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List of Abbreviations

AHS	allgemeinbildende höhere Schule
BHS	berufsbildende höhere Schule (cf. VET)
BMS	berufsbildende mittlere Schule
CBI	content-based instruction
CLIL	content and language integrated learning
EFL	English as a foreign language
ELF	English as a lingua franca
HAK	Handelsakademie
HLFS	höhere land- und forstwirtschaftliche Schule
HTL	höhere technische Lehranstalt
HUM	humanberufliche Schule
L1	first language (the first language an individual learns)
L2	second language
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
SLA	second language acquisition
VET	vocational education and training (cf. BHS)

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1. Introduction

The past decades have brought a growing desire to improve language learning and to push multilingualism in Europe. Therefore, concepts that “even better equip the learner with knowledge and skills suitable for the global age” (Mehisto et al., 2008, pp. 10–11) have gained momentum and CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) is now one of the most popular measures taken by numerous European countries’ education systems (including Austria’s) to promote multilingual citizenship.

CLIL is an educational approach that combines content and foreign language learning (Dalton-Puffer, 2011a, p. 183). However, students who grow up as multilinguals (or, more specifically, who do not only use German as their home language) encounter similar circumstances in Austrian schools anyway: They learn new content (i.e. all subjects) in a second language (i.e. German, the language of instruction) in most lessons. Therefore, their situation differs considerably from that of students with (only) German as their home language, who usually encounter the combination of content and foreign language learning only in CLIL lessons. Thus, CLIL can provide minority language students with a tremendous opportunity as they “come into the classroom on a linguistic basis in the target language similar to that of their peers (i.e. little prior knowledge), independent of their first language” (Somers, 2017, pp. 512–513), which has been shown to be beneficial to their self-esteem and motivation. I have been teaching in Austrian secondary schools since 2020 and during that time, I have often had the pleasure of teaching exactly such students who speak a home language that is not (only) German. During these lessons, I had the impression that in lessons with English as language of instruction, they felt more confident and at ease than in regular content lessons.

Thus, my interest grew in CLIL as an opportunity to promote multilingualism per se, but also in the affective impact CLIL can have on this specific group of students. The latter aspect is at the centre of this master’s thesis, especially because monolingualism is still often regarded as the norm despite the fact that the majority of all people worldwide is actually multilingual (Kemp, 2009, p. 14). As Romaine (2017, p. 541) puts it, being multilingual is “a normal and unremarkable necessity for the majority of the world’s population”. Nevertheless, linguistic theory has only started to honour this fact sufficiently in the last few decades: Theorists are usually concerned with ideal speaker-listeners in homogeneous speech communities, but in fact, more than two thirds of the world’s population are multilingual: More and more learners grow up with several cultures and languages, and schools need to provide an education that

supports the inclusion of all pupils “in which they can develop their full potential linguistically, cognitively and emotionally” (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 8). In the Austrian education system, over 26% of all students have a home language other than German (Statistik Austria, 2024, p. 12) – and this is by no means an exception but rather a common phenomenon in numerous states (Gogolin, 2002, p. 123). Considering this high percentage of students who are multilingual, it is obvious that this group should not be overlooked. Nevertheless, relatively little research has been done on multilingual approaches of teaching diverse student populations in European schools (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 8) and, in particular, on multilingual students in CLIL programmes (Otterup, 2019, p. 264).

Thus, this master’s thesis focuses on the particular situation of multilingual secondary school students in Austria and their perceptions of CLIL programmes. The aim of this research project is to answer the following research questions:

- 1) Identity and language practices of multilingual secondary students
 - a. How do multilingual secondary students in Austria perceive and describe their multilingual identity?
 - b. What linguistic practices do these multilingual students engage in across academic and social settings?
- 2) CLIL experiences of multilingual secondary students
 - a. How do the students generally describe their CLIL experience?
 - b. How do the students perceive their multilingualism in CLIL education, and what implications do they associate with participating in such programmes?

In order to gain a deeper understanding of multilingual CLIL learners’ perspectives, research on various aspects such as affective perceptions regarding multilingualism, motivation, and linguistic practices is looked into in greater detail. Furthermore, a qualitative study is carried out in which multilingual students in CLIL programmes are interviewed with regards to the aforementioned aspects. These semi-structured interviews are a means to explore their perceptions and thoughts and, due to the nature of qualitative research, provide a deeper understanding and various new insights.

This master’s thesis is divided into seven chapters. After the introduction, two literature review chapters focus on multilingualism and CLIL, i.e. the two topics this thesis seeks to combine. In these chapters, definitions of crucial terms and theoretical concepts are given before empirical research in the field of both multilingualism and CLIL is introduced. In chapter 4, research design and methodology for this master’s thesis are outlined and a detailed description of the

instruments used to collect data, the setting, and lastly, data analysis is given before moving on to chapter 5. In this chapter, the findings of the study are presented, which are then discussed in chapter 6. Lastly, concluding remarks on the topic of this master's thesis are given in chapter 7.

2. Multilingualism

Human communities have been in contact with one another for thousands of years, for example for social (e.g. marriage) and economic (e.g. goods) exchanges (Wei, 2008, p. 3). Some rudimentary forms of globalisation have been present even in early societies, for example the Roman Empire (Cenoz, 2019, p. 71). With the interaction of different communities comes the interaction of different languages; thus, multilingualism is a historic condition that has been managed by communities for a long period of time, for example by using simplified versions of their own language when they communicated with outsiders. Various forms of multilingualism have been in practice over centuries; however, the relatively new emergence of the modern nation-state has led to changes in the way linguistic and cultural contacts are managed (Romaine, 2017, pp. 542–543).

Nowadays, globalisation has taken on more extreme levels and has led to an increase in travel, migration, and communication. All these processes have become more intense and extreme in their forms (especially increased mobility), and have caused multilingualism to be more visible than ever before (Cenoz, 2019, p. 71; Wilton, 2009, p. 45). Multilingualism is commonly regarded as inevitable – something that simply exists without the option of preventing its existence, and official policies, statements, and studies regard it as desirable for societies and individuals in a globalised world (Wilton, 2009, p. 67). As Herzog-Punzenberger, Le Pichon-Vorstman and Siarova (2017, p. 8) put it, “multilingualism is becoming more a way of life than a problem to be solved”.

Cenoz (2019, p. 73) describes multilingualism as “a very broad phenomenon which can be analysed from different perspectives”. Therefore, this chapter first introduces and defines various terms within this field of research before moving on to investigating the interrelationship between multilingualism and society and multilingualism in education. Lastly, empirical research on multilingualism and its chances and challenges within fields such as language choice, identity, language learning, and language learning motivation is introduced.

2.1. Linguistic Diversity

Linguistic diversity is connected with multilingualism and means that many languages are used within the same group or society (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 42). To know the exact number of languages that are used today is almost impossible, partly because there are no clear boundaries between languages and they cannot be seen as isolated entities. Hence, the distinction between languages and dialects is not clear and depends on various factors (Gorter et al., 2006, p. 2).

There are numerous estimates on how many languages are spoken in the world today, but the number is usually cited as between 5,000 and 7,000 (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 37; Gorter et al., 2006, p. 3; Katsarova, 2019, p. 1; Romaine, 2017, p. 541). In contrast, there are only about 200 nation-states, which means that there are about 30 times as many languages as there are nation-states in the world. However, about 50% of all people worldwide speak one (or more) of only six languages and many languages are also likely to be replaced by dominant languages within the next decades. Katsarova (2019, p. 1) even lists 90% of all languages as endangered of becoming extinct. On the other hand, worldwide, only very few places in the world exist in which only one language is used and thus, completely monolingual countries are practically non-existent (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 37).

Linguistic diversity is increased by every language, or by every variety of the same language, that is used (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 41). Super-diversity is a term that generally describes the remarkable increase in globalisation and global migration, both leading to an increase in language diversity and multilingualism. Even though these processes are not new, there are several differences regarding language use, i.e. between recent multilingualism and earlier historical situations. These differences include a more global scale of multilingualism (compared to specific areas to which multilingualism was more or less restricted in the past), the spread of multilingualism across social classes or professions, and the multimodality of multilingual communication (Cenoz, 2019, p. 72). The term super-diversity can now be used as a characteristic of areas within Europe such as the United Kingdom (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 27; Vertovec, 2007, p. 1024). Key aspects of the interaction between different languages are that every language has a different status, is used by different groups for different purposes, et cetera. There are different types of languages within a societal context; following Cenoz and Gorter (2010, p. 42), the following types of languages can be distinguished:

The **dominant (national) language** is a language that has an official status and is usually of high prestige. It is spoken by dominant group members of a society or a nation (Benson & Kosonen, 2013, p. 1; Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 27).

Regional or minority languages are defined by the Council of Europe (n.d.) as “languages traditionally used within a given territory of a state by nationals of that state who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the state's population; they are different from the official language(s) of that state, and they include neither dialects of the official language(s) of the state nor the languages of migrants”. Even though in the past, there was neglect of minority languages, and school languages and home languages were mismatched, the European Union has explicitly promoted and protected regional minority languages (Wilton, 2009, p. 45) and there is growing political consensus about the value of this process (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 42). Within the European Union, over 50 language groups are recognised as minority languages and their status and vitality varies greatly. Officially recognised regional minority languages in Austria include Croatian (in Burgenland), Slovenian (in Carinthia and Styria), Hungarian (in Burgenland and Vienna), Czech (in Vienna), Slovakian (in Vienna), and Romanes (in Burgenland). These languages can also be the languages of instruction at school in the respective areas (Haslinger & Lasselsberger, 2011, p. 104). Austrian Sign Language is recognised in all of Austria (Haslinger & Lasselsberger, 2011, p. 102).

Immigrant languages often have a low status in the host country. As the name suggests, this term covers languages typically spoken by immigrant groups. Despite the lack of recognition, the vitality of such languages is rather high in some cases, i.e. they are spoken by a relatively large number of people in some areas (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 44). In Austria, languages such as Turkish and Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian are example languages that are often spoken by people with a migration background (see chapter 2.4.2). Immigrant languages may in some cases also be referred to as non-dominant languages (as opposed to dominant languages of countries or societies), emphasising power relations: Non-dominant languages are often viewed as less prestigious and are rarely used by governments or in official educational contexts, even though languages such as Turkish often have high prestige among their users (Gogolin, 2002, p. 125; Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 27).

Foreign languages and **classical languages** are especially important in an educational context. Classical languages include Latin and Greek and are not relevant for communication in everyday life whereas foreign languages have a rather high vitality and usually enjoy a rather high status (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 43).

Linguistic diversity in education comes from the variety of languages that are used in school, either officially or unofficially. The characteristics of the languages involved are a source of linguistic diversity in multilingual education. These characteristics may be found in languages’

syntax, phonology, lexis, typology, pragmatics, or discourse. Some languages that are important for a specific region share aspects of these characteristics and are therefore linguistically close; for example, languages in Scandinavian countries (Danish, Swedish, Norwegian) are similar enough so that their speakers can understand each other to a certain extent. In other cases, syntax and lexis may differ, as is the case with English and Welsh. It is important to note that the relationship between languages is rather complex, for example because of language contact, i.e. languages have influenced a specific language over time (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 39).

2.2. Defining Multilingualism

Within applied linguistics, multilingualism is a major field of research, including the various forms multilingualism may take (Wilton, 2009, p. 45). At first glance, the term multilingualism seems quite straightforward: being lingual in multiple languages - with the prefix *multi* meaning *more than one* (Wilton, 2009, p. 45). However, multilingualism is a rather broad and complex field, and research into multilingualism has used a variety of definitions of multilingualism for a long time, which makes it hard to properly compare studies, especially in quantitative research, where counting languages is an essential part of the methodology (Kemp, 2009, p. 12). Furthermore, the term multilingualism may be viewed in quite different ways, depending on the specific field of study. It can be used with regard to general language use, individuals' language competence, and language situations (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 28). The languages that are part of multilingualism may be used by individuals, society, or speech communities – thus, the term comprises of a wide variety of systems (Wilton, 2009, p. 45).

2.2.1. Monolingualism, Bilingualism, and Multilingualism

As multilingualism does not have one agreed definition, there is an ongoing debate on how many languages an individual needs to be able to speak to be considered multilingual, and in order to decide whether a person is mono-, bi-, or multilingual, the languages this individual uses need to be counted. The terms monolingualism, bilingualism, and multilingualism are interrelated and are defined in more detail in the following. For now, the question what the three terms actually mean is addressed without focusing on the question how 'well' a language needs to be spoken to be counted into the multiple languages of an individual's language system.

In contrast to multilingualism, defining monolingualism (and monolinguals) is rather simple: According to Kemp (2009, p. 13), "[m]onolinguals are individuals who use one language and may be proficient at using a number of different varieties of the language together with different

registers in the variety or varieties they know, and of switching between varieties and between registers in the appropriate context”. Thus, for Kemp, different varieties and registers are not counted as separate languages and a person who speaks one language, no matter how many varieties or registers they use, is monolingual. The Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2022a) also simply defines being monolingual as “speaking or using only one language”. Therefore, even though monolinguals may switch between e.g. formal and informal varieties, different dialects, etc., they are always limited to only one language – which is often regarded as the norm even though monolinguals are actually a minority worldwide (Kemp, 2009, p. 14).

While monolingualism refers to the ability to use one language, the distinction between bilingualism and multilingualism is fuzzier. The literal meaning of *multi* is, as already mentioned, *more than one* – and can therefore also refer to two, three, four, five, ... languages. However, sometimes *multi* is read as *more than two* (Wilton, 2009, p. 53), further complicating terminology. Some examples of this contradiction are now introduced.

The Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2022b) regards multilinguals as people who are “speaking or using several different languages” and the EU describes multilingualism as “the ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day-lives” (Katsarova, 2019, p. 2). Both these definitions do not state a specific number of languages, but actually imply that speaking two languages is sufficient for applying the term multilingual, a stance which is adopted in the present master’s thesis. Nevertheless, many researchers use the term bilingual for people who use two languages, and multilingual for people who use three or more languages, while sometimes monolingual and bilingual are the only two options used (and the term multilingual is omitted), with bilingual referring to the ability to speak two or more languages. The fuzzy boundaries between bilingualism and multilingualism lead to the issue that most research on individuals’ use of more than one language investigates bilingualism (i.e. speaking two languages) rather than multilingualism, and bilingualism is often viewed as the prototypical case of multilingualism (Wilton, 2009, p. 47). Nevertheless, this view does not acknowledge enough that there are also differences between people who use two languages and people who use three or more languages (Kemp, 2009, p. 15). Recent research has increasingly acknowledged that many differences between monolinguals, bilinguals, trilinguals, etc. are indeed distinctive, even though some features are shared among them as well (Wilton, 2009, p. 50). The most important differences are commonly believed to be between the acquisition of the first and another language, and not between a second or third/fourth/etc. language. This is one of the reasons why bilingualism

studies are often the basis for insights of multilingualism and the two terms are hard to differentiate. In order to acknowledge these differences, Kemp (2009, p. 23) suggests that multilinguals could be called trilinguals, quadrilinguals, quintilinguals, etc. according to the number of languages they speak. Nevertheless, she states, “it seems simpler just to describe how many languages a multilingual uses”. Hence, if the broad definition of multilingualism (“the presence of more than one language (or speech community) in a society” (Wilton, 2009, p. 54)) is used, a more specific description (i.e. bilingualism, trilingualism, etc.) can then be given.

English plays a significant role due to its global importance, serving as a lingua franca for many individuals and organisations worldwide (Wilton, 2009, p. 61). Consequently, most English speakers today are not L1 (first language) speakers but use English to communicate across linguistic boundaries, regardless of whether it is traditionally spoken in their regions. As a result, English is frequently acquired as an L3 in many countries, lacking official status in most states (Cenoz, 2019, p. 72; Jessner, 2006, p. 2). In this sense, as Gorter et al. (2006, p. 7) note, multilingualism “usually implies English and other languages”, meaning that multilingualism often involves English in addition to other languages, even though English is rarely the L1 for multilingual speakers. This also applies to many students in the Austrian school system. Within sociolinguistic research, the term multilingualism is often preferred over bilingualism because it more accurately reflects the dynamic use of multiple linguistic varieties in different contexts (Wilton, 2009, pp. 49–50). The present master’s thesis follows this perspective and adopts the term multilingualism in line with EU policy, which understands multilingualism as the regular use of more than one language.

However, this definition encompasses a wide range of experiences. It is therefore crucial, as Wilton (2009, p. 69) argues, to consider individual repertoires in detail rather than treating speakers as uniformly “multilingual”. For instance, according to this broad definition, every Austrian student learning English qualifies as multilingual. Nevertheless, important differences remain between those who only use German as a home language and those who speak additional family languages alongside German.

Another term that should be dealt with briefly is plurilingualism. The term plurilingual is sometimes used to contrast individual with societal multilingualism (Kemp, 2009, p. 15) and approaches such as one prevalent in the European Union, claim that plurilingualism goes beyond multilingualism (which refers to the simple fact that a number of languages is present in an individual or society): Plurilingualism is viewed as “the individual ability to use several

languages in a creative, flexible and immediate way, even if competence in some/one of the languages is minimal” (Wilton, 2009, p. 51). However, plurilingualism is an even more recent term than multilingualism and both their meanings are in transition. Therefore, the terminology in this field remains complex, and there also is ongoing debate about which languages are included in an individual's linguistic repertoire, which is briefly taken up in the following chapter.

2.2.2. Counting Languages

No matter if someone is monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual - before assigning an individual one of these terms, one question always needs to be clarified: How can a person's languages actually be counted? This question could also be formulated as follows: When is an individual proficient enough in another language (or uses a language enough) to not be considered monolingual?

In order to decide whether a language should be added to someone's linguistic repertoire, the level of proficiency in this language is factored in (and, additionally, the questions of how to measure this level of proficiency, and even how to count languages per se – but answering these questions is beyond the scope of this thesis). Interestingly, over the course of the past century, the point from which a language can be considered as part of the language portfolio of an individual has shifted. While in the 1930s, native-like control of a language was required for a language to be included in someone's linguistic repertoire, in the 1960s researchers simply required a language user to be able to produce meaningful utterances or to simply be in contact with a language and use it. Current definitions of multilingualism do not consider native-like language control as necessary, partly because native speaker level can often only be reached at a young age of language acquisition and is thus unrealistic to achieve (Kemp, 2009, pp. 18–19).

Thus, the aim of foreign language teaching should not be to reach native-like language competence; much rather, language teaching should “strive to produce proficient language users who are able to utilize all the languages they know” (Illman & Pietilä, 2018, p. 239). In sociolinguistics, a similar functional definition, i.e. the ability to speak multiple languages regardless of the level of proficiency in each of these languages (Bono & Stratilaki, 2009, p. 208), is currently predominant. Wei (2008, p. 4) also follows this thought and defines multilingual individuals as “anyone who can communicate in more than one language, be it active (through speaking and writing) or passive (through listening and reading)”. Some

minimal definitions include individuals with a very limited competence in some of the languages involved. Generally, there is a tendency towards minimal definitions since an increasing number of languages are learned (Wilton, 2009, p. 60). However, receptive multilingualism (i.e. the minimal definition of multilingualism) has not yet been established in research. The opinion persists that in order to develop sufficient receptive skills, mastering only receptive skills in a language is insufficient, whereas others argue that mastering receptive skills requires active participation and e.g. negotiation skills in the language in question, which enables interaction with other language users (Wilton, 2009, p. 66).

