'regular' Dutch-language education, without their performance in other subjects suffering. These results were echoed in the final exam years. Verspoor et al. (2009), in their research into the language production of TTO and Dutch-language pupils, observed that TTO pupils not only reached higher levels of language proficiency, but that they also learned differently. For example, they adopted the use of lexical 'chunks', which helped them to produce more authentic language. Likewise, in the initial findings of her PhD research into the attainment and attitudes of learners in t-VMBO settings, Denman has highlighted what appears to be a significantly steeper increase in English language proficiency among TTO learners in all

vocational levels when compared to NTO learners, regardless of their home language (Denman, Graaff et al. 2014).

On an international level, studies conducted into the performance of Dutch TTO pupils in English when compared to those in neighbouring regions (Germany, Wallonia and Flanders) have shown a significant difference in the scores obtained across the four regions. Dutch TTO scores in this respect were more than ten per cent higher than the Belgian cohort, and thirty-five per cent higher than the German pupils (Edelenbos, Jong 2004).

Effect on the L1

In the context of both immersion in North America and CLIL in Europe, concerns have been expressed with regard to the effects of bilingual schooling on the L1 and its culture (Cummins 1983, Eurydice 2006a, Genesee 2007b, Boudreaux, Olivier 2009). Belgium, Lithuania, Sweden, Iceland and Norway, in the EC report on bilingual education in Europe, all expressed apprehensions regarding the effects of a bilingual foreign language programme on maintenance of the national language, and even with regard to the cultural impact of learning important historical and cultural content through a language other than the mother tongue (Eurydice 2006a).

Evidence from both immersion and CLIL research, however, has given little support to the concern that bilingual schooling has a detrimental effect on the development of the learner's L1 as long as the learner has adequate exposure to the L1 and motivation to develop it (Bruck 1978, Cummins 1998, Nuffield 2000, Craen, Mondt et al. 2007, Genesee 2007b). In fact, the interdependence principle suggests that the development of skills in the L2 can actually support development of the same skills in the L1, in that it nurtures the cognitive skills necessary for reading and writing in any language (Cummins 1979, 1983). These findings were supported by a longitudinal study conducted by Genesee in the early years of immersion in Canada (Genesee 1978), in which children's performance in English, French and Mathematics were compared across immersion, English-language and French-language streams. Outcomes of the study suggested that in the immersion stream, although pupils' initial development of literacy skills in English (their L1) was somewhat delayed, their later attainment in this area was equal to or higher than that of their mainstream counterparts. Such interdependence is said to exist in all language relationships, but especially for languages which are similar to each other, as was the case in Genesee's study (Cummins 1998). This has also been shown to be the case elsewhere, in both immersion and

other bilingual settings (Johnstone 2002, Genesee 2007b, Lenker, Rhodes 2007, Seikkula-Leino 2007), including in situations where pupils have specific language difficulties (Genesee 1976, 2007a, Bruck 1978).

In the Netherlands, the TTO standard requires schools to provide evidence that TTO does not have a detrimental effect on learners' performance in Dutch (Europees Platform 2010c). Moreover, research has shown that TTO learners do not perform less well in Dutch than NTO learners (Huibregtse 2001, Verspoor, Edelenbos 2009, Verspoor, Schuitemaker-King et al. 2010, Denman, Graaff et al. 2014).

Mastery of content and cognitive development

A further concern that has been expressed by both teachers and parents in relation to bilingual forms of education is that the increased focus on language form and communication in a foreign code might disrupt or delay the learning of subject content (Lorenzo 2007, Cammarata, Tedick 2012). On the contrary, evidence would suggest that learning through an L2 has no effect on the understanding of that content (Craen, Mondt et al. 2007, Seikkula-Leino 2007, Pérez Cañado 2011), or indeed that subject attainment can be higher in bilingual settings (Genesee 1978, 2007b, Gajo, Serra 2002, Gajo 2007, European Commission 2009).

Research on bilingualism has shown that even those with limited skills in more than one language have better-developed cognitive and creative thinking skills, linguistic analysis and communication skills, and general intellectual ability, than monolinguals. This is particularly the case when the individual recognises his or her bilingualism as positive and it is encouraged both in the home and in school (Lambert, Tucker 1972, Cummins 1983). CLIL learners have been shown to resemble natural bilinguals more than monolinguals in terms of cognitive activity, suggesting that bilingual learning can help to open new pathways in the brain (Blakemore, Frith 2005, Craen, Mondt et al. 2007). Ting (2010) presents convincing neurological arguments for the benefits of an integrated approach for developing "*deep-level comprehension*" (p. 14) of both language and content. These claims are further defended by the findings of Genesee (1978), who noted that pupils in the early stages of an immersion programme gave more mature answers in L1 language tests than their mainstream counterparts. Gajo and Serra (2002), similarly, found that learners of Mathematics through bilingual education learned differently to pupils in monolingual education, the former group developing stronger thinking skills, while the latter group was

better at information processing. The overall results showed the bilingual pupils to perform better overall (ibid.)

There has nevertheless been evidence from research to suggest that fears for subject mastery are justified. Studies in Hong Kong (Low, Lu 2006), Australia (De Courcy, Burston 2000) and Catalonia (Gaya 1994) have produced evidence that teaching in a language other than the learners' L1 can be detrimental to subject learning. Meanwhile, teachers in immersion education have expressed concerns that pupils will be disadvantaged in learning more complex content due to deficiencies in language (Cammarata, Tedick 2012). Although largely positive about bilingual education approaches in Finland, Seikkula-Leino (2007) comments that, while content results in the bilingual contexts of her study are not generally lower than in monolingual contexts, there appears to be less opportunity for pupils to excel and "*reach maximum results*" (p.336). In other words, there were fewer learners achieving the highest grades in bilingual settings, at least with regard to subject content (Seikkula-Leino 2007).

While it has been suggested that mixed results such as these could reflect teacher-centred methods rather than the approach itself (Cummins 1996, 1998, Cammarata, Tedick 2012), Lorenzo (2007) expresses the concern that negative reports on subject attainment might evoke fears in schools considering introducing CLIL for the first time. With collaboration between subject- and language-specialists at the centre of effective CLIL practice in many settings (Coyle 2008), language teachers might have difficulty convincing their content colleagues to work together on a project which could be detrimental to results in the subject area (Lorenzo 2007). In this situation, CLIL initiatives have been known to function successfully in collaboration with subjects that are less results-oriented, such as Citizenship or Personal, Social and Health Education in England (Mearns 2012) or Physical Education in a number of other countries (Eurydice 2006a). This might help to avoid 'stepping on toes' (Ullmann 2008). Another alternative for small-scale CLIL projects might be to work outside the regular curriculum, for example on cross-curricular or themed projects, or extra-curricular activities (Coyle, Hood et al. 2010). On a larger scale, CLIL programmes in Poland run parallel to L1 teaching, with learners required to follow the same curricula in both languages simultaneously (Czura, Papaja 2013).

Measures are in place in the Netherlands to ensure that learning through the L2 does not adversely affect content learning. As in the case of effects on the L1, the TTO standard

requires TTO learners to perform at or above the national average in their final examinations for content subjects (Europees Platform 2010c). Indeed, TTO pupils have been found to perform better than Dutch-language pupils in non-language subjects such as Geography and History, taught through the TL (Edelenbos, Jong 2004). The validity of this comparison could be called into question, however, by doubts about the comparability of pupils who have chosen to take on the extra challenge of bilingual education with those who have not. The decision to undertake a bilingual or TTO programme, it has been argued, may be in itself a reflection of higher academic ability or motivation, or a combination of both (Bruck 1978, Genesee 1978, Verspoor, Schuitemaker-King et al. 2010). It was doubts such as these that partially inspired the focus of the current study. Research findings with regard to subject attainment have also been called into question with regard to their reliability in light of the inconsistency of assessment in the lower years of secondary school. Standardised curricula and testing only come into play in the final years of secondary school, by which time an increasing amount of content teaching has reverted to Dutch in preparation for national examinations. At this stage it is therefore difficult to differentiate between learning that took place in the TL and in the L1, making the reliability of research findings questionable (Huibregtse 2001).

Cultural growth and Language Awareness

The reciprocal relationship between language learning and cultural growth, development and understanding is well-documented in SLA literature (e.g. Byram, Grundy 2002). ‘Culture’ is also included as one of the overarching elements of Coyle’s 4Cs CLIL Framework (see Figure 2.3, p.17). While there has been little published research on the topic, some theorists purport that the high proportion of naturalistic TL exposure and use of authentic materials in CLIL approaches can lead to a higher degree of acculturation among learners, helping to broaden their perspectives and communicative capabilities (Coyle 2002, 2008, Wolff 2002). The value of this phenomenon is again reflected in the TTO standard, which requires learners to engage in cultural learning and international citizenship activities as part of the TTO programme (Europees Platform 2010c), although there has been little research on the subject in the Netherlands.

Marsh (2008) extends this thinking on cultural learning to the benefits for language awareness. Bilingual learning, he suggests, could support the learning not only of the TL and L1, but also of other languages in the present or future. The thinking skills and language

learning strategies involved in the negotiation of both language and content in CLIL, Marsh says, are effective in developing awareness of the subtleties of language use and communication, as well as practical language-learning skills, both of which can be applied across a range of professional, academic and social contexts. In a related area, Rutgers' (2013) research into the learning behaviour of TTO learners in relation to L3s such as French, German or Spanish also appeared to be more sophisticated and more natural than that of NTO learners, suggesting that TTO may alter learners' attitudes to language beyond the realms of the TTO classroom. As mentioned elsewhere, however, as in much CLIL and TTO research, these data do not reveal causality in the sense of whether altered language learning behaviour among TTO learners is a reflection of the influence of TTO or of their natural inclinations, which may have made them more attracted to a TTO approach from the outset.

2.1.4 Challenges in bilingual education and TTO

The current study approaches TTO from a neutral standpoint, not intending to prove its worth but to objectively observe learners' responses to it. As has been apparent in the above critique of empirical findings regarding the benefits of bilingual education, approaches such as TTO appear to carry with them a number of benefits, but are nevertheless not without limitations. These limitations, where they affect the effectiveness of teaching and learning, may impact upon learner motivation. The potential pitfalls of bilingual approaches such as TTO are therefore relevant to the present study as well as to the general understanding of the TTO context.

Many of the difficulties in evaluating bilingual education, and the mixed or conflicting results produced by research, appear to be born out of practical and contextual issues, such as the availability of reliable data (Huibregtse 2001) or variations in the quality of teaching (Cummins 1998, Hartiala 2000, Lyster, Mori 2006, Cammarata, Tedick 2012). Some of the practical and pedagogical challenges associated with CLIL, bilingual education and TTO are described below.

Implementation

An issue raised by the European Commission (EC) in its 2004-5 study is that of the extra time, costs and resources involved in the implementation of bilingual approaches (Eurydice 2006a). Over half of the countries it studied identified problems in introducing or maintaining bilingual programmes. Of the twenty-six European countries and semi-

autonomous regions that offered CLIL as a non-statutory form of mainstream education, three had experienced difficulties with regard to restrictive legislation, three found it difficult to source suitable teaching materials, four commented that costs were high, and twelve had experienced difficulties in recruiting appropriate teachers (Eurydice 2006a).

The fact that many CLIL programmes are grassroots initiatives led by enthusiastic teachers or parents, while in some ways beneficial, can prove challenging in terms of implementation. It has been argued that lack of guidance from policy or regulation on a national level can lead to inconsistencies in approaches to and quality of bilingual education (Hüttner, Dalton-Puffer et al. 2013). Likewise, it has been suggested that countries in which there is more policy-led regulation for CLIL may also tend to invest more in researching the approach and its methodologies and provide more opportunities for teacher training (Sylvén 2013). Coyle et al. (2010) describe CLIL as *“an opportunity for language teachers to regenerate their profession”* (p.12). The problem can be, however, that such ‘regeneration’ requires time, effort, energy and resources. This is a difficulty identified by education managers and teachers alike, as the former identify a lack of qualified teachers, and the latter comment on poor access to pre- and in-service training (Eurydice 2006a). Furthermore, while some governments, local authorities or schools offer teachers additional preparation time for CLIL lessons, as is the case in the Netherlands, this time is often limited. To offer more time is not viable, so teachers often resort to using textbooks or other materials produced in other countries, rather than produce custom-made materials better-suited to the needs, goals and experiences of the learners and to the demands of the curriculum (Hofmannová, Novotná 2002).

As described in Chapter 1, in the Netherlands, where TTO began as a grassroots movement but has since become established not only in terms of size and scope but also of policy and regulation, measures are in place to avoid many of these difficulties. The Europees Platform offers advice to schools on how to undergo the process of introducing and implementing TTO for the first time (Francissen 2013). TTO teachers are compensated slightly for the investment of time in the creation of suitable materials (Eurydice 2006b), although providing teachers with enough preparation time remains a challenge. While there are still differences in how TTO is approached in different schools, the existence of the TTO standard helps to support them in maintaining standards and identifying areas for improvement (Maljers 2007).

Areas in which TTO does suffer from lack of support and integration at a national level are with regard to national examinations and the employment of native speaker teachers (Graaff, Wilgenburg in press). As explained in Chapter 1, TTO curricula return to Dutch for most subjects in the final two years of school. This is in order to better-prepare learners to sit their final examinations in Dutch, as the Department of Education and the national examining board (*Centraal Instituut voor Toetsontwikkeling* – Cito) have not yet consented to administer examinations in English (Maljers 2007). Furthermore, while the Europees Platform emphasises the need for all TTO pupils to have contact with native speakers of the TL, schools have reported having difficulty recruiting native speaker teachers who are aware of and skilled in CLIL. Furthermore, foreign teaching qualifications are not always recognised by the national body concerned with education and qualifications (*Dienst Uitvoering Onderwijs* – DUO). Where native speakers are not EU nationals, a further obstacle is experienced in obtaining permission for them to remain in the country long-term (Wilgenburg 2014). A document published by the Europees Platform in 2010, explaining the organisation’s vision for TTO over the subsequent five and fifteen years, highlighted these as areas for significant improvement, which will require increased cooperation from national bodies and from the government (Europees Platform 2010a).

Effective content and language integration

As Coyle et al. emphasise, simply teaching content in the medium of a foreign or second language does not constitute CLIL:

*CLIL is not about ‘translating’ first-language teaching and learning into another language in the hope that learners will be immersed in a bain linguistique and seamlessly learn **in** another language.*

(Coyle, Hood et al. 2010, p.27, emphasis original)

One of the most prominent practical and theoretical challenges highlighted in CLIL literature, however, is the facilitation of a fully-integrated approach to the learning of language and content (Ruiz de Zarobe 2008, 2013). As Ruiz de Zarobe (2013) emphasises, language and content in the CLIL classroom should have “*complementary value*” (p.236), yet evidence would suggest that both research and practice tend to focus on one or the other of these elements more heavily (Coyle 2008). In a theoretical sense, it appears that a degree of confusion regarding the integrative objective of CLIL, and recently also of immersion (Cummins 1998, Cammarata, Tedick 2012), may still exist. Seikkula-Leino (2007) identifies as

an area of commonality between CLIL and immersion that they both “*focus primarily on foreign language learning*” (p.329). This would be disputed by those from both fields, who nowadays tend to agree that content and language are of equal importance, and are co-dependent (Cummins 1998, Leung 2005, Llinares, Morton et al. 2012).

While research into CLIL is often grounded in applied linguistics (Cenoz 2013, Ruiz de Zarobe 2013), in practice the imbalance often manifests as an assumption that language will be acquired naturally through bilingual teaching and learning, without particular attention to language form (Hüttner, Dalton-Puffer et al. 2013). It has been identified that more research might be required into the extent to which CLIL practice actually reflects CLIL values in this respect (Dalton-Puffer, Smit 2013). While Hüttner et al.’s (2013) respondents appeared to view the ‘incidental’ aspect of language acquisition in CLIL as one of its greatest advantages, this has been referred to as a “*two for one*” approach (Lightbown, Spada 2006, p.155), in which language is side-lined as a by-product of exposure rather than being integrated with content teaching (Cammarata, Tedick 2012, Llinares, Morton et al. 2012). Swain (2000) and Lyster (1987) highlighted some shortcomings of this attitude in their studies in immersion settings. They advocated a stronger emphasis on form in subject classrooms, for fear of the language of immersion graduates’ language being pidginized through under-correction. Similarly, Coyle highlights the importance of collaboration between language and content teachers:

quality CLIL is dependent on understanding and operationalising approaches which will not be found solely in the traditional repertoires of either language or subject teachers.

(Coyle 2008, p.105)

Central to the current study is the extent to which TTO reflects CLIL values, and therefore also possesses the motivational power that is often attributed to CLIL. While there is a tendency in the Netherlands to translate ‘TTO’ as ‘CLIL’, it could be argued that this is not an accurate representation of what the two terms represent. While TTO is the title given to a growing educational institution of bilingual schooling, CLIL is a term used to denote teaching and learning in which content and language are integrated with one another (Llinares, Morton et al. 2012). Although FoF is not excluded entirely in TTO contexts, it has been observed that attention to language accuracy is often confined to English lessons, rather than being addressed as and when issues arise during content lessons (Huibregtse 2001, Bot,

Maljers 2009). Admiraal et al. (2006) stress that, in TTO, *“Continuous insistence on correct communication is avoided”* (p.76), and in their longitudinal study conducted into the effects of TTO in five secondary schools over a four-year period in the 1990s, it was noted that the *“Subject matter teachers did not give explicit attention to fostering second language acquisition, such as form-focused corrective feedback”* (p.78). Similar findings were reported in a study by Huibregtse (2001, see also Coleman 2006). Participants in Koopman et al.’s (2014) study of the pedagogical awareness of TTO subject teachers likewise expressed the view that attention to non-subject-specific language such as grammar or sentence structure remained the domain of the English teacher rather than the subject teacher. This contrasts with Lyster’s proposals on the importance of ‘noticing’ and developing awareness of linguistic form (Saito, Lyster 2012). Furthermore, it contradicts the recommendations in recent literature from both CLIL and immersion perspectives which advocate the skill and flexibility in subject teachers to address language form issues as and when they arise (Cummins 1998, Hartiala 2000, García 2009, Cammarata, Tedick 2012).

As emphasised by Cummins (1998) and Cammarata (2012), disappointing results in language production in immersion settings may be the result of teachers’ reluctance or failure to integrate attention to language with attention to subject-matter content. Nevertheless, results of studies into language proficiency in CLIL and TTO have so far been more positive with regard to language production and accuracy than in early immersion in Canada (Huibregtse 2001, Verspoor, Edelenbos 2009), perhaps due to the fact that the TL is still taught as a discrete subject in the majority of CLIL programmes (Baetens-Beardsmore 2009). In spite of this, there is still some way to go before integration is widespread (Llinares, Morton et al. 2012).

Pedagogy and Expertise

Lorenzo warns of teaching in bilingual contexts:

if wrongly operationalized, both the language and the content can be impaired

(Lorenzo 2007, p.511)

Cummins claims that poor outcomes in some bilingual settings (Keep 1993, Low, Lu 2006, Boudreaux, Olivier 2009) may not be the result of the educational model as much as of the approaches to teaching and learning employed (Cummins 1996, 1998). He states in relation to immersion:

When teachers are asked why they do not implement more cooperative learning and project-based strategies they usually indicate concern that students will use English [the L1] in these activities. The use of L1 by students is seen as contravening the basic premises of immersion...The principle of language separation and vestiges of 'direct method' teaching approaches (i.e. remaining totally in the target language) in immersion programs thus sometimes results in pedagogy that is less cognitively challenging and creative than many educators would consider appropriate.

(Cummins 1998, p.38)

Cummins, among others (Eurydice 2006a, Cammarata, Tedick 2012), observes that this problem exists not only in immersion education, but in all forms of bilingual schooling. Specific areas of pedagogical weakness in CLIL programmes, as identified through research, have been comprehensible TL input by teachers (Coleman 2006), the encouragement of active, authentic TL output and participation by learners (Dalton-Puffer 2008, Ruiz de Zarobe 2013), lack of use or effective adaptation of authentic materials (Sylvén 2007), and lack of awareness of differences in language across different subject areas (Morton 2010, Lorenzo 2013). Walker and Tedick (2000) emphasise that a reason for limited concentration on language form, as discussed in the previous section, may be due to teachers' own lack of self-confidence regarding their TL competence, as the majority of CLIL teachers tend to be non-native speakers (Llinares, Morton et al. 2012, Ruiz de Zarobe 2013). Furthermore, a large proportion of immersion teachers admits that content tends to take priority in their teaching due to curricular pressures. At times, they may even switch entirely to the L1 to teach more complex topics, for fear that pupils will underachieve in acquiring essential subject content (Cammarata, Tedick 2012). As Cummins (1998) suggests, however, it appears that teachers may also lack the pedagogical knowledge or awareness necessary to facilitate effective learning in a bilingual context. Research into the implementation and design of CLIL programmes has therefore provided evidence to support the recommendation that extra attention be given in CLIL teacher-training to lesson, task and curriculum design, and scaffolding of learning (Llinares, Whittaker 2010, Ruiz de Zarobe 2013).

Cammarata and Tedick (2012) observe that the skills required to effectively integrate language and content do not always come naturally. They agree that extra training may be required if bilingual teachers are to be expected to master such skills (Lyster, Ballinger 2011, Lyster 2012). As Hartiala (2000) notes, CLIL teachers ideally need to be skilled simultaneously in a number of areas. They require, she suggests, linguistic skills in the L1 and the TL, cultural skills and knowledge, and subject skills, including subject teaching methodology. Likewise,

Coyle (2008) emphasises the importance of appropriate training for CLIL practitioners. In the light of findings from Sylvén (2013), who identified less success in a CLIL programme in a context where considerably less CLIL training was provided for teachers, this would appear to be a well-founded suggestion. As Mehisto (2008) emphasises, a vital element of effective CLIL provision is that teachers, schools and policymakers collaborate and cooperate to achieve a clear line of thinking on the goals and good practices of teaching through more than one language.

In spite of such recommendations for more CLIL-oriented teacher education, however, research would suggest that training and awareness-raising in teachers remains a challenge in a range of bilingual education contexts (Hartiala 2000, Cammarata, Tedick 2012, Llinares, Morton et al. 2012). In the EC's 2006 report, while it seemed that the majority of CLIL schools appeared to take measures to ensure that teachers possessed the linguistic competence necessary to teach in the TL, there was no mention of compulsory in-service training for teachers on the principles and practices of CLIL teaching and learning. Furthermore, although pre-service training as part of initial teacher training programmes and optional in-service training in some countries were highlighted as being on the increase, such courses were not mentioned as prerequisites to employment as a CLIL teacher in the majority of the European contexts explored in the report (Eurydice 2006a).

In the Netherlands specifically, the training of teachers has been recognised as being of great importance to the success of TTO (Edelenbos, Jong 2004). As a result, growth in both pre- and in-service training for teachers, although not compulsory, has contributed to an increase in the number of TTO teachers with a higher level of expertise and understanding relevant to CLIL (Coleman 2006). In spite of this, however, still not all teacher-training institutions, at either university or higher vocational level, offer trainees the opportunity to train to teach their subject in English as part of their initial training (Wilgenburg 2014). TTO schools are also encouraged through the TTO standard (Europees Platform 2010c) to seek native speakers to teach in their TTO departments (Edelenbos, Jong 2004). While this may be beneficial from an exposure perspective, however, there is no reason to believe that this will automatically qualify them to teach CLIL or TTO in the context of global English (Aboshiha 2013).

Notwithstanding this apparent focus on training, early research into TTO revealed that teachers were not always well-equipped in terms of either pedagogical awareness or

linguistic understanding and fluency (Huibregtse 2001). It was partially this observation that led to the creation of the TTO-Standard (Europees Platform 2010c), although more recent publications continue to call for increased emphasis on focused teacher training directed towards TTO, with specific attention to CLIL and to language pedagogy (e.g. Bot, Maljers 2009, Verspoor, Edelenbos 2009, Koopman, Skeet et al. 2014). Inspection reports from the Europees Platform (as reported by Edelenbos, Jong 2004) have expressed concern with regard to the quality (rather than the quantity) of interaction in the TL in TTO classrooms. According to reports, pupils often revert to speaking Dutch during bilingual lessons, although inspectors note that levels of fluency in the TL appear strong enough to allow learners to engage in classroom activities without switching language (Edelenbos, Jong 2004). A number of TTO teachers have also expressed concern about conducting lessons solely in the TL, for fear that they will not be able to manage the class effectively (Edelenbos, Jong 2004). The outcomes of Huibregtse's PhD research in the 1990s reported that, while TTO pupils' performance was positive, teaching practices in TTO were far below the expected standard in terms of variation of materials, the dominance of teacher-talk, and the amount of learner TL output, as well as with regard to explicit focus on language beyond word-level vocabulary (Huibregtse 2001, Coleman 2006). Furthermore, Koopman et al. (2014) noted recently that even subject teachers who are engaged and active in their role as CLIL teachers, and may have undergone training in this area, are nevertheless relatively unaware of principles of language pedagogy such as effective corrective feedback and attention to lexical 'chunks'.

CLIL for all: Accessibility

Central to the present research is the question of what type of learner typically engages in TTO. This is an area that will vary according to context (Coyle, Hood et al. 2010), but nevertheless it raises the issue of whether bilingual education programmes, such as TTO, are equally accessible to all learners. García (2009) proposes that bilingual forms of education should be the means of instruction for "*all children and language learners in the world today*" (p.9). In spite of recent growth in bilingual education programmes, however, provision of CLIL in Europe is not consistent. According to the data provided by the European Commission (EC), while CLIL was, in 2005, a feature of education in almost all European countries, as little as three per cent of secondary and/or primary pupils in some countries had the opportunity to participate in CLIL programmes (Eurydice 2006a). It follows, therefore, that concerns have been raised regarding the accessibility of bilingual education for all learners, not just in geographical and logistical terms, but in terms of socio-economic

status, academic ability and special educational needs. These concerns will be explored below.

Elitism

Part of the impetus for the design of the present study was the identification in research contexts, particularly in the Netherlands, that it can be difficult to reliably study pupils in bilingual education in comparison to their mainstream peers, as the two groups may not be fairly comparable (Pica 2002, Verspoor, Edelenbos 2009, Verspoor, Schuitemaker-King et al. 2010, Bruton 2011b). The fact that learners (or their parents) have opted for bilingual instead of mainstream education could be a reflection of their academic ability, family background, values or socio-economic status (Bruck 1978). Merisuo-Storm (2007) drew attention to similar doubts, noting that parents of primary pupils in bilingual streams attended significantly more parents' evenings than parents of pupils in the regular streams (Merisuo-Storm 2007). This could be an indication that parents of learners in bilingual streams were more engaged in their children's education. Meanwhile, Genesee (1978) observed that the pupils he was studying in an immersion stream scored higher on intelligence tests than their counterparts in mainstream English or French-language schools.

In the majority of settings in which CLIL is offered in Europe, it is provided unconditionally, with no admissions criteria (Eurydice 2006a). In the Netherlands, however, potential pupils may be asked to sit a test or attend an interview before being accepted (Eurydice 2006a, Maljers 2007). Such approaches to CLIL admissions contradict evidence that bilingual forms of education can be just as suitable to academically weaker learners as to stronger learners, or indeed that they can be more beneficial to those with a history of lower attainment (Sparks, Ganschow 1991, Cummins 1998, Nuffield 2000, Genesee 2007a). This type of admissions procedure could deter potential pupils from applying to bilingual programmes, for fear of being rejected. This in turn could lead to the formation of an elite group of pupils, who have in common with one another both academic ability and self-confidence (Weenink 2005, Oonk 2009).

Thus, in some countries it seems that the image of bilingual education as being accessible only to more privileged learners prevails and can lead to stereotyping and prejudice (Svenhard 2012). In practical terms, Johnson (1997) suggests that a reason for prejudices against bilingual education in principle may be the sense that it is intended to compete with traditional education. Particularly at secondary school level, bilingual pupils are usually

housed in the same institutions as 'regular' pupils, but are taught separately for some or all of their lessons. A source of some contention between bilingual and immersion programmes when compared to their L1 counterparts, therefore, can be the distribution of resources. While it is broadly understood that the extra demands of a bilingual programme will require extra staffing and specific teaching resources, this can leave stakeholders in mainstream educational programmes with the suspicion that their bilingual counterparts are given preferential treatment (Johnson, Swain 1997).

This is not to say that all bilingual approaches are elitist. CLIL is intended to be entirely inclusive, giving learners access to bilingual teaching and learning in a variety of formats without necessarily having the need to enrol in a specific bilingual programme (García 2009). Coyle et al. (2010) emphasise that the recent expansion of CLIL and bilingual education programmes in mainstream schooling is particularly important in that it allows pupils from a range of backgrounds to access education in more than one language, rather than it being either a privilege only open to an elite group or a burden imposed upon minority language speakers. This was also highlighted by the Nuffield Report on language education in the UK (Nuffield 2000), which advocated CLIL as an inclusive approach, in particular in terms of the achievement of boys. Studies into immersion education have shown that, far from being elitist, it is a useful tool for integration, as it appears to help pupils from a range of social, educational, economic and racial backgrounds to perform to a high standard, often outperforming their counterparts (and even the dominant group) in mainstream education (Boudreaux, Olivier 2009). Lasagabaster and Sierra (2009), in their study of language attitudes in plurilingual contexts in the Basque Country, noted that there were no attitudinal differences among CLIL learners of English from different social backgrounds, although such differences, in favour of the middle class, had been noted in a traditional EFL context. This may be, they suggest, due to the more communicative nature of the CLIL environment, which has been said to be conducive to the fostering of positive attitudes among working class learners (Ellis 1994). In the light of these findings, it might be more appropriate to suggest that it is not the approach of CLIL or bilingual education that can be exclusive, but the practices involved in specific policies and bilingual programmes (García 2009).

It is in this respect not surprising that TTO in particular has developed a reputation as being exclusive (Weenink 2005, Oonk 2009). As Weenink (2005) highlights, the manner in which TTO began, namely through Dutch parents of high-performing children wishing their

offspring to have the same opportunities as those attending international schools (Bot 2002, Maljers 2007), has undertones of elitism, privilege and social desirability (Weenink 2005). In his commentary of CLIL in European countries, Oonk (2009) voices the view that the majority of parents who choose to send their children to bilingual schools are what he terms “*sociale stijgers*” (“*social climbers*”, p.30). This view has been reflected by de Bot and Maljers (2009) and by Weenink (2005), who argues that some parents may even hope to raise their own social status through sending their children to a particular type of school. Dronkers (1993) commented in the earliest days of TTO that the advent of the approach would create a new sub-class in what he terms the “*top social stratum of the Netherlands*” (p.298), in which cosmopolitanism rather than knowledge of the classics would be the deciding factor. Indeed, Weenink (2005) observes that, in some schools, ambitious pupils and their parents are now faced with a choice between two potentially ‘elitist’ forms of education: TTO at the more modern pre-university level of Atheneum, or Dutch-language education at the more classically-oriented academic level of Gymnasium, which many schools do not offer bilingually.

Whether these judgements on the attitudes of TTO parents are correct or not, recent research conducted by Tilburg University confirms that TTO pupils tend to come from families with a higher socio-economic status than those of NTO pupils (Sieben, Ginderen 2014). In contrast to common assumptions, however, the same research does not reveal any correlation between levels of parental involvement in school and the choice for TTO, nor any obvious connection with the amount of English spoken in the home (Sieben, Ginderen 2014). In the light of the motivational concept of the ought-to L2 self (Dörnyei 2009c), as explored in Section 2.2.3, these findings could impact on levels of motivation among TTO learners.

Inclusion

It has been a common assumption in immersion and other forms of bilingual education that, due to its demanding nature, this is a path suitable only for the most high-performing pupils (Cummins 1983). There is, however, little evidence to defend this claim with regard either to academic ability (Genesee 1976, 1978, Seikkula-Leino 2007), to whether the TL is a second or a third language (Cummins 1983, Lasagabaster, Sierra 2010), or in relation to language-based learning difficulties (Bruck 1978, Geva, Clifton 1994, Genesee 2007b). Indeed, Baetens-Beardsmore (2009) mentions as an advantage of bilingual education that it can be accessible

on different levels to a broad range of learners, without the expectation that they will all benefit in the same way or to the same extent.

In a review of the literature on the inclusion of academically 'at-risk' pupils in immersion programmes, Genesee reflects this view in highlighting the ethical issue raised by the potential exclusion – or at least deterring – of such pupils from immersion streams:

bilingualism is important not only in the Canadian context but also in the international context, given the globalization of the economy and of employment opportunities. Can Canadian schools ethically exclude at-risk students from what is viewed as the most effective educational means to promote bilingual competence, given such global realities?

(Genesee 2007a, p.657)

Moreover, in several studies, children learning in their L3 have been shown to outperform their peers in immersion programmes (Orpwood 1980, cited by Cummins 1983), and pupils with language-learning difficulties have been seen to actively benefit from immersion in comparison to their mainstream counterparts (Bruck 1978), in particular where immersion begins at a young age (Genesee 2007a).

Bruck (1985b), in her study of patterns of attrition in immersion programmes among academically low-performing pupils, found that learners who decided to stop immersion study due to academic difficulty were of no lower ability than those who chose to continue. What differed between the two groups was that the 'exit' group had a generally more negative attitude towards school than those who chose to remain, suggesting that the difference may have been a question of motivation rather than ability. Further studies have suggested that rather than transferring pupils experiencing academic difficulty out of bilingual education, or indeed excluding those with learning difficulties from the outset, it would be more beneficial to support their retention in the programme by providing them with appropriate help and support, as would usually be expected in mainstream education (Bruck 1978, 1985a, Cummins 1983, Rousseau 1999, Genesee 2007a, 2007b, MacCoubrey, Wade-Woolley et al. 2007).

Coleman (2006) refers to teachers being glad to teach TTO classes due to "*smaller groups and often brighter students*" (p.37). Although it may sound like a generalisation, this statement may nevertheless contain an element of truth. The majority of TTO streams are selective, admitting pupils on the basis of their performance in national tests (Hollenberg,

Lubbe 2011), language tests and interviews (Huibregtse 2001, Weenink 2005, Eurydice 2006a, 2006b, Verspoor, Edelenbos 2009, Verspoor, Schuitemaker-King et al. 2010). Furthermore, while TTO has existed at pre-university level (VWO) since 1989, documentation first records its employment at higher general level (HAVO) several years later, in 1996 (Koster, Putten 2014). It has only existed in vocational streams (VMBO and MAVO) since 2009 (Verspoor, Schuitemaker-King et al. 2010). As mentioned in Chapter 1, the number of schools offering TTO at less academic levels, while continually growing, remains significantly lower than the number offering t-VWO (Europees Platform 2013).

In spite of this, however, research has shown that there is no reason to suspect that TTO cannot be as effective in the more vocational streams of secondary schooling as in the most academic streams. In fact, it has been demonstrated in relation to both TTO and other forms of bilingual education (Genesee 1976, 2007a, 2007b, Bruck 1978, Nuffield 2000, Denman, Tanner et al. 2013) that bilingual approaches may be even more appropriate for less academic learners (Westhoff 2004), and that TTO is no less suitable for pupils whose first language is not Dutch (Edelenbos, Jong 2004, Denman, Graaff et al. 2014).

Sections 2.1.3 and 2.1.4 have demonstrated through reference to research that TTO, CLIL and other bilingual approaches to education can hold significant educational benefits on a number of different levels. Evidence also suggests, however, a number of practical and social obstacles to the efficacy of such approaches. In the context of the current research into motivation in TTO and among its learners, these potential values and pitfalls helped to inform and mould the development of the research questions and research tools, as well as providing a basis for the interpretation of the research findings. Further inspiration was drawn not from the findings of previous research, but from the selection of research areas and the methods employed. These aspects of the research culture in CLIL, TTO and bilingual education in general will be explored in Section 2.1.5.

2.1.5 Inspiration from previous research: Cultures of inquiry in CLIL and TTO

As the evidence presented above suggests, the growing pedagogical concepts of CLIL and bilingual education have in recent years been popular subjects for research on both political and academic levels (Craen, Mondt et al. 2007). In spite of this, the volume and empirical robustness of research on the subject has not been able to match the expansion of its practice (Pérez Cañado 2011). Before the emergence of the blanket term 'CLIL', much of the bilingual teaching and learning taking place in Europe drew little attention or publicity (Coyle

2007). While immersion has long-since enjoyed exposure in the research world (Cummins 1983), other forms of bilingual education were historically little-known internationally. With the advent of the new terminology and changes in EU policy (Commission of the European Communities 2003), however, came new interest in exploring alternatives to immersion, which it was hoped would be more fitting to a diverse, European context. Early research into CLIL, focused largely on conceptualising the construct, led to a number of studies documenting international variations on bilingual and immersion education, such as those published by Marsh (Marsh, Maljers et al. 2001), Grin (2005) and the EC (Eurydice 2006a). As CLIL approaches have become more widespread, more directed approaches to research have emerged, which have positioned CLIL more securely as an educational concept, and critically evaluated its successes and challenges (Baetens-Beardsmore 2009, Pérez Cañado 2011), as in the examples in the two preceding sections.

Much early CLIL research focused on small-scale evaluations of CLIL initiatives, often based on practitioner inquiry. In contexts where initial CLIL projects have been tentative and experimental, (practitioner) research has more often been used more as a progress-check or an exercise in problem-solving than as a means of publishing generalisable findings (Pérez Cañado 2011). These types of research have addressed a broad range of issues and given rise to calls for more rigorous, larger-scale studies into a wide variety of areas relating to the practical and theoretical implications of integrating content and language (Coyle 2007, Pérez Cañado 2011). More recently, this call appears to have been answered, with the emergence of research communities such as the CLIL Research Network (CLIL ReN) and a growing number of publications dedicated to the sharing of knowledge regarding CLIL practices, process and outcomes.

These varied approaches to CLIL research have been welcomed by the CLIL community, as they not only facilitate dialogue among practitioners and researchers, but have also allowed for the development of theoretical constructs grounded in both theory and practice (Coyle, Hood et al. 2010, Llinares, Morton et al. 2012). The lack of cohesion in Europe with regard to CLIL structures, practices and methodologies, however, have made the generalisation of findings problematic (Lasagabaster 2008) and it is not yet clear whether theoretical research has actually made a contribution to improving and supporting practices in CLIL teaching and learning: a *“sound theoretical model of CLIL teaching”* is still thought to be lacking (Ruiz de Zarobe 2013, p.235). As Pérez Cañado (2011) emphasises, there is still room for the

expansion of CLIL research into new and uncharted areas, and indeed for research in which integrated language and content are approached holistically rather than as two separate components of the bilingual classroom (Leung 2005, Cenoz 2013, Ruiz de Zarobe 2013). It is hoped that the current study might to some extent respond to this call.

Plugging the gap: The focus of CLIL research

While much CLIL research remains concerned with issues of attainment and success in the learning of either the TL, subject matter or the L1 (Baetens-Beardsmore 2009, see Pérez Cañado 2011 for an overview), the research base is beginning to broaden. In particular, CLIL policies and teaching practices have recently received more attention from the growing research community (Dalton-Puffer 2011), as demonstrated by the collection of writings on diverse aspects of CLIL in Europe published in 2007 (Marsh, Wolff 2007). Publications from the last ten years have addressed issues of classroom discourse (Dalton-Puffer 2005), learner attitudes, affect and learning processes (Seikkula-Leino 2007, Lasagabaster, Sierra 2009, Hunt 2011, Coyle 2013), methodology, materials and curriculum development (Moore, Lorenzo 2007, Ting 2007, Lucietto 2008, Loranc-Paszyk 2009), plurilingual CLIL (Ruiz de Zarobe 2007, Lasagabaster, Sierra 2009, Lorenzo, Casal et al. 2010), the role of the learning context (Sylvén 2007), assessment (Morgan 2006, Poisel 2007), CLIL practices in languages other than English (Czura, Papaja 2013), and CLIL in higher education (Nuñez, Dafouz 2007), to name some examples. Recently, Dalton-Puffer and Smit (2013) published a Research Agenda in which they called for the further extension of CLIL research. In particular, they identified the need to address CLIL policy in terms of how existing practices and stakeholder beliefs on a local level might be considered in relation to national and supranational CLIL policies. They also highlighted the need to give more attention to classroom discourse and to existing CLIL pedagogies, including addressing critically *“the apparently uncontested success story of CLIL”* (Dalton-Puffer, Smit 2013, p.552). Motivation in CLIL and bilingual approaches, as will be discussed in Section 2.3.3, is another area that has as yet been given little space on the research agenda, often appearing as a side-line in larger studies, but rarely forming the central focus. The current research aims to some extent to address this gap in the literature, while also taking the critical focus advocated by Dalton-Puffer and her colleagues (2013).

Challenging tradition: Methods in CLIL research

The present study aims to respond to calls (explored in Section 2.2.5) to address the field of language motivation more holistically and using a broader range of methods. In some ways

this reflects more the traditions of CLIL research than of either TTO or motivation research. In addition to a number of teacher-led projects and studies in CLIL, new approaches to CLIL research continue to be explored, partially due to support provided by government funding (Hunt 2011). Many European countries engaged in CLIL offer it, at least in part, in the form of short-term, government-funded projects or pilots, which are later evaluated in terms of their effectiveness or their contribution to teaching and learning (Eurydice 2006a). The results of such projects have contributed to the growing body of CLIL research and to practical guides on effective CLIL provision (e.g. Dale, Es et al. 2011, Dale, Tanner 2012). Dalton-Puffer and Smit (2013), in their proposed research agenda for CLIL, promote the active engagement of teachers in research and emphasise the importance of considering CLIL within local as well as broader contexts. An example of creative practice which has had particular influence on the design of the current study is the ITALIC project (Coyle 2011, 2013), in which pupils and teachers in the UK worked together with university researchers to determine what effective learning meant to them in their own CLIL contexts. Innovative and interactive projects such as this one may not only help to provide new insights for the broader CLIL community, but also to directly benefit learners and teachers as both a learning tool and a means of constructive evaluation (Grundy 1998, Bland, Atweh 2007).

TTO research...so far

It has been said that the Netherlands has been home to *“some of the most empirically solid studies into [CLIL] to date in Europe”* (Pérez Cañado 2011, p.9). In spite of this, research into TTO in the Netherlands is as yet relatively sparse, although the appointment of the country’s first Professor of TTO in 2012 (Graaff, Wilgenburg in press) suggests that it may be set to increase. In 2010, one of the most extensive research projects on the ‘design and performance’ of TTO to date was published (Verspoor, Schuitemaker-King et al. 2010), in which six Master’s theses and one PhD thesis, albeit not all exclusively focusing on TTO, are cited as integral to the research, suggesting growing interest in the field. Furthermore, there are currently a minimum of five PhD projects underway in the Netherlands in relation to CLIL and/or TTO, including the study at the heart of this thesis.

Much of the research into TTO to date has focused, like early CLIL research, on the questions of attainment and influence on other subject areas (Huibregtse 2001, Verspoor, Edelenbos 2009, Verspoor, Schuitemaker-King et al. 2010), although there have also been studies conducted into the effectiveness of TTO teaching (Huibregtse 2001, Klaassen 2001),

and regarding teacher professional development tools (Graaff, Koopman et al. 2007) and issues pertinent to providing appropriate teacher training (Koopman, Skeet et al. 2014). There has, as yet, been little research into the long-term effects of TTO on language, subject, (inter)cultural or cognitive development (Edelenbos, Jong 2004). Furthermore, very little (if any) research has been published with regard to TTO where the TL is not English (Admiraal, Westhoff et al. 2006).

As addressed in the design and goals of the current study, a weakness identified in much TTO research lies in the determining of whether differences in performance and attitude in TTO when compared to NTO are caused entirely by the education type, or in part by the characteristics of pupils who choose (and, often, are selected) to follow TTO instead of entering an NTO stream (Oonk 2009, Verspoor, Schuitemaker-King et al. 2010). It is for this reason that some studies in TTO contexts have taken comparator samples not only from NTO streams within the same schools as the TTO pupils, but also from schools where TTO is not offered, so as to draw more reliable conclusions (e.g. Verspoor, Edelenbos 2009, Verspoor, Schuitemaker-King et al. 2010). This has been proven to be an important consideration, for example in Verspoor and Edelenbos's (2009) observation that, while TTO pupils' approach to writing was more successful than that of NTO pupils in the same schools, when compared only to a comparator group from a school where TTO was not an option, the difference was not significant (Verspoor, Edelenbos 2009). An alternative approach to avoiding this issue has been addressed in the ongoing PhD research of Jenny Denman, who began her longitudinal study of language proficiency and attitudes in t-VMBO by taking a 0-measurement as learners entered secondary school (Denman, Graaff et al. 2014).

Unlike CLIL research, published studies of TTO have been largely conducted using traditional methods, with less emphasis on practitioner (action) or inclusive approaches. The present study, conducted by a practising teacher, involving collaboration with learners and taking an interpretivist standpoint, challenges these traditions somewhat (see Chapter 3 for further consideration of the research methodology).

2.1.6 New directions: Focusing on the learner's role in bilingual schooling

By means of contextualising the current study in terms of the educational paradigm at its heart, Section 2.1 has presented an overview of some of the most prominent variants of bilingual education. In particular, attention has been given to immersion, in its role as one of the first formalised and documented forms of additive bilingual education; to CLIL, as a

practical and theoretical basis for bilingual forms of teaching and learning; and to TTO, which is the one of the more developed institutionalised and researched forms of bilingual education in Europe (Eurydice 2006b, Pérez Cañado 2011). Some of the pedagogical and theoretical conflicts between these approaches to bilingual education have been explored, in particular with regard to the respective roles of language and content. Moreover, a number of the advantages and risks involved in teaching and learning through more than one language have been discussed.

Finally, it has been noted that the growing bodies of research into CLIL and TTO have been largely focused on the examination and evaluation of results and of pupil performance, and less on the experience of the learner. It has been apparent in a number of these studies (e.g. Nuffield 2000, Pica 2002, Eurydice 2006a, Genesee 2007b, Lasagabaster 2008, Mearns 2012) that bilingual approaches can be beneficial to the acquisition of an L2, and to the general cognitive development of learners. There has also been limited evidence to suggest that learners in bilingual settings can be particularly motivated to learn, which in turn can have positive effects on their attainment and linguistic fluency (e.g. Coonan 2005, Merisuo-Storm 2007, Seikkula-Leino 2007, Lasagabaster, Sierra 2009, Mearns 2012, Svenhard 2012). What has not been clear from these findings, however, in particular in the context of TTO in the Netherlands, is where this increased motivation comes from. It may be a consequence of the educational setting or it may be a feature brought to the bilingual classroom by particularly able, enthusiastic or ambitious learners. In a context such the Netherlands, in which bilingual programmes are generally selective, this question is all the more relevant, and will form the focus of the current research study. Before addressing this issue in more detail, however, it is important to understand the concept of motivation in a language learning context and how theories of motivation have influenced the current research. This will be addressed in Section 2.2.

2.2 Motivation in Language Learning

Motivation is widely considered by both researchers and teachers as a major contributor to language learning success (Jordan 1941, Dörnyei 1994a, 2001, Dörnyei, Csizér 1998, Tschannen-Moran, Hoy 2001, Guilloteaux, Dörnyei 2008). Attitudes and motivation have been mentioned to varying degrees in studies of bilingual education and CLIL (e.g. Nuffield 2000, e.g. Coonan 2005, Merisuo-Storm 2007, Seikkula-Leino 2007, Lasagabaster, Sierra 2009, Mearns 2012) as a potential contributor to the success of the approaches, although

research focusing specifically on the nature of motivation in CLIL settings has thus far been limited. In the current study, the individual learner and the learning context form the central focus, with particular attention to the motivational impact of the TTO learning context and to the individual motivations of learners who opt in or out of bilingual programmes. The nature and direction of the relationship between learner motivation and bilingual approaches to education will be explored in theoretical terms in Section 2.3. Together, the first three sections of this literature review will form the basis of the research questions presented in Section 2.5. The role of Section 2.2 is therefore to present an overview of motivation theory in language learning, in terms of the range of theories and frameworks that has developed since the mid-twentieth century.

2.2.1 Language motivation: A distinct field of research and practice?

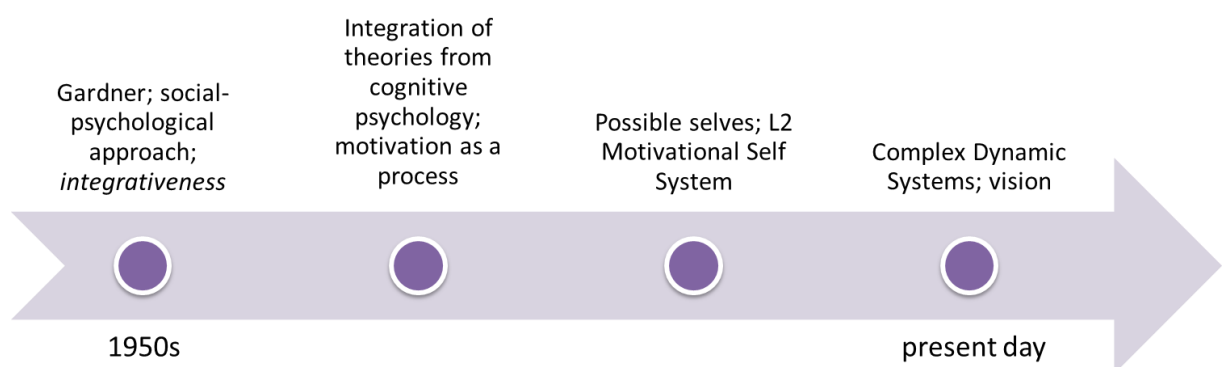
As will be made apparent in the sections that follow, while language motivation is a field of research and practice in itself, influences from mainstream psychology play a prominent role in many of its theories. This might blur somewhat the distinction between motivation to learn a language and learning motivation in general. In TTO and CLIL, the intention is that language learning and content learning be integrated with one another (Coyle, Hood et al. 2010). This implies that language learning will take place at all times during lessons in the TL. It follows, therefore, that not only explicit elements of language learning such as vocabulary acquisition will play a role in the bilingual classroom, but that affective factors such as motivation will also be influenced by the constant presence of language learning, even where subject content is the central focus of the lesson. It is for this reason that the current study, while concerned with learner motivation in a general sense, focuses specifically on theories of language learning motivation.

Learning a language is a multi-faceted task (Gardner 2001, Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). It involves mastery of new skills, but it also requires the acquisition of new patterns of thinking and communication, and the acknowledgement and even adoption of cultural traits different to our own. It also involves empathising with those culturally and experientially different to ourselves (Williams, Burden 1997, Dörnyei 1998, Gardner 2001). Motivating oneself to learn a language therefore appears to involve a number of variables that might not be taken into consideration in other areas of motivation research (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). It is not surprising, therefore, that models of language learning motivation are eclectic and continually evolving (Dörnyei 1998). In spite of this, before the late twentieth century,

there was little overlap between research into motivation in general and research into motivation to learn a second or foreign language. While this discrepancy was somewhat righted in the latter part of last century, it is still widely believed that language learning is a process so different to the learning of most other skills and subjects that it carries with it its own motivational phenomena (Dörnyei 1998). A number of different language learning motivation theories, models and frameworks have developed and grown since the mid-twentieth century, and more continue to appear today (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011).

The design and interpretation of findings in the current study of motivation in TTO relate to a number of different motivational theories, ranging from the earliest to some of the most recent. Some are unique to the language learning context, although most have origins in cognitive or social psychology. In order to provide the reader with a basic knowledge of the motivational theories that have formed the basis of the current research design, Sections 2.2.2 to 2.2.4 will provide an overview of the development of this field as demonstrated in Figure 2.4.

Figure 2.4 Timeline of language motivation theory.



Due to the complexity and breadth of the subject matter in hand, this review will focus only on those theories of language learning motivation which are deemed most relevant to the current research. It will begin in Section 2.2.2 by exploring the work of Gardner and his contemporaries on integrativeness. In the same section, the thinking and discussion behind the move away from Gardnerian theory will then be considered, with particular attention to mainstream psychological theories brought into the field. In Sections 2.2.3-2.2.5, more recent thinking on motivation will be explored.

2.2.2 Early theories: From *integrativeness* to cognitive psychology

Motivation in language learning was first widely acknowledged as a discipline in its own right through the work of Gardner and his colleagues from the late 1950s onwards. Their thinking dominated the field until the 1980s, when theorists began to identify its limitations and turned to mainstream cognitive psychology for alternatives. Section 2.2.2 will begin by addressing a number of the main concepts behind the social-psychological theories of Gardner and his contemporaries. In particular the concepts of integrativeness and the integrative motive, which feature prominently in the design and interpretation of the current study, will be addressed. Subsequently, the move away from these theories will be described, and a number of relevant concepts from cognitive psychology placed in the context of language learning motivation theory.

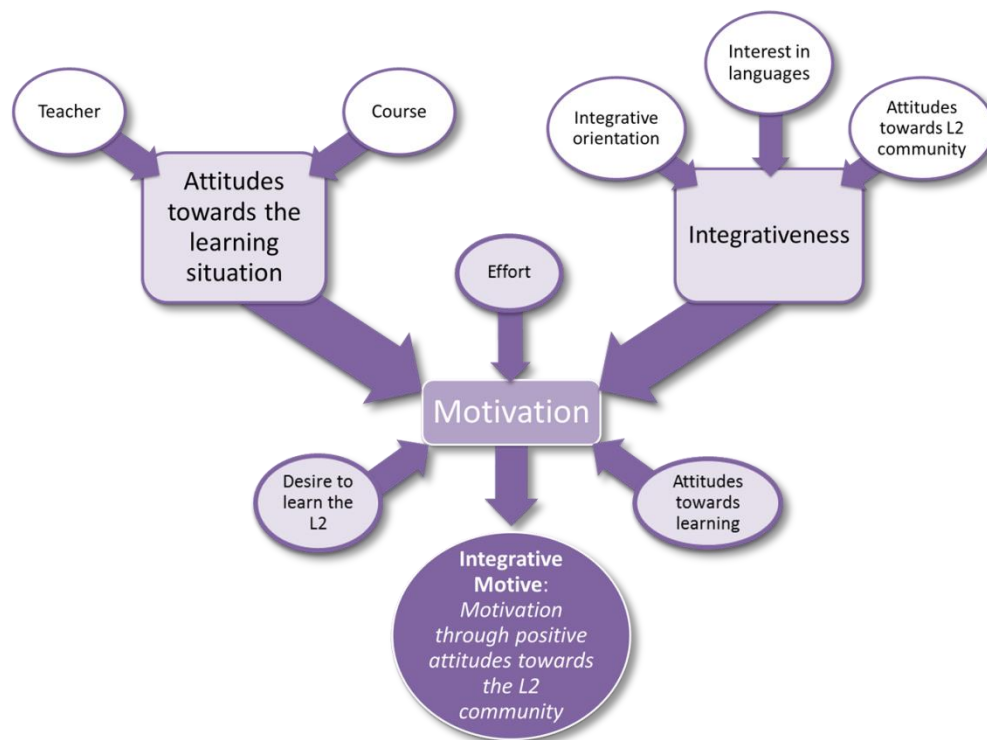
Gardner and integrativeness

Although now more than half a century old, Gardner's "*pioneering*" work on the role of affect in language learning from the late 1950s and early 1960s (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011, p.40) continues to be drawn upon in language motivation research. The current study is no exception. Gardner and Lambert's seminal work (Gardner, Lambert 1972) addressed L2 motivation as a unique and separate branch of motivation research, and was drawn from studies into the attitudes, orientations and motivation of language learners in Canada (Gardner, Lambert 1959, Lambert, Gardner et al. 1963, Gardner 2001). The central idea behind their work was that attitudes and motivation regarding the learning of a second or foreign language are either born from the desire to achieve a utilitarian goal or are linked with attitudes towards the target language (TL) community.

Within Gardner and his colleagues' social-psychological framework (Gardner, Lambert 1972), attitudes towards language learning can be divided under two broad descriptors: Integrative Orientation and Instrumental Orientation. The latter of these can be roughly equated with what mainstream psychology and later L2 motivation theorists refer to as 'extrinsic' motivators, namely external goals or incentives to learn a language (Deci, Ryan 1985, Noels, Pelletier et al. 2000, Noels 2001). Typical examples of this might be an increase in pay, a reward or improved employment prospects. Integrative orientation relates to positive attitudes towards the TL community and a desire to become more like members of that community through learning the language. Both of these 'orientations', Gardner claimed, can be antecedents to motivation: instrumental orientation in that it provides

concrete, utilitarian goals, and integrative orientation in its complex contribution to the ‘integrative motive’ shown in Figure 2.5 (Gardner, Lambert 1959, Gardner, Lambert 1972, Gardner 1985).

Figure 2.5 The integrative motive (Gardner and Lambert 1959, 1972, 1985).



(adapted from Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011)

In the integrative motive, ‘motivation’ is made up of three main elements: *Desire*, *Effort* and *Attitudes towards learning*. These are prerequisites for the learner to be motivated at all, but do not tell us anything about the nature of his or her orientation, i.e. whether it is driven by pragmatic goals or by interest in and engagement with the TL culture. The orientation towards which the motivation is directed is driven by two other major components: *Attitudes towards the learning situation* and *Integrativeness*. The former of these emphasises the role of the learning context in influencing motivation and orientation. The latter is concerned with the extent to which the learner feels positively towards the target language community and towards the learning of languages in general. This is, in Gardner’s (1972) view, key to determining whether the motivation may be drawn from an integrative motive.

As Gardner (2001) is keen to emphasise, it is equally possible for learners to be motivated through an instrumental as an integrative orientation. That motivation may simply be of a

different quality and possibly intensity, depending on the learning context (Williams, Burden 1997). Evidence from studies conducted by Gardner and his colleagues in the context of English Canadian and American learners of French suggested the predominance of the integrative motive in determining both drive to learn and levels of success (e.g. Gardner, Lambert 1959, Lambert, Gardner et al. 1963). Studies outside of North America, however, have shown that, in some contexts, instrumental orientation can be equally contributory to high success levels in, for example, the learning of English as a foreign (rather than a second) language (Gardner, Santos 1970, Clément, Gardner et al. 1977).

A number of colleagues and contemporaries of Gardner added to and expanded the bilateral framework of instrumental and integrative orientation. Clément, for example, added to the framework the concept of ‘linguistic self-confidence’, often associated with increased exposure to the L2 (Clément, Gardner et al. 1977) or with past success as in the self-efficacy (Bandura 1993, Bandura 2001), self-worth (Covington 1992), achievement motivation (Atkinson, Raynor 1974) and attribution theories (Weiner 2007) of mainstream psychology. Lambert and his associates (Lambert, Gardner et al. 1963, Clément 1986) emphasised the significance of the learner’s own linguistic heritage and cultural identity as contributors to both the integrative motive and instrumental orientation, as can also be seen in the intergroup model introduced by Giles and Byrne (1982, see also Hall, Gudykunst 1986). Modifications such as those described above did not attempt to displace the concept of integrativeness, but to strengthen and develop it while still maintaining the integrity of the original model (Macintyre, Mackinnon et al. 2009a, Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011), which maintained its dominance for some thirty years (Dörnyei 1994b, Oxford, Shearin 1994).

The integrative motive’s acknowledgement of learner attitudes to both the language and the learning situation appear particularly appropriate to the TTO context. Here, these two elements are inextricably linked not only in language lessons, but in the broader learning environment. That said, there are more recent theories and models of motivation that contain elements not prominent in Gardner’s work, yet which appear equally relevant. While integrativeness and the integrative motive feature prominently in the present research, therefore, as in the studies mentioned above, their role is complemented by influences from more recent motivational concepts. A number of these concepts, drawn from cognitive psychology, will be explored below.

Moves away from integrativeness

In the late 1980s, new perspectives on language motivation began to develop (Dörnyei 1994b, Oxford, Shearin 1994). By the mid-1990s, this had led to an animated debate among academics and to a call to “[reopen] the research agenda” on language learning motivation (Crookes, Schmidt 1991). The call for new ideas was welcomed by the research community, which had begun to identify limitations in Gardner’s models (Skehan 1989, Crookes, Schmidt 1991, Dörnyei 1994b). One observation was that, while integrativeness appeared to be an effective framework for research in bilingual Canada, it was less applicable to other language learning contexts, in particular in situations where learners would have little or no contact with TL communities and cultures (Lamb 2004, Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). This has since developed into the view that, with the growth of English as a ‘global language’, integrativeness can play a smaller role in motivating learners, in that the TL community is less clearly-defined than previously (Lamb 2004, Coetzee-Van Rooy 2006, Ushioda 2006).

While concerns about its applicability to other learning contexts have been raised since the early days of integrativeness (Lambert, Gardner et al. 1963, Clément, Gardner et al. 1977), Gardner maintains the view that these concerns are unfounded. He has expressed the opinion that much of the criticism of the concept of integrativeness is based on underestimation of the breadth of the term and misinterpretation of the relationship between integrative and instrumental orientation (Gardner 2001). As Williams and Burden (1997) highlight, Gardner has never claimed that integrativeness leads to a superior form of motivation, but simply that different learners in different situations have different attitudes towards and reasons for learning a language (Gardner, Santos 1970, Clément 1986). This reflects the more context-bound views of motivation that have since taken on a more prominent position in L2 motivational thinking (Ushioda 2009a, 2011). As Gardner has remarked, it could be said that learners of an L2, to which they have ready and regular access in a natural setting, are more likely to be integratively oriented, while FL learners, who are further removed from the TL community, might display a higher degree of instrumentality (Gardner 2001). This could also go some way to appeasing critics from a global English perspective, in that it acknowledges instrumentality as an equally valid motivator in an FL context. An alternative view, adopted in the design and interpretation of the current study, suggests that there is a TL community for global English, namely the international, cosmopolitan community which L2 English speakers might hope to join (Ushioda 2006). In this sense, integrativeness might apply just as it does in a bilingual setting.

A second concern raised about Gardner's work is that it is largely theoretical, offering little concrete advice to teachers as to how to nurture motivation in their pupils (Oxford, Shearin 1994, Dörnyei 1994b, 1998). Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) state that, *"until the mid-1990s there had been no serious attempts in the L2 literature to design motivational strategies for classroom application"* (p.105). As Gardner has remarked, clinical social psychologists are primarily concerned with the functioning and direction of motivation, and less with its origins (Gardner 1985, Oxford, Shearin 1994), while educationalists are concerned with the question of how motivation can be stimulated and nurtured in language learners. Furthermore, Dörnyei (1994b) and Oxford and Shearin (1994) question the communicability of the socio-educational model to classroom teachers, as they believe that neither the terminology nor the breadth of the integrative-instrumental dichotomy would relate to their professional experience. It should be noted here, however, that reminiscent of Krashen's Acquisition-Learning Hypothesis (Krashen 1981), Gardner (2001) draws a clear distinction between 'learning' a language and 'studying' a language. In his view, 'learning' a language implies *"the development of near native like facility"* (p.11), not necessarily in a classroom setting. Achieving this level of competence, he says, can take more time than that available to teachers and learners at schools and universities, and will likely be more difficult for FL learners than for L2 learners.

The third major criticism regarding the social-psychological models was their failure to take into account developments in mainstream educational psychology (Oxford, Shearin 1994). As mentioned earlier, the singularity of the process of learning a new language has meant that motivation in the field of applied linguistics has been a largely independent area for research (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). During the language motivation 'revolution' of the 1990s, however, it was suggested that there may be more to motivation than what can be subsumed by a bilateral construct such as that of integrativeness and instrumentality (e.g. Crookes, Schmidt 1991, Oxford, Shearin 1994). This sparked the formulation of a number of new frameworks, in the search for *"a more pragmatic, education-centred approach to motivation research"* (Dörnyei 1994a, p.273), for which researchers looked to mainstream cognitive psychology for inspiration. A number of these frameworks, and their psychological origins, are explored below.

Integrating theories from cognitive psychology

While in many ways having grown out of the socio-educational model, the frameworks of language learning motivation that developed around the turn of the century also emphasise the relevance of motivational theories from other branches of psychology. In particular, they reflect elements of expectancy-value theories, goal theories and self-determination theories, as well as of the increasing consideration given to autonomy and learning context as contributors to (language) learning motivation. Those L2 motivational frameworks from that period which are most pertinent to the current study are described in Table 2.2, while the cognitive theories that influenced them, and the relationship of those theories to language learning, are described in Table 2.3. Autonomy and context will be discussed separately, as will the concepts of collective self-esteem and state and trait motivation.

Table 2.2 Summary of L2 motivational frameworks from the cognitive-situated and process-oriented periods.

Framework	Structure	
Crookes & Schmidt (1991)	4 components drawing on theories from cognitive psychology: 1. Satisfaction/Outcomes (intrinsic rewards, e.g. satisfaction, pride; extrinsic rewards, e.g. praise, attainment) 2. Relevance (personal needs, values, goals; instrumentality; learning environment) 3. Expectancy (self-confidence/self-efficacy; effort; presentation of task; guidance; perceived task difficulty; familiarity with task type) 4. Interest (curiosity; intrinsic motivation)	
Three-Level Framework (Dörnyei 1994a, 1998)	3 levels of motivation: 1. Language level (integrative and instrumental orientations) 2. Learner level (the learner's introspective attitudes and values, e.g. personal need for achievement, self-confidence, levels of anxiety) 3. Learning situation level (context, e.g. the learner's experience of the course, the teacher, the learning group)	
Tremblay and Gardner (1995)	A causal framework based on the earlier work of Gardner and his colleagues (Gardner, Lambert 1972, Gardner 1985), incorporating: - Language Attitudes - Goal Salience, Valence and Self-efficacy - Motivational Behaviour The dominance of the TL and causal attributions also play a role.	
Williams and Burden (1997)	Internal Factors: - Intrinsic interest, curiosity and challenge - Perceived value; relevance of activity and outcomes (intrinsic/extrinsic) - Sense of agency and control, including causality and ability to set goals - Sense of competence, progress and self-efficacy (mastery) - Self-concept, perception of self-worth, learned helplessness, and understanding of success and failure - Attitudes to (language) learning, the TL and its community and culture - Affective states such as confidence, anxiety and fear - Age and maturity - Gender	External Factors: - Parents, teachers and peers (significant others) - Interaction with others, including learning experiences, feedback, rewards, praise and sanctions - Learning environment, including comfort, resources, timing, learning group and ethos - Broader contextual factors, such as extended family, institutions, society and culture
Process Model of L2 Motivation (Dörnyei, Ottó 1998)	Addressed motivation as an ongoing process, not only an initial impetus to action, dividing the motivational process into 3 phases: • Preactional (ideas become concrete goals, which in turn become intentions) • Actional (intentions are translated into actions, which are constantly appraised and monitored) • Postactional (the action is either successful or unsuccessful, and is either evaluated in terms of outcomes and process) During each phase, motivational influences work to maintain levels of motivation. These influences differ as the individual progresses through the Action Sequence.	

Table 2.3 Summary of Expectancy-Value, Goal and Self-Determination theories with reference to frameworks of language learning motivation.

Concept	Theory	Premise	Relevance to L2 motivation theories
Expectancy-value theories	Achievement Motivation (Atkinson, Raynor 1974)	- Motivation is determined by both incentives and deterrents - Positive and negative motivators complement and strengthen one another - Expectancy and value are of equal importance - Values can be grouped into 4 categories (Wigfield, Eccles 2002): • Attainment value (importance of success and the self-concept) • Intrinsic value (enjoyment) • Utility value (instrumental benefits) • Cost (sacrifices required)	- Integrative and instrumental orientations (Gardner 1985), and the work which followed them (Tremblay, Gardner 1995) - Social constructivist model: self-concept (Williams, Burden 1997) - Interest as a motivational conglomerate (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011)
	Self-Efficacy Theory (Bandura 2001)	- Motivation is influenced by one's confidence in one's ability to complete a given task - Levels of self-efficacy can influence the decision to attempt a task, or persistence in completing it - Based on a combination of internal and external factors, including input from others	- Satisfaction and Expectancy (Crookes, Schmidt 1991) - Self-efficacy (Tremblay, Gardner 1995) - Three-level framework: learner level (Dörnyei 1994a) - L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei 2009c)
	Self-Worth Theory (Covington 1992)	- Overlaps with Self-Efficacy Theory, but more focused on outcomes than initial drivers - Stresses the individual's need to maintain his or her confidence and self-esteem - Activities that pose a risk to self-worth might be avoided	
	Attribution Theory (Weiner 1986, 1992a, 2007)	- Individuals base their perception of the likelihood of success on past experiences of success or failure, and of the reasons for those outcomes - The foremost attributions encountered in Western contexts are ability and effort (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011): Effort is the stronger motivator as it is seen by the learner as controllable (Child 1994) - Motivation is strongly linked to the desire to achieve or avoid particular emotions (pride, guilt, etc.) - Attributions can also be made by significant others (e.g. teachers)	- Task difficulty (Crookes, Schmidt 1991) - Three-level framework: causal attributions (Dörnyei 1994a) - Social constructivist model: locus of causality (Williams, Burden 1997) - Future self-guides: Perceived plausibility of becoming the future self (Dörnyei 2009c, Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011)

Table 2.3 Summary of Expectancy-Value, Goal and Self-Determination theories with reference to frameworks of language learning motivation. (cont.)

Goal theories	Goal Orientation Theory (Ames 1992)	- Two types of goals: mastery and performance • Mastery orientation: motivation through the act of learning and broadening one's knowledge in itself • Performance orientation: learning as a means of achieving an instrumental goal or of competing with others - Some view mastery and performance goals as a dichotomy, while others believe they co-exist - Some theorists believe that each one has a push and a pull mechanism (Linnenbrink, Pintrich 2001, Linnenbrink 2005)	- Goal specificity and goal frequency (Tremblay, Gardner 1995) - Satisfaction and outcomes (Crookes, Schmidt 1991) - Three-level framework: need for achievement, learning situation, integrative and instrumental orientations (Dörnyei 1994a) - Social constructivist model: intrinsic value (Williams, Burden 1997)
	Goal-Setting Theory (Locke, Latham 1990)	- Concentrates on the distinction between distal and proximal goals: • Distal goals can be too vague and distant to motivate learners • Shorter-term proximal goals give the learner more immediate and achievable ambitions and benchmarks against which to recognise progress towards distal goals - The clearer and more challenging the proximal goal, the more rewarding the outcome (Locke 1996)	- Goal specificity and goal frequency (Tremblay, Gardner 1995) - Outcomes and relevance (Crookes, Schmidt 1991) - Three-level framework: need for achievement, learning situation, integrative and instrumental orientations (Dörnyei 1994a) - Social constructivist model: intrinsic value (Williams, Burden 1997) - Future self-guides: Procedural strategies (Dörnyei 2009c, Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011)
Self-determination theory (Deci, Ryan 1985, 2002)		- Three types of motivation: • Intrinsic motivation (IM): where a task is enjoyable in itself • Extrinsic motivation (EM): where completion of a task is related to an instrumental goal • Amotivation (AM): where there is no motivation of any type - IM and EM do not necessarily work against one another, but can support each other. - EM is on a continuum of internalisation, which can co-exist with and sometimes even support intrinsic motivation. - Taxonomy of three different IMs (Vallerand 1997): • IM-Knowledge: from the pleasure of discovery and gaining new knowledge • IM-Accomplishment: from striving towards a goal or the mastery of a challenging task • IM-Stimulation: from enjoyment of the task itself - EM sometimes needed to support IM (Noels, Pelletier et al. 2000).	- Instrumental and integrative orientations (Gardner 1985, Gardner, Lambert 1972, Tremblay, Gardner 1995) - IM mentioned across a range of cognitive-situated and process-oriented models (Crookes, Schmidt 1991, Dörnyei 1994a, Dörnyei, Ottó 1998, Tremblay, Gardner 1995, Williams, Burden 1997) - EM found in the three-level framework: instrumental motives (Dörnyei 1994a); also in goal-setting (Vallerand 1997)

Autonomy and Motivation

Autonomy is an area of language learning and language motivation that is particularly relevant in the context of the current study. It is an aspect of bilingual education – and especially of CLIL – that is considered to be both notably challenging (Coyle, Hood et al. 2010) and specifically motivating (Gajo, Serra 2002, Baetens-Beardsmore 2009) to learners. Connections between autonomy and motivation in language learning were first addressed in detail in Dickinson's (1995) review of the overlap between the concepts. This review was conducted not in terms of L2 motivation, but in terms of learning motivation in a more general sense. As Dickinson claimed, the field of L2 motivation had, until that time, remained so dominated by the socio-educational model that there was too little alternative literature to draw upon from within the field.

Dickinson (1995) defines autonomy in learning as, *“a capacity for critical reflection and decision making, as well as the skills necessary to carry out a self-directed learning programme”* and *“an attitude towards learning in which the learner is prepared to take, or does take, responsibility for his own learning”* (p.167). He highlights the overlaps between this concept and both attribution theory and self-determination theory. In relation to attribution theory, the sense of control over his or her own success and failure can influence or be influenced by the learner's level of autonomy. A learner who constantly attributes his or her own failure (or, indeed, success) to circumstances beyond his or her control, such as the teacher, the learning situation, the behaviour of peers, or even his or her own innate ability, displays little autonomy and is unlikely to be motivated (Child 1994). In the context of self-determination, Dickinson cites Deci and Ryan's (1985) claim that intrinsic motivation is strongest in situations where the learner is given the space and support needed to be autonomous in his or her own learning. In this sense, autonomy can be closely linked to agency, which Sealey and Carter (2004) define in language learning terms as *“an acknowledgement that people have some degree of choice over what they do, including how they speak”* (p.113).

Autonomy and agency feature prominently in the models of L2 motivation featured in Table 2.2. In Dörnyei's three-level framework, they are reflected at both the learner level and the learning situation level, in particular with reference to the teacher's promotion of either autonomous or controlled learning (Dörnyei 1994a). In William's and Burden's model, they can be identified in different forms as both an internal and an external factor,

depending on whether the autonomy is an innate characteristic of the learner or is nurtured by the teaching and learning environment (Williams, Burden 1997). Meanwhile, in Dörnyei and Ottó's process-model, they are present in the constant monitoring of the actional process (Dörnyei, Ottó 1998).

Context and Motivation

As the current study is concerned with the relationship between motivation and a particular educational model, context is an important consideration. A common thread running through many of the cognitive psychological theories that have influenced L2 motivation frameworks since the 1980s, however, was that they approached the learner from a largely individualistic perspective (Ushioda 2009a). Expectancy-value theories are based on the learner's own interpretation of the task at hand and his or her ability to achieve it (Atkinson, Raynor 1974, Weiner 1986, 1992a, 2007, Covington 1992, Bandura 1993, 2001). Goal theories relate to personal goals and how the individual formulates and responds to them (Locke, Latham 1990, Ames 1992, Locke 1996). Self-determination, while taking extrinsic rewards into account, is largely concerned with the inward processing of those influences, and not with the context or society from which they arise (Deci, Ryan 1985, 2002, Vallerand, Ratelle 2002). Given the SLA community's increasing rejection of Gardner's theories on the basis of contextual narrowness, it follows that the SLA theories that arose during the period of 'revolution' in the 1990s adapted these cognitive theories to take a more societal standpoint on motivation. As Dörnyei (1998) commented, *"the exact nature of the social and pragmatic dimensions of L2 motivation is always dependent on who learns what languages where"* (p.275).

The importance of context can be seen in all five of the SLA motivational models described in Table 2.2, and in the literature surrounding and reviewing them (e.g. Skehan 1991, Dörnyei 1998). In Crookes and Schmidt's (1991) model, the learning environment is mentioned explicitly as a determiner of relevance, as are presentation of tasks, guidance, and familiarity with the task type as contributors to the learner's expectations. In Dörnyei's three-level framework (Dörnyei 1994a), one third of the model is concerned with the learning situation, including the course, the teacher and the learning group, and its impact on the learner's development of other motivational traits, such as goal-setting. In Williams and Burden's model (Williams, Burden 1997), the external factors are all intrinsically linked to the learning context, ranging from the classroom level to society as a whole. In the

Process Model (Dörnyei, Ottó 1998), environmental stimuli, opportunities, external demands, interferences and obstacles, and the quality of the learning experience all feature as motivational influences. Furthermore, Dickinson's (1995) work on autonomy and Noels et al.'s (2000) research on self-determination in language learning emphasise the importance of learning in a social context that nurtures independence and self-regulation, and that shows the relevance of the task at hand, if motivation is to be effective.

Collective self-esteem

While self-efficacy, self-worth and self-confidence are prominent aspects of all of the motivational theories illustrated in Table 2.2, none of those theories directly mentions the role of the learner's self-concept when he or she considers him or herself as part of a larger social group. According to Mills (2014), collective self-esteem (Luhtanen, Crocker 1992) denotes the contribution that belonging to a particular ethnic, gender, class or any other group makes to one's individual self-concept. Based on Tajfel and Turner's (1979) Social Identity Theory, collective self-esteem suggests that where the group enjoys a higher social status or is viewed as possessing positive characteristics, individual members tend to internalise that positivity as part of their own self-concept (Luhtanen, Crocker 1992). Mills (2014) recommends that teaching and learning tasks that provide opportunities for performance to be strengthened through collaboration can encourage higher collective and, in turn, individual self-esteem. As a result, it follows from the examples in Table 2.2 that motivation might also be influenced positively (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2009). This might particularly be the case in contexts such as schools offering TTO, where groups of learners may already be divided by notions of social status (see Section 2.1.4).

State and trait motivation

A contributor to the cognitive-situated period not mentioned in Table 2.2 and Table 2.3, yet particularly relevant to the current research, is Julkunen. Drawing on the mainstream psychological work of Boekaerts (1987a, 1987b), Julkunen's (1989, 2001) work on task motivation attempted to approach motivation from two distinct angles. *Trait* motivation referred to the learner's general motivational disposition, while *state* motivation denoted motivation that is specific to a particular situation. Julkunen emphasised that motivation in learning had until then largely been researched as a personality trait. Viewing motivation instead as a changeable state of being would imply that it can not only change from within the learner, but can be influenced by external factors. Important to Julkunen was that both

the broader context of learning and specific learning tasks could influence state motivation. Trait motivation, he argued, could also change, for example as the result of the learner's evaluation of his or her performance in a previous task, as in Attribution Theory.

A number of aspects of state and trait motivation have remained relevant to language motivation research, as the field has moved towards the concept that motivation is more than a stationary framework or a cyclical process, but a complex system of inter- and intrapersonal interactions and influences. These views are reflected in the theories of Ushioda (2009a) and Dörnyei (2009c, Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011), as will be addressed in Sections 2.2.3 and 2.2.4. In terms of bilingual education, Julkunen's theories are of particular relevance. They highlight the combined importance of the learning context and learner characteristics in influencing motivation, as well as the influence that these features can have on one another. In the current study, the research questions regarding the origins and direction of motivation in bilingual education, as presented in Section 2.5, to some extent address the 'state' and 'trait' dichotomy, querying whether increased motivation is a result or a prerequisite of the learning context.

2.2.3 A change of direction: Identity and future selves

In bilingual contexts such as TTO, in which language learning permeates the school experience, identity and the self-image could play a vital role. As has been shown already in relation to previous theories, the self-concept of learners, whether in the form of self-confidence (Clément, Dörnyei et al. 1994), anxiety (Macintyre, Gardner 1991), self-efficacy (Bandura 2001), self-worth (Covington 1992), collective self-esteem (Mercer, Williams 2014), causal attributions (Weiner 2007) or integrativeness (Gardner 1985), features recurrently in language learning literature. Some personality researchers even claim that one's personality and identity change according to the language he or she is speaking (Guiora, Acton 1979), so it follows that L2 motivation might also be connected to one's identity (Csizér, Kormos 2009). This has been reflected in recent years in the growing emphasis on identity and visions of self in language learning motivation.

The first approach to vision and identity in language motivation to emerge on a large scale was Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei 2009c). Although now enveloped somewhat in a theoretical sense by Dörnyei's more recent work (e.g. Hadfield, Dörnyei 2013, Dörnyei, Kubanyiova 2014), the L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) appears to have been received enthusiastically by the language motivation community, which has continued to

produce studies in which it is a prominent feature (e.g. Henry 2010, Papi 2010, Ghapanchi, Khajavy et al. 2011, Kormos, Kiddle et al. 2011, Yang 2011, Sampson 2012). As recently as 2013 it was referred to as being “*at the forefront of motivational innovation*” (Muir, Dörnyei 2013, p.357). Based on the premise of self-plurality (James 1890/1950, Rowan, Cooper 1999), the L2MSS approaches the language learner in terms of his or her self-concept and ability to project that self-concept into the future, as well as on external and contextual influences.

The concept of viewing motivation as connected to visions of the future is appealing in the context of TTO research. TTO is an educational model that arose out of parents’ desire for their children to have access to more opportunities through raising their level of English (Koster, Putten 2014). This suggests that visions of the future, either intrinsic to the learner or imposed by Others, might play a significant role in TTO learner motivation. These areas are addressed below, first with regard to the mainstream psychological concepts of possible selves and Self-Discrepancy Theory, and then in terms of the L2MSS itself and its representation thus far in L2 motivation research and practice.

The psychological basis of the L2MSS: Possible selves and Self-Discrepancy Theory

There has long-since existed an understanding in psychology that the individual’s concept of the ‘self’ is not constant and consistent, but consists of multiple facets and configurations (James 1890/1950). Possible selves (Markus, Nurius 1986, 1987) expanded on this idea, specifically in relation to the concept or image that one has of his or her potential future state, and to the influence this has on motivation. This work is complemented by Higgins’s Self-Discrepancy Theory (Higgins 1987, 1996, 1998), which divides the possible self into three categories: the *ideal self*, the *ought self* and the *feared self*. The ideal self is the person that the learner hopes or wishes to become in the future, while the ought self is the person that one perceives that others wish or expect him or her to become. The feared self also acts as a guide, but in the sense of reminding the learner of the future he or she wishes to avoid (Markus, Nurius 1986), much as in the push-pull mechanism of some Goal and Expectancy-Value theories (Atkinson, Raynor 1974, Weiner 1986, 1992a, 2007).

Subsequently to Markus and Nurius’s initial work on possible selves, research showed that the existence of the ideal and ought selves is in itself not sufficient to act as a motivator. An ideal self which the learner views as too distant or unattainable, or an ought self which does not relate to the learner’s own wishes are, it seems, unlikely to motivate effectively

(Dörnyei, Ushioda 2009). Likewise, a learning environment which does not enable learners to envisage and strive towards their ideal and ought selves is viewed as detrimental to the strength of the future self-guides. A number of criteria for effective activation of motivation were therefore proposed, of which Dörnyei identifies six as most important. These six criteria are summarised in Figure 2.6, and will be returned to with regard to the design, findings and implications of the current study.

Figure 2.6 Dörnyei's (2009c) criteria for motivating possible selves.

- 1. Availability of an elaborate and vivid future self-image**
The 'self' whom the learner aspires to become must be clear in his or her mind. The clearer and more developed the image of this future self, the more motivating its effect.
- 2. Perceived plausibility of becoming the future self**
Success already experienced in the learning process and (perceived) task difficulty will affect the learner's view of the likelihood that he or she will eventually become the future self, and therefore his or her motivation. If the future self appears unrealistic, motivation will be lower.
- 3. Harmony between the ideal and ought selves**
Conflict between what the learner wants to become and what he or she feels is expected of him or her will limit motivation.
- 4. Necessary activation/priming**
The idea of the possible self must be planted or awakened, perhaps by a teacher, or through deliberately creating and recalling images of oneself being successful (Gregg, Hall 2006).
- 5. Accompanying procedural strategies**
The motivating power of possible selves is strengthened if there is a clear and tangible route or plan of action to be followed, and if there is sufficient expertise/knowledge present (e.g. in a teacher) to make this plan and its short-term goals plausible.
- 6. Offset by feared self**
If the feared self is in direct opposition to the positive future selves, it will increase motivation.