As mentioned earlier, individuals' age in language acquisition also plays a considerable role in how to count languages. As Wei (2008, p. 4) points out, "some may have acquired and maintained one language during childhood, the so-called first language (L1), and learned other languages later in life, while others have acquired two or more first languages since birth". In research, the bilingual bias tends to overlook the languages that are acquired at later stages in life whereas the no-difference position criticises these assumptions, which are also prevalent in second language acquisition (SLA): Here, L1 refers to the native language of an individual, and all non-native languages are usually referred to as L2, i.e. second language(s). This position has its roots in a deep interest in sequential language acquisition processes (Wilton, 2009, pp. 48–49). Romaine (2017, p. 541) points out the same: "[T]he acquisition of proficiency in another language usually results in some degree of bilingualism, yet its study is generally regarded as the province of a separate subdiscipline called second language acquisition." However, dichotomies in the sense of simultaneous vs. sequential or acquisition vs. learning do not suffice (Wilton, 2009, p. 55) and concepts such as SLA are monolingually-biased (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 26).

Each individual's linguistic biography is unique, and this is even more relevant for multilinguals: Even though they are a large group, it would be a mistake to assume their multilingualism makes them similar or alike. In recent years, the traditional view of bilingualism (meaning that an individual develops native-like proficiency in two languages separately) has shifted towards a more flexible view, a development referred to as multilingual turn: Alternatively to the traditional view of language separation, a focus on multilingualism based on multilingual speakers, their linguistic repertoire, and the social context has developed (Karabassova & San Isidro, 2020, p. 2). Multilinguals are usually not equally proficient in every language they use and their degree of language proficiency may also vary over time, for example when a language is first used on a day-to-day basis and then, after moving to another

country, is only needed on short vacations to the first home (Prasad, 2020, p. 902). Furthermore, one of the reasons why multilinguals choose to use a particular language in a certain situation may vary according to, for example, social, cultural, and economic considerations. Another variable in multilinguals' language use are the functions and roles languages may have for each individual (Kemp, 2009, pp. 12–13). In current research, there is a tendency to view all the languages within an individual's system holistically: "[e]ach language in the multilingual integrated system is a part of the complete system and not equivalent in representation or processing to the language of a monolingual speaker" (Kemp, 2009, p. 19). As mentioned before, multilinguals' language proficiency levels are not static but vary over time, which makes language proficiency testing only relevant for that certain point in time (Kemp, 2009, p. 19; Wilton, 2009, p. 61).

The breadth of the term *multilingual* makes it necessary to tend to each individual's unique (language) biography and introduce details about them rather than fixating on certain terms. Thus, it is important to look at multilinguals' experiences carefully and not paint them with a broad brush: Researchers who investigate in the field of multilingualism specify what exactly they mean by it, what level of proficiency is required for a language to be included in an individual's repertoire (e.g. what language skills are relevant), et cetera (Kemp, 2009, p. 19).

In the present master's thesis, a holistic view is taken and every language that an individual uses for (active or passive) communication, regardless of the individual's competence, may be included in their linguistic repertoire. The empirical part of this thesis focuses on multilingual students who speak at least one family language other than the dominant national language German. Considering the aforementioned issues in defining multilingualism and following the broad definition of multilingualism, all languages that are included in the participants' biographies are described in the empirical part of this thesis, whether the participants have been using them with their family from the beginning, or they have been introduced to them in a school setting, et cetera. Another crucial aspect will be the participants' perceptions on their linguistic repertoire – but their individual views are interconnected with how society regards their multilingualism.

In practice, however, a narrower distinction is made in the empirical part for analytical purposes. Here, the term 'multilingual students' refers to those who speak at least one family language other than German at home, while 'monolingual students' describes those who use only German as a family language. It must be noted, however, that both groups learn additional languages such as English through the Austrian school system and are thus multilingual in the

broader sociolinguistic sense. This distinction, therefore, is pragmatically employed to highlight differences in family language backgrounds rather than to suggest that some students are "truly" monolingual.

2.3. Multilingualism and Society

Linguistic patriotism, prevalent in Europe as far back as the 17th century, viewed monolingualism as ideal for societies as well as for individuals, which shaped the development of the ideal native speaker and over time, languages became standardised. Following this tradition, this ideal of a native language command equated a perfect version of language command, accompanied with high prestige – something that devalued all other (non-native like) forms of language use (Wilton, 2009, pp. 57–58). In a multicultural/multilingual world, this ideal cannot be upheld anymore and is viewed as unattainable: There are more multilinguals than monolinguals in the world, and multilingual societies are prevalent (Wilton, 2009, p. 60); for example, Europe has become increasingly multilingual due to a rising number of migrants and refugees (Gorter et al., 2006, pp. 6–7).

Societal multilingualism "does not necessarily imply that all individual members of the group are multilingual, but that several languages are present within a certain society" (Wilton, 2009, p. 58). Therefore, a multilingual society may include individuals who are multilingual, but also several monolingual groups that speak different languages. The members of a multilingual society have highly individual language biographies, for example speaking the majority language as L1, a minority language as L2 (or inversely) and speaking English and/or another language which might have been encountered at school – there are numerous possible variations (Gorter et al., 2006, p. 9).

Most commonly, multilingual societies consist of various groups who share a particular L1, for example immigrants. This is true for practically all states of the European Union (Wilton, 2009, p. 59). Within Europe, multilingualism is widespread in various forms. In most cases (including Austria), only one or some of the languages that are spoken in a state are officially recognised (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, pp. 37–38). Nevertheless, Wilton (2009, pp. 58–59) remarks that "recognition of minorities and their languages becomes increasingly necessary in the promotion of a unified yet culturally and linguistically diverse Europe." The EU has acknowledged the importance of multilingualism for cultural identities and for preserving democracy, accountability, and transparency and regards multilingualism and linguistic diversity as beneficial. This stance is reflected by EU-wide regulations: For example, EU legislation needs

to be translated into all official EU languages before it comes into effect (Katsarova, 2019, p. 1). Even though this example refers only to countries' official languages and not to all languages spoken in Europe, there are numerous examples in which the positive attitude of the European Union towards multilingualism can be seen.

For instance, the EU's multilingualism policy (European Commission, 2005, p. 2) clearly states:

It is this diversity that makes the European Union what it is: not a 'melting pot' in which differences are rendered down, but a common home in which diversity is celebrated, and where our many mother tongues are a source of wealth and a bridge to greater solidarity and mutual understanding.

To achieve this, several aims have been set out by the European Commission (2005, p. 3) and are in the responsibility of each member state. The three aims are:

- to encourage language learning and promote linguistic diversity in a society;
- to promote a healthy multilingual economy, and
- to give citizens access to European Union legislation, procedures and information in their own languages.

Multilingualism is especially encouraged by the EU in the sense that every citizen should learn at least three languages, i.e. an individual's L1 and two more languages (European Commission, 2005, p. 4). Due to the EU's freedom of movement (along with all other forms of migration), languages that are not an individual's L1 are not necessarily encountered at language courses or at school, but as part of moving to a country with a different dominant language. Numerous studies have shown that immigrants value both their home country's language (often a non-dominant language in their new environment) and the language that is dominant in their new home. In order to remain connected to their home country, they often seek opportunities to use or learn their home country's language. Furthermore, transmigration often takes place, i.e. "travelling backwards and forwards between their country of origin and their country of migration" (Wilton, 2009, p. 59).

Therefore, these individuals tend to view multilingualism as part of their identity. The autochthonous (monolingual) majority, however, may feel threatened regarding their own identity and therefore, do not always view multilingualism as positive or valuable. Current official statements at EU or national level may differ considerably from public opinions in this regard: Over the past centuries, monolingualism was an integral part of individuals' or societies' cultural identity and the rise of multilingualism has been perceived as a threat of this identity. This bias, often referred to as the monolingual bias, views monolingualism as "God-

given state of affairs” (Wilton, 2009, p. 47) and consider language contact in general as threat of the purity of language. For example, certain linguistic strategies such as code-switching are still seen as a sign of a lack of linguistic competence in the target language (San Isidro & Lasagabaster, 2019, p. 337; Wilton, 2009, pp. 67–68) and while adding new languages to an individual’s linguistic repertoire is generally regarded favourably, multilinguals’ linguistic performances are often assumed to be inferior compared to those of monolinguals (Bono & Stratilaki, 2009, p. 211). This is especially regrettable because there is ample research that shows various benefits of multilingualism to societies and individuals (Mehisto & Marsh, 2011, p. 21; Wilton, 2009, p. 47). At an individual and a societal level, multilingualism (even if it means speaking several languages with limited competence) may, for example, be economically beneficial, for example in the hospitality and tourism sector: Restaurants, shops, hotels, etc. can use the various languages spoken by their employees to be more attractive to clients and tourists (Mehisto & Marsh, 2011, pp. 25–26). Thus, multilingualism may lead to an increased income due to the perceived usefulness of a person in the context of work, depending on the language(s) involved. However, it should be noted that multilingualism is not necessarily a booster for careers, especially if a multilingual is identified as a member of an ethnic group that is discriminated or not valued by society (Mehisto & Marsh, 2011, p. 22).

In this master’s thesis, the drawbacks and prejudices concerning multilingualism are addressed as well as its benefits, but a closer look needs to be taken at the interrelationship between multilingualism and education, too.

2.4. Multilingualism in Education

Linguistic diversity is present in many schools, whether these schools aim at multilingualism in their approach or not. Hence, when talking about multilingualism in education, the relation between language and education is bidirectional: Schools promote multilingualism because different languages are taught there and are used by the pupils later on in a wider societal context. Multilingualism is also brought to schools by children who speak different languages at home, with their family or other groups (Cenoz, 2019, p. 73; Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 48). Thus, cultural and linguistic diversity are prevalent in schools in Europe, especially in urban areas (Gogolin, 2002, p. 124), and education systems are met with a large number of students who are multilingual and who have highly individual language biographies. For example, they may be newly arrived immigrants or descendants of immigrants.

The languages involved in an educational system usually consist of the dominant national language and various other languages (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 42). In that regard, schools and the society in which they are located influence each other. For example, the decision what languages are learned to what degree in a school system is related to the beliefs and attitudes of a society: If a society deems one or more languages to have high symbolic value, these languages are likely to be an important part of the school curriculum – and the same accounts for multilingualism (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 38). Language learning is related to linguistic diversity because the more characteristics of a language are shared with an individual's L1, the easier it is to learn this language (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, pp. 40–41). Furthermore, the more languages are taught at a school, the more diverse multilingualism can be. Another factor is in what order languages are introduced in school curricula: Sometimes, languages are introduced simultaneously while more often, they are introduced consecutively, with a number of options regarding the timeframe of this process. (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, pp. 45–46). When schools (or school systems) aim at teaching several languages, they traditionally aim at achieving communicative competence in the languages separately and, thus, separate the languages in their curricula. This curricular isolation of languages is done in order to maximise language exposure to the target language (Cenoz, 2019, p. 73). Recent developments criticise this idea of language separation, as a more holistic and flexible view of language in general is increasingly proposed (Cenoz, 2019, p. 73; Coyle et al., 2010, p. 1). For example, languages can also be used as languages of instruction, providing more language exposure and usually an integration of language and content. In Europe, CLIL is a currently popular approach to enhance language teaching (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 46).

The increasing importance of teaching different languages at school (either as a subject or as a medium of instruction) is sometimes reflected in minority languages becoming more integrated in the curricula, such as Catalan or Basque in some regions in Spain, which have become the main languages of instruction in some cases – but Spanish, among other languages, is still part of the curriculum. While generally, languages such as French, Spanish, German, and Russian are widespread in foreign language teaching in many parts of the world, languages such as Chinese and Arabic have become more popular as well. English has a special significance, either as its own subject or as language of instruction (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 38). As Cenoz (2019, p. 72) points out, “in most cases nowadays, multilingualism involves the English language.” As of 2014, English is the most important foreign language among EU member states, as almost no country has a language in their curriculum that is taught more often. For

example, 97.3% of all lower secondary students and 85.2% of upper secondary students are studying English (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017, p. 13). Some of the reasons for the enormous relevance of English are its status as door-opener for opportunities worldwide, its association with social and economic mobility and its use as language for international communication. However, there is also the fear that English, as a reflection of globalisation, may become too influential, and that cultural identities are lost in the process and other foreign languages lose ground (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 43).

Schools need to recognise the differing degrees to which individuals have experience in the process of language learning: Multilinguals may have several or only one L1 (minority language(s)) and several or only one additional language(s) – there are countless possibilities (Somers, 2017, p. 499; Wilton, 2009, p. 55). Each of these languages, used in a specific sociolinguistic context, differs in matters of status and vitality. Therefore, multilingualism in education must take this diversity into consideration (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 44). A holistic approach to language teaching and learning is necessary so that linguistic connections and practices across languages (but also registers and varieties) can be experienced and understood by the learners (Prasad, 2020, p. 903). Monolingual ideologies are still persistent in language teaching, and especially education policy-makers still need to overcome their deficit-based views on linguistic diversity, as the NESET II report stated (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 10). However, multilingual perspectives, which challenge long-lasting traditions, have been spreading recently (Cenoz, 2019, p. 80). Table 1 illustrates some of the differences between monolingual and multilingual views, the latter gaining more and more importance in educational contexts.

Table 1. Differences of Monolingual and Multilingual Views (own version, following Cenoz, 2019, p. 74)

Monolingual views	Multilingual views
• Languages contaminate each other • (Individual and societal) monolingualism is taken as a reference • Hard boundaries between languages	• Languages reinforce each other • Real (individual and societal) multilingualism is taken as a reference • Soft and fluid boundaries between languages

Recently, multilingual views as indicated in Table 1 are increasingly integrated into educational contexts. Shifting from monolingual to multilingual ideologies in language teaching is a welcome change, yet may be challenging in some aspects. For example, the notion that multilingual competence is fluid leads to challenges in the classroom: Leaving behind ideal native speaker competence as a reference means replacing it with something else, but

multilinguals' linguistic competence is fluid and singular. They are even less of a homogeneous group than monolinguals and finding a model reference of a multilingual speaker is impossible. Thus, even though it is important that multilinguals are appreciated for their individual linguistic repertoire and behaviour, it is challenging to evaluate a singular 'language competence' for such a group (Cenoz, 2019, p. 81).

Newly arrived migrants are not necessarily competent in the official national language of their new home country (and, hence, with the dominant school language) and therefore, most countries in Europe provide some kind of language support for newly arrived migrant pupils. The aim of supporting these newly arrived migrants is met by e.g. providing separate classes with intensive language teaching, adapted curricula, and additional classes in the dominant language of instruction. Most countries in Europe do not separate newly arrived migrant students from mainstream students but include both groups in the same classrooms, according to their age. Proficiency in the school language is then tested in different ways throughout Europe: In some countries, only newly arrived migrants pupils' language proficiency is assessed whereas in others (including Austria), all pupils' proficiency is assessed at certain stages in their school careers (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017, p. 132).

2.4.1. Attitudes towards Minority Students in Schools

While some schools and teachers find multilingualism to be a resource, something that promotes intercultural understanding, there are also opinions that linguistic (and cultural) diversity at schools is problematic (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 47), and negative attitudes exist towards multilingual learners (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 27; Wilton, 2009, p. 62). Schools may show their stance towards multilingualism in various ways, one of them being how languages are used for communication: Informal conversations, official information (e.g. school websites or parent invitations), et cetera are examples for communication between teachers, pupils, teachers, administrative staff, and all other actors within the school context. There are schools which promote multilingualism by having policies to use more than one language for these forms of communication, but many other schools only use the dominant language for communication (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 47). Furthermore, school culture strongly influences the teachers who work at a school, especially novice teachers, and unfortunately, if a society maintains stereotypes, so do most of its members, knowingly or unknowingly. Thus, unduly narrow views on linguistic diversity are often ingrained in school culture and even though beginning teachers often start out with a more updated view on

embracing linguistic diversity, they may adopt the existing school culture's attitudes (Edwards, 2010, pp. 6–7) over time.

The way nonstandard forms of language are treated at school shapes the way that students feel and act. Teachers should be aware that when they create a safe environment and react appreciatively to the way their students speak, the students feel accepted and might therefore be able to perform better academically (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 24). When teachers show little appreciation (or even disrespect) to nonstandard forms of language, the opposite might be true, and even if multilingualism per se is accepted or acknowledged, fears still persist regarding the potential difficulties that come with learning/speaking more than one language. These fears may lead to pupils being less prone to rely on their existing linguistic knowledge whenever different languages are used (Bono & Stratilaki, 2009, p. 208). Edwards (2010, p. 101) summarises these results and condenses them to a general rule in (language) teaching: “[T]he best way to expedite the learning of something new is to start with what children bring with them, to build upon existing competence and practice”.

Edwards (2010, p. 2) clearly states that education should always be multicultural. However, teachers worldwide are often not educated on how to encounter linguistic and cultural variation in their classrooms properly, just as this diversity is often not officially recognised by administrations (Edwards, 2010, pp. 1–2). In Europe, only few comprehensive teacher preparation programmes cover linguistic diversity sufficiently (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 11). This issue has been prevalent for decades; in the 1920s there were reports of Spanish-speaking children in the USA that were thus believed to be mentally disabled, and a 1989 study still confirmed tendencies to this belief. There have also been stereotypes about various groups; for example, Asian students were expected to do better at school than Hispanic students or Black students. This expectation was reflected in the way the teachers treated these groups; the higher their expectation, the more encouraging they were (Edwards, 2010, p. 4). In Europe, there have been similar developments. For example, a study in 2005 showed that despite the French education ministry's encouragement of linguistic diversity, the education system is viewed from a monolingual, not a multilingual, perspective (Edwards, 2010, p. 3).

Immigrant languages are often excluded from being a part of national curricula that account for all school children, even though various studies show that focusing on such languages at school has advantages when it comes to developing language awareness (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 43). Official reports such as NESET II strongly recommend including non-dominant languages into school contexts in order to increase pupils' motivation and feeling of school belonging. If

schools facilitate positive attitudes towards multilingualism, pupils may be able to view multilingualism as an advantage in their lives and develop an awareness of its benefits (Bono & Stratilaki, 2009, p. 222).

The NESET II report states that neglecting non-dominant languages “may possibly affect pupils’ wellbeing and academic results” (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 11). Nevertheless, there have been more and more incentives to change this development. Teacher training in second language acquisition and intercultural diversity is now seen as a necessary measure in various countries, including Austria (Haslinger & Lasselsberger, 2011, p. 107). Austria is one of only two countries in Europe (the other being Denmark) that includes preparing prospective teachers to work with migrant students into all teacher training curricula (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017, p. 16). In sum, it seems that progress is being made. For example, a 2018 Finnish study found that more and more teachers encounter some sort of training in teaching multilinguals students (more recently, even during their initial teacher education) and discuss language teaching to this student group with their colleagues (Illman & Pietilä, 2018, p. 242). In the following, the current state of multilingualism in Austrian schools is presented in more detail.

2.4.2. Multilingualism in the Austrian School System

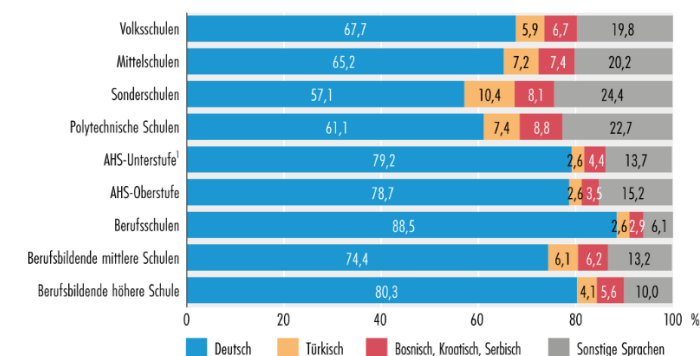
Due to globalisation and increasing mobility, Austria’s population has increased in diversity, like the population in many European countries (Jessner & Mayr-Keiler, 2017, p. 89). In this thesis, the *Statistisches Jahrbuch Migration & Integration 2023* report and the *Bildung in Zahlen 2022/23* report by Statistik Austria are considered. They provide an overview of migration and integration in Austria, based on various indicators such as language and education, which are in part especially interesting in connection with this master’s thesis.

Generally, different migrant groups are identified by Statistik Austria: foreign citizens, people who were born in a foreign country (whether their citizenship is Austrian or not), and people with a migration background (this group can be first generation or second generation migrants). In 2022, the average percentage of the latter group in Austria was 27%, compared to 18.8% in 2012. and the percentage of foreign citizens living in Austria was 19% (Statistik Austria, 2023, p. 21) but the number varies greatly depending on the specific region: Generally, the more rural an area is, the less migrants live there. In Vienna in 2023, the average is 44.4% and thus almost double the Austrian average (Statistik Austria, 2024, p. 12). The regional distribution of multilingual students in Austria shows similarities to that of people with a migrant background

in general: In rural areas, the proportion of multilingual students is significantly lower than in metropolitan areas, e.g. Vienna. Generally, at some schools in Vienna, over 90% of all students are multilingual (Haslinger & Lasselsberger, 2011, p. 103).

Statistik Austria collects data about pupils with a migrant background specifically by considering the language that is primarily spoken in their everyday lives, specified as Umgangssprache - however, the *Bildung in Zahlen* report does not clarify how the students' Umgangssprache was determined. The percentage of the students who name a different L1 than German has risen from 19% in 2012 to 26.7% in 2022/23. The *Bildung in Zahlen* report names the large number of refugees arriving in Austria in 2015 (Syria) and 2022 (Ukraine) as two reasons for the increasing number of people with a different L1 than German (Statistik Austria, 2024, p. 12). Statistik Austria (2023, p. 40) directly link education and German language skills: ” [...] deutliche Unterschiede in den Bildungskarrieren der Kinder in Abhängigkeit von ihren Deutschkenntnissen”. The languages most used by students for everyday communication other than German are Turkish, Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian. At middle school, for example, both language groups (Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian is counted as one language group) are each represented by about 7% of all students (Statistik Austria, 2024, p. 24). Figure 1 lists school types in Austria and the distribution of students attending each school type according to their Umgangssprache in 2022/23.

7 Verteilung der Schüler:innen nach Schultypen und Umgangssprache



Q: STATISTIK AUSTRIA, Schulstatistik 2022/23. – 1) Inkl. Modellversuch NMS an Standorten der AHS-Unterstufe.

Figure 1. Distribution of Students according to School Type and *Umgangssprache* (Statistik Austria, 2024, p. 25)

As Figure 1 shows, the percentage of multilingual students varies according to the school type; overall, the percentage of multilingual students tends to decrease as the education level of a school type increases. At Volksschule, i.e. primary education, a school type at which there is

little separation of pupils, the percentage of multilingual students (i.e. students with a L1 other than German) is 32.3%.

The Austrian educational system is fundamentally selective as it requires students to choose a secondary school type at the early age of ten (Bauer-Marschallinger et al., 2021, p. 3). Thus, student separation in Austria starts after fourth grade because now, two school types exist, and differences between monolingual and multilingual pupils' school careers start to show: AHS (allgemeinbildende höhere Schule) Unterstufe, a more academic school type that can select students according to their school report grades, has 20.8% multilingual students whereas (N)MS, a school type open for all students, has 34.8% multilingual pupils. Apart from migration and language background, Statistik Austria also names social background as a factor in choosing the school type, with recent immigrants predominantly belonging to low-socioeconomic groups.

Sonderschule, a school type for special needs education, has an interestingly high percentage of multilingual students (see Figure 1) compared to the average percentage among all students; children with German as L1 are half as likely to receive special educational needs status compared to multilingual children. In Austria, a migrant background and a low level of German competence are therefore still often indicators for inequality in the social and educational context. The fact that a large proportion of special educational needs pupils status speak home languages other than German further segregates them from their 'native' peers (Jessner & Mayr-Keiler, 2017, p. 89).

After eight years of school (four at primary level, four at lower secondary level), there are various options to choose from. VET schools (vocational education and training, i.e. BHS, berufsbildende höhere Schule) and general education schools are the two main forms of education at upper secondary level that lead to university entrance qualifications. VET schools have several forms of specialisation: There are technical schools (höhere technische Lehranstalten, in short HTL), business schools (Handelsakademien, in short HAK), social and service industries schools (HUM, in German humanberufliche Schulen), et cetera. VET schools typically offer a dual focus on both preparing their students for academia and the world of work within their chosen specialisation (Dalton-Puffer et al., 2021, p. 93). When looking at upper secondary education, it is striking that the two school types that lead to Matura, namely AHS (general education, 20.8%) and higher vocational schools (19.7%), each have a lower percentage of multilingual students than BMS (berufsbildende mittlere Schule, 25.6%), a vocational education school type that spans fewer years of education and does not enable

graduates to immediately study at tertiary education institutions such as university. Students who do not attend upper secondary education schools often visit a one-year polytechnical school, after which (after nine years of school in total) they can end their school career. Here, the percentage of multilingual students (38.9%) is also higher compared to other school types for the same age group. Berufsschule, a school type that is attended by teenagers doing an apprenticeship, has the lowest percentage of multilinguals, namely 11.5%.

As already indicated, the educational paths of students with a non-German L1 are less straight than those of German-speaking students, and there is comparatively more discontinuation, as some examples will now show: After completing nine years of school (which is the time for compulsory schooling in Austria), a disproportionate number of students who are multilingual leave the school system without attending any upper secondary school form (Statistik Austria, 2024, p. 28). Furthermore, repeating a school year or leaving lower secondary school without successfully completing nine years of school occurs much more often within the group of multilinguals/migrants compared to students with German as L1 (Statistik Austria, 2024, p. 54). When it comes to upper secondary schools (AHS and BHS), non-German L1 speakers are much likelier to drop out before their final Matura exam than German L1 speakers – especially when they visited a middle school as their lower secondary school (Statistik Austria, 2024, p. 63).

Despite other relevant factors like social background (Statistik Austria, 2024, p. 104), the data show that the educational path of multilingual students differs from that of their monolingual counterparts. They are more likely to end school prematurely, less likely to participate in higher education, and face more difficulties along the way. Multilingual students generally reaching lower academic levels than monolingual students is not only a reality in Austria but across Europe (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 32). Even though the promotion of cultural and linguistic diversity is present in initiatives and programmes of institutions such as the Council of Europe, there seems to be a gap between intentions and their execution. In the education system, little attention is paid to current research findings with regards to multilingualism and language learning. Multilingual students' resources are not sufficiently taken into account or valued, since notions such as one-language-one-nation are still prevalent (Jessner & Mayr-Keiler, 2017, p. 88): Multilingual pupils bring with them rich linguistic resources that facilitate future language learning processes and often develop different sets of skills in the languages they speak. Therefore, it is challenging to integrate them into an inflexible (school) system and numerous countries do not provide language teaching approaches that helps multilinguals develop skills to transfer their existing knowledge from one language to a new one (Herzog-

Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 24). In Austria, linguistic competence in the national language German is often equated with general linguistic competence (Jessner & Mayr-Keiler, 2017, p. 88).

Chapter 2.4.1 has already discussed the significant impact that teachers have on their students. Their behaviour may even shape the students' personal and educational development and it is crucial that teachers are aware of their impact. Therefore, various programmes in teacher education have been set up to promote specific language training in German as an L2 (Haslinger & Lasselsberger, 2011, p. 105). However, the NESET II report states that many teachers in the EU claim a lack of support and feel unprepared for their teaching in multilingual and multicultural environments (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, pp. 24–25). This discrepancy between official claims and reality can be illustrated by an example: Teachers in Austria are in a difficult situation because they are required by the school curricula to foster the students' linguistic resources, yet have to conduct standardised language tests (which are crucial for the students' further educational advancement) that are clearly aimed at students with German as their L1. Furthermore, teachers are aware how important their students' competence in German is for their educational success in the school system they are in, and understandably often focus on German rather than the multilingual students' home language. Jessner and Mayr-Keiler (2017, p. 89) pointedly remark:

[d]ue to lack of appropriate alternative testing instruments, little didactical and methodological knowledge on how to include (all) their pupils' linguistic resources in class, and last but not least - lack of time, opportunities for pupils to make use of their linguistic resources other than German has been reduced to a minimum.

In other words, it is hardly possible to embrace diversity in an educational system that aims at homogeneity – homogeneity of languages, cultures, et cetera. Furthermore, not only the language background per se, but also the level of literacy of newly arrived students is often heterogeneous: While some of them have an educational background similar to the Austrian school system, some may have never learned to write or to read. This poses a challenge for their teachers as they need to help these students develop the school languages, cater to their different language levels, and ensure that progress is made in the subjects themselves – all these tasks cannot realistically be performed at the same time by the same person in a satisfactory manner (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 34).

Teachers rarely come from minority groups, which might lead to a lack of role models that multilingual pupils can properly identify with (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, pp. 45–46; Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 44; Wilton, 2009, p. 62). In order to change that, to support

minority groups, and to promote equal opportunities for all pupils, the Austrian ministry of education has followed recommendations by the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) by, for example, setting up the initiative *Diversität und Mehrsprachigkeit in pädagogischen Berufen* from 2011 to 2013 to increase linguistic and cultural diversity of educational staff, i.e. recruit more teachers with a minority background, who grew up speaking multiple languages themselves and thus may serve as role models for pupils in a similar situation (Haslinger & Lasselsberger, 2011, p. 107). Overall, the issues multilingual students experience during their time at school should be taken more seriously in order to provide equal opportunities – a task that this master’s thesis wants to take up on (at least in part).

2.5. Multilingualism and its Chances and Challenges

In research, studies of individual bi- or multilingualism have become increasingly popular, especially from the 1960s onwards. At that time, views started to change towards multilingualism being beneficial to an individual’s intelligence and numerous studies have been conducted that aimed at proving the social and economic benefits for multilingual individuals (Wilton, 2009, p. 48). Meanwhile, the recognition of minorities and their languages has already taken place in research where there is consensus about multilingualism’s inevitability and desirability, but among the general public, various prejudices about multilinguals are still present (Wilton, 2009, pp. 67–68). In other words, “a gap remains between scientific and ordinary representations” of multilingualism (Bono & Stratilaki, 2009, p. 211). This is especially regrettable because there is ample research that shows various benefits of multilingualism to societies and individuals (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 8; Mehisto & Marsh, 2011, p. 21; Wilton, 2009, p. 47) such as strategic advantages for further language learning (Bono & Stratilaki, 2009, p. 207) and cross-cultural communication (Romaine, 2017, p. 542).

In the following chapters, topics such as language choice and discourse, identity, (language) learning, and language learning motivation are introduced in order to address the benefits as well as the issues multilinguals may have. These topics are also linked to an educational setting to directly relate the discussion to the aims of this master’s thesis.

2.5.1. Language Choice and Discourse

The sociocultural context which people find themselves in is the basis for the decision which language(s) they use and which language(s) they avoid. By choosing a language, they position

themselves in that specific context, and for that decision various parameters of the communicative setting are considered and have to be recognised and interpreted by the speaker. For example, multilinguals decide on the basis of what person is addressed, the subject matter, and the social setting; when a multilingual interacts with another multilingual, the language choice typically involves more than one language, which results in some form of bilingual language mode, often involving some form and intensity of code-switching (Jessner & Mayr-Keiler, 2017, pp. 90–91; Wei, 2008, pp. 12–13). Code-switching is a linguistic phenomenon that may occur not only between different varieties of one language, but also between different languages. Furthermore, languages may be mixed within a sentence, a clause, or even a word. Usually, code switches are structurally well formed and conform to grammatical rules of the languages used (Kemp, 2009, pp. 19–20; Wei, 2008, pp. 5–6). San Isidro and Lasagabaster (2019, p. 337) name some of the reasons behind code-switching in a multilingual context: “set up multicultural identities among themselves [...], perform cognitively demanding tasks [...], or express meaning more accurately“. Multilingual students who (in part) share the same languages commonly use code-switching in their conversations with each other. Interpreting from one language into the other is another common discourse strategy. In informal situations such as a brief conversation among pupils at school, these oral translations are usually unprofessional, spontaneous and barely structured (Wilton, 2009, p. 65) – and, thus, quite natural. However, strategies such as code-switching are rarely well received in the classroom. Wilton (2009, pp. 64–65) states that “[t]his is particularly critical if [...] sanctions are aimed at multilingual children who come to the monolingual classroom and experience their natural code-switching abilities as damaging [...], often because their teacher is not bilingual.”

To what degree translanguaging, i.e. the strategic use of all multilingual resources (= all languages) of an individual, is used depends on the social context (Cenoz, 2019, p. 78). Even though multilinguals often use their linguistic repertoire naturally, they may not be aware of all the resources that are available to them and may need help to activate them. At school, a flexible and strategic use of different languages may be achieved by combining various languages within the same learning task. As a result, translanguaging pedagogies may be a booster for social justice in the classroom as learners may find social constraints such as language prestige and identity, i.e. issues that are usually problematic for speakers of minority languages in a monolingual classroom, less inhibiting (Cenoz, 2019, pp. 78–79; Karabassova & San Isidro, 2020, pp. 2–3; San Isidro & Lasagabaster, 2019, p. 338).

At the micro level in an educational setting, pupils' social networks are crucial for how the languages taught at school are developed and used. If an immigrant family speaks a language at home that is (on the macro level) a weak minority language in their country of residence, this same language may be even more strongly used at the micro level, in conversation with family or friends (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, pp. 44–45). There is also evidence of the opposite, however: When students notice their home language is not valued at school, they may develop a preference for the school language and thus, their non-dominant home language may not be maintained sufficiently. This may have severe negative implications, especially if the students only use their home language orally and are not literate in it. As Sparks et al. (2012, p. 1603) put it, "Longitudinal studies [...] have found strong connections between early L1 skills, particularly L1 literacy, and subsequent proficiency in the L2." Hence, there is a relation between L1 and L2 reading abilities, and literacy deficits can negatively impact students' academic achievement in general (Baker, 1996, p. 54; Gogolin, 2002, p. 129; Koda, 2012, p. 310). However, there are teachers who recommend that families use the school language rather than their non-dominant home language at home because they see it as barrier and a deficit (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 42). Furthermore, parents who want their children to move upward socially may favour the dominant school language over the home language and discourage their children to use the latter too often (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 33). What becomes clear in all these cases is that the way languages are treated and valued at school strongly influences students' language choice in their everyday lives – which in turn has a crucial impact on their overall educational progress.

A study by Jessner and Mayr-Keiler investigated which languages other than German are used by multilingual students in Austrian classrooms and what contextual factors affect the students' language decision. They found that most of the non-German L1s of the students were not (or only to a very limited extent) used in the classroom for interacting with their teachers. The vast majority of the students, namely 98.6%, use the language of instruction, German for that purpose. Interestingly, if additional languages apart from German are used, they are prestigious languages such as English, which is an obligatory foreign language in most Austrian schools. Overall, the study found that there is a general discrepancy with regards to the students' linguistic repertoire and the language use in an educational context (Jessner & Mayr-Keiler, 2017, pp. 93–94). According to the study's authors, one explanation for the lack of use of languages other than German or English is that the contextual factors do not allow them to use their L1 in a formal educational setting (Jessner & Mayr-Keiler, 2017, p. 95).

2.5.2. Identity and Multilingualism

Social identity is a complex phenomenon, and the speech communities people consider themselves a part of may change over time as identity is negotiated within individuals and with the communities they interact with. Generally, individuals feel part of a speech community when social or political characteristics such as world views or culture are shared. Kemp (2009, p. 21) states that when someone considers themselves as multilingual, they might identify with other multilinguals even though their linguistic repertoire is different.

Multilinguals develop various identities that are connected to the languages in their linguistic repertoire, but they can also develop an identity that goes beyond a conglomeration of these identities, one that transcends the language-specific identities (Henry, 2017, pp. 549–550). A uniform description of how multilingual selves develop and how they are shaped is impossible to give, due to the diversity of individuals' experiences, the path that their language skills and linguistic abilities takes over time, and their minds. Much rather, the key influences on how individuals view the connection between their languages and their identities are worth investigating (Pavlenko, 2006, p. 6). Different identities are typically performed in different languages; therefore, "language choice is not only an effective means of communication but also an act of identity" (Wei, 2008, p. 13).

Even though different identities are also performed by monolinguals when they change registers, contexts, interactional aims, or simply conversational partners, a 2006 study by Pavlenko found that multilingualism should be regarded as a unique phenomenon rather than simply an extended form of monolingualism (Pavlenko, 2006, p. 1). In her study, Pavlenko analysed over 1,000 written online responses to questions concerning self-identification when speaking different languages. Differences were found in language emotionality and proficiency: Languages that were learned early in life were often referenced as real and natural, which may be rooted in a higher level of language proficiency, while later learned languages were sometimes referenced as artificial or performative (Pavlenko, 2006, pp. 18–19). In sum, the study found that the ways in which multilinguals experience their multiple selves are multifaceted: While some found their identity experiences ambivalent and reported sometimes feeling incomplete or inadequate by being multilingual, a majority of study participants felt empowered and enriched by their multilingual experiences and regarded themselves fortunate in having singular opportunities and perspectives (Pavlenko, 2006, p. 29). Other researchers also report that multilinguals can select the language they use for personal expression, which

creates feelings of empowerment, a sense of agency, and the feeling that they indeed possess a unique multilingual self (Henry, 2017, p. 549).