(based on e.g. Higgins 1987, Carver, Reynolds et al. 1994, Higgins 1996, Dörnyei 2001, Norman, Aron 2003, Miller, Brickman 2004, Hoyle, Sherrill 2006, Oyserman, Bybee et al. 2006, Pizzolato 2006, Macintyre, Mackinnon et al. 2009b)

Integrativeness and possible selves

There are significant commonalities between possible selves and integrativeness (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). As will be apparent in the discussion of the implications of the current research (Chapter 6), such overlaps could cause confusion if not clarified at this stage. The

relationship between these two motivational concepts has been confirmed through studies into the validity of the L2MSS, in which it has been empirically tested, often in relation to its connections with integrativeness. A number of these studies have suggested that a learner who wishes to learn a language in order to build relationships with native speakers of that language (strong integrative orientation), may also have a strong future self-image of him or herself as someone who will have built those relationships and who will have friends from within the TL culture (e.g. Ryan 2008, 2009, Taguchi, Magid et al. 2009). Similar correlations can be seen with Deci and Ryan's (1985) Self-Determination Theory, where intrinsic motivation and the more self-determined forms of extrinsic motivation could be linked to the future self-image, while amotivation and the less internalised forms of extrinsic motivation could be attributed to a lack of a vivid future self-guide (Dörnyei 2009c).

An area where the concepts of integrativeness and possible selves differ, however, is in their relationship to Others. While arguably more internalised than instrumentality, integrativeness nevertheless relates to one's relationship to Others and their community. Possible selves, on the other hand, relate to one's relationship with the self, and is not necessarily drawn on a desire to associate with Others. In fact, possible selves could in some cases be more closely linked to instrumental orientation. If a learner's ideal self is a person with a high salary, and learning a language is a means of becoming that person, the future self could help to motivate him or her as much as if that motivation were more integrative. Similarly, if the ought-to self is expected to attend a bilingual university programme, that instrumental goal may be a positive driver (Dörnyei 2010).

Unlike integrativeness, the notion of possible L2 selves avoids the issue of the sometimes ambiguous concept of the 'TL community' (Ryan 2009) also encountered in the present research. Smith (1983), referring to English as "*an international auxiliary language*" (p.2), emphasises that English in particular is no longer a language over which one particular community can claim ownership, and that he believes that effective learning of and communication in the language is no longer culture-bound. This is a view which has been echoed by a number of others (e.g. Lamb 2004, Coetzee-Van Rooy 2006, Ushioda 2006). Some argue that it is the learner's means of communication of his or her own cultural identity that must be developed in language learning, rather than his or her understanding or even adoption of (aspects of) another culture. As Norton highlights,

when language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers, but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world

(Norton 2000, pp10-11)

According to her, the foreign culture in which the learner is communicating is less important than his or her own cultural identity and sense of self. Integrativeness, which focuses on the target culture rather than the native one, is often said to fall short in this respect (Dörnyei 2010). In contrast, the future L2 self, in its acknowledgement of the internal nature of L2 motivation, allows for the incorporation of the current self into the possible future self-image. Rather than relate directly to the learner's disposition towards a specific group of TL-speakers, possible selves relate to the learner's own (future) self-image as a speaker of the TL, regardless of in which community he or she hopes to function.

The L2 Motivational Self System

Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) is composed of three main components:

1. Ideal L2 Self
2. Ought-to L2 Self
3. L2 Learning Experience

(Dörnyei 2009c)

The first two of these elements reflect the similarly-named elements from Self-Discrepancy Theory (Higgins 1987). Also understood under these two headings, however, are elements from (L2) motivation theories such as possible selves (Markus, Nurius 1986), Dörnyei's three-level framework and process model (1994a, 1998, Dörnyei, Ottó 1998), the role of context (Ushioda 2009a), and the cognitive theories already discussed. The concept of integrativeness (Gardner, Lambert 1972) is also incorporated, although adapted for a modern FL context, with room for cultural ambiguities such as those created by global and world Englishes (Coetzee-Van Rooy 2006). The inclusion of the L2 Learning Experience in the model emphasises the crucial role played by the learning environment not only in engaging the learner and his or her motivation through enjoyable teaching and learning activities, but through the effective priming, activation and support of future self-images (Muir, Dörnyei 2013). This third element thus fits closely with the purposes of the current research, which focuses in part on the role of the learning context in motivation.

Future selves in research and practice

Since Dörnyei first introduced the concept of the L2MSS in 2005, it has formed the basis of several motivational studies in SLA research, in a broad range of cultural and educational contexts. Indeed, it has become known as one of the most influential L2 motivation theories of modern times (Ryan, Dörnyei 2013). A number of these studies were reported upon in Dörnyei and Ushioda's (2009) book, *Motivation, Language Identity and the L2 Self*, where a range of research methods, from Structural Equation Modelling to qualitative case studies were presented and the System put to the test (e.g. Csizér, Kormos 2009, Macintyre, Mackinnon et al. 2009b, Ryan 2009, Taguchi, Magid et al. 2009). Since the publication of that volume, various other studies have been published which have been formulated on the basis of the L2MSS (Henry 2010, Papi 2010, Ghapanchi, Khajavy et al. 2011, Kormos, Kiddle et al. 2011, Yang 2011, Sampson 2012). A number of PhD theses (Ryan 2008, Xie 2011, Henry 2012) have also been produced.

The findings of such studies have been largely positive with regard to the applicability and validity of the L2MSS in their respective research contexts, in particular in relation to studies involving adolescents, whose self-concept may be more developed than that of younger children, yet more flexible than that of adults (Lamb 2012, Ryan, Dörnyei 2013). Examples in which the tripartite L2MSS was tested in a traditional quantitative manner, through the use of quantitative questionnaires and batteries, are Csizér and Kormos's (2009) study of 400 secondary school and university students in Budapest, and Ryan's (2008, 2009) large-scale mixed methods investigation of secondary and tertiary education students in Japan. Both of these have been prominent influences on the design of the research tool for the current study, although here as part of a mixed methods approach (see Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2). They are therefore described in more detail below.

Csizér and Kormos's study, based on quantitative questionnaires and structural equation modelling (SEM), aimed to validate Dörnyei's tripartite model as a determiner of motivation. The results showed positive correlations between the Ideal L2 Self, the L2 Learning Experience and motivated learning behaviour, although the Ought-to L2 Self showed no significant correlation in this respect. The authors of the study did not find this surprising, as previous literature would suggest that one's own ideals are stronger motivators than those that we know to be held by others on our behalf (Deci, Ryan 1985, 2002, Csizér, Kormos

2009). This has also been supported by subsequent studies performed on the basis of the L2MSS (Lamb 2012). The authors of the abovementioned studies have also considered the possibility that this element could be reflected differently – at least in a qualitative sense – in studies based in cultures where family plays a more significant role, as suggested by the findings of Taguchi et al. (2009). While the current study approaches motivation from a less strongly quantitative perspective, aiming not to measure but to qualitatively examine it, the variables and some of the items used in Csisér and Kormos's questionnaire contributed to the design of the quantitative tool described in the following chapter.

Ryan's (2009) study focused more specifically on the Ideal L2 Self and its relationship to integrativeness, and produced persuasive results both with regard to the accuracy of the Ideal L2 Self as a measure of motivation and to the overlaps between the two concepts. Ryan argued that this might be an indication that, rather than integrativeness being rejected entirely, as has been advocated by some (Kim 2005), it simply needs to be reinterpreted in terms of its role in relation to the Ideal L2 Self, which is more applicable to a broader, global culture (Macintyre, Mackinnon et al. 2009a). This attitude, alongside elements of the research design, likewise influenced the current study.

A number of other studies involving the L2MSS have taken the concept in new, creative directions. For example, Ghapanchi et al. (2011) attempted to compare the L2MSS with the Big Five Model of personality (Costa, McCrae 1992) and with FL proficiency, while Papi (2010) investigated the model in relation to anxiety and intended learning effort. Both of these studies produced positive results with regard to the relevance and measurability of the L2MSS, although, as in the work of Csisér and Kormos (2009), the Ought-to L2 Self appeared to have less positive effects on effort, intended effort and proficiency than either the Ideal L2 Self or the L2 Learning Experience. More recently, Ueki and Takeuchi (2013) investigated the correlation between self-efficacy, the L2 self, L2 learning attitudes and the learning context, with their findings suggesting that the L2 self in particular had the potential to affect motivation, but also that contextual factors influenced internal motivators. Henry (2010, 2012) has used the L2MSS as the inspiration for his own approach to L3 learning motivation, returning to Markus and Nurius's possible selves and the working self-concept (Markus, Nurius 1987) to assess the possible plurality of Ideal L2 (or FL) Selves. His initial results suggest that individuals simultaneously possess different self-concepts for different languages, which can interfere with one another (Henry 2010, 2012). Kormos et al. (2011)

have proposed a new, interactive model of L2 motivation, based on a combination of the L2MSS and their own empirical studies, in which they found strong links between the Ideal L2 Self and both motivated behaviour and international posture. In the current study, it is hoped that the L2MSS, and in particular future self-guides (see Section 2.2.4), will provide insights both into the role of TTO as a promoter of motivation and into the nature of the motivation of TTO and NTO learners.

The final chapter of this thesis includes discussion of the implications of the study's findings, in both theoretical and practical terms. Many of the practical recommendations presented on the basis of that discussion relate to vision and future self-guides. One of the features of the L2MSS and the concept of future L2 selves that makes them particularly popular among the broader research and teaching community is their applicability 'on the ground' in teaching and learning contexts (Ushioda, Dörnyei 2012). This is a further distinction between future selves and integrativeness, which has often been criticised on this subject (Oxford, Shearin 1994). The prominence of the learning environment in Dörnyei's system, and the strong recommendations for how curricula, teachers, and teaching and learning activities can support, nurture and maintain future self-images provide clear and practical advice for teachers. This is further illustrated by the recent publication of a practical guide for teachers, containing a range of activities to help learners to generate visions of their future L2 self (Hadfield, Dörnyei 2013). Research into the practical effectiveness of the L2MSS in the language classroom has produced positive results. For example, Magid's (2014) experimental implementation of a programme aimed at enhancing the future self-guides and providing appropriate scaffolding for them, showed the intervention group to increase significantly more than the control group in terms of motivation and confidence.

It has therefore been recognised that the L2MSS is practical in terms of both classroom use (Falout 2013) and quantitative research, that it addresses motivation as a pluralistic, multi-layered system, and that it is applicable to a range of cultural and linguistic contexts (Dörnyei 2009c, Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). As can be seen from the studies mentioned above, however, researchers have already been attempting to modify or move beyond the model. The ought-to self in particular has produced some problematic results (Csizér, Kormos 2009, Lamb 2012). MacIntyre et al. (2009a) warn that certain aspects of the model, such as its name (the term 'self' already being broadly used in psychology), its foundation in a European context, the likelihood of its being misinterpreted as a means of superficial goal-setting in

the classroom, and its lack of theoretical attention to the concept of identity in language learning and to the changing nature of possible selves, could adversely affect the framework's reliability (Macintyre, Mackinnon et al. 2009a, Ryan 2009, Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). While ground-breaking in the sense of being the first L2 motivation theory to incorporate the psychological concept of possible selves (Ryan 2009), and effective according to empirical studies conducted thus far, the L2MSS is not considered by all to be a perfect and complete representation of L2 motivation. Indeed, in the current study too, it is one of a number of motivational concepts addressed. In more recent years, it has been to some extent enveloped or superseded by more complex constructs, from a person-centred complex dynamic systems perspective, as explored in Section 2.2.4.

2.2.4 Expanding perspectives and approaches in L2 motivation

As explored in Section 2.2.2, the turn of the century witnessed increasing recognition of motivation as a context-bound, dynamic process rather than an inherent, static personality trait (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011, Ushioda 2011). SLA motivation theorists and researchers began to look more to other psychological disciplines than before, and more and more complex and comprehensive models of language motivation emerged, incorporating various aspects of the learner, the learning situation, the language to be learned and, latterly, the changes that take place throughout the learning period (see Table 2.2, p.13), and the role of the self.

In the current period, these theories are still being expanded upon and elaborated. In particular, emphasis has been placed, as in Dörnyei and Ottó's work on the Process Model (Dörnyei, Ottó 1998) and in the L2MSS (Dörnyei 2009c), on avoiding reductionist approaches to motivation. Researchers now more often focus on developing a comprehensive understanding, not only of individual features of motivation, but of how those features interact with one another, with other learner characteristics and with the learning context (Csizér, Dörnyei 2005). The methodological considerations presented in Chapter 3 will show that this is an important aspect of the current study, which takes an interpretivist rather than a positivist view of motivation. Two researchers who have been engaged in the formulation of theories and research methods into motivation as a complex, dynamic, social system are Dörnyei (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011) and Ushioda (2009a). Their work in this area, and others' interpretations and uses of it, show the development of the belief in a more comprehensive approach to L2 motivation, as well as in the creation of new tools and methods in SLA research (Ushioda 2001, Larsen-Freeman, Cameron 2008). The most

prominent of these theories and approaches will be explored below, namely the Person-in-Context Relational View, the Complex Dynamic Systems perspective and Directed Motivational Currents.

The Person-in-Context Relational View

In contrast to the positivist approach displayed in many theories of L2 motivation, which have grown from either social or cognitive psychological roots, Ushioda's Person-in-Context Relational View of motivation (Ushioda 2009a) takes a more relativist, ontological approach. It relates to the nature of being as a whole and in its current reality, rather than to the numerical measurement of its component parts in comparison to a social norm (ibid.). The aim of the approach is not to draw trends from data on large numbers of learners in order to group them into categories (e.g. 'highly motivated', 'demotivated' language learners), but to take a more personalised view, where the entire person – not just his or her role as a language learner – is considered within his or her cultural, social and historical context. Ushioda advocates considering individuals as *"real persons"* as opposed to *"theoretical abstractions"* (p.220) and as more than the sum of their component parts. She views motivation not in a linear sense, but as a dynamic system in which a large number of components play a role and are constantly developing and interacting with one another (ibid.). The Person-in-Context Relational View is not a framework or model according to which motivational levels or interactions can be measured, but rather a philosophy that emphasises what Ushioda views as being the most important considerations when attempting to examine language learning motivation, or when addressing it in the classroom. In particular, she highlights the importance of context, autonomy and politics, and of relational rather than linear models. Each of these areas will be explored below.

Context

Ushioda (2009a) has observed that considerations of context in motivation research usually refer to it as an independent variable, external to the learner. Such approaches tend to attempt to rationalise motivation in terms of national, cultural, social or classroom groups. She emphasises the reluctance of the L2 motivation community to refer to the Vygostkian understanding of *"a dynamic interdependence between individual and sociocultural forces that coalesce in the individual learner's motivation"* (Ushioda 2006, p.155), even when 'context' is an outwardly relevant aspect of motivational models, such as Dörnyei's (1994a) three-level framework. One of the reasons that she suggests for the relative neglect of the

Vygostkian sociocultural perspective is that it is difficult to approach from a purely positivist methodology, which has until recently dominated the L2 motivation field (Ushioda 2009a). She believes, however, in viewing the social context as an integral part of the individual learning the language. This context is unique to each individual, even within the same classroom.

Autonomy

Correlations have been identified between autonomy and identity, insofar as the promotion of autonomous language learning could be argued to influence the development of one's identity as a learner and speaker of an L2 (Legenhausen 1999, Ushioda 2006, 2009a, Gao 2013). Ushioda links this in particular with Norton's concept of investment, in which the learner must be prepared to contribute time and effort, but also emotional energy to the learning of a language and, in doing so, to the reworking of his or her linguistic identity (Norton Peirce 1995, Norton 2000, Norton, Toohey 2001). She also highlights a connection with the Ideal L2 Self, which can act as an additional driver for autonomy (Gao 2013). Thus, the learner's autonomy and agency (Mercer 2012) can have a more powerfully motivating effect than interventions or other aspects of the formal learning environment (Ushioda 2011, 2013c).

Ushioda also points out that, while she views autonomy and motivation to be closely connected to one another, the paradigms that have tended to govern each of these aspects of language learning differ from one another. Motivation research has developed largely out of a positivist tradition, while autonomy research has been more constructivist. In the light of complex dynamic systems, she says, it may be time for motivation to move towards the approaches more often seen in autonomy research (Ushioda 2009a, 2009b).

Politics

In recent years, Ushioda (2006) has argued that the move away from the socio-educational model (Gardner, Lambert 1972, Gardner 1985) has, in some ways, decontextualized – or at least depoliticised – L2 motivation in Western Europe. She proposes that this change in direction interrupted the moves being made to understand L2 motivation in the context of multicultural Europe, in particular with regard to migrants. She claims that it led instead to a turn towards classroom-based FL learning, where the socio-political aspect of learning a new language is less prominent (Ushioda 2006). She highlights that, while it has its disadvantages (Oxford, Shearin 1994), integrativeness and the literature surrounding it place significant

emphasis on learner identity (e.g. Lambert, Gardner et al. 1963, Clément, Gardner et al. 1977, e.g. Clément 1980, Clément, Kruidenier 1983, 1986). This emphasis on identity and self-concept has recently begun to re-emerge in discussions of L2 motivation, for example in the L2MSS (Dörnyei 2009c), Norton's work on language learner identity and investment (Norton Peirce 1995, Norton 2000, Norton, Toohey 2001), and Lamb's (2004) concept of bicultural identity. Likewise, integrativeness has been expanded to incorporate different types of target language community, more appropriate in the context of globalisation. These developments, suggests Ushioda, represent a re-politicisation of L2 motivation research, which places it in a broader and more complex socio-political context (Gao 2013) and leaves room for further research (Ushioda 2009a, 2011), as illustrated in her recent publication of a book placing ESL motivation in a range of local contexts, from around the globe (Ushioda 2013a).

Linear vs. relational models

Ushioda is wary of the linearity of the majority of cause-effect models of motivation, as was Dörnyei following publication of his Process Model (Dörnyei, Shoaib 2005, Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). The majority of existing models of L2 motivation, from the socio-educational model (Gardner, Lambert 1972) to (to some extent) the L2MSS (Dörnyei 2009c), appear to assume that particular motivators or types of motivation will lead to particular effects on behaviour. Ushioda emphasises that each individual is so idiosyncratic that it is not possible to predict how he or she will respond to an experience or a particular context. What researchers can do, she says, is attempt to understand that reaction and the thoughts and emotions that drive it (Ushioda 2001, 2009a, 2009b).

The Complex Dynamic Systems (CDS) perspective

According to Dörnyei (2009a), *"identifying 'pure' individual difference factors has only limited value both from a theoretical and a practical point of view"* (p.243). He claims that individual differences (IDs) are part of a complex dynamic system that makes up the broader SLA process, and there are several others who agree with him (e.g. Robinson 2002, 2007, Ellis, Larsen-Freeman 2006, Bot, Lowie et al. 2007, Bot 2008, Larsen-Freeman 2012). Current understanding of people and their workings, they believe, is that they are not steady and unchanging, but instead are made up of intricate systems that are influenced by multiple internal and external forces, and whose characteristics interact with one another and change over time (Dörnyei 2009a). This way of thinking, founded on the basis of Dynamic Systems

Theory (DST), is the foundation of Dörnyei's most recently proposed motivational construct, namely that of motivation as a complex dynamic system made up of 'motivational conglomerates'.

Dynamic Systems Theory (DST)

While its origins lie in natural scientific fields such as physics and mathematics from the mid-twentieth century (Lorenz 1963), Dynamic Systems Theory (DST), relating to the unpredictability and interrelatedness of natural phenomena (Bot 2008), has since been adopted by a number of other disciplines, including cognitive psychology and, more recently, (second) language acquisition (Larsen-Freeman 1997, 2008). The premise of DST is the belief that phenomena can most effectively be considered not broken down into their constituent parts, but as systems in their entirety (Bot 2008).

DST is still a relatively new concept in SLA (Larsen-Freeman 2012), although it has been studied in relation to discourse analysis (Cameron, Stelma 2004) and language instruction (Burns, Knox 2005). It represents a move away from reductionist approaches, avoiding what de Bot (2008) refers to as *"the fallacy of focusing on a single explaining factor in a setting in which there are clearly many potentially relevant factors"* (p.173). The approach emphasises not only that each individual varies in a number of ways, but that these variations also interact with each other differently over the course of time and in different contexts, meaning that each and every learner really is unique (Larsen-Freeman 2012).

Motivational Conglomerates

In spite of his conviction in favour of DST and that all intrapersonal processes are interlinked, Dörnyei maintains that studying L2 motivation in isolation is a worthwhile pursuit (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). His reasoning in this argument is that he believes motivation can be regarded on a different level to other IDs, such as personality, aptitude or age. While all human characteristics are interlinked in complex dynamic systems, Dörnyei draws on the Platonic 'trilogy of mind' to identify three distinct groups of human characteristics: motivation, affect and cognition. These groups, he argues, are clearly distinguishable from one another, and can therefore form the basis of researchable sub-systems or 'conglomerates' (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). Conglomerates in this context are to be understood as constellations of psychological attributes which work together as independent systems, and in this case influence the learner's motivation.

In their summary of this approach, Dörnyei and Ushioda (2011) explore the following four conglomerates in relation to L2 motivation:

- Interest
- Motivational flow (Csikszentmihalyi 1988)
- Motivational task processing
- Future self-guides

All four of these areas are also the types of phenomena often identified intuitively by teachers, learners and other non-researchers as being among the most important motivational factors in the language classroom. This emphasises the relevance of the approach not only to motivation, but also to motivating teaching and learning practices, as Dörnyei has emphasised elsewhere as being a central purpose of research into language motivation (Dörnyei, Csizér 1998).

Researching L2 motivation from a CDS perspective

As a relatively new concept, the idea of motivational conglomerates is yet to be rigorously researched. This may be in part due to the complexity of researching a dynamic system. According to Dörnyei and Ushioda (Ushioda 2009b, Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011, Ushioda, Dörnyei 2012), important in studying motivation from a complex dynamic systems perspective is that each situation and context be viewed individually, and that the most appropriate combination of affective, cognitive and motivational factors be examined. A major challenge, therefore, is that the recommended approaches do not fit with the more popular positivist motivation research 'traditions', which value scientific rigour and generalisability (Byrne 2002, Larsen-Freeman, Cameron 2008, Ushioda 2009a). Larsen-Freeman (2012) advocates dynamic systems approaches to L2 research as a means of moving away from positivist, reductionist approaches, and therefore of 'humanising' science, by taking into account the individual as a unique and organic system of systems. She refers to approaches taken in a number of studies conducted into complex dynamic systems in SLA, from as early as 2002, (Herdina, Jessner 2002, Ellis, Larsen-Freeman 2006, Larsen-Freeman 2006, Meara 2006, Macqueen 2009) although none of these relate directly to motivation. The closest published account to motivation was MacIntyre and Legatto's (2011) attempt to investigate Willingness to Communicate as a dynamic system, through the use of participant analysis of L2 communicative tasks, and follow-up discussions.

This is not to say that theorists insist on a purely qualitative approach to motivation as a complex dynamic system. Indeed, there is a strong recommendation in the literature for the employment of mixed methods, including *in situ* research, in order to enable the investigation of multiple aspects of motivation. This could help to achieve both depth and a degree of generalisability, at least within the local context (Ushioda, Dörnyei 2012, Ushioda 2013c). This consideration exercised important methodological influence over the current study.

Directed Motivational Currents (DMCs)

The role of vision in L2 motivation, as described earlier in relation to the L2MSS, has recently been developed further into the concept of Directed Motivational Currents (DMCs) (Muir, Dörnyei 2013). DMCs are thought to be particularly powerful in their capacity to (re)activate dormant visions of the ideal self and to provide scaffolding for the maintenance of that vision and motivational propulsion towards a learning goal. In fitting with the most recent motivational theories described above, DMCs are considered unique to the learner and the individual learning context, but are nevertheless thought to possess common features which make them both easily identifiable and possible to encourage in a classroom or other learning context. Muir and Dörnyei (2013) present a list of these common features of DMCs, which has been transposed into Table 2.4. Although this deviates from the presentation of these features by the original authors, organising them into a tabular structure in this way highlights the connections between the inherent characteristics of DMCs and promotes understanding of the contextual requirements for them to be effective.

Table 2.4 Tabular representation of DMCs, based on Muir and Dörnyei (2013)

Features	Requirements
Connected to a strong and clear motivational vision of the future and to the learner's conscious decision to strive to achieve it.	The learner must decide to pursue the end goal, and have a clear starting point.
Have a clear and supportive structure that is underpinned by subgoals to help maintain its influence.	Clear, realistic subgoals must be created.
Once activated, become internalised and can fuel what the authors term a 'motivational autopilot', which enables the automatic modification of behaviour to help achieve one's goals.	Need to be activated and internalised; The learner must feel a sense of ownership over his/her goals and of agency in working towards them.
Associated with positive emotions, including a sense of satisfaction when subgoals are achieved.	Positivity and enthusiasm are needed from the outset; Subgoals must present appropriate challenge.

While there is yet to be a great deal of research conducted into the role of DMCs in language learning, a number of practical applications have already been proposed. Their dependence on clear pathways and subgoals makes them particularly fitting for classroom settings, and Muir and Dörnyei (ibid.) present examples for how the construct might be engaged to promote short-term, medium-term and long-term motivation, and to support “*motivational interventions*” (p.372) where drive appears to be waning. While the concept of DMCs is too recent to have influenced the design of the current research, it does feature in the interpretation of its results, in particular with regard to their implications for classroom practice.

2.2.5 Future directions

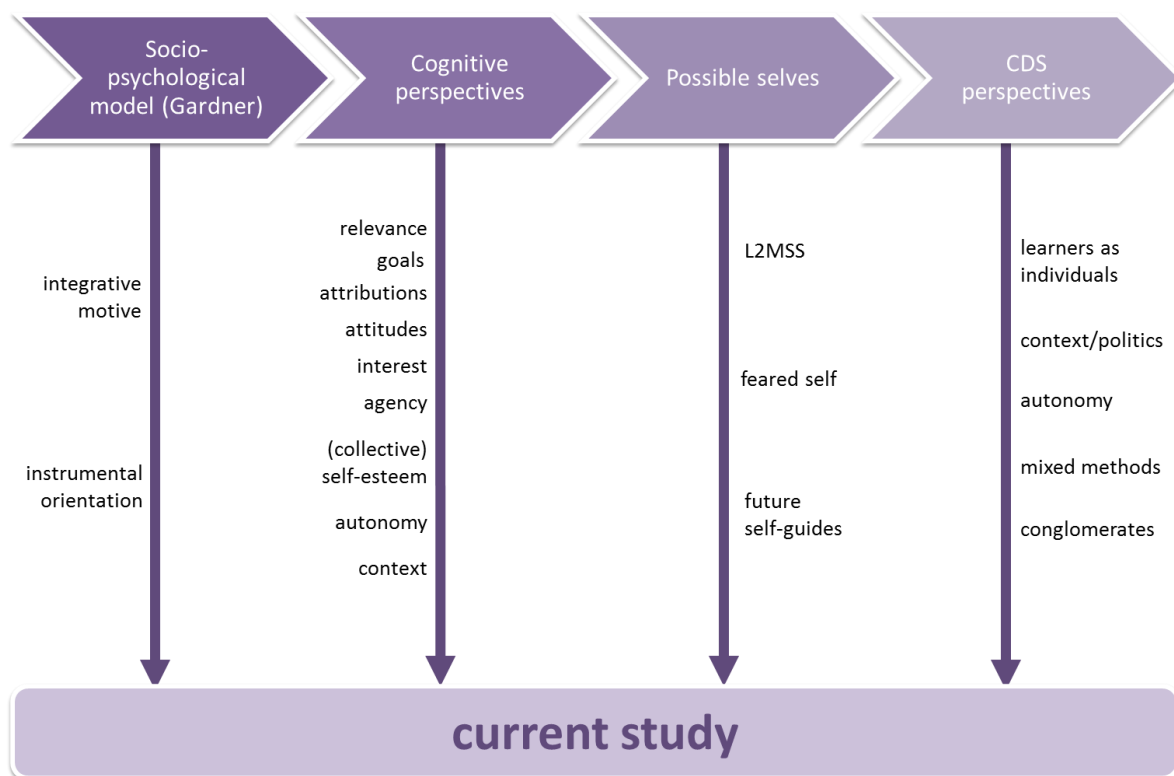
In response to the intrinsic difficulties associated with researching complex dynamic systems, Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008) express the view that the best solution is to abandon old positivist assumptions and adopt new approaches (see also Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). In particular, they identify a number of potential clashes between positivist research and more recent methodologies, namely in terms of hypotheses, causality, variability, context, and nested levels and timescales. These ‘problems’, they suggest, can be turned into opportunities, provided researchers are prepared to adapt their thinking on what constitutes ‘valid’ research. For example, hypotheses can be replaced by retrospective analysis. Furthermore, linear connections between cause and effect, which are incompatible with the reciprocal, pluralistic nature of dynamic systems, can be redefined in terms of ‘mutual causality’, or findings interpreted causally, but only within their localised context, where they can be understood as tendencies rather than generalisable trends. Variability, previously viewed as distraction from or dilution of ‘clean’ data, now becomes the subject of the research, as, for example, the relative strength of behavioural attractors becomes a point of interest. Context, which is no longer viewed as external to the learner (Ushioda 2009a), becomes an integrated part of the whole system to be studied. Multi-layered systems, containing elements functioning at different levels and on different timescales, can be investigated through seeking relationships across those different levels and timescales, thus utilising the ‘problem’ to create its own solution (Larsen-Freeman, Cameron 2008). Adoption of different methodologies, not previously favoured by SLA researchers, such as ethnography, action research, longitudinal studies, microdevelopment, computer modelling, brain imaging, discourse analysis, or a combination of methods, is also suggested. It remains

to be seen which of these methods – if any – feature in future research into language motivation as a complex dynamic system, or which aspects of that system are to be examined.

2.2.6 Motivation theories in the current study

Section 2.2 has explored the role and development of motivational theory in language learning, from its early existence as a widely-accepted dichotomy of pragmatic and cross-cultural goals, to its current position within still-developing theories of complex dynamic systems and both inter- and intrapersonal interactions, with the focus placed on the individuality of the learner. A number of the motivation theories discussed here are considered relevant to the current study, either in terms of their theoretical constructions or with regard to their perspectives on motivational research, as demonstrated in Figure 2.7. The pertinence of these theories in the context of CLIL and bilingual education may be either in relation to the motivating features of learning through two languages or to the motivation required in order to take on and continue to persist in the challenge of doing so, which are the questions that will be addressed in Section 2.3.

Figure 2.7 Influences on the current study from motivational theory.



2.3 The area for research: Motivation in bilingual education

The basis of the current study is the question of whether TTO is experienced by learners as being a motivating approach to education, or whether the learners in TTO are in themselves naturally motivated. So far this literature review has addressed bilingual education in various forms, and in particular in the context of the Netherlands. It has also discussed the complex question of motivation in language learning. In Section 2.3, these two elements will be considered together in terms of the relationship between bilingual education and learner motivation, and in particular of the extent to which that relationship is reciprocal, one-sided or dynamic. It is this that will provide the foundations for the questions at the core of the present research.

In the literature on bilingual education and CLIL, there is frequent mention of the influence that bilingual education can and does have on the motivation of pupils to learn a foreign or second language (Coonan 2005, Merisuo-Storm 2007, Lasagabaster, Sierra 2009, Hunt 2011, Mearns 2012). Many of the findings in this respect are positive, concluding that bilingual teaching and learning – and in particular CLIL-type practices – are an effective means of engaging and motivating pupils. Findings such as these can lead to the grounded thesis that **TTO is motivating**.

Less often addressed in research designs, although nevertheless alluded to in the literature (Pica 2002, Oonk 2009, Verspoor, Schuitemaker-King et al. 2010), is the other side of this coin, namely, the nature of the learners in bilingual education programmes (Bruton 2011a, 2011b). Bilingual education may be motivating and conducive to positive academic and linguistic results, but it is for many learners also a significant challenge (Oonk 2009). Some bilingual programmes, such as that in the Netherlands, involve pupils attending more lessons in the week than pupils in regular education (Maljers 2007). This creates extra pressure in itself. Furthermore, beginning a secondary school programme in which not only the subjects, but also the language, are new could be a daunting prospect. Some researchers (Pica 2002, Oonk 2009, Verspoor, Schuitemaker-King et al. 2010, Bruton 2011a, 2011b) therefore view it as logical to suggest that learners in elective bilingual programmes, who choose to remain in those programmes even when they are met with obstacles, may be in any case the more motivated, or at least more self-confident, pupils. The thesis on the other side of the motivational coin, therefore, might be that **TTO learners are motivated**.

Below, both sides of this metaphorical ‘coin’ are discussed. The views expressed here are formed on the basis of published comments and research findings, and on theories of CLIL and of motivation. They are not intended as concrete, definitive or empirically-grounded answers, but as considered and reflective speculations aimed at informing and guiding the research questions presented at the end of this chapter. Those questions seek to address the same dichotomy and to provide some more concrete answers. The small amount of research published thus far on motivation in TTO means that many of the examples cited here refer not to TTO specifically, but to CLIL, immersion or other bilingual education settings. As the TTO standard advocates many of the same values as CLIL, however, it follows that motivating aspects of CLIL might also be present in TTO.

2.3.1 The motivational impact of CLIL: Interest, relevance, interaction and autonomy

It is often commented that bilingual education and CLIL are effective approaches to language education in part due to their motivational power, and evidence to this effect has recently been increasing in volume (Nuffield 2000, Morgan 2006, Ruiz de Zarobe 2013). A study conducted by the University of Warwick as part of its initial teacher training course examined pupils’ perceptions of small-scale CLIL projects facilitated by trainee teachers (Hunt 2011). The results of the study showed pupils to feel positive about the approach, commenting on their enjoyment of the lessons, their sense of teacher support, their own improved understanding of both language and content, a sense of achievement, satisfaction arising from the appropriate level of challenge presented and the concrete outcomes of the lessons, variation and interaction in lesson activities, increased confidence, memorability and relevance of lesson content, and benefits to cognitive and linguistic skills. On the basis of the motivation theories explored in Section 2.2, all of these are potential motivators. Similarly positive observations with regard to challenge and experiences of success have been made by Ruiz de Zarobe (2013) and Denman et al. (2013). Furthermore, Merisuo-Storm’s (2007) research, carried out in primary schools in Finland, showed significantly more positive attitudes to language learning in pupils in bilingual streams than those in regular streams. In an attempt to offer scientific evidence for such findings, Ting (2010) goes so far as to present neurological reasoning for the motivating effects of a fully-integrated and carefully implemented CLIL approach.

As these findings suggest, when designed and delivered effectively, it seems that bilingual approaches such as TTO can be motivating in a number of ways. In particular, this appears to be the case in terms of evoking learner interest, emphasis on authentic language use, the presence of clear goals and goal-setting structures, and the approaches to teaching and learning often employed on the basis of appropriate CLIL practice. Each of these has been considered in the design and interpretation of the current study, and will be explored below.

Evoking interest

It has been said that interest is key to learning (Johnstone 2002). According to Montet and Morgan (2001), bilingual forms of education, which make it necessary for pupils to use the TL in order to learn about subjects in which they are interested, encourage pupils to actively engage in their own learning and to achieve good results. On this basis, de Bot (2007) advocates CLIL as a motivator for language learning, referring to it as, *“The Sneaky Way, which aims at making people multilingual without telling them”* (p.276).

What is unclear, however, is whether it is sufficient to claim that bilingual education is successful because it maintains pupils’ interest, without delving into the issue further. Coonan (2005) suggests that language motivation at a primary school level is entirely a question of maintaining interest and engagement in the learning activities. Her approach appears to be more one of striving not to damage existing, natural motivation than of actively encouraging new motivation in young learners:

The issue of motivation was, and still is, at the forefront of discussions [...] The solutions need to build on the natural empathy and curiosity of the small children, be aware of the level of cognitive maturity of the child and capitalise on his ability to learn in a natural manner by playing – all in order not to de-motivate the child, a situation that has disastrous repercussions not only on the continued study of that same foreign language in the lower secondary school but also with respect to the study of any foreign language thereafter.

(Coonan 2005, p.3)

In spite of this emphasis on avoiding subtraction rather than encouraging new motivation, the findings described by Coonan (ibid.) show CLIL to have the latter of these effects. Pupils’ comments following a bilingual programme of study displayed genuine interest in the language, a sense of achievement and a desire to repeat the experience. These new signs of motivation appear to be the result of more than just interest in the subject matter, as they

refer explicitly to the language itself, suggesting that the question of what motivates bilingual learners may be more complex than first thought.

With reference to interest in subject content arousing motivation to learn the TL through which that content is taught, the question can be raised as to what will happen if the pupil is interested in neither the language nor the subject, nor indeed in learning at all. Evidence from immersion studies has suggested that disaffected pupils can remain disaffected regardless of whether subject content is taught through the L1 or an FL (Bruck 1985a, 1985b). In spite of this, Coyle et al. (2010) highlight the potential of CLIL to motivate learners not only to learn a language, but also to learn subject content. Motivation research has shown that motivation is a much more complex issue than simply a matter of whether something grabs one's interest (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). Interest is, in itself, one of the motivational conglomerates mentioned in Dörnyei's approach to complex dynamic systems in motivation, and as such is also to be considered more complex than simply enjoying an activity or not. As explored in Section 2.2, enthusiasm and drive not only need to be sparked, but also maintained over time and throughout hardships, challenges and changes in the learning situation (Heckhausen, Kuhl 1985, Kuhl 1987, Dörnyei, Ottó 1998). While interest in the subject might be an initial motivational impulse, it may not in itself ensure that learners remain motivated in the longer term (Dörnyei, Ottó 1998, Muir, Dörnyei 2013). As the later chapters of this thesis will show, this is an important consideration in the current study.

Relevance and authenticity of TL use

One of the reasons often given for the introduction of CLIL and TTO programmes in schools is to provide pupils with the opportunity to communicate authentically in the TL about subjects they view as being relevant to them (Cummins 1998, Coyle, Hood et al. 2010, Koster, Putten 2014). The use of authentic TL materials, as recommended in the TTO standard (Europees Platform 2010c) and in the CLIL literature (Coyle, Hood et al. 2010), could make a similar contribution (Sylvén 2007). Lasagabaster and Sierra (2009) found that CLIL helped to encourage positive attitudes towards language learning, most likely, they said, because it brings the learner closer to the ideal of the 'authentic' language learning situation (Cummins 1998). They also commented that the maintained usefulness of the TL in CLIL settings can help to avoid the "*attitudinal decline*" often observed by teachers as learners get older (Lasagabaster, Sierra 2009, p.13).

The authenticity of the bilingual learning situation, where it is achieved successfully (see Cummins 1998), could influence motivation in terms of expectancy-value theories, in particular Achievement Motivation (Atkinson, Raynor 1974), the L2MSS (Dörnyei 2009c), motivational conglomerates (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011) and Directed Motivational Currents (Muir, Dörnyei 2013). The perceived relevance of authentic communication in the TL to the learner's everyday learning, in addition to experiences of successful communication afforded by activities within and outside of the classroom, could contribute to pupils' image of themselves as competent L2 users and give them a clear means of visualising what they might achieve through continued effort (Dörnyei 2009c). Authentic learning environments and a focus on culture, as advocated by CLIL, could also go some way towards nurturing the integrative motive (Gardner 1985) and internationally-oriented future self-guides (Dörnyei 2009c).

Goals and satisfaction

Lorenzo et al. (2010) posit that bilingual education could be the key to motivating learners, in particular to learn languages other than English. This is not due to increased exposure to the TL language and culture, so as to encourage increased integrative motivation (Gardner 1985), but because of the increased proximity of learning goals. Rather than learners aiming to achieve an abstract and intangible goal of TL competence, or even fluency, for a purpose that is as yet unclear to the learner (Hawkins 2005), bilingual teaching and learning means that they need to become competent in the language immediately in order to access subject content. This could apply to any CLIL context, regardless of the TL or the TL community (Lorenzo, Casal et al. 2010). This view relates to with Goal-Setting Theory, in which the importance of proximal as well as distal goals is emphasised (Locke, Latham 1990, Locke 1996). Furthermore, it reflects the scaffolding elements of the L2MSS (Dörnyei 2009b, 2009c), future self-guides (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011) and DMCs (Muir, Dörnyei 2013). In all of these models, a clear path towards language competency needs to be laid out, including short-term, proximal goals (Locke, Latham 1990, Locke 1996).

(Inter)action and autonomy: Teaching and learning styles

A number of the theories of L2 motivation explored in Section 2.2 emphasise that the learning context can have a significant effect on motivation. In the L2MSS, two thirds of which are focused on the learner's own concept of self, the L2 learning situation forms the final third, suggesting that contextual factors are equally as important as internal and

interpersonal influences (Dörnyei 2009c). Furthermore, DMCs are dependent on the complementary value of the learner and the learning context towards each other (Muir, Dörnyei 2013), and Ushioda (2009a) has also placed contextual factors at the centre of the learning experience as a whole. Teaching and learning styles and classroom practices, as they are experienced by the learners, are therefore likely to be contributors to the motivational effects of CLIL.

Some argue that it is simply the diversification of teaching and learning methods in CLIL classrooms that is motivating and stimulating for learners (Gajo, Serra 2002, Ruiz de Zarobe 2008), resulting in a form of Hawthorne Effect, in which the novelty of the new situation leads to positive reactions (Adair, Sharpe et al. 1989, Jones 1992). This was emphasised in a study by Gajo and Serra (2002), in which they noted that, while bilingual learners performed better in Mathematics than learners taught in the L1, the L1 learners also benefitted from the improved skills and awareness that appeared to have been developed by their teachers during the course of the project. Learner comments on short-term, experimental studies have suggested a similar effect (Hunt 2011), although there is little empirical evidence to support this claim. Specific features of the bilingual classroom that may appeal to learners' preferred learning styles are increased emphasis on communication and active learning (Bader, Schaer 2005), and on learner autonomy (Spratt, Humphreys et al. 2002, Ushioda 2009b).

Communication and active engagement

Learners surveyed by Bader and Schaer (2005) in Switzerland viewed grammar as the least enjoyable aspect of language learning, while communicating was considered the most enjoyable. In traditional language teaching, however, grammar and teacher-centred approaches can often take priority over learner-centred, more (inter-)active and communicative activities (Bot 2007). Hüttner et al. (2013) purport that the prominence of 'doing' in the CLIL classroom helps learners to grow in confidence and encourages risk-taking behaviour. Similarly, Ting (2010) highlights the distinction between the active involvement of CLIL learners in their own learning process rather than the *"downloading of information onto more passive learners"* (p.3), as she believes can tend to occur in traditional classrooms.

While grammar and form maintain an important role in bilingual teaching and learning, the increased emphasis on communication in CLIL approaches could add to the intrinsic pleasure of learning a language (Deci, Ryan 2002, Vallerand, Ratelle 2002). Meanwhile,

extrinsic factors, such as the need to communicate effectively in lessons, can support and stimulate that intrinsic drive (Dörnyei, Ottó 1998, Noels 2001). In terms of later L2 motivation theories, the combination of higher levels of engagement in classroom activities and the sense of achievement through experiences of success during lessons can contribute to the motivational conglomerate of Motivational Task Processing, and in turn to the larger dynamic system of L2 motivation (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). On a more learner-specific level, both Dörnyei and Ushioda might argue that increased opportunities for real communication are conducive to the learner's formulation of his or her linguistic identity and self-concept, and thus of future self-guides, which can also strengthen motivation (Dörnyei 2009c, Ushioda 2009a, Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011).

Encouraging autonomy

One of the central premises of CLIL is that it is learner-centred and gives learners the opportunity to take control over their own learning, in order to develop cognitive as well as academic and linguistic skills (Gajo, Serra 2002, Baetens-Beardsmore 2009). This is fitting with Ushioda's views, which emphasise not only the role of autonomy in learner development, but also in developing motivation (Ushioda 2006, 2009a, 2009b, 2011). Benegas (2012) observed that introducing more learner-centred approaches through CLIL as a means of providing for mixed-level classes in Argentina gave learners increased ownership, autonomy and agency, which helped recover their dormant motivation. Thus, learners who are enabled to take control over their own learning, develop their own strategies, set their own goals, solve their own problems and claim ownership over their own language (Nikula 2007, Marsh 2008) may have the opportunity to build on their sense of self-efficacy and self-concept (Bandura 2001), and feel a stronger connection to their goals and ambitions. This could contribute to strengthening their future self-guides and, perhaps, motivational flow (Csikszentmihalyi 1988, Dörnyei 2009b, 2009c, Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011, Hadfield, Dörnyei 2013). The forms of teaching and learning promoted by CLIL theory and the TTO standard, in which pupils are invited to participate actively and work autonomously, could therefore be powerful motivators.

2.3.2 Motivation brought to the bilingual classroom: The bilingual learner

An alternative to the proposal that TTO and other bilingual approaches are particularly motivating is the suggestion that such approaches may simply attract more motivated learners. Anecdotal evidence suggests that this is a common assumption in the TTO context

(Coleman 2006), and there is published evidence to this effect from contexts outside of the Netherlands. Johnson and Swain (1997) highlight commitment, attitudes towards the TL culture and status of the L2 as key in their framework of criteria and variables in immersion education. This suggests that they view these learner and contextual characteristics not as being created or enhanced by language immersion but, on the contrary, as being conditions that can influence its success. The view that certain attitudes and characteristics can influence the appeal or the effectiveness of bilingual education has been reflected in a number of other publications, in particular in relation to immersion. For example, Boudreaux and Olivier (2009) comment that motivation and attitude could contribute to high attrition rates in immersion and Bruck (1985b) conducted extensive research into the characteristics of immersion 'drop-outs', among which attitude and motivation featured prominently.

In Europe, the majority of selective bilingual programmes include motivation as a central factor in evaluating potential pupils (Eurydice 2006a). This is also the case in the Netherlands (Maljers 2007), suggesting a belief that motivation may be brought to, rather than created by, the educational context (Bruton 2011a, 2011b). Pica (2002) highlights an added complication in studying bilingual education in elective programmes in that the very fact that pupils have chosen this route might suggest that they are more motivated from the outset. The same concern has been echoed by TTO researchers, who have attempted to balance their results by including comparator groups from schools who do not offer a bilingual variant, with results suggesting that their caution may have been justified (Edelenbos, Jong 2004, Verspoor, Edelenbos 2009, Verspoor, Schuitemaker-King et al. 2010).

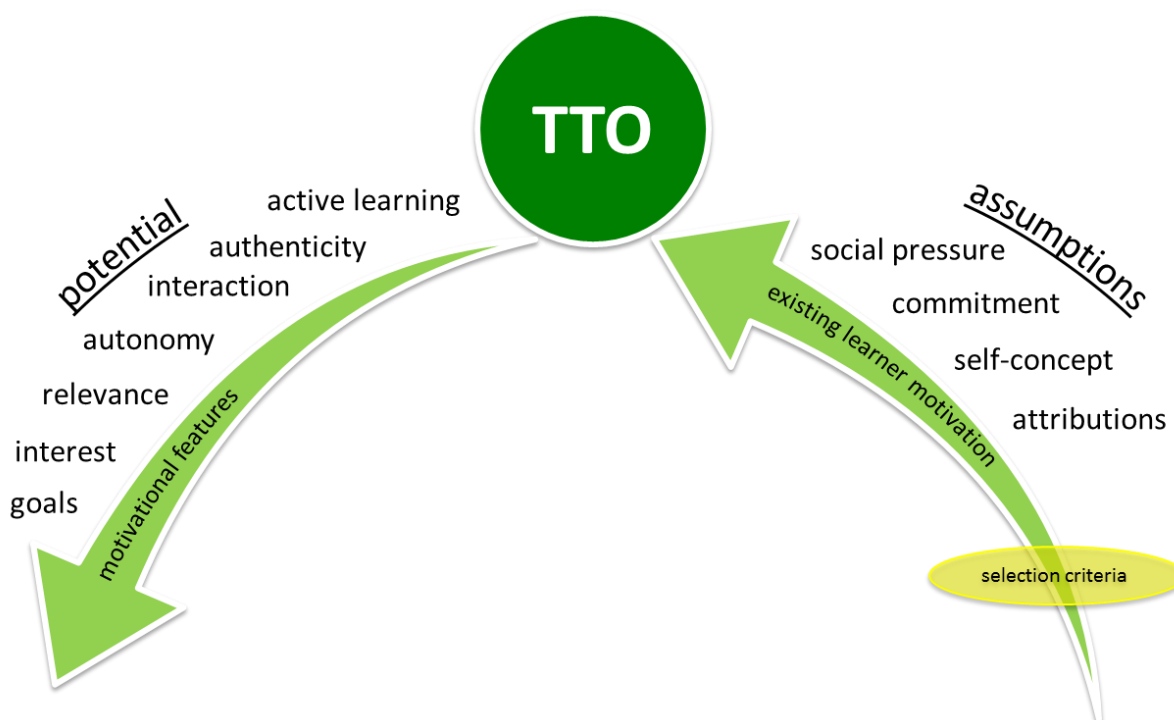
In both Europe and North America, however, concerns have been expressed regarding the tendency to take for granted the supposedly higher levels of motivation in bilingual learners. Cummins (1998), concerned with the problems of attrition and lower-than-expected attainment in immersion education, highlights the importance of maintaining standards and authenticity in the immersion classroom, in order to avoid demotivating learners. There is some evidence from research to suggest that this is a genuine risk. Bruck's (1985b) study of the attitudes of low-ability pupils who chose to transfer out of immersion programmes highlighted that the decision to transfer might be less related to academic performance than to more general attitudes towards school and learning. If pupils had low self-esteem and a low sense of autonomy and control over their learning, they were more likely to become demotivated and opt to leave the immersion programme, even though

their academic difficulties may not have been less apparent in mainstream education. Subsequent studies, however, have shown that pupils in similar situations have succeeded in improving their performance and their attitudes following a switch out of immersion (Genesee 2007a). This may have been due to the removal of the psychological barrier that could lead to learned helplessness (Weiner 1992b, Dörnyei 1994a). In her study of CLIL in Finland, Seikkula-Leino noted that *“CLIL pupils had a low self-concept in foreign languages, although pupils had a strong motivation to learn”* (p.328). Similar findings have been noted by Lanvers (2013), in whose study learners with more TL contact appeared to have lower self-efficacy. Seikkula-Leino (2007) suggested that such learners may be more aware of the difficulties in communicating in a FL and therefore be more likely to be self-critical. On this basis, she argues that learners in bilingual contexts need extra encouragement in order to maintain self-esteem, and prevent them from feeling *“incompetent and inadequate”* (Seikkula-Leino 2007, p.338). The high levels of motivation in spite of a low linguistic self-concept might suggest that pupils attributed their success to effort rather than ability, which is fitting with Attribution Theory (Weiner 1986, 1992a, 2007), and could potentially continue to be a motivator. This increase in motivation may also be a reflection of the type of motivation experienced by the learners, who may have entered the bilingual programme in the first place as the result of high trait motivation (Julkunen 1989, 2001), mastery orientation (Ames 1992), intrinsic motivation (Deci, Ryan 1985, 2002) or integrativeness (Gardner, Lambert 1972).

In a similar respect, Oonk (2009) cites social pressure as a strong motivator for pupils to succeed in bilingual education, commenting that learners are attracted by the prospect of mastering a language that is seen by their parents, peers and teachers as being an important means of achieving educational and professional success. In terms of motivational theories, pressures to opt into bilingual programmes due to parental encouragement or social desirability could actually be counteractive to motivation. Dörnyei (2009c) emphasises the importance of harmony between the ideal and ought selves that form future self-guides (Dörnyei 2009c, Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). In a situation where a learner has chosen to follow a particular educational route not through free will but because he or she feels it is expected of him or her, the conflict between the ought and ideal selves, and the loss of autonomy (Ushioda 2009a) and ownership over the learning goals and processes could counteract other motivational properties that might be offered by the teaching and learning context.

On the basis of the considerations presented here and in Section 2.3.1, Figure 2.8 illustrates both sides of this coin. The downward arrow on the left, exuding from TTO, symbolises the features of the TTO learning environment that could potentially have a positive impact on learner motivation. Meanwhile, the upward arrow on the right, which is moving towards TTO, highlights motivational features that the TTO learner may, according to theory, theorising and assumption, bring to the TTO classroom. These features, as also shown in the diagram, need to first pass through the filter of selection criteria before they can reach TTO.

Figure 2.8 Potential motivational features and existing learner motivation in TTO.



As will be observed in Section 2.3.3, research in this area has not been extensive enough to determine whether learners are motivated by bilingual education or whether their motivation is something that they bring to learning themselves. In fact, research on motivation and CLIL is still so sparse (Craen, Mondt et al. 2007) that one can only tentatively assume that bilingual learners are indeed more motivated, not to mention postulate on the workings of that motivation, without first conducting further research.

2.3.3 Motivation research in bilingual education and TTO

Where motivation is addressed in bilingual education research, it is often either as a by-product of a larger project aimed at gathering data on pupil attainment or performance (Pérez Cañado 2011), or in terms of the broader concept of 'attitudes' (Lasagabaster, Sierra

2009). In contrast, studies such as that conducted by Merisuo-Storm (2007) have a specific focus on motivation, but the nature of the research design allows only for speculative consideration on the reasons for increased motivation among bilingual learners. Furthermore, it is only in very recent years that the question of the causal relationship between motivation and bilingual education has been addressed at all (Bruton 2011a, 2011b, García 2012). Addressing this relationship has caused the assumption that motivation is a result of and not a contributor to bilingual teaching and learning to be brought into question, although there has as yet been no documented research with this as its focus. The lack of documentation in this respect provided extra incentive for the design of the current study, which seeks to address this issue within the context of TTO.

The lack of directed research in this area could be due to the inherent complexities of effective research into motivation (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). Indeed, the extensive review of CLIL research provided by Pérez Cañado (2011) implicitly highlights and encourages the trend away from motivation research in CLIL, particularly in terms of qualitative approaches. Indeed, it focuses almost exclusively on research consisting of quantitative measures of pupil attainment and dismissing less *“empirically-based”* (p.10) studies, for example into pupil and teacher perceptions of CLIL in practice. This could suggest that lack of attention to motivation is a symptom of the fact that researchers are eager to provide empirical evidence for the quantitative benefits of bilingual education. Such evidence could help to secure the future of the approach, as was the effect of early research data on the positive effects of immersion (Cummins 1983).

In spite of this, through thorough and empirically sound, yet also methodologically considered, research into this area, perhaps it can be established what it is that makes bilingual learning motivating, if indeed it is. Alternatively, it might provide insight into whether increased motivation in bilingual programmes is actually an intrinsic feature of the kinds of pupils who tend to opt into and remain in them. Following consideration of the concept of inclusive research in Section 2.4, Section 2.5 will demonstrate how these questions form the basis of the present study.

2.4 Learners as researchers: An inclusive approach

As explored in Section 2.1.5, research methods and methodologies in the broader CLIL community have traditionally been varied and innovative, involving small-scale projects and practitioner-led action research alongside university-led studies. Published studies of TTO,

on the other hand, have often taken more traditional forms. Section 2.2.4 demonstrates that recent developments in motivation research have begun to place the individual learner more firmly at their centre. Moreover, there has been greater emphasis on the employment of a range of methods and methodologies in researching this complex aspect of language learning. These developments in motivation research, coupled with influences from CLIL research, encouraged the current study to approach the research questions from a perspective in which the learner played a more prominent role than in more traditional methods.

Recent years have seen the publication of an increasing amount of literature from a range of countries, in which pupils are actively involved in research taking place in their schools or local communities. They have acted as consultants, *“expert witnesses”* (Roberts, Nash 2009, p.176, see also Leitch, Gardner et al. 2007), data collectors, co-researchers and research leaders (Thomson, Gunter 2007). It is generally thought that this emphasis on the participation of young people in research in and about their own environments or communities has sprung from ‘pupil voice’ initiatives in schools (Roberts, Nash 2009), where pupils’ views on the running of the school can influence decision-making or be used as a spring-board for change or new initiatives.

Due to the relevance of such approaches to the present study, it is appropriate to dedicate a section of this chapter to exploring some of the theory behind inclusive research in schools, and to consider some precedents from previous research. This section will begin by exploring the origins of this approach to educational research in Section 2.4.1. Section 2.4.2 will then categorise a number of different levels of pupil research involvement that have been documented in previous studies, before Section 2.4.3 highlights the importance of effective collaboration in inclusive research with young people.

2.4.1 Origins: From pupil voice to pupil research

The premise of inclusive research with young people in schools is that pupils not only voice their opinion on topics relating to school life, but that they be actively engaged in research and improvement within their own school environment (Hollins, Gunter et al. 2006, Gunter, Thomson 2007). Previous research has shown that, given the opportunity and tools to conduct largely independent research in their schools, pupils have not only succeeded in producing and presenting quality research findings (Gunter, Thomson 2007), but have also chosen to research topics of real interest, such as teaching and learning or bullying, as

opposed to the more superficial (although still important) areas of *“toilets and uniform”* (Fielding 2004, p.307). Such findings have, in a number of cases, been presented to school leaders and have incited change in school policies and facilities (Bland, Atweh 2007), allowing pupils to take on a new and empowered role in school. This has in turn resulted in increased engagement with school as an environment where pupils feel listened to and respected (Flutter, Rudduck 2004). Furthermore, such engagement in research gives learners the opportunity to develop skills in teamwork, data collection and analysis and the presentation of results (Silva 2001, Fielding 2004, Kaplan, Howes 2004, Bland, Atweh 2007, Roberts, Nash 2009).

2.4.2 Levels of learner involvement in research in schools

Pupil research can take on a number of forms, according to the constraints and aims of the individual study (Bland, Atweh 2007, Roberts, Nash 2009). These levels of involvement can range from being occasional consultants to fully-fledged researchers with control over the topic and means of research and over the data collection. Three models of pupil research involvement, as they have appeared in published studies, are shown in Table 2.5. On the basis of these three levels, Chapter 3 will demonstrate that the role of the young participant researchers in the current research was positioned approximately in the middle.

Table 2.5 Levels of pupil research involvement.

Pupil role	Details	Examples of activities/responsibilities
Consultant	• Advisory role • Pupils involved in research, allowing them to feel respected and not experimented on (Morrow, Richards 1996) • ‘Bridge’ between the researcher and the other pupils (Leitch, Gardner et al. 2007)	• Identification of areas or issues pupils feel are in need of investigation (Bland, Atweh 2007, Thomson, Gunter 2007) • Feedback on how pupils feel when they are asked to take part in research and suggestions as to how problems might be remedied (Leitch, Gardner et al. 2007) • Selection and design of pupil-friendly and accessible research tools (Leitch, Gardner et al. 2007, Thomson, Gunter 2007) • In action research, the provision of initial feedback to identify areas for improvement (Pedder, McIntyre 2006)
Collector & Analyser of Data	• Pupils are responsible for data collection and analysis, through contact with peers and teachers • Involvement of pupils as respected and important members of the school community (Bland, Atweh 2007, Coyle 2013) • Pupils’ unique perspective on school life is reflected in their application of the research tools and their interpretation of the data (Leitch, Gardner et al. 2007)	• Giving qualitative suggestions or feedback to improve practice (Pedder, McIntyre 2006, Coyle 2013) • Creating stimuli for interviews/focus groups (Leitch, Gardner et al. 2007) • Collecting photographic data (Kaplan, Howes 2004) • Interviewing pupil focus groups (Gunter, Thomson 2007) • Writing and/or administering questionnaires (Bland, Atweh 2007) • Interviewing teachers (Thomson, Gunter 2007) • Operating video equipment during a filmed lesson (Leitch, Gardner et al. 2007) • Analysing photographic or video data (Kaplan, Howes 2004, Leitch, Gardner et al. 2007, Coyle 2013) • Analysing own learning processes (Coyle 2013)
Co-researcher	• Pupils have ownership of the project and refer to adult helpers for advice and practical support (Roberts, Nash 2009) • Pupils are actively involved in school improvement (Raymond 2001, Hollins, Gunter et al. 2006) • Pupils develop new skills in areas important to the research (Atweh, Burton 1995)	• Choosing an area for investigation, usually based on what they feel needs to be improved • Selection and design of research methods and tools • Data collection and analysis • Making recommendations on the basis of the data • Writing a research report • Presenting findings to the wider school community • Presenting findings to the research community (Bland, Atweh 2007, Gunter, Thomson 2007)

2.4.3 Working together: The importance of collaboration

As has been highlighted by Fielding (2004), equality of all co-researchers is of great importance to the effective functioning of the inclusive research project. Encouraging pupils to take control of research into their own learning environment, however, is an upset of what is often accepted as the 'natural' hierarchical order of power in a school. This can be particularly challenging for adults in contexts where there is a demand for valid results (Bland, Atweh 2007) or where there are concerns about the ethical implications of the research (Leitch, Gardner et al. 2007). Change in the hierarchy can also be challenging for pupils, who can find it difficult to function as a 'peer' of an adult, and can be reluctant to express views contrary to those of their teachers (Roberts, Nash 2009). As emphasised by Bland and Atweh (2007) in their report on a successful pupil research project carried out with indigenous Australian pupils in a number of schools, pupils in successful collaborations were quick to understand that they had at least joint ownership of the project. The research collaborations that failed were those in which the adults involved had had difficulty relinquishing control to the pupils to take charge. Relationships and boundaries between adult and pupil co-researchers, they say, must therefore be carefully considered and agreed upon by all parties. In some examples, pupils have been open and trusting enough to address the issue of interference from adults, but they warn that this may not always be the case (Bland, Atweh 2007).

The above issues refer to situations where learners are offered a high degree of control over research. Risks are equally present, however, in situations where learners adopt a consultancy role, as in the first level depicted in Table 2.5. A risk in these contexts may be adult researchers' reluctance to respond to pupils' suggestions. A study conducted by Pedder and McIntyre (2006) into teachers' responses to pupil feedback showed that some teachers put aside their own scepticism and endeavoured to respond consistently to their pupils' suggestions, producing positive results. Other teachers, however, either disregarded the feedback entirely or failed to alter their practice in the long-term. This lack of regard for pupils' views proved detrimental to teacher-pupil relationships. Similarly, adults, and in particular teachers, may be uncomfortable with the idea of opening themselves and their institution to 'criticism' from pupils (MacBeath, Demetriou et al. 2003, Bland, Atweh 2007). If a commitment is made to listen and respond to pupils' views, advises Grundy (1998) it is important that that commitment be honoured, otherwise the betrayal of pupils' trust could

be both detrimental to the research and its participants and unethical (Grundy 1998, Bland, Atweh 2007).

It is important, however, that respect and regard in collaborations be reciprocal, meaning that learners too are responsible for maintain a *“culture of trust”* (Roberts, Nash 2009, p.177). Grundy (1998) acknowledges the need for a *“parity of esteem”* (p.44) between all parties involved in the implementation of the research and where the individual skills and experiences of all researchers are acknowledged and valued. Bragg (2001), at the same time, highlights that the respect required of teacher and pupil researchers should not favour one over the other: pupils should expect to be treated as equals, and they should also behave respectfully and considerately towards their adult helpers. In this way, teachers and pupils should be able to learn from and alongside one another.

According to published accounts, successful collaborations have had positive outcomes. Having experienced their teachers in a climate of mutual respect, pupils have expressed changed attitudes towards teachers in general, who appear more approachable to them (Roberts, Nash 2009). Pupils’ empowerment as *“creators of knowledge”* (ibid., p.180) also allows them to take control of their own learning and to recognise that all responsibility does not lie with the teacher (Pedder, McIntyre 2006). This sentiment echoes that expressed in the increased emphasis on autonomous learning promoted in CLIL and in other bilingual approaches (Coyle, Hood et al. 2010). Furthermore, empowering pupils through research might enable teachers to see pupils who may not always stand out in class functioning in an actively positive role (Gunter, Thomson 2007).

This short section on inclusive research with young people has addressed briefly some of the key justifications, priorities and considerations involved in conducting research of this kind, and has highlighted some of the many variants of pupil research, as documented in literature, although this list is by no means expected to be exhaustive. Chapter 3 will return to this area in relation to the role of learners in the current study.

2.5 Chicken or egg? The current study

In Chapter 1, the direct context of this research project was presented, namely bilingual (TTO) and regular (NTO) streams within the Dutch state-school system. In Chapter 2, this has been set against the backdrop of the theoretical, practical and empirical documentation regarding bilingual forms of education, and in particular Content and Language Integrated

Learning (CLIL), immersion and the Dutch paradigm of *tweetalig onderwijs* (TTO). The concept of motivation in language learning has also been explored at length, with reference to theoretical developments from within the SLA community as well as in other areas of educational and cognitive psychology. The growing complexity of recent motivational theories has been made apparent, as has the increasing focus in motivation research on the uniqueness of individual learners within their personal, social and learning contexts.

This concentration on context and individuality has led to consideration of the importance of the individual learning experience, and therefore to exploration of the possible relationship between the two key concepts at the heart of this research: TTO and learner motivation. The relationship between these concepts has been approached from two different perspectives, raising the question not only of whether motivation is more abundant in bilingual learning contexts than in mainstream education, but also of the causality of the relationship, querying whether motivation is sparked and nurtured by the TTO learning environment, or whether the bilingual learning context is one which tends to be attractive to already motivated or ambitious learners.

The current study therefore focuses not only on the question of whether pupils in TTO display more motivated learning characteristics, but also on the nature of their motivation. Specifically, attention will be drawn to the distinction between motivation created by or brought to the learning context, including how individual pupils understand and interpret their own role in the teaching and learning environment. The research questions (RQs) formulated on the basis of this literature review, and in particular of Section 2.3, are therefore as follows:

RQ1. How and to what extent do TTO learners display inherently different learning and motivational characteristics to their NTO peers?

RQ2. What appears to be the impact of the TTO context on learner motivation?

The reader will note that the above RQs refer to ‘motivation’ and not specifically to ‘language learning motivation’. As was shown in Section 2.2, while still distinct fields, there has since the 1980s been some degree of overlap between these areas, the most prominent theories of language motivation being drawn from existing concepts in educational or other areas of psychology. In Hadfield and Dörnyei’s recent manual for teachers outlining practical strategies for the development of motivational future self-guides (Hadfield, Dörnyei 2013),

many of the activities could equally be applied in non-language learning settings, as only a small number refer explicitly to the L2 future self. This echoes the view expressed by Ushioda that the identity of the individual reaches beyond his or her role as a language learner and that one's existence outside of the language classroom or TL context cannot be extricated from one's broader sense of being (Ushioda 2009a). Furthermore, in the context of TTO and bilingual learning, where language learning permeates the school experience, this view appears all the more pertinent.

The final section of the Literature Review addressed an area relevant to the design of the first phase of this two-phase research, namely the theory and practices behind the active inclusion of young research participants in the research process. This area will be explored further in relation to its specific role in the current study in Chapter 3, as will the precise means and methods of approaching the above research questions.

3. Research Design & Methodology

Chapter 3 will address the details of the current study in terms of its design, methods and methodologies. The chapter will begin by outlining and explaining the aims and objectives of the research, and specifically the research questions that formed its impetus, in Section 3.1. The project's secondary goal with regard to the exploration of the viability and benefits of collaborative research with young people will also be described in Section 3.1. Section 3.2 will consider the methodology of the two-phase project as a whole, while in Sections 3.3 and 3.4 the two distinct yet interlinked phases of the research process will be described with regard to their individual goals, contexts and processes. Finally, Section 3.5 will consider the ethical implications of this research.

3.1 Research questions and goals

As a two-phase research project, this study had both primary and secondary objectives. The primary goals of the research were related to the overarching research questions at the heart of the study, although the secondary focus on the methods employed in Phase I was also considered to be of academic interest. These different foci are explored below.

3.1.1 Primary research questions

As was apparent in Chapter 2, the question of motivation in bilingual approaches to education is most commonly raised in terms of the motivating impact of the approach (e.g. Merisuo-Strom 2007). The implication is that teaching and learning practices and other features inherent to bilingual learning settings naturally nurture and encourage pupils' enthusiasm for and engagement with language learning (Nuffield 2000, Eurydice 2006a). In the TTO context, therefore, factors such as the elevated status of TTO in schools and in society, the emphasis on CLIL and modern teaching methods, and the prominence of international collaboration and travel in TTO programmes, might nurture motivation. As has also been suggested with regard to language ability (Pica 2002, Edelenbos, Jong 2004, Verspoor, Schuitemaker-King et al. 2010), however, it may be the case, aside from TTO being especially motivating in itself, that TTO pupils are naturally more motivated learners, which could have influenced their decision to follow TTO in the first instance. It is also unclear whether TTO pupils are specifically motivated to become highly competent speakers of

English or generally more academically-minded and motivated to succeed in their education as a whole (Verspoor, Schuitemaker-King et al. 2010).

The primary objectives of this research were therefore to investigate the differences between TTO and NTO learners, in terms of their (language) learning attitudes and motivations, and to consider the extent to which those differences appeared to be inherent or influenced by their school experiences. The conclusions drawn from this research will relate to the following central Research Questions (RQs):

RQ1. How and to what extent do TTO learners display inherently different learning and motivational characteristics to their NTO peers?

RQ2. What appears to be the impact of the TTO context on learner motivation?

These two central questions underpinned the research design, and the analysis and interpretation of data. The goals in asking these questions are described below.

RQ1: How and to what extent do TTO learners display inherently different learning and motivational characteristics to their NTO peers?

This RQ addresses the question of pre-existing, intrinsic differences between TTO and NTO learners, such as attitudes towards (language) learning and school, past experiences and self-image, and the implications of these factors for (language) motivation. In particular, it seeks to identify correlations between learner characteristics highlighted in this study and features shown from previous research to relate to motivation in (language) learning contexts. In doing so, this question is also concerned to some extent with origins of and influences on motivation, where these are not drawn directly from the TTO experience.

RQ2: What appears to be the impact of the TTO context on learner motivation?

This RQ draws on the final aspect mentioned with regard to RQ1, namely the factors that influence (language) motivation in TTO and NTO learners. Specifically, it aims to determine whether exposure to teaching and learning in a TTO context appears to lead to higher levels of motivation when compared to an NTO context. In this sense, it addresses directly the question of causality discussed above and in Chapter 2.

While the general goals of this study, namely the comparison of motivational attributes of TTO and NTO learners, were in place from the outset, an unusual feature of this study was that the precise research questions were not formulated until half-way through the research. This atypical structure resulted from the emphasis in this study on the input of the

research participants, who contributed actively to the collection of data to inform the design of second half of the study. The overarching RQs were formulated following both theoretical considerations and findings from this collaborative fieldwork. The motivation for this approach is explained in Section 3.1.2, while Section 3.3 offers an extensive account of the collaborative process, including details of its influence on the RQs and the research as a whole.

3.1.2 Secondary interest: Inclusive research

The current research had as its focus not only the data generated in relation to the above RQs, but also the qualitative process undergone in order to formulate those questions and create an appropriate means of collecting those data. As highlighted by the variety of theories represented in Chapter 2, motivation is known to be a particularly awkward area for research in the sense that it is highly personal and therefore difficult to generalise or measure in a quantitative sense (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). It was therefore considered appropriate to the investigation of the areas described above to employ more than one method of data collection, and to reflect this personal element of the subject in the research design. Thus, the study was spread over two distinct phases. The second phase would involve relatively 'traditional' means of data collection (Kellett 2005), through the administration of a questionnaire to a large sample of respondents. The design of this research tool, however, would be informed by the views and experiences encountered through a small-scale qualitative study, in the implementation of which the young people at the heart of the research played a central role. This process involved the employment of pupil-researchers to support, assist and guide the researcher through the qualitative data collection.

While a number of studies have been published in which young people, children or other research participants have been actively involved in the research process, each individual study appears to have adopted a different approach, to have encountered different obstacles and to have experienced different successes. The secondary aim of this study was therefore to explore a form of inclusive research in a school context, with regard to its process, the challenges it presented and its outcomes in terms of both the collection of data valuable in its own right and the informing of the design of the tool employed for the larger-scale data collection in Phase II.

3.2 Methodological approach

As a mixed methods study which combined not only methods but methodologies, it is not possible to equate this study with any single model or paradigm. This section will explore the methodological, epistemological and ontological standpoint of this study, with particular focus on the reasoning behind the choice of mixed methods and of inclusive research, the relevance of research paradigms in this research context, the role of the teacher who is also a researcher, and the decision to use online methods for data collection.

3.2.1 Mixed methods research

Mixed methods research is research in which, as in this case, more than one pragmatic or philosophical approach is employed within a single study. This is generally understood as being the combining of qualitative and quantitative methods or methodologies (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011), although there has been some philosophical debate regarding which of these methods should be given priority. Some methodologists believe mixed methods to have traditionally been viewed as giving priority to quantitative methods, with qualitative approaches adopting no more than “*an auxiliary role*” (Howe 2004, p.42), for example in suggesting explanations for quantitative findings. There has also, however, been a movement towards placing qualitative methods at the heart of mixed methods approaches (Creswell, Shope et al. 2006).

The current study was mixed methods in the sense that it combined qualitative research tools (discussions and open survey questions, analysed using NVivo) and quantitative methods (scaled and multiple choice survey questions, analysed in SPSS) to meet a common goal. As explored in Section 3.2.3, the choice of research and analysis tools, and the attitude of interpreting the data as context-bound were underpinned by elements from a range of epistemological approaches, rather than adhering to a single philosophy, in order to better serve the needs of the Research Questions. The methods chosen reflect not only the pragmatic needs of the research in terms of data collection and analysis, but also the philosophical and epistemological convictions that shaped the study as a whole (Creswell, Tashakkori 2007).

Rather than one being favoured over the other, the qualitative and quantitative elements of this study complemented each other and were viewed as holding equal value. The earliest stages of the study were entirely qualitative, with the data collected used initially to aid in the formulation of the definitive research questions and the design of a largely quantitative

tool. The quantitative data were useful in providing an overview of general trends within the participant sample. Thus it offered initial answers to RQ1, regarding the extent to which learners from each group appeared to display inherently distinct learning and motivational characteristics, and to RQ2 in terms of learner responses to the learning environment, as these features could often be identified through numerical and statistical differences in responses. Quantitative analysis also served in comparing responses from different year-groups and in different time periods in order to further respond to RQ2 in terms of motivational change evoked by the learning context. Following the analysis of quantitative data, these findings were then further complemented by new and existing qualitative findings, which helped to establish connections between quantitative variables (Bryman 2004), as well as providing extra depth and understanding and suggesting – although not determining – causality in some cases with regard to the origins of motivation and the influence of the learning environment. At times, the qualitative data also provided possible explanation for inconsistencies in the quantitative findings, or were themselves inconsistent with those data, which could incite a call for further research into specific areas.

Although the common understanding of the term ‘mixed methods’ refers to the qualitative-quantitative dichotomy, this study could also be considered ‘mixed’ in a broader sense, namely in terms of its approach to the role of the research participants. In his proposal to replace the notion of ‘mixed methods’ with the broader concept of ‘integrated methodology’, Plowright (2011) highlights that research methodology is more than simply a question of quantitative and qualitative methods, but of the research process as a whole. While half of this research adopted a traditional structure, in which an external researcher investigated a group of anonymous participants, the first phase of the study actively involved in its execution the young people that were the focus of the research. In this sense, it could be argued that the term ‘mixed methods’ might be applied to this study on more than one level.

3.2.2 Pupil research

As suggested by the research questions, this study aimed not to draw definitive conclusions based solely on the observations of an outsider, but to suggest the existence of trends based on interpretation of the views and perspectives expressed by the learners themselves. It was for this reason that the decision was made to involve learners similar to those involved elsewhere in the study in laying the groundwork for larger-scale data collection.

Mannion (2007), following Warshak (2003), divides the motivation to conduct participatory research into three distinct types of rationale: the *enlightenment rationale*, the *empowerment rationale* and the *citizenship rationale*. The rationale for attempting participatory research in Phase I of this study was, as often appears to be the case (e.g. Atweh, Burton 1995, Fielding, Bragg 2003, Kaplan, Howes 2004, Hollins, Gunter et al. 2006, Bland, Atweh 2007, Thomson, Gunter 2007), based on a combination of motivations, although the *enlightenment* rationale was the most influential of the three.

From an *enlightenment* perspective, the intention in this study was that participants' active engagement would lead to richer and more relevant data, and also provide access to more genuine views and means of expression (Bragg 2007, Burke 2007). As explored in Chapter 2, motivation is notoriously difficult to research due to the ambiguity regarding its identification and its measurement (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2009, Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). A central purpose of working with pupil researchers in this study was therefore to gain enhanced insight into what motivation and identity mean to young people in a specific social, cultural, geographical and educational context, and to enlist their help in creating a tool to investigate these phenomena in a way which would be appealing and accessible to young people in a similar context. Furthermore, it was hoped that both pupil and adult researchers would profit from the experience in terms of knowledge, experience and personal growth. From a *citizenship* perspective, it was hoped that the pupils involved would benefit academically from first-hand exposure to real research practices, as in a larger-scale study conducted by Bland and Atweh (2007). With regard to *empowerment*, the motivation was less strong, although it was interesting to consider whether involving pupils from two different educational groups within the school might go some way towards encouraging those pupils to feel themselves equally 'heard', thus countering somewhat the sense of elitism that has been remarked upon with regard to bilingual education in the Netherlands (Weenink 2005).

3.2.3 Epistemological paradigms

Morgan (2007) suggests that the application of paradigmatic labels may be extraneous or even counter-productive in mixed methods research, arguing instead for a more pragmatic approach. He emphasises the theoretical nature of some research paradigms, suggesting that they do not always reflect the reality of practical research. Furthermore, he raises the question of whether research paradigms should be created and assigned to retrospectively

define actions (Kuhn 1996) or whether actions in research should be designed to align with a particular pre-existing paradigm (Guba, Lincoln 2005). In Morgan's view, it might be more productive for researchers to focus on the pragmatics of their research in a 'bottom-up' approach, in which the methodology that is most appropriate to the research questions is carefully selected, and paradigmatic and epistemological considerations come later. He applies this not only to the labelling of research as 'positivist' or 'constructivist', but also to the selection of either qualitative or quantitative methods, or a combination of both (Morgan 2007).

In some respects the current research reflected the above view. While the methodology and methods were selected thoughtfully, this process was based largely on philosophical conviction, examples from previous research, practical considerations and their appropriateness for answering the research questions, rather than in order to adhere to a particular research paradigm. That said, Creswell and Tashakkori (2007) purport that, rather than abandoning paradigms altogether in mixed methods research, these paradigms should be regarded with a degree of flexibility. In their view, discarding the concept of paradigms in favour of pure pragmatism is unnecessary, as there is no reason for existing paradigms to be considered mutually exclusive or categorically incompatible. In this sense, the relationship of this research to existing paradigms could be viewed in a more positive light, with emphasis on the ways in which it was influenced by a range of paradigms, rather than on its lack of complete compatibility with any one of them.

Interpretivism and social constructivism

As apparent in the RQs' focus on the perception and perspective of the learner, this study was grounded on the conviction, similar to that expressed by Ushioda (2009a), that motivation is an individually-defined and created feature of the person, both in his or her role as a learner and in his or her existence outside of the classroom (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). In an interpretivist and a constructivist sense, therefore, this research did not claim to represent a definitive reality regarding the factors which do or do not motivate pupils to learn, but aimed to reflect the immediate social context researched as it was perceived by the research participants at the time of researching (Cohen, Manion et al. 2011). This study and the questions at its heart recognised the value of the interpretations of those closest to the area for research, namely the young people in whose motivation and future selves it showed an interest.

This is not to say that findings are in no way generalisable, as the sample size and statistical analysis in Phase II do suggest the existence of trends. In the presentation and discussion of the findings and implications of the research in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, however, it is recognised that social phenomena, such as motivation and individual learner characteristics, are dynamic, relational and subjective (Dörnyei 2007, Ushioda 2009a, Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011), and therefore that absolute assumptions should not be made on the basis of this research.

Emancipatory research and critical theory

To some extent, the inclusive nature of Phase I and its relationship to Phase II of this study reflected elements of critical theory, in their recognition that research is never entirely free of values and interpretations (Cohen, Manion et al. 2011). Literature in favour of inclusive research with children and young people emphasises the risk that entirely adult-led approaches might lead to the misinterpretation of the perspectives of research participants, or employ research tools to which young people have difficulty relating (Mitra 2001, Bland, Atweh 2007). In designing the Phase II questionnaire on the basis of the perspectives, priorities and language of a group of peers to the research participants, it was hoped that the adult researcher's individual standpoint and assumptions would play a smaller role than if the research tool had been designed on an entirely theoretical basis. In this sense, the research aimed to gain a better understanding rather than operate in spite of the values and interpretations of young people.

While in some respects Phase I of this study reflected emancipatory goals, however, it nevertheless cannot be claimed that the study was fully emancipatory or transformative in its philosophy (Cohen, Manion et al. 2011). Mallan et al. (2010) highlight the difficulties involved in conducting inclusive research where funding or academic affiliation are dependent on a pre-defined research proposal, thus limiting flexibility. To have involved the pupils more actively in the initial decision-making or to link the research to an agenda for change would have altered the nature of the project as a whole, the purpose of Phase I being, ultimately, to feed into and inform Phase II. Such a controlled structure could not have been guaranteed had the pupils been given greater control over Phase I.

3.2.4 Balancing the roles of teacher and researcher

As a teacher at one of the participant schools, it was necessary for the lead adult researcher in this study to approach her contact with the research participants with particular caution

and consideration. This added an extra complication, but also extra depth, to the relationship between researcher and 'researched' (Atweh, Burton 1995, Alderson 2000, Bland, Atweh 2007). In order to keep interference to a minimum, the classes selected for involvement in both phases of the study were classes with which the researcher had little contact in her role as a teacher. This contributed to the motivation to conduct this study in the HAVO stream. A positive consequence of the researcher's dual role was that it added an element of 'common ground' and familiarity to her relationship with the Phase I participants and PCRs, as well as aiding communication in practical terms.

3.2.5 Online data collection

The primary methods of data collection in both phases of this study were internet-based. In Phase I, the initial intention was to collect data through online discussion forums (although this method was later replaced by face-to-face discussions: see Section 3.3), and the survey employed in Phase II was distributed and completed in an online setting. The decision to employ digital methods in this study was based on a number of practical and theoretical considerations.

The choice of an online data collection method in Phase I, namely a website hosting digital discussion forums, was grounded partially in practical, but also in theoretical considerations. From a practical perspective, data collected digitally would not require transcription, and could therefore be processed more quickly and more efficiently (Chase, Alvarez 2000). A higher priority, however, was the way in which the young people involved in the research would respond to the online method. Mallan et al. emphasise the need for

the development of a conceptual and methodological framework that integrates the everyday experiences of youth with the multiple space-place connections facilitated by new media and network ICT systems.

(Mallan, Singh et al. 2010, p.256)

It was hoped that the employment of a non-traditional, electronic method of data collection would encourage participation in and engagement with the research, and increase the extent to which participants, members of the so-called "*Net Generation*" (Oblinger, Oblinger 2005, title), felt connected with the research environment.

Unlike with the online discussions in Phase I, the decision to use an online survey in Phase II was based on largely pragmatic reasoning. While the numerous advantages of internet

surveys cited in the literature are countered by reports of disadvantages, or more often by lack of evidence (Cohen, Manion et al. 2011), this approach appeared most fitting in terms of cost, time, ease of use and accessibility. The digital platform meant that pecuniary costs were limited in terms of paper, printing and postage, not to mention the environmental benefits in this respect. Furthermore, while some would argue that the time investment required for the design of an online survey can offset the time saved on data entry, as survey design platforms and researcher skill improve alongside the integration of Web 2.0 into everyday life (Greenhow, Robelia et al. 2009), the gap between the time costs of paper and online surveys may be widening (Fricker, Schonlau 2002). In this study, the sample size and the length of the questionnaire would have resulted in an extensive process of data entry had the survey been conducted on paper (Lefever, Dal et al. 2007). Moreover, a web survey was considered more appropriate to the young respondents and the teachers who had volunteered to supervise completion of the questionnaire. A lengthy paper survey, with numerous filtered questions, may have been experienced as complicated or confusing and the absence of the researcher during completion would have made immediate clarification impossible. Using an online platform for the questionnaire meant that filters were applied automatically, which avoided errors and confusion, and missing entries were avoided by including automatic notifications when compulsory items were left incomplete. As in Phase I, an online format was also considered more appropriate to the experiences and lifestyles of the young respondents, although, as will be explored in Section 3.3, this assumption may not have been well-founded.

3.3 Research Design: Phase I

Phase I of this study was conducted between September 2011 and May 2012 and involved the collection of qualitative data with the collaboration of young people directly involved in the research. The details of this phase of the research are presented below, in terms of its objectives, the research context and the research process. The outcomes of Phase I will also be explored, with regard to the research experience, and to the initial findings employed in the design of the research tool used in Phase II and in the drawing of conclusions on the basis of the research as a whole.