Nevertheless, this uniqueness also needs to be appreciated: Making students feel valued as multilinguals with a distinct linguistic and cultural background helps boost their self-esteem. If students' multicultural and multilingual identity is devalued, their motivation and achievement may be negatively impacted (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 24).

2.5.3. (Language) Learning

Many researchers share the belief that multilingualism generally improves cognitive functions in various ways (Mehisto & Marsh, 2011, p. 30), but has an especially positive effect on learning and language learning.

Multilinguals use their several languages in different ways: either in isolation or by mixing them, depending on the purpose and the social context. This suggests an advantage multilinguals have in comparison to monolinguals: When an individual processes new information (e.g. in language learning), existing prior knowledge is retrieved and individuals naturally use their prior linguistic knowledge as a resource in language learning (Cenoz, 2019, p. 76). Multilinguals have more linguistic resources at hand, which is sometimes referred to as multicompetence. This multicompetence describes their ability to bring extra cognitive capacity or added creativity (Cenoz, 2019, p. 75; Mehisto & Marsh, 2011, p. 31) to the task of learning a new language. Executive functions, i.e. an individual's capacity to control or manage cognitive processes, are also suggested to be improved for multilinguals, leading to improved problem-solving and focusing skills from early on in their lives. The reasons for these advantages are believed to originate in the extra cognitive demand of managing (at least) two active language systems and in the amount of practice multilinguals have in this (Mehisto & Marsh, 2011, pp. 32–33).

Multilinguals are also regarded to have a strategic advantage for language learning, leading them to develop creative skills for language use in a social context (Bono & Stratilaki, 2009, p. 208; Wilton, 2009, p. 64). Furthermore, they are also said to have higher metalinguistic awareness, described by Bono and Stratilaki (2009, p. 211) as follows:

[T]hey show a better understanding of the arbitrary nature of linguistic signs, an analytical approach towards linguistic functioning, enhanced awareness of the social and pragmatic functions of language, cognitive flexibility, willingness to take risks, increased control of the communicative task, etc.

Multilinguals often compare their languages, which may help them decode unknown words, better understand that words can have multiple meanings, or even identifying ambiguity in conversations (Mehisto & Marsh, 2011, p. 35). In 2009, Bono and Stratilaki conducted informal interviews with students in bilingual (French/German) secondary schools in both France and Germany (Bono & Stratilaki, 2009, p. 214) and found that the majority of participants recognised metalinguistic and metacognitive advantages of multilingualism both in terms of language learning and communication.

Learning something new (e.g. a language) is a process that younger minds are especially adept in, but language learning is generally not restricted to a critical period in life. There has been a shift in research from speaking about critical periods to speaking about sensitive periods but at the same time acknowledging that learning still occurs at any point in life (Mehisto & Marsh, 2011, p. 30). Many cognitive benefits that come with multilingualism are not reserved for individuals who speak multiple languages from an early age on, but can also be found at a later age (Mehisto & Marsh, 2011, p. 36).

Language learners are influenced by all the languages they already speak. An example of this cross-linguistic influence is multilinguals' use of reverse transfer, i.e. they can use linguistic resources from their most recently learned language to the languages they already speak, e.g. from the L3 to the L2 and L1 (Cenoz, 2019, pp. 76–77). One interesting example of such an instance can be shown through a 2010 study of pupils that have Turkish as L1, German as L2, and learn English at school: Their Turkish reading skills were shown to benefit their English reading skills, even though their German reading skills were not influenced (Gogolin, 2010, p. 541). A Finnish study on multilinguals' English language learning found that students actively used their L1 as an aid predominantly in learning vocabulary compared to pronunciation, grammar, and writing (Illman & Pietilä, 2018, p. 241). A 2006 UN report on non-dominant language learners described further signs for positive linguistic transfer. Furthermore, prior literacy in the non-dominant language can be associated with a higher literacy level in the school language (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 31).

The level of language development in a target language depends on various factors, including the amount and type of input, the language learners' L1 proficiency, the support provided by the family and the school/community, and the attitudes towards languages and cultures in a societal and educational setting (Bono & Stratilaki, 2009, p. 208; Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 30). For example, metalinguistic awareness is especially prevalent when learners attend schools that emphasise language-explicit instruction and, most importantly, support multilingualism

(Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 24). Thus, positive cognitive consequences of multilingualism require certain social and cognitive conditions – for example, school environments that encourage multilinguals to rely on their linguistic repertoire and strategic competence (Bono & Stratilaki, 2009, pp. 212–213). Moreover, multilingual students' learning needs to be supported by their earlier developed languages and not just through the school language. When this support is ensured, students can develop skills such as problem-solving, class discussion participation, and deeper knowledge development (Somers, 2017, p. 508; Wedin & Bomström Aho, 2019, p. 68).

2.5.4. Language Learning Motivation

In this thesis, two parameters are especially relevant with regard to learner motivation: multilingual students and CLIL settings. Motivation in CLIL settings will be discussed in chapter 3.3.1, whereas in this chapter, a multilingual stance is briefly taken on language learning motivation.

In language learning, knowledge and competence in the target language usually increase over time while in contrast, non-linguistic outcomes such as attitudes and motivation vary individually. This is one of the reasons why motivation is so hard to grasp (Lasagabaster, 2011, p. 3) but crucial to language learning. In the early 2000s, Dörnyei developed the L2 Motivational Self System, an influential motivation model that takes into account learner identities (Lasagabaster, 2011, p. 15). However, this model has a monolingual bias: Put simply, it describes motivation as disparity between an individual's current (i.e. non-ideal) and ideal self-perceptions as user of a particular target language (Somers & Llinares, 2021, p. 840). In this model, the motivational systems of different languages are not treated as interconnected, which would actually be more appropriate in a multilingual world as “the desire to achieve or improve multilingual competence” is a key source of L2 motivation nowadays (Henry, 2017, p. 548).

Henry proposes that all the motivational systems of an individual's languages are interrelated and, at the same time, constitute a higher-level multilingual motivational system in which identity plays a role. A multilingual identity includes an individual's perceptions and attitudes, both as they are in the present and as they could be in the future, i.e. possible life scenarios that Henry refers to as motivational self guides. Such motivational self guides are connected to a multilingual motivation system: They can be developed for every language a person speaks or learns (for example, an ideal English self) and when an individual learns a language, the various

self guides of this individual's other languages are likely to interact (Henry, 2017, p. 552). These interactions can be antagonistic (for example, by one language posing a threat to the other or by both languages requiring cognitive resources), but also mutually complementary (Henry, 2017, p. 553), depending on the situational context.

2.5.5. Drawbacks

Even though multilingualism has numerous benefits, supposed drawbacks are often based on assessing multilinguals' competence from a monolingual perspective (Cenoz, 2019, p. 75). Bono and Stratilaki (2009, pp. 207–208) state that “there is virtually no modern empirical research to indicate that bilingualism has a detrimental effect on cognition [...] and all branches of linguistics have come to accept the creed of *difference not deficit*” [original emphasis]. Issues associated with multilingualism are frequently attributed to the presence of multiple languages in individuals or societies, but are more accurately linked to external factors, such as the “way in which multilingualism is actually viewed, implemented or restricted” (Wilton, 2009, pp. 67–68).

Various challenges with regards to cognitive functions are supposedly linked to multilingualism. Cognitive overload, i.e. overstraining an individual's mind, is perceived to be amplified by managing several languages at the same time (Bono & Stratilaki, 2009, p. 207; Illman & Pietilä, 2018, p. 268). Poor linguistic competence is another prejudice that multilinguals are affected by: The term semilingual negatively refers to people that show “quantitative and qualitative deficiencies” in their languages, which might show through e.g. a small lexicon and incorrect use of grammar as well as “consciously [thinking] about language production, [...] and [finding] it difficult to think and express emotions in either language” (Baker, 1996, p. 9). Semilingualism is often believed to be shown through phenomena such as language mixing or code-switching. If a person uses two prestigious languages (for example, German and French), such strategies are seen as something positive that may even be admired. However, if one of the languages involved is a migrant language (for example, Serbian or Turkish), such linguistic phenomena are often perceived as a sign of a lack of language skills in the dominant language (Wilton, 2009, p. 68) or even in all of this person's languages, compared to monolinguals and their well-developed language ((Illman & Pietilä, 2018, p. 268). Furthermore, confusing languages may seem threatening to some and, naturally, this phenomenon is more likely to occur the more languages an individual speaks (Wilton, 2009, p. 68). In research, however, there is a trend to replace the notion of semilingualism with hyperlingualism, which means that rather than a disadvantage, knowing more languages is an

advantage because of the different linguistic resources at multilinguals' disposal (Cenoz, 2019, p. 75). Nevertheless, as already mentioned earlier, in order for that to happen an individual's L1 or family language(s) should be spoken competently.

When multilinguals students are placed in a monolingual educational system, negative effects such as linguistic insecurity may occur and can lead to e.g. insufficient language development, which in turn results in poor academic achievement and low self-esteem (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 32). For example, when it comes to learning a foreign language such as English, students with an immigrant background often achieve lower learning results than monolinguals because they usually learn English through another language that is not their (only) L1 (Illman & Pietilä, 2018, p. 237) and students with weak skills in the school language (which is often used as an aid in foreign language teaching) tend to struggle more. However, it needs to be emphasised that not the multilingual students are necessarily problematic per se in such scenarios, but rather the monolingual system surrounding them does not fit their needs. Since most school systems are still mainly monolingual, this poses a challenge for many multilingual students.

3. Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)

As previously discussed, multilingualism is omnipresent in the education system. One way to respond to the ever-growing demands of an increasingly diverse classrooms is CLIL, i.e. Content and Language Integrated Learning: This educational approach focuses on the language of instruction and adapts language-sensitive methodologies (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 7). Thus, it can be a chance for multilingual students. In this chapter, a historic outline of the development of CLIL is given and the main characteristics of CLIL are introduced. Then, students' motivation and affective perceptions of CLIL as well as learning outcomes in CLIL contexts are discussed. Finally, the current CLIL situation in Austrian schools is described.

3.1. What is CLIL? A Historic Outline

CLIL is an educational model that seeks to focus equally on language and content learning (Mehisto et al., 2008, p. 11). The concept (and the term CLIL) is used especially, but not exclusively, in Europe (Nikula, 2017, p. 111). In order to understand the motives and considerations CLIL is based on, its historical development needs to be understood.

Within Europe, national education systems have traditionally been mainly monolingual, but this has changed over the past decades. Multiple factors contributed to a shift towards

multilingual education systems (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 2): Along with internationalisation in every aspect of life, communication has become increasingly international. Migration and mobility led to diversifying societies in numerous world regions, which resulted in a more diverse distribution of languages as well (Gabillon, 2020, p. 90). Therefore, it is no surprise that there have been programmes that combine content and language learning before CLIL. For example, in the 1960s and 1970s, Canada as well as European countries such as Sweden, the Netherlands, and Denmark, started to develop content-based instruction (CBI), bilingual and immersion programmes in order to promote multilingualism. While some characteristics of these models, for example acknowledging the importance of content and language integration, are undeniably similar to the current CLIL model, differences exist as well, for example the approach's historical, political, contextual, and ideological background (Gabillon, 2020, p. 105), and the choice of language of instruction: CLIL usually uses a lingua franca (mostly English), while immersion and CBI programmes use learners' L2 (Hemmi & Banegas, 2021, p. 2; Nikula, 2017, p. 112).

Efforts to promote European integration, an official aim of the EU since its early days, have led to the development of a policy to enhance multilingualism among EU citizens. In fact, the EU was understood as plurilingual entity as early as the late 1950s and measures to provide better language education were established from the 1970s onwards. One of the 1978 proposals proclaimed the aim to teach through the medium of more than one language in European schools – a “landmark point which acted as a catalyst for the development of CLIL” in Europe (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 8). In the 1980s, alternative ways of teaching and learning content subjects and languages were explored in order to focus more on relevance, motivation, and learner involvement. At the same time, various fields of study became interconnected due to the need to tackle increasingly complex and urgent issues (Gabillon, 2020, p. 90). From the early 1990s onwards, a focus on language education and multilingualism was noticeable in European authorities such as the Council of Europe and the European Commission (Gabillon, 2020, p. 89). Thus, educational approaches such as CLIL have been in focus for almost 30 years in order to reach the EU's language learning goals and have increasingly been mentioned in various declarations since the mid-1990s (Dalton-Puffer, 2011a, p. 184, 2011b, p. 9; Dalton-Puffer et al., 2022, p. 182), when, for example, a European multilingual policy by the European Commission aimed at enabling each EU citizen to use three (L1 + 2 other) European languages (Hemmi & Banegas, 2021, p. 1).

As an approach that integrates both language and subject learning, CLIL has thus gained momentum at a time when the need for innovation and better educational outcomes in language and communication became visible (Coyle et al., 2010, pp. 3–4; Nikula, 2017, p. 113). Furthermore, CLIL can serve as a context for meaningful language use (Merino & Lasagabaster, 2018, p. 19). It is thus regarded by EU authorities as an important means to foster multilingualism in European mainstream schools (Lasagabaster, 2011, p. 6; Nikula, 2017, pp. 111–112).

Within the EU, a policy aiming at increasing the number of students who learn a second language (and lowering their starting age) has already been implemented in numerous states. In 2014, 59.7% of lower secondary students in the EU were not only learning one, but two or more foreign languages. This percentage had increased by about 13% since 2005. In 2005, CLIL was already established in some form in the majority of EU countries; most of the CLIL realisations were small-scale and aimed at upper secondary students. In the Eurydice Report of 2006, the European Council released the educational recommendation that all EU member states should adopt CLIL to their school curricula (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 8; Nikula, 2017, p. 113). While in the early stages, CLIL was mainly established as “micro-experiences” in secondary schools of some European countries such as Italy or Austria (Hemmi & Banegas, 2021, p. 2), it is nowadays taught in a mainstream school setting. CLIL has, since its introduction, been taken up at an enormous pace. However, expectations seem to have been even higher: CLIL, as a teaching method that provides additional foreign language teaching, is still “limited in Europe” (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017, p. 14).

The 2017 Eurydice Report states that CLIL lessons are integrated by almost all countries at some stage. In Austria and Liechtenstein, for example, the first grades of primary education have mandatory CLIL programmes. The report also recognises various challenges in developing CLIL programmes: Teacher education and qualifications are named in particular (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017, p. 14). The Eurydice Report further finds that VET pupils in Europe generally have fewer opportunities to learn two foreign languages or learn two foreign languages for fewer years than pupils in general education (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017, p. 41). They are often considered unsuccessful in language learning compared to students of other school types (Hüttner et al., 2013, p. 267). However, as graduates of these school types more and more often enter an international job market, the importance of languages has been increasingly acknowledged and CLIL was

regarded as a suitable means of preparing students for their careers (Dalton-Puffer et al., 2021, p. 93).

In the following, the specific characteristics that generally define CLIL in its present form will be discussed in detail.

3.2. Definitions and Characteristics of CLIL

CLIL is an educational approach that is now widespread (Dalton-Puffer, 2011a, p. 184). Hüttner et al. (2013, p. 267) name it “one of the most dynamic pedagogic trends in language teaching in Europe”. Thus, there is no universal definition of the approach and CLIL is often used as an umbrella term with diverse applications: Over the past years, CLIL principles have been locally adapted in order to best cater to each CLIL context (Dalton-Puffer et al., 2022, p. 183; Gabillon, 2020, p. 92; Hemmi & Banegas, 2021, p. 2). In order to provide a working concept of CLIL that can be used for the qualitative study in this thesis, core elements of CLIL need to be identified. Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010, p. 1) coined a general definition of CLIL that is now commonly used (Hemmi & Banegas, 2021, p. 4) and that describes CLIL as the following:

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) is a dual-focused educational approach in which an **additional language** is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language. Each is interwoven, even if the emphasis is greater on one or the other at a given time. [original emphasis]

Dalton-Puffer (2011a, p. 183) offers a similar definition that adds some more aspects to CLIL:

CLIL can be described as an educational approach where curricular content is taught through the medium of a foreign language, typically to students participating in some form of mainstream education at the primary, secondary, or tertiary level.

These definitions emphasise the **dual focus** on content and language, often referred to as an efficient way to teach subject content and language together. The idea behind CLIL is that learning a language through school subjects enhances students’ language proficiency and general learning achievement at the same time. Coyle, Hood, and Marsh’s definition further explains that some CLIL approaches are rather **content-driven** and some are rather **language-driven**, depending on the practitioners’ focus (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 4, 2010, p. 1). Whichever of these is in focus, it is clear that CLIL seeks to combine the two: “CLIL is not a new form of language education. It is not a new form of subject education. It is an innovative fusion of both” (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 1). Dalton-Puffer also states that “CLIL could be interpreted as a foreign language enrichment measure packaged into content teaching” (Dalton-Puffer, 2011a, p. 184).

This indicates that CLIL is specifically neither subject nor language learning, but the fusion of both, causing synergies to emerge (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 4).

CLIL, as an educational approach, can be carried out in various forms and programmes. Therefore, CLIL practices may also vary regarding contextual and expectational aspects such as objectives, programme type, intensity, language of instruction and its status, et cetera (Gabillon, 2020, pp. 93–95). Some of these will be dealt with in the following.

Dalton-Puffer's definition places CLIL in a **mainstream education setting** without a general rule about the students' age or the school level; CLIL can be part of learning at primary, secondary, or sometimes even tertiary level (Dalton-Puffer, 2011a, p. 183). Furthermore, both definitions are specific about the language used for CLIL: While Coyle, Hood, and Marsh speak of an **additional language**, Dalton-Puffer calls it **foreign language**. Both terms refer to the same characteristic that distinguishes CLIL from other content-based instruction and immersion programmes: The language of instruction in CLIL programmes is usually not a second language of a society (which is usually the case in immersion programmes), which means that the language is mainly encountered in a school context (Dalton-Puffer, 2011a, pp. 183–184). The languages used for CLIL are usually highly valued languages, and a special role is attributed to English: The vast majority of countries with CLIL programmes use English as medium of instruction (Doiz et al., 2014a, p. 107; San Isidro & Lasagabaster, 2019, p. 336). Dalton-Puffer (2011a, p. 183) humorously points out that "CLIL effectively means CEIL, or content-and-English integrated learning". Thus, the initial L1 + 2 other European languages that EU citizens should be able to use, have often become L1 + English + 1 other (Hemmi & Banegas, 2021, p. 2).

Aside from the two definitions that serve as a basis for this thesis, there are some more characteristics of CLIL in a European context, mainly drawn from Austrian CLIL researcher Christiane Dalton-Puffer. These characteristics help understand the conditions under which CLIL is taught in many Austrian schools: Overall, the CLIL is not used in the majority of lessons and CLIL programmes usually start when the students already are literate to some degree in their L1 (Dalton-Puffer, 2011a, pp. 183–184). The target language used for CLIL is usually **also taught as its own subject**. This provides CLIL students with the advantage of spending more time practicing the target language compared to students who only learn the target language in the form of foreign language lessons. Interestingly, during the early development phase of CLIL, the issue of insufficient time allocated for regular language teaching in curricula was one of the drivers of CLIL (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 5). The **time**

advantage CLIL provides for language learners is presumed to show in the form of advanced language skills of CLIL students, for example a larger lexicon (Dalton-Puffer, 2011a, p. 186). The CLIL language is the medium of instruction used to teach curricular content, for example history or geography (Dalton-Puffer, 2011a, p. 182; Lasagabaster et al., 2014, p. 107). CLIL lessons are **labelled as content lessons** in timetables (Dalton-Puffer, 2011a, p. 184) and their learning goals are defined by subject (i.e. content) curricula. Interestingly, in theory both content and language should be equally in focus and neither should be subsumed (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 28) – but most forms of CLIL in Europe are content-driven due to their curricular and organisational embedding in school systems (Nikula, 2017, p. 112). Another hint at CLIL (in its current European form) leaning towards content rather than language is that CLIL teachers are usually **non-native speakers** of the target language; most commonly, they are content teachers or in some cases foreign language teachers (Dalton-Puffer, 2011a, p. 183).

Despite the great diversity in the actual design of CLIL in Europe, Dalton-Puffer (2011b, pp. 9–10) points out that one commonality that unites many of them is that the effort to enhance CLIL (especially concerning English) comes both from an institutional level (i.e. an official European language policy) and a grassroots level. The latter is fuelled by parents and teachers who noticed a shift in society and economics and thus believed that internationalisation would be crucial for education in the future (Dalton-Puffer, 2011a, p. 184).

The influence that students' personality and motivation have on their learning and overall academic performance should not be underestimated (Meyerhöffer & Dreesmann, 2019, p. 1369), which makes investigating students' affective perceptions of CLIL especially worthwhile. In the following chapter, theoretical underpinnings and empirical findings related to students' affective perceptions of CLIL are introduced.

3.3. Students' Affective Perceptions in Context with CLIL

3.3.1. Motivation Models and CLIL

Motivation in language learning is commonly regarded as different from motivation in other learning processes (Möller, 2018, p. 6) and is directly connected to L2 achievement, even though the assumption that low motivation causes low achievement is too simplistic. Until the 1990s, motivation was believed to be inherent to certain learners and remain relatively stable. In contrast to these earlier models of motivation, this view has changed since then and not only the learners but also their L2 learning environment is regarded to shape L2 motivation (Coyle, 2011, pp. 11–12; Lasagabaster, 2011, p. 3; Somers & Llinares, 2021, p. 840). Therefore, current

L2 motivation research is mainly based on a socio-dynamic approach that takes into account the specific contexts in which language learning takes place, for example the participants (teachers and students) and their dynamic relationships, the classroom, the curricular requirements, et cetera. In order to better understand the currently used concepts, earlier and current developments of motivation research models in language learning are now briefly described.

In the mid-1980s, Gardner's work on integrative motivation distinguished between three variables, namely integrativeness, attitudes towards the learning situation, and motivation. Intrinsic motivation, regarded as especially powerful, was believed to be driven by positive personal outcomes such as interest and pleasure, while extrinsic motivation (instrumental motives) described rather pragmatic-utilitarian reasons for learning a language, for example passing exams (Somers & Llinares, 2021, p. 840). However, partly due to globalisation and a shift in aims of English language teaching towards ELF (English as a lingua franca), several more recent models have been developed (Bower, 2019, p. 559; Lasagabaster, 2011, p. 6; Somers & Llinares, 2021, p. 841); for example, Ryan and Deci's (2000) Self-Determination Theory also distinguished between extrinsic/instrumental and intrinsic motivation.

In the early 2000s, Dörnyei developed the L2 Motivational Self System, an influential model that takes into account the relationship between learners and their learning environment (Dörnyei, 2005, pp. 105–106) and that was explored further by e.g. Ushioda (Bower, 2019, p. 562; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2021, p. 65). In this model, learner identities are investigated in a fuller sense than in earlier models, which was welcomed by fellow motivation researchers in CLIL (Lasagabaster, 2011, p. 15). The L2 Motivational Self System marks a shift towards integrating a temporal perspective; motivation is dynamic and changes over time according to the contexts. Motivation is conceptualised in terms of wanted and unwanted aspects of the future self, and the L2 Learning Experience, which incorporates all motivational influences that are found in the learners' immediate environment, including previous L2 learning experiences (Bower, 2019, p. 560; Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2021, pp. 63–64; Somers & Llinares, 2021, p. 840).

Current developments of motivation theory take a complex dynamic perspective and, for example, have identified Directed Motivational Currents, which refer to periods during which motivation is especially intense in order to reach a specific goal (Henry et al., 2015, p. 329). Bower's Process Motivation Model is another new framework that reconceptualises how motivation is investigated and integrates motivational aspects from different pre-existing models (Bower, 2019, pp. 560, 563). Thus, all these models demonstrate that motivation is

multi-faceted and a complex, dynamic field of research, consisting of numerous factors that can be investigated.

Coyle (2011) draws on Dörnyei's framework and proposes a process model to specifically investigate motivation in CLIL settings. The three aspects of this model are learning environment, learner engagement, and learner identities (Bower, 2019, p. 562; Coyle, 2011, pp. 13–14). Figure 2 illustrates the complexity of motivation in CLIL settings with various examples how the three aspects shape learners' motivation.

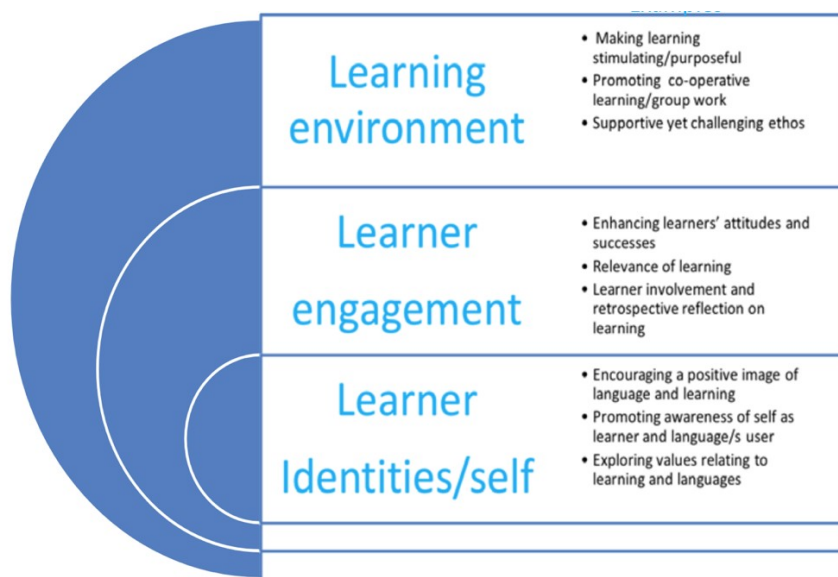


Figure 2. Coyle's Process Model – Investigating Motivation in CLIL Settings (Coyle, 2011, p. 17)

In Figure 2, each aspect is presented in more detail. For example, the learning environment can enhance motivation by making learning purposeful, using cooperative forms of learning, and following a supportive yet challenging ethos. Learner engagement can be fostered when what is learned is also relevant and learners are involved and get the chance to reflect on their learning in retrospect. The learners' notion of self, which is a key factor in motivation, can be enhanced by building a positive image of language and learning in general and by enabling the students to develop an awareness of their self as learners and language users (or also users of more than one language, i.e. multilinguals) (Coyle, 2011, p. 17). Language learning experiences are crucial for how students' motivation develops (Doiz et al., 2014b, p. 119). Several studies show that students' foreign language learning performances are better when this foreign language is integrated with content instruction. The learners reason that their motivation is enhanced by CLIL lessons because they can actively contribute to them and they can use knowledge they have learned in their L1 to build new knowledge in an L2 (Hemmi & Banegas, 2021, p. 10).

Motivation studies mainly use a quantitative approach; nevertheless, qualitative studies have gained momentum in the past years (Bower, 2019, p. 561; Doiz et al., 2014b, p. 119; Roiha & Sommier, 2018, p. 632). CLIL studies on motivation usually investigate how CLIL students' motivation towards L2 learning differs from non-CLIL students. Somers and Llinares (2021, p. 840) summarise that research "has shown CLIL to be beneficial in boosting L2 motivation". However, they argue that CLIL, as an approach that integrates content learning through a foreign language and language learning through content, should not only focus on the language, and they call for reconceptualising motivation in a CLIL context: Neither isolated aspects of L2 motivation nor isolated aspects of content learning motivation suffice to describe what makes up CLIL motivation as a whole.

In general, two motives are at the centre of the concept of CLIL motivation, which are called intrinsic CLIL motivation and instrumental CLIL motivation (and are based on Ryan and Deci's Self-Determination Theory). Intrinsic CLIL motivation reflects "the enjoyment of learning content through a foreign language and learning a foreign language through content" (Somers & Llinares, 2021, p. 843). Somers and Llinares connect high CLIL enjoyment to high CLIL motivation (and, thus, to content and language learning). Inherently enjoyable aspects of CLIL learning increase CLIL motivation, but unenjoyable aspects such as the anxiety to participate in CLIL classes diminish the enjoyment of CLIL learning and thus CLIL motivation. Tasks that are within reach, i.e. at which students feel likely to be successful, are most attractive and motivating to them, but potential pressure and anxiety of failure need to be taken seriously as they might negatively affect students' performance (Meyerhöffer & Dreesmann, 2019, p. 1369). Instrumental CLIL motivation refers to the external requirements CLIL learners presumably need to meet, e.g. the advantages that CLIL might provide for their future careers. Not only students' aspirations for their future play a role here, but also how the CLIL programme is organised, i.e. the programme intensity and the allocation and status of CLIL subjects (Somers & Llinares, 2021, pp. 843–844).

This new concept of CLIL motivation by Somers and Llinares does not only focus on L2 motivation but takes into account the various complex and interdependent aspects of CLIL programmes. Since in the present master's thesis, the participating students' affective perceptions are explored via qualitative research, the students' answers might aid in understanding not only what elements make CLIL motivating or demotivating, but also why this is so and how they deal with it.

3.3.2. Empirical Studies on Affective Perceptions in Context with CLIL

CLIL research has so far mainly revolved around output-focused studies whereas studies that investigate stakeholders' beliefs and perceptions have only recently become more mainstream (Roiha, 2019, p. 92; Somers & Llinares, 2021, p. 839) despite there being exceptions such as an interview study by Hüttner et al. conducted in 2008 and published a few years later (2013, p. 274). However, there is more research on teachers' perceptions than on students' perceptions and the latter has largely focused so far on students' attitudes on implementing CLIL programmes and their motivation (only) towards L2 learning (Somers & Llinares, 2021, p. 840).

When investigating students' affective perceptions, it should be taken into account that CLIL may not be a fit for all types of learners: For example, there are doubts that students with learning difficulties can profit from CLIL (Hemmi & Banegas, 2021, p. 5). Additionally, it is often not sufficiently acknowledged in research that CLIL programmes are currently often voluntary and/or only open for selected students, which is often congruent with high achieving students and therefore, research on correlations between CLIL and motivation and students' interest might be distorted (Hemmi & Banegas, 2021, p. 5; Nikula, 2017, p. 119). Taking into account these shortcomings, it is nevertheless worthwhile to look into various aspects of students' affective perceptions. Naturally, not all aspects or studies can be covered in this master's thesis, but the following pages aim at providing an overview of some especially relevant topics.

Instrumental and intrinsic motivation of CLIL and EFL students

A study by Lasagabaster (2011) in the Spanish Basque country indicates that CLIL students are more motivated than 'regular' EFL students when it comes to instrumental motivation as well as to aspects of intrinsic motivation such as interest, attitudes towards English learning, et cetera. He also found that there was a correlation between students' English proficiency (especially their written and oral skills) and their motivation levels (Lasagabaster, 2011, p. 14; Somers & Llinares, 2021, p. 842). When comparing students in high intensity and low intensity CLIL programmes in 2018, Somers and Llinares found similar reasons for the higher intrinsic motivation of the former group: The cause was likely to be found in the CLIL students' greater language proficiency. Nevertheless, instrumental motivation was found to be more important in both groups in comparison to intrinsic motivation, due to the perceived usefulness of CLIL. Low intensity CLIL students were generally less strongly motivated than high intensity students, partly because CLIL was less relevant in their school experience (Somers & Llinares, 2021, pp. 849–850).

In a 2014 study by Doiz et al., open questions were used to gain a deeper understanding about what motivated and demotivated CLIL students in Spain, where CLIL is open to all students. Students reported an overall positive attitude towards CLIL due to it being helpful for learning English, for the students' future careers, communicating with people from other countries, learning content and English at the same time, becoming multilingual, et cetera (Doiz et al., 2014b, pp. 122–123). These reasons rather fall into the category of instrumental motivation, but intrinsic motivation was also high: With regards to what students liked most and least about CLIL, the students primarily gave answers that stressed positive aspects such as improved language skills, more variety in activities, and more project-based work (Doiz et al., 2014b, p. 132).

Students' attitudes towards CLIL programmes vary significantly depending on the type and the intensity of the programme. Research on motivation and students' interest found that students who voluntarily enter CLIL programmes tend to have a higher motivation than students in mandatory CLIL programmes (Nikula, 2017, p. 119). In states where CLIL programmes are in part open to all students (for example Spain and Austria), teachers need to consider that they teach more heterogeneous groups of students in order to cater to their needs and make/keep them motivated (Doiz et al., 2014b, p. 133). When regular classes without a specific CLIL programme have isolated topics or single lessons taught as CLIL lessons, they may also profit from them in terms of raised motivation, as shown in a study by Meyerhöffer and Dreesmann: In 2019, they investigated the effects of one specific CLIL biology unit in a regular German high school class and found that students' affective perceptions contributed to positive learning achievement: Low anxiety ratings as well as a positive outlook on their success, high interest, et cetera showed that most students were intrinsically motivated before the CLIL unit. After the CLIL unit, the students also perceived their overall experience as positive, naming independent group work, modern media use, and experiments as contributing factors (Meyerhöffer & Dreesmann, 2019, p. 1380).

Attitudes towards languages, interculturality, and multilingualism

CLIL has been found to be beneficial to learners' attitudes towards language learning and multilingualism (Roiha & Sommier, 2018, p. 632). In their 2018 study, Roiha and Sommier investigated former CLIL students' language and intercultural attitudes after they had had CLIL lessons for nine years. The researchers found that the participants' positive attitude towards English did not diminish over time but rather was confirmed in that they noticed an advantage

compared to non-CLIL pupils. Most of the CLIL students could use their English skills to their advantage in their career (Roiha & Sommier, 2018, pp. 636–637).

However, the dominant role that English seems to play for most participants is also noticeable in their attitudes towards other foreign languages: For most participants, learning to use English intensely made learning other foreign languages less attractive and, in some cases, also harder to accomplish. In terms of developing positive intercultural attitudes, CLIL overall shows some potential, but Roiha and Sommier stress that attention needs to be paid explicitly to interculturality in CLIL to have a long-term effect. Dalton-Puffer et al. (2021, p. 95) interpret Roiha and Sommier's findings similarly and remark that "the alleged benefits of CLIL on positive attitudes towards languages in general as well as interculturality" are not to be taken for granted.

Negative CLIL experiences

When looking at the studies previously mentioned, it becomes evident that while CLIL is received positively by most students, every CLIL class presumably includes students who struggle with CLIL and are not convinced of the often assumed benefits of CLIL. This information should be kept in mind, especially by CLIL teachers (Roiha, 2019, p. 95).

In a mixed-methods study, Pihko (2010) found that about 20% of the interviewed secondary students found learning through a foreign language unpleasant and in the previously mentioned 2014 study by Doiz et al., disadvantages of CLIL were addressed as well. In both studies, similar reasons were given: Many students reported CLIL was difficult for them due to their insufficient language skills (Doiz et al., 2014b, p. 124), which is similar to what Somers and Llinares found in a 2018 study: The students reasoned that sometimes, they felt their level of language proficiency was not high enough to keep up (Somers & Llinares 2021: 849–850). A lack of guidance, support, and opportunities to practice the target language in CLIL lessons were also mentioned in one of the studies (Roiha, 2019, p. 95), and some students compared CLIL classes and hypothetical classes in their L1: If the CLIL subject was taught in the students' L1, they speculated that it would be easier and they could gain a deeper understanding of it. This reasoning was given especially with subjects the students already considered challenging without CLIL (Doiz et al., 2014b, pp. 124–125; Roiha, 2019, p. 95).

CLIL and multilingual students

The prerequisites of CLIL students with a multilingual background are unique because students who speak a home language other than the dominant language of instruction are in a (at least)

trilingual context in CLIL classes, as opposed to their monolingual peers who then are only in a bilingual context (Sutton et al., 2024, p. 2). Even though CLIL classrooms have become linguistically diverse, there are only few studies on CLIL that pay particular attention to such students (Somers 2017: 497).

Some studies investigate the attitudes of immigrant minority language parents and students towards multilingual education and CLIL in general. Somers (2017, pp. 499–500) infers that immigrant parents generally have positive attitudes towards multilingual education, unless they struggle with finding work and do not speak the dominant language, in which case they tend to be more apprehensive. CLIL is a popular choice for multilingual students and regarding the motivation to choose (or stay in) such bilingual programmes, studies in Canada and Spain found that students with immigrant minority languages tend to hope for career advantages and upward social mobility (Somers, 2017, p. 501).

A 2019 study by Otterup investigated multilingual pupils in a Swedish international upper secondary school with a CLIL programme. Even though it should be mentioned that the participants in this study came from a rather privileged background (Otterup, 2019, p. 280) and are thus not a representative group, the study provides valuable insights: Generally, the study participants named better opportunities to study abroad, improving their English proficiency, and better academic and job opportunities as the main reasons for choosing a CLIL programme (Otterup, 2019, p. 278).

CLIL may also provide an empowering environment for multilingual students in that they feel more equal to their peers, as “CLIL cancels out the most important source of inequality between minority and majority students: knowledge of the language of instruction” (Somers, 2017, p. 512). This is also suggested in Otterup’s study: Since English was a second or additional language for nearly all pupils in the Swedish school, multilingual students felt more equal than they would have been at a Swedish-speaking school and the students did not feel subordinate to the majority group (i.e. Swedish speaking pupils) (Otterup, 2019, pp. 276–277). The school in Otterup’s study actively promoted ethnic and linguistic diversity and the teachers were aware of the need for support and encouragement due to the linguistic practices at the school, i.e. English is used as main language during and in between lessons (Otterup, 2019, p. 267). Somers (2017, p. 512) also finds that CLIL methodology tends to allow for all students’ languages being used in the classroom, which for example also recognises and supports all students’ backgrounds and cultures. Furthermore, CLIL helps students feel less self-conscious when

struggling to express themselves in the target language, as its methodology promotes natural and authentic language use.