3.3.1 Aims & objectives

In addition to the secondary purpose of learning from an experience of inclusive research, the primary aim of Phase I was to gather qualitative data regarding young people's

perceptions of themselves, each other, (language) learning and motivation, through the use of online asynchronous discussion forums. The data collected through these means were to influence the formulation of definitive research questions for the two-phase study as a whole, as well as the content, wording and focus of the more quantitative research tool employed in Phase II, and to further enhance the discussion of its findings.

3.3.2 Context for Phase I

Phase I was a small-scale, qualitative study, involving a total of 51 participants from two classes at a single school. More details of the school and the participants are given below.

The research school

The focus of Phase I was a large secondary school (School C) in the south-east of the Netherlands, near to both the Belgian and German borders. The school offers education at VWO, HAVO and MAVO level and is in a consortium with a VMBO school and an international school in the same city. It is one of the largest schools in the local area, counting approximately 1,600 pupils and 160 staff at the time when the research was conducted. Bilingual VWO (t-VWO) has been in place in the school since 1993 and bilingual HAVO (t-HAVO) since 2002. The academic year 2011-2012 also witnessed the school's first pilot class for bilingual MAVO (t-MAVO)⁴. At the time of the research, School C was the only school in the city to offer the option of TTO, meaning that it attracted pupils from a number of local towns and villages as well as from its immediate catchment area. Final exam results at MAVO and VWO in 2010-11 (the academic year before the commencement of Phase I) were slightly above the national average, and at HAVO they were slightly below. By the end of academic year 2013-14, results were slightly higher than average for all three streams.

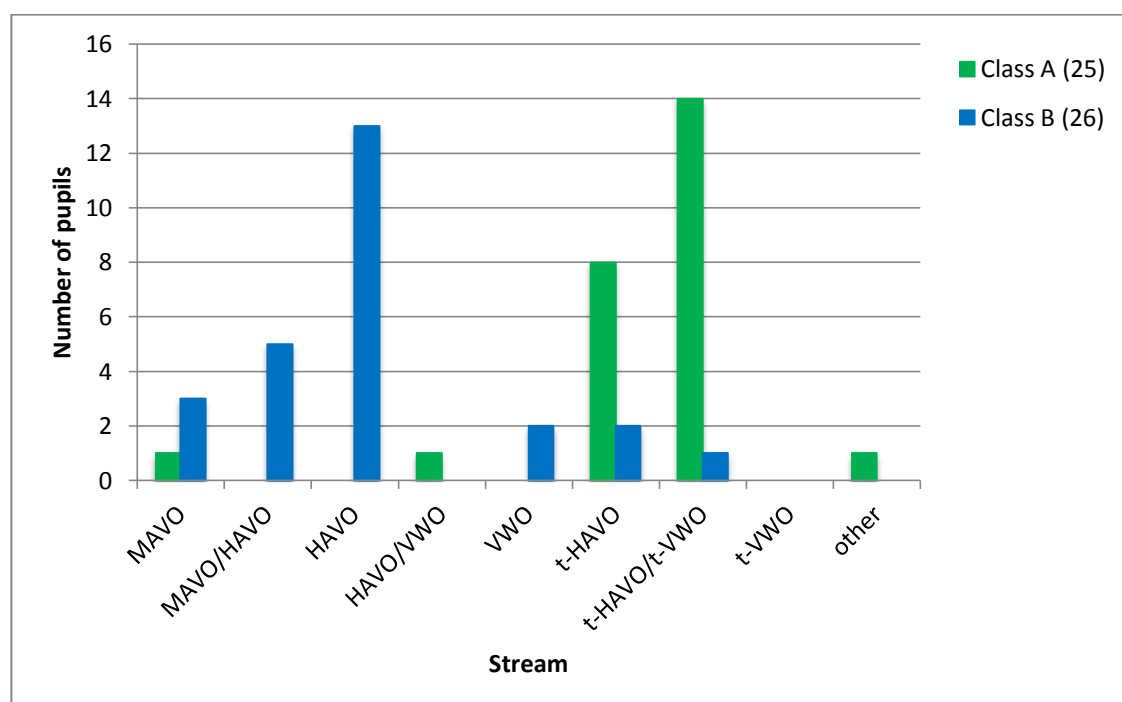
Participants

Phase I focused on two classes in the second year of their HAVO studies during the academic year 2011-12. Class A was from the TTO stream and Class B from the NTO stream. The average ages of Classes A and B were relatively similar, although Class A contained both the oldest and the youngest participant (aged 14.92 and 12.58 respectively on 1 October 2011). As can be seen in Figure 3.1, however, Class B had a broader range of academic backgrounds than Class A. While half of Class B had remained in Dutch-language HAVO following first year, the other half of the class had streamed into HAVO from a mixture of MAVO, HAVO

⁴ The various academic streams of the Dutch education system are illustrated in detail in Chapter 1.

and VWO backgrounds, including the TTO variants. It should be noted that the majority of pupils who did stream into Class B from other backgrounds came from the more vocational MAVO or MAVO/HAVO streams (eight pupils in total) rather than streaming ‘down’ from the more academic VWO. In Class A, the majority of pupils (22 of 25) had spent their first year in either t-HAVO or t-HAVO/VWO streams, and the three pupils who had come from other streams all had international backgrounds. It is also interesting to note that, unlike in Class B, the majority of pupils in Class A appeared to have taken a step away from more academic forms of education in moving to t-HAVO, with 15 out of 25 having moved from (t-)HAVO/(t-)VWO. As the findings discussed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 suggest, this difference may reflect an important distinction between TTO and NTO in terms of their academic attitudes and (perceived) abilities.

Figure 3.1 First-year streams of Phase I participants.



3.3.3 Research process

Phase I was carried out over the course of one academic year, from selection of classes to the designing of the Phase II questionnaire in time for the start of the following academic year. A timeline summarising this process can be found in Figure 3.2, with the details of each of each stage explained below.

Figure 3.2 Timeline of Phase I.



Selection of classes and consultation with teachers

Classes were selected according to the timetable and staffing arrangements. An attempt was made to select two classes (one TTO and one NTO) of similar size and demographic quality. Teachers, tutors and the leadership team were consulted regarding the choice of classes and arrangements made regarding a class visit by the researcher in order to explain the project and the pupils' role in it.

Pupil Co-Researchers (PCRs)

Phase I involved working closely with ten 'pupil co-researchers' (PCRs): five from Class A and five from Class B. In the initial stages of the research, care was taken to select and train the PCRs in an appropriate and effective manner.

Selection

It was the original intention to employ purposive sampling (Cohen, Manion et al. 2011) to select the PCRs, although this proved to be an overly ambitious goal. The challenge of engaging a 'representative' group of pupils, while also considering the importance of 'fairness' to the other members of the class has been highlighted as a complicated issue (Leitch, Gardner et al. 2007). Previous research has involved the selection of participant researchers using a range of different approaches, such as random selection (Leitch, Gardner et al. 2007), informed selection by school staff (Sorrell, Sorrell 2005, cited by Flutter, Rudduck 2006, Burke 2007) or targeting specific groups of marginalised or "*more challenging*" pupils (Roberts, Nash 2009, p.178, see also Hadfield, Haw 2001, Bland, Atweh 2007). In the current study, it was decided that the responsibility for selecting the PCRs should rest with the research participants. In being empowered to nominate a group of their

peers whom they were comfortable with entrusting with the responsibility of representing their views and interests, it was hoped that the pupils would feel more connected with and represented by the research (Pedder, McIntyre 2006, Thomson, Gunter 2007).

Following the explanation of the purposes, aims and ideals behind the research project, and of the role of the PCRs, and an opportunity to ask questions and to voice their opinions regarding participation in the project, pupils were asked to complete a ballot form nominating up to three classmates as PCRs. The same form (shown in Figure 3.3) was used to express an interest in becoming a PCR. The nominations were counted by the adult researcher and the volunteers with the highest number of nominations invited to join the research group. The parents of these pupils were invited to an evening information session to explain the purposes and implications of their children's involvement, and were issued with a letter and consent form (see Appendix B), which they all returned.

Figure 3.3 Ballot paper for election of PCRs, with translation below.

Verkiezing medeonderzoekers motivatie project H2F

UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN

Universiteit Utrecht

Naam: _____

Ik wil de volgende klasgenoten nomineren als medeonderzoekers:

Naam	Reden voor nominatie

Ik wil zelf ook graag meewerken als medeonderzoeker: Ja Nee

Translation: Co-researchers election for motivation project, H2F / Name / I wish to nominate the following classmates as co-researchers / Name, Reason for nomination / I would like to become a co-researcher myself: Yes/No

The response to the project and to the ballot differed considerably between the classes. While Class A appeared enthusiastic about participation in the project and to take the task of choosing representative peers to work as PCRs seriously, Class B was less enthusiastic about the project. Furthermore, a number of outspoken girls in Class B openly expressed their enthusiasm, which appeared to lead their classmates to feel that they should vote for them. The result was that Class A succeeded in electing a group of pupils with varied ages, backgrounds, characters and academic abilities, while the five clear winners of the ballot

from Class B were all girls, and all part of the same friendship group, which was a less broad representation than had been hoped for. In this sense, selection of participant researchers became more a case of convenience than purposive sampling (Cohen, Manion et al. 2011). The details of the PCRs from each class are displayed in Table 3.1 and Table 3.2.

Table 3.1 PCRs from Class A (TTO).

Name ⁵	Gender	Age on 01.10.11	1st year	Comments in 2011-12	Status in 2014-15
<i>Maxim</i>	M	14.92	NT2 ⁶	Oldest in class. Second year in the Netherlands, first at research school. Possibly t-VWO potential.	5 th (final) year t-HAVO
<i>Alex</i>	M	12.58	t-HAVO/t-VWO	Among the youngest in the class. Skipped a year of primary school.	Repeated 2 nd year in t-HAVO. Now in 4 th year t-HAVO.
<i>Sam</i>	M	13.83	t-HAVO/t-VWO	Repeated a year of primary school.	5 th (final) year t-HAVO
<i>Jasmin</i>	F	13.33	t-HAVO	Moved to MAVO half-way through the year, but continued her involvement in the research project where possible.	Repeated 3 rd year MAVO. Now in 4 th (final) year MAVO.
<i>Anouk</i>	F	13.33	t-HAVO/t-VWO		5 th (final) year t-HAVO

Table 3.2 PCRs from Class B (NTO).

Name	Gender	Age on 01.10.11	1st year	Comments in 2011-12	Status in 2014-15
<i>Alice</i>	F	13.42	t-HAVO	Transferred from TTO after 1 st year due to low attainment.	Moved to MAVO and repeated 2 nd year. Now in 4 th (final) year MAVO.
<i>Yvette</i>	F	13.67	HAVO		5 th (final) year HAVO.
<i>Kayleigh</i>	F	14.75	VWO	Repeating 2 nd year HAVO.	5 th (final) year HAVO.
<i>Ana</i>	F	13.17	HAVO	Recognised by other pupils for her studiousness. Ambitions for VWO.	5 th (final) year HAVO.
<i>Mei</i>	F	13.25	MAVO → HAVO	Began in MAVO but moved to HAVO during 1 st year.	5 th (final) year HAVO.

All ten PCRs continued their participation in the research project throughout the entire school year, until the end of Phase 1 in May. Input from the various pupils differed, with some taking on a leading role from the start, others participating quietly but productively and others being less active, or allowing their interest to wane by the end. ‘Jasmin’ willingly

⁵ No real names have been used.

⁶ *Nederlands als tweede taal* (Dutch as a second language)

continued her participation as actively as she could after leaving Class A to join the MAVO cohort, although she was not always able to be present for meetings and research activities.

Training & preparation

The pupil researchers attended a training and preparation day as part of the whole-school activity week in early October 2011. The training session in the morning, attended by two adult researchers (the author and her second supervisor) and the ten PCRs, addressed the aims, objectives and structure of the project, as well as theoretical concepts such as '*What is research?*', research ethics and the question of motivation as an area for research. The PCRs consented to meetings being filmed as a record of discussions and to provide fuel for reflection, and they enthusiastically took charge of most of the filming themselves. In the afternoon, pairs of PCRs carried out a number of preparatory tasks, including development of consent forms and letters (see Appendix C), website design, dividing the classes into subgroups and selecting stimuli for discussions. A rough timeline was also produced to show targets and key events, such as planning and evaluation sessions, throughout the rest of the academic year.

A further outcome of the preparation session was the formulation of a set of research questions for Phase I, on the basis of the morning training and of whole-group discussion. These questions remained the central focus of Phase I activities:

- i. What is the difference in motivation between TTO and NTO?*
- ii. What kinds of motivation are there? What motivates people?*
- iii. How do learners identify and talk about motivation?*

It should be noted that the above research questions (i-iii) were formulated by the PCRs and reflected their own goals in conducting the Phase I research. Question ii, for example, refers to 'people', although in fact the focus of this phase of the research was specifically the motivation of them and their peers. This was an extra question added by the PCRs as a reflection of their own interest in the subject of motivation, while the other two questions are more directed towards the role of Phase I in the larger study. These questions should not be confused with the overarching Research Questions (RQ1 and RQ2) presented at the beginning of this chapter, which were formed partially on the basis of theory and past research, and partially on the basis of the inclusive research conducted during Phase I, as explained in Section 3.3.4.

Based on the literature on focus group research (e.g. Calder 1977) and the research goals, it appeared most logical that each class should have its own website, and that discussions should be held in sub-groups of between eight and twelve. Should the groups be any larger, the concern was that discussions would be dominated by a small number of participants, while others would either observe silently or not visit the forum at all, or else that discussions would become disjointed and lose flow. The PCRs, however, felt strongly that there should be one website and one forum for all 51 pupils involved. They believed that a discussion with fewer people would not be as enjoyable and that *“nobody [would] want to do it because it’s boring”* (Alice, Class B). This view correlates with findings from research into online focus groups, where larger group size has been an advantage (Stewart, Williams 2005). It was therefore agreed that the PCRs’ approach would be employed for the first round of discussion, and evaluated and adjusted if necessary at a later date.

Data collection

Data in Phase I were collected through online discussion forums with both classes and live discussions with groups from each class. Additional data were obtained through the documentation of the research group meetings, in the form of video and audio recordings, notes and a research journal.

Online discussions: Design and preparation

It became apparent during the training day that in order to complete the website design, the pupils assigned that task would have needed more individual support than the adult researchers were able to offer in one afternoon. The website was therefore left unfinished by the end of the training and had to be completed by the adult researcher based on the texts and ideas provided by the PCRs during the training session. The PCRs examined and tested the finished website and gave feedback before it was made live, and wrote a set of instructions to use when assisting their classmates during the website launch. The PCRs were happy with this arrangement, and pleased with the outcome.

The website and forum were hosted by the educational platform *Edublogs* (Farmer 2005) and were password-protected in accordance with ethical guidelines for online research (Ess, AoIR ethics working committee 2002). The aim was to make the website attractive and engaging, but also easily navigable for participants. Widgets such as a talking *Voki* (Oddcast Inc. 2014) to repeat the written instructions and an *AnswerGarden* (Huiberts, Tol 2010) survey question to activate thinking and allow for quick answering were included in order to

appeal to different types of learner, and a clock to count-down until the opening and closing of each discussion was intended to remind participants of the purpose of the website. Screenshots of the finished website can be found in Figure 3.4-Figure 3.7.

Figure 3.4 Screenshot of website homepage (1).

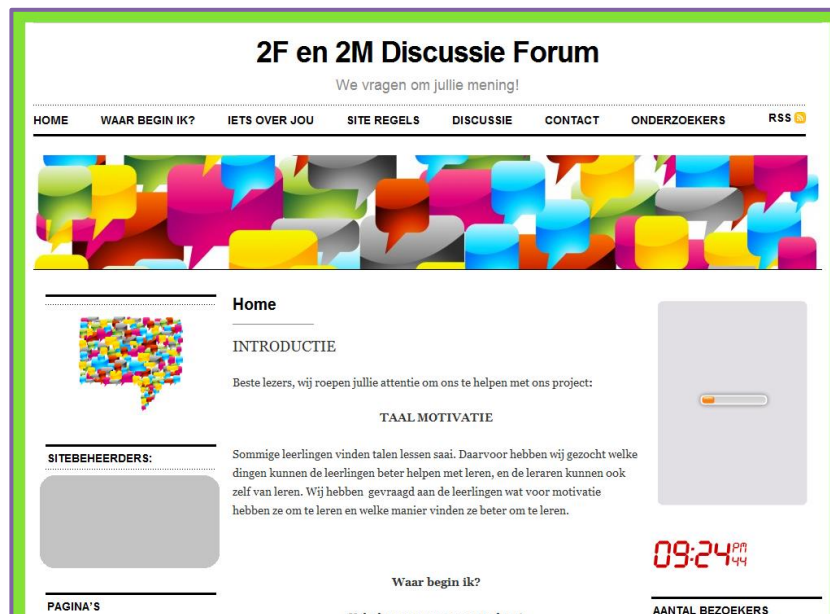


Figure 3.5 Screenshot of website homepage (2).

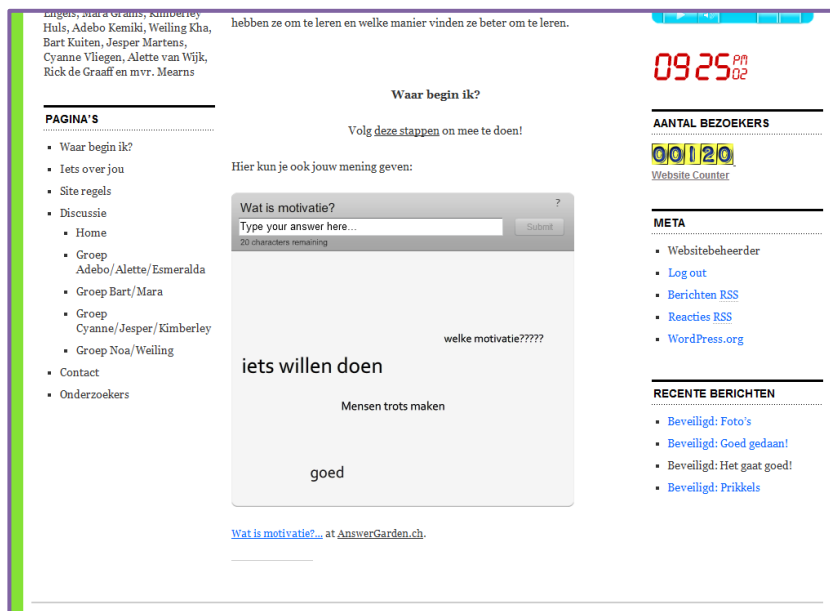


Figure 3.6 Screenshot of discussion page (1).

2F en 2M Discussie Forum
We vragen om jullie mening!

HOME WAAR BEGIN IK? IETS OVER JOU SITE REGELS DISCUSSIE CONTACT ONDERZOEKERS RSS

Beveiligd: Groep Adebo/Alette/Esmeralda

Welkom op jullie eigen discussie pagina!

Hieronder zijn er twee discussie vragen. Aub op beide vragen reageren!

Niet alleen je eerste reactie op de vraag, maar ook wat je vindt van de meningen van anderen uit 2m en 2f, is interessant.

Deze discussie blijft t/m woensdag, 29 februari open: tot dan kunnen jullie altijd inloggen en meedoen.

De discussie gaat het over deze foto:

SITEBEHEERDERS:
Noa van Engeland, Esmeralda Engels, Mara Grams, Kimberley Huls, Adebo Keniki, Welling Kha, Bart Kuiten, Jasper Martens, Cynne Vliegen, Alette van Wijk, Rick de Graaff en mvr. Mearns

PAGINA'S

AANTAL BEZOEKERS

09:23 PM

Figure 3.7 Screenshot of discussion page (2).

Waar begin ik?
• Iets over jou
• Site regels
• Discussie
• Home
• Groep Adebo/Alette/Esmeralda
• Groep Bart/Mara
• Groep Cynne/Jesper/Kimberley
• Groep Noa/Welling
• Contact
• Onderzoekers

-Iedereen heeft recht op zijn/haar eigen mening: je mag discussiëren, maar op een respectvol manier.
-Gebruik woorden die geschikt zijn voor school: liever geen scheldwoorden aub!

Hieronder zijn de verhaaltjes. Lees ze goed door voordat je op de vraag reageert. Klik op het verhaal om het te vergroten.

Bas wil zijn vader niet teleurstellen, dus hij doet zijn best voor Engels.

Kevin wil in America studeren, dus hij moet presteren op school, vooral bij Engels.

Showing 1 > 3 of 3 posts

TOPICS (NEW)	POSTS	LATEST POSTER
Discussie 3: Verhaaltjes	1	missmearns
Vraag 2: Motivatie (Closed)	15	missmearns
Vraag 1: Leren (Closed)	13	missanoniemhof

Showing 1 > 3 of 3 posts

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• Beveiligd: Het gaat goed!
• Beveiligd: Prikkels

The first discussion was launched in each class during a weekly tutor lesson. The PCRs preferred not to lead the website launch with their classes, but instead to assist in facilitating the session, with the adult researcher in the leading role. Following a short explanation and an opportunity for questions, each PCR was responsible for supporting a group of four or five classmates in registering for the forum, completing a short demographic questionnaire and accessing the discussion. Participants were offered the opportunity to withdraw from the research, and were issued with the consent letters to be signed by themselves and their parents. The letter to parents had been produced by the PCRs (see Appendix C), although

the participant consent letter they had produced had been lost, and had to be reproduced at short notice by the adult researcher. The issuing of consent letters was accompanied by a brief explanation of the importance of informed consent, as recommended by Leitch et al. (2007). All letters from Class A were returned promptly. Several parent letters from Class B were not returned and had to be reissued. Pupils who did not return the consent form after the reissue did not participate in the discussions.

Online Discussions: Forum 'live' dates

The discussion forum was made 'live' a total of three times throughout the school year. In Discussion 1, a simple question was posed (*Why would you want to learn a language?*), as formulated by the PCRs. Inspired by pupil-led research conducted by Thomson & Gunter (2007), Discussion 2 was stimulated by photographs. The images used had been taken and selected together with the PCRs, and were intended to reflect situations that might occur in the classroom. Each group was presented with a different photograph and two accompanying questions, one of which was the same for all groups, and one of which referred to the specific photograph presented. These photographs and questions, along with translations, are shown in Figure 3.8-Figure 3.11.

Figure 3.8 Stimulus material from Online Discussion 2, Group 1.



**Denk je dat deze leerlingen gemotiveerd zijn? Waarom (niet)?
Wie leert het meest in deze foto? De jongens of de meisjes? Waarom denk je dat?**

*Do you think that these pupils are motivated? Why (not)?
Who is learning the most in this picture? The boys or the girls? What makes you think that?*

Figure 3.9 Stimulus material from Online Discussion 2, Group 2.



**Denk je dat deze leerlingen gemotiveerd zijn? Waarom (niet)?
Wat zijn deze leerlingen aan het doen? Denk je dat het leerzaam is?**

*Do you think that these pupils are motivated? Why (not)?
What are these pupils doing? Do you think they're learning from it?*

Figure 3.10 Stimulus material from Online Discussion 2, Group 3.



**Denk je dat deze leerlingen gemotiveerd zijn? Waarom (niet)?
Denk je dat deze leerlingen leren? Waarom (niet)?**

*Do you think that these pupils are motivated? Why (not)?
Do you think these pupils are learning? Why (not)?*

Figure 3.11 Stimulus material from Online Discussion 2, Group 4.



Denk je dat deze leerlingen gemotiveerd zijn? Waarom (niet)?
Wat is er in deze foto aan de hand? Vind je deze situatie leerzaam? Geef een reden voor je antwoord.

*Do you think that these pupils are motivated? Why (not)?
What's going on in this picture? Do you think it is a learning situation? Give a reason for your answer.*

Discussion 3 consisted of a comparison between one pair of short case scenarios per group, shown in translation in Figure 3.12-Figure 3.15. The scenarios and questions were chosen and adapted by the PCRs from a selection of suggestions. For each of these sets of scenarios, participants were asked which of the fictional learners they felt was the more motivated of the two.

Figure 3.12 Scenarios from Online Discussion 3, Group 1 (translated).

Bas doesn't want to disappoint his father, so he does his best for English.

Kevin wants to study in America, so he has to do well at school, especially in English.

Figure 3.13 Scenarios from Online Discussion 3, Group 2 (translated).

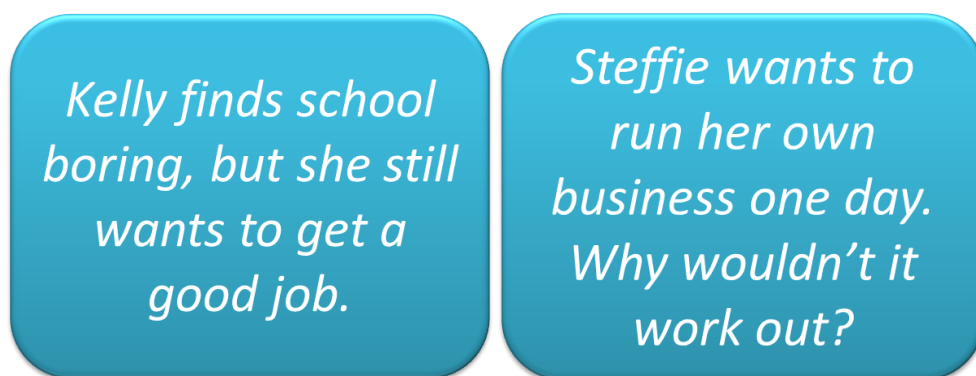


Figure 3.14 Scenarios from Online Discussion 3, Group 3 (translated).

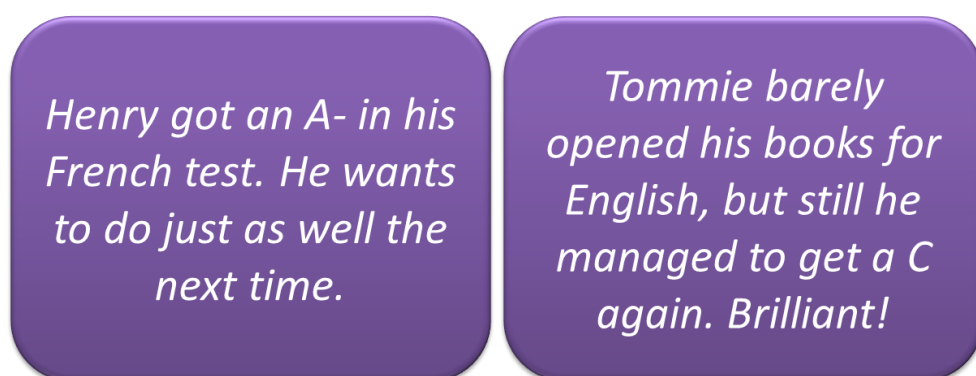


Figure 3.15 Scenarios from Online Discussion 3, Group 4 (translated).



In all three discussions, participants were encouraged to respond to the stimulus and/or question presented, but also to each other's comments. The PCRs participated in the discussions along with their classmates, but with the added responsibility for reanimating or re-focusing dwindling or drifting discussions.

Participation in Discussion 1 was largely limited to a small number of pupils, mostly from Class A. In the interests of ensuring that enough useful data be obtained to meet the primary goals of the research (Bland, Atweh 2007), it was therefore decided to divide the classes into

smaller groups for subsequent discussions in the hope that this would boost participation, but to continue combining the classes in accordance with the PCRs' advice. The PCRs assigned their classmates to four sub-groups across both classes, each with approximately 12 participants, including two or three PCRs. This arrangement led to mutual satisfaction among researchers and PCRs, as the compromise reflected both the need to ensure that the data were well-balanced and the PCRs' conviction that their classmates were attracted to the project because it was an opportunity to work with pupils from a different class.

A further change applied to the structure of the discussions was that, following a less successful second discussion, in which pupils were asked to participate in their own time but had a tendency to forget, the groups were instead invited to participate synchronously in the discussions. The synchronous discussions took place on laptop computers during tutor lessons, and were supervised by the adult researcher.

Live focus group discussions

It has been remarked that *"researchers [...] often fall back on tried and tested methods"* (Mallan, Singh et al. 2010, p.269) rather than persisting with more experimental approaches to data collection. This study saw a similar preference among the young people involved. While it had been expected that participants would be engaged with the idea of conducting research using online discussions, some of them were unenthusiastic about this approach, and the PCRs from Class B suggested that the website should be abandoned in favour of more 'conventional' discussions. Following the second round of online discussion, in which participation from Class B had been minimal in spite of the smaller group size, it was decided that the final two online discussions for that class should be conducted live. As Class A remained relatively enthusiastic about the online forum, their PCRs chose to complete the third online discussion before switching to the face-to-face approach for the fourth and final topic. The stimuli used for these discussions were the same for both groups, even when the medium differed.

This late-stage transition to an alternative method of data collection, while instigated by the PCRs, came at the cost of the inclusiveness of this stage of the research. Due to time constraints, it was not possible to prepare for the live discussions together, and it became necessary for the adult researcher to adopt a stronger position of 'leader' than originally intended. While the PCRs all participated in the discussions, their role at this stage was not significantly different to that of the other research participants. The PCRs felt that the live

discussions should be conducted in groups incorporating pupils from both classes. This proved logistically impossible to organise, however, resulting in the decision to separate the NTO and TTO groups.

The live discussions took place during class time, with teachers' consent, and involved groups of between eight and twelve volunteers each time, including the PCRs. The participants discussed their general views on school, (language) learning, teaching practices, the importance of goals and their choice for TTO or NTO. In the first discussion with Class B, a number of the photographs and scenarios from the online discussions were also considered. Each discussion lasted approximately 40 minutes and was filmed and audio-recorded.

Evaluation & data analysis

Mitra (2001) advocates inviting young people to be involved in research not only at the data collection stage, but also at the analysis stage. Due to time constraints, however, most of the pupil collaboration in this project took place during the data collection stage, as to train the pupils in and carry out detailed qualitative data analysis would have required more time than the PCRs were either willing or able to contribute. Formal data analysis was therefore conducted independently of the PCRs, although informal reflection on the findings was invited following each round of discussion and, in particular, in the final evaluation meeting.

Evaluation meeting

The purpose of the evaluation session was for the PCRs to discuss their feelings about the research process, to share experiences and to draw their own conclusions from the data. The discussion was scaffolded by a version of de Bono's (2006) Plus-Minus-Interesting (PMI) tool, in which the PCRs were invited to share with each other what they had experienced positively, what they found less positive, and what they felt they had learned from the experience. Points made during this reflection were taken into consideration in the coding of the data during formal analysis, and in both the design of the Phase II research tool and the analysis of its findings.

Following the evaluation discussion, the PCRs worked in pairs to produce sections of a research report describing the motivation, methods, results and outcomes of the project, in both Dutch and English. The final version of the report was edited together to ensure that its

structure, content and wording were agreed upon. A copy of the English version of this report can be found in Appendix D.

Formal data analysis

For the formal analysis, data from the online discussions were downloaded to Microsoft Office, and the live discussions transcribed. Both were uploaded to the Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS) package NVivo 9.2 (QSR International 2011) for coding and analysis. The choice of a digital coding method was intended to accelerate the coding process and support the development, maintenance and organisation of a consistent coding structure (Bryman 2004). As the data from the online and live discussions were collected over a period of several months, the digital package also facilitated the analysis as an ongoing process, with nodes and categories that could be easily adapted and adjusted as and when more data were produced and uploaded. Later, the nodes and the programme's Search function also assisted in the process of identifying appropriate quotations and examples to illustrate specific findings.

The Phase I data were analysed on the basis of emerging themes, which were identified on an ongoing basis and repeatedly refined into a clearer thematic framework. An inter-coder reliability check suggested that this framework was reliable. An overview of the thematic framework in terms of the most commonly occurring themes noted from both the online and the live discussion data is given in Table 3.3.

Outcomes

Working together with young people in Phase I posed a number of challenges but also produced valuable outcomes in terms of both its contribution to the broader research design and the opportunities it presented for pupil and researcher learning. Furthermore, it appeared that the PCRs benefitted from involvement in the project with regard to their understanding of both research practices and the concept of motivation, while the adult researcher grew in terms of her own understanding of the level of 'translation' of oneself required in order to effectively communicate with and relate to young people (Cook-Sather 2007). These outcomes are explored in detail in an article published with regard to the inclusive aspects of this study in the *International Journal of Research and Method in Education* (Mearns, Coyle et al. 2014).

Table 3.3 Thematic framework for Phase I analysis

Theme	Sub-themes	Detail
Education format	Streams	Differences between MAVO, HAVO and VWO
	TTO	Differences between NTO and TTO Contact between pupils in NTO and TTO Reasons for choosing TTO or NTO
Learning	Learning behaviour	Perception of 'good' and 'bad' learning behaviour
Motivation	Motivational influences	Influences on general learning motivation: - Achievement - Challenge - Class/Peers - Enjoyment - Lessons - Negative motivation/Feared self - Ought self - Required effort - Rewards/Incentives - School/Classroom environment - Subject content - Task difficulty - Teachers - Value Influences on language-learning motivation: - Career goals - Challenge - Communication - Compulsion - Confidence - Enjoyment/Satisfaction - Family - Financial - Future (non-specific) - Grades - Language lessons - Language needed to move to VWO - Language preference - Ought self - Travel/Going abroad - Usefulness of language(s) Parents' influence
	Motivated behaviour	Perception of motivated and demotivated behaviour
School Experience	Role in school	Perception of the school's attitude towards NTO and TTO pupils

3.3.4 From Phase I to Phase II

The most common themes encountered in the Phase I data (shown in Table 3.3) led to the formulation of eight specific questions for further investigation. The connections between elements of the thematic framework and these eight questions are illustrated in Table 3.4. The questions were as follows:

- a. What attitudes do TTO and NTO learners express in relation to (language) learning?*
- b. What do the pupils view as being the differences between TTO and NTO learners in terms of attitudes, motivation and their role in school?*
- c. Which group displays more motivated characteristics: TTO or NTO?*
- d. What form(s) does the motivation of each group take?*
- e. To what extent did motivational differences influence the choice of TTO or NTO?*
- f. What appear to be the main influences on (language) learning motivation in each group?*
- g. How does (language) motivation in each group seem to change during the school career?*
- h. How do learners feel about their specific (language) learning context?*

These eight sub-questions were then grouped together to form the two more general Research Questions identified in Section 3.1. To serve as a reminder, these questions were as follows:

RQ1. How and to what extent do TTO learners display inherently different learning and motivational characteristics to their NTO peers?

RQ2. What appears to be the impact of the TTO context on learner motivation?

The precise relationship of the eight sub-questions to the central RQs and to the nodes identified from Phase I is outlined in Table 3.4. These sub-questions informed the selection of the motivational variables to be investigated through the Phase II survey, as will be described in Section 3.4.

Table 3.4 Relationship of research questions (RQ) to sub-questions (SQ) and Phase I nodes.

RQ	SQ	Phase I nodes (<i>sub-nodes</i>) from Table 3.3
1	<i>a</i>	Learning: <i>enjoyment, challenge, effort, achievement, difficulty, value</i> Language learning: <i>challenge, communication, compulsion, confidence, enjoyment/satisfaction, language preference, usefulness</i> Reasons for choosing TTO or NTO
1, 2	<i>b</i>	Differences between NTO and TTO Perception of the school's attitude towards NTO and TTO
1	<i>c</i>	Learning: <i>enjoyment, challenge, effort, achievement, difficulty, value</i> Language learning: <i>challenge, communication, compulsion, confidence, enjoyment/satisfaction, language preference, usefulness</i> Differences between NTO and TTO Reasons for choosing TTO or NTO
1	<i>d</i>	Learning: <i>class/peers, enjoyment, challenge, negative motivation/feared self, ought self, effort, achievement, difficulty, value</i> Language learning: <i>career goals, challenge, communication, compulsion, confidence, enjoyment/satisfaction, family, financial, future (non-specific), language preference, ought L2 self, travel/going abroad, usefulness</i> Parents' influence Differences between NTO and TTO Reasons for choosing TTO or NTO
1	<i>e</i>	Reasons for choosing TTO or NTO Parents' influence
1, 2	<i>f</i>	Learning: <i>class/peers, enjoyment, lessons, challenge, negative motivation/feared self, ought self, effort, school/classroom environment, achievement, difficulty, value, teachers</i> Language learning: <i>career goals, challenge, communication, compulsion, confidence, enjoyment/satisfaction, family, financial, future (non-specific), language preference, ought L2 self, travel/going abroad, usefulness</i> Parents' influence Reasons for choosing TTO or NTO
2	<i>g</i>	Not directly influenced by Phase I
2	<i>h</i>	Learning: <i>class/peers, lessons, challenge, school/classroom environment, task difficulty, teachers</i> Language learning: <i>challenge, language lessons</i> Perception of the school's attitude towards NTO and TTO

3.4 Research Design: Phase II

Phase II was carried out in academic year 2012-13 and was more 'traditionally' structured than Phase I. Its primary goal was to collect a combination of quantitative and qualitative data, with the aim of responding to the RQs directly. In doing so, it was hoped that more insight would be gained regarding the nature of the motivational differences between TTO and NTO learners, and regarding the influence of the TTO experience on that motivation. Its design and processes are explored in detail below.

3.4.1 Context for Phase II

Following directly from Phase I, Phase II drew on a combination of quantitative and qualitative data taken from a larger, broader sample of participants during the academic

year 2012-13. The data were collected remotely via online questionnaires administered in five TTO schools and one Comparator school, which did not offer TTO.

Recruitment

Participants for Phase II were recruited via the school management. In May 2012 a letter in both English and Dutch was sent by post and by email to those responsible for first, second and third year (t-)HAVO, and to the Head teacher, of all of the 31 schools in the Netherlands that at that time offered TTO at HAVO level. The same schools were emailed again a week later as a reminder. Attached to the letter was a form to be completed and returned should the school agree to participate in the research. Five of the 31 schools approached responded positively to the request for participation.

Comparator sample

In their study of the differing attainment of TTO and NTO pupils, Verspoor et al. (2009) made the decision to include a 'control' group of pupils from schools where there was no possibility of choosing TTO. Their purpose in doing so was to take into consideration the fact that TTO learners may have chosen TTO precisely because they were different to NTO learners, either in character or in attainment. It was therefore of interest to compare results not only between TTO and NTO learners within TTO schools, but also to consider the differences in relation to groups that included pupils who may have chosen TTO had they had the opportunity. In the current research, a Comparator group from a school that did not offer TTO was employed in a similar way. Here, the inherent differences between the learner groups, as in Verspoor et al's study, were of interest in responding to RQ1. The Comparator sample also served a purpose in relation to RQ2. In this respect, it was intended to highlight the extent to which pupils from the Comparator school appeared to report different experiences of teaching and learning from those in the NTO sample. It was thought that significant differences in this regard could indicate that the presence of TTO in mixed schools can influence aspects of the NTO experience.

Ten schools that did not offer TTO were approached as possible Comparator schools. One of these ten schools responded positively to this request, and was included in the study as a Comparator sample. Data from this school was analysed separately to the TTO and NTO samples, and not included in the majority of the findings discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

Research schools

Of the five TTO schools that initially agreed to participate in the research, one did not respond after the initial contact, leaving four TTO schools and one Comparator school as the sources of research participants. The four TTO schools (Schools A-D) were located in different regions of the Netherlands, and had been offering TTO and t-HAVO alongside NTO for varying lengths of time, as shown in Table 3.5. All of the participant schools, including the Comparator school, offered education at MAVO, HAVO and VWO levels.

Table 3.5 Locations of and programmes offered by participant schools.

School	Region	Programmes offered	TTO since	T-HAVO since
A	Middle	(t-)MAVO, (t-)HAVO, (t-)VWO	2010	2010
B	South	(t-)MAVO, (t-)HAVO, (t-)VWO	2006	2010
C	South	(t-)MAVO, (t-)HAVO, (t-)VWO	1992	2006
D	North	MAVO, (t-)HAVO, (t-)VWO	1994	2002
E	South	MAVO, HAVO, VWO	No TTO	

Table 3.6 Pupil numbers in participant schools (2012-13).

School	HAVO			All		
	NTO	TTO	Total	NTO	TTO	Total
A	396	65	461	1185	84	1269
B	509	111	620	606	232	838
C	272	258	530	750	852	1602
D	448	113	561	826	374	1200
E	781	-	781	1777	-	1777

Table 3.6 displays the pupil numbers reported by each participant school for academic year 2012-13, including details of TTO and (t-)HAVO specifically. All of the participant schools were relatively large, accommodating between 838 and 1,602 pupils at the TTO schools in the relevant year, and 1,777 at the Comparator school. As it is common for schools to have MAVO/HAVO and HAVO/VWO combination classes in first, and sometimes second year, these classes were also included in the study and in the HAVO figures presented here. As can be seen from this illustration, in all but one of the schools (School C), TTO pupils were in the minority. The proportion of pupils in (t-)HAVO or (t-)HAVO combination classes varied between schools, from 33% in School C to 74% in School B.

Participants

The spread of participants across the different year-groups per school and per education type are shown for Rounds 1 and 2 in Table 3.7, and for the respondents who participated in both rounds, in Table 3.8. As can be seen from these figures, the total number of Round 1 (R1) respondents from Schools B, C and D ranged between 149 and 218, although the response-rate from School A was significantly lower. Neither School A nor School D participated in Round 2 (R2), and response rates from all of the other schools also dropped considerably by the end of the year, which led in part to the decision to regard the R2 findings with caution and rely more heavily on the R1 data.

It should be noted in relation to these data that the TTO sample was not evenly distributed across schools with regard to year-groups. 55 (60%) of the 92 TTO third-year respondents came from a single school, which could suggest that trends in third-year TTO responses relate more to differences between schools than between year-groups. There was a more dramatic discrepancy with regard to NTO, where 91 (76%) of the 119 second-year respondents in R1 came from one school. In order to determine to what extent these imbalances played a role, further Chi squared analyses, comparing responses across schools, were carried out on the data from the same questions to which third year TTO or second year NTO had given a significantly different response to the other year-groups. Where these responses were shown to be statistically significant as a result of the imbalance, the results were regarded with caution or discounted entirely.

In order to maintain the integrity of the data and avoid interference, pupils from School C who had participated in any way in Phase I of the study were not invited to participate in Phase II.

Table 3.7 Participant numbers per school, year-group and education type for R1 and R2.

School	Round 1												Round 2											
	TTO				NTO				Total				TTO				NTO				Total			
	1	2	3	Total	1	2	3	Total	1	2	3	Total	1	2	3	Total	1	2	3	Total	1	2	3	Total
A	19	14	6	39	1	0	0	1	20	14	6	40	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B	45	0	15	60	28	91	30	149	73	91	45	209	19	0	15	34	55	23	30	108	74	23	45	142
C	0	21	55	76	28	1	44	73	28	22	99	149	0	22	54	76	0	28	31	59	0	50	85	135
D	40	17	18	75	53	27	63	143	93	44	81	218	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E	-	-	-	-	33	130	132	295	33	130	132	295	-	-	-	-	30	29	0	59	30	29	0	59
Total	104	52	94	250	143	249	269	661	247	301	363	911	19	22	69	110	85	80	61	226	104	102	130	336

Table 3.8 Number of respondents who participated in both R1 and R2, per school, year-group and education type.

School	Both rounds											
	TTO				NTO				Total			
	1	2	3	Total	1	2	3	Total	1	2	3	Total
A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B	0	0	14	14	25	20	28	73	25	20	42	87
C	0	18	36	54	0	0	21	21	0	18	57	75
D	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
E	-	-	-	-	26	27	0	53	26	27	0	53
Total	0	18	50	68	51	47	49	147	51	65	99	215

3.4.2 Survey design

The research tool employed in Phase II was an online questionnaire, designed and published using SNAP 10 Professional software (Snap Surveys 2010). The questionnaire was distributed electronically to the participating schools in both October 2012 and April-May 2013. By collecting data from multiple year groups and during two time periods, it was hoped that the results would give some impression not only of the differences between NTO and TTO, but also of how motivation may differ with age, and how it might also change over time for the learners in each group (Csizér, Kormos 2009, Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011).

Round 1 questionnaire

As illustrated in Section 3.3.4, theoretical considerations and the input from Phase I (based on the nodes displayed in Table 3.3) were brought together in order to formulate a set of Research Questions and related sub-questions to act as the focus for the remainder of the study. The central processes and considerations of this design are described below.

Key variables

Following the identification of the sub-questions listed in Section 3.3.4, and on the basis of examples of previous L2 motivation research, described in Chapter 2, a list of key variables was created in which to ground the survey design. These variables were based largely on the examples set by Ryan (2009) and Csizér & Kormos (2009), but also included separate elements of Dörnyei's (2009c) L2 Motivational Self System, and some variables created specifically for this study on the basis of the insights gained during Phase I. As the survey was to be conducted with learners in the early years of secondary school, it was desirable to keep it as short as possible, and therefore a number of the original variables were eventually combined or omitted, creating a total of six. These variables, while largely focused on and drawn from research in language learning contexts, also take into consideration learning motivation in a broader sense. The six variables were as follows:

- I. ***Self-evaluation***, including learning effort, individual/collective self-confidence & anxiety
- II. ***Instrumentality***, including travel orientation and career goals
- III. ***Interest***, including international contact, interest in languages & integrativeness
- IV. ***Attitudes*** towards (L2) learning situation & (L2) learning
- V. ***Possible selves***, incorporating Ought (L2) self (social milieu & parental encouragement), ideal (L2) self & feared self
- VI. ***Differences*** between TTO/NTO, including choice for education type

It may be noted that variable III (Interest) refers to elements of intrinsic motivation (Deci, Ryan 1985) and integrativeness (Gardner, Lambert 1972), although these were not prominent elements of the thematic framework shown in Table 3.3. Although there was little explicit mention of these motivations during Phase I, as areas prominent in L2 motivation literature, they were nevertheless incorporated into the Phase II research tool. The manner in which the variables from the different sources related to one another and were either combined or omitted is demonstrated in Table 3.9. This table also highlights how the research sub-questions (a-h), listed in Section 3.3.4 and in Table 3.4, relate to each of the variables. These six key variables provided a framework for the questionnaire items, described below.

Table 3.9 Framework for Phase II, cross-referenced with sub-questions.

Ryan (2009)	Csizér & Kormos (2009)	Dörnyei (2009c)	Variable	Sub-questions
	Knowledge orientation			
Interest in foreign languages			III. Interest	a, c, d, e, f, g
International empathy	International posture			
International contact				
Cultural interest				
Travel orientation			II. Instrumentality	c, d, e, f, g
Instrumentality				
Ideal L2 self	Ideal L2 self	Ideal L2 self	V. Possible selves	c, d, e, f, g
Parental encouragement	Parental encouragement Ought-to L2 self	Ought-to L2 self		
Attitudes to learning English			IV. Attitudes	a, b, c, d, f, g
Attitudes to L2 community				
Milieu	L2 learning experience	Attitudes towards L2 learning situation	I. Self-evaluation	a, b, c, d, f, g
English anxiety				
L2 self-confidence				
L2 willingness to communicate				
Intended Learning Effort	Motivated learning behaviour			
Ethnocentrism				
L1 willingness to communicate				
Fear of assimilation				
			VI. Differences TTO/NTO	a, b, c, d e, f, g

Questionnaire structure and content

The questionnaire consisted of three sections as follows⁷:

- **Section 1:**
 - Up to thirteen demographic questions regarding age, gender and academic history
- **Section 2:**
 - A series of 20 Likert-style batteries, totalling a maximum of 95 items, concerning the pupil's attitudes towards and motivations in language learning, based on the key variables described above
 - A set of Likert-style items (maximum of seven) relating to the respondent's reasons for choosing TTO, NTO or, for the Comparator respondents, their school
 - For TTO and NTO respondents only, eleven items asking them to compare characteristics of TTO and NTO learners
- **Section 3:**
 - One multiple choice and five open questions regarding the respondent's personal goals and his/her views about school in general, including space for additional comments

The questions in **Section 1** were aimed at identifying trends in age and gender groups, as well as relating to academic history. This was in order to enable the recognition of trends or irregularities in the sample, as well as the identification of learners from the distinct TTO, NTO and Comparator groups and from different year-groups. This section also asked respondents to supply their individual 'pupil ID number'⁸ as a means of identifying respondents common to both R1 and R2 and identifying changes in their responses between the beginning and end of the school year.

The items included in **Section 2** provided the largest component of the quantitative data collected. The content of these items was chosen on the basis of the sub-questions and key variables already identified, and addressed the following broad areas (relevant RQs displayed in brackets):

⁷ The exact numbers of questions and items per section was dependent on filter questions, e.g. year-group and education type.

⁸ Pupil ID numbers are assigned by and commonly used within schools, for example as a username for accessing school ICT facilities or virtual learning environments, and are therefore usually known and remembered by the pupil. Although the researcher had no access to school databases in order to identify participants from these numbers, it was therefore suggested that respondents concerned about revealing their identity might wish to omit the first two digits of their pupil ID number in both rounds of the survey, making them unidentifiable other than in comparison of their survey responses.

- Affective and behavioural response to English lessons and other subject lessons (divided into English-medium and Dutch-medium for TTO) (RQ1/2)
- Attitudes towards the English language and towards other FLs (RQ1)
- Attitudes towards learning English and towards learning other FLs (RQ1)
- Attitudes towards making mistakes when speaking a FL (RQ1)
- Extramural exposure to/use of English (RQ1)
- Attitudes towards successful learners of English (RQ1)
- Reasons for needing to perform well in English (RQ1)
- Response to teachers of English and of other subjects (divided into English-medium and Dutch-medium for TTO) (RQ2)
- Opinions regarding features of and practices in English lessons and other subject lessons (divided into English-medium and Dutch-medium for TTO) (RQ2)
- Family's attitude towards learning English (RQ1)
- Friends and their attitudes towards English and school (RQ1)
- Future selves (RQ1)
- Reasons for choosing TTO/NTO (RQ1)

An example of one of the Section 2 items can be seen in Figure 3.16, and the full R1 survey in Appendix E. The batteries used were formulated simply and with a repetitive structure in order to minimise the likelihood of misinterpretation. Scaled responses were labelled with words rather than with numbers in order to make them appear more appealing and more 'human' to respondents, and based on findings from previous research, which have shown verbal labels to be more reliable than numerical labels (Schwartz, Knauper et al. 1991). A five-point scale was used in spite of evidence that a seven-point scale is more effective and creates a more detailed picture of responses (Friedman, Amoo 1999), as it was feared that respondents might find a larger scale overwhelming. A neutral category was included to allow participants the opportunity of expressing doubt, ambivalence or neutrality where this was their genuine response, rather than forcing them to profess either a positive or a negative opinion (Friedman, Amoo 1999). This decision was appreciated by the pilot respondents, who expressed a strong preference for retaining the odd-numbered scale.

Figure 3.16 Sample Likert-style item from Section 2 (translated).

In English lessons...	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...I work hard	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I feel confident	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I feel nervous	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I am afraid to speak	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The eleven comparison questions, displayed in translation in Figure 3.17, were intended to address the two groups' views of their position in school and of their collective self-esteem and self-image. These items related to RQ1 regarding the inherent differences between the learner groups, in this case according to their own perception, and in terms of the extent to which collective self-esteem may influence motivation. Their relevance to RQ2 lay in the items regarding learners' perceptions of the different groups' roles within school and the enjoyment each group was considered to experience in relation to school and school activities. As in the Likert-style items, a conscious decision was made to include a neutral element to avoid demanding commitment to a response that may not have been a true one (Friedman, Amoo 1999). Furthermore, it was also of interest in terms of collective self-esteem and self-worth whether TTO and NTO pupils actually perceived that there were differences between the two groups at all.

Figure 3.17 Comparison questions from Section 2 (translated).

Who...	TTO	No difference	NTO
...work harder?	☐	☐	☐
...are nerds?	☐	☐	☐
...are cleverer?	☐	☐	☐
...behave better in lessons?	☐	☐	☐
...are more boring?	☐	☐	☐
...do the most fun things at school?	☐	☐	☐
...are more motivated?	☐	☐	☐
...are more ambitious?	☐	☐	☐
...have more of a laugh?	☐	☐	☐
...are valued by the school?	☐	☐	☐
...enjoy coming to school?	☐	☐	☐

The first item in **Section 3** was a multiple choice question referring to the respondent's plans for when they had finished school. The data from this question was compared across groups to identify characteristic differences in ambition (RQ1) and across year-groups to identify changes in ambition during the school career (RQ2).

The purpose of including open questions in Section 3 was to provide an opportunity to strengthen and deepen the interpretation of the data obtained through the quantitative batteries in Section 2, and to complement or expand upon the Phase I data. These questions focused on the reasons for having chosen either NTO or TTO, in order to determine the extent to which motivational or learning characteristics existed before respondents began their chosen secondary school route (RQ1), and general attitudes towards school (RQ1/2).

Figure 3.18 and Figure 3.19 show screenshots of Sections 1 and 2 of the R1 questionnaire.

Figure 3.18 Screenshot of opening page of R1 questionnaire.

Jouw meningen over Engels en school

In deze vragenlijst gaat het over wie jij bent en wat je denkt over het leren van Engels op jouw school.

Dezelfde vragen worden door leerlingen op meerdere scholen in Nederland beantwoord, één keer nu en één keer aan het eind van het schooljaar. De bedoeling is dat we, door jullie antwoorden, meer kunnen leren over wat jullie helpt om een taal te leren en hoe we het taalonderwijs kunnen verbeteren voor jullie.

Het zou ons echt heel veel helpen als je deze vragen zou kunnen beantwoorden voor ons. Het gaat over meningen, dus er zijn geen 'goede' of 'foute' antwoorden. Je antwoorden zijn anoniem, dus je hoeft je naam niet in te vullen. Je leerlingnummer moet je invullen daarmee we je antwoorden van nu met je antwoorden van het eind van het schooljaar kunnen vergelijken.

Geef alsjeblieft eerlijke antwoorden! Anders helpt jouw bijdrage niet met het onderzoek.

Alvast hartstikke bedankt voor je hulp.

Deel 1: Jij en jouw school

1.1. Wat is jouw leerlingnummer?

1.2. Wat is de naam van jouw school?

1.3. Ben je een jongen of een meisje?

☐ jongen

☐ meisje

1.4. Hoe oud ben je?

Figure 3.19 Screenshot of Section 2 of R1 questionnaire.

Deel 2: Jouw meningen

Voor de volgende 20 vragen moet je aangeven in hoeverre je eens bent met de uitspraak.

2.1. Tijdens de Engelse lessen...

...werk ik hard

...doe ik mijn best

...werk ik harder dan voor andere vakken

...voel ik me zelfverzekerd

...voel ik me zenuwachtig

...doe ik niet zo veel

...ben ik bang om te spreken

...vind ik het leuk

2.2. Ik vind Engels...

...moeilijk

...makkelijk

...zinloos

...nuttig

...belangrijk

...leuk

...saai

2.3. Ik vind talen...

...moeilijk

...makkelijk

...zinloos

...nuttig

...belangrijk

...leuk

helemaal meestal soms meestal niet helemaal niet

Piloting

The R1 survey was piloted with a PCR from each of the classes involved in Phase I, and the wording, appearance and structure of the questionnaire adjusted accordingly before it was published to participants. These alterations were slight.

Round 2 questionnaire

For the second data collection period, in April-May 2013, the tool employed was nearly identical to the R1 questionnaire, with the exception of the omission of some of the

demographic questions that were no longer deemed relevant following initial data analysis. The structure and design of the questionnaire was maintained in order to allow for direct comparison between responses in R1 and R2. The most notable difference between the two rounds lay in the open questions at the end of Section 3, where the original questions regarding the choice for TTO or NTO were replaced with the opportunity to comment on learners in the opposite group. Unfortunately, an error with the questionnaire filters led to both groups being presented with the same question. The responses to this question were not included in the analysis.

3.4.3 Data collection

In mid-September 2012, instructions regarding anonymity and the conditions under which the survey should be completed were sent to the self-designated coordinator in each of the participating schools, along with an internet link to the published survey. Supervisors of the participating classes were asked to read out a letter from the researcher to the participants prior to beginning the survey. While instructions to supervisors were provided in both English and Dutch, this letter was produced only in Dutch in order to ensure that participants would understand it fully. TTO teachers not comfortable speaking Dutch to their classes were requested to invite a pupil to read out the letter rather than ignoring or attempting to translate it.

The school coordinator and the teachers present during the completion of the questionnaire were also asked to complete short online forms during this period. The former provided extra data regarding the school demographics and confirmed that the school's ethical protocols had been followed with regard to consent. The latter provided information about the setting in which the survey was completed, and about the number of participants who chose to withdraw from the research. There was also an opportunity to provide extra comments on the survey. The information provided by the supervisors of the participating classes did not highlight any issues or concerns regarding the questionnaire, nor did they identify that any pupils had chosen to withdraw from the research.

The first data collection period lasted four weeks. The second data collection period, which followed an identical procedure with the exception of the school coordinator form, took place in April and May of the same academic year. The second data collection period lasted six weeks instead of four, as it included a school holiday period.

3.4.4 Data analysis

The survey data were collected and stored electronically using SNAP 10 software (Snap Surveys 2010). They were then exported and analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) (IBM Corp. 2012) for the quantitative responses and NVivo (QSR International 2011) for the qualitative responses.

Quantitative analysis using SPSS

Initial analysis of the quantitative data was conducted on the basis of response frequencies as a proportion of each group (TTO, NTO and Comparator). The responses to the Likert-style items were considered in their original five categories, including two degrees each of positivity and negativity alongside the neutral option. Initial observations were made on this basis.

Descriptive data

As described in Section 3.4.2, Section 1 of the questionnaire contained a small number of demographic questions aimed at identifying general trends in the respondent population. These data were analysed in terms of frequency and the data regarding year-group and education type employed as bases for the quantitative and qualitative analyses described below. The data regarding gender was ultimately not used for this purpose as it was believed that consideration of gender differences, while likely to prove interesting and revealing as has been the case in previous CLIL studies (e.g. Merisuo-Storm 2007), might detract from the central goals of the research. This was also the reason behind the decision not to include any questions aimed at determining social class.

Statistical testing & attitude to data

Following the initial frequency analysis, the data were considered in terms of the differences between groups and, within each group, of the differences between year-groups. To this end, Chi squared (χ^2) analysis was conducted within SPSS in order to identify areas of statistically significant variation, based on a significance level (p) of $p=0.05$. As recommended by Muijs (2011), Chi squared analyses were complemented by the Phi measure of effect size (r), using the parameters displayed in Table 3.10.

Table 3.10 Parameters for effect size (from Muijs 2011).

r	effect size
<0.1	weak
<0.3	modest
<0.5	moderate
<0.8	strong
≥0.8	very strong

In the first instance, these analyses were conducted only in relation to the data from the NTO and TTO groups, as the inclusion of the Comparator responses risked interference with the results of the tests. Later, Comparator responses were considered in relation to the responses from the NTO group in particular.

Due to the relatively low response-rate to the R2 survey, and its uneven spread across schools and year-groups, it was decided that these data should only be considered with regard to the changes that appeared to take place within the group of respondents who participated in both data collection rounds. As the responses analysed in R2 could therefore all be paired with responses from the same participant from R1, it was possible to employ a McNemar Chi squared test (McNemar 1947) or Bowker test of internal symmetry (Bowker 1948) to identify areas of statistically significant difference. The McNemar test is an alternative to Pearson's Chi squared test where the two sets of data to be compared both come from the same subject, and where there are two variables, making a 2x2 table. The Bowker test is an extension of the McNemar test that allows for more than two variables. The same test was also employed for the identification of statistically significant differences between one group's responses to different items, for example TTO learners' response to English-medium and Dutch-medium teaching and learning. As with the Pearson Chi squared analyses, the results of these tests were interpreted on the basis of a level of significance of 0.05. As the McNemar-Bowker analyses were conducted on the basis of one sample at two different points in time rather than two separate samples, measures of effect size were not conducted for these comparisons.

For a large number of items, reliable Chi squared and Phi, or McNemar-Bowker analysis was not possible due to low numbers of responses in individual categories. This was especially the case for the year-group analyses, where response numbers were smaller. Where this was the case, the data from the scaled items were collapsed into the three larger values of 'positive', 'neutral' and 'negative'. This allowed for more consistent and

widespread application of Chi squared analysis, and therefore for more reliable identification of statistical significance. Cohen et al. (2011) highlight that the subtle distinction between extreme and more measured positive and negative responses can add to the depth and significance of questionnaire data, and emphasise that data should be used in their purest form wherever possible. Care was therefore taken to ensure that distinctions between groups that were only visible through the uncollapsed values were not ignored. To this end, where collapsing the data appeared to conceal statistically significant differences that had already been identified in the uncollapsed data, the original values were restored, even where this invalidated the Chi squared measurement. In the presentation of findings in Chapters 4 and 5, most of the data have been presented visually in their original form, although sometimes with complementary illustrations of the reduced data. The Chi squared, Phi and McNemar-Bowker analyses reported on vary between the reduced and original values, although this is always stated clearly to avoid ambiguity.

Some statisticians might argue that it would have been more meaningful to analyse the Likert-style data using analysis of variance instead of non-parametric tests such Chi-squared. Boone and Boone (2012) provide an overview of the common misconceptions and mistakes in the analysis of Likert scale and Likert-type data. Much of the confusion in this area, they suggest, is a result of the lack of clarity that has arisen between scales that are employed in the way that Likert (1932) intended, and scales that are simply influenced by Likert's design ('Likert-type' or 'Likert-style' scales). They argue that, while the original Likert scale was designed to involve simultaneous analysis of responses to a number of related items as interval data, Likert-type items, which are often to be analysed individually, require a different approach. As has been echoed elsewhere (e.g. Cohen, Manion et al. 2011, Muijs 2011), viewing such data as continuous implies the assumption that the response labels will be interpreted in exactly the same way by all respondents, and that the distance between them is equal.

According to Boone and Boone, among others, this assumption is unfounded. Viewing Likert-style data as ordinal, they purport, is a more appropriate approach. Means would therefore have little significance in relation to such data, as would analyses of variance, which are drawn from the mean. Instead, frequency analysis and non-parametric tests are recommended for use with Likert-type data such as those obtained in the current study (Muijs 2011). This approach was also considered most appropriate to the epistemological

values described in Section 3.2.3, as the current research took the interpretivist view that human experience is individual and context-bound (Cohen, Manion et al. 2011).

Analysis of qualitative responses

As with the Phase I data, the qualitative responses from the R1 questionnaire were copied into NVivo and coded and categorised within the TTO, NTO and Comparator respondent groups. Although these data were generally regarded and analysed qualitatively, data transformation was employed on occasion (Cohen, Manion et al. 2011), where analysis tools such as the 'Explore' function enabled the quick identification of the most common responses. Together with specific examples from the qualitative responses, these transformed data were employed to elaborate upon and suggest explanations for trends identified in the quantitative survey responses.

Reporting of data

The findings produced by the majority of the items from the R1 questionnaire are presented and discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. In Chapter 4, nearly all of these analyses were performed on the basis of the R1 responses of all three year-groups in TTO and NTO. In Chapter 5, the analyses shown also include comparisons across year-groups within TTO or NTO, or between TTO and NTO respondents from a single year-group. Chapter 5 also contains within-sample analyses considering differences between R1 and R2 responses from the same group, or comparing responses within TTO to items regarding, for example teaching practices within English-medium and Dutch-medium lessons. In all of these cases, it is stated in the figure caption and in the text to precisely which comparisons the data refer.

Responses to a small number of items were deliberately omitted due to lack of conclusiveness. Moreover, year-group analyses and comparisons with the R2 questionnaire are only presented for the items whose findings were considered pertinent to the answering of the research questions have been included in this report.

3.5 Ethical considerations

Where living beings are the subjects of research, ethics will most likely play an important role (Dörnyei 2007). Furthermore, as has been emphasised in evaluations of previous pupil research projects (Atweh, Burton 1995), ethical issues are of particular importance in research where children or young people are actively involved. Due to the high level of involvement of young people in Phase I of this research, additional attention was therefore

paid to adherence to guidelines on research ethics, both in order to ensure the ethical validity of the research and to ensure that the participants felt involved and respected from the outset. These, along with the measures taken to the same ends in Phase II, are described below. A copy of the Student Research Ethics Application Form submitted for approval to the University of Aberdeen can be found in Appendix A.

3.5.1 Election of pupil researchers and consultation

In an approach that is intended to be democratic, deciding which voices should be heard can both be a considerable challenge (Arnot, Reay 2007) and be valued intensely by pupils (Leitch, Gardner et al. 2007). Participants in Phase I were asked to nominate their classmates on the basis of their representativeness of the class as a whole, and the pupils with the most nominations invited to participate on a voluntary basis. While, in particular in Class B, this did not necessarily lead to the selection of a representative group, it was an attempt to employ democratic methods and to make the research as inclusive as possible.

3.5.2 Consent and free will

The British Educational Research Association (BERA) guidelines on ethical research emphasise that while it is not compulsory to obtain consent from young people under the age of 16 provided that their parents have consented on their behalf, it is advisable to do so in situations where participants are old enough to understand the implications of participating (British Educational Research Association 2004). These guidelines were honoured in Phase I, where the school, teachers and class tutors were consulted and agreed voluntarily to the participation of their classes, and both pupils and parents were asked for written consent for pupils' participation in the research and to use their images for research purposes. Examples of these consent letters can be found in Appendices A and B. All participants in both phases of the study were informed of the purpose of the research prior to participating, and offered the right to withdraw if they so wished.

The outcomes of the transparent approach in Phase I, however, were mixed, as a number of the pupils, parents and teachers involved appeared to be unfamiliar with the concept of informed consent in research. This unfamiliarity with the notion of openly agreeing to participate in research suggests that the phenomenon described by Homan (2002) and DePalma (2010), *"where 'informed consent' [...] is often given by gatekeepers, such as head teachers and/or class teachers, on behalf of the actual participants of the research"* (p.219), may have been the norm in the research in this school in the past. For some pupils,

participating in the research was not a problem, but reading and signing the pupil form, and remembering to return both it and the parent form did not appear to be regarded as necessary.

Due to these difficulties and the fear of the investment of time and effort required to collect signed consent acting as a deterrent to schools' participation, the decision was made to take a less involved and perhaps more culturally appropriate approach to consent in Phase II. Consent and right to withdraw were arranged formally through the participant schools, who agreed to implement their own policies in this respect. The coordinator at each school declared this officially via the online form at the beginning of the first data collection period.

3.5.3 Academic pressure

The concern was raised at the Phase I school that participation as PCR's might place unnecessary pressure on pupils with an already heavy study load. It was anticipated that this issue may also be raised by parents or deter pupils from participating. The risk that this concern would act as a deterrent was minimised through preliminary measures, such as informing the pupils from the outset of what participation as a pupil researcher would involve, what measures would be taken to ensure that adverse effects on workload and studies were avoided and what the advantages and rewards of participation would be. On the recommendation of the school, a meeting was arranged to similarly inform the parents of the pupil researchers. In practice, the impact on pupils' workload was limited through a number of measures. For example, meeting times were agreed upon democratically and to accommodate pupils' existing academic and extra-curricular activities, and training took place during an activity week to avoid pupils having to miss lessons or be unnecessarily burdened with extra hours at school.

3.5.4 Handling of data

As Thomson and Gunter report, *"student researchers have to pay extra attention to ethical issues since student-to-student interviewing tends to produce frank information: as in the school yard and corridor names and identities are often blurted out."* (Thomson, Gunter 2007, p.331). One means recommended to nurture pupil-researchers' awareness of ethical limitations is to engage them in the ethical side of the planning process, for example by involving them in the production of the 'right to withdraw' letter and the permission/consent form, and by encouraging them to devise solutions to problems

regarding peers who have chosen not to participate in the research (Leitch, Gardner et al. 2007). Given this level of responsibility, they are able to take on “*a researcher persona*” (ibid.) and are likely to live up to it.

In the current research, a mature attitude among the Phase I classes was encouraged and enhanced through an ethics training session for the PCRs at the beginning of the project, and through thorough explanation of the website rules and regulations to both classes. This helped to ensure that the pupils understood the implications and importance of ethical research and that they were able to recognise when behaviour could be considered unethical. No problems or issues arose in this respect.

3.5.5 Online security

Wang and Heffernan (2010) identified that learners were generally trusting of their teachers when using the internet for learning activities, and that they did not find privacy to be a source of concern. Wang and Heffernan’s research, however, was conducted with university students in Japan, and not with lower-secondary school pupils in the Netherlands, where the culture surrounding privacy and online security may differ quite significantly (Wang, Heffernan 2010). The United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN 1989) and the BERA Revised Ethical Guidelines (Gardner, Lewis et al. 2004) emphasise the right to privacy, yet as Berry (2004) highlights, the concept of privacy on the internet is often ambiguous, and can therefore be an ethical ‘grey area’. He alerts us to the suggestion that anything knowingly published on the internet is essentially public, and we have no right to consider it private. The Association of Internet Researchers (AoIR) appears to agree with this, and has comprised a set of ethical guidelines for internet-based research (Ess, AoIR ethics working committee 2002), in which they specifically highlight the complexity of ethics and security in conducting online research with children and young people.

During Phase I of this study, the issue of internet security was discussed with the PCRs, and appropriate measures taken according to their wishes and the recommendations of the adult researchers, as follows:

- The forums were password-protected and users were required to apply to become members. This served to preserve the confidentiality of the pupils, the class teacher and the school, while also preventing interference from outwith the participating classes.

- The website used to host the forums did not request personal information beyond the member's name, age and gender. Whether real names could be identified via their chosen username was the choice of the pupils, although they were required to include their class in their username in order to facilitate data analysis.
- The website used to host the forum was designed for educational use only, and had a high level of security protection (WordPress 2014).
- The website settings were adjusted so that it could not be found using internet search engines such as Google.
- Pupils were required to read the website rules written by the PCRs before joining the discussion. These rules remained visible on the website throughout the project and can be found in Figure 3.20.
- The PCRs were partially responsible for monitoring online activity and for addressing any ethical issues such as inappropriate posting, in collaboration with the adult researcher. The two incidences of this that did arise were relatively mild, involving inappropriate language rather than inappropriate content. These posts were removed immediately on being discovered.
- In Phase II, the online survey was hosted by the University of Aberdeen and only accessible for those in possession of the correct URL. The anonymous data obtained through the survey was automatically sent to a secure location at the university, and later transferred to the adult researcher via university email.

Figure 3.20 Rules for use of the Phase I internet forum, as devised by the PCRs (translation).

Site rules

We don't have many rules on this website, but the following terms of use are for your safety and that of others.

If you want to take part in this project, you must:

- Sign the letter about participating and hand it in to one of the researchers
- Have the parental consent letter signed at home and hand it in to Miss Mearns
- Sign up for an Edublogs account
- Use a username in which the name of your class is visible (e.g. 'anonymous2B')
- Complete the questionnaire about yourself
- Not name the real names of teachers or pupils
- Respect the opinions of others
- Not use bad language
- Keep your login details secret

3.5.6 Transparency and teacher protection

In advance of Phase I, the leaders of the host school were presented with an outline of the research project and asked for permission for the research to be carried out there.

Questions to the researcher regarding the technicalities, motivations and implications of the research were encouraged. Suggestions made by the Leadership Group, such as the publication in the staff newsletter of a summary of the research processes and goals, and the information session for parents of the PCRs, were accepted and carried out.

The researcher explained the project in person to the English department, and it was made clear to the teachers who volunteered for their classes to be affected by Phase I that they were to be consulted and kept informed at all stages of the research, insofar as they considered this desirable. English teachers and class tutors were also invited to access the online forum if they so wished, although they were requested not to place posts themselves. While pupils participating in Phase I were encouraged to post honest and open comments about their view of English and how it is taught, they were also reminded that they must do so respectfully and in a way that would not unnecessarily offend their teachers. No teachers or pupils were to be mentioned by name during online discussions.

In Phase II, schools were asked to participate voluntarily and in line with their own policies on participation in research. The online survey did not allow the submission of personal details such as names, addresses or email addresses, although the participants' pupil ID numbers were used to identify respondents in the two distinct survey rounds. The participating schools were promised an individual summary of the most striking findings of the research in general, and specifically relating to their own school. At the time of writing, these summaries have been drafted although not yet sent. In-school coordinators were thanked following the second round of data collection with a card and book-token.

3.5.7 Data storage

All data collected during the research has been securely stored on a password-protected desktop PC and backed-up on a password-protected external hard-drive and in a password-protected online repository.

4. Findings & Discussion: Pupil characteristics (RQ1)

Following the exploration of the relevant literature regarding language learning motivation and bilingual education in Chapter 2 and explanation of the research methodology in Chapter 3, the purpose of Chapters 4 and 5 is to describe the findings of the current research. At the same time, these findings will be discussed in relation to the RQs and to the theoretical constructs and previous research already considered.

The data collected from both Phase I and Phase II of this research were analysed according to the Research Questions, namely the following:

RQ1. How and to what extent do TTO learners display inherently different learning and motivational characteristics to their NTO peers?

RQ2. What appears to be the impact of the TTO context on learner motivation?

The discussion of the findings resulting from the analysis have been organised into two distinct chapters, each addressing one of the RQs. The current chapter will consider RQ1, regarding the extent to which the two learner groups (TTO and NTO) appear from the findings to possess inherent characteristics that make them attitudinally or motivationally different to one another. This will be approached in terms of specific areas of similarity and difference between the groups, and in relation to various contributors to (language) learning motivation, based on a number of the theories identified in the Literature Review. In particular, attention will be given to learning attitudes; self-confidence and agency; family, friends and past experience; future selves; interest in languages; and international orientation. Chapter 5 will then consider the role of the NTO or TTO school experience in relation to motivation, in fitting with RQ2.

As explained in Chapter 3, the quantitative analysis explored here was not led by statistical testing, although frequency analysis was carried out on all items to determine the statistical significance of the findings. These statistics are reported to the right of the relevant figure or in a separate table, and commented on in the accompanying discussion as appropriate. The same approach has been taken with measures of effect size, where applicable. While the majority of findings reported in this study were statistically significant, the majority of effect sizes would be considered ‘modest’ according to the parameters advised by Muijs (2011). To avoid becoming overly repetitive, therefore, effect size will only be commented on explicitly in Chapters 4 and 5 where it either deviates from this pattern or is otherwise of particular interest. Also in the interests of succinctness, the terms ‘significant’

and ‘significantly’ will be employed in these chapters to denote statistical significance only, thus avoiding excessive repetition. All of the data referred to in this chapter are drawn from the Round 1 (R1) survey, administered in October 2012.

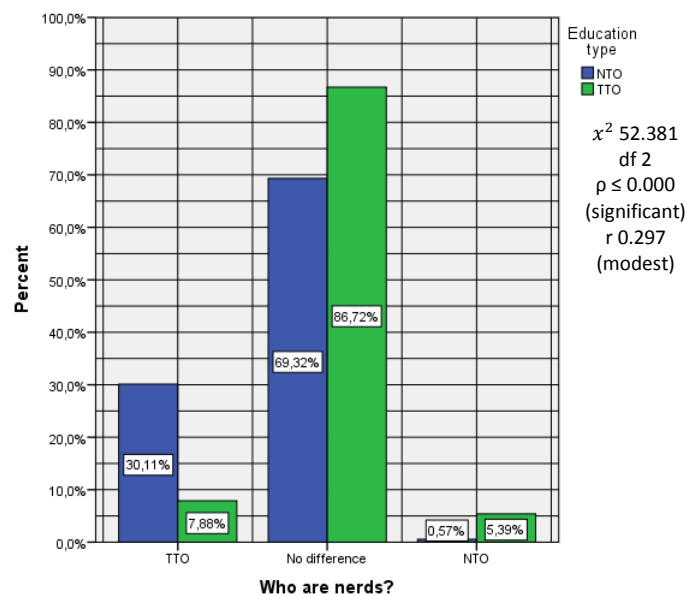
4.1 Attitudes to learning

As highlighted in Chapter 2, attitudes towards learning appear in the majority of motivational theories. It is therefore interesting to consider the extent to which learning attitudes, specifically learner priorities, attitude to challenge, and learning effort, differed across the TTO and NTO samples involved in this research.

4.1.1 Priorities

Among the items regarding characteristics of TTO and NTO learners was the question, *Who are nerds?* The responses to this question are depicted in Figure 4.1. While most of the responses from both groups to this question were neutral, there were relatively fewer neutral responses from NTO than TTO, with a significantly higher proportion of NTO respondents revealing that they believed TTO pupils to indeed be more ‘nerdy’.

Figure 4.1 Perception of TTO or NTO pupils as being ‘nerds’.



‘Nerd’ in Dutch is defined as, “someone who enjoys studying, working with computers, etc., but who is less developed in terms of social, emotional and motor skills” (translated from Van Dale 2009). This could therefore suggest a perception among NTO pupils that TTO pupils are more engaged and more motivated learners, but it also carries with it a negative

connotation, implying that they consider TTO pupils to be less gifted in other areas, such as social interaction.

While the response to this question suggests that TTO pupils did not appear to view themselves in the potentially negative light of the word 'nerd', there is evidence from other items of the questionnaire to suggest that they agreed with the image of TTO pupils' being more academically driven and harder-working than NTO pupils. When asked who were harder working, more ambitious and more motivated, TTO pupils were significantly more likely than NTO pupils to choose themselves. As these items are all a matter of perception, however, they must be treated with some degree of caution when attempting to draw conclusions regarding actual learning behaviour. It is therefore more appropriate to consider these particular responses as a reflection of pupils' group identity and self-esteem, which will be addressed along with the precise figures in Section 4.2.

What can be viewed as more conclusive with regard to the difference in attitude between TTO and NTO is the value placed on different aspects of school and learning. In the final section of the survey, respondents were asked the open question, *What do you like best about school?* Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3 display the counts of the most commonly-coded responses to this question from TTO and NTO pupils. *Peers* (incorporating the sub-categories, *Friends*, *Class* and *Variation/New people*) was the second most frequently mentioned feature among the favourite aspects of school identified by both groups, although the other most commonly mentioned factors differed⁹.

⁹ *No lessons*, incorporates mentions of non-lesson activities such as holidays, break times, weekends, the end of the day and lessons cancelled due to teacher absence.

Figure 4.2 Coded NTO responses regarding favourite aspects of school.

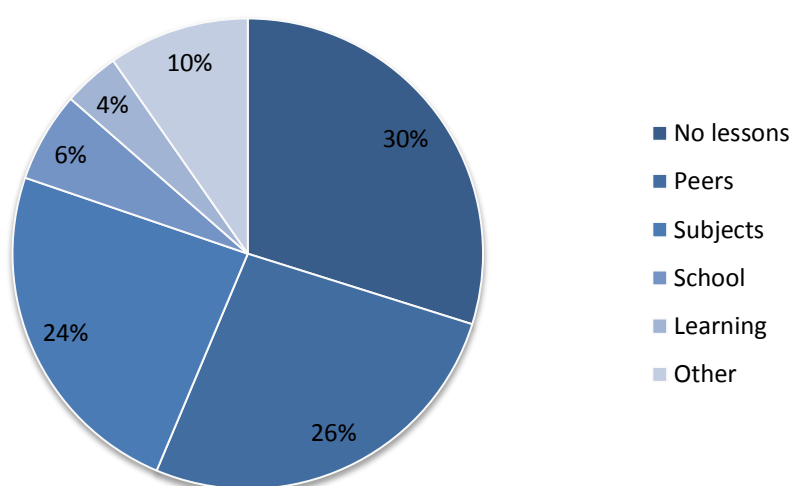
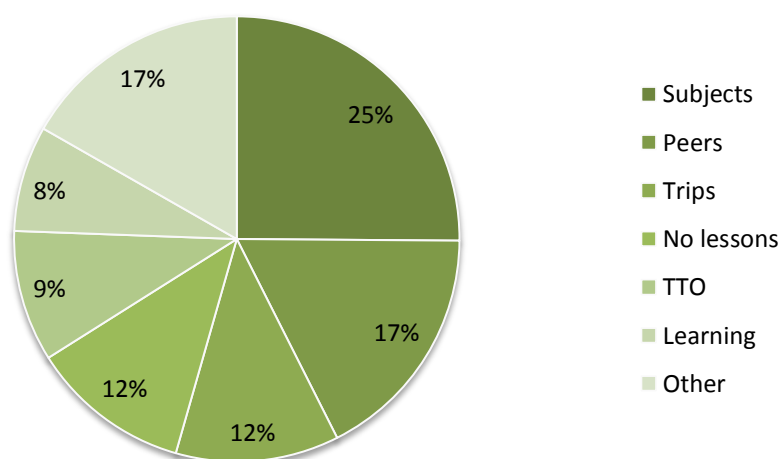


Figure 4.3 Coded TTO responses regarding favourite aspects of school.



This highlights that, while TTO pupils may be viewed as more ‘nerdy’ by NTO pupils, they place similar value on social contact with peers.

Another area of common ground between TTO and NTO pupils with regard to their attitudes towards school is that, as Figure 4.4 and Figure 4.5 highlight, in responses to the question, *If you could change one thing about your school, what would it be?*, both groups were quicker to criticise practical aspects of their school, such as the decoration, the building or the timetable, than academic aspects such as teaching and learning, as in the examples displayed in Table 4.1.

Figure 4.4 Most-coded NTO responses regarding what learners would change about school.

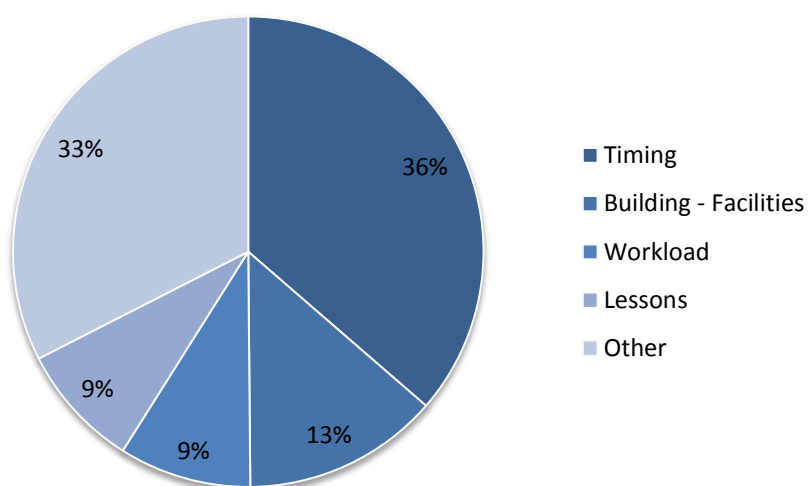


Figure 4.5 Most-coded TTO responses regarding what learners would change about school.

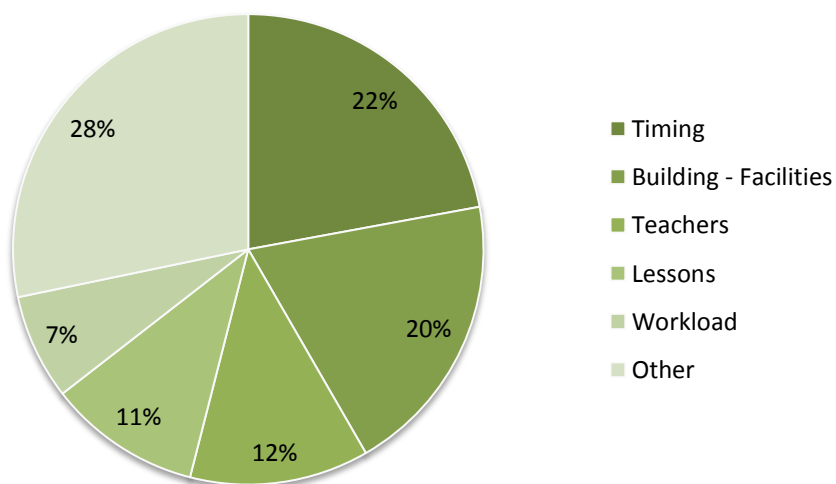


Table 4.1 Phase II responses to *If you could change one thing about school, what would it be?*

TTO	NTO
<i>if you have classes till 6th lesson, get rid of the second break</i>	<i>start school later so you can sleep a bit longer</i>
<i>ehm perhaps do the classrooms up</i>	<i>make it a bit more colourful</i>
<i>Nicer lunch</i>	<i>cheaper food in the canteen</i>
<i>a massive swimming pool in the playground</i>	<i>replace the stairs with slides</i>
<i>free wifi!!!</i>	<i>better computers</i>

Research on pupil voice has shown young people to be capable of viewing less superficial aspects of school critically and reflectively (Fielding 2004), yet these respondents chose to focus more on practicalities and everyday inconveniences than on learning. This could indicate that the learners in both groups were largely satisfied with the teaching and learning at their respective schools. Moreover, the specific focus on these areas may highlight the degree of importance the learning context holds for both TTO and NTO pupils.