3.4. CLIL and its Chances and Challenges

Since the introduction of CLIL, interest in both implementing and researching this concept has grown rapidly, making it an active research field characterised by cross-national collaboration (Nikula, 2017, p. 117). Due to the ever-increasing number of studies, the scope of this master's thesis cannot provide a complete depiction of the field. So far, CLIL research focused on language learning has developed more quickly and is more comprehensive than content learning CLIL research (Meyerhöffer & Dreesmann, 2019, p. 1366; Nikula, 2017, p. 115; San Isidro & Lasagabaster, 2019, p. 337).

Considering contextual factors is essential in CLIL research; this includes aspects such as the specific national policy framework, teacher education, and CLIL students' age (Nikula, 2017, p. 120). The many forms and foci of CLIL strongly influence the effects of CLIL on its learners: Some CLIL programmes may focus on speaking and developing vocabulary knowledge whereas other CLIL branches take grammar more into account, et cetera. Depending on the focus of the specific CLIL programme, the effects (be it affective or proficiency-wise) may differ greatly and the variety of conceptualisations of CLIL has also been criticised. Several researchers claim that the lack of clear methodology in CLIL is a cause for confusion and the impact of ever-changing CLIL programmes is difficult to determine (Nikula, 2017, p. 119). Furthermore, studies' results are often not overarchingly valid but are rather context-specific, making it hard to gain general insights (Merino & Lasagabaster, 2018, p. 20).

Furthermore, CLIL learners should not be deemed more successful (language) learners than non-CLIL learners simply due to their programme choice. It is crucial to acknowledge that CLIL programmes are often selective and the students that attend special CLIL classes often have above-average motivation and skills (Merino & Lasagabaster, 2018, p. 20; Meyerhöffer & Dreesmann, 2019, p. 1368; Roiha & Sommer, 2018, p. 632). In other words, CLIL students often are "quite simply: bright and enthusiastic learners" (Möller, 2018, p. 15). Studies have found that CLIL students tend to have well-educated parents, a high socioeconomic status and cultural capital, et cetera; in short, social selection is often an issue in some CLIL programmes (Madrid & Barrios, 2018, p. 32) even though it must not necessarily be the case: A study by Granados and Lorenzo suggests that self-selective CLIL programmes may have egalitarian

effects as CLIL students reach similarly high language skills regardless of their socioeconomic status (Lorenzo et al., 2021, p. 411).

In some cases, CLIL is selective regarding teachers: Dallinger et al. (2016, p. 24) describe that due to the increased effort that is needed to prepare CLIL lessons, CLIL teachers are often especially motivated, enthusiastic, pedagogically competent, and might even be selected specifically for CLIL programmes. As the quality of instruction also shapes student learning, this aspect should also be acknowledged.

As CLIL is a relatively young educational approach, there are various fields of research that require more attention in the future, for example integrated assessment or the role of language in assessment (Nikula, 2017, pp. 120–121). Moreover, difficulties with acknowledging multilingual classrooms are not only generally present in schools: CLIL research has mostly focused on a monolingual classroom or, in other words, not sufficiently taken into account that CLIL classrooms are linguistically heterogeneous (Somers, 2017, p. 515). Thus, relatively little attention has been given to multilingual practices in CLIL, such as translanguaging, code-switching, et cetera, but this field of research is described as promising as it takes a look at multilingual resources rather than only focusing on the L1 and the CLIL language (Karabassova & San Isidro, 2020, p. 3; Nikula, 2017, p. 118). Nikula (2017, p. 121) also regards the combination of research on multilingualism, CLIL, and sociolinguistics of globalisation as crucial for the future:

It has been argued that CLIL in fact often operates in largely monolingual contexts and mindsets, with the typical case being the use of an international lingua franca in instruction among the teacher and students who share the same L1. However, as societies grow more diverse, so will CLIL classrooms, and a question to explore, then, is how this will influence the role and impact of CLIL.

Nikula's statement aligns with the focus of the present master's thesis, i.e. combining multilingualism and CLIL research in response to current societal developments. Moreover, educational approaches such as CLIL should be analysed with regards to both affective and cognitive factors as both not only play a role in how successful such programmes are, but also are interdependent (Möller, 2018, p. 1). The following chapters thus investigate CLIL research on learning processes that is especially relevant in connection to multilingual students and, thus, this master's thesis.

3.4.1. Content Learning and Cognitive Benefits of CLIL

As mentioned earlier, content learning has been less extensively examined in CLIL research compared to language learning. One possible reason is that there is a lack of ready-made constructs and standardised assessment instruments of subject-specific competence that might enable comparisons between CLIL and non-CLIL content classes (Dalton-Puffer, 2011a, p. 188; Nikula, 2017, p. 115). In this thesis, content learning is not in focus and therefore, this chapter is kept relatively brief.

According to Roiha and Sommier (2018, p. 631), research results on content learning “have not been unanimous”, but various studies highlighted that CLIL students are not at a disadvantage compared to non-CLIL students when it comes to their overall academic performance or to content knowledge gains (Meyerhöffer & Dreesmann, 2019, p. 1379; Roiha, 2019, p. 93). Therefore, even though (especially in the beginning) CLIL lessons might be slower paced than non-CLIL lessons on the same topics (Dallinger et al., 2016, p. 23), there is a tendency to even out these differences in the long run. However, there has also been some evidence that CLIL students are indeed not as advanced as non-CLIL students when it comes to content learning (Nikula, 2017, pp. 115–116; Piesche et al., 2016, p. 108) and there are issues concerning the breadth and depth of content knowledge in the CLIL subjects. Furthermore, if a topic is taught through CLIL lessons, students might not be able to express their acquired knowledge in their L1 in a satisfactory manner (Nikula 2017: 115–116; Piesche et al. 2016: 108).

CLIL is said to not only promote linguistic competence but also stimulate cognitive flexibility. This might be achieved simply by the fact that CLIL students develop the ability to think in different languages. Furthermore, CLIL students develop different thinking horizons which might have an impact on the way they think, i.e. conceptualise the world (Coyle et al., 2010, pp. 10–11). This, of course, is interrelated with the advantages of multilingualism per se, as presented in chapter 2.5.3.

CLIL has often been proposed as a “facilitator to raise intercultural awareness” (Roiha & Sommier, 2018, p. 633). Intercultural awareness is believed to be deepened by positioning the students in relation to ‘otherness’ in various forms, depending on the CLIL content matter (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 41). CLIL also prepares students for internationalisation as differences and similarities between various cultural perspectives are typically examined in CLIL lessons. Furthermore, when materials from a wide range of cultural realities are used in CLIL, different perspectives are presented to the students and, thus, the students are encouraged to “go past ethnocentric reflexes” (Roiha & Sommier, 2018, p. 633).

3.4.2. CLIL and Language Learning

As shown in numerous studies, CLIL fosters target language learning in many ways (Merino & Lasagabaster, 2018, p. 21; Roiha, 2019, p. 93). However, what specific areas of language learning are enhanced most strongly depends on the way CLIL is implemented in each case; for example, it depends on whether the CLIL lessons focus on oral production or the expansion of subject-specific vocabulary (Roiha, 2019, p. 94). Motivational variables also contribute to an increased language performance (as elaborated in chapter 3.3.1), but the extent is not clear as of now (Nikula, 2017, p. 115). It is also not yet clear what exactly the reasons for the positive language learning outcomes of CLIL are and to what extent they may take effect. One assumption is that students are more exposed to the L2 if they have CLIL classes in addition to language classes (of the CLIL language), which is usually the case (Dalton-Puffer, 2011a, p. 186).

When looking at writing skills, lexicon and vocabulary, some studies show CLIL learners achieve clearly better results regarding their receptive and productive lexicon and their oral production skills in almost all aspects compared to non-CLIL learners. Due to the specialised sets of lexicon students encounter in their CLIL (content) lessons, one of the major advantages of CLIL is subject-specific vocabulary expansion, which also helps prepare students for future studies and their working life (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 10; Nikula, 2017, p. 115).

Furthermore, CLIL has been shown to have a positive impact on learners' genre and language awareness. In various studies, it has been found that students who are confronted with academic disciplines such as history and the respective genres, lexis, and grammar that are used in these disciplines, they can transition between e.g. subject-specific language and general academic language or oracy and literacy more easily (Hemmi & Banegas, 2021, p. 11). CLIL students are also shown to be more sensitive to text structuring and syntactic complexity (Nikula, 2017, p. 115).

Classroom discourse in CLIL has been a well-researched area, and rightly so: Discourse structures can either inhibit or facilitate possibilities for language use and learning. Numerous studies compared CLIL and EFL (English as a foreign language) classes and found that learners had more space for interaction in CLIL classrooms than in EFL classrooms, which showed in that they could elaborate more in their contributions, initiated talk through asking questions more often, and were less likely to give short answers (Nikula, 2017, p. 116). Translanguaging has also become a generalised discursive practice in CLIL lessons. For example, when translanguaging occurs in CLIL classes, the main languages spoken in CLIL lessons have

equally high status in some cases. Therefore, the students use a greater share of their linguistic resources as a tool for developing cognitive skills (Hemmi & Banegas, 2021, pp. 10–11). Furthermore, when CLIL provides a practical context that is less formal than traditional language classrooms, students tend to be more willing to take risks when speaking spontaneously as they feel more confident and less scared of making mistakes. This might be related to the mere fact that with CLIL, not native-like proficiency but rather successfully using English for communication is in focus (Cenoz, 2019, p. 76). Spontaneous speaking is thus practiced and fostered through CLIL (Lamb & King, 2020, p. 521) and risk-taking and creativity in language use are also enhanced (Merino & Lasagabaster, 2018, p. 21).

CLIL is commonly regarded as an approach that adds meaningfulness to students' language learning experience as it uses an additional language to talk about numerous authentic subjects. Including both CLIL and language lessons exposes learners to language learning (language lessons) and language acquisition (CLIL lessons) – the latter occurs more naturally and implicitly, for example when learners experience real-life situations in the classroom (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 11; Lasagabaster, 2011, p. 6). These examples show the interrelatedness of learning, language learning, and affective perceptions such as motivation in context with CLIL.

Multilingual students with a minority home language have sometimes been compared to their majority language peers in CLIL classes. Somers (2017, p. 508) summarises various studies and concludes that multilingual students show similar results regarding their overall academic achievement as well as their language development in comparison to their majority language peers. Moreover, he points out that “when immigrant minority language students maintained proficiency or had acquired literacy in their home language – even when use of their literacy skills had been discontinued – they have been found to consistently outperform majority language students”.

3.5. CLIL in the Austrian School System

Similar to CLIL in most other European countries, CLIL in Austria is “understood as an umbrella term that encompasses a variety of approaches to learning and teaching non-language subjects through a foreign language” (Hofstadler et al., 2021, p. 218). CLIL programmes have been introduced in Austrian schools with overly positive attitudes of the stakeholders and their implementation was finished quite fast at many schools and students were also overwhelmingly keen on CLIL. However, Hüttner et al. (2013, pp. 267–268) point out that CLIL might only seemingly be such a success and derive its positive standing from stakeholders' beliefs.

CLIL has become mandatory for some vocational school types, thus making CLIL partly non-selective. This puts Austria into a unique position within Europe since in most other states, CLIL has still not entered mainstream education in a mandatory form (CEBS - Center für berufsbezogene Sprachen, n.d.). For HTL and one specific type of HUM schools, namely HLFS (höhere land- und forwirtschaftliche Schulen; agricultural and forestry schools), official guidelines for CLIL implementation have been developed and updated in 2020 and 2022, respectively. At VET schools, CLIL is a curricular requirement from 3rd class onwards (equivalent to 11th grade) with a fixed number of hours per school year. In some cases, it is also possible to integrate CLIL from the 1st year on. The way in which CLIL is actually integrated into timetables, what subjects should include CLIL lessons, etc. is mainly each school's autonomous decision (Hofstadler et al., 2021, p. 221), but vocational subjects are preferred (Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Entwicklung von Methodenvielfalt mit CLIL, 2020, pp. 3–4; Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung, Abteilung I/12a et al., 2022, p. 5; HAK.CC, n.d.). School types such as AHS sometimes provide voluntary CLIL programmes that are often selective (Bauer-Marschallinger et al., 2021, p. 3). However, there are no guidelines or official requirements to these programmes, as each AHS can decide whether and, if so, in what way to implement CLIL.

The great freedom schools and teachers have with regards to CLIL implementation consequently leads to a great variety of CLIL, ranging from “isolated single sessions through to topic-led and project-based forms of CLIL to full bilingual education” (Hofstadler et al., 2021, p. 221). The Austrian school system allows teachers a relatively high degree of autonomy regarding methodological choices: Content subjects are strongly characterised by oral CLIL work – written assignments, for example, are not usually found in such classes (Hüttner et al., 2013, p. 272). Students' grading in the subjects that feature CLIL lessons is based on subject matter knowledge and skills; linguistic competence is not part of the assessment, even if students may voluntarily choose to take exams in the CLIL language (Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Entwicklung von Methodenvielfalt mit CLIL, 2020, p. 12; Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung, Abteilung I/12a et al., 2022, pp. 13–14; HAK.CC, n.d.).

CLIL teachers in Austrian VET schools do not necessarily have to complete any training to teach CLIL lessons, even if there are various training courses at teacher education institutions throughout Austria that usually take two semesters to complete (Hochschule für Agrar- und Umweltpädagogik, 2023; Pädagogische Hochschule Wien, n.d.) and English teachers should

support their CLIL colleagues in some ways, but other measures such as education conferences and school-internal training are also possible ways of support for CLIL teachers (Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Entwicklung von Methodenvielfalt mit CLIL, 2020, pp. 8, 12; Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung, Abteilung I/12a et al., 2022, pp. 12–13; HAK.CC, n.d.).

Since 2014, CLIL has officially been a part of the HAK curriculum. As is most often the case, English is the default language used for CLIL lessons at HAK. The reasons for implementing CLIL in HAK curricula correspond to those often used within Europe and in other Austrian VET schools: Besides enhancing communicative competences in addition to foreign language lessons, CLIL serves as an answer to the internationalisation of business education and should increase HAK students' employability (HAK.CC: n.d.).

HTL typically are prestigious schools that are able to select their students to a certain degree and can thus choose students especially interested in the fields of technology they offer. HTL have been connected to CLIL for a relatively long time (Hüttner et al., 2013, pp. 272–273). Since 2011, it has been mandatory at HTL to include a certain amount of CLIL for all students: from 3rd class on, at least 72 hours and in 5th class, at least 40 hours a year should be CLIL lessons (Dalton-Puffer et al., 2021, p. 94). At HTL, English is typically taught as a foreign language for two lessons a week in every year. CLIL at HTL predominantly uses English as language of instruction. There is great variety of the subjects that feature CLIL: General knowledge subjects such as History and Chemistry can include CLIL elements as well as specialist subjects such as Programming and Computer Science, but CLIL is seldom part of practical technical subjects (Hüttner et al., 2013, p. 273). Official recommendations emphasise that combining CLIL with vocational (in the case of HTL, technical) subjects especially enhances students' employability and active citizenship (Bauer-Marschallinger et al., 2021, p. 3). Some restrictions with regards to CLIL organisation are, for example, that CLIL should be integrated in more than one, but not more than four subjects. Ideally, CLIL lessons should be spread out throughout the school year, but the guideline acknowledges that this might not be possible in every case (Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft Entwicklung von Methodenvielfalt mit CLIL, 2020, p. 7).

The empirical study conducted for this master's thesis seeks to investigate the situation of Austrian CLIL students who have a multilingual background. The next chapters thus provide insights into their perceptions of and attitudes towards both multilingualism and CLIL, adding students' voices to what was found in the literature study.

4. Research Design and Methodology

The empirical part of this master's thesis introduces six students with a home language other than or additionally to German who attend CLIL classes. Chapter 5 provides insights into their perceptions of and attitudes towards both multilingualism and CLIL – but first, the methodology of the empirical study is introduced. In the present chapter, research method, research design, data collection, and data analysis are described and critically reflected before then moving on to the results of the empirical study.

4.1. Qualitative Research Design

In empirical research, the most appropriate instrument for data collection should be found, and a different one for each research design might be the right aid to gather useful and usable data. One criterion to choose the appropriate instrument is referred to as fitness for purpose (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 375).

Qualitative research is defined by Dörnyei (2007, p. 24) as involving “data collection procedures that result primarily in open-ended, non-numerical data which is then analysed primarily by non-statistical methods”. The aim of qualitative research is to explore participants' views, perceptions, and experiences of social phenomena. In contrast to quantitative research, qualitative research is hard to define clearly as there is no distinct set of practices or theory of its own (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 37–38; Kowal & O'Connell, 2013, p. 64). Coding is commonly used in research to structure the information gathered from the world in a manageable way and qualitative approaches use mainly verbal codes that are left undetermined and flexible as long as possible in the research process (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 26). Another difference lies in the approaches to individual diversity: It is obvious that in the social sciences, it is impossible to depict all the people who would be relevant to a research enquiry due to the unimaginable diversity of people's approaches, interpretations, and memories and therefore, the results will always depend on the participants selected. In quantitative research, this is resolved by maximising the sample size and statistics are the formalised method for data analysis. Qualitative research, however, does not favour average descriptions of large sample sizes but rather focuses on individual cases and an in-depth understanding, thus relying on the researcher's individual sensitivity for data analysis. In sum, qualitative research follows the meaning in the particular, achieving a micro-perspective (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 27). This exploratory nature, which enables exploring new areas of interest, is one of the most significant merits of qualitative research (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 39).

For this master's thesis, a qualitative research design thus was the best fit, since in qualitative research, social phenomena are investigated from the insiders', i.e. the participants', perspective (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 40). The aim of this master's thesis fits best to the micro-perspective that qualitative research can offer as it seeks to explore students' attitudes towards various topics, which requires detailed answers and the possibility to delve into topics that cannot always be foreseen.

The main characteristic of qualitative research is its emergent design: The research design, and sometimes even the research question, is kept open in order to stay flexible towards changes or refinements as the study evolves. Qualitative researchers may refine their focus and analytic concepts during the research process (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 40), which was practical in the present research endeavour. In the following, the necessary steps of the research process are described.

4.1.1. Semi-structured Interviews

For this research project, qualitative data was collected by means of conducting interviews. They are described by Dörnyei (2007, p. 134) as the "most often used method in qualitative inquiries" based on the assumption that knowledge is generated between humans; hence, an inter-view is an exchange of views between people on a certain topic and interviews are neither subjective nor objective – they are intersubjective (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 409).

There are various factors that contribute towards interviews being a powerful tool in qualitative research: Interviews are flexible and, depending on the interview type, they may bridge the gap between being controlled and yet providing space for spontaneity and deep thoughts (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 409). The personal encounter occurring in interviews provides various advantages. One of them is, for example, the opportunity to adapt the interview's speed to the participant's needs and preferences. Moreover, misunderstandings can be prevented and all questions the interviewees might have regarding the purpose, procedure, etc. can be answered immediately (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 411).