Also apparent from Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3 is that TTO pupils were more likely to identify subject preferences than NTO pupils, who focused first on aspects of school that specifically involve not being in lessons, such as break and holidays. In response to the same question, *Learning* came sixth on the list of eleven coded responses for TTO, and joint fifth of ten for NTO, suggesting little difference in attitude. Viewed proportionally, however, responses relating to *Learning* take up 32 of 428 responses for TTO (7.48%), while they account for 29 out of 781 for NTO (3.71%), suggesting a difference in attitude. When subjects were mentioned by NTO respondents, the tone differed to that of TTO responses, suggesting a degree of resignation to enjoying their subjects rather than actual positivity, as illustrated in the examples in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Phase II responses to *What do you like best about school?*

TTO	NTO
<i>Doing subjects I enjoy</i>	<i>Some subjects are ok</i>
<i>I enjoy most subjects</i>	<i>The good subjects</i>

Another area of difference, also highlighting the contrasting priorities and interests of TTO and NTO pupils, is which subjects they identified among their favourites. As Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7 show, Practical subjects (P.E., Technology, Cookery) and Arts (Art, Crafts, Music, Drama) were most often mentioned by NTO as positive features of school. For TTO, conversely, Languages (English, Dutch, French, German, Spanish) were mentioned more often, although practical subjects (especially P.E.) also ranked highly.

Figure 4.6 Favourite subject-groups as mentioned by NTO learners.

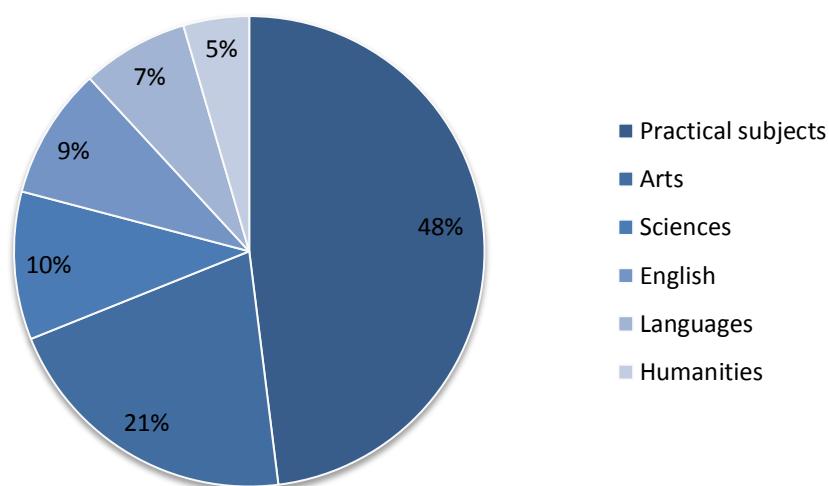
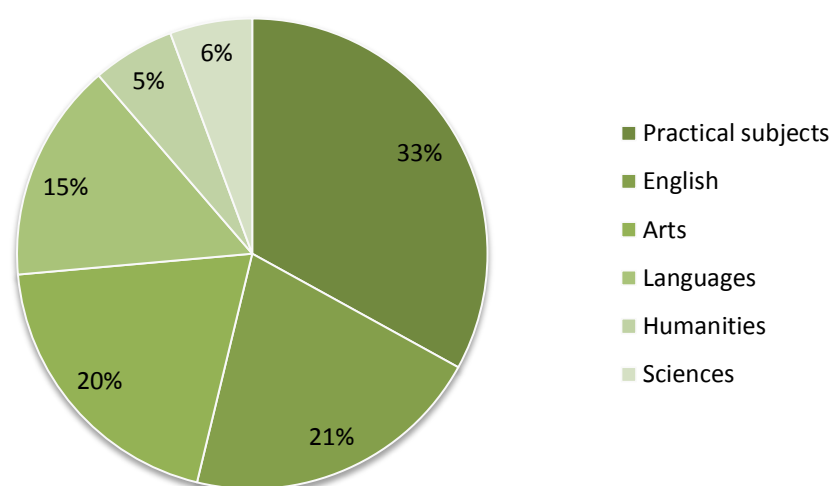


Figure 4.7 Favourite subject-groups as mentioned by TTO learners.



This suggests again that there may be differences in the personality-types of the two groups, in that TTO pupils appeared more inclined to be concerned with the academic side of school, while NTO pupils seemed more physically or practically-minded. On the basis of the definition of ‘nerds’ cited earlier, it seems that the TTO stereotype may therefore not be unfounded, in that, although there is no evidence to suggest that they are socially deficient in comparison to their NTO peers, TTO learners did appear to prioritise academic learning over practical activities.

Another illustration of the contrasting priorities of the different learner groups with regard to school was their attitude towards reasons for choosing TTO. There was a strong sentiment among NTO participants in Phase I that TTO pupils had been motivated in their choice by the inclusion of compulsory trips abroad in most TTO programmes, or that those trips were an important factor in their motivation to perform well in school:

But that’s just because if they don’t pass the year then they don’t have TTO anymore and then they don’t have any trips. In that case I’d also do my best more if I had more trips.

Kayleigh, Class B, Live Discussion 2, March 2012

TTO participants, however, argued that while trips had undoubtedly attracted them to TTO, they had certainly not been the most important factor in their decision. ‘Remco’ explained this during a discussion about the reasons for his choice:

Remco: *But the trips are fun too!*

Researcher: *Ok, so for you it was just the trips?*

Remco: *Well yeah, but also for English 'cos otherwise I wouldn't bother cycling so far.*

Class A, Live Discussion 1, March 2012

That trips had played a role, but were not the most important reason for choosing TTO, was reflected in both the quantitative and the qualitative responses from TTO respondents in Phase II. As depicted in Figure 4.8, the majority of TTO pupils revealed that the attraction of trips had influenced their choice of TTO. This was lower, however, than the proportion who said that they had chosen TTO because they wanted an extra challenge or because it was important for their future, shown in Figure 4.9 and Figure 4.10.

Figure 4.8 Contribution of trips to choice for TTO.

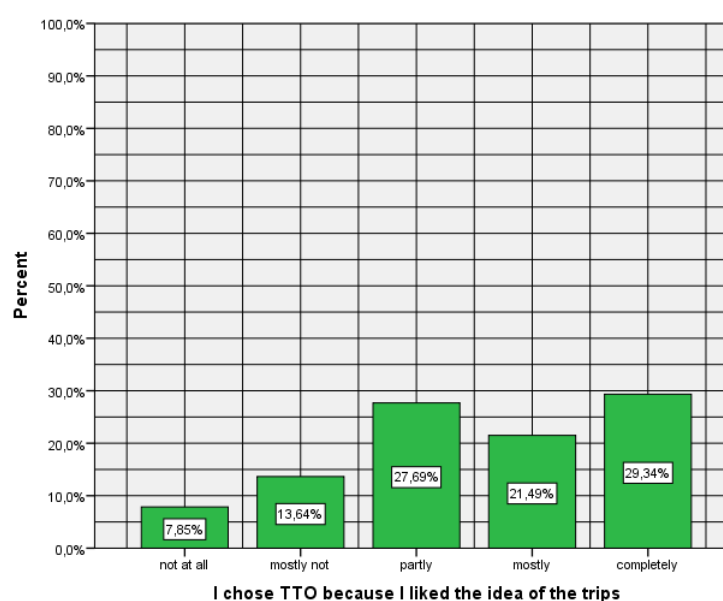


Figure 4.9 Contribution of challenge to choice for TTO.

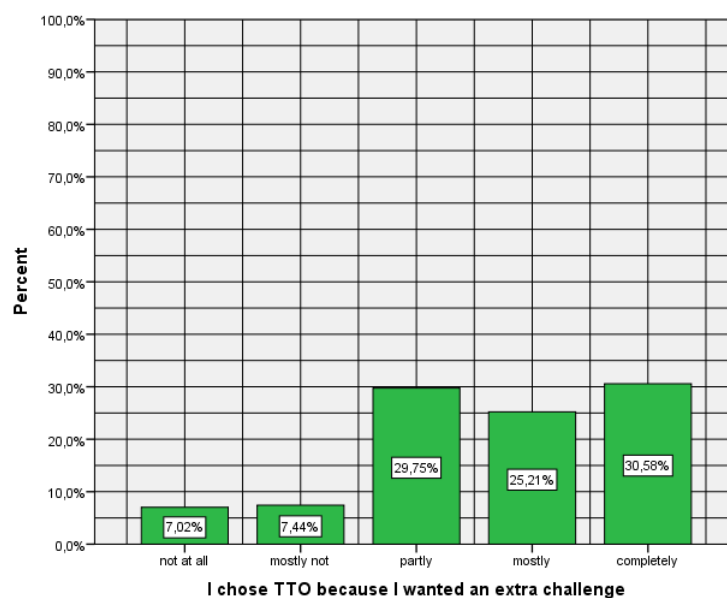
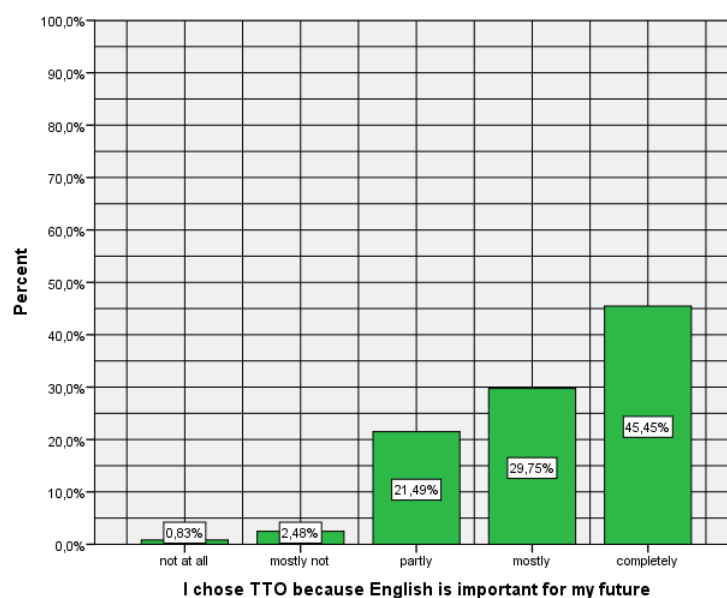


Figure 4.10 Contribution of importance to future to choice for TTO.



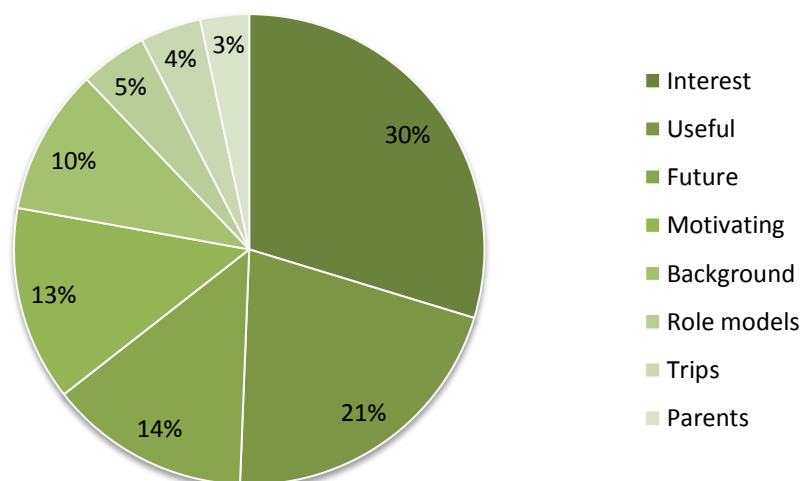
In the qualitative responses addressing the same question, illustrated in terms of number of references coded in Figure 4.11, trips were mentioned by a relatively small number of pupils as an influence, with future plans, interest in English or the TTO programme, instrumental uses of English or other TTO skills, and motivational features of TTO such as extra challenge or the excitement of trying something new, being mentioned more often:

it sounded like a fun challenge to get so many subjects in English!

I wanted a challenge and something new because Dutch every day was so normal and boring

Phase II responses to *Do you have anything else to say about why you chose TTO?*

Figure 4.11 Coded responses regarding reasons for choosing TTO.



As in Phase I and in the quantitative responses, when trips were identified as motivators, it was alongside other factors:

Because I really like languages, like travelling and because it's handy to speak good English, also for if I go to university for example.

I especially liked the combination of english/dutch and the trips to other countries of course!

Phase II TTO responses to *Do you have anything else to say about why you chose TTO?*

Responses and figures such as these refute the assumption that TTO learners are motivated entirely by the promise of trips abroad, suggesting that, while the excitement of travel may contribute to it, their motivation for TTO may be deeper and more complex than others might realise.

4.1.2 Attitude to challenge

As shown in Figure 4.9 (Section 4.1.1, p.158), a significant majority of pupils said that they had chosen TTO either mostly or completely because they “*wanted an extra challenge*”. For NTO, in contrast, there was a tendency for pupils to identify level of difficulty or amount of

work as a reason **not** to choose TTO. While a slight majority of pupils responded negatively to the suggestion that they had chosen NTO because TTO would have been too difficult (Figure 4.12), their qualitative responses regarding their choice of education type, as summarised in Figure 4.13, identify the difficulty of TTO, their doubt in their own ability, or unwillingness to make the effort as the most common reasons behind their decision.

Figure 4.12 Difficulty of TTO as a motivator for choosing NTO.

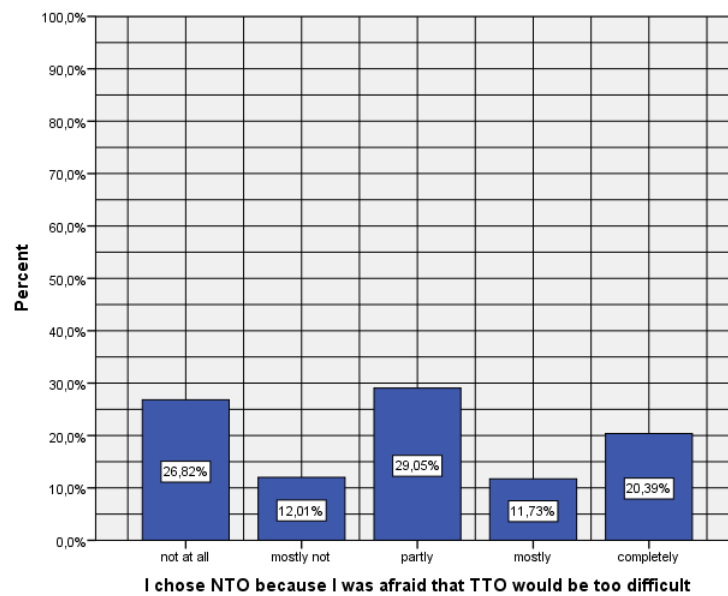
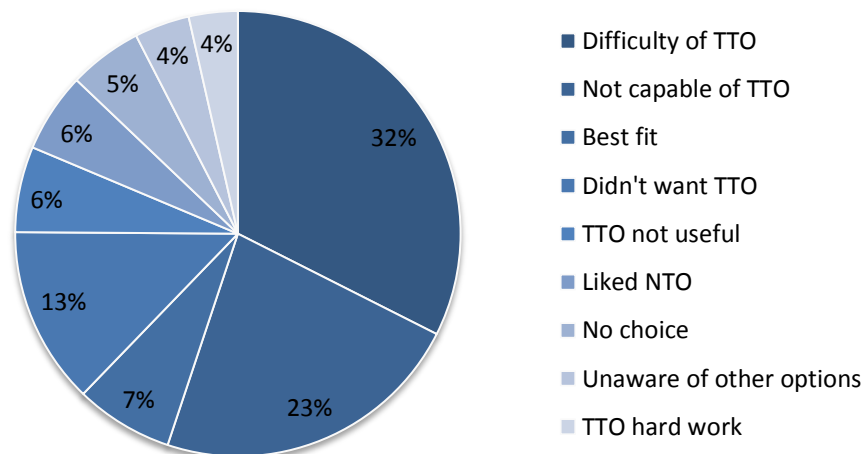


Figure 4.13 Coded responses regarding reasons for choosing NTO.



The following comments give an impression of the tone of the responses included in Figure 4.13:

I thought that it was better but too difficult

Why would I go to Bilingual I wouldn't manage it anyway

It seemed easier to me because HAVO is already quite hard and it's even harder in English

Why make it hard when it can be easy

I found it too big a challenge

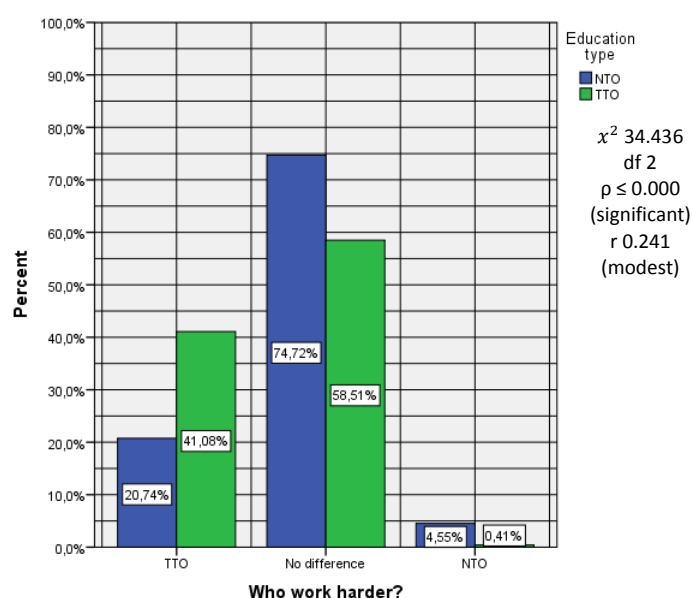
Phase II responses to *Do you have anything else to say about why you chose NTO?*

As explored in Chapter 2, the presence of an appropriate degree of challenge forms an important element of a number of motivational theories (e.g. Atkinson, Raynor 1974, Crookes, Schmidt 1991). For NTO learners such as those quoted above, mentions of the difficulty of TTO as a deterrent could indicate an inherent or learned habit of avoiding academic challenge which might act as a blockade to motivation. TTO learners, in contrast, displayed intrinsic motivation to challenge themselves academically.

4.1.3 Learning effort

As illustrated in Figure 4.14, a greater proportion of respondents from both learner groups believed that TTO learners worked harder for school than NTO learners did. The proportion of TTO respondents who expressed this view was significantly higher than the proportion of NTO respondents, who gave a more strongly neutral response. This suggests that the stereotype of TTO learners investing more effort in their learning (Coleman 2006) was reflected in the views of many, although not most, of the participants in this study.

Figure 4.14 Perception of TTO or NTO pupils as ‘working harder’.



Elsewhere in the survey, however, respondents were asked to what extent they felt they worked hard for English and for their other subjects. For TTO, these ‘other’ subjects were divided into English-language and Dutch-language subjects. The responses from both groups to these items regarding different subject combinations are displayed in Table 4.3, with the results of the relevant analyses summarised in Table 4.4. Both groups gave very few negative responses to these questions, and the statistical analyses revealed neither notable effect size nor statistically significant differences for any of the comparisons.

Table 4.3 Reported learning effort of TTO/NT0 (%).

	TTO			NT0	
	Eng.	TTO	Other	Eng.	Other
<i>not at all</i>	0	0	0	1.4	0.5
<i>mostly not</i>	3.2	0.4	1.2	3.3	1.6
<i>sometimes</i>	17.7	12.9	16.9	19.9	15.8
<i>mostly</i>	68.3	73.1	63.5	65.6	70.2
<i>completely</i>	10.8	13.7	18.5	9.8	11.7

Table 4.4 Chi squared/McNemar-Bowker analysis of comparisons regarding learners' reported learning effort.

Comparison	χ^2 /McN.-B.	df	p	r
TTO English – NTO English	7.442	8	0.490 (n. sig.)	0.091 (weak)
TTO English-medium – NTO ¹⁰	4.536	2	0.104 (n. sig.)	0.086 (weak)
TTO Dutch-medium – NTO ¹⁰	0.892	2	0.640 (n. sig.)	0.038 (weak)
TTO English-medium – TTO Dutch-medium ^{*10}	6.172	3	0.104 (n. sig.)	-

* McNemar-Bowker test

This suggests that, while some pupils may outwardly express the belief that TTO pupils work harder for school, the majority of respondents from both groups felt that they invested a lot of effort in their schoolwork.

What is not clear from these results is whether pupils' own perception of their investment in their learning is quantifiably comparable across groups. What a TTO pupil regards as being 'mostly' hard work may differ from what an NTO pupil regards as the same. As could be seen in Figure 4.4 and Figure 4.5 (Section 4.1.1, p.153), in response to the open question, *If you could change one thing about your school, what would it be?*, *Workload* (mostly the amount of homework given) was third on the list of features that NTO pupils said most often that they would change about their school, while it was sixth on the list for TTO. Based on the largely positive responses from both groups regarding how hard learners felt they worked for school, and on the perception among respondents that TTO learners work at least as hard as, if not harder than, NTO learners, the prominence of these responses could indicate that NTO pupils viewed schoolwork as more of an encumbrance than did TTO pupils. This interpretation is reflected in the comments from NTO pupils identifying TTO as being too much work or boring, as in the following examples:

Bilingual education looked boring and lots of work

It's just more work

I thought I'd hardly have any free time left over

Phase II responses to *Do you have anything else to say about why you chose NTO?*

Especially when set against comments from TTO respondents regarding the attraction of the challenge of TTO (Section 4.1.2), these responses may suggest lack of motivation to invest in academic pursuits.

¹⁰ χ^2 not possible with 5 categories due to small number of negative responses. These values are based on collapsed negative-neutral-positive categories (highlighted by the boxed-off areas in Table 4.3).

4.2 Confidence, collective self-esteem and empowerment

Questions asking respondents to judge the two learner groups against one another were intended to provide further insight into the extent to which the learners in this sample displayed differences in terms of individual and collective self-esteem, and academic and linguistic self-confidence.

4.2.1 Collective self-esteem and academic confidence

Figure 4.15 shows the responses regarding how 'boring' pupils in each group were perceived as being. Both groups, while largely neutral on this point, were significantly more likely to identify each other as boring, and very unlikely to consider their own group as such. As Figure 4.16 highlights, both TTO and NTO respondents were significantly more likely to identify their own group as having 'a laugh' than the other group. Both of these sets of responses had a moderate effect size.

Figure 4.15 Perception of TTO or NTO pupils as 'boring'.

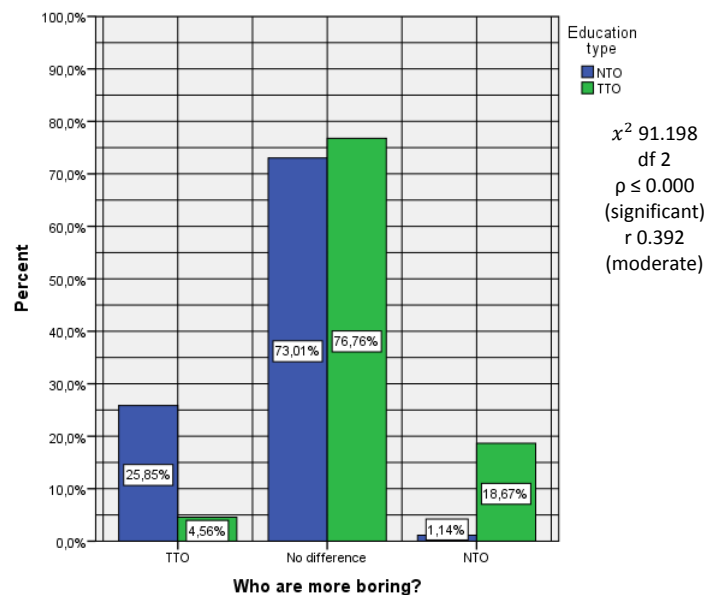
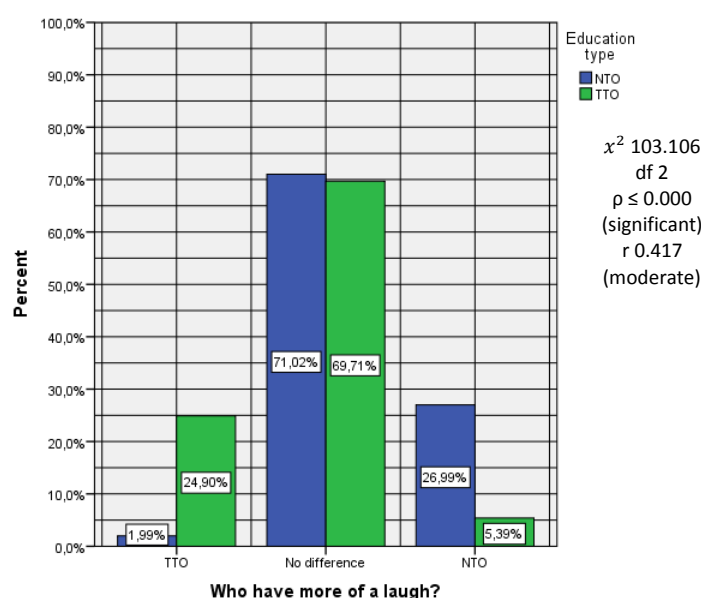


Figure 4.16 Perception of TTO or NTO pupils as having 'a laugh'.



This gives evidence that the collective self-image of both NTO and TTO respondents in non-academic terms was relatively similar, neither set of participants standing out as appearing particularly insecure or dissatisfied in relation to the other.

In academic terms, however, more differences in collective self-esteem were observed. For example, the following comments indicated a perception among both groups that TTO learners were academically superior to NTO learners:

they're a bit more, I dunno...unseriouser.

Jasmin, Class A (TTO), Live Discussion 2, March 2012

there they're just cleverer

Kayleigh, Class B (NTO), Live Discussion 2, March 2012

Like last week I was sent to sit in their class for Maths, and it was just silent. It was just silent and they were paying attention and it was just so serious!

Sammi, Class B (NTO), Live Discussion 2, March 2012

In a similar vein, as illustrated in Figure 4.14 (Section 4.1.3, p.162) and Figure 4.17-Figure 4.19 (below), learners from both groups favoured TTO in terms of work-ethic, motivation, ambition and intelligence, although this response was significantly stronger in all of these respects from TTO respondents.

Figure 4.17 Perception of TTO or NTO as 'more motivated'.

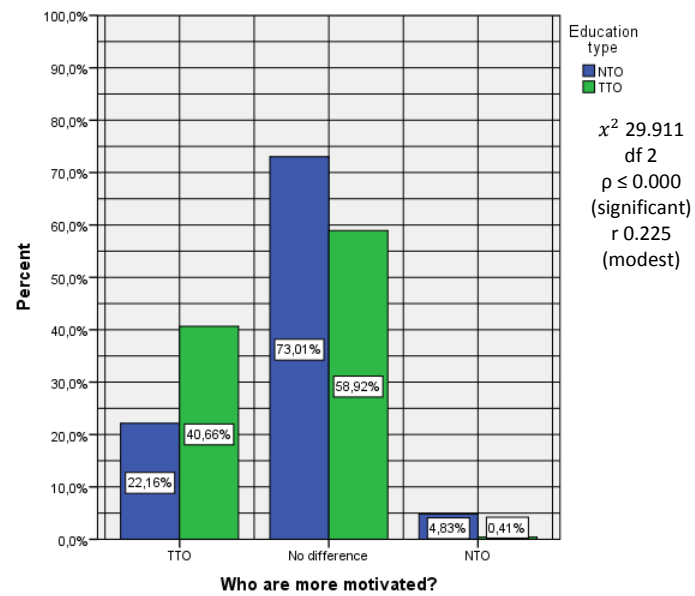


Figure 4.18 Perception of TTO or NTO as 'more ambitious'.

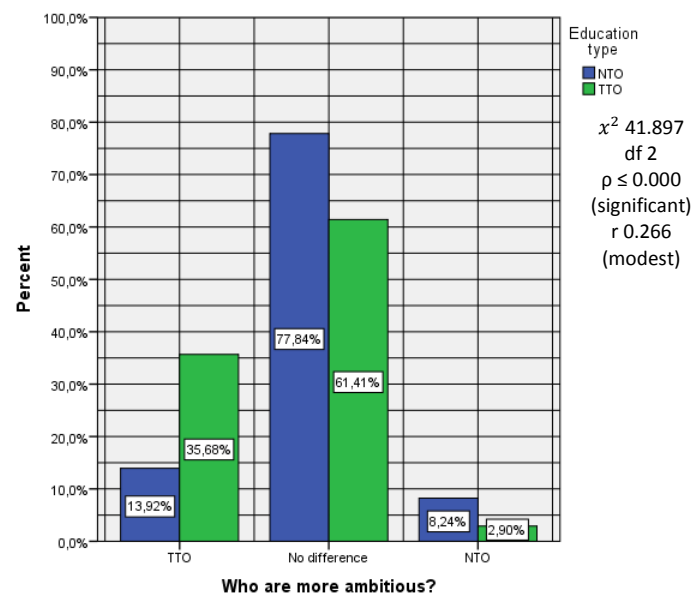
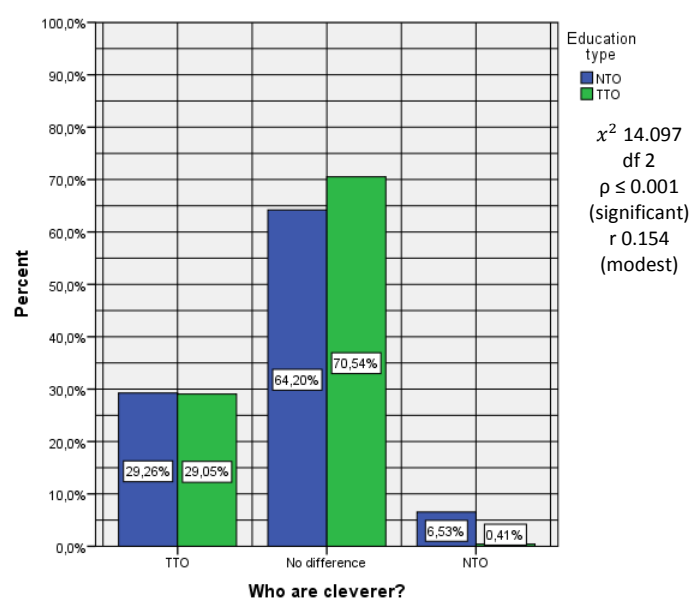


Figure 4.19 Perception of TTO or NTO as 'cleverer'.



The apparent perception expressed in both qualitative and quantitative responses that TTO learners were better-equipped for learning could strengthen the observation, based on the qualitative data above, that self-esteem among NTO respondents with regard to their academic ability was lower than among TTO respondents.

A similar view was expressed during Phase I with regard to TTO learners being better-suited to school in terms of behaviour:

In Bilingual I don't think there have been any yellow cards¹¹

Jessica, Class A, Live Discussion 1, March 2012

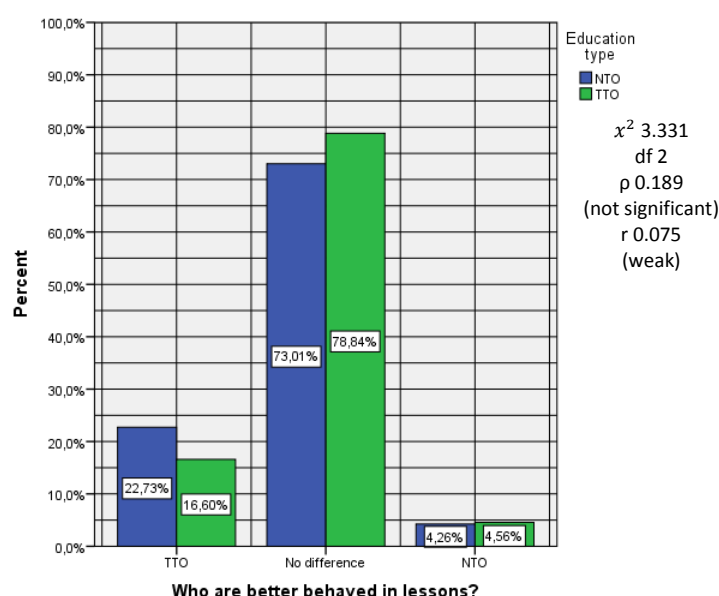
It feels as though we have more respect for the teachers

Karlijn, Class A, Live Discussion 1, March 2012

In response to the question *Who behave well in lessons?*, however, as depicted in Figure 4.20, while there was a slightly greater tendency among both groups to identify TTO as better-behaved, the views expressed were largely neutral. Statistical analysis of these responses showed a weak effect size and no significant difference between groups.

¹¹ A 'yellow card' at the research school denotes that a pupil has been removed from the lesson for misbehaving.

Figure 4.20 Perception of TTO or NTO as 'better behaved in lessons'.



The lack of contrast in the perceived behaviour of the two groups, in spite of qualitative comments stating the opposite, suggests that neither group displayed more motivated behaviour. Alternatively, the general neutrality of the responses might simply imply that neither group is appropriately placed to comment on the behaviour of the opposite group during lessons. It is interesting to note, however, that NTO respondents were slightly (although not significantly) more likely to say that TTO pupils behaved well than were TTO pupils themselves. This could suggest a misconception among NTO pupils that TTO pupils were more different to themselves than they actually were. If this is the case, it follows that the collective self-esteem (Mills 2014) of TTO and NTO learners in terms of academic attributes might differ, which could have a bearing on their individual levels of self-confidence and self-worth. Both of these factors can impact on learning motivation (Bandura 2001).

With regard to individual academic self-confidence, as can be seen in Figure 4.21-Figure 4.23, there was no significant difference between NTO and TTO pupils in terms of whether they felt that their friends were cleverer than they were or whether they felt confident in lessons other than English, either for English-medium or Dutch-medium lessons. The effect size in these respects was weak. A slightly more notable contrast, however, lay in the difference between TTO learners' reported confidence during English-medium and Dutch-medium lessons, where the latter appeared to be experienced more confidently. The low

number of negative responses to these items made McNemar-Bowker analysis of this comparison impossible.

Figure 4.21 Perception of friends' intelligence relative to own.

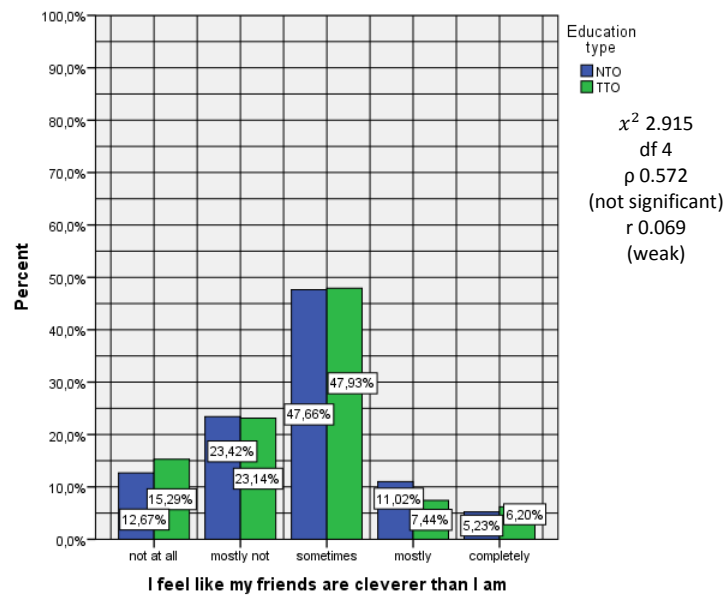


Figure 4.22 Confidence-levels during NTO and English-medium TTO subject lessons.

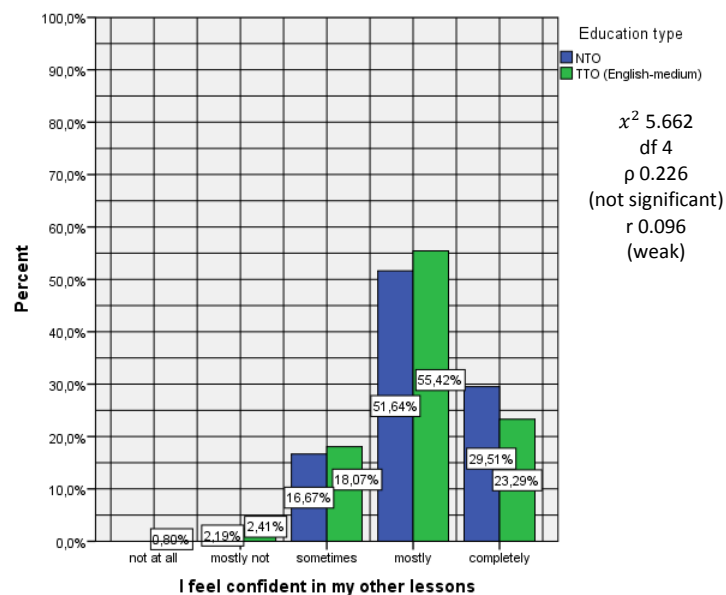
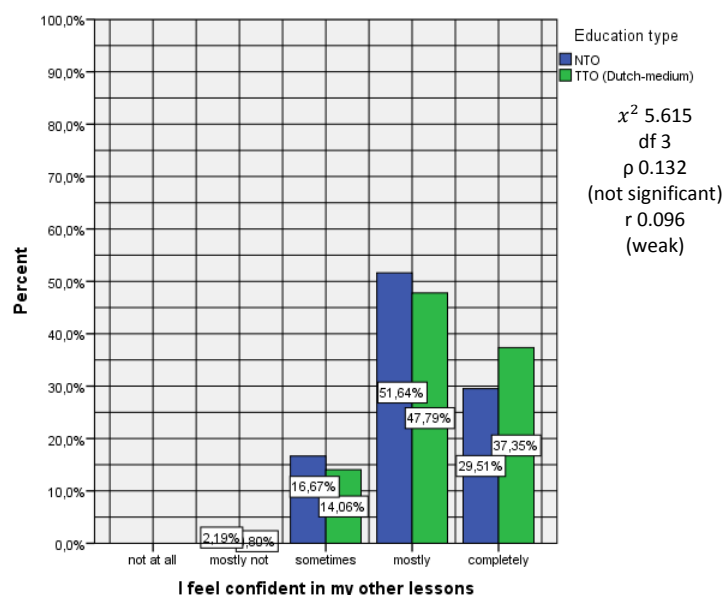


Figure 4.23 Confidence-levels during NTO and Dutch-medium TTO subject lessons.



This suggests that lessons other than English were experienced with similar levels of confidence across groups, with only a slight decrease in confidence in relation to English-medium TTO lessons.

Based on a combination of quantitative and qualitative responses from both phases of the study, therefore, it seems that there may indeed be differences between TTO and NTO learners in terms of their regard for their own academic group (collective self-esteem), but that these differences may not reach beyond academic areas, and also may not be a direct reflection of individual levels of academic self-esteem.

4.2.2 Linguistic self-confidence

As Figure 4.24 and Figure 4.25 depict, neither NTO nor TTO pupils expressed enthusiasm for seeking opportunities to use English outside of the classroom, while the largest proportion of pupils from both groups responded in the negative to the statement, *I wouldn't like to have to speak English outside of lessons*. The difference between groups in these responses was nonetheless significant, with NTO respondents displaying more reluctance than TTO in both respects.

Figure 4.24 Readiness to speak English outside of class.

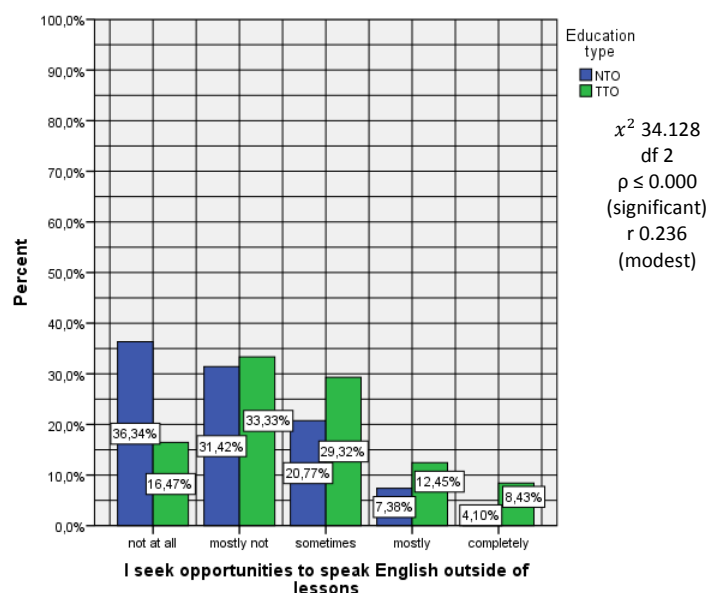
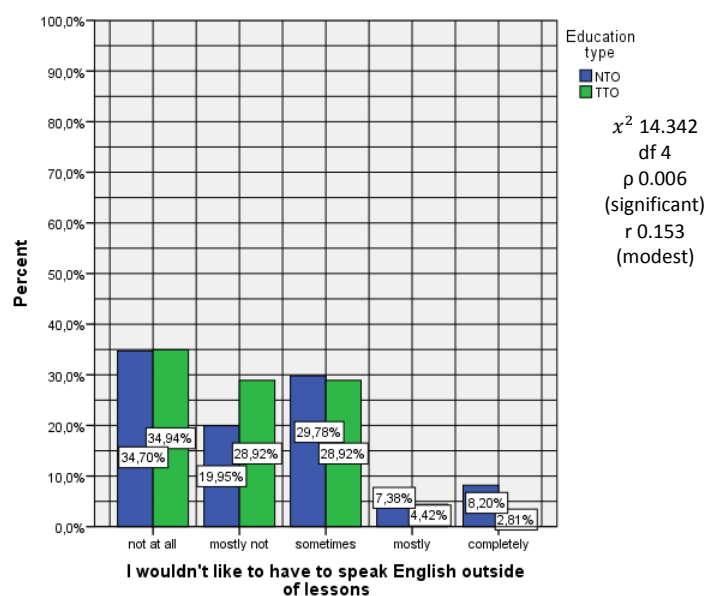


Figure 4.25 Reluctance to speak English outside of school.



The significant differences between groups in both of these respects suggest more willingness among TTO pupils to use English outside of a classroom setting. This could be an indication of more linguistic self-confidence, which would contribute to or be a result of more motivation in TTO learners (Clément, Gardner et al. 1977). This observation contradicts the findings of Seikkula-Leino (2007), who found learners in a bilingual programme to have a lower linguistic self-concept than those in mainstream programmes. She believed this to be a result of learners' increased awareness of their own shortcomings as a result of exposure to the TL, as has also been observed in research elsewhere (Sylvén 2007).

4.2.3 Agency and autonomy

Respondents were asked to state to what extent they agreed with a series of statements regarding successful learners of English. The majority of these statements were intended to explore attitudes to English speakers and to their English-speaking possible selves (see Section 4.6), but the statements, *People who have learned to speak good English are clever*, and *People who have learned to speak good English are well-educated*, were also aimed at determining to what extent they felt that the ability to learn English was either an inherent or an acquired skill.

As can be seen from the figures displayed in Table 4.5, significantly more TTO than NTO pupils stated that they thought that people who had learned to speak good English were well-educated. While the difference between TTO and NTO responses regarding the level of intelligence of English speakers was also statistically significant, this difference was less striking than with regard to level of education.

Table 4.5 Successful learners of English as clever or well-educated (%).

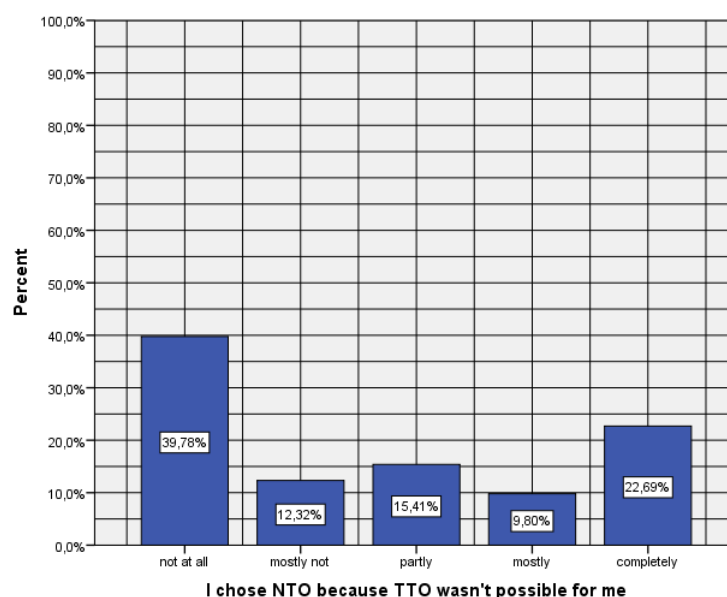
	Clever		Educated	
	TTO	NTO	TTO	NTO
<i>not at all</i>	8.5	14.2	2.0	6.0
<i>mostly not</i>	4.4	8.2	2.4	5.7
<i>sometimes</i>	63.7	60.9	37.9	50.3
<i>mostly</i>	20.2	15.3	45.2	32.5
<i>completely</i>	3.2	1.4	12.5	5.5
χ^2	11.851		29.158	
df	4		4	
ρ	0.018 (sig.)		≤ 0.000 (sig.)	
r	0.139 (modest)		0.213 (modest)	

Apart from highlighting that TTO pupils were significantly more positive in their responses to both of these items, these data also show a tendency, particularly among TTO respondents, to attribute success in learning English to the external factor of level or quality of education, rather than to the internal factor of intelligence. This belief might be related to TTO pupils' conviction that TTO would improve their opportunities in life or their social standing, as was implied in their qualitative responses regarding their choice for TTO (see Section 4.4), and in some of the Phase I data. It could also be a reflection of the supposedly 'elitist' demographic of TTO (Weenink 2005) which, as described in Chapter 2, is often associated with learners from more economically or academically privileged backgrounds (Sieben, Ginderen 2014). Considered in the light of attribution theory, expectancy-values and writings on autonomy,

however, this might also be evidence of a sense of agency among TTO respondents, with regard to being able to influence their academic – or at least their language-learning – success through working hard, and through having chosen to follow TTO. NTO respondents, who gave a largely neutral response to both statements, could be said to be more likely to regard ability in English as an innate characteristic, over which one has no control. This sense of powerlessness can lead to a decrease in motivation, as learners can consider the investment of effort futile (Weiner 1986, Tremblay, Gardner 1995).

Further evidence of a lower degree of agency among NTO respondents can be found in Figure 4.26. As this illustration demonstrates, although not in the majority, approximately one third of NTO learners said that they were either partially or completely doing NTO because they had been ‘unable’ to choose TTO.

Figure 4.26 NTO responses regarding TTO being impossible for them.



Phase I data and the qualitative responses regarding their choice of NTO shed more light on some of the reasons for the 32% of respondents who felt that circumstances beyond their control had limited their choice of education type. Some of these responses were rather vague, such as, “*I couldn’t choose*”, “*I had to*” and “*I had no choice*” (Phase II QUAL responses). Others mentioned having begun secondary school at a level not offered bilingually at their school, or having moved from a school that did not offer TTO at all. Moreover, a number of respondents attributed their decision to do NTO to advice given by teachers or parents who believed that they would not be capable of doing TTO, even though they may have wanted to:

The teacher said I wasn't to do Bilingual

I wanted to go to Bilingual but they thought I wouldn't manage it

I actually still want to do TTO but our teacher didn't advise that because my marks for English weren't that good back then

the primary teachers thought I couldn't manage HAVO, but I did it anyway, let alone me being able to do Bilingual

Phase II responses to *Do you have anything else to say about why you chose NTO?*

While advice from primary school teachers is not usually binding in the case of TTO, it can influence the secondary school's decision. Perhaps more importantly, it can affect the young person's self-concept, and in turn their motivation. Furthermore, that so many NTO pupils chose to identify the influence of factors beyond their control, such as their inherent ability, situational factors, or the actions of others, as reasons for their decision to follow NTO rather than TTO, could suggest greater passivity or a weaker sense of agency and empowerment among NTO pupils. In terms of autonomy and the attributions of success and failure, this could either lead to or be a symptom of lower levels of motivation.

As these data suggest, empowerment and a sense of control over one's own learning success is an area in which the participants in this study displayed substantial differences. In the light of motivational theories such as attribution theory (Weiner 1986, 1992b, 2007) and Ushioda's (2011) work on autonomy, these contrasts could signify important differences in the motivational characteristics of TTO and NTO learners.

4.3 Influence of family, friends and experience

As explored in Chapter 2, social background and economic status are often thought to be prominent elements in the differences between learners in TTO and NTO streams (Weenink 2005, Sieben, Ginderen 2014). In terms of context and individual differences, family, friends and past experience can all play a role in motivation.

4.3.1 Family

Family background has been shown to impact upon learner motivation, both in terms of the sense of obligation or 'ought' self (Higgins 1987) and in the family's function as a source of role models of successful language learning (Chambers 1999). These areas will be discussed below.

'Pushy' parents and the ought-to self

A small number of qualitative responses from TTO pupils would appear to suggest that their parents had played a role in their decision to follow TTO:

My parents (especially my father) thought I should do it.

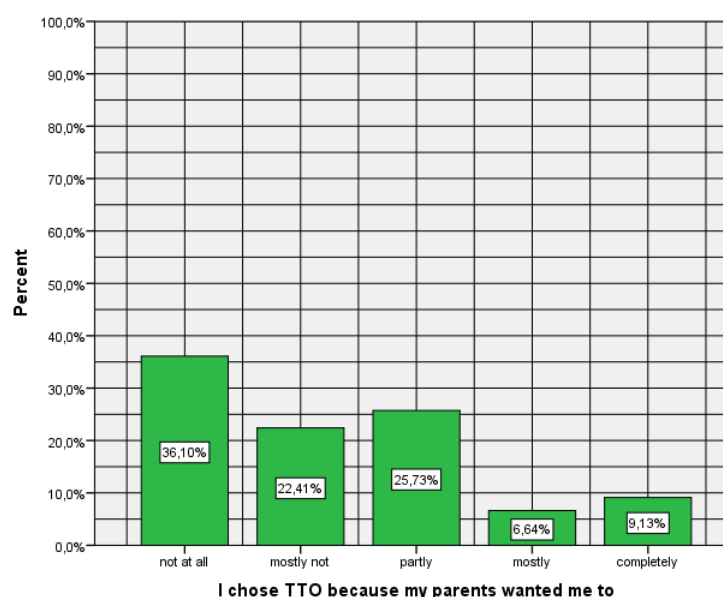
Because Mum said it would be better for my future

my parents also really encouraged me but of course I was allowed to decide for myself now they're proud of me because I chose it

Phase II responses to *Do you have anything else to say about why you chose TTO?*

As can be seen from Figure 4.27, however, the majority of TTO pupils responded negatively to the suggestion that parents had influenced their choice of education type.

Figure 4.27 TTO responses regarding parents' influence on choice for TTO.



Furthermore, as highlighted in Figure 4.28-Figure 4.31, there was no significant difference between NTO and TTO responses to the statements, *My family says that English is important for my future*, *My family would be disappointed if I failed English*, *My family would be disappointed in me if I failed any subject* or, *I need to do well in English because my family finds it important*, and the difference between families' reported concern regarding pupils' performance in English compared to their general academic performance was also minimal for both groups.

Figure 4.28 Perception of family's valuing of English.

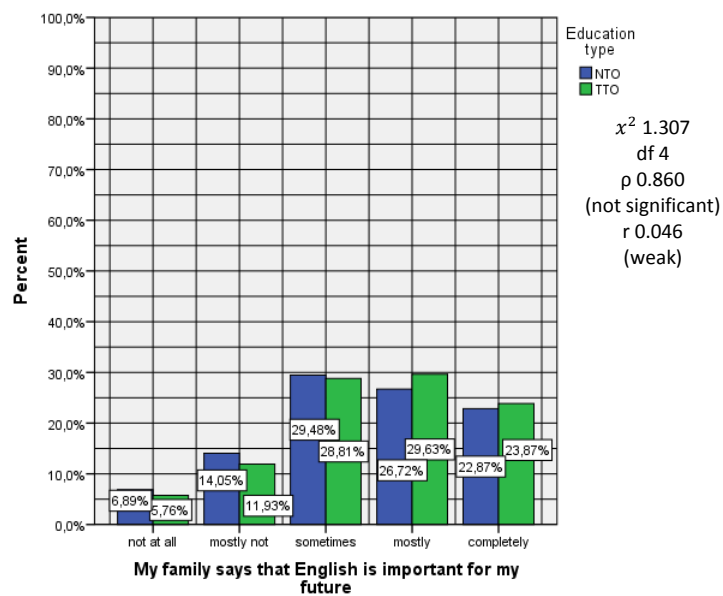


Figure 4.29 Family's imagined disappointment at failing English.

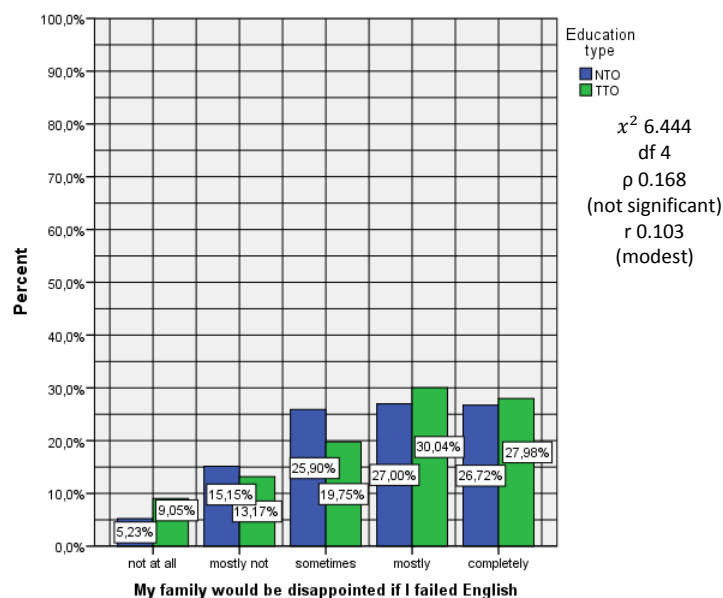


Figure 4.30 Family's imagined disappointment at failing any subject.

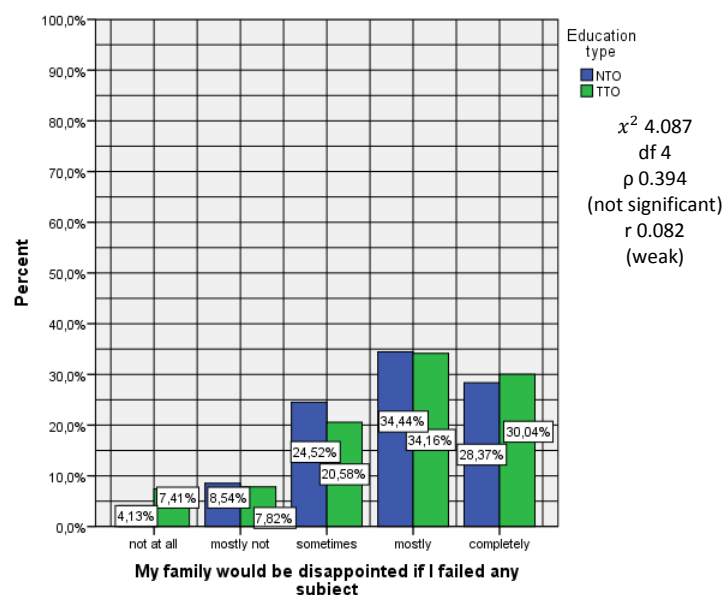
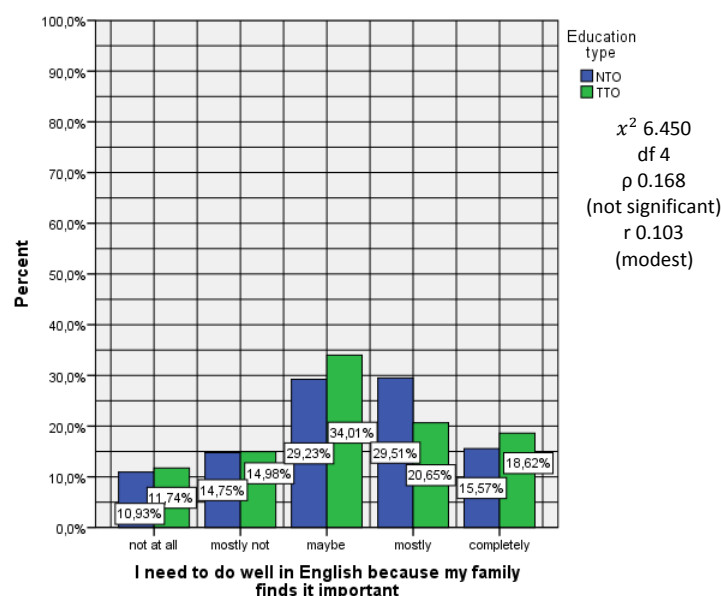


Figure 4.31 Need to perform well in English due to family values.



These findings suggest that English is no more a priority for TTO parents than other subjects, nor compared to NTO parents' valuing of any subject. This does not reflect the stereotype that TTO pupils' parents are more actively engaged with their children's education (Sieben, Ginderen 2014). Nor, based on these data, do parents' values and priorities appear to directly lead to increased motivation in their TTO children to learn English. According to these data, it therefore seems that the influence of parents on the motivation of TTO pupils is minimal, at least insofar as the young people are conscious of it.

Comments recorded during Phase I may shed more light on these findings. In one of the online discussions, participants were asked to compare the cases of two boys, one who wanted to perform well in English because of a desire to work in the USA, and one who wanted to perform well so as not to disappoint his father (see Chapter 2 for a full account). Responses such as the following suggested the view that motivation because of what your parents want is weaker than motivation through your own goals and ambitions:

what I think is that kevin is more motivated. because kevin is doing it for himself and isn't being forced

Class A comment, Online Discussion 3, March 2012

It's not like I try harder for Maths or something so that my parents aren't disappointed? If they're disappointed in me it's their problem. I do it all for myself.

Class A comment, Online Discussion 3, March 2012

This reflects the doubts that have been expressed in the literature regarding the plausibility and importance of the ought-to self (Dörnyei 2009c, Lamb 2012), as explored in Chapter 2.

NTO pupils involved in Phase I, in contrast, appeared to attribute much of their motivation for school to their parents:

And then we get bad marks and then our parents are angry

Mei (referring to struggling with English grammar), Class B, Live Discussion 1, March 2012

School is something I only do for my parents

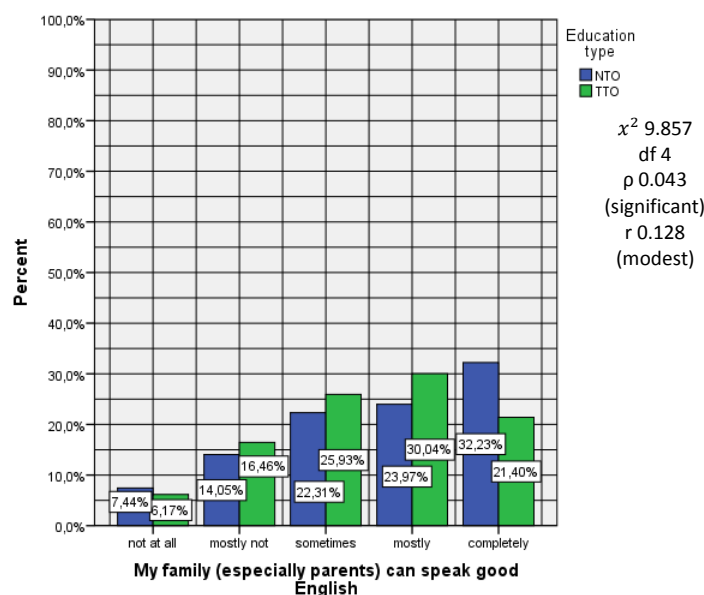
Alice, Class B, Live Discussion 1, March 2012

It is interesting to note the difference in tone between the responses from TTO and NTO in this respect. In the light of the findings already discussed regarding the tendency for NTO pupils to attribute success or failure to external forces and other people, while TTO pupils appear to be (outwardly) more independent, it is possible that these comments do reflect a real difference between the two groups of pupils. Further to this, they could indicate an important motivational difference, in that, as identified by the TTO pupils cited earlier, motivation that is drawn from other people or the 'ought' self, may be less powerful than motivation that comes from within the individual.

Parents as role models

As shown in Figure 4.32, NTO respondents in Phase II were most likely to say that their family (especially their parents) could 'completely' speak good English, while TTO pupils were more reserved, tending to choose 'mostly' instead. While this was a largely positive response from both groups, this difference in level of conviction is significant.

Figure 4.32 Family's (parents') perceived proficiency in English.



As studies from SLA have shown parents to play an important role in modelling language learning success (Bartram 2006), it might have been natural to assume that parents of TTO learners would have a higher proficiency in English. The findings reported above, however, reflect that of Sieben and van Ginderen (2014), who concluded that parents' levels of English were not necessarily a determining factor in learners' decision to follow a TTO programme. These statistics cannot determine causality, nor can we be certain that they accurately reflect parents' linguistic skills, but they do give an impression of the parents' level of English from the perspective of the child. What these data might indicate, therefore, is TTO learners' more critical view of their parents' English, either due to high standards as a result of increased exposure to English at school, or due to a generally more critical outlook. In any case, these findings do not give reason to believe that the parents of TTO learners are any more proficient in English than the parents of NTO learners, nor that they act as significant English-speaking role-models.

4.3.2 Friends and peers

TTO respondents were even more negative regarding their friends' influence on their choice for TTO than regarding their parents' influence. These results are shown in Figure 4.33.

Figure 4.34 shows responses from NTO to the equivalent question, which were also largely negative.

Figure 4.33 Friends' influence on choice for TTO.

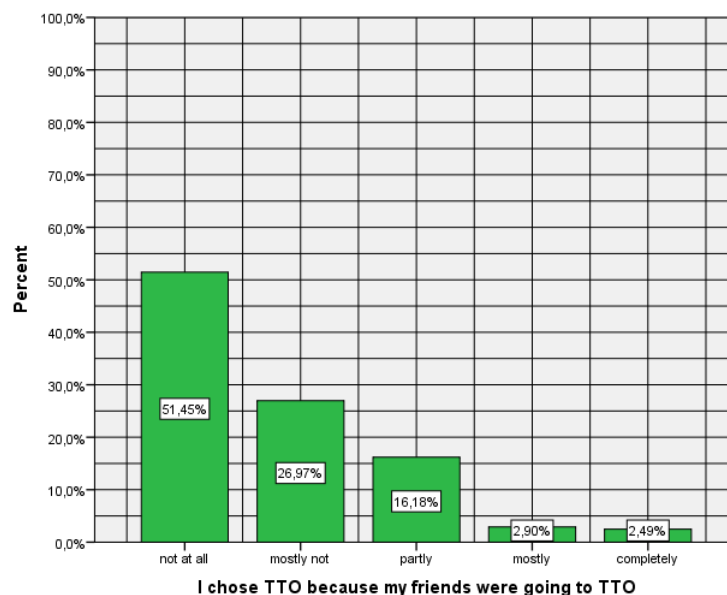
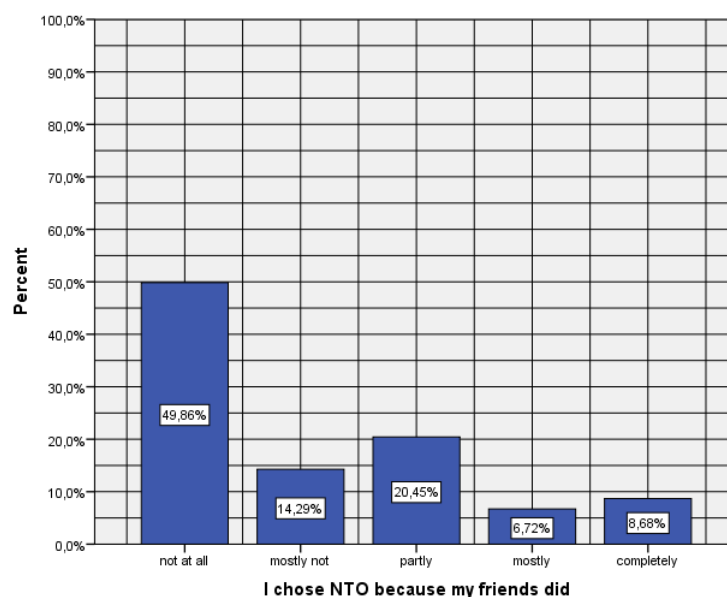
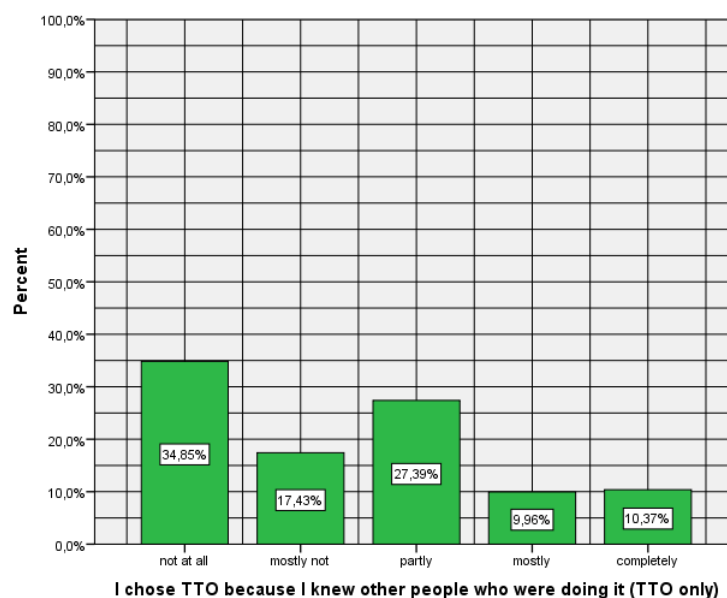


Figure 4.34 Friends' influence on choice for NTO.



TTO pupils were also negative in their scaled responses regarding being influenced by other acquaintances doing or who had done TTO, as depicted in Figure 4.35.

Figure 4.35 Influence of knowing people in TTO on choice for TTO.



These data would appear to suggest quite conclusively that neither group of learners felt that their decision regarding the type of secondary schooling they would follow was strongly influenced by their friends or other acquaintances, although a number of them did mention the influence of friends, siblings or other role models in their responses to open questions. As in the responses regarding family, these data seem to indicate a degree of independence in motivation and decision-making, in particular among TTO pupils.

With regard to the attitudes and motivations of their friends, as highlighted in Figure 4.36 and Figure 4.37, significantly more TTO than NTO respondents said that their friends thought it was useful to learn English, while significantly fewer said that their friends would laugh at them if they said they liked English. The difference in responses regarding whether their friends worked hard for school (Figure 4.38) was marginally insignificant in statistical terms, although the raw percentages and the modest rather than weak effect size nevertheless also suggest somewhat more positivity in this respect among TTO pupils. Furthermore, the total numbers of positive and negative responses in the collapsed values do yield a significant Chi squared value (χ^2 7.182; df 2; p 0.028; r 0.109).

Figure 4.36 Perception of friends' valuing of English.

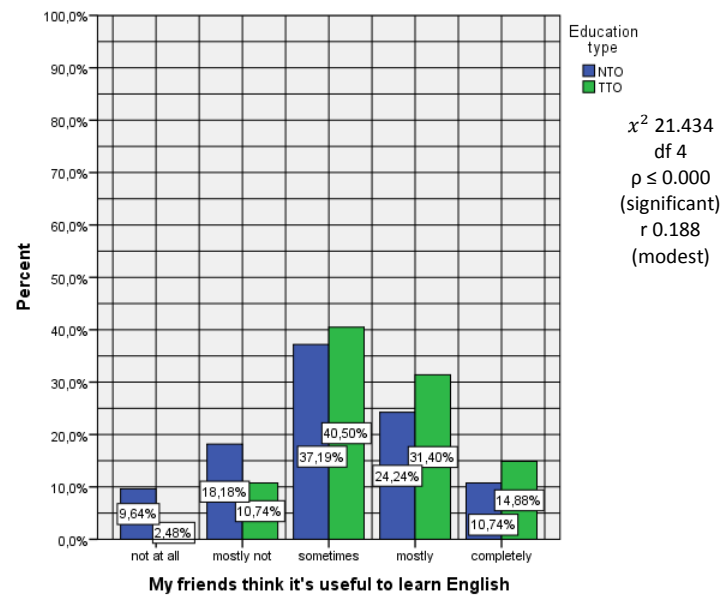


Figure 4.37 Perceived likelihood that friends would laugh about liking English.

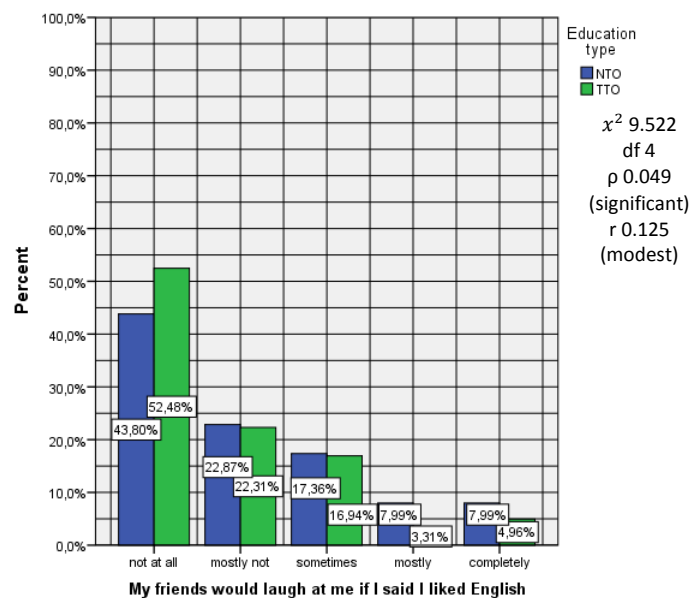
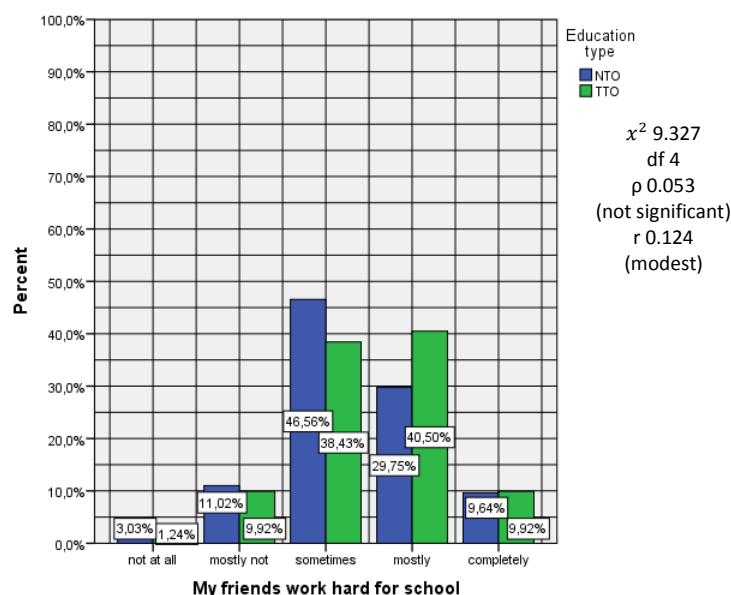


Figure 4.38 Perception of friends' learning effort.

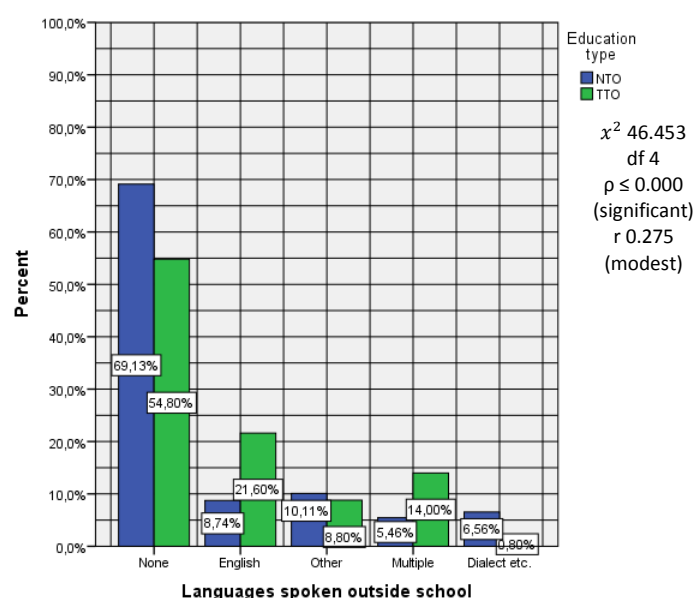


These data suggest that TTO respondents considered their friends to be motivated for school and for English, to a greater extent than did their NTO peers. In the light of the finding that TTO learners appeared more motivated to perform well academically, this may be an indication that their motivation is enhanced by exposure to like-minded peers.

4.3.3 Background and experience

As one of the demographic questions in Phase II, respondents were asked which languages other than Dutch they spoke outside of school. The responses to this question, grouped into four broad categories, are shown in Figure 4.39. As can be seen from this illustration, while the majority of TTO and NTO participants responded that they spoke no languages other than Dutch outside of school, considerably more TTO pupils than NTO reported speaking either English or more than one language. TTO respondents also identified a broader range of languages spoken outside of school: they mentioned nineteen languages other than English or Dutch, while only fourteen were mentioned by the NTO participants, in spite of theirs being a markedly larger group. TTO pupils were also more likely to mention that they spoke French, German or Spanish at home, often when working on homework or in order to practise for school.

Figure 4.39 Languages spoken outside of school.



That a significantly higher proportion of TTO respondents said that they speak one or more foreign languages outside of school could be a reflection of a more cosmopolitan family background, or of a tendency for TTO pupils to practise their languages at home. This could suggest that the linguistic and family characteristics of TTO respondents differed from those of NTO pupils, in that they experienced more contact with foreign languages, and particularly English, outside of school, or that language learning was more often promoted in the home. More exposure and encouragement could lead to increased linguistic self-confidence and motivation.

TTO pupils also reported significantly more contact with English than NTO pupils during the specific out-of-school activities of watching television, playing computer games and social networking, as displayed in Figure 4.40-Figure 4.42. The most striking of these differences was with regard to playing computer games.

Figure 4.40 Exposure to English through television.

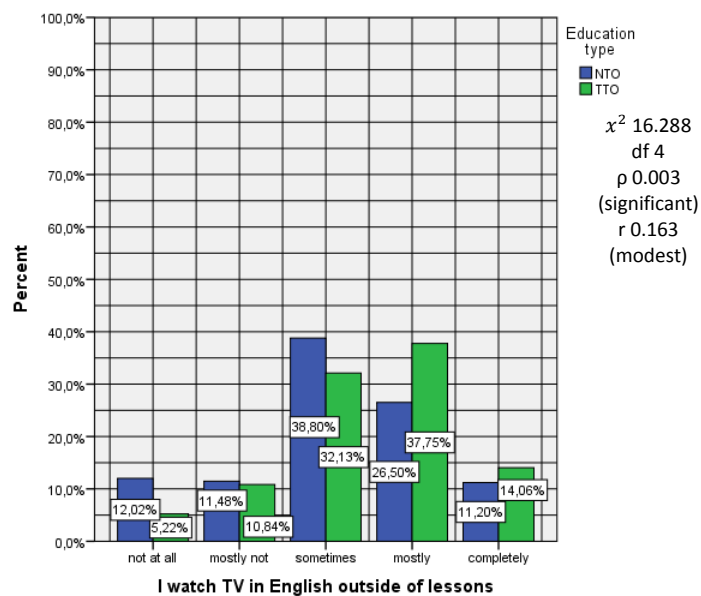


Figure 4.41 Exposure to English through computer games.

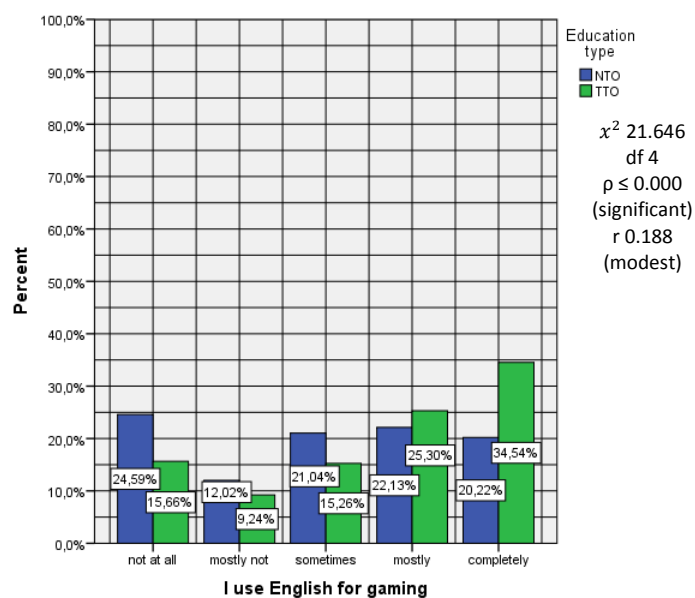
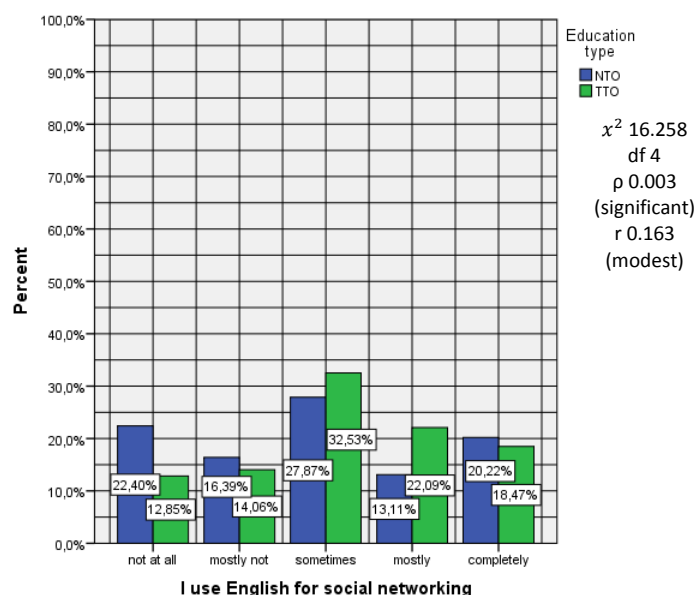


Figure 4.42 Exposure to English through social networking.



This difference between groups could simply suggest that TTO pupils are more likely to play computer games than NTO pupils. This would also reflect their image as being more ‘nerdy’ (see Section 4.1). Taken together with the data on television and social networking, however, the pattern that emerges suggests the trend is more related to gaming in English than in general.

The question arises in relation to these statistics as to whether the increased exposure to English during leisure pursuits was a cause of motivation for English or a result of increased confidence and proficiency obtained through TTO. As highlighted in Figure 4.43-Figure 4.45, however, although not always significant, the difference in this trend existed already among first year TTO and NTO learners. These comparisons, even when not significant, all had a modest effect size.

Figure 4.43 First year responses regarding watching TV in English outside of lessons.

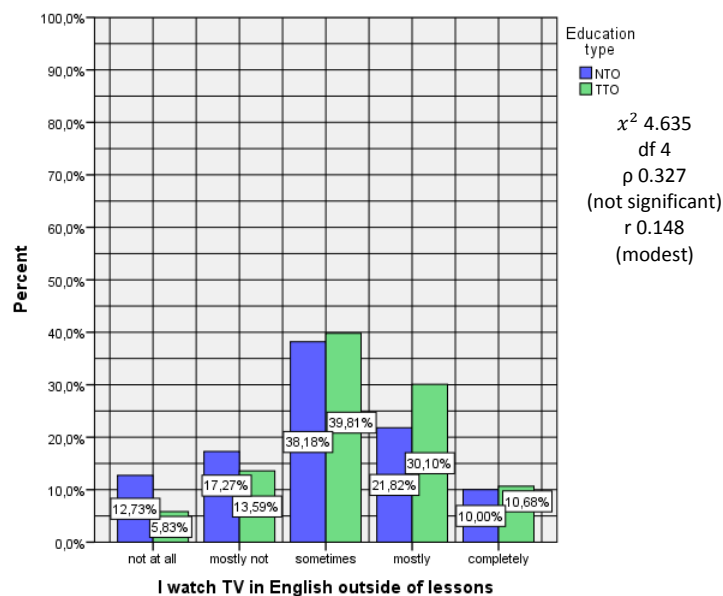


Figure 4.44 First year responses regarding use of English for gaming.

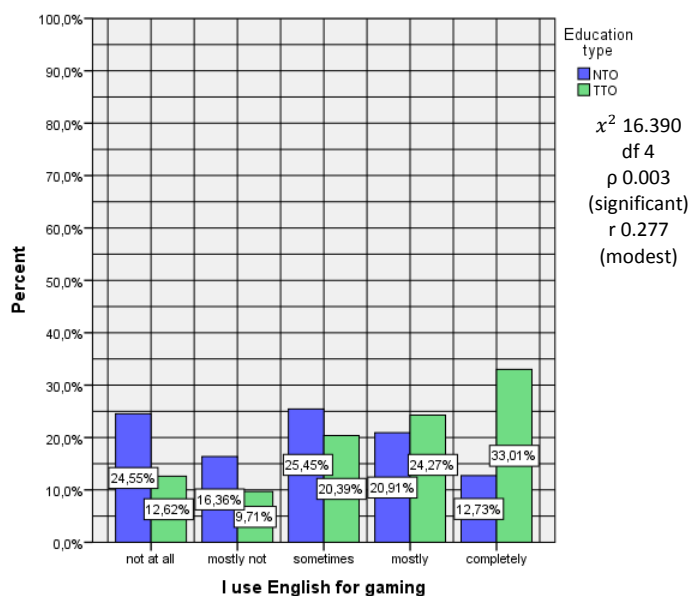
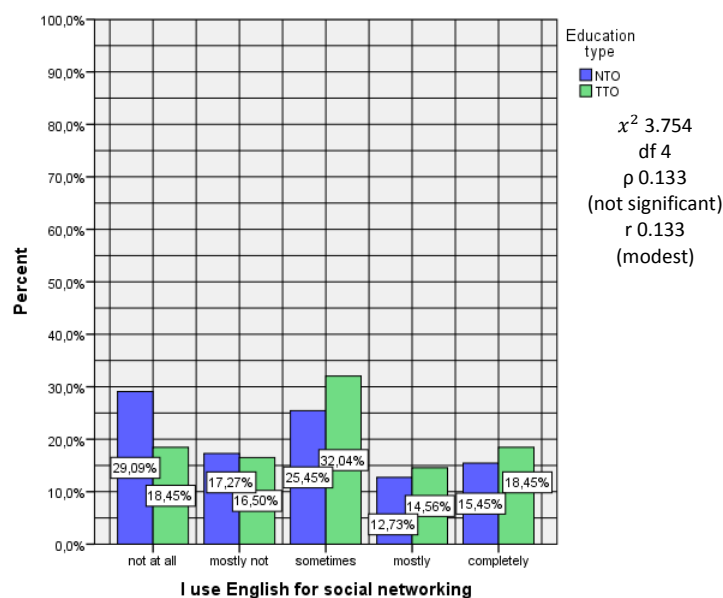


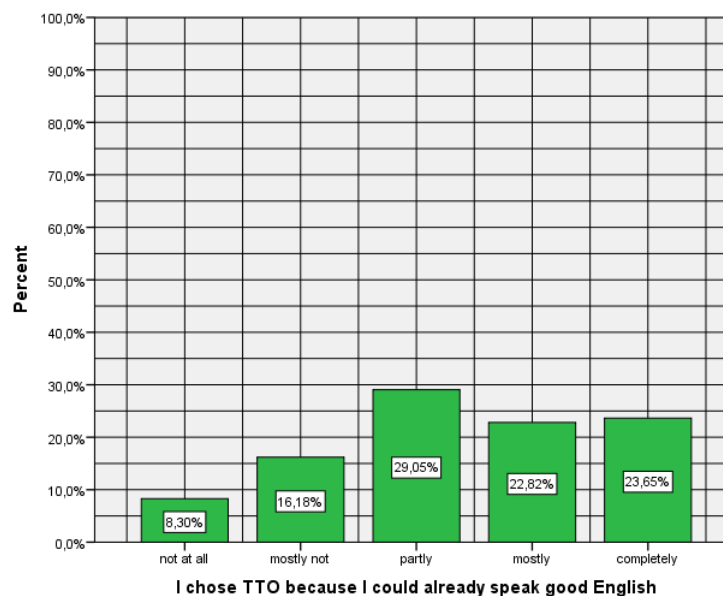
Figure 4.45 First year responses regarding use of English for social networking.