Regarding the degree of structure of an interview, there are two extremes: structured interviews, which closely follow a pre-prepared interview guide and may be likened to questionnaires, and unstructured interviews, which are flexible with regards to following the interview in any direction it may take. Most interviews, however, are semi-structured and thus a compromise between structured and unstructured interviews. They are characterised by their use of prepared guiding questions and by interviewers providing the direction of the interview, but the format is more open-ended and participants are encouraged to delve into topics they feel need to be

explored further (Rolland et al., 2019, p. 280). Dörnyei (2007, p. 136) especially recommends semi-structured interviews “when the researcher [...] is able to develop broad questions about the topic in advance but does not want to use ready-made response categories that would limit the depth and breadth of the respondent’s story.” Semi-structured interviews best fit the research aim and purpose of the present study and were thus chosen as means of data collection for this master’s thesis.

4.1.2. Interview Guide

An interview study requires detailed and structured planning well before the first interview takes place. Therefore, an interview guide should be developed in order to help the interviewer in multiple ways by providing a framework: It ensures that all relevant areas of interest are covered. At this stage, it should also be checked whether the interview guide reflects the research aim of the study (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 415).

There are certain rules that help devise interview guides; for example, the first few questions should be easy to answer so that the interviewees feel comfortable and thus may open up quickly. In the case of the interview guide used for the present study, the first few questions were introductory questions that revolved around personal information such as the participants’ age, previous and current schools, languages spoken, favourite subjects, et cetera. Then, four thematic areas (school and CLIL programme choice, identity, attitudes and emotions towards multilingualism and CLIL, learning strategies) were developed and were structured in a way that a natural flow could be established during the interviews. Most questions were open-ended so they could establish rapport and go more into detail during the interview but sometimes fixed-alternative items or scales were also used because they allow for better comparability. However, they were sometimes followed by open-ended questions so that the interviewees did not feel too restricted by them (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 416): For example, the question *Welche Schulnote würdest du deinem CLIL-Unterricht insgesamt geben?* was followed by asking for the reasons behind this. Statements that serve as triggers to which the participants need to respond were also used in the present interview guide (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 417). One such example was the statement *Jeder Mensch sollte mehrere Sprachen beherrschen*, to which the participants should react and also to explain their stance. Furthermore, closing questions that enable the interviewee to have the final say and to add something they would personally like to add often provide rich data, and thus such a question was added to the present interview guide. Other useful strategies, such as ensuring that certain terms are clear to the interviewees, avoiding leading questions, and asking short, unambiguous, and simple questions whenever

possible were also considered when devising, piloting, and finetuning the interview guide (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 416; Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 137–138).

Before any empirical study, Dörnyei (2007, p. 75) suggests to “always pilot your research instruments and procedures” in order to adhere to a high quality, e.g. in terms of reliability and validity. Especially with semi-structured interviews, piloting the interview guide is recommended (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 136). In the case of this master’s thesis, the interview guide was piloted with a student whose official L1 is Polish (but who defined English as the language he is most comfortable with and which he most identifies with). Even though the structure of the initial interview guide remained mainly intact, some changes in wording were made for more clarity, especially considering that the students who participate in the interviews do not (only) have German as their L1. For example, the term *Muttersprache* was used additionally to *Erstsprache* (even though *Muttersprache* is not really used in academia anymore, it is still more common in everyday language) and *Schullaufbahn* and *Branche* were marked as terms which may need to be explained by the interviewer (which the interviewer should be aware of during the interview process). Some items were also revised and rephrased to aim for more focused, more concrete answers. The final version of the interview guide is included in the appendix of this master’s thesis.

4.2. Data Collection

Participant sampling in qualitative research follows the rules of purposeful sampling as its aim is to gain rich and varied insights into multilinguals’ experiences with CLIL (in the case of this master’s thesis). Therefore, sampling parameters must be set before looking for participants (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 126). Such parameters might include that the participants share experiences relevant to the study, meet certain criteria concerning their age, education, et cetera. Issues such as feasibility in terms of time and money need to be considered as well (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 127–128). In the case of this master’s thesis, the parameters included that the participants should be multilinguals (in that they use more than ‘just German’ in everyday life and as a family language), should have experienced their whole formal education in Austria, should attend a class that features some kind of CLIL lessons (labelled as, for example, CLIL, EAA, bilingualer Unterricht), and should have done so for at least some months already. Furthermore, students who were in more advanced classes were prioritised even though generally all suitable students at upper secondary level could participate.

In order to find interview participants, I contacted various teachers and headteachers of schools in Vienna that offered CLIL, either in all or only in some of their classes. Due to the rather specific target group, finding participants proved somewhat of a challenge. After establishing contact with six students who were willing to participate, setting up a time and location with them, and receiving permission forms (see chapter 9.1) of either themselves (if they were of legal age) or their parents/guardians, the interviews were conducted. The recordings of the interviews and interview transcripts will be deleted after approval of the thesis.

The interview participants are introduced in more detail in the next chapter; however, Table 2 provides some initial information about the study's participants:

Table 2. Background Information on the Interview Participants

Gender	School type	Age	Pseudonym & ID	Interview duration	Interview setting	Family languages
Female	HAK	19	Ana (HAK1)	43 min	In person	German, Bulgarian
Female	HAK	18	Sofija (HAK2)	60 min	In person	German, Serbian
Female	HTL	18	Aylin (HTL1)	94 min	Online (Zoom)	German, Turkish
Female	HTL	18	Derya (HTL2)	85 min	Online (Zoom)	Turkish, German
Female	AHS	15	Klara (GYM1)	53 min	Online (Zoom)	Swedish, Slovenian, German
Female	AHS	17	Lina (GYM2)	85 min	Online (Zoom)	Slovenian, Swedish, German

As shown in Table 2, all six participants referred to their gender as female. Their age varies between 15 and 19, and they all have one or two family languages aside from German. Two students each go to HAK, HTL, and AHS. The participants were free to choose through which medium they wanted to do the interview, online or in person. Table 2 also shows that two interviews took place on-site (i.e. at the school in Vienna) and four students chose to do online interviews, which were carried out via the video chat software Zoom (access provided by the University of Vienna). All interviews were conducted in German.

The first few minutes set the tone for each interview, therefore I was keen to assure all participants of my interest in their authentic experiences, my gratitude for their time, and my trustworthiness concerning confidentiality, and data security. Before each interview, they were

informed about the purpose and topic of the study, reminded of some confidentiality matters, and were given time to ask whatever questions they might have. I gave them a brief overview of all topics that would be covered and before each new topic in the interview guide, the participants were informed about the progression we had made. The interviews only began when all points were cleared and the participants seemed comfortable to start (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 139–140) and at the end, the participants had the opportunity to add whatever they deemed as important and had not yet been covered.

The interviews lasted for 70 minutes on average; the minimum time was 43 minutes, and the maximum was 94 minutes. Naturally, due to participants' diverse personalities and different ways of responding, there usually is a range in length and in their answers' extensiveness. Furthermore, the different environments also need to be considered: While some interviews took place in person, some were conducted online, along with which came connectivity issues that required multiple repetitions, clarifications, et cetera. For this reason, the online interviews tended to take longer than the on-site interviews. The interviewees were informed beforehand that the interviews would be audio recorded – in most cases, two separate devices were used to avoid losing any data (Dörnyei 2007: 139–140).

Data storage and management is key due to logistic and ethical reasons (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 76). Furthermore, participants' anonymity must be ensured and this can be done by, for example, creating pseudonyms instead of using the participants' real names, and storing all data safely (Creswell & Poth, 2024, pp. 208–209). The pseudonyms used in the present study are also found in Table 2. Some personal details in the transcripts of this study, such as school names and specific places of residence, were omitted in order to maintain anonymity and protect the participants' data.

In qualitative research, knowing when a sufficient amount of data is gathered may be tricky. The point when more data does not lead to new topics, categories, and ideas in the iterative process is referred to as saturation. When it is reached, the researcher has gained a sense of what is relevant in an investigation and at this point, enough data may have been gathered (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 243–244), but other issues such as time and effort are also relevant. In the case of this master's thesis, six interviews were conducted. They were transcribed and prepared for data analysis, both of which is described after an introduction of the interview participants and their CLIL programmes.

4.3. Participants and Research Context

The six participants of this qualitative study are now introduced in more detail by the pseudonyms and IDs assigned to them to maintain their anonymity.

Ana (HAK1)

Ana's mother is from Bulgaria and her father is Austrian. She has a sister. Ana named German, Bulgarian and English as languages that she can speak; furthermore, she added that because she knows Bulgarian, she can understand Serbian and speaks it relatively well, too. Russian was named as a language she learns at school. While both Bulgarian and German are used as family languages, she named German as her L1 but seemed rather reluctant to admit this (HAK1: 218).

After attending primary school, Ana went to AHS for lower secondary school. At the time of the interview, Ana attends a 4th class (11th grade) of a HAK in Vienna that is a CLIL class, which Ana specifically enrolled for. She described her reasons for this particular choice as follows:

[I]ch hab mir gedacht, ja, es wird jetzt nicht schwerer, nicht leichter sein, man braucht Englisch immer und wenn man das so nehmen kann und es zusätzlich auch nichts kostet, also das ist ja eigentlich inkludiert so. Und warum nicht, dachte ich mir. (HAK1: 98)

Ana has had CLIL lessons since the first year at her current school. In her class, about 5 of about 25 students (including her) do not use only English or German as their L1. In the future, Ana wants to attend a university of applied sciences, focusing on marketing and sales. She wants to be able to earn good money and aims at being in a leading position.

Sofija (HAK2)

Sofija's parents and siblings speak German and Serbian (referred to by Sofija as "Serbisch, Kroatisch, also das ist alles in einem" (HAK2: 6)) with each other. Additionally, she learns English and Russian at school. When asked explicitly about it, she stated that German is her L1, especially because it was important to her parents that she first learned the dominant national language in Austria (HAK2: 192).

Sofija attended primary and middle school and then went to HAK in Vienna, which she had always had in mind. At the time of the interview, she attends 4th class (11th grade) with a special CLIL programme that she enrolled for. In contrast to Ana, she described the decision-making process as more ambivalent:

Und ich war zuerst einmal skeptisch – ich weiß nicht, okay, aber meine Mutter meinte dann, es ist ein guter Weg, was weiß ich, bissl mehr Englisch besser beizubringen und die Praxis des Englischunterrichts ein bissl überall mitzuhaben. (HAK2: 92)

Sofija and a few other classmates grew up in a multilingual household, but the majority of her classmates is monolingual.¹ After HAK, Sofija wants to study at a university or university of applied sciences focusing on economics or business administration.

Aylin (HTL1)

Aylin has got an older brother and a younger sister. Her family has a Turkish background, and some family members live there. She named Turkish as her L1 (which she learned before German) and speaks Turkish and German at home with her family. She also speaks English and can read Arabic, although she emphasised that she cannot really speak this language.

After primary school and four years of AHS, she went to a HTL with a specialisation in natural sciences. Her class does not have a CLIL specialisation aside from the mandatory CLIL lessons HTL are required to offer: “CLIL war halt einfach im Unterricht dabei.“ (HTL1: 96)

At the time of the interview, she attends her final year of school. She estimated that only few of her classmates have a Turkish or international background. Aylin’s aim is to study medicine and help people.

Derya (HTL2)

Derya’s family has a Turkish background, and some of her family, for example her cousins, live in Turkey. She named Turkish as her L1 and started speaking German when she entered Kindergarten. With her family, she mainly speaks Turkish but also German. Besides these two languages, she also speaks English.

Derya attended primary school and four years of AHS before she continued her education at a HTL in Vienna which specialises in natural sciences. CLIL is not a special focus of her class, but is mandatory at HTL. She is in her final year at the time of the interview. In the future, Derya wants to study at a university of applied sciences in fields such as biotechnology or biomedicine, and wants to work at a job where she can help people.

¹ As noted earlier, in this thesis, the term *monolingual students* is used as shorthand for students who use only German at home, though it is acknowledged that these students are also multilingual in the broader sense, as they learn and use additional languages such as English or French.

Klara (GYM1)

Klara's mother is Swedish and her father comes from Slovenia. She named Swedish as her L1 and recalled that she learned German when she attended Kindergarten in Vienna. Klara speaks multiple languages, namely Swedish, Slovenian, German, English, and additionally learns French at school. She communicates mainly in Swedish but also in Slovenian with her family.

Klara attended primary school and four years of AHS (without a CLIL focus). At the time of the interview, she attends a 6th class (10th grade) of another AHS. Her current class has a CLIL specialisation and none of her classmates only speak German with their families. When it comes to her future plans, Klara contemplates about working creatively, for example becoming an artist or author.

Lina (GYM2)

Lina is Klara's older sister. Thus, the language she speaks are similar to Klara's: She named German, English, Swedish, and Slovenian as her languages and also learns Spanish and French at school. When asked about her L1, she did not only name Swedish (as her sister did) but also Slovenian because she speaks both languages at home. Like her sister, she learned German when she went to Kindergarten.

After primary school in Vienna, Lina went to a bilingual (CLIL) class in a Viennese AHS when she was ten years old. At the time of the interview, she attends 7th class (11th grade). Even though she cannot tell which job she wants to have later on, the publishing industry is something she is interested in.

CLIL programme organisation

Four of the six interview participants have had CLIL classes in every year of upper secondary school, but CLIL classes started later on for the two HTL students. Moreover, the HAK and AHS students are in specific CLIL classes (and, thus, chose to be in their school's CLIL programme; HAK1: 42, HAK2: 44, GYM1: 36, GYM2: 28) whereas the two HTL students only have CLIL as part of the HTL-specific curriculum (HTL1: 32, HTL2: 32-38).

All of the students have CLIL in various subjects, and the intensity of CLIL ranges from approximately half of all lessons to sporadic CLIL sequences. Lina named seven different subjects with CLIL in her timetable and estimated that half of all lessons feature CLIL (GYM2: 32 & 42). Klara has regular CLIL lessons in two subjects, which amounts to about six CLIL lessons a week (GYM1: 44). Ana and Sofija at HAK both estimated that they have about two

weekly lessons of CLIL on average, but that there are weeks with more and less CLIL lessons (HAK1: 50 & 56, HAK2: 52), which is appropriate for Sofija (“also ich finde es okay [...] es ist nicht übertrieben!” (HAK2: 126). Ana wished that CLIL was integrated in a more structured way:

Man könnte sich das ja so besser aufteilen, dass man nicht jetzt jede Stunde zehn Minuten macht, sondern eine Stunde in der Woche die ganze Stunde einfach nur Englisch macht [...], weil dann kennt sich jeder aus: Okay, heute machen wir Englisch. (HAK1: 80)

Aylin and Derya, both at HTL, reported that their CLIL lessons are not spread evenly, but that CLIL lessons occur sporadically in some subjects: “Wir haben es halt nicht jede Woche, wir haben es nur immer zu einem bestimmten Zeitabschnitt pro Jahr.” (HTL1: 46)

CLIL is integrated both in general education subjects and specialised subjects. For example, Ana named CLIL sequences in History and Natural Sciences (HAK2: 47) whereas Sofija recalled having HAK-specific subjects such as Business Administration and Law as CLIL classes (HAK1: 43). Aylin and Derya both named HTL-specific subjects that feature some CLIL elements throughout their upper secondary school years, such as Economics, Laboratory, and various natural science subjects (HTL1: 37-40, HTL2: 40). Klara and Lina have CLIL in general education subjects (GYM1: 39). Lina is also the only one who does not only have her regular subject teacher during these lessons: Some (not all) CLIL lessons are conducted together by one teacher who speaks German and one teacher who speaks English (GYM2: 24).

After this brief introduction of the research context and the interview participants, data analysis and limitations of the study are presented.

4.4. Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis (QDA) has become increasingly popular over the past decades and is now a well-used tool in applied linguistics (Selvi, 2020, p. 440). Despite its flexibility, there are certain principles that are usually followed. First of all, qualitative data analysis is inherently language-based, emphasises on meaning, and usually follows an iterative, i.e. a non-linear, pattern (in contrast to quantitative data analysis) that flexibly moves back and forth between collecting, analysing, and interpreting data, depending on what results emerge (Selvi, 2020, p. 442). Collecting data means transcribing the interviews conducted in the present study; therefore, this process is described in the following.

4.4.1. Transcription

For the present master's thesis, I transcribed the interviews on the basis of the interview recordings. Transcription is a time-consuming process, but its relevance is indisputable as it already features some sort of data interpretation and reduction (Kowal & O'Connell, 2013, p. 66). For example, body language, suprasegmentals such as intonation, and paralinguistic factors such as noises and sounds are difficult to accurately represent in transcriptions. Furthermore, a person's natural speech does not usually produce perfectly structured sentences but are utterances full of word repetition, language errors, stammering, et cetera. The differences between spoken and written language are evident. Whether, and to what extent, such information should be included in transcriptions strongly depends on the investigations' aim (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 247; Kowal & O'Connell, 2013, p. 65). In the case of the present study, the research interest lies on the semantic meaning (or, in other words, the content). Therefore, linguistic phenomena may be omitted and language may be 'polished' in the transcription, but content should not be edited at this stage (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 246–247).

Overall, there are “no ‘right’ ways to transcribe [...] interview data” (Roulston, 2014, p. 301), but it should be made clear what transcription conventions are used (Roulston, 2014, p. 299) and they should be followed in all transcripts of the same study – with the main aim to “manage the tension between accuracy, readability, and the ‘politics of representation’” (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 248). In accordance with what is recommended in research literature, I devised the following guidelines for the transcriptions used in this master's thesis:

- Suprasegmentals (such as emphasis, pitch, or loudness) and paralinguistic components (such as nodding or gestures) were not taken into account in the transcripts (Roulston, 2014, p. 299); the focus of the present empirical study lies more on what is said than how it is said.
- Fillers such as *äh/ähm* were only included in the transcripts when they were interpreted as a way to take more time before answering. Deletion of *äh/ähm*, if they are not deemed to contribute to the topic, is a common practice in transcription (Kowal & O'Connell, 2013, p. 68; Roulston, 2014, p. 299).
- Speech is divided into sentences, questions, etc. and varied punctuation marks are used in order to improve readability (Kowal & O'Connell, 2013, p. 64). Sentence structure is polished whenever the original structure may cause difficulty to understand the content of the participant's statement. Three dots represent an unfinished thought or a short break.

- Taking into account common oral speaking strategies, such as omitting the vowel at the end of verbs, is not considered relevant in terms of content. For example, no difference is made between “ich glaub” and “ich glaube”.

In addition, I followed some formal conventions for the transcription: In every interview, each new paragraph represents a new turn to speak, alternating turns of the interviewer and the interviewee. These paragraphs, or turns, were numbered consecutively. In chapter 5, where the findings are presented, each reference to the transcript includes both the relevant paragraph number and interview IDs assigned to each participant (see Table 2).