That this trend appeared to exist even among first years could be interpreted as an indication that TTO pupils, even within two months of beginning their TTO experience, were more intrinsically motivated and possessed more confidence to use English in their everyday lives than NTO pupils. This could be an indication that intrinsic interest in using the English language, and the increased confidence exposure to the language might afford, may have preceded and possibly influenced the decision to follow TTO.

Regarding the influence of exposure to English on TTO pupils' motivation for choosing TTO, a large proportion said that their decision had been influenced by an existing high level of English proficiency. These figures are displayed in Figure 4.46.

Figure 4.46 High existing level of English as a motivator for choosing TTO.



This factor was also mentioned in the qualitative responses on the same subject, including one specific reference to playing computer games:

because I've lived abroad and learned English and I want to pick it up again

I want to expand my knowledge because I've been speaking English since I was 5.

I could already speak good English through gaming with English friends

Phase II responses to *Do you have anything else to say about why you chose TTO?*

Complementary are the responses from a number of NTO pupils who mentioned in their qualitative responses that their English was too weak for them to choose TTO:

I find it a bit scary to speak English and I'm not that good at it

I'm not so good at English

I thought I wasn't good at English but actually I am

I CAN'T SPEAK FLUENT ENGLISH

Phase II responses to *Do you have anything else to say about why you chose NTO?*

Together, these responses suggest the existence of a common perception that TTO requires learners to be able to speak good English from the outset, while in fact admission criteria for TTO do not generally take prior knowledge of English into consideration (Maljers 2007). Such an assumption could be potentially damaging, as it could contribute to the reputation of TTO and other forms of bilingual education as being elitist (Weenink 2005). From a positive

standpoint, however, feeling competent in English could lead to increased self-confidence among TTO pupils, and therefore to higher levels of motivation and engagement.

There is evidence from previous research that suggests that exposure to the target language outside of a school context can contribute to both attainment and motivation (Clément, Gardner et al. 1977). Lorenzo (2007) found extramural contact with the TL be an important factor in the motivation and performance of learners in bilingual programmes, although Sylvén (2007, 2013) actually found this to be detrimental to motivation where exposure outside of school appeared to learners to be more relevant and appealing than that within the bilingual classroom. Based on the findings discussed here, it would appear that increased non-classroom-based exposure to English and other languages among TTO learners, coupled with their apparently greater interest in and enthusiasm for the language itself, align more closely with the findings of Lorenzo than with those of Sylvén's study.

4.4 Future Selves

When pupils in Phase I were asked about what motivated them, the most common responses related to instrumental motivators, and in particular their goals and ambitions for the future. Furthermore, the concepts of future self-guides (Dörnyei 2009c) and visions of the future (Hadfield, Dörnyei 2013, Muir, Dörnyei 2013) are becoming ever more prominent in L2 motivation theory (Ryan, Dörnyei 2013). For these reasons, several items were included in the Phase II questionnaire with regard to respondents' views of their future, and to the role of English and their education in it.

4.4.1 Ideal selves: Ambitions and forward planning

Learners were asked in the final section of the questionnaire what they planned to do after leaving secondary school. The original version of this question contained several different possible answers, depending on whether the respondent was placed in a pure HAVO stream or a combination class containing either VMBO-t or VWO pupils. The responses to these questions are displayed in Figure 4.47. In order to provide a clearer overview of responses, the values were collapsed into three broader categories, reflecting only whether the respondent had ambitions in the direction of a university education or whether he or she planned to remain at a vocational or higher vocational level. The figures for these categories are displayed in Figure 4.48, while Table 4.6 demonstrates the original values included under each of the collapsed values. As can be seen from these data, TTO pupils were significantly more likely than NTO to say that they planned to follow a university-bound route (move to

VWO and/or go to university) after finishing school, while NTO pupils were more likely to be aiming for higher vocational education, with a small number intending to go to further education college. The proportion of NTO pupils who were unsure of their future plans, or who selected 'other' but did not specify what, was also slightly higher than for TTO.

Figure 4.47 Future plans: original categories.

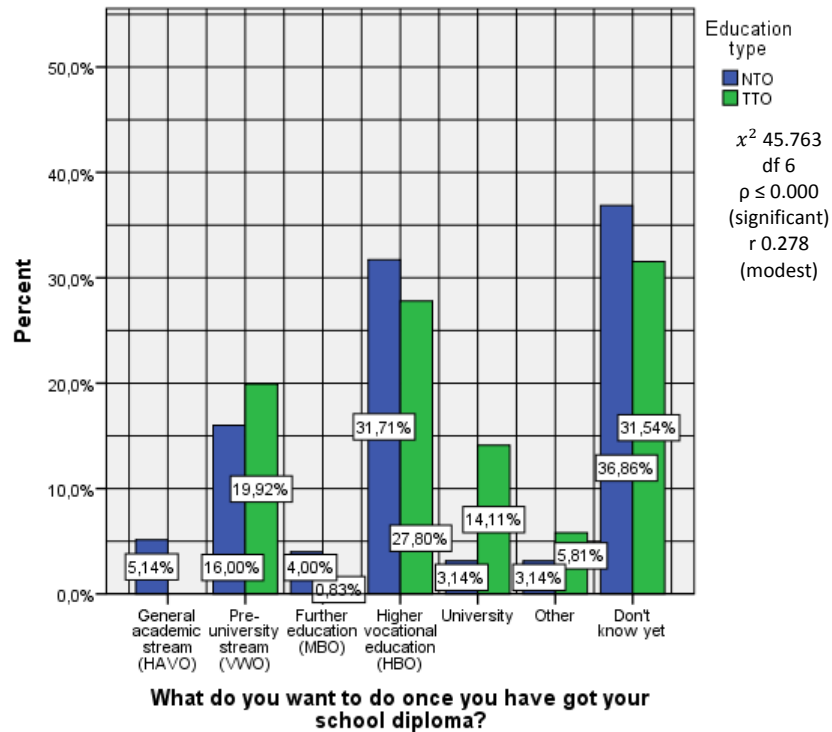


Figure 4.48 Future plans: collapsed values.

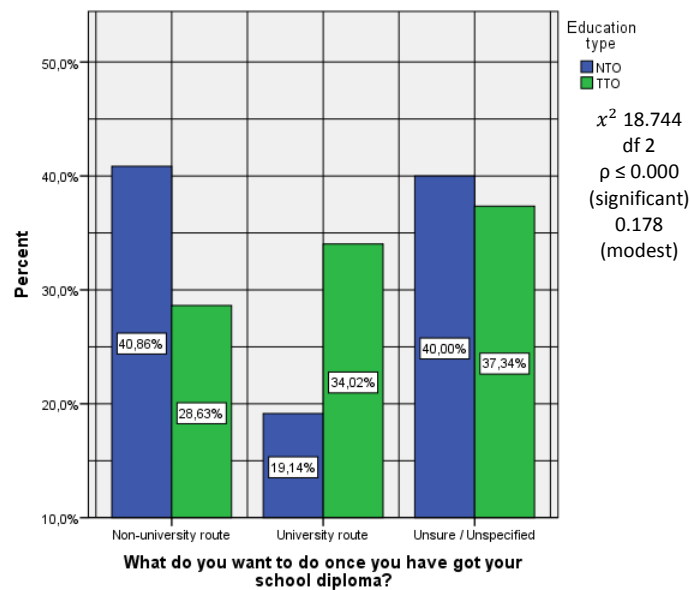


Table 4.6 Original and collapsed values for future plans question.

Original values	Collapsed value
Further education (MBO)	<i>Non-university route</i>
General academic stream (HAVO)	
Higher vocational education (HBO)	
Pre-university stream (VWO)	<i>University route</i>
University	
Other	<i>Unsure/unspecified</i>
Don't know yet	

The disparity between the academic ambitions of TTO and NTO pupils was also apparent during Phase I, where a large number of TTO pupils from Class A expressed the ambition of eventually achieving a VWO diploma. Indeed, the PCRs from the TTO class said that they thought that most of their classmates held this ambition:

I think basically our whole class wants to go to VWO.

Anouk, Class A, PCR meeting

In contrast to this, a number of NTO pupils in Class B expressed satisfaction and pride in doing HAVO, as in this example:

Researcher: You're quite happy to be doing HAVO?

Yvette: Yeah, I don't need to go any further now.

Class B, Live Discussion 1, March 2012

It also appeared that the TTO pupils had given some thought to how their VWO ambition might best be achieved, as in the following exchange:

Karlijn: I really want to go to VWO [...] But first I want to finish HAVO.

*Bob: Me too! [...] I think everyone wants that. [Others indicate agreement]
[...]*

Stan: Yeah that's much easier too. It's much easier to get HAVO finished first and then VWO than to try and get to VWO now already.

Class A, Live Discussion 1, March 2012

Some participants from Class B, however, appeared to have less understanding of the possibility of progressing to VWO from HAVO. In the following discussion, for example, two NTO pupils from Class B are discussing the ambition of their classmate to go to VWO:

Mei: *I do **not** want to go to VWO.*

Yvette: *Yeah but if you want to go to VWO and you really do your best you can get there.*

Mei: *Yeah right, I came from VMBO-t to HAVO.*

Yvette: *But she wants to go from HAVO to VWO.*

Mei: *You can't do that.*

Yvette: *You can. Of course you can.*

Class B, Live Discussion 1, March 2012

These examples suggest not only a greater sense of ambition among TTO pupils, but also a clearer image of how those ambitions might be made reality. Hadfield and Dörnyei (2013) emphasise the importance of underpinning the image of the ideal self with clear planning and goal-setting in order to create a motivational future self-guide. In this sense, these data suggest that the TTO pupils involved in this research may have been better equipped to do this than their NTO peers.

A further impression of the future self-images of the Phase II respondents was obtained through their responses to a series of direct statements regarding their image of themselves in ten years' time. Both groups presented an image of their future selves as speaking good English (Figure 4.49), having a good job (Figure 4.50) and being successful (Figure 4.51). Responses from TTO pupils were more positive in all of these respects. In statistical terms, this difference was not significant with regard to being successful, but was significant and had a moderate effect size with regard to speaking English. It was not possible to carry out a valid Chi squared measurement for the item regarding employment due to the low numbers of negative responses, although analysis run on the collapsed data, with only positive, neutral and negative values, suggests that this difference was significant (χ^2 13.681; df 2; p 0.001; r 0.151). Also significant was the higher proportion of TTO pupils who responded 'mostly not' to the statement, *When I think of myself in 10 years, I can't imagine how my life will be.*

Figure 4.49 English-speaking future self.

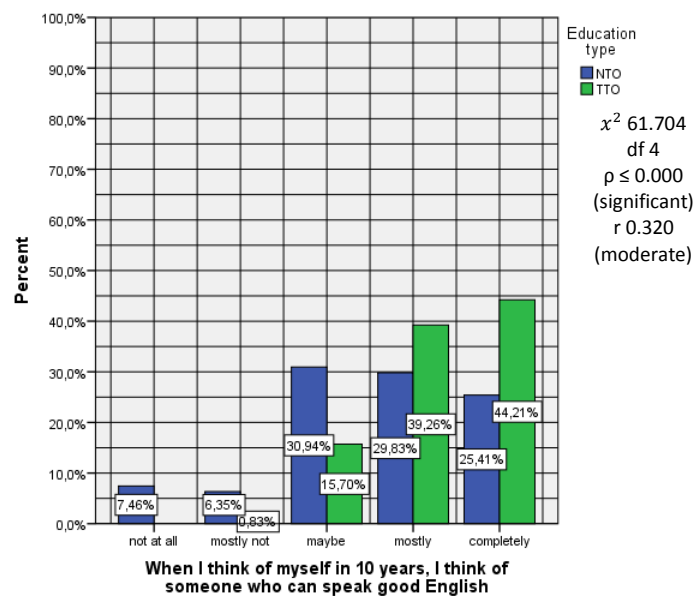


Figure 4.50 Future self with a good job.

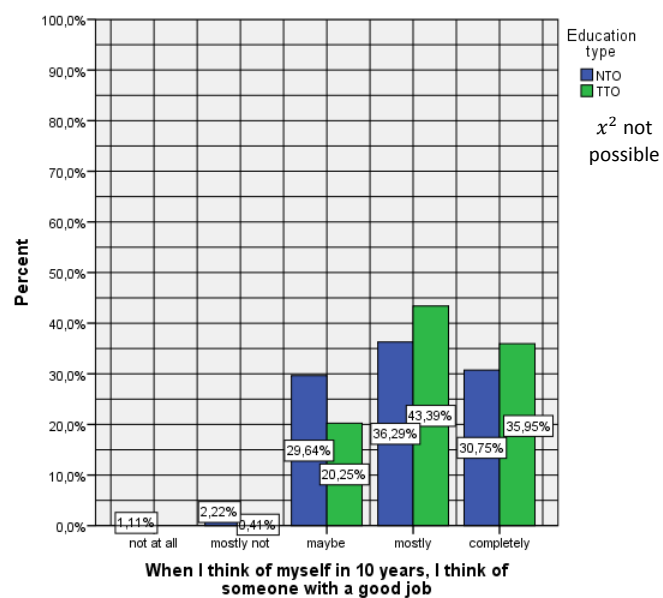


Figure 4.51 Successful future self.

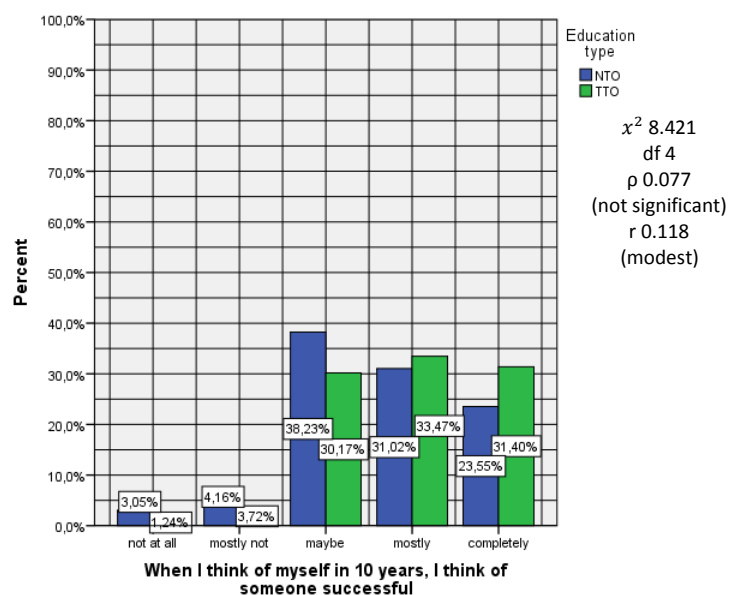
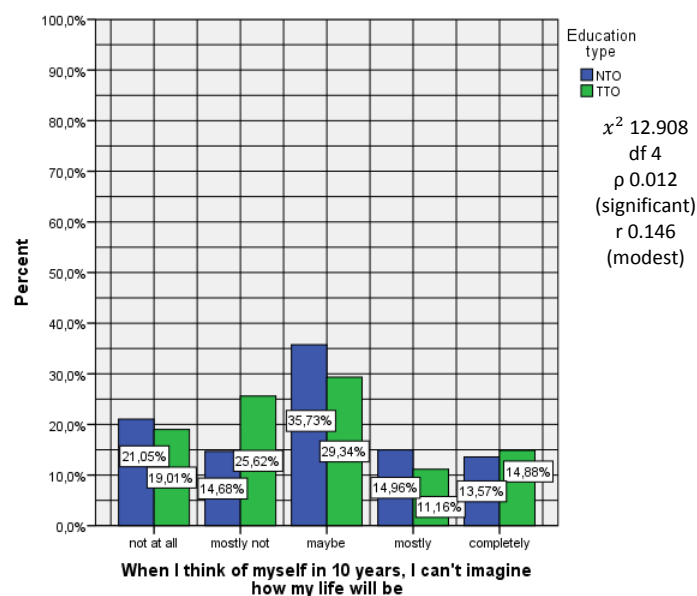


Figure 4.52 No image of future self.



These data reflect the findings from Phase I and other survey items, described in Section 4.4.2, in which the future self-guides of TTO pupils appeared to be more positive, more vivid and more developed than those of NTO pupils. As explored in Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei 2009c), and in his later proposals with regard to the motivational conglomerate of future self-guides (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011) and Directed Motivational Currents (Muir, Dörnyei 2013), the more vivid the image of the ideal future self, the stronger the motivation it inspires.

4.4.2 Ideal selves: TTO and the wider world

In Section 4.1 it was highlighted that the relevance of TTO for their future was the most popular quantitative response regarding reasons for having chosen TTO, and one of the most commonly-mentioned factors in qualitative responses on the same subject. These data are illustrated in Figure 4.10 (page 158) and Figure 4.11 (page 159) respectively. Among the qualitative responses were a number of general, rather vague, comments on the usefulness of TTO for the future:

I'm convinced that it'll be more useful to me later in life

because it's important that you can speak good English for your future

I think that with this schooling I'll still have a great advantage over Dutch-language pupils

Phase II responses to *Do you have anything else to say about why you chose TTO?*

There was also, however, mention of a number of specific future plans, such as plans to work, study or live abroad, sometimes pinpointing a specific country or profession:

Since I was a child I've wanted to study in America and stay there forever.

I really want a career as a pilot and as a pilot you need to learn to speak very good English

I want to work abroad as a midwife

I want to be a sports journalist and go abroad for journalism.

Phase II responses to *Do you have anything else to say about why you chose TTO?*

Other responses highlighted the advantages of speaking good English or of possessing a TTO certificate when applying for jobs, or the possibility of a higher salary:

so that I can find better-paid work and get taken on more easily

because then you can get more jobs abroad and hopefully earn more money

Phase II responses to *Do you have anything else to say about why you chose TTO?*

The usefulness of English for university or higher vocational degree courses also appeared to play a role:

because it's useful for your studies later on!

you come across English in all degree courses and I think I'll get a lot out of it in the future

Phase II responses to *Do you have anything else to say about why you chose TTO?*

Some NTO pupils also mentioned their future plans in response to this open question, although their responses in this regard were often more negative, stating that TTO and/or advanced knowledge of English were not relevant to their future:

I don't want to do anything I really need English for

Phase II response to *Do you have anything else to say about why you chose NTO?*

The amount of detail volunteered by respondents and the strength and enthusiasm of the response suggest that the future was an important consideration for TTO respondents, and that many of them had a relatively clear picture of what they hoped their future would entail. While it appears from these comments that NTO pupils also took their future into consideration, the contrast between these responses highlights not only the difference in ambitions between the two groups, but also the difference in tone. This was a difference also noted with regard to reasons for choosing TTO or NTO in Section 4.2. That TTO pupils appeared more focused on what they wanted to achieve rather than what did not interest them, suggests that their future self may have been more vivid and more present in their considerations. Furthermore, effective ideal selves must be considered to be realistically within the learner's grasp, as in expectancy-value and other earlier motivational theories (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2009). The comparative positivity, conviction and self-assurance of TTO pupils with regard to their reasons for choosing TTO, when compared with NTO learners' negativity and focus on their own deficiencies in this respect, might suggest that TTO respondents' ideal selves are better-developed and more tangible. This could lead to a stronger motivation for school and for learning English.

A further important detail of the TTO responses regarding their specific future plans is that they were largely international in nature. The responses to these items are summarised in Figure 4.53-Figure 4.57. According to these figures, TTO pupils were significantly more likely to predict that they would travel a lot (Figure 4.53) and to associate travel with speaking good English (Figure 4.54). English was also identified by TTO respondents as particularly relevant for future work or study, either on an international level (Figure 4.55) or

in general (Figure 4.56). In terms of integrativeness, success in learning English (Figure 4.57) and the future self-image of TTO pupils (Figure 4.58) were more strongly associated with having contact with other people from different countries than for NTO pupils. All of these comparisons yielded significant Chi squared values. With regard to work or study abroad Figure 4.55, the effect size was moderate rather than modest, suggesting stronger statistical value than for the other responses.

Figure 4.53 Future self and travel.

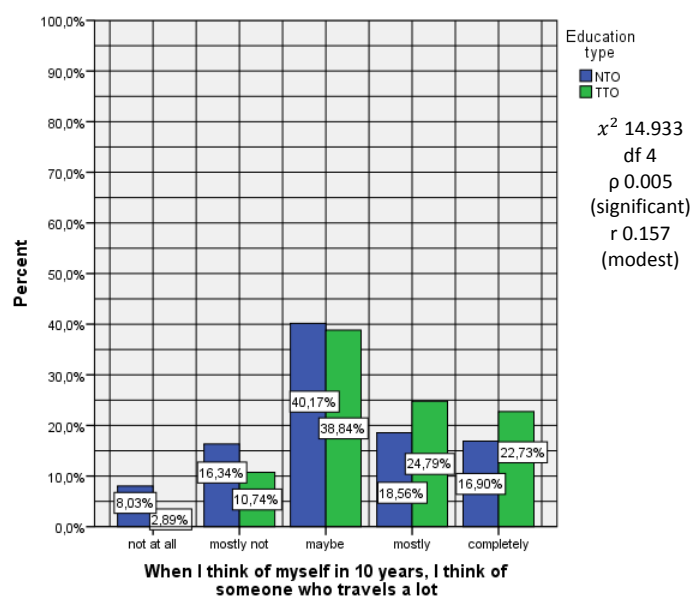


Figure 4.54 Importance of English due to ambitions of travel.

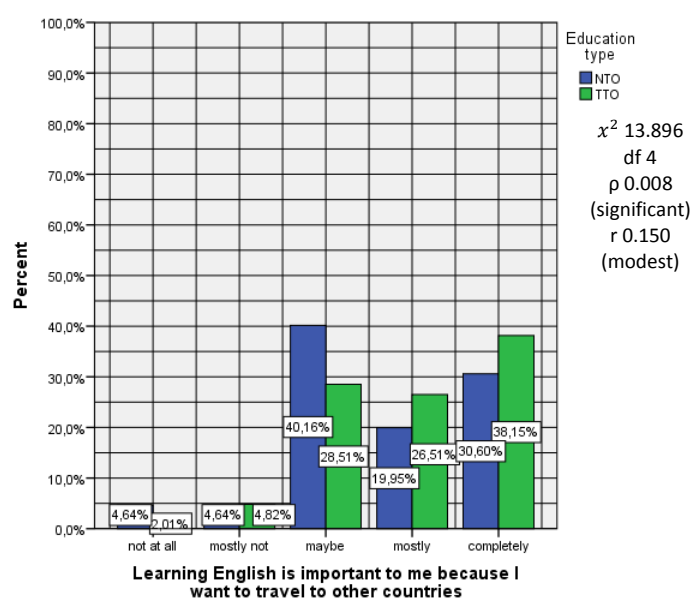


Figure 4.55 Importance of English due to desire to work/study abroad.

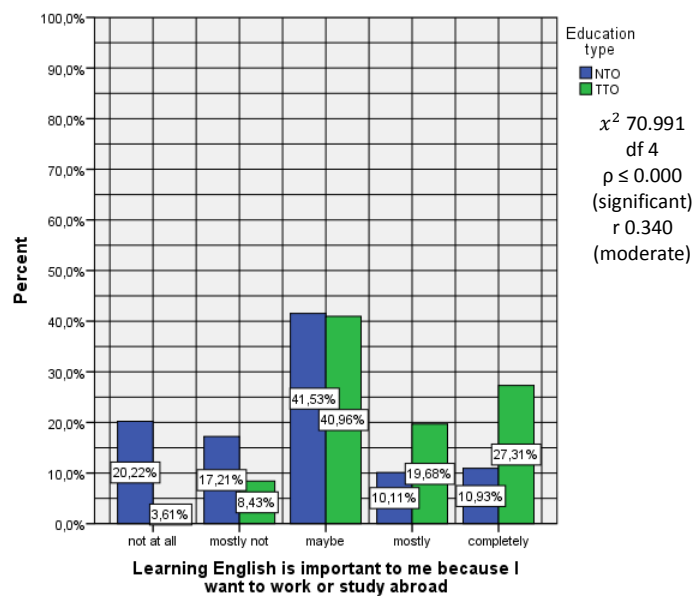


Figure 4.56 Need to perform well in English due to importance for future job/studies.

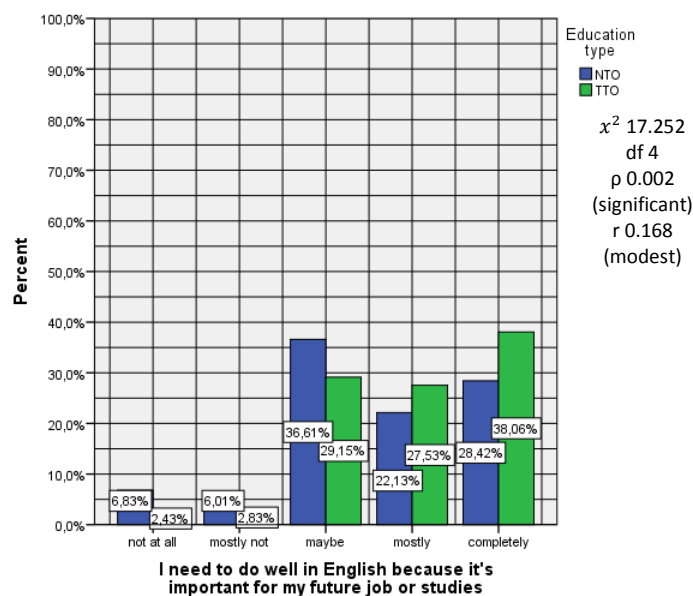


Figure 4.57 Importance of English due to desire to make international contacts.

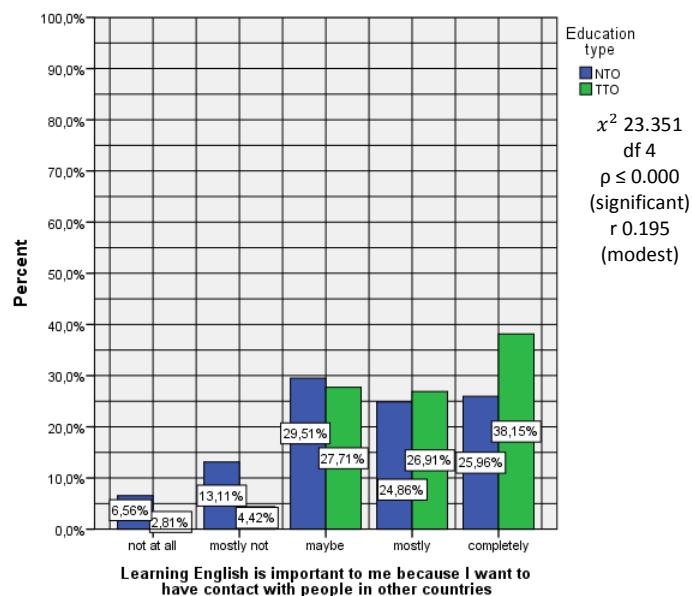
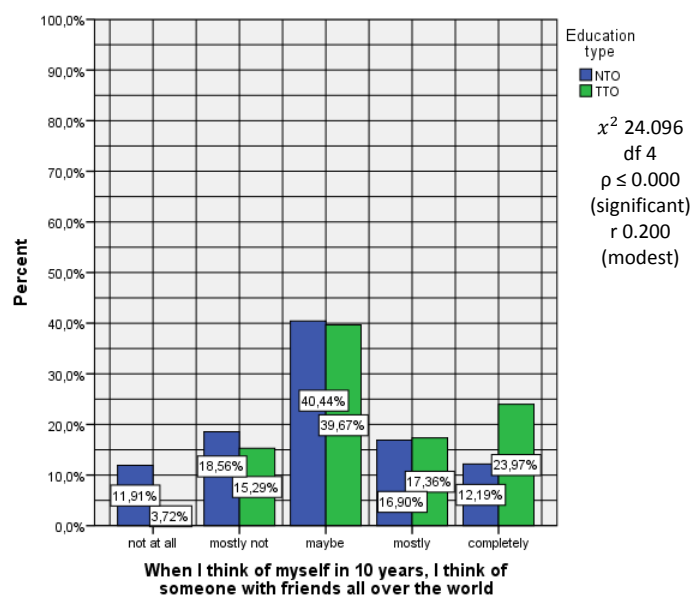


Figure 4.58 Future self and international friends.



Again, this might indicate that TTO respondents had a more powerful, international future self driving their motivation to learn English and to achieve academically than did NTO respondents. They also expanded upon the responses to a number of other items regarding international orientation and integrativeness, which will be discussed in Section 4.6.

4.4.3 Feared selves

The data portrayed in Figure 4.59 show significantly more concern expressed by TTO than NTO pupils that performing poorly in English would lead to them having to repeat the year. Similarly, as highlighted in Figure 4.60, the majority of TTO pupils said that they needed to

perform well for English for fear that they otherwise would not be allowed to continue with TTO.

Figure 4.59 Need to perform well in English due to threat of repeating the year.

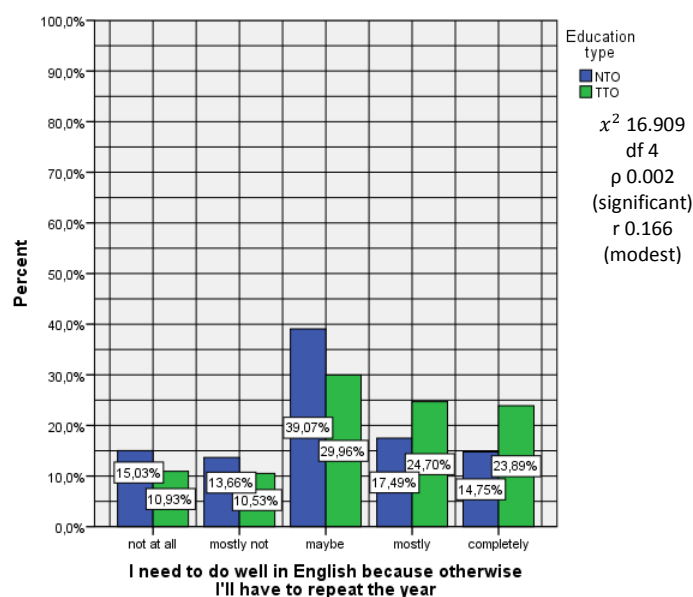
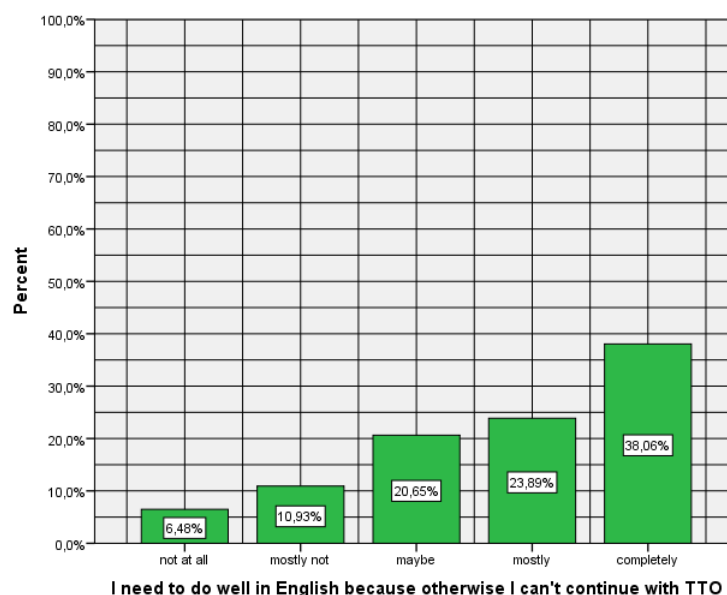


Figure 4.60 Need to perform well in English due to threat of having to leave TTO.



It is possible that this preoccupation with consequences is a reflection of the extent to which TTO respondents were conscious of negative outcomes of their language learning behaviour, even several months before decisions would be made regarding their progression to the next academic year. This could signify greater concern with attainment in English among TTO pupils. Another possibility, however, is that this be viewed as a form of negative or ‘push’ motivation (Linnenbrink, Pintrich 2001, Linnenbrink 2005), such as in the ‘feared self’

element of Higgins' (1987) Self-Discrepancy Theory, which Dörnyei (2009c) highlights will complement the most motivating ideal self. Taking into account the fact that the ideal self of TTO learners in this study appeared to be more vivid than that of NTO learners, it follows that the corresponding feared L2 self might also feature more prominently in their considerations.

4.5 Interest in languages

An area of interest in this research was the extent to which motivation among TTO pupils appeared to be drawn from intrinsic enjoyment of language learning in general, rather than simply an interest in the instrumental benefits of English. This section will therefore report the findings regarding the attitudes of learners in TTO and NTO towards the learning of English and of FLs more generally.

4.5.1 Interest in English

In the qualitative responses recorded in both Phase I and Phase II, a desire to learn to speak good English was a commonly-mentioned factor in the choice for TTO, with the respondents often not going into more detail regarding the reasons for that desire beyond intrinsic interest in the language:

Well, honestly, the reason is that a friend of mine could speak with a British accent and I thought that was well cool, so I wanted that too.

Michael, Class A, Live Discussion 1, March 2012

because I want to be able to speak fluent English

if you grow up with a language you learn it better!

I liked the idea of getting to know the language better

Phase II responses to *Do you have anything else to say about why you chose TTO?*

In other qualitative responses, such as those below, TTO learners also expressed their appreciation of learning English through TTO by identifying this as one of their favourite aspects of school:

now we're really going to learn English seriously

I like it that after first year most of us can already speak good English

I also like doing Bilingual because you learn awfully good English, quicker and perhaps better.

Phase II responses to *What is the best thing about school?*

In response to the same question, other TTO respondents expressed their particular enjoyment of the English language, at times in spite of dissatisfaction with the way it was taught:

I enjoy speaking English. I find it a nicer language than Dutch

Of Bilingual education I like the trips best, but also the fact that we need to speak English in nearly every lesson

English is good, but the lessons and the teacher aren't

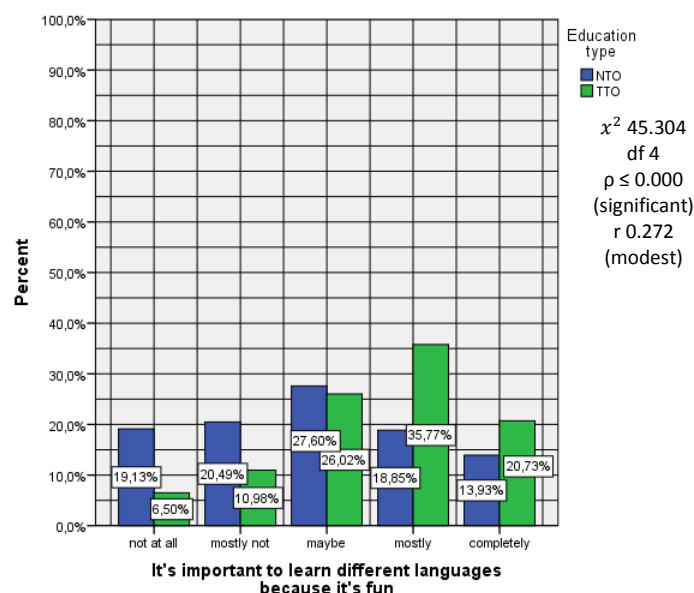
Phase II responses to *What is the best thing about school?*

These responses, and others like them, give the impression that TTO learners held a largely positive attitude towards and intrinsic motivation for (learning) the English language. Moreover, if views such as that expressed in the final quotation above are shared by other TTO pupils, it is possible that this motivation might be regarded as inherent to the TTO learner, and independent of the learning environment, as will be explored in more detail in Chapter 5.

4.5.2 Attitudes to language learning

While the findings in Section 4.5.1 indicated apparently stronger motivation to learn English among TTO pupils, it was interesting to investigate to what extent this extended to the learning of FLs in general, and therefore whether TTO pupils appeared to be naturally more motivated language learners than NTO pupils. Respondents were therefore presented with a number of statements aimed at identifying areas of contrast between the attitudes of TTO and NTO pupils towards learning 'languages', where this term did not relate to any language in particular but did imply FLs rather than Dutch. As can be seen in Figure 4.61, the significant majority of TTO respondents expressed the view that learning languages was important 'mostly' or 'completely' because it was fun, while these were the least common responses among NTO respondents.

Figure 4.61 Importance of learning different languages because it is ‘fun’.



The fact that TTO respondents appeared to take more enjoyment from learning different languages than NTO respondents could indicate more inherent linguistic orientation among TTO learners.

Similarly, respondents were asked to what extent they found the English language difficult, useful, important and boring. They were then presented with the same items, referring to ‘languages’ instead of ‘English’. For all of these items, as shown in Table 4.7-Table 4.10, the difference between the responses from NTO and TTO pupils was statistically significant, with TTO pupils appearing to find both English and languages to be less difficult, more useful, more important and less boring than did NTO pupils. The low numbers of negative responses from TTO pupils regarding the usefulness and importance of English meant that it was only possible to produce a valid Chi squared measurement on the basis of three collapsed categories (negative-neutral-positive), as highlighted by the boxed-off areas in Table 4.8 and Table 4.9.

Table 4.7 Difficulty of English/languages.

	English		Languages	
	TTO	NTO.	TTO	NTO
<i>not at all</i>	22.9	26.2	10.8	12.3
<i>mostly not</i>	41.8	29.5	30.9	21.6
<i>sometimes</i>	31.3	28.1	44.2	42.6
<i>mostly</i>	3.2	10.1	10.8	16.9
<i>completely</i>	0.8	6.0	3.2	6.6
χ^2	27.564		12.436	
df	4		4	
p	≤ 0.000		0.014	
r	0.239 (modest)		0.140 (modest)	

Table 4.8 Usefulness of English/languages.

	English		Languages	
	TTO	NTO.	TTO	NTO
<i>not at all</i>	0	1.1	1.6	1.6
<i>mostly not</i>	0.4	1.1	4.4	6.8
<i>sometimes</i>	1.6	13.4	17.7	28.1
<i>mostly</i>	27.3	33.1	40.2	39.1
<i>completely</i>	70.7	51.4	36.1	24.3
χ^2	30.124 ¹²		15.440	
df	2 ¹²		4	
p	≤ 0.000 ¹²		0.004	
r	0.221 (modest)		0.171 (modest)	

Table 4.9 Importance of English/languages.

	English		Languages	
	TTO	NTO.	TTO	NTO
<i>not at all</i>	0.0	0.5	0.8	1.4
<i>mostly not</i>	0.4	2.2	3.6	5.5
<i>sometimes</i>	4.4	12.3	18.5	27.9
<i>mostly</i>	31.7	35.0	37.8	39.3
<i>completely</i>	63.5	50.0	39.4	26.0
χ^2	16.332 ¹²		15.501	
df	2 ¹²		4	
p	≤ 0.000 ¹²		0.004	
r	0.163 (modest)		0.160 (modest)	

¹² χ^2 not possible with 5 categories due to small number of negative responses. These values are based on collapsed negative-neutral-positive categories.

Table 4.10 English/languages as 'boring'.

	English		Languages	
	TTO	NTO	TTO	NTO
<i>not at all</i>	28.1	16.4	17.3	9.6
<i>mostly not</i>	34.5	25.1	28.5	22.7
<i>sometimes</i>	30.9	38.3	38.6	44.5
<i>mostly</i>	4.4	13.9	12.4	17.8
<i>completely</i>	2.0	6.3	3.2	5.5
χ^2	35.672		14.540	
df	4		4	
p	≤ 0.000		0.006	
r	0.228 (modest)		0.181 (modest)	

These data suggest that TTO learners do value and enjoy learning languages other than English significantly more than their NTO peers, and also that they find it easier to do so.

That TTO learners appear to find languages less difficult than do NTO learners could be a reflection of an affinity for languages among TTO pupils. This would be a logical interpretation considering that some of the schools that participated in the research employ language tests as part of their selection criteria for TTO. Furthermore, as previous research has suggested, there may be some truth in the stereotype of TTO pupils being naturally academically stronger than NTO pupils (Coleman 2006, Verspoor, Edelenbos 2009). It is also possible, however, that finding other languages less difficult is a consequence of following TTO, as research elsewhere has suggested that CLIL or plurilingualism can have positive effects on a learner's ability to learn further foreign languages (Rutgers 2013).

Qualitative responses from Phase II similarly suggested that TTO learners were more enthusiastic language learners than NTO, but also that they were more likely to value English over other languages. For example, although total numbers were too small to warrant illustration through charts, TTO respondents more often mentioned languages among their favourite aspects of school, with English specifically named considerably more often than any other language (Dutch, French, German, Spanish). In their responses to the question, *If there was one thing you could change about your school, what would it be?*, no TTO learner explicitly mentioned that they would rather have less English, although this was identified as a potential 'improvement' by a small number of NTO learners. In contrast to this, respondents from both groups (but especially NTO) specifically mentioned that they would rather spend less time on other languages, especially French and German. In terms of motivation, this might suggest that TTO pupils were in a better position to be motivated to

learn English when compared to NTO pupils, but also when compared to their motivation to learn languages other than English.

The contrast in learner attitudes towards English and languages in general can be further illustrated through within-group comparisons of the data from Table 4.7-Table 4.10 (pages 205-206). As these figures show, both TTO and NTO pupils appeared to find the English language considerably less difficult than other languages. An equally significant contrast can be observed regarding the perceived usefulness and importance of English in comparison to languages, both within and across the groups, as well as with the level of boredom experienced in relation to English and other languages. These findings are confirmed by the McNemar-Bowker analyses of the comparison of responses regarding English alone to those regarding languages in general, shown in Table 4.11. Again, the importance and usefulness of English provided too few negative responses from TTO for these tests to be carried out reliably, and so they were conducted on the basis of the collapsed categories for these two items.

Table 4.11 McNemar-Bowker analyses of responses regarding the difficulty, usefulness, importance and boredom perceived in English and in languages.

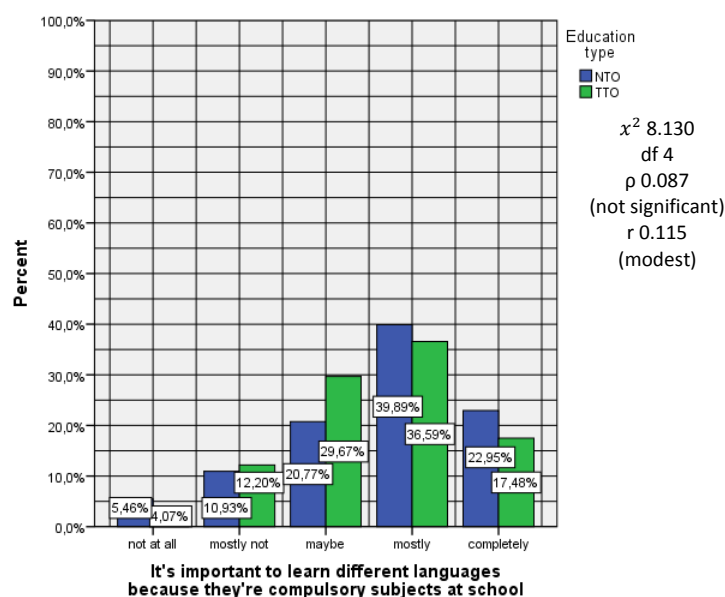
	TTO			NTO		
	McN.-B.	df	p	McN.-B.	df	p
Difficulty	44.960	10	≤ 0.000	61.282	10	≤ 0.000
Usefulness	51.372 ¹³	3 ¹³	≤ 0.000 ¹³	109.846	8	≤ 0.000
Importance	37.818 ¹³	3 ¹³	≤ 0.000 ¹³	93.228	8	≤ 0.000
Boredom	40.231	9	≤ 0.000	25.244	10	0.005

In spite of TTO learners' more positive response to languages than that of NTO learners, this identifies a tendency for both groups to favour English over other foreign languages in terms of value, enjoyment and difficulty, perhaps suggesting an element of Anglocentrism among both learner groups. This can be further confirmed in relation to learners' sense of obligation in learning languages in general. In response to the statement, *It's important to learn different languages because they're compulsory subjects at school*, the majority of pupils from both groups responded in the positive (see Figure 4.62). Considering the collapsed values, however, the proportion of total positive responses from NTO pupils was significantly higher than for TTO pupils (χ^2 6.709; df 2; p 0.035; r 0.105), while the proportions of

¹³ Test not possible with 5 categories due to small number of negative responses. These values are based on collapsed negative-neutral-positive categories.

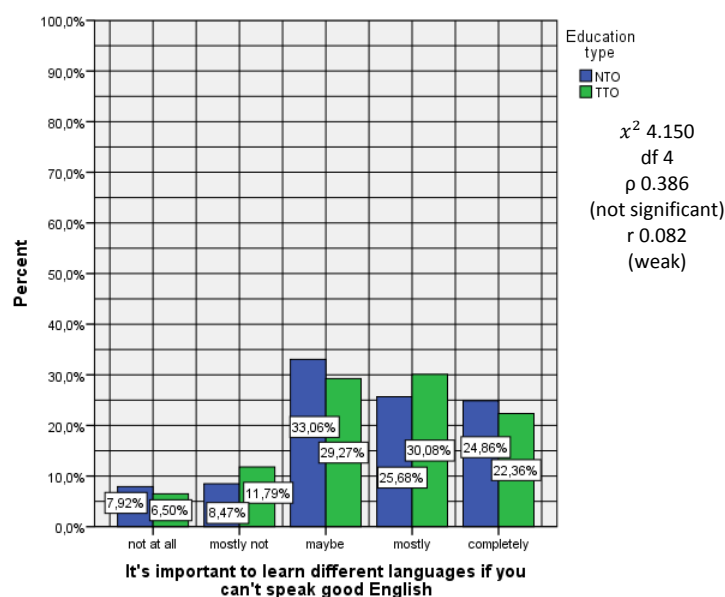
responses indicating disagreement with the statement were almost identical between the two groups.

Figure 4.62 Importance of learning different languages due to obligation.



Furthermore, the responses to the statement, *It's important to learn different languages if you can't speak good English* (Figure 4.63) were also largely positive, with a weak effect size and no significant difference between the groups.

Figure 4.63 Importance of learning different languages if level of English is low.



These findings appear to reflect negatively on the general language learning motivation of both learner groups. Gardner (2001) argues that the one reason for learning a language that cannot be classified as being any type of motivation is when language learning is simply an

obligation. That both groups were quick to identify obligation as a reason for learning languages might therefore denote that neither was strongly motivated for language learning. The valuing of languages other than English only when proficiency in English is lacking, rather than as an important skill in its own right, again implies a perception among both NTO and TTO that foreign languages other than English were useful only when there was no other option. Although the responses to these items suggest a somewhat less negative attitude among TTO pupils than NTO pupils towards language learning, this lack of negativity appeared to amount more to ambivalence than positivity. This could be an indication that, while TTO pupils might take more enjoyment than NTO pupils from learning languages, they did not necessarily value the undertaking. Thus, it would appear, as has been suggested in the literature, that the international prominence of English may be detrimental to attitudes towards learning other FLs (Ushioda 2013b).

4.6 International orientation and integrativeness

As explored in Section 4.3, TTO learners involved in this study appeared to have more cosmopolitan backgrounds and to have had more contact with the English language independently of school, than the NTO participants. Furthermore, the Future Selves of TTO learners also appeared to be more international than those of the NTO sample (see Section 4.4). These could be reflections of stronger interest in the international community, in the form of integrative and international orientations.

4.6.1 Integrativeness: Attitudes to successful learners of English

As shown in Chapter 2, Gardner's concept of integrativeness (Gardner, Lambert 1972, Gardner 1985) continues to maintain its position as an important component of language learning motivation, even in spite of the debate regarding its relevance to the global language learning community (Lamb 2004, Coetzee-Van Rooy 2006). Although it was deemed inappropriate to the Dutch context to ask learners about their opinions of native English-speakers as a measure of integrativeness, their attitudes towards the international TL community were nevertheless of interest. Respondents were therefore asked to give their views on successful **learners** of English, in response to a series of statements beginning with the phrase, *People who have learned to speak good English....* In this sense, it was their attitude towards the international L2 community that was under investigation.

These statements presented both positive and negative views of English-speakers. Among the positive statements were references to inherent personality traits (see Figure 4.64 and

Figure 4.65) and indicators of professional success (Figure 4.66 and Figure 4.67). The majority of responses from both groups regarding personality traits of being 'interesting' or 'clever' were neutral. Nevertheless, there were significant differences in the responses to either side of the neutral position. Those TTO pupils who did commit in either direction gave a significantly more positive response than NTO pupils, in particular regarding how interesting this TL group was perceived as being.

Figure 4.64 Perception of successful learners of English as 'interesting'.

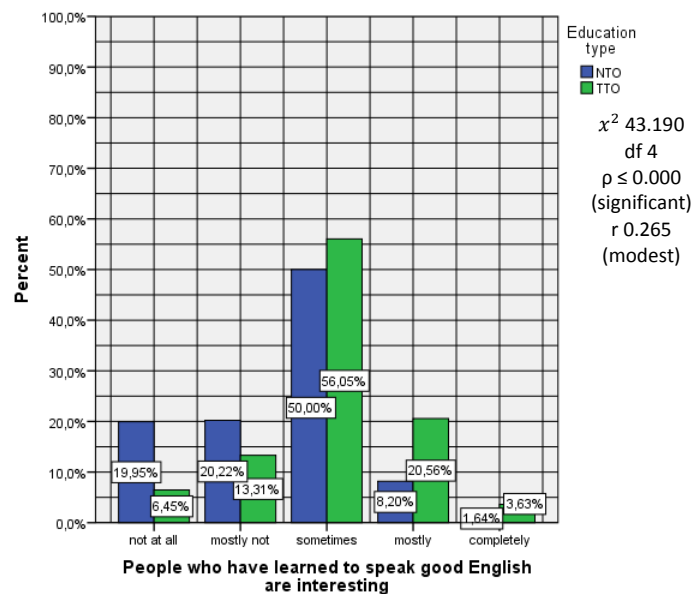
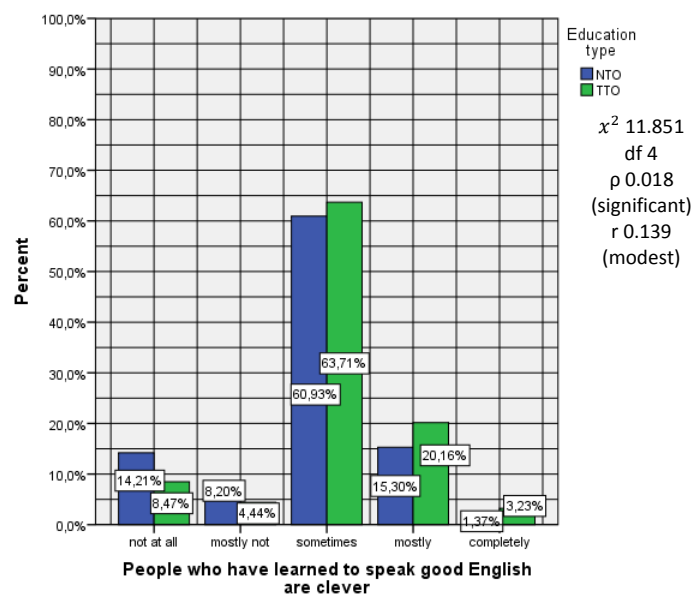


Figure 4.65 Perception of successful learners of English as 'clever'.



With regard to professional and financial success (Figure 4.66 and Figure 4.67), responses were also predominantly neutral. Those respondents who did select either a positive or a

negative response, however, highlighted the tendency for TTO pupils to again be significantly more positive where NTO pupils were negative in these respects.

Figure 4.66 Perception of successful learners of English as earning a lot of money.

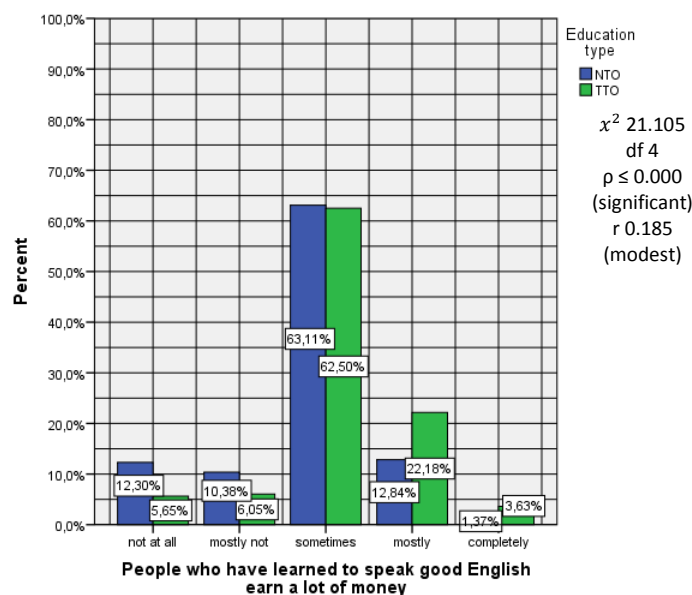
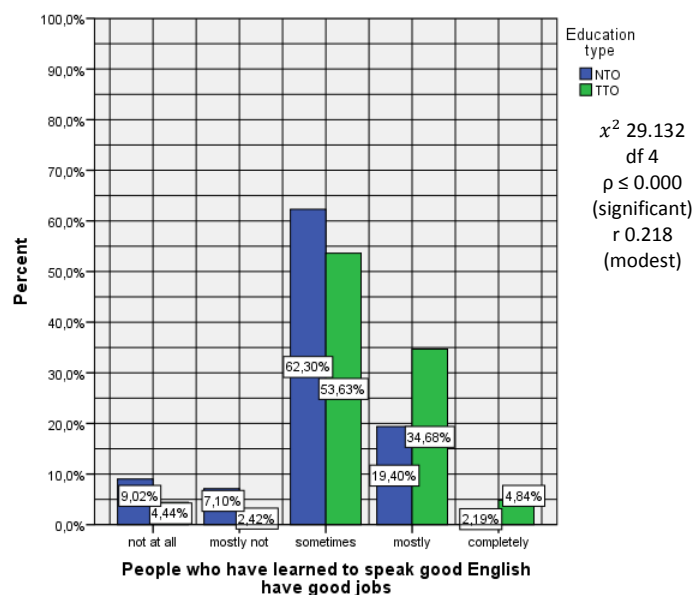


Figure 4.67 Perception of successful learners of English as having good jobs.



These findings tentatively suggest that TTO respondents placed greater value than NTO on the relationship between one's ability to speak English as a FL and both the attractiveness of one's character and one's chances of success. In choosing TTO, learners may therefore hope that they will be able to join the TL group, which according to them is reserved for 'interesting' and 'successful' people. That NTO pupils responded largely in the negative to

this statement might suggest that they viewed successful learners of English as boring, but perhaps more likely, that they felt that these features were not connected to one another.

In response to the items regarding negative features of successful learners of English, however, as displayed in Figure 4.68 and Figure 4.69, there was no significant difference and a weak effect size for the comparison of NTO and TTO pupils, neither group being quick to express a negative view of the global TL community.

Figure 4.68 Perception of successful learners of English as 'arrogant'.

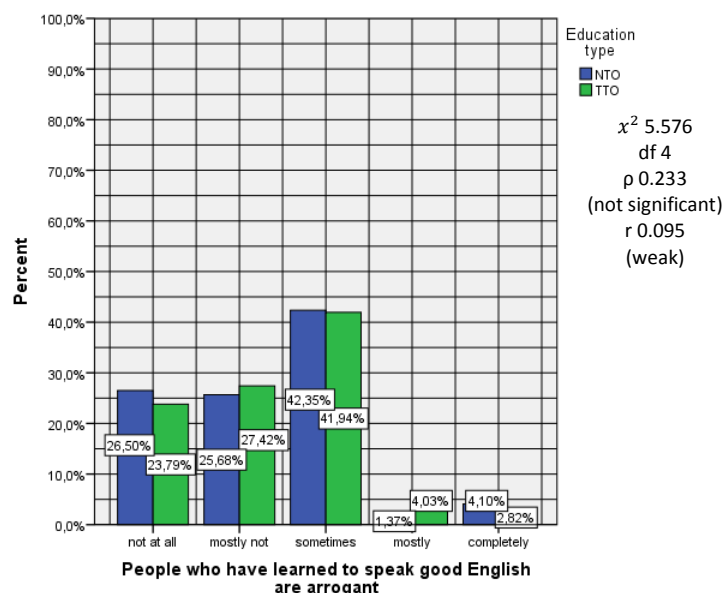
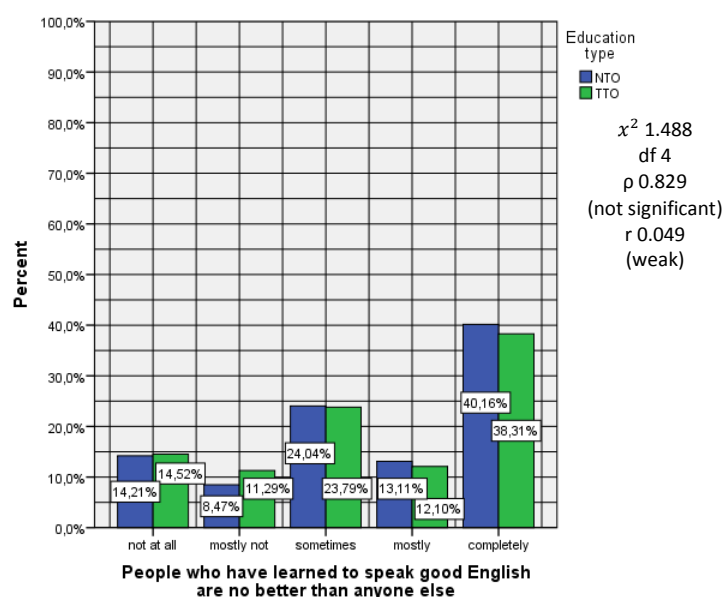


Figure 4.69 Perception of successful learners of English as 'no better than anyone else'.



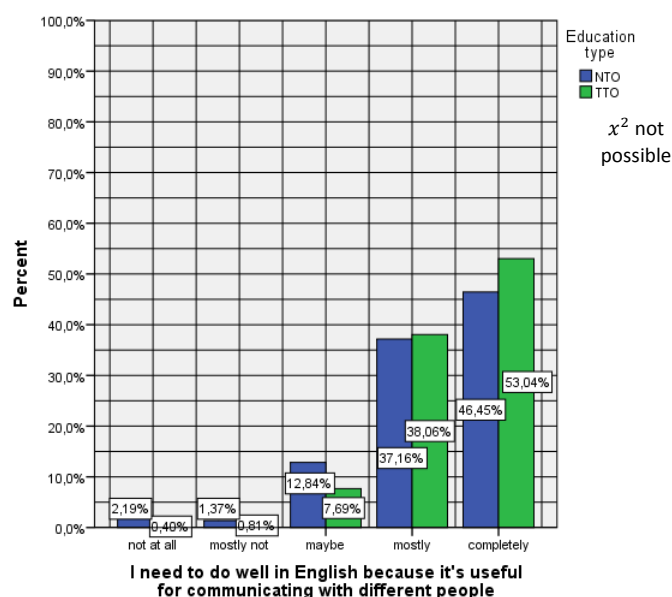
This might be an indication that, while less overtly positive regarding L2 English-speakers, NTO pupils do not hold a particularly negative view of them. While NTO pupils do not give

the impression of being particularly motivated in this area, therefore, they are also not shown to be particularly demotivated, and in some respects do not differ drastically from their TTO peers.

4.6.2 International orientation

As highlighted by Figure 4.70, both TTO and NTO pupils responded positively regarding the need to perform well in English because of its importance for communication, although TTO response to this question was more positive than that from the NTO group. It was not possible to conduct a reliable Chi squared analysis on these data due to the small numbers of negative responses from TTO, although the raw percentages depicted in Figure 4.70 indicate a difference between groups, and analysis on the basis of three categories rather than five produces a significant result (χ^2 7.673; df 2; p 0.022; r 0.112).

Figure 4.70 Need to perform well in English due to importance for communication.



The response to this item suggests a sense of the utilitarian value of English for communication among both groups, although this sentiment appeared stronger in TTO, perhaps reflecting a higher degree of international orientation among this group. This reflects findings already demonstrated in Sections 4.1 and 4.5 regarding the reasons given by participants for having chosen TTO, and in Section 4.4 regarding their future self-guides, in which it appeared that TTO pupils were more preoccupied with the international world than were NTO pupils.

This is not to say that, however, that NTO learners do not also have an interest in other countries and foreign travel. The future selves of the NTO respondents, while significantly less likely than in TTO to travel or have foreign friends, were nevertheless not entirely or even predominantly negative in these respects. Furthermore, in terms of the value of English for communicating with people from other cultures, while still significantly less positive than TTO pupils, the NTO attitudes expressed were nevertheless strikingly positive.

Bearing in mind that NTO pupils also appear to be internationally oriented, therefore, it is interesting to consider the differences in this respect not only with regard to intensity but with regard to the motivation behind them. As can be seen from the figures in Section 4.4.2, although TTO respondents were significantly more positive regarding the importance of English to them because of a desire to travel to other countries (Figure 4.54), over 90% of NTO responses to this question were either neutral or positive. In contrast, with regard to needing English in order to work or study abroad (Figure 4.55), NTO pupils gave a higher number of negative responses than positive. Together, these data suggest that, rather than being uninterested in foreign travel, NTO pupils may be interested in travelling for different reasons to TTO pupils. This difference was identified by one NTO respondent in particular:

I don't want to do anything with English later on. I think I'll only need it for going on holiday!

Phase II response to *Do you have anything else to say about why you chose NTO?*

This learner recognises that the instrumental value of English for her does not extend beyond travel for leisure purposes, as suggested by the discrepancy between the NTO responses to items regarding the importance of English for foreign travel and for purposes of work or study. That NTO pupils are less interested in these aspects of international life than TTO learners appear to be, does not necessarily denote that they are not interested in engaging in other aspects of it.

4.7 Characteristics of TTO, NTO and Comparator School respondents

For the considerable majority of the eighty items presented to both the Comparator group and the NTO group, there was no statistically significant or otherwise notable difference between their responses. Where there were more marked contrasts between the NTO and Comparator samples, this was usually due to a higher degree of neutrality from the

Comparator group rather than because its responses appeared to run parallel to those of the TTO respondents.

The lack of contrast between these samples suggests that NTO learners in a school where TTO does not exist may not be significantly different in most of the aspects explored here to their counterparts in schools where TTO is offered. This is somewhat surprising in the light of the findings of Verspoor (2009), who found that pupils who attended schools where no TTO was on offer were closer to TTO pupils in terms of attainment and attitude than were the NTO pupils from mixed schools. Considering that many of the differences between TTO and NTO pupils appeared to reflect inherent learner characteristics rather than behaviour learned through exposure to TTO, it might be expected that the Comparator participants would possess some of the same characteristics as TTO pupils, their decision not to do TTO having been motivated more by circumstances than by personal preference.

That said, TTO is now so widespread in the Netherlands that it is rare for young people to be in a position where TTO is absolutely not an option for them (Europees Platform 2010a), although admittedly this may not be the case for HAVO learners. A number of TTO participants involved in Phase I of this study revealed that they cycled for 45 minutes each morning in order to attend a TTO school, while there was a good NTO school within walking distance of their home. Qualitative and quantitative responses from the Comparator participants suggested that a convenient location played an important role in their decision to attend their chosen secondary school. That they may therefore have opted out of TTO due to the inconvenience of travelling further to school suggests that they might in fact be more similar to NTO respondents in terms of learning styles, interests and motivations than their situation might first suggest. This could go some way to explaining the unexpected lack of contrast between these two groups.

4.8 Conclusions to Chapter 4

The learner characteristics investigated through this study and discussed in this chapter were all selected on the basis of their relationship to existing models and theories of language learning motivation. In this concluding section of the chapter, the motivations of each group, and the common ground between them, will be summarised in brief, before some initial conclusions are drawn regarding the significance of these findings in the light of recent motivational theories, and in relation to RQ1. It should be noted that the conclusions to this chapter do not take into consideration the impact of the learning context which,

according to the majority of language learning motivation literature from the last half-century, undoubtedly plays an important role (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). This aspect of motivation, and its apparent contribution to the motivation of the participants in this study, will be explored in relation to RQ2 in Chapter 5, and the conclusions relating to both RQs brought together in Chapter 6.

From the data explored here, it would appear that TTO pupils in some respects possess inherently different characteristics to learners who have chosen to follow an NTO programme, which can affect their approach to school and to the learning of languages, or learning in general. Often, these characteristics are similar to those identified in previous literature and research as belonging to more motivated (language) learners. In spite of this, some common ground has also been observed between the two learner groups, suggesting that the motivational differences are not entirely clear-cut.

With regard to learning attitudes, the findings explored here suggest that TTO pupils may be more academically-minded than NTO pupils. While both groups appear to value the social and practical sides of school, such as school facilities and contact with friends, the TTO respondents seemed more engaged with their academic subjects than did the NTO respondents. Furthermore, while TTO pupils appeared to be drawn to challenge, NTO pupils displayed a tendency to be deterred by it and, while both groups claimed to work hard for school, there is evidence to suggest that the threshold of what they considered to be hard work may be lower for NTO pupils than TTO.

In terms of confidence, both groups appeared similar with regard to their non-academic group self-esteem, although NTO learners expressed a lower degree of certainty regarding their own academic attitudes and abilities as a group. On an individual level, while both groups appeared relatively confident in lessons, TTO learners were slightly more so regarding Dutch-medium than English-medium subjects. With regard to confidence in using the English language for real-life communication, TTO pupils appeared slightly – but not drastically – more confident than NTO pupils. Furthermore, there was evidence to suggest that a possible contributor to the apparently higher level of confidence among TTO pupils was the sense of agency these learners appeared to experience in relation to their own learning and success, while the NTO group more often conveyed a sense of powerlessness or passivity in this respect.

In spite of common stereotypes, there was little support found in these data for the view that parents hold greater influence over the academic or linguistic decisions and performance of TTO pupils than NTO pupils. Indeed, qualitative data from Phase I might even be viewed as evidence that the pattern is the reverse, with NTO pupils quicker to identify with elements harmonious with the 'ought' self (Higgins 1987, Dörnyei 2009c). Friends appear to have relatively little direct influence on the motivation of either group for their chosen education type, although TTO pupils did identify their friends as, like them, holding more positive attitudes towards learning and English than the friends described by NTO pupils. A more varied linguistic background and more exposure to English outside of school might also have greater motivational influence on TTO learners, although the latter might also be an indicator of higher levels of intrinsic motivation.

As regards intrinsic interest in language learning, TTO pupils conveyed significantly more enthusiasm than NTO pupils for the learning of both English and other languages, although the contrast in terms of the learning of languages other than English was less striking. This might suggest that TTO pupils' apparently stronger motivation to learn English has grown more out of instrumental factors than from intrinsic enjoyment of language-learning.

Areas of considerable contrast between the two groups appear to lie in their impression of their future self and their attitude to the international community. Although NTO responses were not negative in this respect, TTO learners expressed more positivity regarding successful learners of English, suggesting a degree of integrativeness towards them as an international L2 community. TTO respondents' vision of their own future appeared to be more vivid, more defined and more ambitious than that of NTO pupils, as well as being more likely to involve the skilled use of English. Their reasons for learning English, as well as their future selves, often involved an international lifestyle, for example with work, study or living abroad as important features, while NTO pupils' international outlook was more focused on travel for leisure purposes, and less demanding in terms of level of English. Additionally, the immediate feared selves of TTO pupils appeared to be more prominent, suggesting both a stronger drive towards their ambitions and a more powerful desire to avoid negative consequences, when compared to their peers in NTO.

It therefore follows to draw the initial conclusion that TTO pupils do appear to demonstrate more characteristics of a motivated learner with regard to a number of aspects of school and language learning, and particularly for features relevant to TTO. In particular,

international orientation, ideal and feared selves, exposure to English and intrinsic interest in the language and the international TL community, a more academic approach to school, and a sense of agency and desire to be challenged, all stand out as being important contributors to or consequences of that motivation. NTO pupils, while not necessarily demotivated, express different priorities and ambitions, and to a greater extent lack confidence in their own learning abilities, all of which are features less conducive to the type of motivation required by the demands of a TTO programme.

What is not apparent from these results is the extent to which the experience of TTO appears to have a positive impact on learners' motivation, or whether the motivational features described above appear to be inherent to the pupils who opt into TTO programmes. This will be explored further in the coming chapters.

5. Discussion of Findings: The role of the school experience (RQ2)

In Chapter 4, findings were discussed as to their significance in terms of identifying differences in the inherent learning characteristics of TTO and NTO learners, with a view to discussing the question, *How and to what extent do TTO pupils display inherently different learning and motivational characteristics to their NTO peers?* (RQ1). The initial conclusions drawn in Chapter 4 highlighted a number of apparent differences between the two groups of learners, in particular with regard to future self-images, international orientation and integrativeness, confidence and self-esteem, and learning priorities, attitudes and interests. With regard to the majority of these areas, it appeared that TTO learners displayed more characteristics identified in a theoretical sense as being conducive to (language) learning motivation.

In this chapter, the second of the research questions (RQ2) will be considered, namely, *What appears to be the impact of the TTO context on learner motivation?* This discussion will be approached firstly with regard to the views expressed by pupils regarding their experience of school in their chosen education type (Section 5.1). Secondly, the changing nature of motivation will be acknowledged in the consideration of differences across year-groups and between the responses from the overlapping group of respondents surveyed both at the beginning and end of the school year (Section 5.2). In considering motivational change in this way, it is hoped that more insight will be gained into whether exposure to a particular educational paradigm appears to influence motivation. In Section 5.3, the degree of similarity between the NTO and Comparator samples will be addressed in terms of their response to the learning context. Conclusions drawn in relation to RQ2 will be summarised in Section 5.4, before the conclusions of the study as a whole are discussed in Chapter 6.

It is important to note that the data presented in this chapter are taken from survey responses provided by learners, and not from classroom observation or other tools aimed at evaluating actual teaching and learning practices. Conclusions drawn on the basis of these data are therefore intended to be viewed as a snapshot of the perspectives, attitudes and opinions of the young people questioned, as they experience them and reported on them at the moment in which they were asked. While an element of grounded speculation as to the causality of particular viewpoints or trends may be involved, the findings presented in this

chapter are therefore not judgements on teaching and learning practices or any other aspect of TTO schools, but reflections of how young people respond to their school, their teachers and their lessons, and discussion as to the possible causes and effects of that response.

As in Chapter 4, the term 'significant' should be understood as denoting statistical significance, and effect sizes for analyses with a significant Chi squared value will only be commented on where they deviate from being modest. The default position for analyses remains the comparison of responses to the Round 1 (R1) survey from the entire TTO sample with those from the entire NTO sample. This chapter, however, will also present a larger number of other analyses, including comparisons across year-groups within either TTO or NTO, cross-group comparisons within a single year-group, and within-group analysis comparing similar items or responses from the overlapping R1-R2 group. Only in the latter case will Round 2 (R2) data be considered.

5.1 Pupil experiences of teaching and learning

Learner responses were compared in order to identify differences in the responses given by TTO and NTO respondents with regard to school, teachers and lessons.

5.1.1 Enjoyment of school

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the responses of TTO pupils in both phases of this study had a generally more positive tone regarding learning than those of NTO participants, more often focusing on what they enjoyed, learned or achieved through school, than on what they disliked about it or about their own skills as learners. This difference in tone could signify contrasting outlooks or attitudes towards learning, or it could be a symptom of the groups' different experiences of school.

Each group was slightly more inclined to choose the opposite group in response to the question, *Who enjoy coming to school?*, depicted in Figure 5.1. This difference was statistically significant, although the vast majority of responses from both groups were neutral. As highlighted in Figure 5.2, TTO respondents did express a strong conviction that they did more 'fun things' at school than NTO pupils. This difference was significant and had a moderate effect size. NTO respondents also favoured TTO over NTO in this response, although approximately two-thirds expressed the belief that there was no difference between groups in this respect.

Figure 5.1 Perception of NTO or TTO as ‘enjoying coming to school’.

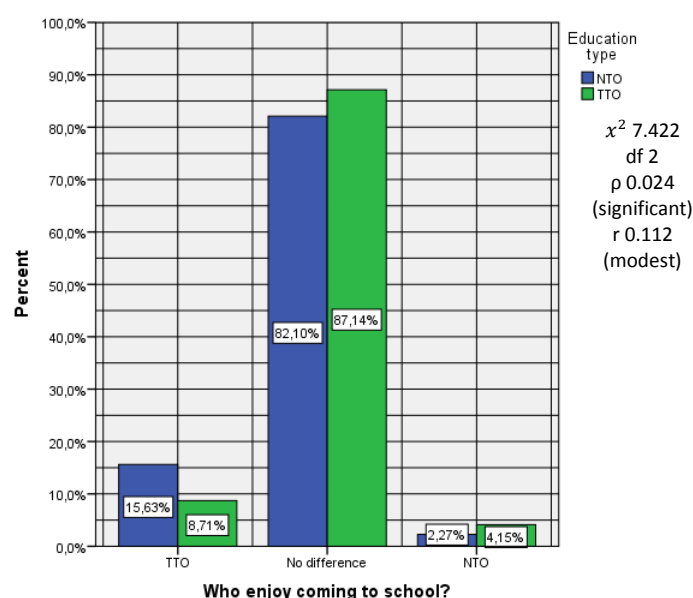
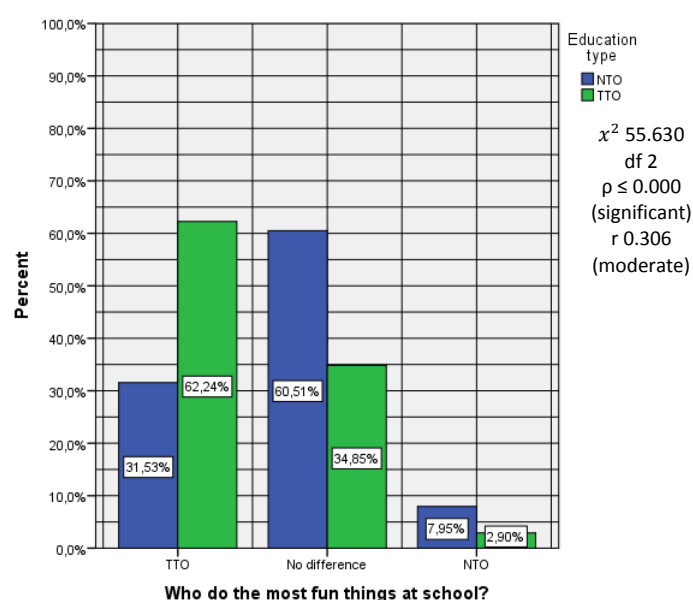


Figure 5.2 Perception of NTO or TTO as ‘doing the most fun things at school’.



While the quantitative difference shown here is slight, there were indications in the qualitative responses from both Phase I and Phase II that TTO pupils found school to be a more positive experience than did NTO pupils. Furthermore, the difference between the responses displayed in Figure 5.1 and Figure 5.2 suggest that, while school as a whole might be experienced with similar levels of enjoyment across both groups, the contribution of teaching and learning activities to that enjoyment might favour TTO learners.

Similar positivity was expressed by TTO learners with regard to their choice of education type. While TTO responses referred largely to the attractive features of TTO, the tone of the

responses from NTO respondents was often negative, focusing on reasons not to choose TTO rather than advantages of NTO:

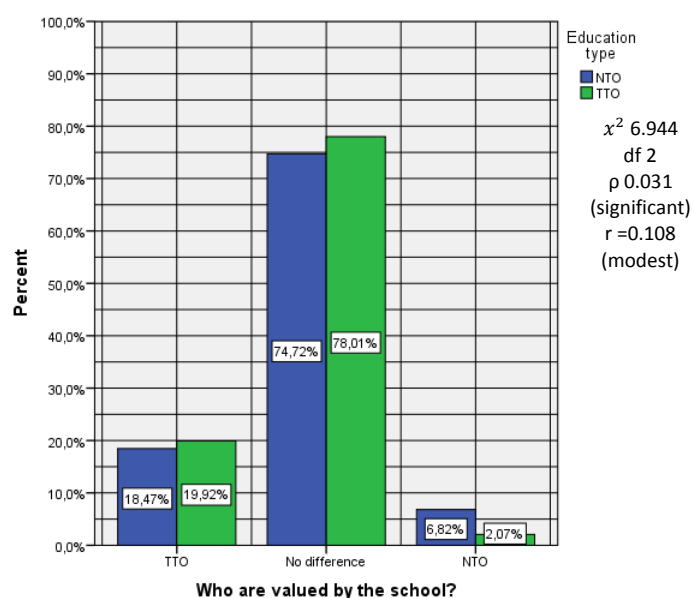
Bilingual education seems a bit unnecessary as you learn plenty of English anyway

Phase II response to *Do you have anything else to say about why you chose NTO?*

Responses such as this could indicate a less positive attitude among NTO learners towards their chosen educational route. They could also, however, be a reflection of reality, in the sense that their school might not offer any particular incentive to choose NTO. If this is the case, it is not surprising that the main reasons given for choosing NTO were actually reasons not to choose TTO. In spite of both learner groups being perceived as enjoying school to a similar degree, therefore, there nevertheless appeared to exist among some respondents a sentiment that NTO learners were somewhat disadvantaged in school.

Also conflicting were results pertaining to the extent to which TTO pupils appeared to be considered more valued by school or more 'special'. In their response to the question, *Who are valued by the school?*, depicted in Figure 5.3, a considerable majority from both groups appeared to believe that neither group was more valued by their school, although Chi squared analysis suggests that the seemingly subtle differences between the groups in this respect are significant. Respondents from both groups who did not give a neutral response were more likely to select TTO than NTO, and an extremely low number of TTO respondents appeared to believe that NTO pupils were more valued.

Figure 5.3 Perception to NTO or TTO as 'valued by the school'.



While the quantitative data shown here suggest that TTO pupils were to some extent viewed as more valued, more insight can be gained through consideration of the qualitative data. In their responses regarding their decision to do TTO and their views on the 'best' aspects of school, a number of TTO pupils mentioned that they enjoyed the sense TTO gave them of being 'special':

TTO, that makes our school special

Phase II TTO response to *What is the best thing about school?*

NTO pupils also used qualitative responses to express the view that TTO pupils were the favoured group at their school:

I'd like to do more fun activities as regular pupil

that Bilingual pupils don't get preferential treatment

Phase II NTO responses to *If you could change one thing about your school, what would it be?*

This was not to say that NTO respondents all viewed this inequality as being unjust. As was commented on by an NTO pupil during Phase I, some may have held the view that TTO pupils were rewarded with more 'fun things' for good behaviour:

if they're nicer or if they, you know, pay attention and stuff, then they think you're nicer and then maybe they're more likely to do something more fun.

Yvette, Class B, Live Discussion 2, March 2012

Coupled with the evidence explored in Section 4.2, which suggested a belief among pupils that TTO pupils were better-behaved, this might go some way to explaining the discrepancy in the findings regarding enjoyment of school and 'doing fun things'.

That there appeared to exist a belief among some pupils that TTO pupils are rewarded more, or given more opportunities for fun in school, and that NTO pupils might relate this to TTO being more deserving, might be related to the differences identified in Chapter 4 regarding the levels of academic self-confidence of the two groups. The direction of this relationship, however, is unclear, as there is no evidence to suggest either that TTO pupils have more confidence and are therefore more disposed to feel valued, or that they are more valued and therefore grow in confidence.

5.1.2 Teachers and teaching

Respondents in this research were asked specifically about their views regarding teachers and teaching. The most revealing differences between TTO and NTO responses in this respect related to the teachers' engagement with and promotion of their subject, and pupils' perception of them on an interpersonal level. In particular these responses highlighted not only differences between teachers and teaching in NTO and TTO, but possibly also further differences in learner priorities and characteristics.

Teacher engagement

Responses from both TTO and NTO pupils to the statement, *My teacher(s) seem(s) to enjoy their subject*, for English as well as other English-medium and Dutch-medium subjects, along with their statistical analyses, are displayed in Table 5.1 and Table 5.2. Responses from both groups in these respects were markedly positive, showing no significant difference either between NTO and TTO responses or between the TTO responses regarding English-medium and Dutch-medium subject lessons. The greatest observable difference between the groups' responses to these items was in relation to English teachers, for which the slightly larger number of positive responses from TTO pupils was significant when regarded in terms of the collapsed values displayed in Table 5.3 and Table 5.4.

Table 5.1 Responses to 'My teachers enjoy their subject' (%).

	TTO			NTO	
	Eng.	TTO	Other	Eng.	Other
<i>not at all</i>	5.8	0.4	0.8	11.5	0.8
<i>mostly not</i>	4.5	0.8	1.2	6.0	1.4
<i>sometimes</i>	11.5	20.6	23.0	11.5	19.7
<i>mostly</i>	29.6	52.7	47.3	28.5	44.9
<i>completely</i>	48.6	25.5	27.6	42.5	33.2

Table 5.2 Chi squared/McNemar-Bowker analysis of comparisons regarding teachers' apparent enjoyment of subject.

Comparison	χ^2 /McN.-B.	df	p	r
TTO English – NTO English	7.105	4	0.130 (n. sig.)	0.108 (modest)
TTO English-medium – NTO	5.452	4	0.244 (n. sig.)	0.095 (weak)
TTO Dutch-medium – NTO	2.434	4	0.656 (n. sig.)	0.063 (weak)
TTO English-medium – TTO Dutch-medium*	4.596	7	0.709 (n. sig.)	-

* McNemar-Bowker test

Table 5.3 Responses to *My teachers enjoy their subject (%)* (collapsed values).

	TTO			NTO	
	Eng.	TTO	Other	Eng.	Other
Negative	10.3	1.2	2.0	17.5	2.2
Neutral	11.5	20.6	23.0	11.5	19.7
Positive	78.2	78.2	75.0	71.0	78.1

Table 5.4 Chi squared/McNemar-Bowker analysis of comparisons regarding teachers' apparent enjoyment of subject (collapsed values).

Comparison	χ^2 /McN.-B.	df	p	r
TTO English – NTO English	6.265	2	0.044 (sig.)	0.102 (modest)
TTO English-medium – NTO	0.792	2	0.673 (n. sig.)	0.036 (weak)
TTO Dutch-medium – NTO	0.968	2	0.616 (n. sig.)	0.040 (weak)
TTO English-medium – TTO Dutch-medium*	2.692	3	0.442 (n. sig.)	-

* McNemar-Bowker test

Positive and motivated teachers have been shown to contribute to the motivation of their pupils (Chambers 1999). These data could therefore be interpreted as a positive reflection on the motivational impact of teachers in both English-medium and Dutch-medium subjects, and in both TTO and NTO contexts. While the difference was small, it is also interesting to note that TTO English teachers were perceived by pupils as being significantly more engaged with their subject, which might contribute to the higher levels of intrinsic motivation for English among TTO, as reported in Chapter 4.

While the data above suggest positivity in all regards, however, those in Table 5.5 and Table 5.6 show TTO pupils as being more likely than NTO pupils to report that their teachers for English-medium subjects other than English made their subject fun. The difference between groups was not significant for the comparison of Dutch-medium subjects to NTO subjects. With regard to English teachers, the difference between the groups appeared to lie in the degree of conviction with which they agreed with this statement, NTO pupils being more likely to choose an extreme negative and TTO pupils an extreme positive. For the second degrees of positivity and negativity, the trend was reversed.

Table 5.5 % responses to *My teachers make their subject fun (%)*.

	TTO			NTO	
	Eng.	TTO	Other	Eng.	Other
<i>not at all</i>	11.1	2.5	4.5	19.5	3.3
<i>mostly not</i>	17.7	6.2	7.8	13.4	12.3
<i>sometimes</i>	25.1	45.7	37.9	25.8	43.8
<i>mostly</i>	23.5	35.4	32.9	24.4	29.0
<i>completely</i>	22.6	10.3	16.9	17.0	11.5

Table 5.6 Chi squared analysis of comparisons regarding teachers making lessons 'fun'.

Comparison	χ^2 /McN.-B.	df	p	r
TTO English – NTO English	10.549	4	0.032 (sig.)	0.132 (modest)
TTO English-medium – NTO	8.103	4	0.088 (n. sig.)	0.115 (modest)
TTO Dutch-medium – NTO	8.462	4	0.076 (n. sig.)	0.118 (modest)
TTO English-medium – TTO Dutch-medium	22.273*	9	0.008 (sig.)	-

* McNemar-Bowker test

While interpretations of ‘fun’ lessons can vary (Coyle 2013), what was important in the responses reported here was the extent to which learners experienced lessons as such, and to which they believed that this was due to the contribution of the teacher. It is not possible from the data reported here, however, to determine whether the slightly increased positivity from TTO pupils regarding how ‘fun’ their teachers made lessons was the result of more enthusiastic teachers or more enthusiastic pupils. As explored in Chapter 4, the attitudes towards school expressed by TTO pupils in this study were generally more positive than those expressed by NTO pupils. This could signify that, rather than TTO teachers making their subject more fun, the pupils simply took more enjoyment from learning the subject. Nonetheless, motivation research over the years has highlighted the importance of the role that teachers can play in motivating learners (Ushioda 2011, Dörnyei, Kubanyiova 2014), and there is evidence from research in bilingual education settings that suggests that the adoption of bilingual approaches can incite teachers to invest extra effort into preparation of motivating and engaging lessons and materials (Ruiz de Zarobe 2008). Given the literature on the benefits of CLIL for pupils’ engagement due to more practical and relevant approaches (Ting 2010) and the current emphasis in Dutch schools on ‘activating’ styles of teaching and learning, in particular in TTO (Oostdam, Peetsma et al. 2006, Europees Platform

2010a), therefore, these findings could be interpreted as an indication that TTO was, in this respect, a motivator for the learners concerned.

Relationships with teachers

In spite of TTO respondents displaying more positive attitudes regarding teaching, they appeared less preoccupied with their relationship with teachers than did NTO respondents. According to the coded references displayed in Figure 5.4 and Figure 5.5, teachers were joint fifth of ten on the list of favourite features of school for NTO pupils, while for TTO pupils they were ranked tenth of eleven. While the relative percentages (four per cent for NTO; two per cent for TTO) were not strikingly different, this is mostly due to the large number of mentions of non-lesson activities and contact with peers by NTO respondents.

Figure 5.4 Coded NTO responses regarding favourite aspects of school.

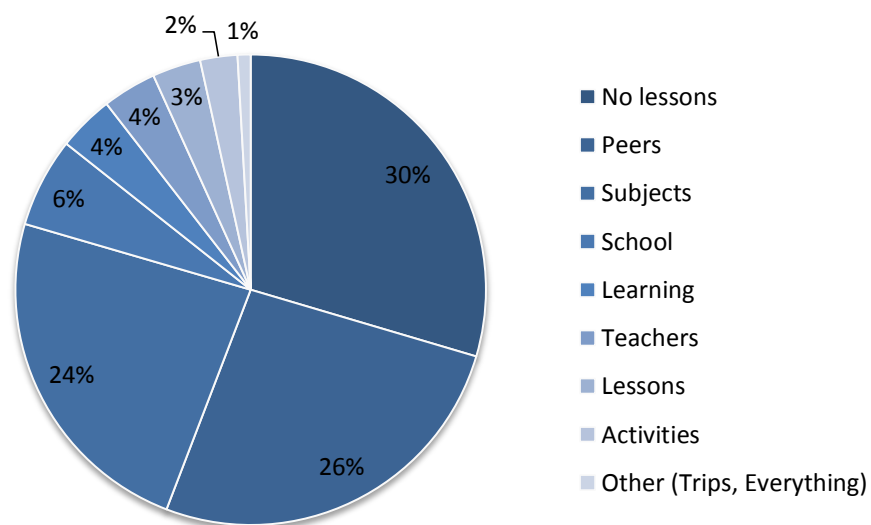
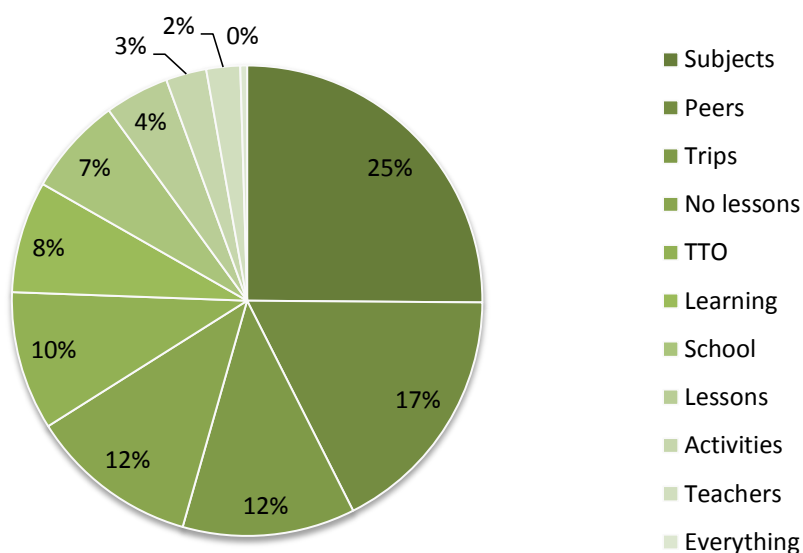


Figure 5.5 Coded TTO responses regarding favourite aspects of school.



Relative to the total number of comments, teachers were also mentioned less often by NTO pupils as something that they would like to change about school, amounting to only 5.13% of NTO comments and 11.30% of TTO comments, as shown in Figure 5.6 and Figure 5.7.

Figure 5.6 Coded NTO responses regarding what they would change about school.

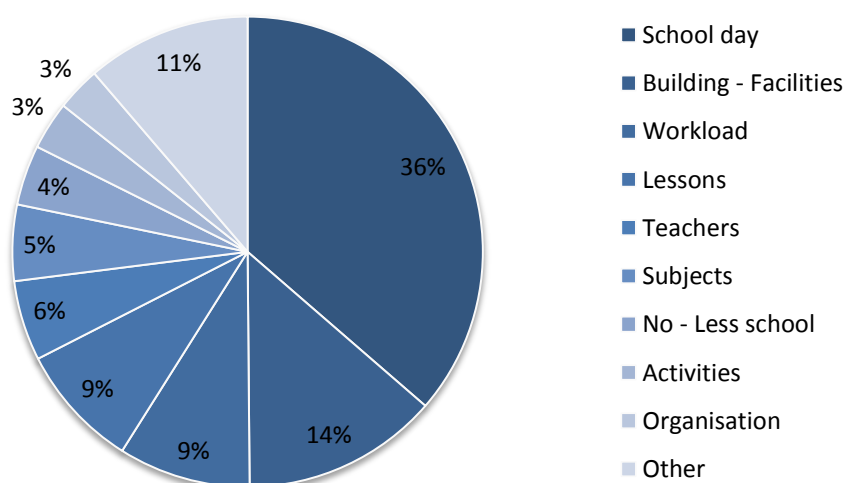
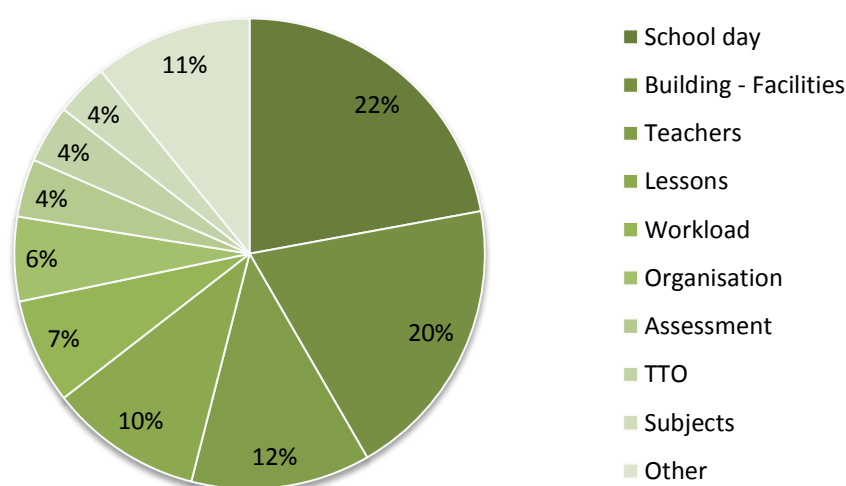


Figure 5.7 Coded TTO responses regarding what they would change about school.



Contrasts were noted between groups on closer inspection of the comments made about teachers, in particular in a negative sense. TTO pupils' criticism most often relates to the quality of teaching, the variation in lessons or teachers' level of English:

Better teachers, with more experience

the style of teaching

Some teachers can't speak that good English themselves and that's sometimes quite annoying.

Phase II TTO responses to *If you could change one thing about your school, what would it be?*

NTO pupils were more often critical of their teachers' classroom management skills, their personality or their being too strict, focusing on contact with teachers on an interpersonal level:

that all teachers are equally nice

Teachers who aren't too strict and are a bit nicer to pupils.

Phase II NTO responses to *If you could change one thing about your school, what would it be?*

That NTO pupils were quicker to mention their teachers as a positive aspect of school, might strengthen the view highlighted in Chapter 4 that the social and interpersonal aspect of

school is more important to NTO pupils than to TTO pupils, who, while also valuing social contact, appear more concerned with its academic side.

Taking this into consideration, it could be argued that the opinions expressed by respondents regarding teaching practices, in which TTO learners appeared to be positioned more positively, do not necessarily equate to TTO teaching being more motivating. While the literature suggests that teachers who are engaged with their subject and make it enjoyable for pupils can have a motivating effect (Dörnyei, Kubanyiova 2014), positive relationships with teachers can also be a valuable motivator (Chambers 1999). If it is indeed the case that TTO pupils view variation and engagement with subject-matter as important aspects of lessons, while NTO pupils value routine and social contact, there is scope for the consideration that teachers may respond to their pupils' needs by behaving differently towards different classes. This could prove equally motivating to both groups. Alternatively, pupils may identify different aspects of the same teachers and teaching styles as being positive. In this sense, these results may tell us more about learners than about teachers. This study being concerned as much with the differences in what form pupils' motivation takes as with schools' influences on that motivation, this difference is noteworthy.

5.1.3 Response to lessons

With regard to differences in TTO and NTO pupils' response to lessons, findings were more straightforward. In particular, differences can be observed with regard to the amount of variation in teaching materials and lesson activities, and to TL use.

Variation in English lessons

As demonstrated in Figure 5.8, NTO pupils were significantly more likely than TTO pupils to say that they worked from a textbook during English lessons. Likewise, as shown in Figure 5.9, NTO pupils were significantly more likely to respond negatively regarding variation of materials during English lessons, although TTO responses to this statement were also not overwhelmingly positive. Both of these analyses produced a moderate effect size.

Furthermore, in response to the statement, *We do roughly the same activities during each English lesson* (Figure 5.10), NTO respondents were significantly more likely than TTO pupils to select a positive response.

Figure 5.8 Reported use of textbooks in English lessons.

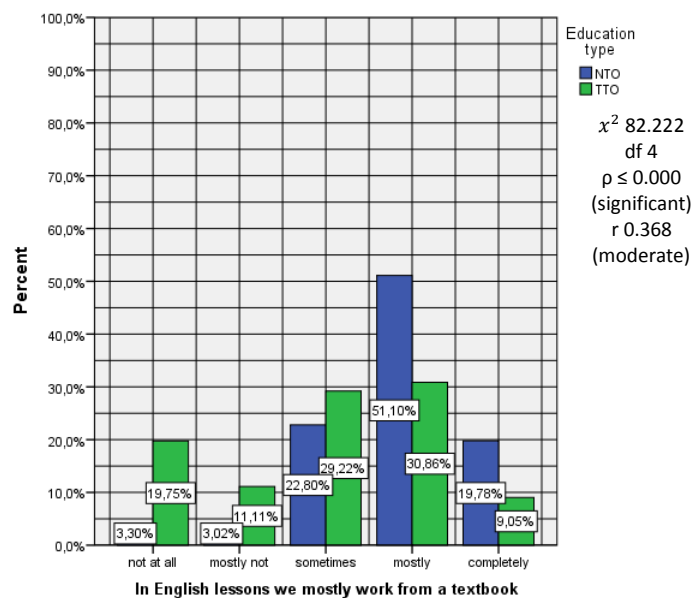


Figure 5.9 Reported variation of materials in English lessons.

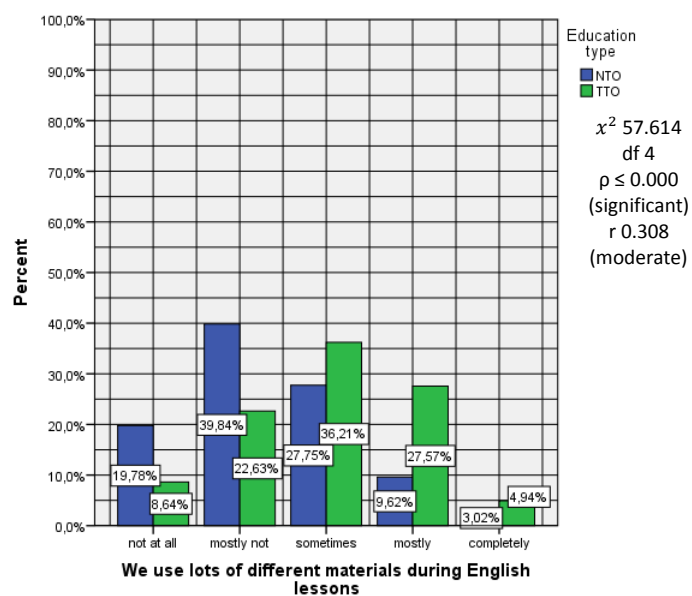
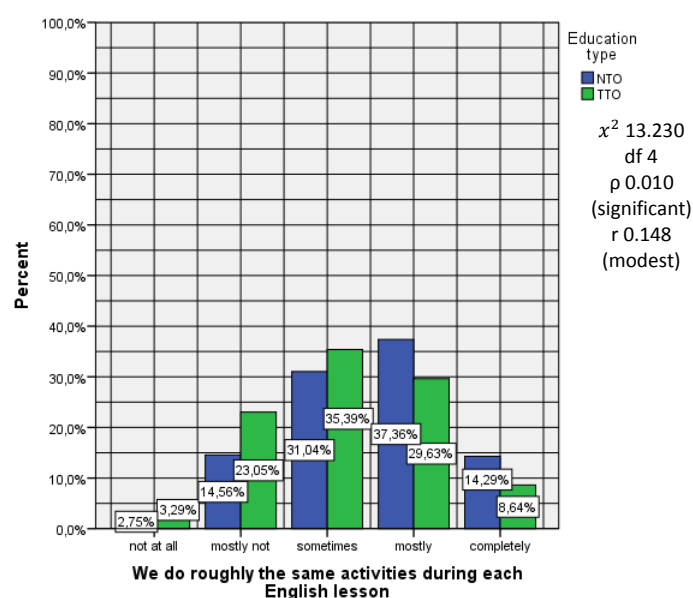


Figure 5.10 Reported similarity in activities during each English lesson.



These results suggest that TTO respondents experienced more variation in teaching materials in English lessons than NTO pupils, reflecting findings from studies conducted in non-Dutch contexts, in which variation of materials and activities has been identified as an advantage of CLIL approaches (Gajo, Serra 2002, Ruiz de Zarobe 2008, Hunt 2011). This difference could reflect the tendency for TTO English curricula to be teacher-led rather than textbook-led, partially due to the lack of suitable textbooks on the market (Maljers 2007), but perhaps also due to increased teacher enthusiasm for curriculum development within TTO. Interestingly, however, the lower proportion of pupils who reported variation in materials compared to lack of textbook use implies that teacher-designed materials do not necessarily lead to more variation. Furthermore, while TTO responses identified more variation when compared to NTO responses, the raw percentages nevertheless suggest relatively little variation. Although this might appear somewhat surprising in the light of previous CLIL research, it does echo previous findings from TTO, in particular with regard to the TTO English classroom (Huibregtse 2001). This not only implies that TTO lessons may not be experienced as being as varied as one might expect, but also that variety of materials and variation of activities may not be synonymous with one another.

Analysis in terms of year-groups allows for further consideration of these findings. As Figure 5.11 and Figure 5.12 show (with clarification in Table 5.7), TTO third-year responses indicated least use of textbooks, but also least variation in lessons, when compared to younger years. Analyses of the comparison regarding textbook-use highlighted a statistically

significant difference and strong effect size, although the small counts for some of the extremely positive or negative responses rendered these tests invalid for the item regarding variation of activities. When considered in terms of the collapsed ‘positive’, ‘neutral’ and ‘negative’ categories, however, the differences for this item also appeared to be significant (χ^2 11.201; df 4; p 0.024; r 0.215).

Figure 5.11 Reported use of textbooks in TTO English lessons.

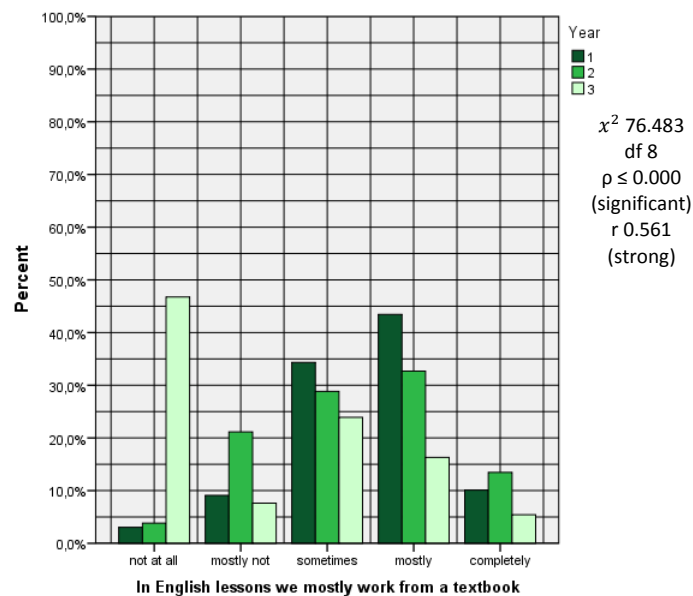


Figure 5.12 Reported similarity of activities in each TTO English lesson.

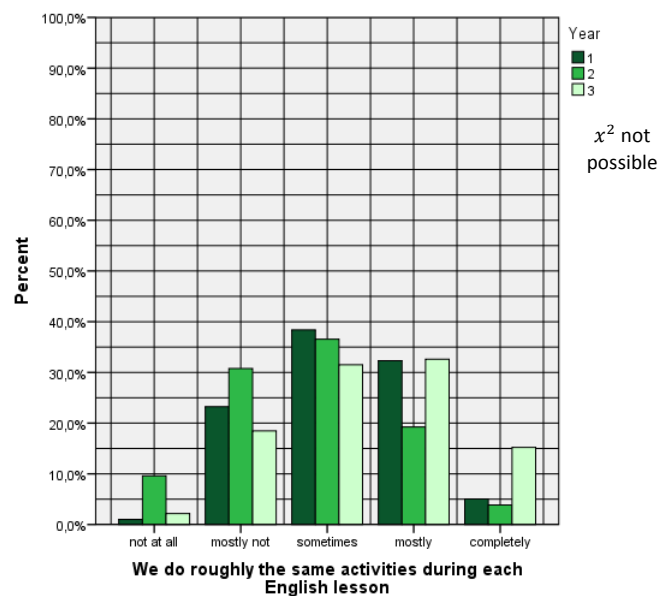


Table 5.7 Responses regarding textbook use and similarity of activities in each TTO English lesson (%).

	Textbooks			Same activities		
Year	1	2	3	1	2	3
<i>not at all</i>	3.0	3.8	46.7	1.0	9.6	2.2
<i>mostly not</i>	9.1	21.2	7.6	23.2	30.8	18.5
<i>sometimes</i>	34.3	28.8	23.9	38.4	36.5	31.5
<i>mostly</i>	43.4	32.7	16.3	32.3	19.2	32.6
<i>completely</i>	10.1	13.5	5.4	5.1	3.8	15.2

Comparison of the same items in terms of NTO responses, depicted in Figure 5.13 and Figure 5.14 (exact data in Table 5.8), show slightly different trends. Here, second years reported less use of textbooks than first or third years, although the significance of this difference could not reliably be determined through analysis on the original five categories. Using the collapsed categories, the difference was statistically significant (χ^2 25.794; df 4; $p \leq 0.000$; r 0.266), with first years reporting most textbook use (78.2% positive) and second years least (61% positive). Like in TTO, older NTO pupils also saw significantly less variation in English lessons, although here second years as well as third years expressed this view.

Figure 5.13 Reported use of textbooks in NTO English lessons.

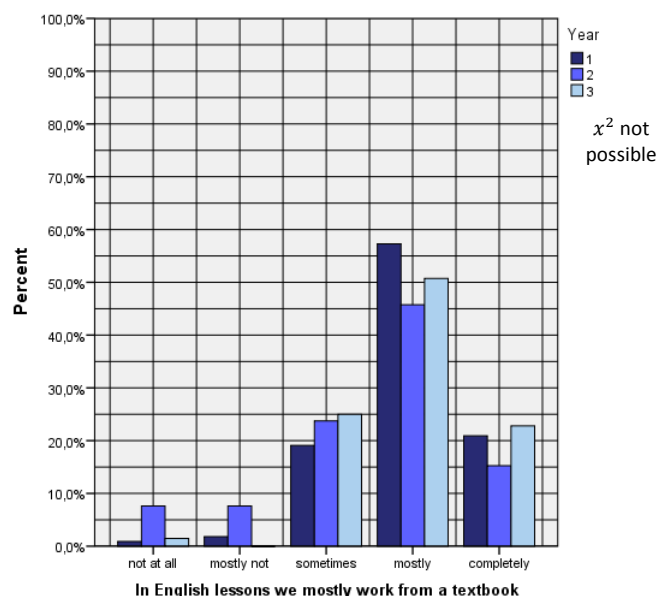


Figure 5.14 Reported similarity of activities in each NTO English lesson.

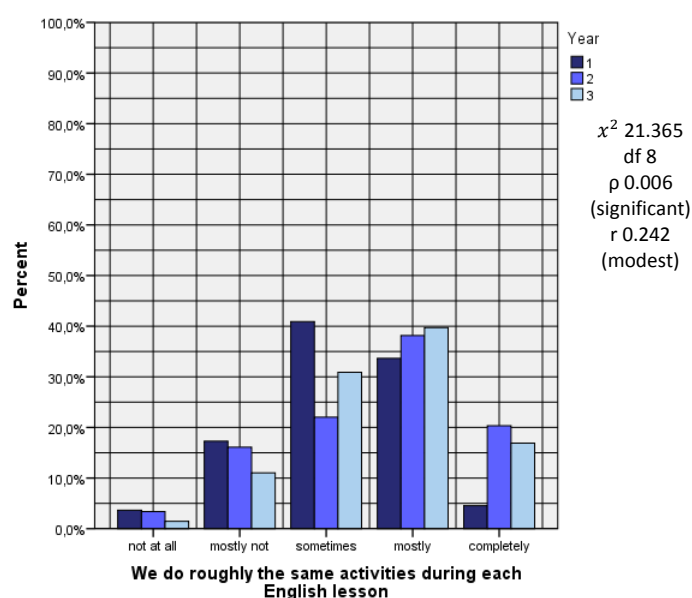


Table 5.8 Responses regarding textbook-use and similarity of activities in each NTO English lesson (%).

	Textbooks			Same activities		
Year	1	2	3	1	2	3
<i>not at all</i>	0.9	7.6	1.5	3.6	3.4	1.5
<i>mostly not</i>	1.8	7.6	0.0	17.3	16.1	11.0
<i>sometimes</i>	19.1	23.7	25.0	40.9	22.0	30.9
<i>mostly</i>	57.3	45.8	50.7	33.6	38.1	39.7
<i>completely</i>	20.9	15.3	22.8	4.5	20.3	16.9

Comparing the year-groups in this way highlights that there may be danger in assuming that relinquishing textbooks necessarily leads to more variation in either teaching materials or lessons. In spite of the observation that differences are not always straightforward, however, it is nevertheless indicated in the data that TTO English lessons were considered by learners to involve more variation in materials and activities, as well as less use of textbooks. In the light of the literature cited above, this could reflect a more motivating learning environment.

To place these findings in a broader context, Table 5.9 summarises responses regarding variation in English lessons (Eng.), and NTO or TTO Dutch-medium (Other) and TTO English-medium (TTO) subject lessons. As shown in Table 5.10, these figures showed significantly more variation in TTO English lessons than in NTO English lessons, which has already been discussed, yet NTO subject lessons were reported as being significantly more varied than TTO Dutch-medium lessons. There was no significant difference highlighted between

learners' responses to TTO English-medium lessons and NTO subject lessons, nor between TTO responses to English-medium and Dutch-medium lessons, although the raw percentages would suggest that TTO English-medium lessons were viewed as being slightly more varied on both counts.

Table 5.9 Responses to *My teachers vary lessons* (%).

	TTO			NTO	
	Eng.	TTO	Other	Eng.	Other
<i>not at all</i>	7.4	1.2	2.9	18.1	3.3
<i>mostly not</i>	17.7	10.7	12.3	12.6	4.7
<i>sometimes</i>	27.6	39.1	41.6	29.3	46.8
<i>mostly</i>	32.5	44.4	35.4	29.0	37.0
<i>completely</i>	14.8	4.5	7.8	11.0	8.2

Table 5.10 Chi squared analysis of comparisons regarding teachers' variation of lessons.

Comparison	χ^2 /McN.-B.	df	p	r
TTO English – NTO English	17.084	4	0.002 (sig.)	0.168 (modest)
TTO English-medium – NTO	4.881	4	0.087 (n. sig.)	0.167 (modest)
TTO Dutch-medium – NTO	8.166	4	0.017 (sig.)	0.142 (modest)
TTO English-medium – TTO Dutch-medium*	11.991	10	0.286 (n. sig.)	-

* McNemar-Bowker test

While these contrasts are slight, they do appear to indicate a somewhat higher degree of variation in TTO lessons. Variation in teaching activities and materials are considered in the literature to be useful motivators in the classroom (Hunt 2011). In particular, a range of authentic TL materials is thought to enhance language learning motivation, in that such resources highlight the relevance of the TL, provide evidence of its utility for real purposes, and can add to the image of the L2 future self (Sylvén 2007, Dörnyei 2009c). These values are reflected in the TTO standard, which states that TTO lessons should, “*make use of authentic English-language materials*” (translated from Europees Platform 2010c, p.3). Taking the literature on contextual factors and motivation into consideration, the findings reported here therefore suggest that TTO English and English-medium lessons may provide a slightly more motivating environment in which to learn, as has been encountered in other CLIL and bilingual contexts (Coyle, Hood et al. 2010).

It is interesting to observe that TTO respondents identified less variation than NTO pupils in Dutch-medium lessons. In many TTO schools, teachers teach in both NTO and TTO departments, and curricula for Dutch-medium subjects are often the same for all groups. Indeed, for some Dutch-medium subjects, TTO and NTO pupils may even be in the same class. In School C, for example, TTO and NTO pupils in second and third-year are taught French, German and Spanish in 'cluster' groups, in order to accommodate their individual language-choices. For other Dutch-medium subjects, while they remain in their own class, lessons often follow the same curriculum for both TTO and NTO groups. This difference in how TTO and NTO pupils experience Dutch-medium lessons might therefore be attributed to higher standards from TTO pupils, either due to their different character and learning style, as explored in Chapter 4, or as a result of exposure to more variation elsewhere.

Another consideration is that the emphasis in the literature on the importance of variation for motivation may not always reflect the view of the learner. During the initial PCR training day, the PCRs completed a 'think-pair-share' activity, in which they identified what they thought or hoped might be the outcomes of the research project. Yvette and Ana (both NTO) wrote down, "*lessons more the same,*" in their notes. When asked to expand on this, they explained that they wished that there were more consistency in the way lessons were taught. As their NTO classmates joined in the conversation, they named a specific teacher as being helpful on the basis of the fact that all of his lessons followed the same pattern. This predictability and structure, they said, was helpful to their learning. During the same conversation, however, the TTO PCRs specifically mentioned that they hoped for more variety in lessons. Furthermore, of the TTO pupils in Phase II who mentioned lessons or teaching as something they would like to change about school, the largest number of specific responses related to variation, as in the following examples:

a couple of different teachers who tell and show us more and give fewer notes and less homework!!

more enjoyable and funnier lessons, with more work outside of the textbook and stuff

Phase II TTO responses to *If you could change one thing about school, what would it be?*

This suggests that variation and interaction in lesson activities were recognised as important to TTO pupils, and that some TTO pupils felt that these were lacking in their lessons. The fact that TTO pupils more often identified a need for more variation in lessons than did NTO

pupils, however, could signify that variety is a motivator for one group, while the other group favours the security of predictability.

Relevance

As depicted in Figure 5.15 and Figure 5.16, TTO pupils expressed significantly more positive views than NTO pupils regarding the usefulness of their English lessons and the amount they felt they learned in those lessons. In both respects, NTO respondents were also more positive than negative, although to a lesser extent than the TTO respondents.

Figure 5.15 Perceived usefulness of English lessons.

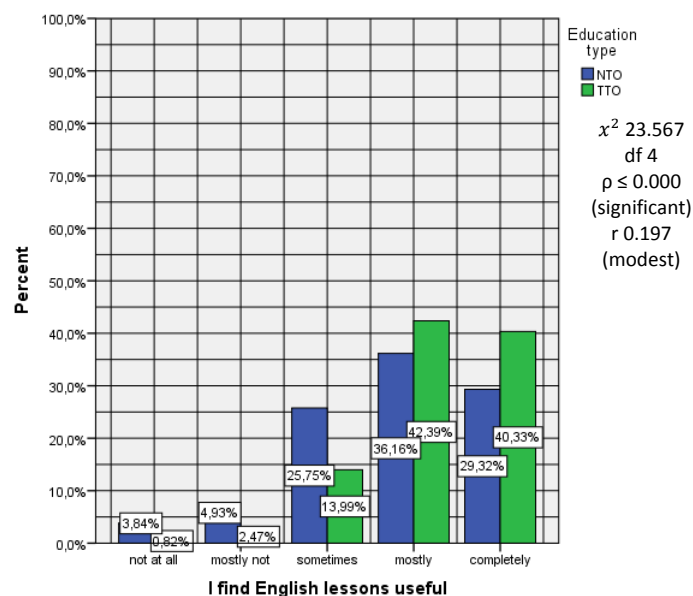
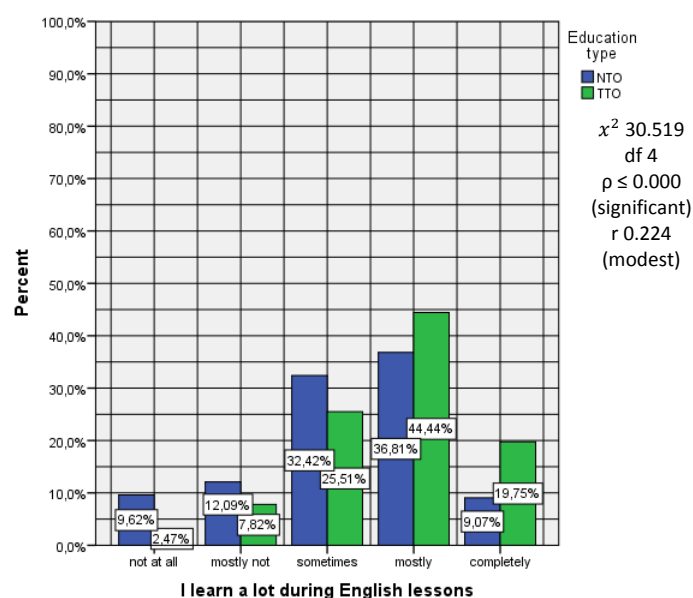


Figure 5.16 Amount learned in English lessons.



These findings appear to indicate that TTO English lessons were experienced as more relevant to learners, reflecting findings from previous research regarding the motivational quality of CLIL (Coyle, Hood et al. 2010). In the light of the findings regarding attitudes towards learning English, it could be deduced that the data presented here reflect the value attributed to lessons by learners, rather than reflecting the lessons themselves. As this chapter has shown so far, however, learners' responses regarding teaching and learning in TTO are not consistently positive. Furthermore, it is unlikely that such a strongly positive response would be observed where teaching and learning conditions were poor, in particular from a group of respondents who have been shown through their other responses to have high expectations of teachers. It therefore seems reasonable to interpret these responses as being an indication of both a positive attitude towards learning English and a learning context that nurtures and promotes that enthusiasm.

Affective factors: Challenge, difficulty and anxiety in lessons

Learners' affective response to the learning situation can impact on motivation (Dörnyei, Shoaib 2005). Taking into account the findings in Section 4.1, it was therefore of particular interest in this study to consider the levels of challenge and difficulty perceived in English lessons, and the extent to which both subject lessons and English lessons were sources of anxiety for either group.

Table 5.11-Table 5.14 summarise responses and their analyses with regard to the extent to which respondents reported feeling nervous or afraid to speak in in English lessons (Eng.), other English-medium (TTO) and Dutch-medium (Other) lessons. The percentage of TTO respondents who selected an extreme negative response regarding feeling nervous or afraid to speak in Dutch-medium lessons was higher than for English or TTO subjects, although this difference was not significant for the former item. TTO learners, conversely, appeared slightly more nervous in relation to English and English-medium lessons than did NTO learners regarding any of their lessons, although again differences in this respect were not significant. For both items, TTO learners were significantly more likely to select 'not at all' when referring to Dutch-medium lessons than English-medium, although total percentages of positive responses were largely the same.

Table 5.11 Responses regarding feeling nervous in different subject lessons (%).

	TTO			NTO	
	Eng.	TTO	Other	Eng.	Other
<i>not at all</i>	43.0	41.0	53.8	48.6	44.0
<i>mostly not</i>	35.7	37.8	30.5	34.4	34.2
<i>sometimes</i>	15.3	16.9	11.6	12.6	17.5
<i>mostly</i>	5.2	3.2	2.8	3.6	3.3
<i>completely</i>	0.8	1.2	1.2	0.8	1.1

Table 5.12 Chi squared and McNemar-Bowker analyses regarding nervousness in lessons.

Comparison	χ^2 /McN.-B.	df	p	r
TTO English – NTO English	2.862	4	0.581 (n. sig.)	0.068 (weak)
TTO English-medium – NTO	0.907	4	0.924 (n. sig.)	0.038 (weak)
TTO Dutch-medium – NTO	7.044	4	0.134 (n. sig.)	0.107 (modest)
TTO English-medium – TTO Dutch-medium*	7.872	3	0.049 (sig.)	-

* McNemar-Bowker test conducted on the basis of 3 collapsed categories

Table 5.13 % responses to *I am afraid to speak in lessons*.

	TTO			NTO	
	Eng.	TTO	Other	Eng.	Other
<i>not at all</i>	45.0	41.8	64.3	48.9	50.0
<i>mostly not</i>	34.5	38.2	25.7	26.8	29.0
<i>sometimes</i>	16.9	14.5	7.2	16.1	14.5
<i>mostly</i>	2.4	4.4	1.6	4.6	3.6
<i>completely</i>	1.2	1.2	1.2	3.6	3.0

Table 5.14 Chi squared and McNemar-Bowker analyses regarding fear of speaking in lessons.

Comparison	χ^2 /McN.-B.	df	p	r
TTO English – NTO English	8.635	4	0.071 (n. sig.)	0.188 (modest)
TTO English-medium – NTO	8.378	4	0.079 (n. sig.)	0.117 (modest)
TTO Dutch-medium – NTO	16.860	4	0.002 (sig.)	0.166 (modest)
TTO English-medium – TTO Dutch-medium*	65.912	8	≤ 0.000 (sig.)	-

* McNemar-Bowker test

Although statistically not strong, these figures give the impression that TTO pupils may experience more anxiety with regard to TTO lessons when compared to their NTO peers, and to some extent also in comparison to Dutch-medium lessons. That more anxiety is

experienced could be either a positive or a negative reflection on the motivational value of TTO lessons. It has been proposed that anxiety in the correct measure, rather than impeding performance, can actually enhance it (Dörnyei 2005). The same could be said with regard to motivation, in particular with regard to the feared self (Higgins 1987). Coupled with the data regarding pupils' apparent satisfaction with TTO, and the fact that there is no mention in the qualitative data from TTO pupils of their lessons being too difficult, it is possible to interpret these figures as an indication that TTO lessons pose a level of challenge to pupils that is fitting with their natural drive, and which could therefore make a positive contribution to their motivation.

This interpretation can be supported by the data pertaining to the actual levels of challenge and difficulty identified by learners with reference to their English lessons and the English language. In separate sections of the Phase II questionnaire, respondents were presented with the statements, *I find the English language difficult* and *I find English lessons difficult*. The responses to these statements are represented in Figure 5.17 and Figure 5.18. While both groups responded largely in the negative to both items, the differences between groups were nonetheless significant, with TTO pupils appearing to be the most confident on both counts.

Figure 5.17 Perceived difficulty of English language.

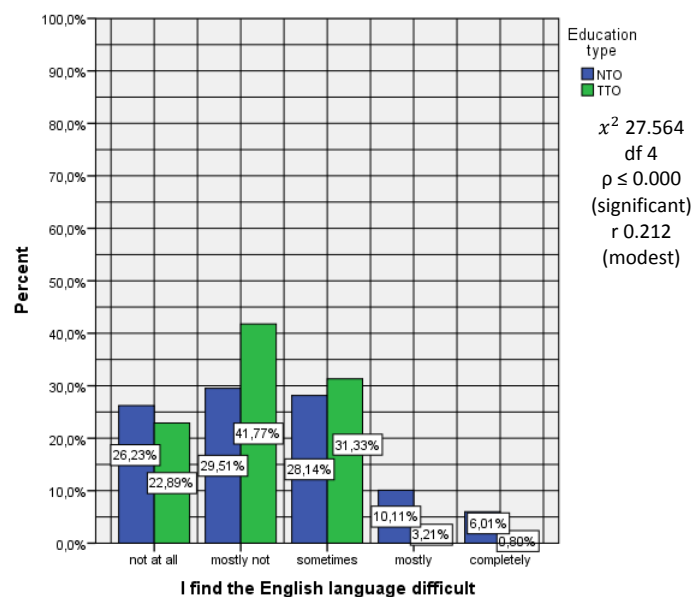
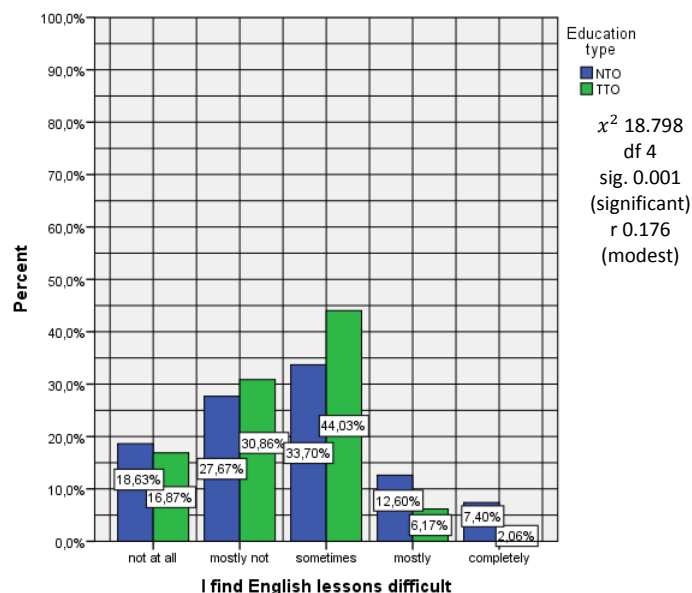


Figure 5.18 Perceived difficulty of English lessons.



On closer inspection, it appears that exposure to English during the TTO experience might play a role in this difference. As highlighted in Figure 5.19 and Table 5.15, while the numbers of positive responses were too small to allow for reliable statistical analysis even on the basis of collapsed categories, first-year TTO pupils appeared to find the English language most difficult, and third years least. There was no significant difference between NTO year-groups for the same question, nor for either group regarding the difficulty of English lessons.

Figure 5.19 Perceived difficulty of English language in TTO.

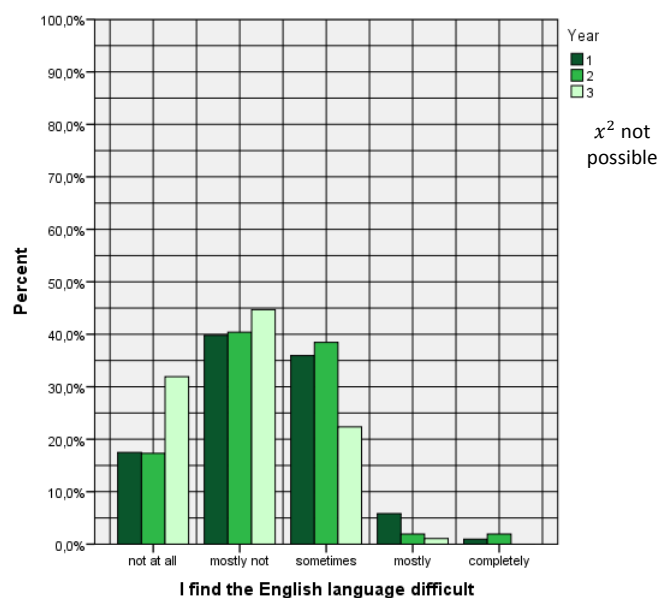


Table 5.15 Responses regarding perceived difficulty of English language in TTO (%).

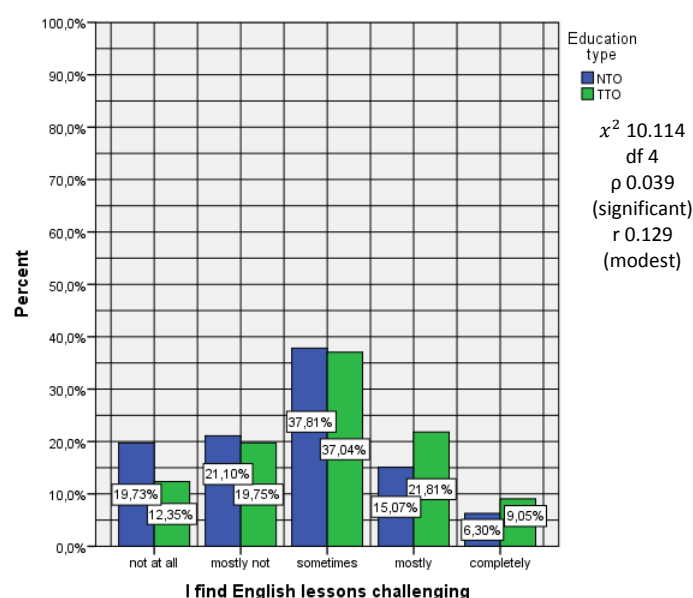
Year	1	2	3
<i>not at all</i>	17.5	17.3	31.9
<i>mostly not</i>	39.8	40.4	44.7
<i>sometimes</i>	35.9	38.5	22.3
<i>mostly</i>	5.8	1.9	1.1
<i>completely</i>	1.0	1.9	0.0

The greater tendency for TTO pupils to find the English language ‘not difficult’ could reflect the implication in some of the data presented in Section 4.3 that TTO pupils may be more proficient English-speakers from the outset. That TTO third years were significantly more confident than first years, however, may indicate that confidence regarding the difficulty of the English language grows during the first years of a TTO programme. This could be a reflection of a positive impact by TTO on learner confidence in English.

Furthermore, it is interesting to consider the significance of the difference in responses regarding English lessons and the English language. As the above figures show, while the English language is perceived by TTO pupils as being largely not difficult, and as becoming easier as they grow older, their perception of the difficulty of English lessons appears less negative and differs less strongly to the NTO responses, with no significant difference between year-groups on this point (figures not included here). This contrast between pupils’ perceptions of the relative difficulty of the language and of the teaching and learning of it could imply that TTO English lessons provide an appropriate level of challenge for pupils, which increases relative to their linguistic skills.

The level of challenge experienced in English lessons is depicted in Figure 5.20. Although neither group responded very positively to this item, TTO respondents were significantly more likely to report experiencing challenge in English lessons. The number of positive responses from TTO was also higher than regarding the level of difficulty in English lessons.

Figure 5.20 Perceived challenge in English lessons.



These data suggest that TTO learners experienced more challenge than NTO learners in English lessons. This could reflect a difference in teaching and learning practices, or it could support the view that TTO pupils are more disposed to see challenge where NTO pupils see difficulty. This reflects the emerging tendency for TTO pupils to express more self-esteem than NTO, and their inclination to embrace challenge, as shown in their motivation to choose TTO. While the TTO respondents expressed a desire for challenge in their responses regarding reasons for choosing TTO, however, the above data display a higher proportion of negative responses than positive. Indeed, the trends across year-groups, which will be explored in depth in Section 5.2, might go so far as to indicate that the need for challenge that motivated their decision to follow TTO may not always be met in the English classroom.

TL use and teacher-talk

As displayed in Figure 5.21 and Figure 5.22, TTO pupils in this study reported using significantly more English and less Dutch in the English classroom than NTO learners, with a strong effect size.

Figure 5.21 Reported learner TL output in English lessons.

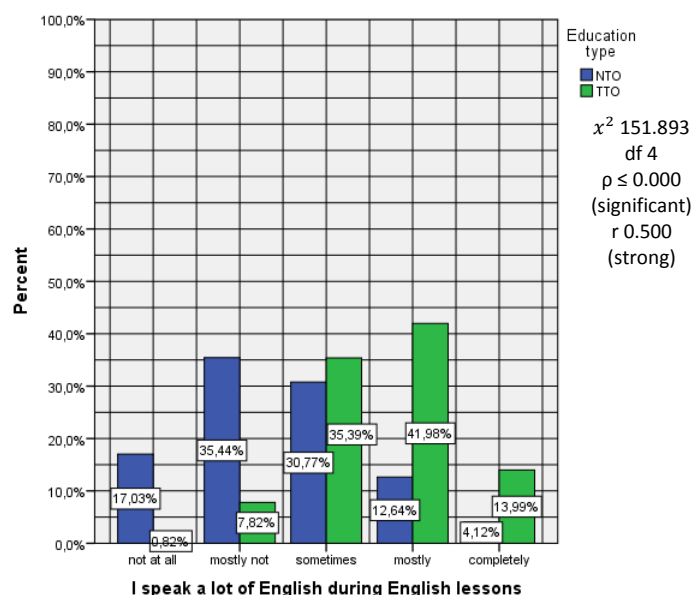
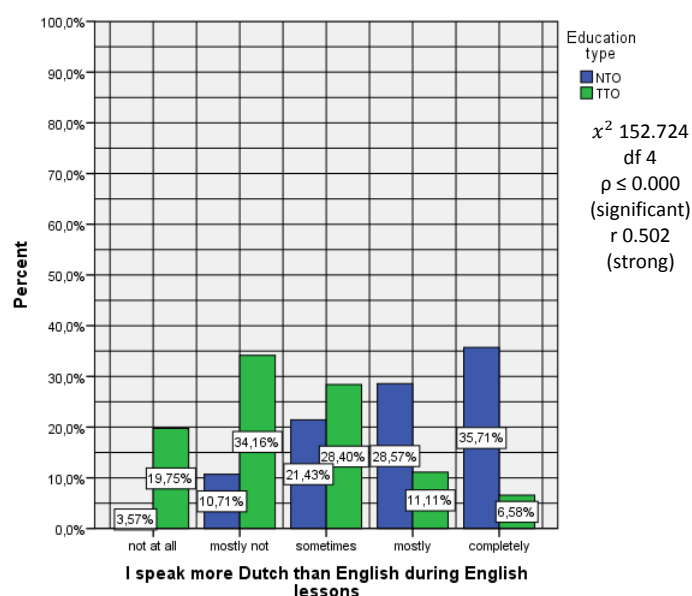


Figure 5.22 Reported learner L1 use in English lessons.



Optimal exposure to the target language (TL) is understood to improve both motivation and attainment in language learning (Cook 2001), with learner output in the TL shown in CLIL research to be particularly effective in these respects (Dalton-Puffer 2008). Thus, these findings suggest that the TTO English classroom, in providing more stimulus and opportunity for active TL use, offers a more appropriate environment for nurturing language motivation than the NTO classroom. It is interesting to note, however, that a small number of TTO respondents did reveal that they did not speak much English or that they spoke more Dutch

than English, and approximately one third gave neutral responses in both respects, suggesting that the amount of active TL use by TTO learners in English lessons may vary.

As Table 5.16 shows, however, TTO responses suggest a significant increase in active TL use in English lessons between October (R1) and May (R2). This figure also increased for NTO, although not significantly.

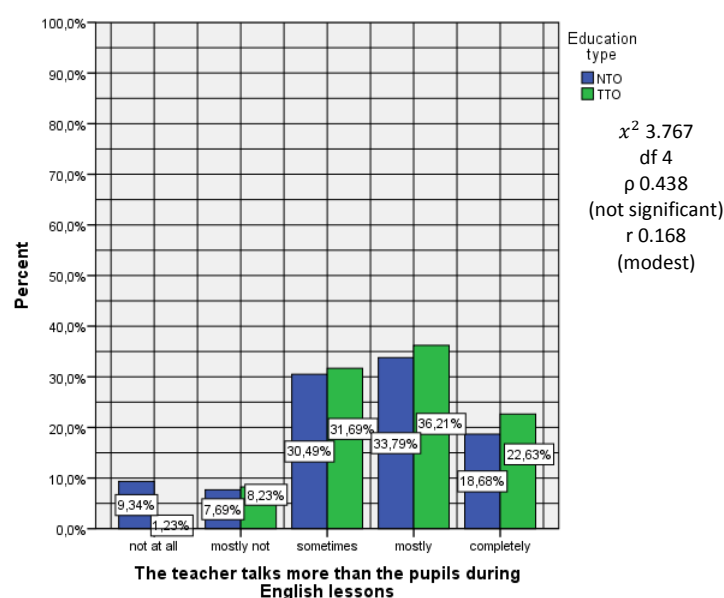
Table 5.16 Reported learner TL output in English lessons in R1 (October) and R2 (May) (%).

	TTO		NTO	
	Oct.	May	Oct.	May
<i>not at all</i>	8.2	5.5	17.2	13.8
<i>mostly not</i>	19.6	20.9	38.7	38.3
<i>sometimes</i>	26.0	40.0	30.1	30.5
<i>mostly</i>	18.7	27.3	10.8	12.6
<i>completely</i>	5.5	6.4	3.2	4.8
McN.-B.	26.733		8.871	
df	10		8	
p	0.003 (sig.)		0.353 (n. sig.)	

The increase in TL use between the R1 and R2 TTO responses could suggest growth in learner confidence throughout the school year, or indeed that the lessons become more challenging as learners improve. Both of these conclusions could reflect positively on TTO in relation to motivation, in that they suggest either that learners' confidence is allowed to develop throughout the year, to the point where they become more assertive in using the TL, or that TTO English lessons present learners with a level of challenge that grows alongside their proficiency, and therefore continues to support their intrinsic drive to perform.

Responses with regard to teacher-talk in English lessons are depicted in Figure 5.23. As these data highlight, TTO learners responded slightly more positively than NTO to the statement, *The teacher talks more than the pupils during English lessons*. This difference was not statistically significant, although the effect size was modest rather than weak.

Figure 5.23 Reported teacher-talk in English lessons.



While TTO responses were strikingly more positive than NTO with regard to TL use, the above data on the amount of teacher-talk in English lessons suggested that TTO English may be at least as teacher-centred as and contain no less teacher-talk than NTO English lessons. While CLIL theory emphasises learner-centred approaches and opportunities for TL output, these findings on the dominance of teacher-talk reflect findings from other bilingual education and TTO research (Huibregtse 2001, Coleman 2006, Dalton-Puffer 2008). That said, it is possible that this question was interpreted by some respondents as including off-task conversation as ‘talking’. This reflects the comments in Phase I with regard to behavioural differences between NTO and TTO, for example in terms of TTO classes being ‘silent’ in comparison to NTO classes (Section 4.2.1), and therefore could bring this finding into doubt.

The differences between year-groups with regard to teacher-talk in English lessons, shown in Figure 5.24, Figure 5.25 and Table 5.17, appeared to be significant for both the NTO and TTO groups, although the low numbers of extreme negative responses for both groups made Chi squared analyses of the comparisons impossible. Using collapsed (positive-neutral-negative) categories, the year-group comparison for NTO showed a significant difference with a moderate effect size (χ^2 33.664; df 4; $p \leq 0.000$; r 0.304), although the TTO comparison did not contain a significant difference (χ^2 7.392; df 4; p 0.117; r 0.174). In this case it would appear that the collapsed categories and statistical tests failed to identify the finer details of the contrasts between responses. These contrasts are highlighted more

clearly in Figure 5.26, which displays only the responses of ‘completely’ for the different year-groups in TTO and NTO. This figure is intended as a visual aid only, so no statistical data is attached to it. As can be seen from this illustration, the proportion of ‘completely’ responses from TTO dropped considerably between first and second year, and slightly further by third year. For NTO, third years were the most likely group to give this response.

Figure 5.24 Reported teacher-talk in TTO English lessons.

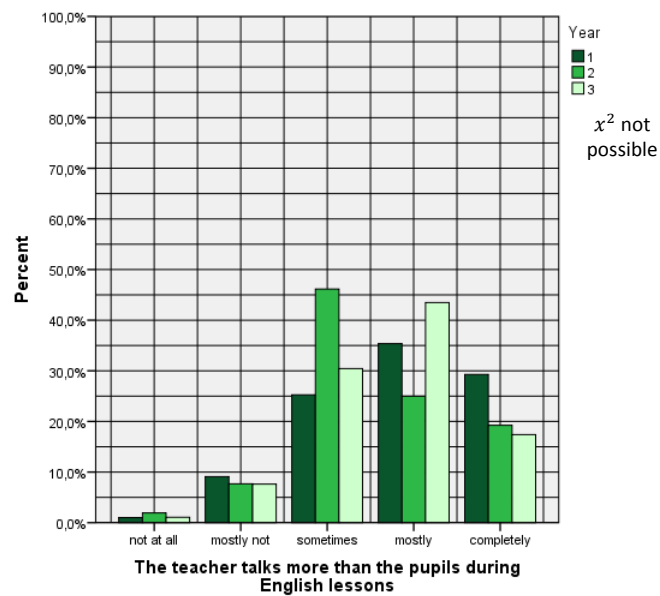


Figure 5.25 Reported teacher-talk in NTO English lessons.

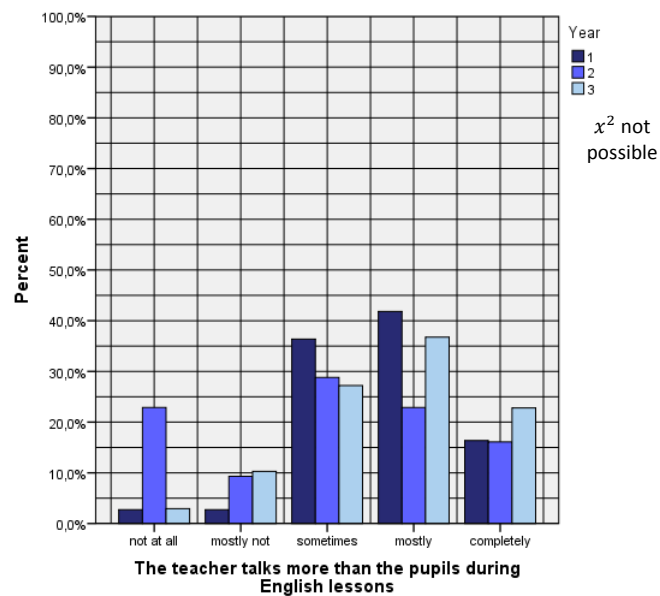
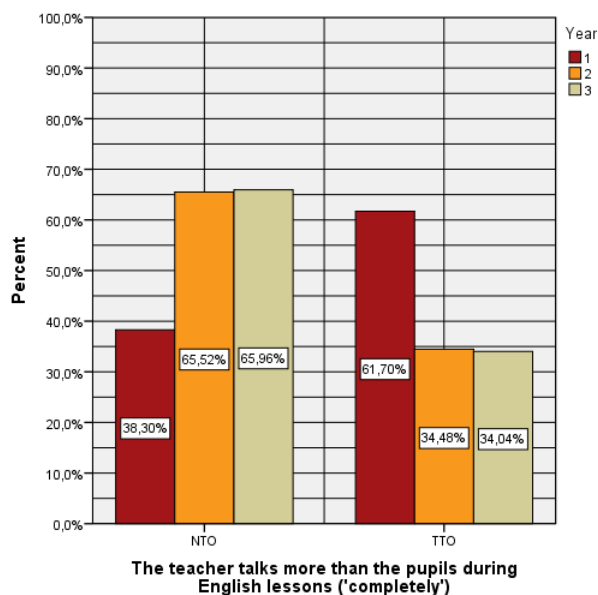


Table 5.17 Responses regarding teacher-talk in English lessons (%).

Year	TTO			NTO		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
<i>not at all</i>	1.0	1.9	1.1	2.7	22.9	2.9
<i>mostly not</i>	9.1	7.7	7.6	2.7	9.3	10.3
<i>sometimes</i>	25.3	46.2	29.2	36.4	36.0	27.2
<i>mostly</i>	35.4	25.0	33.3	41.8	22.9	36.8
<i>completely</i>	29.3	19.2	20.8	16.4	16.1	22.8

Figure 5.26 Responses of 'completely' regarding more teacher-talk in English lessons.



That the extent of teacher-talk in TTO English lessons appeared to decrease between first and third year might be considered natural considering learners' growing proficiency over the course of their bilingual education. It is interesting, however, that this difference was so slight, suggesting that third-year TTO pupils, who presumably had a higher level of proficiency, may not have used English much more actively in lessons than did first years new to TTO.

The findings regarding TL use largely reflect those from studies of TTO and bilingual education carried out by means of classroom observation rather than measuring opinion (Huibregtse 2001, Edelenbos, Jong 2004, Dalton-Puffer 2005, Verspoor, Edelenbos 2009), although the same studies have commonly raised concerns regarding the quality rather than the quantity of TL input (Huibregtse 2001, Edelenbos, Jong 2004, Coleman 2006). While there is little evidence in the current findings with regard to the quality of TL input, the imbalance between teacher- and learner-talk in the TTO classroom also revealed in some of those studies (Huibregtse 2001, Dalton-Puffer 2005) was apparent.

5.2 Motivational change

Discussion of the findings presented in Section 5.1 highlights a number of areas in which TTO and NTO pupils appear to differ with regard to their experience of school. These data provide added insight into the preferences and priorities of each group, but also give an impression of the extent to which school and their different forms of education might influence their motivation, in fitting with the aims of RQ2. In Section 5.2, the influence of the learning environment will be explored further with regard to the changes that appear to occur in the aspects of motivation explored in Chapter 4 and in Section 5.1 over the course of the school year, and the differences displayed in the responses from first-, second- and third-year learners. In investigating the extent to which motivational characteristics change over time or vary across year-groups, it is possible to hypothesise regarding how and whether motivation is affected by the TTO learning context, and therefore to provide further answers to RQ2. In particular, this section will focus on changes in perspectives on teaching and learning in English, attitudes and confidence, future selves, and international orientation.

5.2.1 Teaching and learning of English

As Table 5.18-Table 5.20 show, both TTO and NTO R2 respondents expressed less positive views regarding the English teacher's variation of lesson activities, his/her apparent enjoyment of the subject, and how fun he/she made the lessons, when compared with the responses from the same participants in R1. The majority of these differences, however, were only significant when analysed on the basis of collapsed categories.

Table 5.18 Responses in R1 (October) and R2 (May) regarding English teacher's variation of lessons (%).

	TTO			NTO		
	Oct.	May		Oct.	May	
<i>not at all</i>	12.8	21.8		29.8	29.8	
<i>mostly not</i>	15.4	17.9		20.2	29.8	
<i>sometimes</i>	20.5	28.2		21.3	27.7	
<i>mostly</i>	32.1	24.4		19.1	8.5	
<i>completely</i>	19.2	7.7		9.6	4.3	
Categories	McN.-B.	df	p	McN.-B.	df	p
5	13.095	10	0.218 (n. sig.)	21.852	10	0.016 (sig.)
3	10.683	3	0.014 (sig.)	8.800	3	0.032 (sig.)

Table 5.19 Responses in R1 (October) and R2 (May) regarding English teacher's enjoyment of subject (%).

	TTO			NTO		
	Oct.	May		Oct.	May	
<i>not at all</i>	14.1	16.7		13.8	24.5	
<i>mostly not</i>	9.0	7.7		13.8	14.9	
<i>sometimes</i>	19.2	30.8		21.3	29.8	
<i>mostly</i>	25.6	28.2		23.4	12.8	
<i>completely</i>	32.1	16.7		27.7	18.1	
Categories	McN.-B.	df	p	McN.-B.	df	p
5	15.171	10	0.126 (n. sig.)	15.804	10	0.105 (n. sig.)
3	7.000	3	0.072 (n. sig.)	12.394	3	0.006 (sig.)

Table 5.20 Responses in R1 (October) and R2 (May) regarding English teacher making English 'fun' (%).

	TTO			NTO		
	Oct.	May		Oct.	May	
<i>not at all</i>	20.5	28.2		33.0	34.0	
<i>mostly not</i>	35.9	25.6		17.0	33.0	
<i>sometimes</i>	12.8	29.5		22.3	23.4	
<i>mostly</i>	20.5	14.1		16.0	6.4	
<i>completely</i>	10.3	2.6		11.7	3.2	
Categories	McN.-B.	df	p	McN.-B.	df	p
5	16.171	10	0.095 (n. sig.)	16.494	10	0.086 (n. sig.)
3	9.349	3	0.025 (sig.)	12.205	3	0.007 (sig.)

By R2, the same respondents also expressed less positivity regarding the usefulness of English lessons, the variation of materials and activities, and the amount learned during English lessons, as illustrated in Table 5.21-Table 5.24. Again, most of these differences were not significant according to the original five categories, although analysis in terms of the collapsed positive-neutral-negative categories highlighted significant changes in TTO, but not for NTO, responses by the end of the year.

Table 5.21 Responses in R1 (October) and R2 (May) to *I find English lessons useful (%)*.

	TTO			NTO		
	Oct.	May		Oct.	May	
<i>not at all</i>	2.6	7.7		4.3	11.7	
<i>mostly not</i>	5.1	5.1		9.6	12.8	
<i>sometimes</i>	25.6	41.0		35.1	35.1	
<i>mostly</i>	38.5	29.5		36.2	28.7	
<i>completely</i>	28.2	16.7		14.9	11.7	
Categories	McN.-B.	df	p	McN.-B.	df	p
5	13.138	9	0.156 (n. sig.)	13.863	9	0.127 (n. sig.)
3	8.545	3	0.036 (sig.)	7.128	3	0.068 (n. sig.)

Table 5.22 Responses in R1 (October) and R2 (May) to *We use lots of different materials during English lessons (%)*.

	TTO			NTO		
	Oct.	May		Oct.	May	
<i>not at all</i>	9.0	19.2		30.1	31.9	
<i>mostly not</i>	16.7	24.4		43.0	40.4	
<i>sometimes</i>	35.9	24.4		22.6	21.3	
<i>mostly</i>	33.3	25.6		2.2	6.4	
<i>completely</i>	5.1	6.4		2.2	0.0	
Categories	McN.-B.	df	p	McN.-B.	df	p
5	13.771	9	0.131 (n. sig.)	-	-	-
3	11.359	3	0.010 (sig.)	1.167	3	0.761 (n. sig.)

Table 5.23 Responses in R1 (October) and R2 (May) to *We do roughly the same activities during each English lesson* (%).

	TTO			NTO		
	Oct.	May		Oct.	May	
<i>not at all</i>	7.7	3.8		5.4	3.2	
<i>mostly not</i>	29.5	15.4		6.5	9.6	
<i>sometimes</i>	25.6	34.6		24.7	25.5	
<i>mostly</i>	25.6	35.9		40.9	33.0	
<i>completely</i>	11.5	10.3		22.6	28.7	
Categories	McN.-B.	df	p	McN.-B.	df	p
5	17.934	10	0.056 (n. sig.)	9.801	10	0.458 (n. sig.)
3	7.948	3	0.047 (sig.)	0.543	3	0.909 (n. sig.)

Table 5.24 Responses in R1 (October) and R2 (May) to *I learn a lot during English lessons* (%).

	TTO			NTO		
	Oct.	May		Oct.	May	
<i>not at all</i>	5.1	10.3		11.8	11.7	
<i>mostly not</i>	14.1	15.4		19.4	18.1	
<i>sometimes</i>	35.9	52.6		33.3	47.9	
<i>mostly</i>	37.2	19.2		29.0	19.1	
<i>completely</i>	7.7	2.6		6.5	3.2	
Categories	McN.-B.	df	p	McN.-B.	df	p
5	19.698	9	0.020 (sig.)	16.098	9	0.065 (n. sig.)
3	11.619	3	0.009 (sig.)	7.525	3	0.057 (n. sig.)

That attitudes appeared to be less positive in these respects at the end of the year could be a symptom of a fall in enthusiasm among pupils in the approach to the summer holidays. Alternatively, perhaps it is a reflection of changes in teaching style throughout the year. The difference between TTO and NTO in this respect might suggest either that TTO pupils, already shown in Section 5.1 to be quicker to criticise teaching and learning, may also grow more critical over time. Alternatively, it could indicate that there is genuinely more change in TTO teaching during the school year. Either of these might reflect the phenomenon observed elsewhere, in which the novelty and excitement of CLIL lessons diminished for both pupils and teachers over time (Gajo, Serra 2002, Hunt 2011). The risk in this respect is that, with the loss of the excitement that comes with a new approach to teaching and learning, motivation may also be lost.

A similar trend can be observed with regard to TTO learners' response to English teachers and lessons in first, second and third year. As highlighted in Figure 5.27-Figure 5.29 and Table 5.25, reactions from third-year TTO pupils for these items were significantly less positive than from first or second years. Effect sizes ranged from moderate, regarding amount of variation in lessons, to strong, regarding the teacher making English 'fun'. It was not possible to conduct statistical analyses on the data presented in Figure 5.28 due to small response counts, although using collapsed values, the difference was significant and the effect size moderate (χ^2 47.583; df 4; $p \leq 0.000$; r 0.443).

Figure 5.27 Views on TTO English teacher's variation of lessons.

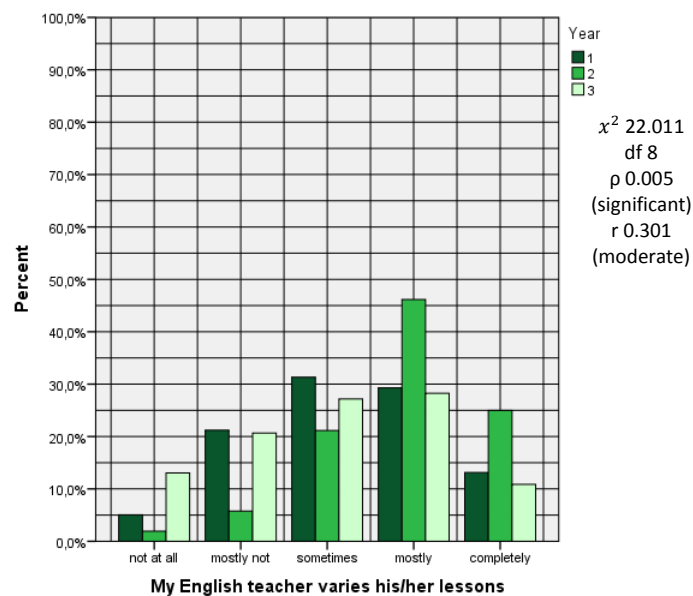


Figure 5.28 Views on TTO English teacher's enjoyment of subject.

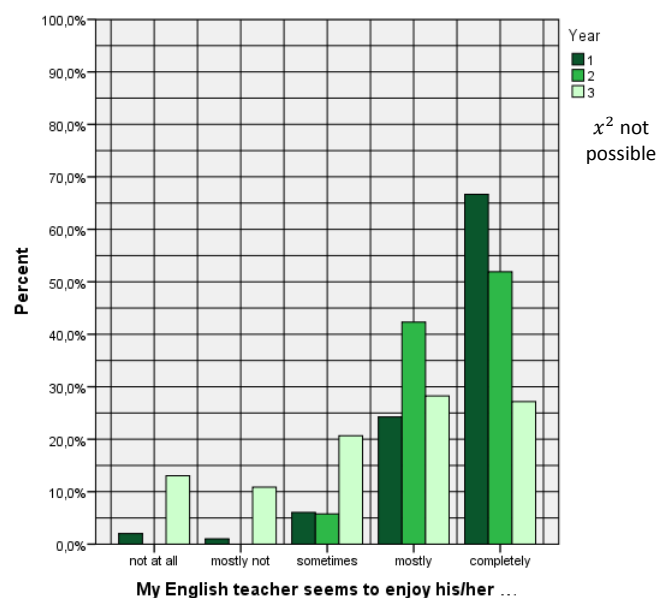


Figure 5.29 Views on how 'fun' TTO English teacher makes learning English.

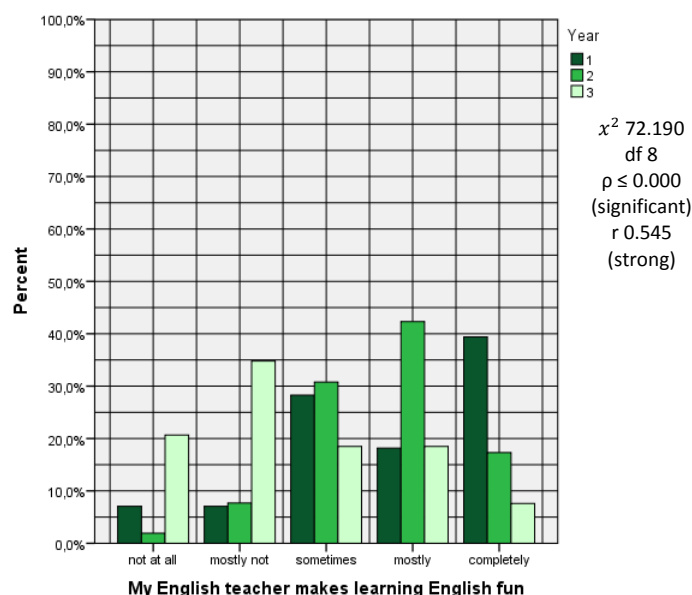


Table 5.25 Responses regarding TTO English teachers' approach to lessons (%).

	Variation			Enjoyment			Fun		
Year	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
<i>not at all</i>	5.1	1.9	13.0	2.0	0.0	13.0	7.1	1.9	20.7
<i>mostly not</i>	21.2	5.8	20.7	1.0	0.0	10.9	7.1	7.7	34.8
<i>sometimes</i>	31.3	21.2	27.2	6.1	5.8	20.7	28.3	30.8	18.5
<i>mostly</i>	29.3	46.2	28.3	24.2	42.3	28.3	18.2	42.3	18.5
<i>completely</i>	13.1	25.0	10.9	66.7	51.9	27.2	39.4	17.3	7.6

TTO third years also gave more negative responses regarding English lessons, shown in Figure 5.30-Figure 5.32, and Table 5.26 and Table 5.27. It was not possible to conduct Chi squared analysis on these data due to the low numbers of responses in some categories, although on the basis of frequencies alone, the differences appear relatively distinct. Furthermore, Chi squared analysis of the reduced data regarding similarity of lesson activities (χ^2 11.201; df 4; p 0.024; r 0.215) and the amount learned in lessons (χ^2 44.639; df 4; $p \leq 0.000$; r 0.429) indicated statistical significance, with a moderate effect size in the latter case. It was not possible to apply tests regarding the usefulness of English lessons, as numbers of negative responses from first and second year were too low even when categories were collapsed. In NTO, the only notable differences in these respects were related to the second-year sampling issue described in Chapter 3.

Figure 5.30 Views on similarity of activities in each TTO English lesson.

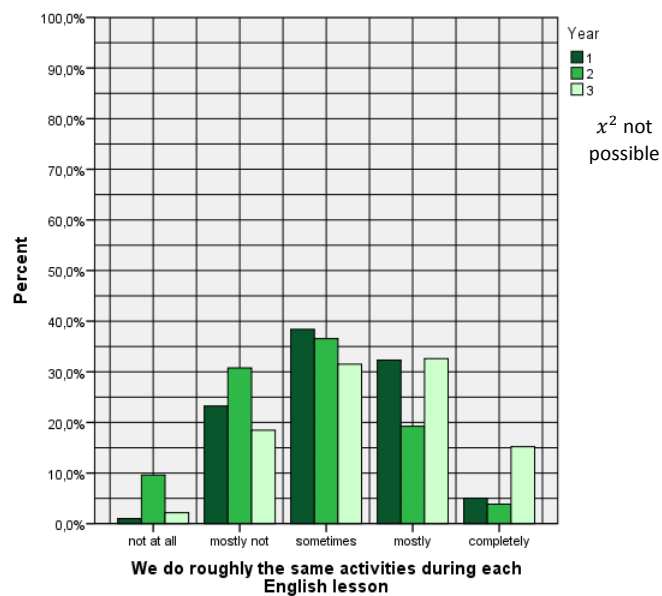


Table 5.26 Responses regarding similarity of activities in each TTO English lesson (%).

Year	1	2	3
<i>not at all</i>	1.0	9.6	2.2
<i>mostly not</i>	23.2	30.8	18.5
<i>sometimes</i>	38.4	36.5	31.5
<i>mostly</i>	32.3	19.2	32.6
<i>completely</i>	5.1	3.8	15.2

Figure 5.31 Views on amount learned in TTO English lessons.

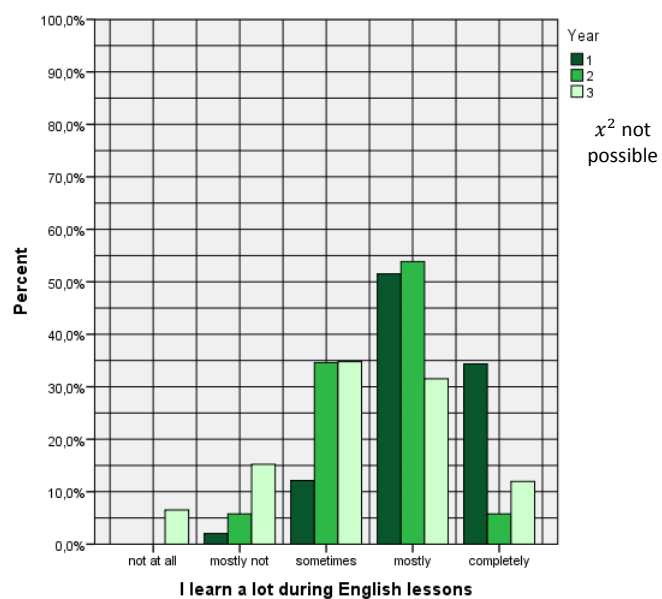


Figure 5.32 Views on usefulness of TTO English lessons.

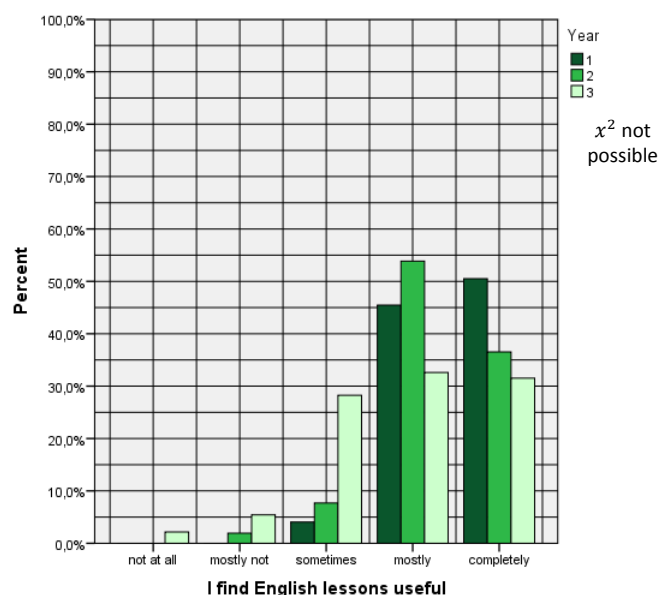


Table 5.27 Responses regarding learning and usefulness in TTO English lessons (%).

	Learning			Usefulness		
Year	1	2	3	1	2	3
<i>not at all</i>	0.0	0.0	6.5	0.0	0.0	2.2
<i>mostly not</i>	2.0	5.8	15.2	0.0	1.9	5.4
<i>sometimes</i>	12.1	34.6	34.8	4.0	7.7	28.3
<i>mostly</i>	51.5	53.8	31.5	45.5	53.8	32.6
<i>completely</i>	34.3	5.8	12.0	50.5	36.5	31.5

Based on these comparisons, it appears that TTO English teaching and English lessons, while viewed on the whole more positively than in NTO (Sections 5.1.2 and 5.1.3), were perceived as less varied, less motivating, less enjoyable and less useful among older learners. This could be a further reflection of decreasing motivation and enthusiasm among pupils as the novelty and initial excitement and challenge of TTO abated.

Alternatively, the difference in attitude between NTO and TTO might lie not in the reaction of third years, but in the first-year responses. TTO first-year responses regarding the utility of English lessons are shown alongside the responses from NTO first years in Figure 5.33 and Figure 5.34. There could be no valid Chi squared analysis for the data shown in Figure 5.33, either on the basis of the original five or the collapsed categories, due to the low number of negative responses. Frequencies may speak for themselves in this respect, however, with 96% of TTO first years and 75% of NTO first years having chosen a positive response. With regard to the amount learned during English lessons (Figure 5.34), the

significance and moderate effect size appear to reflect the number of learners who chose an extreme positive response.

Figure 5.33 Perceived usefulness of English lessons among first years.

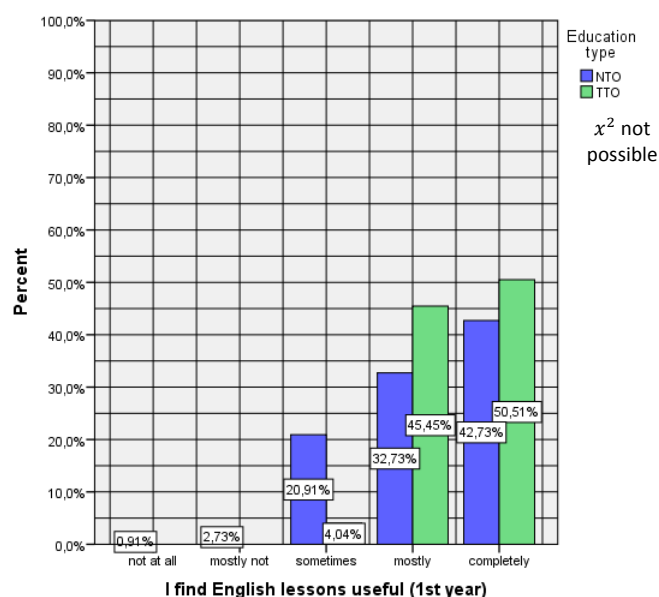
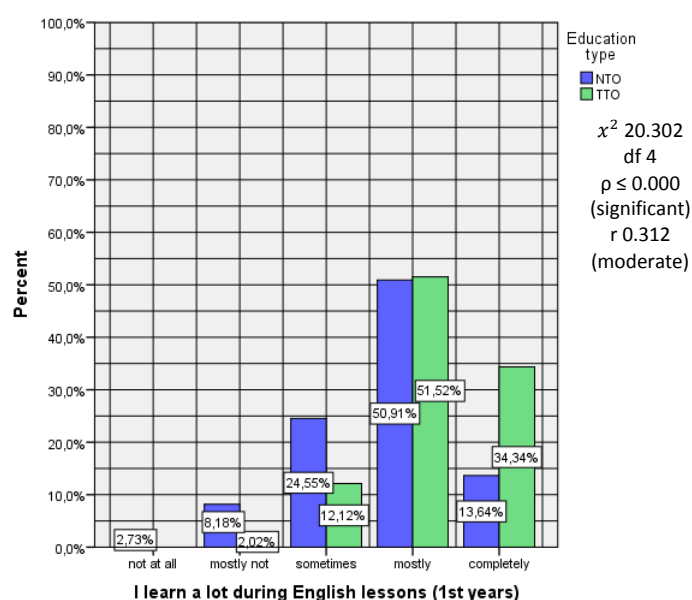


Figure 5.34 Amount learned in English lessons among first years.



The relative enthusiasm of TTO first years in these respects could go some way to explaining the apparently sharper decline in positivity across TTO year-groups than in NTO. Given that TTO learners tend to experience a steep learning curve in the early stages of first year, it is perhaps logical that they were more likely to find English lessons more useful and more helpful than their older TTO peers, or than first years in NTO. In this sense, the suggestion

that TTO pupils lose enthusiasm, while still clearly implied by the data, might have less serious implications with regard to the motivational quality of TTO.

The difference in first-year data for the other items cited in Figure 5.27-Figure 5.32, however, do not defend this argument. For the items regarding English teachers' variation of lessons, enjoyment of their subject and ability to make the subject 'fun', and regarding the variation of activities in lessons, there was no significant difference between first-year responses from NTO and TTO. In this sense, it would seem that the negative responses of TTO third years may indeed signify a genuine decrease in enjoyment and valuing of English lessons as learners progress through the TTO programme. Whether this is a result of actual differences in approaches to teaching or of internal changes in learner attitudes is not clear. What is apparent, however, is that based on these data, the TTO experience did not appear to contribute significantly to maintaining or inciting motivation and enthusiasm to learn English over the course of the lower-years programme for the learners involved in this study.

5.2.2 Attitudes

For the majority of areas discussed in Chapter 4 regarding learner attitudes, there were no significant differences between year-groups or between the overlapping responses in R1 and R2. This constancy might suggest that, in many areas relating to attitudes to learning and language learning, pupil characteristics are inherent and not strongly affected by the learning situation. Alternatively, it might suggest that the NTO and TTO programmes at the participating schools contribute to maintaining motivation where it already exists in learners, although they may not succeed in helping learners to develop more positive attitudes or increase motivation where it is lacking.

The two areas in which significant differences were noted, however, were with regard to NTO pupils' attitudes towards languages, and TTO pupils' perception of their own learning effort for English.

Language attitudes

Differences in attitude to languages can be most clearly explored in terms of the total percentage of positive ('completely' and 'mostly') responses across year-groups in TTO and NTO, concerning the extent to which they found languages useful, important and boring, respectively. These are displayed in Table 5.28. The statistical analyses shown in this table are based on year-group comparisons of collapsed (positive-neutral-negative) categories, as

low numbers of negative responses made the tests on five categories invalid. While these data highlight only a slight decline in positivity across TTO year-groups, the responses from first year NTO learners were significantly more positive than those of older NTO respondents.

Table 5.28 Positive responses to *I find languages useful/important/boring (%) with analyses across year-groups.*

	TTO						
	1	2	3	χ^2	df	p	r
useful	80.6	78.8	70.2	6.300	4	0.178 (n. sig.)	0.173 (modest)
important*	83.5	75.0	71.3	-	-	-	-
boring	11.7	19.2	18.1	5.837	4	0.212 (n. sig.)	0.179 (modest)
	NTO						
	1	2	3	χ^2	df	p	r
useful	77.3	60.5	54.7	17.416	4	0.002 (sig.)	0.246 (modest)
important	80.0	60.5	57.7	15.648	4	0.004 (sig.)	0.275 (modest)
boring	12.7	29.4	26.3	17.945	4	0.001 (sig.)	0.267 (modest)

* Chi squared analysis not possible for TTO due to small number of negative responses

In comparing the responses from the overlapping respondents in R1 and R2, displayed in Table 5.29-Table 5.31, similar differences can be observed. Here, NTO respondents expressed significantly less positive attitudes in R2 than in R1 with regard to the importance of learning languages, the relevance of English to their future plans and the need to learn languages in order to travel. There were no significant differences for TTO in these areas, indeed with a slight increase in positive responses for some.

Table 5.29 Responses in R1 (October) and R2 (May) to *I find languages important (%)*.

	TTO		NTO	
	Oct.	May	Oct.	May
<i>not at all</i>	0.0	2.6	2.1	4.3
<i>mostly not</i>	2.6	2.6	5.3	11.7
<i>sometimes</i>	21.8	25.6	34.0	45.7
<i>mostly</i>	42.3	32.1	38.3	26.6
<i>completely</i>	33.3	37.2	20.1	11.7
McN.-B.	-		18.687	
df	-		8	
p	-		0.017 (sig.)	

Table 5.30 Responses in R1 (October) and R2 (May) to *I need to do well in English because it's important for my future job or studies* (%).

	TTO		NTO	
	Oct.	May	Oct.	May
<i>not at all</i>	3.8	5.1	7.4	13.8
<i>mostly not</i>	3.8	9.0	8.5	14.9
<i>sometimes</i>	39.7	32.1	35.1	36.2
<i>mostly</i>	28.2	25.6	20.2	23.4
<i>completely</i>	24.4	28.2	28.7	11.7
McN.-B.	9.619		20.892	
df	9		10	
p	0.382 (n. sig.)		0.022 (sig.)	

Table 5.31 Responses in R1 (October) and R2 (May) to *It's important to learn different languages if you want to travel to countries where those languages are spoken* (%).

	TTO		NTO	
	Oct.	May	Oct.	May
<i>not at all</i>	1.3	3.8	3.2	5.3
<i>mostly not</i>	1.3	3.8	4.3	7.4
<i>sometimes</i>	15.4	7.7	19.1	29.8
<i>mostly</i>	39.7	48.7	42.6	36.2
<i>completely</i>	42.3	35.9	30.9	21.3
McN.-B.	10.000		12.854	
df	7		6	
p	0.189 (n. sig.)		0.045 (sig.)	

Together, these findings suggest a tendency for NTO learners to value language-learning less over the course of time, while TTO pupils' views in this respect appear to remain more constant. Thus, it could be argued that the more positive language attitudes displayed by TTO learners (Section 4.5) are also more resilient. Alternatively, it could suggest that the international and linguistic emphasis in TTO helps to better maintain positive attitudes towards language learning, while the NTO experience may allow enthusiasm to wane. The latter of these interpretations contrasts with findings discussed in Section 5.2.1, where it appeared that TTO learners viewed teaching and learning in English lessons less positively over time. Such a difference might imply that, while TTO pupils might grow less enthusiastic regarding the way in which English is taught, their intrinsic valuing of the language does not change. While this is a positive observation with regard to the intrinsic motivation of TTO learners of English, it nevertheless does not suggest a positive influence from the TTO teaching and learning context on learner motivation.

Learning attitudes

As is highlighted in the summary contained in Table 5.32, TTO pupils' responses to the statement, *I work hard during English lessons*, were significantly less positive in R2 when compared to the same participants' responses in R1. NTO responses to the same statement were also less positive in R2, although the difference for NTO was not significant. The statistical data displayed in Table 5.32 include results for both the original and the collapsed categories, as analysis on the basis of five categories was not possible for the TTO responses.

Table 5.32 Responses in R1 (October) and R2 (May) to *I work hard in English lessons* (%).

	TTO			NTO		
	Oct.	May		Oct.	May	
<i>not at all</i>	0.0	2.6		4.3	7.4	
<i>mostly not</i>	10.3	6.4		2.1	6.4	
<i>sometimes</i>	21.8	38.5		29.8	29.8	
<i>mostly</i>	59.0	43.6		57.4	48.9	
<i>completely</i>	9.0	9.0		6.4	7.4	
Categories	McN.-B.	df	p	McN.-B.	df	p
5	-	-	-	8.040	8	0.430 (n. sig.)
3	10.771	3	0.013 (sig.)	4.714	3	0.194 (n. sig.)

These figures display a more marked decline in reported effort over the year for those following a TTO programme than for NTO learners. Similar to regarding attitudes to lessons (Section 5.2.1), this could be a reflection of the fact that TTO pupils began the year more motivated, and therefore that their motivation had further to fall. It could be argued that this is unlikely to be the case, however, given not only that the decrease in positive responses to this item larger, but also that the total percentage of positive TTO responses in R2 was actually lower than for NTO. This could signify that the TTO experience does not help to motivate pupils in their learning of English, or that the decrease in positivity regarding TTO teaching and lessons can adversely influence learners' learning effort.

Another possibility, as discussed in Section 4.1.3, is that TTO pupils' interpretation of the term 'work hard' is different to that of NTO pupils. That they perceived a decrease in effort for English may therefore signify not that their efforts genuinely did decrease more dramatically than those of NTO pupils, but that they were more conscious of the change. Furthermore, investing less effort in English could be an indication that TTO learners had increased in confidence in using the language, as suggested by the data presented in Section

5.1.3 regarding increased pupil TL use in English lessons over time, and in Section 5.2.3, regarding linguistic self-confidence.

5.2.3 Confidence

Year-group analysis and comparison of data from the R1/R2 sample highlight potential changes in confidence-levels that could be a reflection of the role played by school in supporting this area of personal growth, and therefore perhaps also in increasing motivation. These changes will be considered in terms of general and linguistic self-confidence respectively.

General self-confidence

Figure 5.35 displays responses from NTO respondents in first, second and third year regarding how intelligent they consider themselves to be in comparison to their friends. As can be seen from these illustrations, confidence in this respect appears to rise between first and third year. TTO learners, whose responses are depicted in Figure 5.36, appear already more confident in first year, and in fact to decline in confidence between first and second year. The exact figures for these findings can be found in Table 5.33. Although these differences are not statistically significant, they may nevertheless highlight differing trends in the development of confidence within each learner group.

Figure 5.35 NTO learners' perception of friends' intelligence relative to their own.

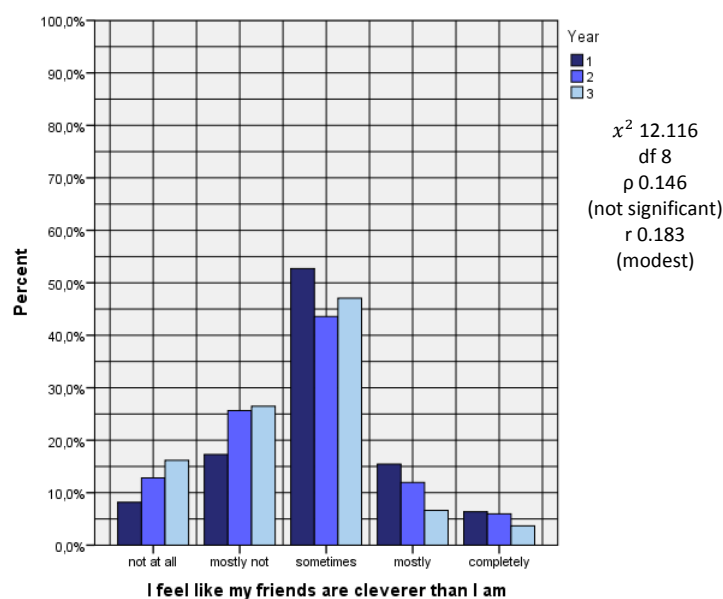


Figure 5.36 TTO learners' perception of friends' intelligence relative to their own.

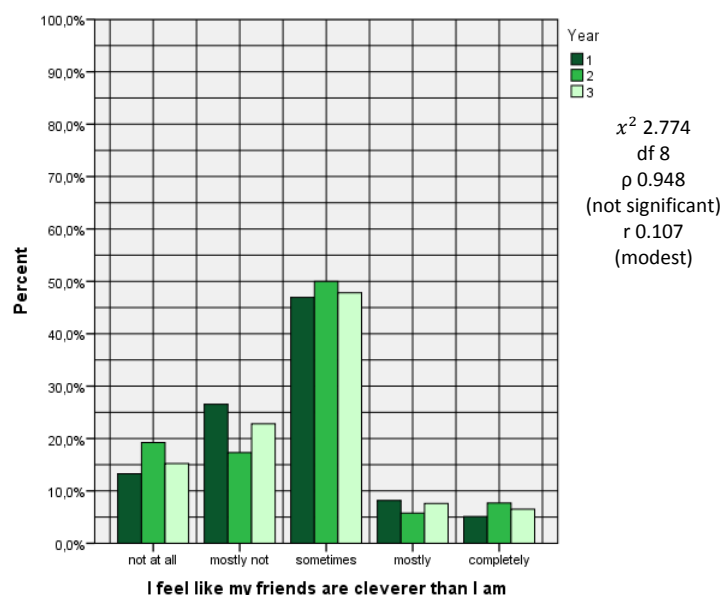


Table 5.33 Responses regarding perception of friends' intelligence relative to own (%).

	TTO			NTO		
Year	1	2	3	1	2	3
<i>not at all</i>	13.3	19.2	15.2	8.2	12.8	16.2
<i>mostly not</i>	26.5	17.3	22.8	17.3	25.6	26.5
<i>sometimes</i>	46.9	50.0	47.8	52.7	43.6	47.1
<i>mostly</i>	8.2	5.8	7.6	15.5	12.0	6.6
<i>completely</i>	5.1	7.7	6.5	6.4	6.0	3.7

Confidence in lessons other than English among NTO and TTO respondents are broken down into year-groups in Figure 5.37-Figure 5.39 and Table 5.34. In the NTO group, older pupils appeared the more confident, although extreme positive responses dropped between second and third year. For TTO pupils, confidence for Dutch-medium subjects¹⁴ appeared to start at a higher level than either NTO lessons or English-medium TTO lessons, although by third year, the proportion of extreme positives had fallen. Confidence for English-medium subject lessons increased steadily between first and third year. The low number of negative responses for all of these items meant that it was not possible to produce a reliable Chi squared value for these analyses, although the graphic depiction of the responses helps to demonstrate the interpretation of the results.

¹⁴ Dutch-medium subjects in the younger years of TTO are usually taught to the same class-groups as English-medium subjects, although occasionally schools create composite 'cluster' classes incorporating both NTO and TTO pupils, for example in order to accommodate language choices.

Figure 5.37 NTO learners' confidence during lessons other than English.

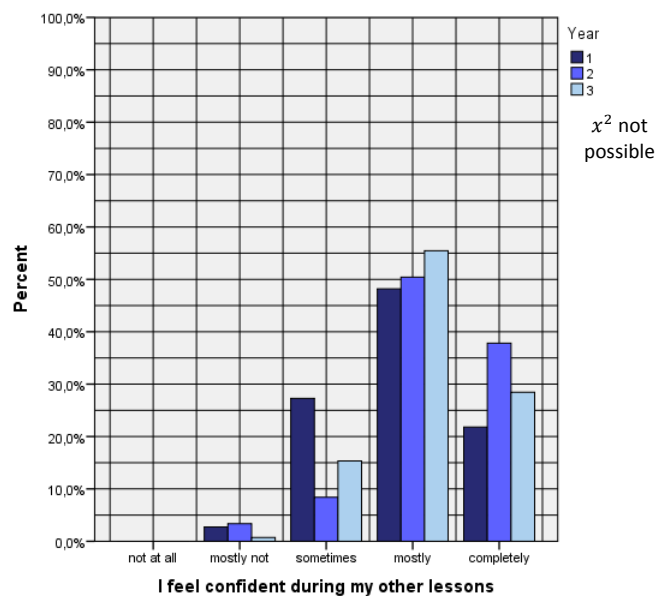


Figure 5.38 TTO learners' confidence during English-medium lessons other than English.

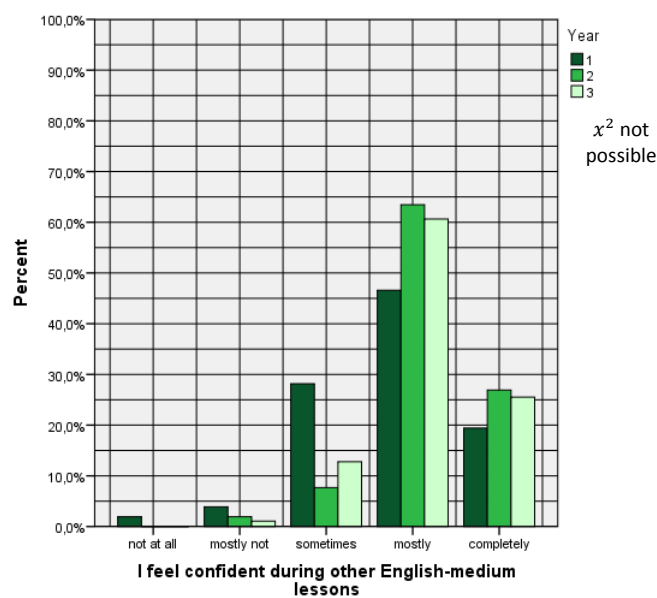


Figure 5.39 TTO learners' confidence during Dutch-medium lessons.

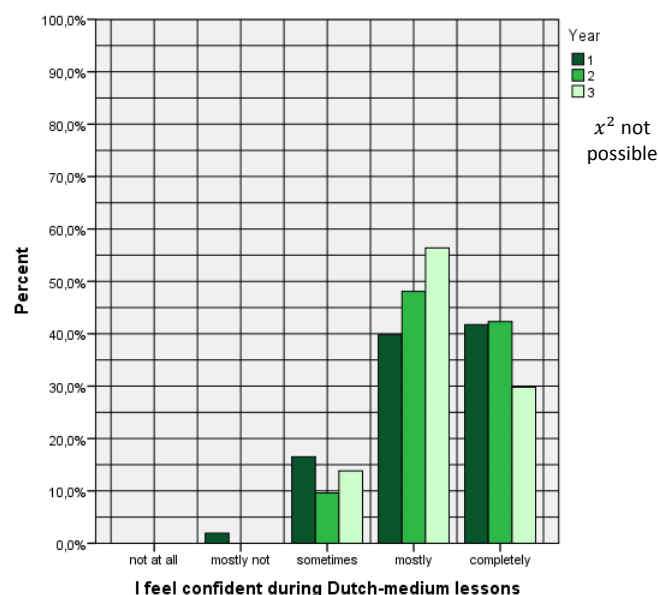


Table 5.34 Responses regarding confidence during lessons other than English (%).

	TTO						NTO		
	English-medium			Dutch-medium					
Year	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
<i>not at all</i>	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
<i>mostly not</i>	3.9	1.9	1.1	1.9	0.0	0.0	2.7	3.4	0.7
<i>sometimes</i>	28.2	7.7	12.8	16.5	9.6	13.8	27.3	8.4	15.3
<i>mostly</i>	46.6	63.5	60.6	39.8	48.1	56.4	48.2	50.4	55.5
<i>completely</i>	19.4	26.9	25.5	41.7	42.3	29.8	21.8	37.8	28.5

These data indicate that, while TTO first years appeared to be less confident than older pupils in relation to their English-medium subjects, the same did not apply to their impression of their own general intelligence or to their Dutch-medium lessons. This may relate to the challenging nature of TTO, in particular in its early stages. As explored in Chapter 4, challenge was highlighted by respondents as being one of their main reasons for choosing TTO, suggesting that this was an important motivator for them. That learners' confidence in English-medium subjects over the course of the first three years of TTO followed a similar trend to that of NTO pupils' confidence in their own Dutch-medium subjects, might indicate that TTO pupils need the added complexities of TTO in order to feel appropriately challenged. The fact that TTO learners' confidence in Dutch-medium subjects started and remained higher than that of NTO pupils could therefore suggest that NTO would not prove challenging enough for them. In this sense, it could be argued that TTO

motivates its learners by presenting them with a level of challenge appropriate to their needs and desires.

Confidence in English and languages

As displayed in Table 5.35, TTO pupils were slightly more likely at the end of the year to say that they would actively seek opportunities to speak English outside of school, while there was little change for NTO in this regard. The change in TTO responses was significant only when analysed in collapsed categories.

Table 5.35 Responses in R1 (October) and R2 (May) to *I seek opportunities to speak English outside of lessons (%)*.

	TTO			NTO		
	Oct.	May		Oct.	May	
<i>not at all</i>	20.5	10.3		43.6	38.3	
<i>mostly not</i>	29.5	25.6		27.7	34.0	
<i>sometimes</i>	35.9	35.9		16.0	16.0	
<i>mostly</i>	5.1	16.7		7.4	8.5	
<i>completely</i>	9.0	11.5		5.3	3.2	
Categories	McN.-B.	df	p	McN.-B.	df	p
5	12.589	10	0.248 (n. sig.)	5.118	10	0.883 (n. sig.)
3	8.971	3	0.030 (sig.)	0.143	3	0.989 (n. sig.)

This suggests that the TTO experience may indeed increase confidence in and enthusiasm for speaking English, which could have a motivating effect.

With regard to confidence in English lessons, however, as demonstrated in Table 5.36, NTO responses were slightly more positive at the end of the school year than at the beginning, while TTO responses were slightly less positive. Analysis on the basis of collapsed positive and negative categories highlighted a significant difference between NTO responses across the two time-periods, although not between TTO responses.

Table 5.36 Responses in R1 (October) and R2 (May) to *I feel confident in English lessons (%)*.

	TTO			NTO		
	Oct.	May		Oct.	May	
<i>not at all</i>	0.0	0.0		1.1	1.1	
<i>mostly not</i>	6.4	3.8		9.6	2.1	
<i>sometimes</i>	15.4	23.1		19.1	18.1	
<i>mostly</i>	51.3	48.7		46.8	46.8	
<i>completely</i>	26.9	24.4		23.4	31.9	
Categories	McN.-B.	df	p	McN.-B.	df	p
5	3.476	4	0.482 (n. sig.)	9.833	6	0.132 (n. sig.)
3	3.190	3	0.363 (n.sig.)	7.833	3	0.050 (sig.)

Further evidence to this effect can be seen in the reported embarrassment experienced by respondents as a result of making mistakes in FLs. The data summarised in Table 5.37 show NTO pupils in R2 to be less concerned about making mistakes when speaking foreign languages than they were in R1, while TTO respondents appeared slightly more concerned by the end of the year. In this instance, it was necessary to conduct statistical analysis on the collapsed data as tests could not be applied to the NTO data on the basis of the original categories.

Table 5.37 Responses in R1 (October) and R2 (May) to *If I make a mistake when speaking another language, I feel embarrassed (%)*.

	TTO			NTO		
	Oct.	May		Oct.	May	
<i>not at all</i>	21.8	24.4		42.6	47.9	
<i>mostly not</i>	38.5	41.0		29.8	37.2	
<i>sometimes</i>	32.1	24.4		23.4	12.8	
<i>mostly</i>	6.4	7.7		3.2	2.1	
<i>completely</i>	1.3	2.6		1.1	0.0	
Categories	McN.-B.	df	p	McN.-B.	df	p
5	6.889	7	0.441 (n. sig.)	-	-	-
3	1.740	3	0.628 (n. sig.)	8.250	3	0.041 (sig.)

It is unclear whether this apparent increase in confidence among NTO learners is a reflection on learners or on teaching, or indeed whether it signifies a change for the better. From one perspective, it might reflect effective and appropriate scaffolding for NTO pupils, allowing

their linguistic self-confidence to rise (Clément, Gardner et al. 1977). Alternatively, it might suggest that English lessons had become less challenging for NTO learners as the year progressed, rather than increasing in difficulty as learners increased in proficiency, as may be the case in TTO (Section 5.2.1). Another possibility is that it simply reflects learners' personal and linguistic growth.

The latter interpretation can be expanded upon with reference to the data regarding NTO learners' extramural exposure to English. As the figures presented in Table 5.38 highlight with regard to the amount of English-language television watched at the beginning and end of the school year, NTO responses showed a decrease across all negative and neutral categories, and an increase on both levels of positivity. For TTO, the proportions of negative responses remained constant, while the most extreme positive response increased. Hence, analysis identified a significant difference in TTO responses on the basis of the uncollapsed categories, while for the NTO responses, only the collapsed version of the data produced a significant result.

Table 5.38 Responses in R1 (October) and R2 (May) to *I watch TV in English outside of lessons* (%).

	TTO			NTO		
	Oct.	May		Oct.	May	
<i>not at all</i>	1.3	1.3		13.8	9.6	
<i>mostly not</i>	5.1	5.1		12.8	8.5	
<i>sometimes</i>	29.5	19.2		35.1	25.5	
<i>mostly</i>	48.7	46.2		29.8	39.4	
<i>completely</i>	15.4	28.2		8.5	17.0	
Categories	McN.-B.	df	p	McN.-B.	df	p
5	14.923	7	0.037 (sig.)	14.940	10	0.134 (n. sig.)
3	2.061	3	0.560 (n. sig.)	10.518	3	0.015 (sig.)

The increase in positivity among NTO learners in this respect is striking. These findings might go some way towards supporting the view that the evidence of increased linguistic self-confidence reported above does indeed reflect NTO learners' growing proficiency and self-assurance in English or other languages. While watching television in English does not involve language output, even the supposedly 'passive' skills of reading and listening in language learning require active engagement from the learner (Hedge 2000). Furthermore, this change might reflect increased willingness to use the English language for real purposes,

outside of the school environment, as well as interest in the international community. In this respect, it appears that English teaching in NTO may have a positive effect on language learning motivation, confidence and perhaps international orientation.

5.2.4 Future selves

This section will examine in terms of growth and development some of the aspects of future selves identified in Section 4.4 as distinguishing TTO learners from NTO. Specifically, it will focus on changes in academic ambitions over time and in relation to age, and the relationship of those changes to the learning context.

Ambition

Figure 5.40 and Figure 5.41 highlight the spread of academic ambitions across year-groups for NTO and TTO respectively. A summary of these data within the four collapsed categories described in Section 4.4.1 is presented in Table 5.39. The uncollapsed data have been included for the sake of transparency, and the collapsed for the sake of clarity. While Chi squared and Phi analyses were not applicable to the uncollapsed data, on the uncollapsed data they highlighted significant differences and moderate effect sizes for year-group comparisons in both groups. As these figures highlight, the proportion of ‘Don’t know’ responses from both groups declined between first year and third year, as did the number of pupils aiming for a university route. While this trend was largely the same for TTO and NTO, the difference is more striking in TTO. Although TTO pupils of all ages were more likely than NTO to aim for a university or pre-university route, the gap closes somewhat by third year. Based on the collapsed categories in Table 5.39, there was only a 4.8% difference between the respective numbers of NTO and TTO third-year respondents who appeared to be aiming for university, as opposed to the 18.1% difference between groups in first year. The seemingly anomalous response from second year NTO could be a symptom of the imbalance in the second year NTO sample (see Chapter 3), and has therefore not been considered in this comparison.

Figure 5.40 NTO future plans.

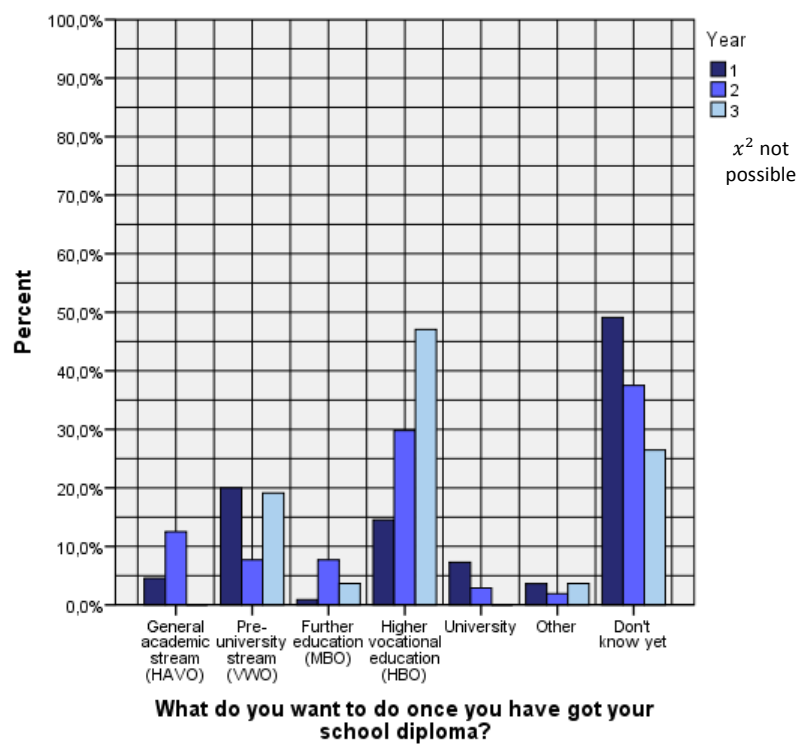


Figure 5.41 TTO future plans.

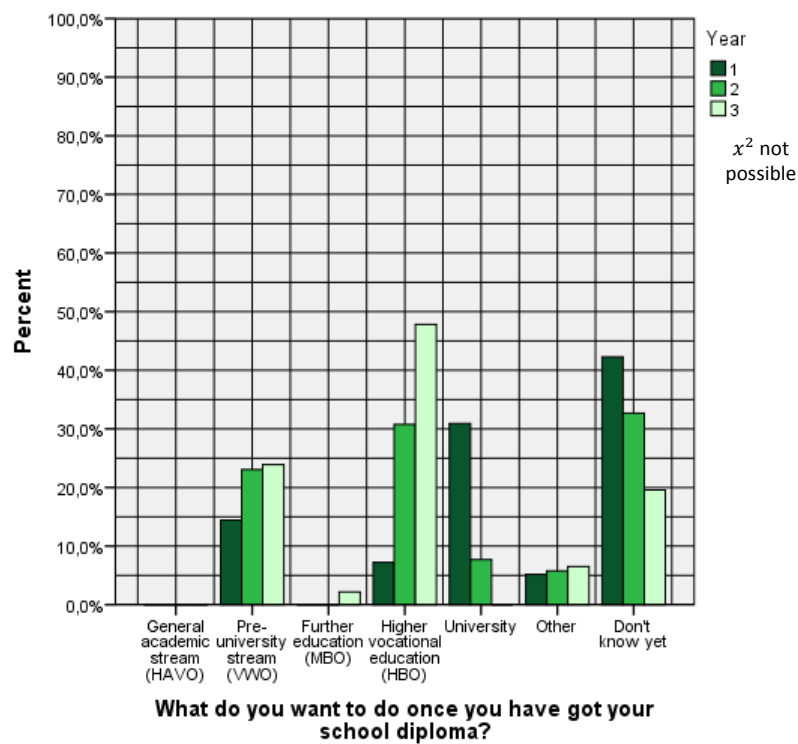


Table 5.39 Summary of future plans using collapsed categories (%).

	TTO			NTO		
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Non-university	7.2	30.8	50.0	20.0	50.0	50.7
University	45.4	30.8	23.9	27.3	10.6	19.1
Unsure/Unspecified	47.4	38.5	26.1	52.7	39.4	30.1
χ^2	42.661			32.636		
df	4			4		
p	≤ 0.000 (sig.)			≤ 0.000 (sig.)		
r	0.421 (moderate)			0.305 (moderate)		

The decrease in ‘Don’t know’ responses suggests that older respondents in both education types were more certain about their future plans, although older learners also appeared to have less academic ambitions. This gap particularly affected TTO, where first years appeared to be especially ambitious, while older learners differed less strikingly from the NTO group in their responses. The apparently more dramatic change in the ambitions of TTO pupils across year-groups could reflect negatively on the motivational influence of TTO, suggesting that learners’ future selves become less ambitious after starting in TTO. Regarded from this perspective, it appears that TTO may not succeed in motivating its learners.

An alternative interpretation of these data, however, is that they reflect not increased pessimism or demotivation, but the realism that might accompany growing maturity and understanding. As explained in the contextual information in Chapter 1, a higher degree of ambition for university among younger pupils might reflect the fact that they have a higher chance of ultimately being placed in VWO rather than HAVO, which would shorten the route to university. By third year, it is very unlikely that they will still be allowed to move streams. While it is still possible to progress to VWO after HAVO, this entails years of extra work. That fewer third years expect to pursue a university route, therefore, could simply reflect the fact that this option has become more difficult for them.

Furthermore, the Dutch education system is founded on realism and a ‘do your best’ rather than ‘be the best’ culture (Hofstede 1983). As explained in Chapter 1, the educational tracks are intended to allow learners to pursue a form of education that is considered achievable for them and to suit their individual talents and skills. In the Dutch culture, it might therefore be considered not negative, but indeed mature and well-considered, that HAVO pupils aim for a less academic course of study than university. Dörnyei (2009c) mentions the importance of achievability in his concept of future self-guides in a similar vein

to the 'expectancy' component of expectancy-values (Bandura 2001). In this sense, the narrowing of ambitions among t-HAVO pupils as observed in these findings might actually support a stronger sense of motivation, in that it could denote a more vivid and realistic future self-image among third year pupils. If we accept this as being the case, it suggests more significant development and growth in this aspect of the future selves of TTO learners than of NTO learners, which could be an indication that the conditions provided by TTO are conducive to nurturing the future self-image, and thus to increasing its motivational value.

Consistency and change in future selves

While there was no significant difference between year-groups in TTO for any of the items specifically mentioning their future selves, NTO responses for three of these six items displayed considerably more variation. The details of these three analyses for NTO responses can be found in Figure 5.42-Figure 5.44 and Table 5.40. As can be seen from these illustrations, responses with regard to the likelihood that their future self will travel a lot, have international friends or be successful were significantly more positive among older NTO learners. The TTO data, which showed little difference across year-groups, are not illustrated here.

Figure 5.42 NTO future self and travel.

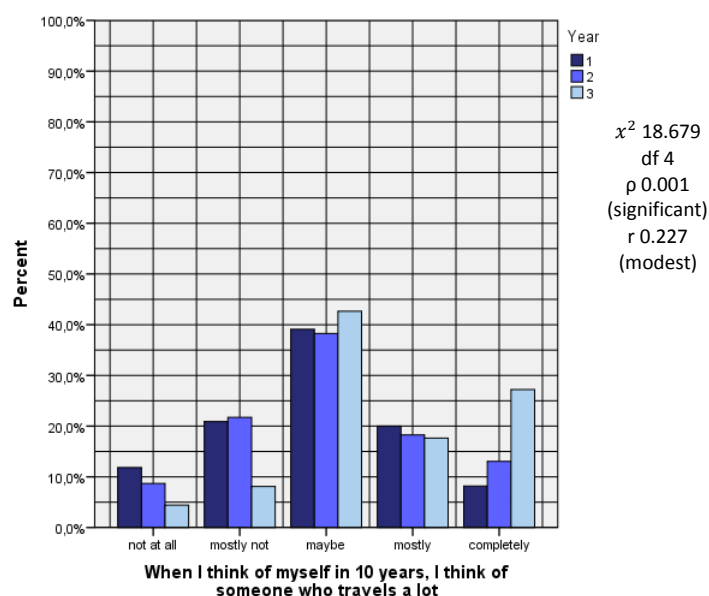


Figure 5.43 NTO future self and international friends.

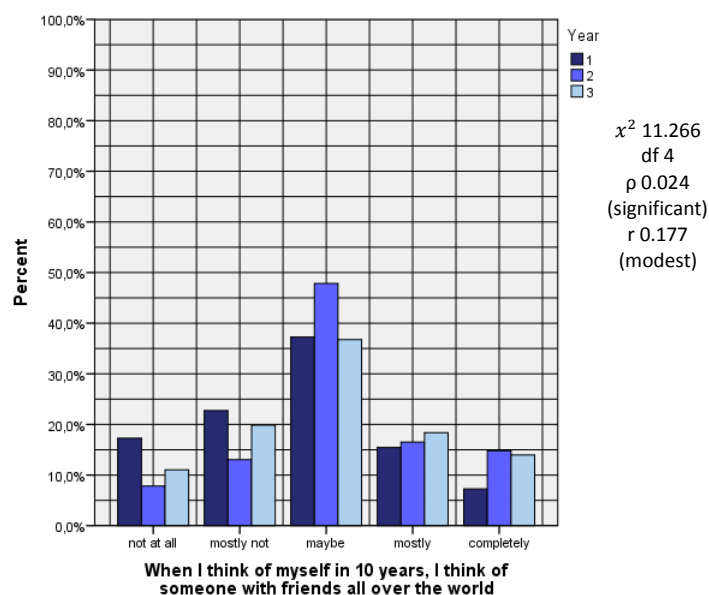


Figure 5.44 NTO successful future self.

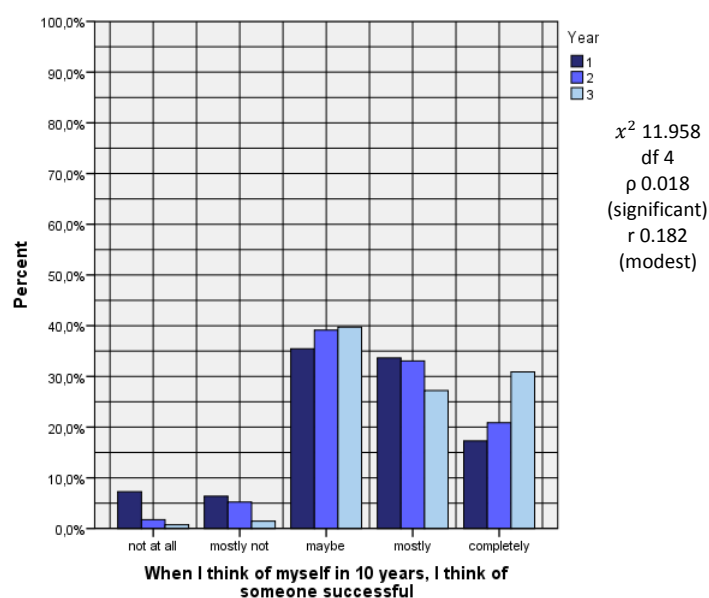


Table 5.40 NTO responses regarding future selves (%).

	Travel			International friends			Successful		
Year	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
<i>not at all</i>	11.8	8.7	4.4	17.3	7.8	11.0	7.3	1.7	0.7
<i>mostly not</i>	20.9	21.7	8.1	22.7	13.0	19.9	6.4	5.2	1.5
<i>sometimes</i>	39.1	38.3	42.6	37.3	47.8	36.8	35.5	39.1	39.7
<i>mostly</i>	20.0	18.3	17.6	15.5	16.5	18.4	33.6	33.0	27.2
<i>completely</i>	8.2	13.0	27.2	7.3	14.8	16.9	17.3	20.9	30.9

This difference between the patterns in the two learner groups, TTO images of the future self remaining largely constant across year-groups while more growth was observed in NTO,

could indicate a number of differences between learner groups. Considering that TTO respondents displayed generally more positive and defined images of their future self, it would appear that TTO pupils may not only be more oriented towards the future, but also quicker to develop a positive image of what they hope or expect that future to involve. In fact, that TTO learners' future self-image appeared to contribute to their decision to do TTO, suggests that it had begun to develop as early as primary school. NTO pupils may require more time, experience and support in developing theirs. Such a contrast between groups might relate to the independence and sense of agency identified in Section 4.2 as being stronger in TTO pupils. Furthermore, the difference in the way in which the image of the 'successful' future self develops might suggest that NTO pupils' self-confidence also develops later, while the items regarding international features of the future self could reflect similarly on their international orientation (see 5.2.5).

What this difference between TTO and NTO does not reveal, however, is any indication that the experience of TTO contributes directly to the development or maintenance of the future self-image. Were this the case, then it might be expected that TTO pupils' future self would grow more positive or more defined over time, as appears to be the case in NTO, or else that the TTO future self would remain constant while that of NTO learners diminished. As neither of these is the case, these findings appear to suggest that the vivid, successful, international future self-images of TTO pupils are inherent to the learner, rather than being promoted by the TTO experience.

5.2.5 International orientation

As mentioned in Section 5.2.4, one interpretation of the change in NTO pupils' future selves over the first three years of secondary school is that it could be a manifestation of growing international orientation. Other year-group comparisons provide little evidence to this effect, in that there were no significant differences between year-groups for the items regarding either attitude to successful learners of English or international orientation for either TTO or NTO. An area in which a further sign of growth in international orientation is apparent, however, is in the increase in regard of NTO learners for successful learners of English between the beginning and end of the school year.

As illustrated in Table 5.41 and Table 5.42, NTO pupils in R2 were significantly less likely to agree that *People who have learned to speak good English are no better than anyone else*, and more likely to agree that *People who have learned to speak good English are interesting*

than they had been in R1. The latter of these observations is not supported by the statistical test, although the result of the analysis showed a far greater degree of significance that in relation to the TTO responses. Together, these figures could suggest that NTO respondents' regard for successful learners of English rose more significantly than that of TTO pupils over the course of the school year.

Table 5.41 Responses in R1 (October) and R2 (May) to *People who have learned to speak good English are no better than anyone else (%)*.

	TTO		NTO	
	Oct.	May	Oct.	May
<i>not at all</i>	14.1	11.5	12.8	17.0
<i>mostly not</i>	10.3	15.4	5.3	10.6
<i>sometimes</i>	23.1	30.8	20.2	31.9
<i>mostly</i>	10.3	14.1	12.8	11.7
<i>completely</i>	42.3	28.2	48.9	28.7
McN.-B.	10.197		18.605	
df	9		10	
p	0.335 (n. sig.)		0.046 (sig.)	

Table 5.42 Responses in R1 (October) and R2 (May) to *People who have learned to speak good English are interesting (%)*.

	TTO		NTO	
	Oct.	May	Oct.	May
<i>not at all</i>	6.4	2.6	27.7	22.3
<i>mostly not</i>	12.8	3.8	22.3	13.8
<i>sometimes</i>	57.7	66.7	45.7	56.4
<i>mostly</i>	19.2	21.8	4.3	7.4
<i>completely</i>	3.8	5.1	0.0	0.0
McN.-B.	9.250		10.871	
df	8		5	
p	0.322 (n. sig.)		0.054 (n. sig.)	

The difference between learner groups with regard to this change could suggest, like future selves, that the higher regard for English-speakers among TTO pupils is inherent and present at an early age, while that of NTO pupils needs more time to grow, perhaps with the help of more confidence and more exposure to the English language (Section 5.2.3). Such a difference provides interesting insight into the profile of the NTO learner, who may be open to international orientation at a later stage in his or her school career than the TTO learner. In terms of the role of TTO in learner motivation, however, these data provide no evidence

to suggest that following TTO helps any more than NTO to nurture positive attitudes towards learning English and the international English-speaking community, or to promote international orientation. This finding may come as a surprise considering the emphasis in TTO on international awareness, foreign travel, and contact with peers in other countries (Europees Platform 2010c).

5.3 Impact of TTO on NTO: Contribution of the Comparator sample

While some schools employ different teachers to teach TTO and NTO classes, other TTO schools, in particular where TTO is new or offered on a small scale, require teachers to teach to both types of learner. It was thought at the outset of this study that overlap of this type could impact on the teaching and learning styles employed in NTO lessons, as has been documented in studies conducted in other CLIL contexts (Gajo, Serra 2002). There was a slight tendency for the NTO group to respond more positively than the Comparator group regarding items such as the teacher's approach to English lessons and his/her engagement with the subject. This contrast appeared, however, to reflect more on the general inclination among the Comparator group to select the less extreme responses on the five-point scale. Indeed, if the positive responses to the items regarding English teachers are grouped together, it would actually appear that the Comparator group had a more positive view than the NTO group in these respects. The results from the Comparator sample in this respect were therefore regarded as inconclusive.

5.4 Conclusions to Chapter 5

This chapter has considered the findings of this research from the perspective of the differences between NTO and TTO pupils' experiences of school, lessons and teaching, as well as the differences between TTO learners' experiences in English-medium and Dutch-medium lessons. It has also discussed findings based on year-group comparisons and on comparisons within the group of respondents who completed the survey at both the beginning and end of the school year. The aim was to draw some conclusions regarding the ways in which motivational characteristics of learner appeared to change over time, and therefore regarding the possible impact that TTO or NTO programmes might have on learner motivation. This discussion related predominantly to RQ2. Finally, it has reflected upon the role of the Comparator sample in this research, and on the inconclusive findings regarding its similarity to the NTO sample.

With regard to learners' response to school, there was evidence to suggest that this was a more positive experience for TTO than NTO learners. TTO respondents portrayed a stronger sense of satisfaction and conviction regarding their choice of education type, while NTO pupils tended to focus more on negative motivators, and displayed less consistency in their responses. Both groups also appeared to believe to some extent that TTO pupils were regarded as more 'special' and were given access to more enjoyable activities, although they did not explicitly express a strong belief that school valued TTO learners more. It is possible that this sense of superiority among TTO pupils is connected to increased levels of confidence and motivation, although the direction of this relationship is not clear.

In the responses relating to teachers and teaching, it appeared that both groups regarded their teachers positively in terms of their engagement with their subject, although TTO English teachers received the most positive response in this respect. Teachers of English and English-medium subjects in TTO were reported as being most likely to inject fun into their subject when compared to NTO teachers of any subject, and especially when compared to Dutch-medium teachers of TTO learners. This could be a reflection of the impact of TTO on learners' expectations of their teachers, as well as on the differences in teaching styles, which suggest that teaching in TTO might be more motivating. Also with regard to teachers, it was interesting to observe that NTO respondents displayed more concern with the interpersonal than the academic features of their teachers. This might suggest that the NTO learner is motivated by different qualities in a teacher than the TTO learner.

Data regarding lessons in NTO and TTO revealed some interesting findings. While it appeared that TTO lessons involved significantly less use of textbooks and more variation in materials, these features did not appear to be inextricably linked, suggesting that materials other than textbooks in TTO lessons were not necessarily as varied as might be expected on the basis of the TTO standard (Graaff, Wilgenburg in press) and CLIL theory (Coyle, Hood et al. 2010). Furthermore, while TTO lessons were portrayed as more varied than NTO lessons, the level of variation in activities was not strikingly high. The subjects identified as least varied were Dutch-medium subjects in TTO, suggesting, as with regard to teachers, that TTO may give pupils higher expectations in this respect. A further observation in consideration of some of qualitative data from both Phase I and Phase II that variation in lesson activities may not be equally valued by TTO and NTO learners: while TTO participants identified more

variety as a potential improvement in lessons, NTO participants in Phase I had actually commented on the need for more consistency.

TTO learners responded more positively than NTO with regard to the utility and value of English lessons. They also identified more active TL use by pupils, although rates of teacher-talk appeared to be slightly higher than in the NTO English classroom, in fitting with observations elsewhere regarding the tendency for teacher-dominance in the bilingual classroom (Dalton-Puffer 2007). With regard to the levels of challenge and difficulty experienced, it was interesting to note that English lessons appeared to be regarded by TTO pupils as being more difficult than the language itself, but nevertheless that English lessons were experienced more as challenging than as difficult. In spite of this, it did appear that TTO learners felt less nervous in Dutch-medium lessons than English-medium, although whether the nervousness in TTO lessons was experienced as a motivational hindrance, or indeed a driver, was not apparent. This difference in confidence-level could indicate that TTO learners are met with an appropriate level of challenge in their TTO subjects, which they might not have encountered had they followed an NTO route.

Another area in which TTO may appear to contribute positively to learner motivation was with regard to learners' confidence in TTO subjects and in speaking English. While NTO respondents' confidence appeared to rise in general terms during their school career, for TTO respondents, the only marked difference in this respect was in relation to English-medium subjects, perhaps suggesting again that TTO can motivate learners by meeting their need to be challenged. That TTO pupils appeared more prepared to speak English in a natural setting by the end of the year likewise suggested that they had embraced the challenge of overcoming some of their confidence barriers throughout the school year. In this sense, it may be possible to draw the conclusion that TTO is a motivating experience for learners, in that it challenges them sufficiently and supports them in developing linguistic self-confidence. Moreover, TTO learners' sense of English lessons being useful and relevant rose over time, which also suggests a strong motivational influence.

In relation to differences across year-groups and changes over time, however, the impact of TTO on motivation appeared limited. There was little evidence to suggest that TTO learners' perceived learning effort, future self-image, language attitudes or international orientation were enhanced by the learning context. Furthermore, older TTO pupils appeared to have less positive views of teaching and learning in TTO English than younger pupils, and

the increased criticism of these aspects by the end of the academic year were more marked among TTO respondents than NTO. This could indicate growing disillusionment among TTO pupils – or their teachers – following the ‘honeymoon period’ of the early stages of the year or of the TTO programme, and could be detrimental to motivation.

There were also some interesting findings regarding the motivational development of NTO learners. Comparisons across year-groups and time periods suggested that NTO learners, while naturally displaying fewer motivated characteristics in general (see Chapter 4), had the potential to grow and develop in some of these respects. NTO respondents’ international orientation, including attitudes to English-speakers, appeared to grow stronger over time. While they displayed less enthusiasm for language-learning in the R2 survey, they nevertheless appeared to grow more positive in their regard for successful learners of English by the end of the school year, and also to more willingly expose themselves to the English language and to international cultures through the medium of television. This could suggest that the international orientation of the NTO learners in this study was less internalised than that of TTO pupils, but also that it grew and developed over time. This was also reflected in the apparently more positive image of the international future self in older NTO learners, which suggested that it may simply take longer for this type of learner to develop the confidence and vision of the future thought to be beneficial to motivation. TTO learners, on the contrary, appeared to possess these qualities to a stronger degree from an earlier point in their school career, perhaps implying that they have less need of motivation through the learning environment, as their drive is more likely to come from within.

Having presented and discussed the findings of this study with regard to both the characteristics displayed by the TTO and NTO participants in this study, and their apparent relationship with the learning context, it therefore appears that TTO can impact positively on motivation in some respects. In many other respects, however, this study has provided no evidence to suggest a positive relationship between the TTO learning context and learner motivation, in spite of suggestions in the literature that bilingual teaching and learning can have a particularly motivating effect. On the contrary, there was some evidence of motivational growth among NTO learners, suggesting either the presence of a more motivating learning environment for NTO, or inherent differences between learner groups with regard to motivational needs and development. The initial conclusions drawn on the basis of these findings and those in Chapter 4 will be brought together in the form of

answers to the central RQs in Chapter 6, where the implications of this study will also be explored.

6. Conclusions & Implications: Motivation for all

This study sought to investigate the intrinsic differences between learners in bilingual education (TTO) and Dutch-language education (NTO) in the General Academic track (HAVO) of secondary schooling in the Netherlands and to consider the extent to which the TTO teaching and learning context can influence or has the potential to influence learner (language) motivation. In the preceding chapters, the theoretical, contextual and methodological bases for this study have been presented, explored and discussed, as have its design, its findings, and its conclusions in relation to each Research Question (RQ).

This final chapter will begin in Section 6.1 by summarising the responses to each RQ, based on the findings from Chapters 4 and 5. In Sections 6.2-6.4, the theoretical and practical implications of the findings will be considered in more detail. From a theoretical perspective, new insights provided by this study concerning the nature of the motivational factors that appear to influence TTO learners will be addressed, both in terms of motivational theory and with regard to the motivational impact of bilingual approaches to education. In practical terms, these findings can also provide insights with regard to teaching and learning in both TTO and NTO schooling. As part of the discussion of these implications in Section 6.4, a model of motivation in TTO will be proposed. This model will incorporate both the motivation brought into the learning environment by the TTO learner and the supporting role of the TTO learning context. In the final two sections of this chapter, the study will be considered critically in terms of its limitations (Section 6.5), and recommendations made for future research and practice (Section 6.6). The practical recommendations presented in the final sub-section (6.6.2) will take the form of a concrete yet somewhat idealistic vision of the motivational features of the TTO and NTO classrooms of the future.

6.1 Summary of conclusions

This two-phase research project employed a range of qualitative and quantitative methods, in which the individuality of the learner was not forgotten but yet general trends were revealed. It sought to obtain answers to the following Research Questions (RQs):

RQ1. How and to what extent do TTO learners display inherently different learning and motivational characteristics to their NTO peers?

RQ2. What appears to be the impact of the TTO context on learner motivation?

The above questions were addressed and discussed with regard to the findings of the research in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively, and conclusions drawn on the basis of each. These conclusions are summarised below.

6.1.1 RQ1. How and to what extent do TTO learners display inherently different learning and motivational characteristics to their NTO peers?

With regard to specific learning characteristics and their effects on motivation, it appeared from the findings of this study that the TTO learners in this study possessed more features traditionally associated with successful learning and motivation than did the NTO learners. This was particularly apparent in areas specifically linked to language learning motivation and was identified more markedly in relation to learning English than other languages. These characteristics can be aligned with a number of existing motivational concepts, such as future self-guides, agency, autonomy, learning attitudes, international orientation and integrativeness. Some aspects of the difference between TTO and NTO in these respects, however, may have been a question of different learner priorities or rates of development rather than solely of motivational strength, as attitudes expressed by first years from each group differed more significantly from one another than those expressed by third years. The most prominent examples of this related to future self-images and international orientation.

6.1.2 RQ2. What appears to be the impact of the TTO context on learner motivation?

As in previous TTO research (Huibregtse 2001, Verspoor, Schuitemaker-King et al. 2010), findings with regard to teaching and learning in TTO were mixed. While TTO was experienced in some respects as possessing more motivating features than NTO, it seemed that the motivational potential of TTO may not always be fully exploited. This contradicts suggestions in the CLIL literature that teaching and learning in bilingual approaches can have a particularly motivating effect (Coyle, Hood et al. 2010). Coonan (2005) found that CLIL not only helped to maintain existing motivation among learners but actually to add to it. The cross-sectional comparison of year-groups in the present study, however, would suggest little effect from TTO in this regard, with motivation levels remaining largely the same across first, second and third years, or indeed in some instances declining among older respondents. On the basis of this finding and of the response to RQ1, it could be suggested that features of TTO and CLIL could consciously be employed to harness, influence and enhance the pre-existing motivation of TTO learners. As it appeared from results that

motivation in TTO is often already relatively high from learners' entry into the secondary school system, this influence will more likely take the form of sustaining motivation than awakening it. For NTO learners, in contrast, a different approach may be needed, in which the focus lies more specifically on inciting and activating dormant motivational features, for example by nurturing self-confidence. Thus, it appears that it is important to consider the individual needs of different learner groups, not only in terms of learning styles, but also in terms of motivation.

6.2 Motivation for TTO: Theoretical implications on characteristics of the TTO learner

A criticism made this century with regard to past theories of motivation is that they are often reductionist in nature (Csizér, Dörnyei 2005, Bot 2008, Dörnyei, Ushioda 2009, Larsen-Freeman 2012). The most recent theories of language learning motivation attempt to take a more holistic approach, as in the complex dynamic systems and relational approaches described in Chapter 2 (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). In the current study, RQ1 sought to investigate the motivational and learning characteristics of TTO and NTO learners and to determine the extent to which these characteristics appeared to predate or exist independently of the learning experience. This study was not holistic to the same extent as CDS approaches, in that it aimed to explore particular aspects of learner motivation. In spite of this, data were not approached with the aim of equating the motivation of TTO learners with any one motivational theory or construct, and instead remained open to different perspectives and possibilities.

On reflection and following consideration of the data, it appears that rather than equating it to an existing motivational model, the findings of this research highlight three key elements in the inherent motivation of its TTO participants, stemming from different areas of motivational theory. These categories relate to the learner's sense of his or her own agency and control over his or her learning, the integrative motive, and future self-guides. Below, these areas will be explored in turn and in relation to the findings of this study. In Section 6.2.4, these elements will be presented in a diagram depicting the beginnings of a motivational model, which will be expanded upon in Section 6.3.5. At the end of the current section, brief attention will also be paid to the relationship of these characteristics to the most recent L2 motivational theory explored in Chapter 2, Directed Motivational Currents (Muir, Dörnyei 2013).

6.2.1 Sense of agency

While the findings explored in Chapter 4 identified some areas in which the self-esteem of NTO and TTO pupils appeared to be similar, academic collective and individual self-esteem nevertheless appeared to be higher in TTO learners. TTO respondents also displayed a higher degree of confidence with regard to learning and using foreign languages, and appeared to have a stronger sense of self-worth, both on a collective and an individual level. With regard to motivational theory, these elements feature in a number of paradigms of motivation, both within and outwith language learning contexts. In terms of expectancy-value, increased self-esteem can raise the learner's expectations of what he or she is realistically able to achieve, as in Self-Efficacy Theory (Bandura 2001) and Self-Worth Theory (Covington 1992). These theories both originated in cognitive psychology, although, as explored in Chapter 2, the same concepts are also reflected in a number of theories of L2 motivation (e.g. Crookes, Schmidt 1991, Dörnyei 1994a, 1998, Tremblay, Gardner 1995, Williams, Burden 1997).

In addition to this, TTO learners in the current study appeared in various ways more likely to attribute success, failure or the making of decisions to the individual, rather than to external circumstances or the input of others. Such empowerment was reflected further in the tendency for TTO learners to seek and embrace academic challenge, while their NTO peers tended to avoid it. This suggests that TTO learners possessed both intrinsic interest in learning and growth, and a sense of their own ability to perform well academically. Attribution Theory would suggest that the inclination of TTO learners to consider success to be within their own control is conducive to increased drive to perform and achieve their goals (Weiner 1986, 1992a, 2007). Theories of autonomy in motivation such as those explored by Dickinson (1995) and Child (1994) take a similar view. The propensity for welcoming and indeed seeking challenge among TTO learners similarly denotes the autonomous qualities valued by the above authors, and also elements of the 'IM-accomplishment' dimension of intrinsic motivation in Self-Determination Theory (Deci, Ryan 1985, 2002). Thus, a sense of agency, including (collective) self-esteem, empowerment and attraction to challenge, appeared to play a role in the motivation of TTO learners.

6.2.2 Integrative motive

Chapter 2 explains the background to and structure of Gardner's integrative motive (Figure 2.5, p.54), in which attitudes towards the learning situation and integrativeness combine with effort, desire to learn the L2 and attitudes towards language learning to

influence motivation (Gardner, Lambert 1959, 1972, Gardner 1985). The findings of the present research offer evidence to suggest that the TTO learner group studied was in possession of a stronger integrative motive than the NTO group, in terms of all of its contributing factors, as explained below.

Integrativeness

‘Integrativeness’ in Gardner’s model incorporates integrative orientation, interest in languages, and attitudes towards the L2 community. TTO participants in this study displayed an international outlook and desire to become a competent member of the international L2 English-speaking community. They also expressed more positive views with regard to characteristics of successful learners of English, as well as towards the learning of English and other languages. Therefore, they appeared stronger in all three of these respects when compared with their NTO peers

Attitudes towards the learning situation

The TTO learners involved in this study responded more positively than the NTO participants in relation to variation, TL use and challenge experienced in lessons, and to the relevance and value of those lessons. TTO learners’ views of their English teachers were also largely positive. Following Gardner’s model, this positivity regarding the learning environment would contribute to a stronger integrative motive.

Effort, desire to learn the L2 and attitudes towards learning

These elements combine with integrativeness and attitudes towards the learning situation to form the ‘motivation’ element of the integrative motive, and were also areas in which particular differences were identified between TTO and NTO participants. The seemingly intrinsic interest in the English language expressed by TTO learners, and their more academic and studious approach to school and learning, as well as their desire to confront new challenges, appear to be reflections of these contributors to motivation.

An interesting consideration in this respect is Gardner’s emphasis on the distinction between *learning* a language, where emphasis is on natural contact with and use of the TL (often an L2), and *studying* a language, which more often concerns formal FL learning in a context detached from the TL community (Gardner 2001, see also Krashen 1981). In the context of TTO and CLIL, where the TL is both acquired through use and learned through explicit language teaching, this distinction is somewhat blurred. Furthermore, while English

native speaker communities are not readily accessible to TTO learners, the global English-speaking community is. Integrative orientation and the L2 community have therefore been regarded in this study as concerning the international community of L2 English-speakers (Ushioda 2006), which many TTO learners appear to wish to join. It follows that the integrative motive in terms of English as an L2 that is acquired or 'learned' may be as relevant as the instrumental motivators that appear to contribute more strongly in FL contexts, where the language is 'studied'.

It is important to remember at this point that Gardner does not claim that the integrative motive is stronger or more effective than instrumental motivators (Gardner 2001). In the context of this study, this is a significant distinction, in that TTO learners also appeared to possess stronger instrumental motivation towards learning English than did NTO learners.

6.2.3 Future self-guides

Past research has highlighted a number of similarities and overlaps between the integrative motive and Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) (Dörnyei 2009b, Dörnyei, Ushioda 2009). As explored in Chapter 2, however, a significant difference between the two concepts is that, while the main focus of the integrative motive is external to the learner, concerned largely with the L2 community, the L2MSS is centred on the individual learner and a personal vision of his or her own future. This vision can be associated with either integrative or instrumental motives, which the motivation of the TTO learner appears to combine.

As the RQ addressed here refers to factors that appear to exist independently of the learning context, it is not possible at this point to place the inherent motivation of TTO learners within the framework of the L2MSS. Furthermore, with regard to the Ought-to L2 Self, results for TTO were inconclusive. The role of the future self in this approach to the motivation of TTO learners therefore appears more salient in terms of the future self-guides identified by Dörnyei as contributing to the L2MSS and as one of the motivational conglomerates (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). This factor also features in more recent considerations with regard to the motivational power of vision (Hadfield, Dörnyei 2013, Dörnyei, Kubanyiova 2014).

The notion of future self-guides in relation to this study can be considered in terms of the extent to which they appear to fulfil the six criteria proposed by Dörnyei (2009c) as being central to their motivational impact. These elements of an effective L2 future self-guide

(explained in more detail in Chapter 2) require that the vision of the future self be detailed and realistic in the eyes of the learner, equate to what the learner feels others expect him or her to become and be strengthened by a sense of what he or she wishes to avoid for his or her future (Hadfield, Dörnyei 2013). Furthermore, the learner must be conscious both of the vision itself and of his or her strategies for achieving it.

The findings regarding the future selves of the TTO participants in the present research suggest that their visions of the future adhered more closely to the criteria above than those of their NTO counterparts. TTO learners appeared more certain of their goals and ambitions, and appeared to take these into consideration to a greater extent than the NTO participants. Moreover, their self-esteem, their autonomy and the confidence with which they expressed explicit plans for the future suggest that they viewed their goals as achievable. Also, they expressed more concern regarding the negative consequences of failure than did NTO learners. With regard to the relationship between the ideal and ought selves, while TTO learners claimed that their parents had little influence on them, suggesting a stronger sense of the ought self in the NTO group, the NTO participants appeared to feel more pressured in this respect. This suggests greater ‘harmony’ between these two possible selves among the TTO group, which once again is said to be more conducive to a motivating effect.

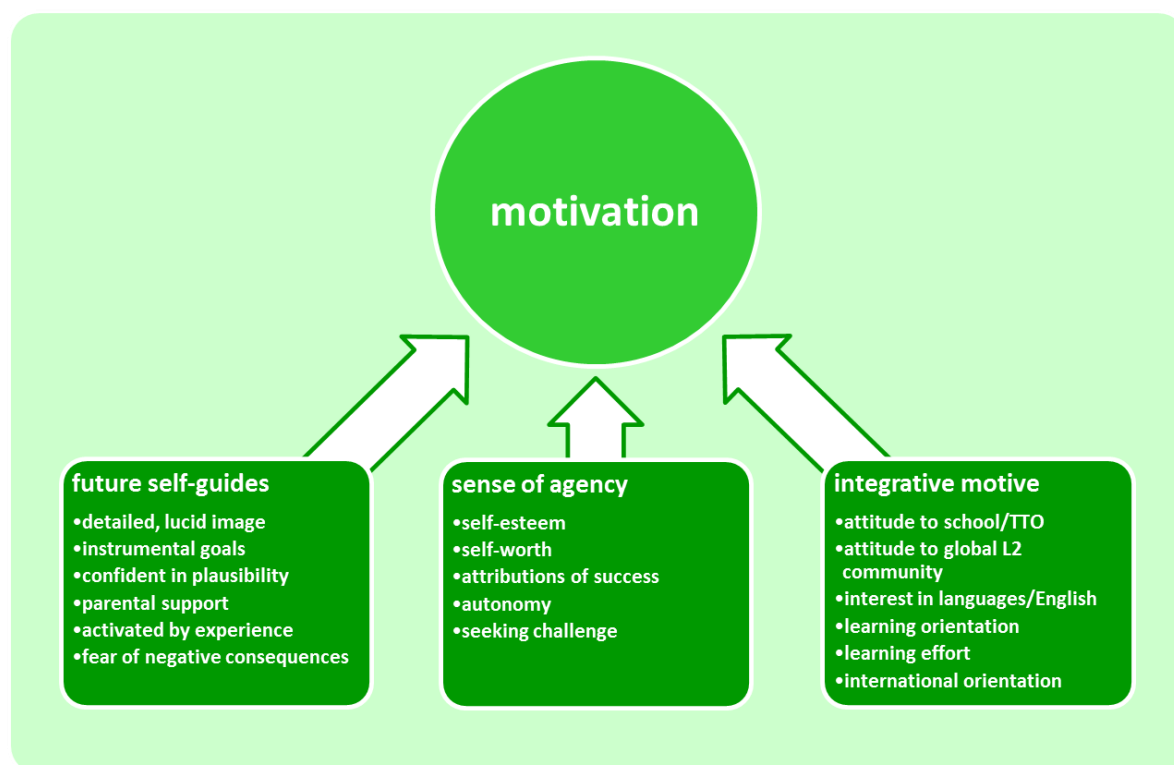
The activation of the learner’s future self-image, and his or her ability to formulate concrete strategies to achieve his or her goals, which are the last two of Dörnyei’s criteria, could be regarded as referring more to the learning environment, and specifically to the guidance of teachers, than to inherent qualities of the learner himself. On the contrary, in the context of the findings of this study regarding autonomy and attitudes towards learning, and the apparent existence of the TTO learners’ L2 future self-images from a young age, it seems that these learners’ future self-images may be activated and supported through factors unrelated to school. These factors place the TTO learner in a strong position with regard to the motivational potency of his or her future self-guides.

6.2.4 The beginnings of a motivational model

Taking the findings discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 into consideration, it seems that the elements explored above, namely a sense of agency, an integrative motive and effective future self-guides, may contribute to strengthening the motivation of TTO learners in ways that are not demonstrated as strongly by the NTO learners in the same study. These

motivational characteristics are summarised in Figure 6.1. This figure will be returned to and expanded upon in the model of motivation in TTO, in Section 6.3.5.

Figure 6.1 Motivational characteristics of TTO learners.



Addressing new concepts

Although too new to have been incorporated fully into this study and its implications, it is nevertheless interesting to observe that many elements of Directed Motivational Currents (DMCs) (Muir, Dörnyei 2013) could be aligned with the key features of the above model. As described briefly in Chapter 2, the common features of DMCs include a prominent and effective vision of the goal to be achieved as well as positive emotions and a sense of ownership in relation to the goal and the process of achieving it. Each of the elements described in Section 6.2 thus far reflects at least one of these features. Future self-guides are related explicitly to the vision of the future, but experiences of success and satisfaction might also relate to positive emotions. A sense of agency is likewise strikingly similar to the experience of ownership and conscious decision-making prominent in DMCs. While the integrative motive might be less obviously linked to DMCs, it could nevertheless also be associated with both positive emotions (in relation to the English-speaking community) and the vision of the future. In this sense, although the above interpretation was formulated

entirely independently of this recently-published concept, it appears all the more appropriate in the light of it.

Where the above model is lacking in terms of DMCs, however, lies in the role of the learning context. As shown in Chapter 2, while DMCs must be internalised and action initiated by the learner, the teaching and learning environment can play an important role in activating and supporting both the driving vision behind a DMC and the process required in order to achieve it. This would suggest that the model presented in this section requires further development in order to incorporate the (potential) role of the TTO learning context in helping learners to sustain and advance their natural motivation. The role of the TTO experience in the light of this study will therefore be discussed in Section 6.3, before practical recommendations are made and a full model of motivation in TTO is proposed, in Section 6.4.

6.3 Motivation through TTO: The potential of the TTO learning context

The model proposed in Section 6.2 would suggest that TTO learners naturally possess more characteristics identified in the literature as being conducive to language learning motivation. Not addressed above, however, is that while these motivational factors seem to come into existence largely independently of the TTO learning environment, bilingual education learning contexts and CLIL can potentially play a supporting role in maintaining the strength and impact of these elements on learners' motivation. Based on the results presented in relation to RQ2 of the present study, however, it appears that the TTO learning context may not always fulfil its potential with regard to its motivational effects. Section 6.3 will therefore present some suggestions as to how TTO's impact as a motivator for its learners might be optimised. In Section 6.3.5, a model of motivation in TTO is proposed, incorporating both the learner characteristics summarised in Figure 6.1 and elements of the ideal TTO learning context. The four elements presented below, as they are explained here, are not thought to relate directly to the three categories of motivational features illustrated in Figure 6.1. Rather, as shall be made clear in the model presented, they are thought to overlap and interlink with one another, aspects of each contributing to the optimisation of learners' motivation.

6.3.1 Nurturing interest & maintaining engagement

The teaching and learning styles valued in CLIL and to some extent required by any variant of bilingual education are considered to be conducive to higher levels of interest and

motivation (Ruiz de Zarobe 2013). Variation of teaching methods and materials, increased interaction in lessons and higher levels of teacher engagement are among the characteristics of some bilingual classrooms thought to contribute in this respect. While CLIL has in some contexts been shown to have a motivating effect in terms of interest and engagement (Montet, Morgan 2001, Coonan 2005, Mearns 2012), however, it has been argued that this effect can be related partly to the novelty of the approach for both learners and teachers (Hunt 2011). In the Netherlands, where TTO has existed for twenty-five years, it is possible that this novelty is no longer as strong as in contexts where bilingual education is still relatively new although, as some of the comments cited in Chapters 4 and 5 suggest, it is still a new experience for individual learners.

In CLIL contexts where enthusiasm for language learning is low, improving interest through CLIL can refer to combining languages with subjects that are more appealing to learners in order to heighten their enjoyment of language learning (Bot 2007). In the TTO context, however, the findings explored above would suggest that this is often not necessary, as TTO learners are likely to already be interested in learning English. As emphasised by Coonan (2005), an important element of supporting motivation in contexts such as this may therefore not be inciting new interest in the language, but maintaining and further developing existing interest and engagement.

While TTO learners appear from this research to be intrinsically interested in languages, English and learning in general, it seems that the TTO experience could play a greater role in helping to nurture or at least maintain that interest in its learners. Findings with regard to TTO learners' experience of lessons, while generally less negative than for NTO, were not always strikingly positive, and indeed appeared to become less positive over time and with age. While textbooks were used little in TTO lessons, materials and activities were nonetheless not perceived as varied, and pupil (and possibly teacher) engagement with English as a subject appeared to wane over time. This might suggest that motivation could be better-maintained and developed through more variation in approaches and in materials. Furthermore, teachers' sustaining their own motivation, positivity and engagement throughout the school year, might counteract potentially growing disinterest among learners (Dörnyei, Kubanyiova 2014).

In supporting continued interest and engagement through active and varied approaches to teaching and learning, the elements presented in Section 6.2 could be addressed in

various ways. For example, positive attitudes to the learning situation could benefit the integrative motive; encouragement and appealing to different learning styles could be means of raising self-esteem; and lesson activities could provide experiences of success, and support in activating and developing strategies for achieving the ideal L2 self.

6.3.2 Supporting autonomy and providing challenge

The need to support interest and engagement is closely linked to the TTO learner's apparent need for challenge and autonomy in the learning environment. According to Deci & Ryan (2002), space and autonomy are needed in order for learners to be intrinsically motivated, while Williams & Burden (1997) emphasise that autonomy can be either innate or nurtured by the learning environment. The same could be said with regard to challenge as, although intrinsically motivated learners may seek out challenge for themselves, it is also possible for the learning environment to assist them by presenting them with challenges that are appropriate to their skills and abilities.

While autonomy is an aspect of bilingual education contexts that is considered to be particularly motivating (Baetens-Beardsmore 2009), however, it is also an area of CLIL that has been encountered as being particularly challenging to educators. In spite of the emphasis on autonomy in CLIL theory, a tendency has been identified in bilingual contexts for teachers to dominate classroom interaction, most likely in their well-meaning attempt to scaffold the learning process (Dalton-Puffer 2008). It therefore appears to be a risk of TTO and other bilingual approaches that, while learners who choose such routes may be inherently more autonomous, the learning context may not always nurture that independence. While the current study revealed positive attitudes among TTO learners towards autonomy, it nevertheless produced less positive findings concerning the contribution of TTO in responding to learners' needs in this respect. In the light of these findings, and considering the importance of autonomy to all three elements of TTO learner motivation in Figure 6.1, more attention might be devoted to the encouragement and supporting of TTO learners in taking control of their own learning.

Similar recommendations might be made with regard to challenge in TTO, although in this regard findings from the current research were more encouraging in terms of TTO's contribution. Although TTO learners did not always identify challenge explicitly as being a feature of their English language lessons, their responses regarding levels of confidence and anxiety, the amount learned in lessons and the difficulty of lessons nevertheless appeared to

suggest that the challenge presented was appropriate to their abilities. In this sense, it would seem that TTO does offer its pupils the opportunity to embrace challenge, which could in turn help to maintain interest and engagement in learning, and contribute to the strength of the integrative motive.

Further to supporting interest and the integrative motive, appropriate challenge can also contribute to self-esteem and a sense of empowerment among learners. As emphasised in the theories discussed in Section 6.2, experiences of success in language learning can incite confidence and a feeling of control over one's own learning process (Williams, Burden 1997, Hadfield, Dörnyei 2013). This is only effective, however, when the task to be achieved is viewed by the learner as being both difficult and within their scope of achievement (Csikszentmihalyi 1988, Coyle, Hood et al. 2010, Muir, Dörnyei 2013). By offering learners the opportunity to rise to both academic and linguistic challenges, therefore, TTO could make a substantial contribution to their academic self-esteem. As with interest, it appears that self-esteem among TTO pupils may be naturally higher regardless of their experiences in school. In contrast to interest, however, confidence with regard to TTO subjects seems to rise during the course of the TTO experience, which could indicate that TTO teaching and learning may be a positive contributor in this respect.

6.3.3 TL use and contact with global English

Another area in which bilingual approaches are thought to be motivating is in their promotion of authentic use of the TL for lesson activities (Cummins 1998, Coyle, Hood et al. 2010). This is a central focus of TTO, and the current study confirms that practice tends to reflect policy in this respect. Active TL use not only increases the likelihood of experiencing success and challenge as explored above, but also allows learners to experience the sensation of using the TL for real communication purposes (Lasagabaster, Sierra 2009). This can help learners to develop a more vivid impression of their future L2 self and to set themselves proximal and distal goals (Locke, Latham 1990, Locke 1996) in order to achieve it (Dörnyei 2009c). In this respect it would seem that, while TTO learners appear to have a strong future self-guide from a relatively early age, authentic TL use in the TTO classroom can enhance or help to maintain the lucidity and impact of that image.

As explored in relation to the integrative motive in Section 6.2, positive attitudes towards the international English-speaking community also appear to contribute to the motivation of TTO learners. Once again, while the positive attitudes of TTO learners in this respect appear

to exist from early in their secondary school career, this is an area in which contact with peers and other English-speakers in different countries, either through excursions abroad or collaborative projects, as stipulated in the TTO-standard (Europees Platform 2010a) could contribute further to motivation. Whether this occurs in the schools involved in the present study is not apparent from its findings. This could indicate that learners would benefit from more or different internationalisation activities, or perhaps that awareness-raising with regard to the significance of existing activities would help them to better-support motivation.

6.3.4 Feeding and scaffolding the vision

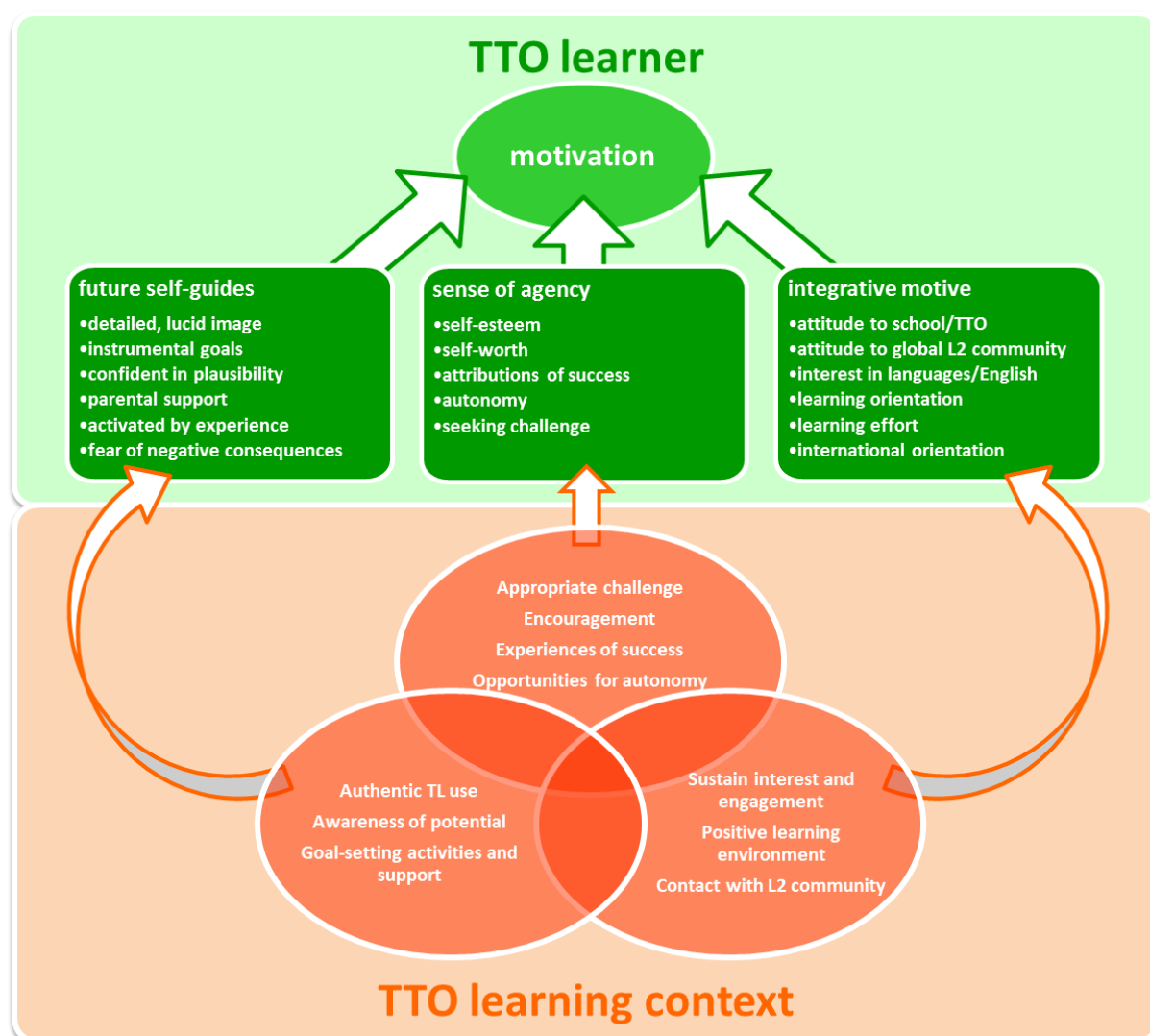
The findings presented in this thesis provide considerable evidence to suggest that learners' future self-guides play an important role in the motivation they bring with them into the TTO classroom. These future self-guides appear to have developed independently of the TTO experience, perhaps due to learners' intrinsic interests in language and learning, and on the basis of their experiences and their family background. In the criteria for effective L2 future self-guides as suggested by Dörnyei, however, the learning environment can also make a substantial contribution towards inciting and sustaining the development of vivid future self-images and powerful future self-guides. It is thought that this could be achieved through explicit attention to the development and strengthening of learners' future self-images in lesson activities, and through helping learners to identify and set themselves realistic but ambitious goals (Hadfield, Dörnyei 2013).

Apparent from the current research was that TTO learners at the beginning of their secondary school career appeared to have a similar future self-image as those in second and third year. Some aspects were actually reported more negatively among the older TTO learners, while the future self-images of NTO learners appeared to develop with age. While this does not suggest that TTO has a negative impact on this aspect of motivation, it also does not suggest a positive influence. As understanding of motivation in (language) education develops, it might therefore be appropriate for schools to consider the ways in which their TTO departments can focus not on awakening learners to their future selves, but to developing and maintaining them, and to helping to scaffold the process of achieving their goals (Hadfield, Dörnyei 2013).

6.3.5 A model of motivation in TTO

On the basis of the areas discussed here, the motivational features of TTO learners as categorised in Section 6.2 can be developed further to incorporate the role of the TTO learning context. In many respects the motivation of TTO learners appears to be drawn from influences unrelated to school, such as individual learner interests, ambitions or characteristics, and contextual factors such as family, experience and the socio-political setting. Where the TTO learning context might contribute is therefore not through the creation of new motivation but in sustaining and building upon the motivation that already exists. In the model depicted in Figure 6.2, the upper section represents the motivational characteristics brought with the TTO learner into the classroom, grouped under the three elements presented in Section 6.2. These include personal intrinsic and extrinsic motivators as well as external influences, such as family, background and extramural exposure to English. The TTO learning context is positioned below the learner to denote its supporting role. Its potential contributions to each element of motivation in the TTO learner are identified. While the arrows in the lower part of this model suggest the direct influence of specific elements of the learning context on particular aspects of motivation, the dynamic and interlinking nature of the contextual attributes are represented here as overlapping with and influencing one another. While authentic TL use appears to contribute most directly to the L2 future self-guides, for example, it can also provide learners with the experiences of success necessary to raise self-esteem and help to engage and interest learners.

Figure 6.2 A motivational model of the TTO learner of English (revised).



In the light of the comments made by participants in this study regarding the likelihood that TTO classes will be given more ‘fun’ activities in school because they behave better and are motivated, it might also be possible to adapt this model further to incorporate a representation of the reciprocity of the relationship between characteristics of the TTO learner and his or her learning context. As the evidence from the current research in this regard related only to the views expressed by a small number of learners, however, more research would be required to confirm this before such an adaptation were to be made.

There are distinct overlaps between Figure 6.2 and the features of DMCs described by Muir and Dörnyei (2013). Goal-setting relates directly to the need for planning and sub-goals. Meanwhile, experiences of success, a positive learning environment, encouragement, appropriate challenge and sustaining interest and engagement can be equated with the need for positive emotions and also encourage personal commitment to the goal.

Furthermore, awareness of potential and contact with the L2 community are linked to the activation of vision, and the value placed on autonomy has a literal equivalent in DMCs. While again not designed on their basis, this model therefore appears from these correlations to be pertinent in the light of the most recent movements in L2 motivation theory.

As will be explored further in Sections 6.5 and 6.6, the relationship of the features of the learning environment identified here to the characteristics of the learner might be more varied and dynamic than can be represented in the above diagram. Not only might the same features of TTO influence more than one of these characteristics simultaneously, but it is also feasible that some of the relationships might be cyclical or reciprocal. In this eventuality, learners' possession of clear goals or a particular vision for the future, an appetite for challenge and autonomy or particular interest in the L2 community might lead to bottom-up changes in approaches to teaching and learning, with schools and teachers adapting structures, curricula and practices in order to better accommodate and take advantage of their needs and desires. Of course, this scenario requires that schools, teachers and other stakeholders be open to such influences.

6.4 Different learners, different needs: Motivation *for* and *through* NTO

As Gardner has highlighted, different types of language-learners, in different situations, have different motivations and therefore different learning needs (Gardner 2001). Further, Ushioda (2009a) interprets context as being both external and internal to the learner, with each individual interacting with the learning situation in his or her own way. What one learner needs in order to be motivated may therefore be different to what another learner needs. Just as good educators attempt to differentiate in their approach to learners with different learning styles and different talents, therefore, it could be said that similar differentiation should be employed when approaching learners with different motivational profiles. The apparently intrinsic differences between the TTO and NTO pupils in this study appear to highlight this distinction, and arguably also the need for 'motivational differentiation'.

As emphasised throughout this thesis, while TTO learners in this study displayed more characteristics of motivated (language) learners, this is not to say that NTO learners are necessarily less motivated than their TTO peers. It may simply be that NTO learners' motivations lie elsewhere, develop at a different rate or are expressed in other ways.

Although the main focus of the present study and of this chapter so far has been on the nature of motivation in TTO learners rather than NTO, some interesting features of motivation in NTO learners were nevertheless revealed, which could have implications for NTO teaching and learning. While school may be able to contribute to the motivation of TTO learners by helping to sustain and develop it, for NTO learners, school also has the potential to play a greater role in awakening that motivation in the first place. Careful suggestions for how the seemingly different motivation of NTO learners might be nurtured effectively are the focus of Section 6.4, with emphasis on future self-guides; self-esteem, autonomy and attitude to challenge; and approaches to teaching and learning.

6.4.1 Awakening the vision: Motivation *through* creating motivation *for*

It appeared to be a considerable strength of the motivation for TTO in this study that TTO learners arrived at secondary school with an already-developed sense of their future self. NTO learners, contrastingly, appeared to develop this image at a later stage in their school career. While the school's role in relation to the future self-guides of TTO pupils may be as a provider of support and further development, it follows therefore that NTO learners might benefit more from more active intervention in this respect.

Teachers can play an important role in 'activating' the future self-image of learners, much in the same way that a sports coach might help an athlete to visualise herself winning a race or tournament (Dörnyei 2009c, Hadfield, Dörnyei 2013, Dörnyei, Kubanyiova 2014). Furthermore, as in TTO, providing learners with the tools necessary to design strategies and set goals leading to the achievement of their ideal self could assist in enhancing its motivational effects. Means of accomplishing this might involve explicit goal-setting activities and focus on careers and future plans. It might also incorporate the raising of self-esteem, in order to allow learners to develop a realistic impression of what they feel that they are likely to achieve.

Moreover, the ideal selves of NTO learners, in addition to being later to develop, may also be qualitatively different to those of TTO learners. For example, the future selves and ambitions of NTO learners in the current study were less likely to involve speaking English for anything other than holidays, while TTO learners were more interested in using English for work or study. That this difference exists between learners does not suggest that the NTO group is less motivated, but that their motivation is different. The form of English they need might therefore also be different than that of the TTO group. This could give rise to the

suggestion that curricula for NTO English and approaches to encouraging and supporting the vision of the NTO future self as described above might be most effective if they were to focus on the aspects of school, English and international life that appear most relevant to learners who have chosen an NTO rather than a TTO route in their education.

6.4.2 Raising the bar: Encouraging self-esteem, autonomy and risk-taking

As explored above, low self-esteem can impact significantly on motivation (Bruck 1985b, Mills 2014). That NTO participants in this study appeared to possess a lower level of both collective and individual self-esteem with regard to academic and linguistic ability, in particular in younger years, could indicate a greater need among NTO learners for support in discovering their academic and linguistic potential, in particular in the earlier stages of their school career.

This support could to some extent be provided by the teaching and learning environment. As shown in Chapter 5, NTO pupils appeared to value the interpersonal characteristics of their teachers above their communication of their subject, suggesting that teachers may be in a position to provide welcome support and encouragement to those lacking in confidence. Furthermore, there was a tendency in this study for NTO lessons to be viewed as less varied, less fun and less relevant than TTO lessons. This could indicate that approaches to teaching and learning in NTO have remained more traditional and textbook-led than in TTO, where emphasis on CLIL and authentic materials may have encouraged a faster rate of change (Ushioda 2013a). In terms of academic self-esteem, traditional teaching methods might only appeal to the individual learning styles of a small number of pupils in a class, and could lead to feelings of inadequacy among other learners. In this sense, it could be argued that NTO curricula and teaching methods could benefit from adopting some of the features valued in CLIL for their motivational benefits.

Perhaps also connected to self-esteem was the apparent tendency for NTO learners in this study to avoid challenge and to somewhat relinquish responsibility for their own learning. As these were areas identified as being significant in the motivational advantages of TTO learners, it might be advisable for NTO educators to endeavour to encourage development in these respects. Adaptation of lesson material in order to present learners with more challenging and more varied tasks, and the adoption of more learner-centred and dynamic approaches to teaching and learning, might assist in promoting learner autonomy and in allowing learners to experience risk-taking in a safe and supportive environment. The

same could be said for the development of linguistic self-esteem, in that providing learners with the opportunity to use the TL for real communication purposes could allow them to experience the sensation of success in this respect, while also highlighting the relevance of language-learning. This could be achieved within the classroom, or perhaps through collaboration with schools in other countries, as the findings suggest that NTO learners are not negatively disposed with regard to the international community.

6.4.3 CLIL approaches in NTO?

It is interesting to observe that many of the recommendations made above in relation to teaching and learning practices involve adopting approaches in line with those often valued in TTO contexts. This could be regarded as a suggestion of the superiority of TTO, although this is not the intention. What may be the case, however, is that as in other contexts where bilingual approaches have been introduced, the lack of teaching materials in the TL and the different needs of learners have accelerated the pace of change and the adoption of more modern and interactive approaches to teaching and learning (Ushioda 2013a). Moreover, although the suggestions made above may appear to involve significant change to curricula and teaching methods, there is already a movement in the Netherlands towards more flexible, interactive and 'activating' approaches to teaching and learning in both NTO and TTO (Oostdam, Peetsma et al. 2006). Furthermore, recent discussions from within the language education community in the Netherlands have called for greater emphasis on the values and practices prominent in CLIL across all forms of education, regardless of the language of instruction (Graaff 2013). This suggests that the proposals made here with regard to supporting motivation in NTO may simply be timely.

6.5 Areas for improvement in this study

While the research at the centre of this thesis produced findings that can make a substantial contribution to the knowledge regarding TTO and bilingual education in a broader sense, there are nevertheless areas in which a future such study could be improved. In particular, these improvements relate to the level of involvement of the participant researchers, the spread and consistency of the participant sample, and the nature of the questioning.

6.5.1 Issues with the inclusive approach (Phase I)

As has been reported in relation to a number of other inclusive research projects, attempting to actively involve young people in research can present as many challenges as it does successes (Fielding 2004, 2007, Bragg 2007, Burke 2007, Leitch, Gardner et al. 2007,

Mannion 2007, Mallan, Singh et al. 2010). While Phase I of this study provided both useful data and a valuable learning experience for PCRs and the adult researcher alike, it therefore also had a number of weaknesses (see also Mearns, Coyle et al. 2014). Practical constraints and the existence of a pre-defined structure and end-goal for the study limited the input of the PCRs. This was coupled with issues of learner engagement with the project, as one class in particular did not possess the “*pre-existing ‘will to participate’*” (Bragg 2007, p.348) often assumed to exist among young people in relation to research. This may have in part been the result of the lack of status for the project within school, but could also have related to learners’ disengagement with the subject and with the online data collection tool. This reflects a further assumption regarding young people, who may not always prefer to use online methods (Oblinger, Oblinger 2005), especially when the online environment is not one that they recognise (Castells 1996, Cole 2009, Mallan, Singh et al. 2010).

6.5.2 Sample spread and consistency

Obtaining access to a sufficient number and range of participants is a considerable challenge in educational research (Cohen, Manion et al. 2011). While the total number of participants in the study was high enough to produce strong data, its findings would nonetheless have had more impact had its reaches extended to a larger proportion of the t-HAVO schools throughout the country. Of the 31 t-HAVO schools approached regarding participation in the study, only five responded positively. Of those five, only four actually participated in the first round of data collection, and only two in the second round. Many of the schools who declined to participate in the research did so due to a sense of “*research overload*” (HAVO coordinator, non-participant school), and even due to school policy. As responses such as this suggest, not all schools are engaged with educational research beyond the boundaries of their own pre-determined quality control agenda. While this is understandable, especially considering the pressures of the curriculum and schools’ desire to focus on what one school referred to as the “*core business*” of teaching and learning, it does limit the scope of studies specifically intended to address issues that may be pertinent on a larger scale and require participation on a national rather than local basis.

Another issue regarding sampling was with regard to consistency. Logistical issues such as teacher cooperation, time and access to computers meant that not all of the classes invited to participate were able to do so. This not only resulted in a smaller number of responses than could have been achieved, but also in inconsistencies in the distribution of the sample

across schools and year-groups. These inconsistencies were taken into account during data analysis. A further inconsistency and sampling issue arose with regard to the R2 responses. While the response-rate for R1 of the data collection was relatively high, two of the schools did not repeat their participation during the second data collection period near the end of the school year, leading to a substantially lower number of responses in R2 and thus affecting the usefulness and trustworthiness of the R2 data. Furthermore, as in R1, the distribution of the R2 responses was uneven with regard to the different schools, education types and year-groups. It was for this reason that the decision was made to compare R2 responses only with the R1 responses from the overlapping group of respondents, rather than with the entire sample.

6.5.3 Role of the Comparator sample

As described in Chapter 5, inclusion of the Comparator school in the study produced little conclusive data regarding the relationship between NTO learners in TTO and non-TTO schools. This may have been simply because the differences genuinely were minimal, but it is also possible that the responses given by the Comparator participants reflected only the reality at that particular school. In this sense, it would have been preferable to have recruited a larger number of Comparator schools, with a more representative sample of respondents. That said, as also addressed in Chapter 5, the value of such a comparison is questionable in an era when TTO is accessible in so many areas of the country, meaning that few young people have absolutely no access to it (Sieben, Ginderen 2014). Furthermore, considering the difficulties encountered in recruiting participant schools that did offer TTO, recruitment of enthusiastic Comparator schools, which ostensibly would have little to gain from the outcomes of the study, was all the more challenging.

6.5.4 Qualitative and demographic data

The questionnaire employed in Phase II produced largely quantitative data, although analysis of the responses given to the small number of qualitative questions added valuable depth and understanding to the quantitative analysis. It may therefore have been something of a missed opportunity that the survey did not include a larger number of open questions, for example regarding learners' reactions to different teaching styles or lesson activities.

A further element might also have been added to the study had there been more attention to the demographic data requested in the first section of the questionnaire. In the light of Sieben and van Ginderen's (2014) recent publication regarding the socio-economic

status of TTO and NTO learners, it would have been interesting, for example, to consider in more detail the effect of family background on learner motivation. Moreover, findings elsewhere relating to the advantages of CLIL for boys' motivation (Nuffield 2000, Merisuo-Storm 2007) suggest that gender differences might have also revealed interesting findings in the current study.

6.6 Next steps in research and practice

Chapter 6 has already explored in some detail the theoretical and practical implications of this study and its findings. These theoretical implications are drawn together below in Section 6.6.1, in the form of concrete recommendations for future research in this area. In Section 6.6.2, recommendations will relate to classroom practice and school ethos, culminating in a hypothetical case study of what, on the basis of these findings, might be an example of how schools and teachers might effectively contribute to awakening, nurturing and sustaining motivation among learners according to their specific motivational needs.

6.6.1 Recommendations for future research

This study gives rise to a number of new questions regarding the nature of TTO and NTO learners, and their relationship with the learning context. This section explores some of these possibilities and makes suggestions as to the focus of further research in this area.

Size and scope

It would be interesting in future studies to examine the extent to which the findings of this research can be extended to the wider TTO and NTO communities through the involvement of a larger number of participants from a greater number of schools. The implementation of such large-scale research would require the involvement of a larger research group and possibly support from organisations such as the Europees Platform. In a larger-scale study, it would also be of interest to examine not only the differences between TTO and NTO learners in terms of motivation, but also of learners in the different academic tracks (VWO, HAVO, MAVO/VMBO) within each education type. Furthermore, as this study concentrated only on younger learners, expansion into a larger study might allow for the inclusion of pupils in the later years of secondary education, where motivational trends may differ due to the age of the participants, but also due to the decreased exposure to TL teaching and learning as the final examinations approach. This might offer a more detailed view of the development of motivation over a longer period.

Another area in which this research could be enhanced is with regard to the motivations of children who have not yet embarked upon either of the education routes at the heart of this study. The youngest participants in the current study had, in R1, already experienced several weeks of secondary education, which may have already had an effect on their attitudes. Furthermore, they may not have remembered entirely accurately their reasons for choosing TTO or NTO. Inclusion of learners in the final year of primary school could provide further insights into how their various experiences, attitudes, perceptions and motivations influence their decision. It might also give a clearer impression of how learners change following exposure to a particular educational paradigm. Such a study might take on a longitudinal structure, surveying the same learners during the decision-making process and at various points in their secondary school career.

Change of emphasis

This study has provided answers regarding the nature of motivation in two learner groups, but with considerable emphasis on TTO. This is in part due to the nature of the questions posed, which were effective in identifying what NTO learners were not rather than what they actually were. Future studies of this type might benefit from correcting this imbalance in order to obtain a clearer picture of NTO as well as TTO learners. This might require substantial groundwork, perhaps through participatory approaches similar to that used in Phase I of the current study, in order to ensure that research tools are more evenly balanced.

Focus on context

The intention in this research was not to draw definitive conclusions regarding the motivational impact of teaching and learning practices, but to gain an impression of learners' reactions to the educational context. Future research might alter this emphasis by including alongside learner feedback data collected from teachers and school leaders, or through direct observation of classroom practice, as in a study conducted by Guilloteaux and Dörnyei (2008) into motivation in English classrooms in Korea. Such an approach might allow for stronger focus on the extent to which TTO practice reflects the values promoted by CLIL, and on the effects of those practices on learner motivation. Furthermore, it might also provide insight into the effects of TTO on NTO teaching and learning.

Incorporating new developments

As explored in the Literature Review, the fields of motivation and CLIL research have developed since the beginning of this research project. There is now increased emphasis on complex dynamic systems approaches to motivation (e.g. Dörnyei 2013), as well as on the importance of vision in concepts such as Directed Motivational Currents (Muir, Dörnyei 2013). Furthermore, affective factors have become more prominent features in CLIL and TTO research (Coyle 2013, Denman, Tanner et al. 2013), as has the voice of the learner (Coyle 2013). While elements of these movements are reflected in the research reported here, the possibilities they offer might be more fully integrated in future research designs in the same area. For example, it might prove enlightening to increase learner involvement in such research, through more active participation on a larger scale, such as in the example set by Coyle et al. (2013), or to include more qualitative or even retrospective data as in examples set by Dörnyei (2013) and Ushioda (2009a).

6.6.2 Motivational differentiation: A vision for the future

As has been shown here, TTO, like other forms of bilingual education, has the potential to motivate, engage and enthuse learners. It appears, however, that this potential may not always be exploited to maximum effect, perhaps due an assumption that TTO learners do not need additional motivating (Coleman 2006). The findings of this study have also suggested that the motivational needs of NTO learners may differ from those of TTO learners, especially in terms of speed and timing of development, and of specific ambitions for the future. Nevertheless, educators in both TTO and NTO contexts might be equally well-positioned to aid young people in becoming and remaining motivated for learning and specifically for learning English, as long as there is sufficient differentiation in terms of these motivational needs. This would involve acknowledgement of the difference between motivation *through* learning and motivation *for* learning, as explored in Sections 6.2 and 6.3.

By means of conclusion to this thesis, the account below presents a hypothetical depiction of how this motivational differentiation could look in practice.

The school

School X accommodates a wide range of learners from different economic, social, ethnic and cultural backgrounds. It has a roughly equally distributed number of students across VWO, HAVO and MAVO streams in its TTO and NTO departments. The school has an open, encouraging and collegial ethos. Pupils are encouraged to participate actively in school life

and are offered opportunities to contribute meaningfully to decision-making regarding school life, including aspects of teaching and learning. Forward-thinking and initiative are promoted among both students and staff, and learners and teachers from across the school are actively involved in influencing school policy and practice through consultation and research. The school has a number of established links with partner schools and other organisations in different countries, both physical and virtual contact with which features in the activities of learners from throughout the school. The international atmosphere within school is further enhanced by the multicultural nature of its staff and pupils. Learners are regarded not only in terms of their results, but in terms of their individual social, learning and motivational needs.

The teachers

The teachers at School X are open to growth and development, and are keen to receive and respond to feedback from their pupils. They have long since moved away from ‘traditional’ textbook-based and teacher-centred approaches to teaching and learning, and are accustomed to adapting their lesson activities to suit the individual learner group. Teachers, especially in the TTO department, are schooled in CLIL approaches. They apply these in their TTO lessons and to some extent also in their NTO lessons. They are motivated and engaged with both their profession and their subject. Language teachers and TTO English-medium teachers in particular use the TL to a degree that optimises genuine exposure and encourages learner output without compromising their relationship with pupils. Language form is incorporated into all lessons in response to the needs of the learners, and is supported by collaboration between language and subject teachers.

The classes

The pupils in Class A are aware of their strengths and motivated to learn English and other languages. They are keen to expand their knowledge and hope to use their languages together with a range of other academic, communicative and practical skills to support their futures as active members of the international community. Their personal ambitions involve travel for academic and professional purposes as well as for pleasure, and many of them plan to live abroad or work internationally at some point in the future. The pupils enjoy being challenged and many are keen to push the boundaries of their own capabilities. They are largely free and independent thinkers who thrive in being allowed to take control of their own future, but who also appreciate support and guidance from strong role models.

When they entered the school nearly three years ago, they were bursting with confidence, enthusiasm and ambition, and were already motivated *for* learning. Now that they are ready to move into the next phase of their secondary education, these qualities have not diminished but rather matured and developed along with them. Their vision of the future is clearer than ever, as is their plan for achieving it. Their motivation has been strengthened *through* their learning.

The members of Class B are less overtly confident in their own ability, but nevertheless hold fast to their ambitions. They value social interaction as a means of acquiring and applying new knowledge but also as a means of obtaining confirmation of their progress. They hope to succeed in life but do not always have a clear picture of their long-term goals, partially because they do not want to risk being unrealistic in aiming too high. They want to learn English because they recognise its importance for basic communication in an increasingly bilingual society, but see no need to progress beyond the communicative goals of the school curriculum. They are interested in seeing other parts of the world but their long-term ambitions lie largely within the Netherlands. When they arrived at School X, they were uncertain of themselves and of their future, and were not strongly motivated *for* learning. Now nearing the end of third year, they have been motivated *through* learning. Their confidence has grown, as has their ambition. They now have a goal to work towards, as well as a means of achieving it. Now, they are motivated *for* learning.

The lessons

Class A spends most of its lessons working independently of the teacher, individually, together with peers from their own class, or sometimes via digital links with peers in other countries. The teacher's role is to help structure their learning and to offer support where needed. Lesson content appeals to learners' interests, is adapted to suit their needs and is ostensibly relevant to the world both outside of the classroom and outside of the Netherlands. Activities are varied and involve authentic and active communication, which in TTO lessons nearly always takes place in English. Learners are guided by teachers and peers in setting achievable but challenging individual targets for themselves, in planning how they will reach them and in evaluating their success along the way. The atmosphere in lessons is encouraging but does not allow for complacency among either the learners or the teacher. Motivation *through* learning augments and nurtures the existing motivation *for* learning.

As Class B has grown older, the proportion of lesson activities aimed at encouraging independence and risk-taking has increased, although this change has been organic, and may therefore not have been noticed by learners. Scaffolding and support are offered by the teacher without compromising the level of challenge presented to pupils, which is differentiated even within one class. From early in first year, language learning has involved considering the value of the language for the individual learner in his or her future pathways in life, including providing opportunities for authentic experiences of the TL serving a communicative purpose. Goal-setting and reflection on past successes are promoted. Possibilities for and visions of the future are continually stimulated and nurtured across the curriculum in both structured and unstructured ways. *Through* the learning environment, motivation has been awakened but also internalised as motivation *for* further learning.

A utopian concept?

School X is not perfect; nor is it real. The purpose of this imagined case-study is to demonstrate the need to consider NTO and TTO learners in terms of their contrasting and overlapping characteristics, and how the teaching and learning context might potentially make a positive contribution to (language) motivation in these two apparently distinct learner groups. Of course, Classes A and B undoubtedly contain learners who in themselves differ significantly from one another as, in the words of (Ting 2010), *“no two lessons, let alone learners are identical like cancer cells in a Petri dish”* (p.4).

The impression of TTO and NTO learners gained from the research presented here, however, hopefully expanded upon through future research in particular regarding the specific motivational needs of NTO learners, could contribute to the development of practices and approaches that would support individual learners from either group in exploiting and developing their own inherent motivational capacities. In this sense, motivation *through* teaching and learning practices could be better directed towards complementing existing motivation *for* learning.

Samenvatting: Motivatie in tto

Men gaat er vaak van uit dat de leerlingen die op het tweetalig onderwijs (tto) zitten ook de slimste en meest gemotiveerde leerlingen zijn (Coleman 2006). Maar is dat echt zo? Uit eerder onderzoek blijkt dat de leerlingen die voor tto kiezen vaak wél hoger presteren (Verspoor, Schuitemaker-King et al. 2010), maar er is nog weinig onderzoek gedaan naar de motivatie van deze leerlingen. Dat ze voor tto kiezen kan al een indicatie zijn dat ze van nature gemotiveerd zijn (Oonk 2009), maar als deze veronderstelling juist is, waar komt die motivatie dan vandaan en hoe manifesteert hij zich? Of zijn tto'ers niet zozeer gemotiveerd, maar misschien anders gemotiveerd dan hun Nederlandstalige (nto) medeleerlingen?

Aan de andere kant is er de vraag van het tto zelf. Eerder onderzoek naar Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) heeft aangetoond dat het leren van vakinhoud door middel van een andere taal een motiverend effect kan hebben (bv. Lasagabaster, Sierra 2009). Verder hebben het concept van CLIL en CLIL-werkvormen veel overeenkomsten met lespraktijken die volgens verschillende theorieën van (taal-)motivatie motiverend zouden moeten zijn (Coyle, Hood et al. 2010). Zou het dus kunnen zijn dat leerlingen in het tto gemotiveerder worden doordat zij tto volgen?

Dit onderzoek gaat over de intrinsieke verschillen tussen leerlingen die op het tweetalig onderwijs (tto) en op het 'reguliere' Nederlandstalig onderwijs (nto) zitten, en voornamelijk over de verschillende motivaties van deze leerlingen. Gebaseerd op de bovenstaande overwegingen vormden de volgende onderzoeksvragen de kern van het onderzoek:

RQ1. Hoe en in hoeverre vertonen leerlingen op het tto inherent andere leer- en motivatiekenmerken dan hun medeleerlingen op het nto?

RQ2. Wat blijkt de invloed te zijn van de tto-context op de motivatie van leerlingen?

In dit proefschrift geeft hoofdstuk 1 een kort overzicht van het Nederlands onderwijssysteem en het tto. Daarna bespreekt hoofdstuk 2, aan de hand van de literatuur, de belangrijkste theoretische onderwerpen die gerelateerd zijn aan dit onderzoek, namelijk tweetalig onderwijs binnen en buiten Nederland, motivatie in het leren van talen en in het tweetalig onderwijs, en inclusieve onderzoeksmethoden. Hoofdstuk 3 behandelt het ontwerp en de methodologie van het huidige onderzoek, terwijl hoofdstukken 4 en 5 ingaan op de resultaten en de discussie hiervan aan de hand van de bovenstaande onderzoeksvragen. Conclusies worden getrokken in hoofdstuk 6. Dit laatste hoofdstuk biedt

ook kritiek aan op het huidige onderzoek, en doet voorstellen voor toekomstige gerelateerde studies. Ten slotte gaat dit laatste hoofdstuk in op de theoretische en praktische implicaties van het onderzoek.

Contextuele achtergrond

Het onderzoek vond plaats in de context van het tweetalig onderwijs (tto) op havoniveau in de eerste drie leerjaren op verschillende middelbare scholen in Nederland. Tto bestaat inmiddels 25 jaar in Nederland en is in die periode snel gegroeid (Maljers 2007, Koster, Putten 2014). De meeste tto-leerlingen zitten op het vwo, maar in de laatste jaren zijn er ook steeds meer havo- en mavo/vmbo-afdelingen die een tto-variant aanbieden. In het schooljaar 2014-15 is er een pilot begonnen met het tweetalig primair onderwijs (tpo), en er zijn ook steeds meer opleidingen op universiteiten en ook op het hbo en het mbo, die (deels) in het Engels worden gegeven. In het grootste aantal van tto-scholen is de doeltaal Engels, maar twee scholen bieden onderwijs in het Duits aan. Op een enkele school in Friesland wordt drietalig onderwijs aangeboden, met als voertalen Nederlands, Engels en Fries.

Een van de belangrijkste kenmerken van het tto in Nederland is dat het ondersteund wordt door beleid op een landelijk niveau. Het Europees Platform (vanaf 2015 EP-Nuffic), dat zich bezighoudt met internationalisering in het voortgezet onderwijs, gebruikt sinds 2003 een tto-standaard om te bereiken dat tto-scholen voldoen aan minimale eisen wat betreft de omvang en de kwaliteit van het onderwijs dat zij aanbieden. Scholen die dit niet kunnen tonen, mogen zich geen tto-school noemen. Enige van deze eisen zijn:

- Leerlingen in de onderbouw (leerjaar 1 t/m 3) van het vwo en de havo moeten minstens 50% van het onderwijs in de doeltaal volgen; in de bovenbouw (vanaf leerjaar 4) is dit 25%. Voor vmbo is dit percentage lager.
- Aan het eind van leerjaar 3 moeten leerlingen een bepaald niveau hebben bereikt in de doeltaal, volgens het Europees Referentiekader voor moderne vreemde talen (CEFR). Op vwo moeten ze minstens B2 niveau hebben, op havo B1 en op vmbo-bb, A2.
- Tto-leerlingen moeten meedoen aan verschillende internationaliseringsactiviteiten, inclusief contact met leeftijdsgenoten uit andere culturen.
- Prestatie van tto-leerlingen in Nederlands en andere vakken mag niet negatief afwijken van die van nto leerlingen.
- Leerkrachten die lesgeven in de doeltaal moeten minstens een taalniveau van B2 hebben volgens het CEFR.
- Leerkrachten in het tto zijn geschoold in CLIL-didaktiek.
- Bij voorkeur hebben alle tto leerlingen contact met leerkrachten die native speakers zijn van de doeltaal.

Vaak wordt het begrip 'tto' in het Engels vertaald als 'CLIL', maar dit is niet altijd een accurate representatie van de focus van de twee begrippen (zie Hoofdstuk 2).

Theoretische achtergrond

De belangrijkste theoretische benaderingen in dit onderzoek zijn CLIL-didactiek; theorieën over motivatie, voornamelijk in de context van het leren van talen; en de combinatie van deze twee concepten, namelijk de relatie tussen motivatie en tweetalige vormen van onderwijs binnen en buiten Nederland.

Tweetalige onderwijsvormen

Onderwijs in talen behalve de moedertaal bestaat in verschillende varianten en om verschillende redenen sinds heel vroeg in de geschiedenis van het onderwijs (Johnson, Swain 1997). Vaak had de motivatie voor zulke benaderingen te maken met de dominantie van een bepaalde taal in de cultuur (bv. Latijn of Arabisch), of met een sociale context waarin twee talen al regelmatig in gebruik waren (tweetalige landen zoals Canada of Finland, of tweetalige regio's zoals Wales, Catalonië of het Baskenland) (Cammarata, Tedick 2012). In de laatste decennia wordt er echter steeds vaker gekozen voor een tweetalige opleiding niet omdat het moet, maar omdat het wenselijk is voor leerlingen om meer dan een taal goed te beheersen. Gezien de recente ontwikkelingen in globalisatie, immigratie, en vrije beweging binnen Europa, is de nadruk op meertaligheid sterker dan ooit (García 2009).

Pleitbezorgers van CLIL en andere tweetalige vormen van onderwijs, inclusief tto, verwijzen naar resultaten van het stijgend aantal onderzoeken naar de opbrengsten van het leren van inhoud door een andere taal dan de moedertaal. Uit onderzoek is het gebleken dat leerlingen in tweetalige onderwijsprogramma's de doeltaal vloeiender leren spreken (Campbell, Gray et al. 1985, Sampera 1994, Genesee 2007b, Seikkula-Leino 2007, Pérez Cañado 2011) en ook een breder en hoger niveau van taal bereiken (Dalton-Puffer 2005, Ackerl 2007). Verder is het aangetoond dat door de bewustwording van taal ook de moedertaal versterkt kan worden (Genesee 1978, 2007b, Cummins 1979, 1983, 1998, Johnstone 2002, Lenker, Rhodes 2007, Seikkula-Leino 2007), en dat tweetalige leerlingen beter in staat zijn om nog meer talen te leren (Marsh 2008, Rutgers 2013). Leerlingen in tweetalige programma's blijken zich cognitief anders te ontwikkelen (Blakemore, Frith 2005, Craen, Mondt et al. 2007, Ting 2010) en vakinhoud soms beter te beheersen dan leerlingen die alleen via hun moedertaal leren (Genesee 1978, 2007b, Gajo, Serra 2002, Gajo 2007, European Commission 2009). Bovendien kunnen tweetalige onderwijsprogramma's de

internationale oriëntatie en het interculturele begrip van leerlingen ondersteunen (Coyle 2002, 2008, Wolff 2002). Onderzoek naar het tto in Nederland heeft laten zien dat veel van deze voordelen ook hier zichtbaar zijn (Huibregtse 2001, Verspoor, Edelenbos 2009, Verspoor, Schuitemaker-King et al. 2010, Denman, Tanner et al. 2013).

Tweetalige onderwijsvormen zoals tto brengen ook veel uitdagingen mee. Vooral kan het effectief implementeren van tweetalige programma's moeilijk zijn (Eurydice 2006a), evenals de scholing van leerkrachten in zowel hun eigen vak, de doeltaal en de specifieke didactiek van CLIL (Cummins 1998, Cammarata, Tedick 2012). Verder hebben tweetalige onderwijsvormen in veel contexten (en zeker in Nederland) een reputatie elitair te zijn, deels omdat er een veronderstelling is dat tweetalig leren alleen voor de slimmere leerlingen is (Svenhard 2012), en deels doordat de maatschappij er vaak een sociale prestige aan koppelt (Weenink 2005, Bot, Maljers 2009, Oonk 2009, Sieben, Ginderen 2014).

Motivatie om taal te leren

Motivatie is een veelzijdig en ingewikkeld concept (Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). Op het gebied van Second Language Acquisition en taalonderwijs was er de afgelopen decennia een dominante theorie over motivatie, namelijk die van Gardner en zijn collega's (Gardner, Lambert 1972). In deze socio-psychologische theorieën werd onderscheid gemaakt tussen instrumentele oriëntatie, waarin de leerling een taal wil leren om praktische gebruiksdoelen te bereiken, en integratieve oriëntatie, die te maken heeft met het integreren in de culturele groep die de taal als moedertaal spreekt. Hieraan zijn ook de begrippen *integrativeness* en het *integrative motive* aan gebonden. Sinds de jaren 80 is dit vakgebied verder ontwikkeld door het betrekken van invloeden uit cognitieve psychologie, zoals Goal theorieën (Locke, Latham 1990, Ames 1992), Expectancy-Value theorieën (Atkinson, Raynor 1974, Covington 1992, Bandura 2001, Weiner 2007) en Self-determination Theory (Deci, Ryan 1985, 2002), en in de laatste jaren vooral door het concept van visie en *possible selves* (Markus, Nurius 1986). Een van de grootste ontwikkelingen van de laatste jaren is de L2 Motivational Self System (L2MSS) van Dörnyei (2009c). Dörnyei en ook anderen (bv. Ushioda 2009a, Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011, Larsen-Freeman 2012, Dörnyei 2013) zijn in recente jaren ook begonnen om taalontwikkeling en (taal)motivatie vanuit een Complex Dynamic Systems perspectief te benaderen, waardoor motivatieonderzoek met grotere nadruk op kwalitatieve en gemengde onderzoeksmethoden wordt benaderd.

Motivatie in CLIL, tto en andere tweetalige onderwijsvormen

Motivatie wordt vaak genoemd in onderzoeken naar de effectiviteit van CLIL en tweetalige onderwijsvormen, waarbij wordt verondersteld dat deze onderwijsvormen een motiverend effect kunnen hebben (Coonan 2005, Merisuo-Storm 2007, Lasagabaster, Sierra 2009, Hunt 2011, Mearns 2012). Zulke onderzoeken geven een beeld van een onderwijsvorm die veel kan bieden ten aanzien van aantrekkelijkheid, relevantie en authenticiteit van de leerstof en leermiddelen (Coonan 2005, Sylvén 2007, Coyle, Hood et al. 2010), het faciliteren en steunen van leer- en communicatiedoelen (Lorenzo, Casal et al. 2010), en communicatieve en activerende werkvormen die autonomie bevorderen (Gajo, Serra 2002, Bot, Lowie et al. 2007, Baetens-Beardsmore 2009, Ting 2010, Hüttner, Dalton-Puffer et al. 2013).

Minder vaak wordt er gekeken naar de motivatie die leerlingen zelf meenemen naar de tweetalige les, vooral in optionele tweetalige programma's zoals tto. In het tto, zowel als in sommige andere tweetalige programma's, wordt er tijdens de toelatingsprocedure voor nieuwe leerlingen vaak gekeken naar motivatie (Eurydice 2006a, 2006b). Onderzoek naar immersieonderwijs en naar CLIL in Europa heeft echter aangetoond dat er grote verschillen bestaan in de motivatie van verschillende leerlingen binnen deze programma's (Genesee 2007a, Seikkula-Leino 2007), en dat leerlingen die minder gemotiveerd zijn sneller kiezen om over te stappen naar onderwijs in de moedertaal (Bruck 1985b, Boudreaux, Olivier 2009). Gezien de hoge sociale status van het tto (Weenink 2005, Sieben, Ginderen 2014) is het mogelijk dat leerlingen er niet vanwege hun eigen motivatie voor kiezen, maar door stimulans van hun omgeving (Oonk 2009). Hier is nog weinig onderzoek naar gedaan (Craen, Mondt et al. 2007).

Methodologie en onderzoeksmethoden

Naar aanleiding van de bovenstaande tegenstelling tussen het schijnbaar motiverende effect van tweetalige onderwijsvormen zoals tto, en de vraag of tto leerlingen van nature wel of niet gemotiveerder zijn dan leerlingen in nto, werd er besloten om te onderzoeken in hoeverre de motivatie van tto-leerlingen anders zou zijn dan die van nto-leerlingen, en ook of tto echt een motiverende ervaring is voor leerlingen.

Hierbij zijn de gebruikte onderzoeksmethoden op zich ook van belang. De stem van de leerling wordt tegenwoordig vaker gehoord in onderwijsonderzoek, wat een ander perspectief biedt dan traditioneel onderzoek, dat alleen door externe onderzoekers wordt uitgevoerd (Mearns, Coyle et al. 2014). Aangezien dat motivatie een hoogst individueel

fenomeen is, is ervoor gekozen dat de leerlingen die deelnamen aan het onderzoek daar ook een actieve rol in mochten spelen. De onderzoeksvragen werden deels geformuleerd op basis van de literatuur en deels gebaseerd op de eerste fase van het onderzoek zelf, waarin tto- en nto-leerlingen actief betrokken werden bij het verzamelen van kwalitatieve data. Dit leidde uiteindelijk tot de volgende concrete onderzoeksvragen:

RQ1. Hoe en in hoeverre vertonen tto-leerlingen andere leer- en motivatiekenmerken dan hun medeleerlingen in het nto?

RQ2. Wat blijkt de invloed te zijn van de tto-context op de motivatie van leerlingen?

Het beantwoorden van deze vragen vond plaats door middel van, in de eerste fase, online en live discussies met een klein aantal tto- en nto-leerlingen, en in de tweede fase een uitgebreide vragenlijst die ingevuld werd door 250 tto-leerlingen en 661 nto-leerlingen.

Fase I: Inclusief onderzoek met leerlingen

Twee klassen uit het tweede leerjaar (t)havo werden uitgenodigd om deel te nemen aan de eerste fase van deze studie. Klas A was een tto-klas van 25 leerlingen, en Klas B was een nto-klas van 26 leerlingen. Na uitleg van het project werden door de leerlingen van beide klassen vijf 'medeonderzoekers' uitgekozen, die vrijwillig hielpen met het ontwerpen en uitvoeren van het onderzoek. Deze tien leerlingen deden mee aan een trainingsdag over het project, over motivatie, en over onderzoeksmethoden en ethiek. Daarna ondersteunden ze de volwassene onderzoekers bij het opzetten van een website en online discussieforums voor hun klasgenoten, en het gebruik hiervan. Gedurende het hele schooljaar boden ze ook advies betreffende het uitvoeren van het onderzoek. Zo gaven ze op een gegeven moment aan dat de leerlingen uit Klas B de online discussiemethode niet leuk vonden en liever live met elkaar in gesprek wilden gaan, wat leidde tot veranderingen in de aanpak van het onderzoek.

Door middel van deze online en live discussies werden er kwalitatieve data verzameld die inzicht gaven in de meningen en attitudes van leerlingen uit beide onderwijssoorten over motivatie, leren en leergedrag, school, Engels en andere talen, de verschillen tussen tto en nto, en hun eigen rol op school. Deze data werden gebruikt als basis voor het formuleren van de uiteindelijke onderzoeksvragen en voor het ontwerpen van de vragenlijst voor Fase II. Verder werd er teruggekeken naar deze data om de interpretatie van de verzamelde data uit Fase II te ondersteunen.

Fase II: Vragenlijst

De data uit Fase I, samen met kennis van eerdere onderzoeken en theorieën, voornamelijk Ryan (2009), Csizér en Kormos (2009) en Dörnyei (2009c), hielpen bij het selecteren van de inhoud van de vragenlijst en het formuleren van de vragen. Vooral werd er gekeken naar de volgende variabelen:

- I. Zelfevaluatie
- II. Instrumentaliteit
- III. Belangstelling
- IV. Attitudes tegenover de leeromgeving en het leren (van taal)
- V. Possible selves
- VI. Verschillen tussen tto- en nto-leerlingen

De vragenlijst in Fase II bestond uit drie onderdelen. Deel 1 bevatte vooral demografische vragen om de leerlingen van elkaar te onderscheiden en om algemene trends te identificeren. Deel 2 bestond uit stellingen op een vijf-punt Likertschaal, die gingen over houding en motivatie tegenover het leren (van talen), over lessen en docenten, en over de redenen waarom ze voor hun specifieke onderwijstype hadden gekozen. Verder waren er elf vragen waarin de deelnemers tto- en nto-leerlingen moesten vergelijken op basis van bepaalde eigenschappen. Deel 3 bestond uit een meerkeuzevraag over de toekomstplannen van de leerling, en ook open vragen over de keuze voor tto of nto en over algemene meningen over school.

De vragenlijst werd ingevuld in oktober 2012 door 250 tto-havo (t-havo)leerlingen en 411 nto-havo (havo) leerlingen van de eerste drie leerjaren, verdeeld over vijf scholen die tto aanboden. Verder waren er 295 deelnemers van dezelfde leeftijd van een school die geen t-havo aanbood, waarvan de reacties als een aparte groep werden geanalyseerd. De reacties van deze leerlingen leverden geen duidelijke contrasten op met die van de andere nto-leerlingen en zijn daarom verder niet meer meegenomen in de resultaten zoals ze in deze samenvatting staan. Een bijna identieke vragenlijst werd nogmaals ingevuld op dezelfde scholen in april-mei 2013, maar met maar 110 tto- en 226 nto-deelnemers.

De kwantitatieve resultaten van de vragenlijst werden geanalyseerd binnen SPSS (IBM Corp. 2012) op basis van frequenties. Verschillen tussen groepen werden bepaald met behulp van chi-kwadraattoetsen, en effectgroottes werden vastgesteld. Kwalitatieve data

werden geanalyseerd op basis van codering in NVivo (QSR International 2011) en gebruikt samen met de data uit Fase I om de resultaten van de kwantitatieve analyses te ondersteunen en complementeren.

RQ1. Kenmerken van tto en nto leerlingen

Hoofdstuk 4 bevat de resultaten en discussie rondom de eerste onderzoeksvraag, namelijk *‘Hoe en in hoeverre tonen tto-leerlingen andere leer- en motivatiekenmerken dan hun medeleerlingen in het nto?’* Met betrekking tot het beantwoorden van deze vraag werden er vooral verschillen geobserveerd op de gebieden van attitudes ten opzichte van school en leren, zelfvertrouwen, de rol van ouders, intrinsieke belangstelling voor het leren van Engels en van andere talen, het toekomstige zelfbeeld (*future self*) en internationale oriëntatie en *integrativeness*.

Wat betreft attitudes waardeerden beide groepen sociale aspecten van school zoals contact met vrienden, en vonden zij praktische aspecten, zoals het rooster of het gebouw, belangrijk. Wat betreft leren, bleken de tto-leerlingen echter academischer ingesteld te zijn. Dit was vooral zichtbaar met betrekking tot hun reactie op de hoeveelheid schoolwerk en op academische uitdagingen. Terwijl beide groepen aangaven dat zij hard werkten voor school, vonden meer nto-leerlingen dat ze te veel voor school moesten doen. Dit zou kunnen betekenen dat nto-leerlingen minder bereid waren om veel tijd aan hun schoolwerk te besteden. Verder bleek het dat een van de belangrijkste redenen waarom leerlingen voor tto hadden gekozen, was dat ze de uitdaging aan wilden gaan. Daarentegen gaven veel nto-leerlingen aan dat tto hen te veel werk of te moeilijk leek. Tto-leerlingen toonden ook meer intrinsieke en instrumentele belangstelling voor het leren van talen, en vooral van Engels.

Leerlingen bleken deze verschillen in academische instelling te merken. Op niet-academische gebieden was er weinig verschil tussen het niveau van zelfvertrouwen die de twee groepen toonden, terwijl beide groepen – en vooral tto’ers – vaker vonden dat tto-leerlingen slimmer, gemotiveerder en ambitieuzer waren dan nto-leerlingen. Tto-leerlingen bleken ook zelfverzekerder te zijn in het leren van Engels en andere talen. Verder werd geobserveerd dat nto-leerlingen sneller de neiging hadden om hun keuze voor nto aan anderen – zoals ouders, leerkrachten of de situatie – te wijten, terwijl tto-leerlingen bewuster waren van hun eigen rol hierin. Dit suggereert dat tto-leerlingen een sterker zelfbeeld hebben op het gebied van hun eigen kracht in het leer- en onderwijsproces.

De meest duidelijke verschillen tussen tto- en nto-leerlingen lagen in hun internationale oriëntatie en hun *future self* (Dörnyei 2009c). Geen van beide groepen toonde een negatieve houding tegenover mensen die goed Engels hebben leren spreken. De reactie van tto-leerlingen hierop was echter positiever dan die van nto-leerlingen, wat een indicatie zou kunnen zijn dat de tto-leerlingen een hoger niveau van *integrativeness* (Gardner, Lambert 1972) hebben. Verder bleken de tto-leerlingen een duidelijker, levendiger en ambitieuzer beeld te hebben van hun toekomstige zelf, als iemand die ook vaker goed Engels zou spreken. Tto-leerlingen gaven vaker aan dat ze Engels wilden leren vanwege internationale ambities zoals het werken, studeren of wonen in het buitenland, en dat ze hun toekomstige zelf dit ook zagen doen. Nto-leerlingen wilden vaker Engels leren om op vakantie te kunnen gaan en vonden dus dat ze aan een lager taalniveau voldoende hadden. Ook interessant was dat tto-leerlingen bewuster waren van de onmiddellijk negatieve gevolgen van niet goed presteren bij Engels (blijven zitten of stoppen met tto). Dit zou een teken kunnen zijn dat niet alleen het ideale zelf (*ideal self*), maar ook het gevreesde zelf (*feared self*) een sterkere rol spelen bij tto-leerlingen.

Het ging tegen de stereotypering van de tto-leerling dat de tto-deelnemers aan dit onderzoek zelden van mening waren dat hun ouders een belangrijke rol speelden in hun motivatie of hun keuze voor tto. Deze invloed bleek eigenlijk sterker te zijn onder de nto-deelnemers, die sneller aangaven dat ze hun best deden op school om hun ouders niet teleur te stellen. Wat wel een rol zou kunnen spelen was de achtergrond van tto-leerlingen, die meer verschillende talen en meer Engels gebruikten buiten school, en vaak vonden dat ze al goed Engels konden spreken voordat ze begonnen waren op tto.

RQ2. Invloed van de tto leeromgeving op motivatie

In Hoofdstuk 5 wordt de nadruk gelegd op het beantwoorden van de tweede onderzoeksvraag: *Wat blijkt de invloed te zijn van de tto-context op de motivatie van leerlingen?* Het beantwoorden van deze vraag werd op twee manieren benaderd. Eerst werd er gekeken naar de reacties van tto- en nto-leerlingen ten aanzien van hun eigen school, docenten en lessen. Als tweede werden de reacties van de verschillende leerjaren, en ook de reacties van de groep die én aan het begin én aan het eind van het schooljaar de vragenlijst invulden, vergeleken binnen tto en nto. Het doel hiervan was om een beeld te krijgen van de ontwikkeling over de jaren heen en ook gedurende het schooljaar van de kenmerken van de verschillende groepen die waren geïdentificeerd in Hoofdstuk 4. Dit zou een impressie

kunnen geven van in hoeverre motivatieverschillen tussen de groepen beïnvloed worden door de directe leeromgeving.

Reactie op school

Beide groepen reageerden positief op het enthousiasme van hun docenten, hoewel dit sterker was in tto, vooral met betrekking tot het vak Engels. Docenten Engels en docenten van Engelstalige vakken kregen ook de meest positieve reacties betreffende hoe 'leuk' ze hun lessen maakten. Tto-leerlingen gaven de meest positieve reactie op hun Engelstalige vakken, hoewel hun reactie op Nederlandstalig vakken negatiever was dan die van de nto-leerlingen. Dit zou kunnen betekenen dat de verwachtingen van tto-leerlingen hoger liggen, misschien doordat het tto hen in contact brengt met meer verschillende en aantrekkelijke werkvormen. Verder hadden nto-leerlingen vaker de neiging om opmerkingen te maken over de kwaliteit van het interpersoonlijk gedrag van hun leerkrachten, terwijl tto-leerlingen meer belangstelling toonden in het lesgeven zelf. Dit zou misschien een indicatie kunnen zijn dat tto- en nto-leerlingen verschillende kwaliteiten waarderen in hun docenten.

Wat betreft variatie in lessen werd er bevestigd dat er tijdens de Engelse les veel minder gebruik werd gemaakt van tekstboeken binnen het tto. Daar zou ook meer variatie zijn in de gebruikte lesmaterialen en in de activiteiten dan in nto-lessen. Desondanks was het opvallend dat ook tto-leerlingen minder positief reageerden op dit punt dan verwacht. Dit verschil in de reacties met betrekking tot tekstboeken en variatie in lessen suggereert dat minder gebruik van tekstboeken niet altijd leidt tot meer variatie. Net zoals bij de reacties op docenten werd er door tto-leerlingen het minst positief gereageerd op de Nederlandstalige lessen, wat een verdere indicatie zou kunnen zijn van de hogere verwachtingen van deze groep. Deze observatie wordt ondersteund door data uit Fase I, waarin de indruk wordt gegeven dat tto-leerlingen variatie in lessen meer waardeerden dan nto-leerlingen, die een voorkeur hadden voor voorspelbaarheid.

Tto-leerlingen reageerden positiever dan nto-leerlingen over het nut en de waarde van hun Engelse lessen. Verder werd er bevestigd dat het actieve gebruik van Engels door leerlingen veel vaker voorkomt in de Engelse lessen op tto dan op nto. Ook te zien was echter dat de tto-leerlingen, meer dan nto-leerlingen, vonden dat hun docent Engels tijdens de les vaker aan het woord kwam dan de leerlingen zelf. De dominantie van de leraar binnen de tweetalige les is iets wat al geïdentificeerd is in eerder onderzoek (Dalton-Puffer 2007). Met betrekking tot het niveau van moeite en van uitdaging zoals ervaren door leerlingen

bleek dat tto-leerlingen minder moeite hadden met Engelse lessen dan nto-leerlingen, maar dat ze toch de Engelse **taal** makkelijker vonden dan de Engelse **lessen**. Desondanks ervaren ze deze lessen eerder als uitdagend dan als moeilijk.

Tto-leerlingen bleken zich minder zenuwachtig te voelen tijdens Nederlandstalige lessen dan tijdens tto-lessen, hoewel het niet duidelijk was of dit een nadeel of juist een voordeel was, gezien hun voorkeur om uitgedaagd te worden. Een interessante observatie op dit gebied was dat het zelfvertrouwen van nto-leerlingen voor alle vakken bleek te stijgen als de leerlingen ouder werden, terwijl dit bij tto-leerlingen alleen het geval was voor de Engelstalige lessen. Verder bleken tto-leerlingen aan het eind van het schooljaar meer bereid om Engels buiten de les te gebruiken dan aan het begin van het jaar. Dit zou een indicatie kunnen zijn dat het niveau van uitdaging dat tto biedt overeenkomt met dat wat deze leerlingen nodig hebben om te groeien ten behoeve van taalgebruik en zelfvertrouwen.

Ontwikkeling van motivatie

Hoewel de bovenstaande reacties van leerlingen een redelijk positief beeld geven van hoe het tto zou kunnen bijdragen aan motivatie, bleek uit de vergelijking van de reacties van verschillende leerjaren en tussen het begin en het eind van het schooljaar dat deze invloed toch niet heel sterk was. Deze resultaten van dit onderzoek boden geen bewijs van groei of ontwikkeling onder de tto-leerlingen met betrekking tot hun leergedrag, het beeld van hun toekomstige zelf, hun houding tegenover talen of hun internationale oriëntatie. Op deze gebieden waren hun reacties meestal constant en soms waren ze zelfs negatiever onder de oudere leerlingen of bij de tweede enquête. Verder gaven de oudere tto-leerlingen minder positieve reacties op lessen en lesgeven bij het vak Engels dan jongere leerlingen. Hoewel reacties op deze gebieden aan het eind van het schooljaar van beide groepen negatiever waren dan aan het begin van het schooljaar, was het verschil onder de tto-reacties groter dan binnen nto. Dit zou kunnen betekenen dat tto-leerlingen – of hun docenten – minder enthousiast worden op het moment dat tto geen nieuwe ervaring meer is.

De vergelijking van leerjaren en van tijdsperiodes leverde meer contrasten op onder nto-leerlingen dan tto. Hoewel de resultaten in Hoofdstuk 4 aanduiden dat nto-leerlingen minder kenmerken van hoge motivatie toonden dan tto-leerlingen, leken sommige eigenschappen die kunnen bijdragen aan motivatie in deze groep met de tijd te ontwikkelen. De internationale oriëntatie van deze leerlingen, inclusief hun houding tegenover mensen die Engels hebben leren spreken, bleek positiever te worden. Ze waren aan het eind van het

schooljaar ook vaker bereid om uit zichzelf in contact te komen met de Engelse taal door meer Engelstalige televisie te kijken. Verder bezaten de oudere nto-leerlingen vaker een beeld van een internationale toekomstige zelf dan de jongere nto-leerlingen, terwijl dit bij de tto leerlingen al vanaf de brugklas te zien was. Dat de nto-leerlingen op deze gebieden meer groei vertoonden dan de tto-leerlingen zou kunnen betekenen dat de leerlingen die voor tto of nto kiezen van nature verschillen, en zou wellicht aanduiden dat deze twee verschillende groepen verschillende behoeftes hebben op grond van hun motivatie, vooral voor het leren van Engels.

Conclusies

Uit bovenstaande resultaten is gebleken dat de tto- en nto-leerlingen die deelnamen aan dit onderzoek verschillen in hun leer- en motivatiekenmerken. De natuurlijke kenmerken getoond door tto-leerlingen komen sterker overeen met eigenschappen die volgens theorieën van (taal)motivatie motiverend kunnen werken. Het kan zijn dat dit contrast voor een deel aan verschillen in prioriteiten of in ontwikkeling ligt, vooral wat betreft internationale oriëntatie en het *future self*.

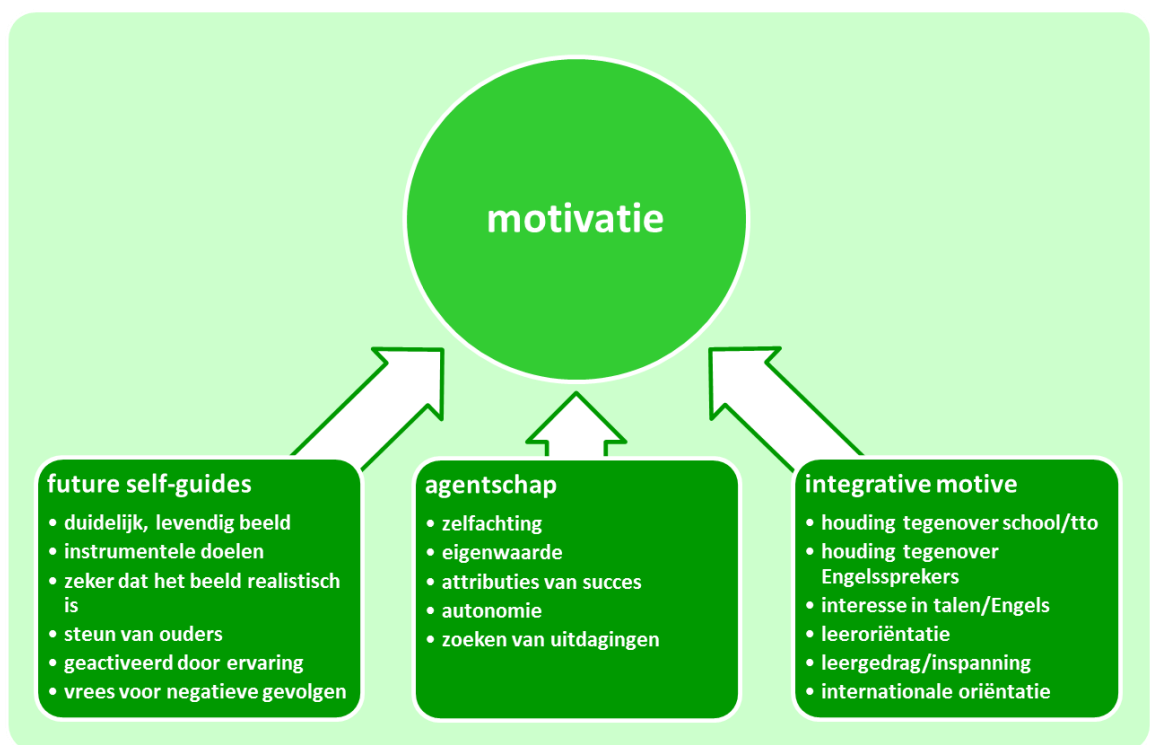
Ten opzichte van de invloed van tto zelf op de motivatie van leerlingen waren de conclusies van dit onderzoek gemengd. In sommige aspecten reageerden de tto-leerlingen positiever dan nto-leerlingen op het onderwijs, maar deze reactie was toch niet altijd uitsluitend positief. Dit spreekt de theorie van CLIL-didactiek tegen (bv. Coyle, Hood et al. 2010), die suggereert dat tto het vermogen heeft om motiverender te werken. Uit eerder onderzoek is verder ook gebleken dat CLIL niet alleen kan bijdragen aan het activeren en handhaven van motivatie, maar dat het ook deze motivatie verder kan laten ontwikkelen (Coonan 2005). De vergelijking van reacties van verschillende leerjaren en verschillende tijdsperioden in dit onderzoek laat echter weinig of geen groei in motivatie zien. Soms bleek motivatie onder tto-leerlingen zelfs minder te worden, terwijl de reacties van nto-leerlingen op sommige gebieden wél ontwikkeling aandaiiden.

Dat tto-leerlingen van nature gemotiveerder blijken te zijn, maar op dit gebied weinig voordeel blijken te hebben aan tto leidt tot de suggestie dat tto meer zou kunnen doen om motivatie te bevorderen/versterken. Verder, het verschil in de ontwikkeling en de prioriteiten van tto- en nto-leerlingen laat zien dat het belangrijk is om de individuele behoeftes van leerlingen in overweging te nemen, niet alleen ten opzichte van leerstijlen, maar ook wat betreft motivatie.

Theoretische implicaties

De conclusies van dit onderzoek komen niet overeen met een specifiek model van (taal)motivatie. Echter reflecteren ze aspecten van meerdere theorieën, waarbij drie concepten duidelijk naar voren komen: het *sense of agency* (zelfbepaling) van de leerling wat betreft zijn of haar eigen leerproces en (taal)ontwikkeling; *integrative motive* van Gardner; en *future self-guides* van Dörnyei (2009c, Dörnyei, Ushioda 2011). Deze drie elementen kunnen weergegeven worden in een model van de motivatiekenmerken van tto- leerlingen (Figuur 1).

Figuur 1 Motivatiekenmerken van tto-leerlingen.

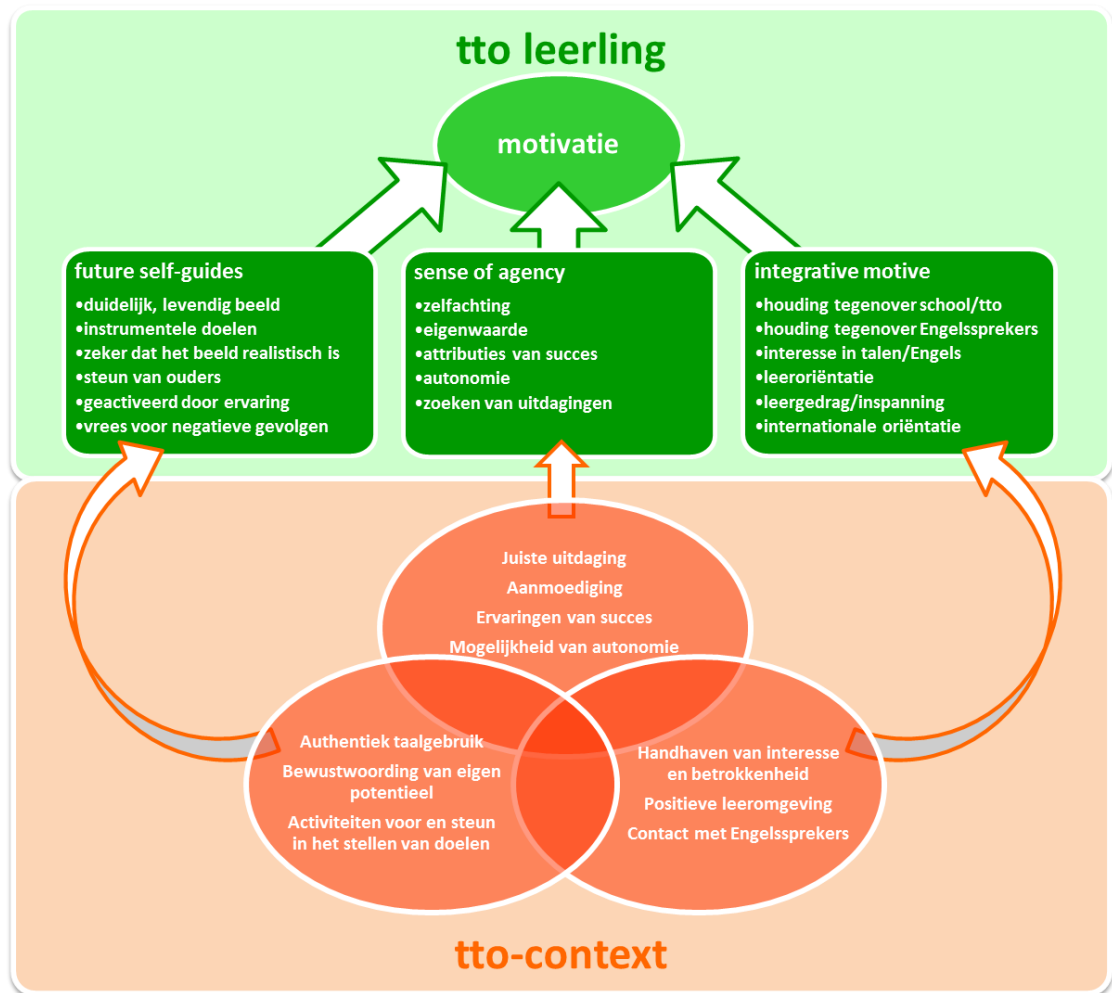


Praktische implicaties

Het model in Figuur 1 toont de motivatiekenmerken van tto-leerlingen, maar gaat niet in op de gevolgen voor de praktijk. Zoals al genoemd onder de conclusies, toont dit onderzoek weinig bewijs dat tto een sterk motiverend effect heeft op leerlingen. Dit kan deels komen doordat de leerlingen die voor tto kiezen vaak al gemotiveerder zijn dan de leerlingen die voor nto kiezen, waardoor er minder ruimte is voor tto-leerlingen om in motivatie te groeien. Wat tto wél zou kunnen bieden, is verdere steun voor de motivatie die al bestaat, om ervoor te zorgen dat deze niet afzwakt op het moment dat het tto geen nieuwe ervaring meer is. Verder zou er ruimte kunnen zijn, volgens de laatste publicaties op het gebied van visie in motivatie (Hadfield, Dörnyei 2013, Muir, Dörnyei 2013, Dörnyei, Kubanyiova 2014),

om het beeld van de *future self* te ondersteunen en bevorderen. Voorbeelden van hoe dit gedaan kan worden zijn weergegeven in het onderstaande Model van motivatie in tto (Figuur 2), waarin de relatie tussen de tto-leeromgeving en de tto-leerling te zien is. De aspecten van de tto-context in Figuur 2 overlappen met elkaar, en samen ondersteunen zij en dragen zij bij aan de leerlingkenmerken die al bestaan.

Figuur 2 Model van motivatie in tto.



Verschillende leerlingen in verschillende situaties hebben verschillende motivaties en dus ook verschillende behoeftes (Gardner 2001). De modellen in Figuur 1 en Figuur 2 zijn gericht op tto-leerlingen en het tto zelf, maar niet direct op nto-leerlingen, die volgens dit onderzoek van nature anders blijken te zijn dan tto leerlingen. Dit betekent niet *per se* dat ze minder gemotiveerd zijn dan tto-leerlingen, maar zou kunnen aanduiden dat hun motivatie ergens anders op gericht is, of dat ze zich op een andere manier ontwikkelen.

Naar aanleiding van dit onderzoek kunnen een aantal maatregelen voor het steunen van de motivatie van nto-leerlingen dus ook voorgesteld worden. Vooral zouden scholen,

leerkrachten en curricula meer aandacht kunnen besteden aan het activeren van de motivatie van nto-leerlingen, door het bevorderen van de ontwikkeling van *future self-guides*, zelfwaardering en autonomie, en het weloverwogen en voorzichtig opbouwen van uitdagingen. Specifiek voor taalmotivatatie zouden meer contact met de doeltaal en met de internationale gemeenschap hieraan kunnen bijdragen. Verder zou het gebruik van activerende werkvormen en het variëren van lesmaterialen motiverend kunnen werken, niet alleen voor leerlingen maar ook voor docenten (Dörnyei, Kubanyiova 2014).

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Appendix A: Student Research Ethics Application Form

University of Aberdeen School of Education Student Research Ethics Application Form

All University members of staff and University registered students (i.e. postgraduate, postgraduate taught and undergraduate) who plan to undertake research which involves human participants, are expected to ensure that their proposed research is ethically approved in line with the School of Education regulations prior to commencing this research.

Please answer all the questions (expand the box electronically if necessary), and then pass to your university supervisor or tutor for ethical approval, along with the additionally required materials* indicated.

***PLEASE ENSURE YOU READ THE ACCOMPANYING GUIDELINES FOR COMPLETION OF STUDENT ETHICS FORM AND EXEMPLAR DOCUMENTS, BEFORE YOU COMPLETE THE FORM ELECTRONICALLY.**

1 Student Name: Tessa Mearns	email address: t.l.mearns@abdn.ac.uk
2 University Supervisor/Tutor's Name: Do Coyle	email address: do.coyle@abdn.ac.uk

	Postgraduate	Undergraduate
3a Please indicate in the box using a cross (x), whether you are a postgraduate or an undergraduate	x	
3b Programme/Course of Study: PhD e.g. BEd or PhD		
3c Duration of Project/Course (include start date): 5 years, from October 2010		

4 Title of Project: Correlations between bilingual education, motivation and the L2 Motivational Self System in Dutch lower-secondary education.

5a Please give a brief description of the aims, objectives of the research. The research aims to investigate the assumption that pupils in bilingual education will be more motivated to learn English than their Dutch-language peers. In particular, the research seeks to examine the correlation between motivation and Dörnyei's L2 Motivational Self System in both bilingual and non-bilingual settings.
5b Please give a brief description of methodology of the research. The research will be mixed methods and carried out in two phases. Phase 1 will involve work with pupil researchers aimed at gathering qualitative data on the nature of motivation and (future) identity in their peers. The principle method used will be an asynchronous online forum, accessible from both within and outside school. The exact nature of this tool will be determined largely in collaboration with the pupil researchers. Phase 2 will involve the collection of largely quantitative data through the means of a self-administered questionnaire, which will have been designed on the basis of the outcomes of Phase 1.

6a Will your research involve vulnerable groups or individuals, including children or young people aged under 16 years? (SEE GUIDELINES)

Please indicate in the box using a cross (x)

YES ☒ NO ☐

If yes, please give your reasons for their inclusion, from the perspective of the research aims and objectives.

The research will take place in a school (possibly several schools in Phase 2) and will investigate the issues of motivation and L2 identity in the context of bilingual and non-bilingual lower-secondary education. It is therefore necessary that the research participants be lower-secondary school pupils. The pupil researchers in Phase 1 will also be members of this community, as it is important that they come from the same peer group as the other research participants. The participants and pupil researchers will be aged between 12 and 14.

6b If your study raises particular ethical issues in relation to QUESTION 6a, please say how you will manage/address these.

All pupils involved in the research and their parents will be fully informed about the nature and purpose of the research, be asked for written consent to participate and be given the right to withdraw from the research at any time. The pupil researchers will be asked to participate voluntarily, following nomination by their classmates. They will also be given the right to withdraw. Pupil researchers will undergo training in research ethics and in other issues surrounding the research and, while the pupil researchers will be responsible for much of the Phase 1 research process, they will do so under the close supervision of the researcher. Any online material will be likewise monitored by the researcher as well as by the pupil researchers. The website used for the online forum will be password-protected and will not require participants to upload personal information beyond their gender and age, nor photographs of themselves.

7a Will informed consent be obtained from the participants? (SEE GUIDELINES)

Please indicate in the box using a cross (x)

YES ☒ NO ☐

7b If children under 16, or vulnerable groups or individuals are involved will consent be obtained from the parents?

YES ☒ NO ☐

If yes, please explain the proposed process for obtaining informed consent.

The nature of the briefing on the research and the consent form will be developed in collaboration with the pupil researchers, in order to make it as inclusive and accessible as possible for their peers.

If no, please explain why you are not seeking their consent.

7c Have you included with this form, a participant consent form, which includes a written description of the level of involvement and the option to withdraw? (SEE GUIDELINES)

YES ☐ NO ☒

If no, please explain why not.

The consent form is to be developed early in Phase 1, in collaboration with the pupil researchers. It will be forwarded at a later date.

7d Have you included a participant information sheet with this form? (SEE GUIDELINES)

YES ☐ NO ☒

If no, please explain why not.

The information sheet is to be developed early in Phase 1, in collaboration with the pupil researchers. It will be forwarded at a later date.

8 Are there any risks (physical or emotional) to participants during or as a result of this research?

YES ☒ NO ☐

If yes, please explain and describe procedures to minimise or avoid risks.

There is a small risk that the anonymity of the Phase 1 participants might be compromised by their peers. This risk will be minimised through adequate training of the pupil researchers in research ethics and their monitoring of their peers' ethical behaviour.

A further risk is that of online security, which risk will be minimised through the use of a password-controlled forum website which has been approved by the school.

A concern has been expressed that participation in the research and the associated training may place extra strain on the pupil researchers, who already have a heavy school workload. To minimise this risk, meetings with the pupil researchers will be kept to a minimum and training will take place during school activity weeks, when lesson timetables are reduced. The parents of the pupil researchers will be invited to a meeting to discuss these terms and the pupils consulted regarding their workload at all stages of Phase 1. Pupil researchers will also be rewarded with a gift voucher and certificate at the end of Phase 1, and the possibility of gaining extra credit is also being negotiated with the school.

Finally, the teachers of the classes involved in Phase 1 may feel that they are at risk of defamation via the forum. This risk will be minimised through the above measures and any inappropriate comments removed from the website as quickly as possible.

9a What types of data (e.g. including electronic, audio, and video) will be collected?

The data collected will consist of:

- copies of the electronic forum discussions
- video-recordings and transcripts of discussions with pupil researchers, should they view this as appropriate
- paper or electronic questionnaire data, according to the facilities available

9b How will these data be stored and protected to ensure confidentiality?

(SEE GUIDELINES)

Electronic files and videos will be stored on password protected computers and hard copies kept in locked filing cabinets. Transcripts and forum data will be anonymised (depending on the wishes of participants) and questionnaire data will be submitted anonymously.

10a How will you ensure that anonymity of the participants (assuming they wish to remain anonymous), including data identified from records, is maintained during all stages of the research process, including writing of the report and in the future?

The questionnaire data will be collected anonymously. Any specific citations of qualitative data in written reports will be given under an alias, unless pupils specifically express a wish for their real name to be used.

Issues of anonymity regarding the qualitative data will need to be discussed with the pupil researchers, who might find it important that their peers be given the option of being named in the research report. Alternatively, they may decide that all data should be presented anonymously. This Ethics Proposal will need to be updated according to the outcomes of these discussions.

10b How will you explain these procedures to participants?

Participants and their parents will be given written information regarding these procedures, following collaboration with the pupil researchers. The parents of the pupil researchers will also be invited to attend a meeting regarding the research process and their children's role in it.

11 If relevant, please state any precautions you are taking to protect the safety of yourself as a researcher (e.g. notifying others of your whereabouts, carrying a mobile phone).

n/a

12 Ethical issues will vary depending on the nature of a study. If there any other ethical issues particular to your research, please indicate how you will manage/address these.

n/a

13 I have consulted and agree to abide by the ethical guidelines appropriate to my study.

YES ☒ NO ☐

Please state guidelines consulted: BERA, Association of Internet Researchers (AoIR)

e.g. SERA, <http://www.sera.ac.uk> , BERA, British Sociological Association, British Psychological Society.

Signature of student:



Date:

06.07.2011

Signature of supervisor:



Date:

06.08.2011

On completion:

a) Please print and sign the form, then pass this together with a copy of the participant information sheet and the participant consent form, to your university supervisor/tutor for him/her to approve and sign off.

b) Please email electronic copies of all documents to your supervisor/tutor as well.

Appendix B: Letter to parents of PCRs (translated)

Dear parent(s)/guardian(s),

I am writing to inform you of a research project that is due to take place this school year at the [name of location] site of [name of school], in collaboration with Utrecht University and the University of Aberdeen, UK.

There are two main goals of this research. Our ultimate goal is to discover whether there are differences in the motivations of pupils in bilingual education and pupils in Dutch-language education. The second goal of the research is to do with the research method, as the pupils themselves have been asked to work with us as co-researchers. This will involve them helping to develop the research questions and hypotheses, and the research tools, but also analysing data and drawing conclusions. Your child has expressed an interest in working on this research in the role of pupil co-researcher, and his/her classmates think that he/she is suitable to represent them. On 5 October (during the activity week) we held a training session in which we began preparing together. Our first impressions were extremely positive and we hope that the pupils continue to work so well together.

The intention is that the pupils who collaborate as co-researchers will be put under as little extra pressure as possible through taking part in this project. The majority of the work will take place between now and the launch of the study in November. Where possible, I try to arrange meetings with the co-researchers during break times or tutor lessons but we cannot rule out the possibility that we may need to meet once or twice after school. This is one of the reasons why it is so important that the pupils who are working on the research have volunteered for the role.

During the research itself, all ethical guidelines will of course be adhered to with regard to the anonymity of participants, right to withdraw (although hopefully they will not want to do that!) and the informing of all participants with regard to the goals, processes, approaches and results of the research. The website and any photographs or videos made are only to be used in connection with the research and will not be publicly accessible.

I would, of course, like to have your permission for your child to participate in this project. In signing below, you are indicating that you understand what the research is about and the role your child will have in it. This also includes that you feel that you have been well enough informed in order to give permission for your child to collaborate as a pupil co-researcher.

With kind regards,

Tessa Mearns, English teacher / PhD student

Signature (parent/guardian)

Appendix C: Phase I parental consent letter, produced by PCRs (translation)

Dear parent(s)/guardian(s),

We would like to inform you that your son/daughter is going to take part in a project. We need your permission for this. Two classes are going to take part in the project: [Class A] and [Class B] (bilingual and monolingual).

This project/research is about researching how pupils learn and work. We also want to look at whether there are differences in learning and in opinions between bilingual and monolingual.

5 people have been chosen from your son/daughter's class to lead this project. Miss Mearns is going to help them with this. A website will be made by the chosen pupils. Only those pupils and Miss Mearns can make changes to the website. It will be a research website. There will also be a forum on the website. No real names or photos of your son/daughter will appear on the website. Your son/daughter will need to make up a username. This should not be their real name.

To clarify: we need to have your permission for this. On the website, your son/daughter will be able to discuss different opinions about learning. The more pupils, the better! Please sign the slip and give it to your son/daughter to hand in to his/her tutor or Miss Mearns. You can keep the second copy of the letter.

Kind regards,

[names of PCRs]

I hereby give permission for my son/daughter, _____ (name) to take part in the research project about motivational differences in TTO and Dutch-language education.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Appendix D: PCRs' research report (English version)

Research report: Motivation research [Class A] and [Class B]

Introduction and background: What did we do?

Our research about motivation was successful. We researched the motivation between bilingual and regular havo students.

The goals of our research were:

1. What types of motivation do we have?
2. How could students identify motivation of other people?
3. If there was any difference between the motivation of the (t-)HAVO students?

We were also interested in researching how researchers and students could work together on a project.

There were quite a few people who participated in the study. Thus there were 10 student researchers, 1 teacher-researcher, 25 havo pupils from bilingual education, 26 regular havo pupils and 1 university researcher.

The 10 student researchers were selected by their class colleagues using a voting system. The pupils had to vote for three classmates and say why they thought they should be chosen.

In the first activity week we had a training session for the project to learn more about motivation. We also learned more about research and we began designing the site and the research project.

Methods: How did we do it?

The methods we used were online discussions and later on in the process we did live discussions with small parts of our class. On the site we had in the research question where the students could react, on one of the questions we had some pictures so the people could say who was motivated and why. The reasons why we used the online discussion was that we wouldn't miss that many lessons with live discussions, nor have to meet after school so we didn't have to spend our free time on live discussions.

The methods that we used were very useful at some times but other times they weren't very useful because sometimes there were almost no reactions to the reach questions. The live discussions were very useful because you people's direct reactions: so there was no thinking, just reacting to the question that was asked.

There are some things that we could have done better: there should be more reactions and above all it should be easier to get onto the site. For example there should be no password because we forget the password we have. There are some other things that could have made it better, for example we could make it better by working harder and reacting some more ourselves.

Results: What did we find out?

According to the pupils it is not always easy to see whether a pupil is motivated or not. They did mention that more motivated pupils are often more serious. These are comments made by both classes. We researched what motivated and did not motivate bilingual and regular pupils. For bilingual, it was easy to see that the trips were very motivating. Some people also wanted to work abroad so knowledge of English is useful to them. The decision to do regular havo was less deliberate: for some people bilingual was simply not an option, for example if they had come from vmbo-t.

Both classes suggested that it helps to have a goal to aim for and that, if the teacher is motivated it helps to motivate the pupils too. Pupils also like doing a range of different activities in lessons. The regular pupils felt that this happens more in bilingual than in regular havo. The pupils found the new classrooms more motivating than the old ones. The regular pupils were less enthusiastic about language lessons than the bilingual pupils. Bilingual pupils want to learn more anyway so that they can use them later in life.

There are quite a lot of differences between bilingual and Dutch-language. For example, in the bilingual class nearly everyone seems to want to go to vwo, while in Dutch-language most people are happy to be where they are. That said, half of the Dutch-language class started off in mavo, so they do have a goal to aim for. A lot of pupils in both classes think that pupils in Dutch-language take school less seriously than pupils in bilingual.

Interpretation of results: What do the results mean?

The project we did helped us to find out what motivates pupils the best. According to our classes, school could motivate the pupils if they make the classes more fun like purple walls or anything like that. Also they could organize more tours and trips, so the pupils want to do more. Teachers could motivate the pupils if they make the lessons more varied, like doing games or stuff like that.

We think there are some differences between TTO and regular pupils. Some regular pupils also want to have more trips, because only TTO have more trips. We would appreciate it if the school would deal with the differences of the trips between TTO and regular.

If we did another project like this, next time we would do things differently, for example the website. We would also meet up more as a group, but not after school time. Maybe next time we should make a Twitter or Facebook account because people more like this than a normal website.

Summary and Conclusions

Our research was about motivation. When we were researching this we wanted to find out whether TTO students were more motivated than regular students. In the beginning, we made a three research questions with the group. In total, 10 researchers worked on this project, one teacher and two classes.

This project was conducted on a large (TTO-secondary school) school. Two classes participated in this project; one regular 2-Havo class, and one bilingual 2-Havo class, 5 people were chosen from each class. These were the people who were doing the project with Miss Mearns.

The methods we used were opening an online discussion forum, and one live discussion forum. These worked out pretty well. We gathered a lot of information from these discussions.

To motivate the student, the school could, for example, organize more school trips, including 'holidays' with other classes, so the classes can relieve themselves from the hard working at school. They could also see other cultures, experience new things, and possibly, make new friends. But, of course, the teachers can also do more things to motivate the students, like giving lessons that are more fun, organizing quizzes, not in the test form, but for pure fun.

Written by:

[names of PCRs]

Appendix E: Round 1 Questionnaire

Translated and reformatted for print. Alterations for Round 2 are marked with footnotes.

*Items omitted in Round 2 are marked with *.*

Your opinions about English and school

This questionnaire is about who you are and what you think about learning English at your school.

The same questions will be answered by pupils in different schools throughout the Netherlands, once now and once at the end of the school year. We want to use your answers to learn more about what helps you to learn a language and about how we can make language education better for you.

It would really help us if you could answer these questions for us. They are about opinions, so there are no 'right' and 'wrong' answers. Your answers are anonymous so you don't need to tell us your name. We need to know your pupil ID number so that we can compare your answers now with the ones you give at the end of the year.

Please answer honestly! Otherwise your contribution won't help with the research.

Thank you very much for your help.

Section 1: You and your school

1.1 What is your pupil ID number?

1.2 Which school do you go to?

[drop-down list of schools]

1.3 Are you a boy or a girl? *

- ☐ boy
- ☐ girl

1.4 How old are you? *

- ☐ 11
- ☐ 12
- ☐ 13
- ☐ 14
- ☐ 15
- ☐ 16

1.5 Which languages do you speak outside of school, apart from Dutch? *

1.6 What type of school are you doing?

- ☐ vmbo-t (mavo)
- ☐ vmbo-t/havo (mavo/havo)
- ☐ havo
- ☐ havo/vwo
- ☐ vwo
- ☐ gymnasium
- ☐ Other (please explain)

1.7 What type of education do you follow?

- ☐ Dutch-language (regular)
- ☐ Bilingual (TTO)
- ☐ Other (please explain)

1.8 What year are you in? *

- ☐ 1
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3

1.9 ↳Which stream were you in in first year? [2nd/3rd year] *

- ☐ vmbo-t (mavo)
- ☐ vmbo-t/havo (mavo/havo)
- ☐ havo
- ☐ havo/vwo
- ☐ vwo
- ☐ Other (please explain)

1.10 ↳What type of education did you follow in first year? [2nd/3rd year] *

- ☐ Dutch-language (regular)
- ☐ Bilingual (TTO)
- ☐ Other (please explain)

1.11 ↳Which stream were you in in second year? [3rd year] *

- ☐ vmbo-t (mavo)
- ☐ vmbo-t/havo (mavo/havo)
- ☐ havo
- ☐ havo/vwo
- ☐ vwo
- ☐ Other (please explain)

1.12 ↳What type of education did you follow in second year? [3rd year] *

- ☐ Dutch-language (regular)
- ☐ Bilingual (TTO)
- ☐ Other (please explain)

1.13 ↳Have you ever repeated a year? [1st year] *

- ☐ Yes – at primary school
- ☐ Yes – in first year
- ☐ No

1.14 ↳Have you ever repeated a year? [2nd year] *

- ☐ Yes – at primary school
- ☐ Yes – in first year
- ☐ Yes – in second year
- ☐ No

1.15 ↪ Have you ever repeated a year? [3rd year] *

- ☐ Yes – at primary school
- ☐ Yes – in first year
- ☐ Yes – in second year
- ☐ Yes – in third year
- ☐ No

Section 2: Your opinions

For the following 20 questions, you need to say how much you agree with the statement.

2.1 In English lessons...	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...I work hard.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I feel confident.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I feel nervous.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I am scared to speak.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.2 ↳In most other lessons... [NTO]	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...I work hard.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I feel confident.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I feel nervous.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I am scared to speak.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.3 ↳In most other English-medium lessons... [TTO]	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...I work hard.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I feel confident.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I feel nervous.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I am scared to speak.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.4 ↪In most Dutch-medium lessons... [TTO]	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...I work hard.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I feel confident.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I feel nervous.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I am scared to speak.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.5 I find the English language...	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...difficult	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...useful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...important	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...boring	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.6 I find languages...	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...difficult	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...useful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...important	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...boring	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.7 If I make a mistake when speaking another language...	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...I am embarrassed	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...it's funny	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I don't care	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I try to correct it next time	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
 2.8 Outside of lessons...	 <i>definitely</i>	 <i>mostly</i>	 <i>sometimes</i>	 <i>mostly not</i>	 <i>definitely not</i>
...I watch English-language television	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I use English for gaming	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I use English for social networking (Facebook, Twitter...)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I look for opportunities to speak English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I wouldn't like to have to speak English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
 2.9 Learning English is important to me because...	 <i>definitely</i>	 <i>mostly</i>	 <i>maybe</i>	 <i>mostly not</i>	 <i>definitely not</i>
...I want to travel internationally	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I want to study or work abroad	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I want to make contact with people in other countries	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...if you speak good English you don't have to learn other languages	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.10 People who have learned to speak good English...	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...are clever people	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...earn lots of money	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...are no better than anyone else	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...have good jobs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...are interesting	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...are arrogant	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...are well-educated	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.11 I need to do well in English because...	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>maybe</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...otherwise I won't pass this year	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...otherwise I won't be allowed to stay in TTO	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...my family thinks it's important	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...it's important for my future job or studies	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...it's useful for communicating with different people	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.12 It is important to learn different languages...	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...because they are compulsory subjects at school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...if you want to travel to the countries that speak those languages	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...if you can't speak good English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...because it's fun	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.13 My English teacher...	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...varies his/her lessons	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...seems to enjoy his/her subject	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...thinks I work hard for English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...makes learning English fun	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.14 ↳Most of my other teachers... [NTO]	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...vary their lessons	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...seem to enjoy their subject	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...think I work hard for school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...make learning their subject fun	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.15 ↳Most of my other teachers for English-medium subjects... [TTO]	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...vary their lessons	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...seem to enjoy their subject	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...think I work hard for school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...make learning their subject fun	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.16 ↳Most of my teachers for Dutch-medium subjects... [TTO]	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...vary their lessons	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...seem to enjoy their subject	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...think I work hard for school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...make learning their subject fun	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.17 I find English lessons...	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...challenging	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...difficult	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...useful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...confusing	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.18 During English lessons...	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...we mostly work from a textbook	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...we use lots of different materials	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...we do the same activities most lessons	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...the teacher speaks more than the pupils	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I speak lots of English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I learn a lot	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I speak more English than Dutch	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.19 My family...	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...says English is important for my future	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...would be disappointed if I failed English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...would be disappointed if I failed any subject	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...speaks good English (especially your parents!)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...thinks that English is more important than other subjects	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.20 My friends...	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...think learning English is useful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...work hard for school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...would laugh at me if I said I liked English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...are (I feel) cleverer than I am	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.21 When I think of myself in 10 years, ...	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...I think of someone who can speak good English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I think of someone who travels a lot	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I think of someone with a good job	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I think of someone with friends all over the world	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I think of someone who is successful	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I can't picture what my life will be like	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.22 ↳I chose this school because... [<i>Comparator</i>]	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...I live nearby	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...my friends were going to this school	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...my parents chose for me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...it never occurred to me to do anything else	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The following statements are based on comments made by pupils in (t-)HAVO about their choice of TTO/NTO and about the differences between TTO and Dutch-language education. Say how much these are also your opinions. If you don't see your own views here, you will have the chance to give your own answer at the end of the questionnaire.

2.23 ↳I decided to do Dutch-language (regular) education because... [<i>NTO</i>]	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...I was worried that bilingual would be too difficult	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...all of my friends were going to regular	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...bilingual havo wasn't possible for me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I didn't see the point of TTO	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...it never occurred to me to do anything else	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

2.24 ↪ I decided to do bilingual education because... [TTO]	<i>definitely</i>	<i>mostly</i>	<i>sometimes</i>	<i>mostly not</i>	<i>definitely not</i>
...I knew other people who were doing it	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...my parents wanted me to	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...all of my friends were going to TTO	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I already spoke good English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I thought the trips looked fun	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...English is important for my future	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
...I wanted an extra challenge	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

In the final question we talk about two types of pupil: 'TTO' are the pupils who are doing bilingual and 'NTO' are the pupils doing 'regular' (Dutch-language) education. For each statement, decide whether you think it's more about TTO, more about NTO, or if there's no difference.

2.25 Who...	<i>TTO</i>	<i>No difference</i>	<i>NTO</i>
...work harder?	☐	☐	☐
...are nerds?	☐	☐	☐
...are cleverer?	☐	☐	☐
...behave better in lessons?	☐	☐	☐
...are more boring?	☐	☐	☐
...do the most fun things at school?	☐	☐	☐
...are more motivated?	☐	☐	☐
...are more ambitious?	☐	☐	☐
...have more of a laugh?	☐	☐	☐
...are valued by the school?	☐	☐	☐
...enjoy coming to school?	☐	☐	☐

Section 3: Your goals and suggestions

Now for the final questions: A bit more information about you and your views.

3.1 ↪What do you want to do when you have got your vmbo-t or mavo diploma? [vmbo-t (mavo)]

- ☐ go to college (e.g. the ROC)
- ☐ go to HAVO
- ☐ I have no idea
- ☐ Other (please explain)

3.2 ↪What do you want to do when you have got your vmbo-t/mavo or havo diploma? [vmbo-t/havo (mavo/havo)]

- ☐ go to college (e.g. the ROC)
- ☐ go to higher vocational education (e.g. the Fontys)
- ☐ go to HAVO (if I end up doing VMBO-t/MAVO)
- ☐ go to VWO (if I end up doing HAVO)
- ☐ I have no idea
- ☐ Other (please explain)

3.3 ↪What do you want to do when you have got your havo diploma? [havo]

- ☐ go to college (e.g. the ROC)
- ☐ go to higher vocational education (e.g. the Fontys)
- ☐ go to VWO (if I end up doing HAVO)
- ☐ I have no idea
- ☐ Other (please explain)

3.4 ↪What do you want to do when you have got your havo or vwo diploma? [havo/vwo]

- ☐ go to college (e.g. the ROC)
- ☐ go to higher vocational education (e.g. the Fontys)
- ☐ go to VWO (if I end up doing HAVO)
- ☐ go to university
- ☐ I have no idea
- ☐ Other (please explain)

3.5 ↪What do you want to do when you have got your vwo or gymnasium diploma? [vwo]

- ☐ go to college (e.g. the ROC)
- ☐ go to higher vocational education (e.g. the Fontys)
- ☐ go to university
- ☐ I have no idea
- ☐ Other (please explain)

3.6 What do you like best about school?¹⁵

3.7 If you could change one thing about school, what would it be?¹⁶

3.8 ↳Do you have any other comments about why you chose NTO? *[NTO]* *

3.9 ↳Do you have any other comments about why you chose TTO? *[TTO]* *

3.10 ↳Do you have any other comments about why you chose your school? *[Comp.]* *

3.11 Do you have any other comments?

That's it!

You're done! Thanks for taking part.

DON'T FORGET TO CLICK 'Submit'!

¹⁵ Replaced in R2 with, *Do you have friends or acquaintances doing or who have done [TTO/NTO]?*

¹⁶ Replaced in R2 with, *To what extent do you think that your acquaintances in [NTO/TTO] experience school differently to you?* Due to a filtering error, this question was presented to the wrong respondents, so responses were disregarded.