4.4.2. Qualitative Content Analysis

After transcribing all six interviews, the next steps in qualitative content analysis (QCA) were carried out. QCA follows a defined sequence of procedures. This is done as an iterative process, revisiting steps multiple times and modifying the coding frame (Schreier, 2014, p. 171).

Before formally coding the transcribed interviews, I became familiar with the data by preparing carefully and analysing the transcripts, reflecting on them, and taking notes (Dörnyei, 2007, pp. 250–251; Selvi, 2020, p. 444). A coding frame was then built to help transform the data into smaller units of information. There are several requirements a coding frame should meet: Main categories should only cover one aspect of the material and thus be unidimensional. Furthermore, subcategories should be mutually exclusive, meaning that each unit can only be coded once under one main category and all relevant aspects of the materials should be covered by a category (Schreier, 2014, p. 175). Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software is a helpful tool in organising and managing data in a systematic way. One example of the most common data analysis software is MAXQDA (Selvi, 2020, p. 447), which was used in this master’s thesis.

Structuring, i.e. creating main categories, and generating subcategories are processes that may be done deductively (i.e. theory- or concept-driven), inductively (i.e. data-driven) – or, as is typically the case in qualitative content analysis, in a combination of the two: By flexibly combining varying portions of deductive and inductive analysis, it is ensured that the coding frame matches the material (Schreier, 2014, p. 171). In this master’s thesis, a combination of deductive and inductive processes was used: I developed preliminary main categories in a concept-driven way, taking into account previous knowledge such as prior research studies, literature, and the interview guide I used for my interviews (Schreier, 2014, p. 176). Later,

subcategories were added in a data-driven way, following predefined steps as described by Schreier:

1. Reading the material until a relevant concept is encountered.
 2. Checking whether a subcategory that covers this concept has already been created.
 3. If so, mentally ‘subsuming’ this under the respective subcategory.
 4. If not, creating a new subcategory that covers this concept.
 5. Continuing to read until the next relevant concept/passage is encountered.
- (Schreier, 2014, p. 176)

In order to work consistently during the coding phase, it is helpful to define, name, and describe each category as well as to name one or two examples (Selvi, 2020, p. 446). How many categories and subcategories are created not only depends on the material but especially on the researcher as the process needs to remain manageable (Schreier, 2014, p. 170). Once all categories and subcategories were established, they were revised and altered multiple times. Then, the process of segmentation involved dividing all transcripts into units so that each unit fits into one category or subcategory of the coding frame (Schreier, 2014, p. 177).

Once the preliminary coding frame was set up, it was piloted on some of the material in order to identify any shortcomings of the coding frame before the main coding phase began: Some material was selected and then the categories of the coding frame were applied. Then, the coding frame was evaluated and modified according to the results of the trial coding. Only after this process was completed, the main analysis phase began and all material was now coded (Schreier, 2014, pp. 178–179). Table 3 lists the final coding frame, including all categories and subcategories used for the main analysis of the present interviews.

Table 3. Categories and Subcategories of the Final Coding Frame Used for Analysis

Category	Subcategories
introduction & background	gender age family linguistic repertoire prior education current school and class subject preferences future plans CLIL programme organisation
affective perceptions of CLIL lessons	CLIL lesson description grade for CLIL & overall satisfaction instrumental CLIL motivation intrinsic CLIL motivation positive/neutral intrinsic CLIL motivation negative (anxiety, stress, etc.)
learning experience as multilingual CLIL students	CLIL impact on language learning (skills etc.) CLIL impact – affective language learning and use in comparison to monolinguals challenges with language(s)

	challenges with content in English challenges with managing multiple languages relationship to German teachers in CLIL lessons teachers' motivation teachers and multilinguals teachers' reaction to errors and challenges
perceptions of multilingualism	language and identity perceived advantages of being multilingual attitudes towards English interculturality society and multilingualism
linguistic practices	language choice & context language choice at school code-switching, translanguaging other strategies for compensating linguistic difficulties

4.5. Limitations

Before moving on to the results of the interviews, some limitations of the present empirical study should be acknowledged: As briefly mentioned, the success of qualitative research strongly depends on the researcher's competence and the possibility of personal biases influencing the results should not be ignored (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 409; Dörnyei, 2007, p. 41), especially since in this master's thesis, only one (novice) researcher conducts the study. Furthermore, analysing interviews can be a demanding task that lacks a feeling of being finished, but it should be taken into account that interview analysis is never really complete, remains ambiguous, and there is always only partial representation of the data set. Instead of being overly insecure about this, it can also be a liberating thought (Roulston, 2014, p. 308).

Moreover, qualitative research usually features a small sample size due to the labour-intensity of conducting qualitative studies (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 409; Dörnyei, 2007, p. 40) which, given the constraints of the scope of a master's thesis, is also the case in the present study. Thus, the findings and results of this empirical study naturally do not provide unlimitedly generalisable results. Along with the small number of interview participants, there is also an imbalance regarding the gender of the participants as all of them identify as female and the study only involves upper secondary students from Viennese schools. Furthermore, the conditions under which the interview participants have CLIL lessons are diverse in terms of e.g. programme intensity and student selection/programme openness, which makes direct comparison challenging. Despite these limitations, the findings provide the reader with multilingual students' micro-perspectives on CLIL and are presented in the next chapter.

5. Findings

This chapter summarises the findings that address the research questions outlined in the introduction and thus seeks to investigate multilingual students' experiences as multilingual secondary school students (i.e. their multilingual identity and their linguistic practices) as well as their experiences with CLIL (i.e. their general CLIL experience, their multilingualism in context with CLIL, and the implications they associate with CLIL programmes). Their interview answers are presented in subchapters that are thematically close to the codes developed in the analysis. Direct quotes from the interviews are cited in German. Mostly, CLIL lessons are indeed called *CLIL* in the interviews, but sometimes, other terms such as *bilingual* may also occur.

In the following chapters, the interview participants' experiences as multilingual secondary school students, particularly their perceptions of being multilingual and their linguistic practices, are in focus.

5.1. Perceptions of Multilingualism

5.1.1. Language and Identity

All six interview participants are multilinguals due to their upbringing and family background. During the interviews, the four people who voluntarily chose to attend a CLIL programme (at HAK and AHS) were also the ones who referred to themselves as language lovers (GYM2: 94, HAK1: 234, HAK2: 258).

When the interview participants were asked which language they identify with the most, only one person named one single language, and if German was mentioned, other languages were also named. For example, Ana named Bulgarian as the language closest to her identity, despite referring to German as her L1 (HAK1: 214). For Derya and Aylin, the languages they identify with most are German and Turkish to a similar extent, and for Klara, they are Swedish and Slovenian, i.e. the languages her parents speak (GYM1: 116). Her sister Lina, however, cannot decide between Swedish and English (GYM2: 112).

Sofija and Aylin explained that their identities are shaped by their surroundings and the people around them. For Sofija, this is the case with German and Serbian:

Du bist zuhause, beziehungsweise mit deiner Familie, eher auf Serbisch. Aber dann, wenn du mit deinen Freunden, oder beruflich, oder in der Schule, bist du wieder ganz Deutsch. Also beide Sprachen identifizieren mich eigentlich. (HAK2: 128)

Aylin reported a similar situation, as she feels more ‘Turkish’ at home, and more ‘Austrian’ at school or outside of her home (HTL1: 126).

The connection between the participants’ languages and identities becomes clearer when looking at their underlying feelings towards their multilingual identity. Ana, for example, mentioned that she often feels a connection to other multilinguals that she does not feel toward people who only speak German as their L1 (HAK1: 176). Derya and Lina talked about feeling inadequate when one’s language skills in a certain language (German and English, respectively) are not as advanced, or ‘native-like’, as one wishes. For Lina, this has to do with the wish to belong to certain groups (GYM2: 230).

For Derya, her fear is not being regarded as ‘proper’ German speaker, “weil ich will da jetzt auch nicht [...] als eine Person gesehen werden, die die einfachen Wörter vielleicht nicht versteht, die die anderen verstehen“ (HTL2: 254). Lina’s multilingual identity is associated with pride: In her class, most people are proud of their multilingual background, and she is, too (GYM2: 180).

In the following chapter, this thought is taken further, as it is investigated which aspects of their multilingualism are perceived as advantages by the interview participants.

5.1.2. Perceived Advantages of Being a Multilingual

In the course of the interviews, the participants named various advantages about being multilingual. For example, the ability to understand conversations by strangers was mentioned by Klara (GYM1: 198)) and Ana (HAK1: 198) as something they enjoy about being multilingual.

When it comes to language learning, all interview participants shared the opinion that being able to speak more than one language well can make it easier to learn even more languages. Sofija explained that one can get used to language learning and profit from knowing how to go about it (HAK2: 234), and Ana, Derya, Aylin and Lina reported similar experiences (HAK1: 198, HTL1: 206, GYM2: 188, HTL2: 180). Being able to identify linguistic similarities between several languages was also named by all the interview participants as a helpful ‘multilingual skill’ in language learning. For example, Aylin stated: “[M]anchmal sind Sachen unterschiedlich, aber die eine Sprache hilft schon der anderen Sprache beim Lernen.“ (HTL1: 242). Aylin, whose family language is Turkish, often notices similarities between English and German (HTL1: 242), and so does Derya (HTL2: 210). Similarities between Romance languages or Slavic languages were noticed by Klara (GYM1: 198), Ana (HAK1: 250), Sofija

(HAK2: 224), Klara (GYM1: 258), and Lina (GYM2: 186). Lina talked about her experience with Bosnian, Russian, and Slovenian:

[J]emand hat einmal etwas auf Bosnisch gesagt und ich hab's verstanden. Ich hab zwar nicht wirklich darauf reagiert, aber es war schon cool, es verstanden zu haben. Oder auf Russisch, das finde ich immer sehr cool, wenn ich da Sachen verstehe, obwohl ich die Sprache ja nicht spreche. (GYM2: 228)

Another advantage of multilingualism may be subsumed under the term 'multiculturality': For example, Ana (HAK1: 202), Sofija (HAK2: 226), and Derya (HTL2: 164) enjoy that being multilingual means they can connect with people around the world. Ana added that she is more open towards different people and cultures (HAK1: 202), and all six participants feel that they can have more diverse perspectives on the world due to their ability to communicate with people from different cultures. Aylin, for example, feels that she has a Turkish and an Austrian culture of problem-solving: "Und ich finde manchmal viel schneller einen Lösungsweg einfach, weil ich vielleicht zwei verschiedene Kulturen habe und auch auf zwei verschiedenen Sprachen denke" (HTL1: 194). Aylin furthermore speculated that people with a multicultural experience develop more empathy towards others (HTL1: 200), and Klara also thinks it boosts intercultural understanding: „Ich finde, dass man, wenn man mehrere Sprachen spricht, einfach auch - die Gesellschaft kommt einfach mehr zusammen“ (GYM1: 202).

All interview participants share one international lingua franca in their linguistic repertoire, namely English, and thus, the role of English in their lives is investigated in the following chapter.

5.1.3. Attitudes towards the English Language

English plays an important role in each of the six participants' everyday lives (GYM2: 146, HTL1: 140, HTL2: 120). At school (aside from the lessons), Lina uses English to communicate with most of her classmates (GYM2: 136) and Klara also uses English a lot (GYM1: 152). While Aylin and Derya mostly do not speak English outside of the lessons, they use it for school work (HTL1: 158 & HTL2: 118).

In the future, all six interview participants expect to use English in their jobs. Ana (HAK1: 158), Aylin (HTL1: 155), Sofija (HAK2: 184), and Klara (GYM1: 154) explicitly stated their wish to work either abroad or at least with international teams, and both Aylin (HTL1: 158) and Derya (HTL2: 126) emphasised the importance of English in natural sciences. In addition to their careers, Ana, Sofija, Derya, Klara, and Lina also want to travel internationally and/or stay in touch with people all over the world, for which they deem English to be crucial (HAK1: 153,

HAK2: 184, HTL2: 128, GYM1: 156, GYM2: 148). In their view, being able to speak English is generally a necessity (HAK2: 156, GYM2: 150, HAK1: 154). Aylin humorously remarked that one cannot escape English nowadays: „Man [...] kann nicht immer wegrennen vom Englischen“ (HTL1: 162). The interview participants were also asked what their aims for the future are when it comes to their English skills, and all of them named some improvements they would like to make in the future (HAK1: 162, HTL1: 158 & 160, HTL2: 128, GYM2: 152).

5.1.4. Society and Multilingualism

When the interview participants reflected on other people's reactions to their international or multilingual backgrounds, they described conflicting experiences that revealed an ongoing tension: while multilingualism is increasingly normalised, it is still also often perceived negatively.

For some of the interview participants, such as Sofija (HAK2: 134), being multilingual is omnipresent and, thus, not a big deal. Derya's immediate surroundings in Vienna are international, too: “Hier ist man es eher schon so gewohnt, dass man einfach ab und zu in den Straßen Türkisch hört“ (HTL2: 94). Nevertheless, negative reactions when she speaks Turkish in public are also part of her experience: “[M]an wird manchmal teilweise auch ein bisschen blöd angeschaut, wenn man auf der Straße ist und auf Türkisch spricht“ (HTL2: 96). Ana also finds that she is sometimes stigmatised as a foreigner: “Es ist schwer in der heutigen Gesellschaft, weil man halt dann „ja, du bist Ausländer“ und ein bisschen so in eine Schublade gesteckt wird.“ (HAK1: 126). Such reactions may partly stem from differences in the status of various languages. Klara and Lina, for example, observe this in how others respond to their parents' L1, Swedish and Slovenian. Due to the positive image and stereotypes associated with Scandinavian states, people often react positively and excitedly when they learn that they can speak Swedish (GYM1: 118). In contrast, Slovenian is often overlooked or not appreciated (GYM1: 118).

5.2. Multilinguals' Linguistic Practices

In the course of the interviews, the participants were asked what language(s) they use in certain situations in their lives. In the following chapter, the findings regarding the language(s) used speaking with family members, friends, and at school are presented.

5.2.1. Language Choice and Context

Speaking with family members

When it comes to the language used for speaking to the participants' families, there is a difference between conversations with their parents and with their siblings (with whom they tend to speak German more than their other family languages). For Ana, German is the language she uses with her father, while she speaks both German and Bulgarian with her mother. Interestingly, she uses English and German, but not Bulgarian for talking to her sister (HAK1: 140). Sofija also uses two languages, namely Serbian and German, for speaking with her family and sometimes mixes the languages (HAK2: 144). She explained that when she was a child, her parents put a focus on her learning German quickly (HAK2: 194). Aylin mostly uses Turkish when speaking with her family, but sometimes discusses current issues with her dad in German. When she talks to her brother and sister, she uses more German than Turkish (HTL1: 132), as does Derya: With her parents, she only uses Turkish but with her siblings, she speaks both German and Turkish (HTL2: 88).

In Klara's and Lina's family, Swedish is the main language, which they use to communicate with their mother and their siblings. They speak Slovenian with their father, but German is hardly ever used in their family (GYM1: 128 & 132; GYM2: 112 & 124). They sometimes use Slovenian as a family language when they are in Sweden, "weil wir nicht wollen, dass die anderen verstehen, was wir sagen" (GYM2: 126).

Speaking with friends

All six interview participants speak various languages with their friends. In Ana's case, it is a mix of Serbian, Bulgarian, and German (HAK1: 144 & 146). Sofija speaks both German and Serbian with her friends as well (HAK2: 150) and Derya also uses both German and Turkish (or, rather, a mix of both) when speaking with her friends (HTL1: 138 & 140). She explained that German is used a lot, "weil manche Jugendlichen in meinem Alter können nicht so gut Türkisch reden, sondern können quasi besser Deutsch reden als Türkisch" (HTL1: 138).

Derya is in a similar situation and speaks both Turkish and German (mostly as a mix) with her friends, but finds it exhausting to talk about specific topics in Turkish when she is in Turkey, speaking to her friends there (HTL2: 106). Lina uses German for talking to most of her friends outside of school, but English is the main language used with her school friends. She only has few friends with whom she can speak Swedish (GYM2: 136).

Language choice at school

When looking at language choice at school, there are naturally differences between communication during lessons and in the breaks, i.e. with classmates. In all six interviews, the students stated that no other languages than German or English are used for communication in their lessons - except, of course, when it comes to other foreign language lessons (HAK1: 180, HAK2: 164, HTL1: 154, GYM1: 182). Lina's class generally finds English easier than German (as they learn most content in English), which is the opposite to Aylin's and Derya's experience, who mostly are taught in German and prefer speaking and thinking about their learned content in German (HTL1: 172, HTL2: 102).

When it comes to the language(s) used with their classmates, the interview participants overall reported that there is very limited communication in languages other than German or English, but it does occur – naturally, this has to do with the fact that only some languages are spoken among the participants' peers at school. For example, Ana stated that Bulgarian or other L1 hardly play a role (HAK1: 152), but she has one classmate with whom she sometimes speaks Serbian (HAK1: 174). Sofija's situation is similar, as due to her and her classmates' differing L1s, German is used for communication (HAK2: 164), and Aylin and Derya reported the same (HTL1: 182, HTL 2: 140). In Klara's class at AHS, the main languages among the students are English and German, but there are some students who choose to speak different L1 with each other as well (GYM1: 180). Klara mostly sticks to communicating in English or German in her class (GYM1: 170), but sometimes overhears other students speaking Slavic languages, which she can partly follow (GYM1: 140). Lina feels that in her class, English dominates all other languages, including German, which is not used as much (GYM2: 112), and can only think of two classmates who speak another language than English or German with each other (GYM2: 168).

Some reasons why languages other than German or English play a subordinate role in class discourse were given by the students; for example, some of them explain that there are simply very few students who share an L1 (HTL1: 180). Derya specifically explained that communicating in a language shared by many students in her class has to do with respect for and inclusion of others: She very rarely communicates in Turkish, „weil ich finde das gemein gegenüber den anderen, dass sie uns nicht verstehen können und wir aber jedes Wort von denen verstehen, während sie auf Deutsch reden. Da achten wir schon darauf, dass wir die anderen nicht ausschließen“ (HTL2: 98).

5.2.2. Linguistic Strategies in Everyday Language Use

In this chapter, a closer look is taken at linguistic strategies such as code-switching or ways to compensate linguistic difficulties that the interview participants use in their daily lives.

Code-switching

In a nutshell, all six interview participants use code-switching in various languages, be it at a word level or at a greater scale. For example, Ana reported that she even uses two of her languages to make up new words (HAK1: 134). For Aylin, code-switching rather occurs when she speaks Turkish than when she speaks German (HTL1: 282) and she stated that code-switching is a valuable skill to her:

[I]ch finde, man sollte, wenn man mehrere Sprachen kann, auch dazu fähig sein, sehr schnell zwischen den beiden Sprachen zu switchen, also von einem zum anderen zu gehen. Also das ist auch ein skill, den man lernen sollte. (HTL1: 294)

Generally, all six interview participants sometimes mix languages when they communicate within their families (HAK1: 134, HTL1: 294, HTL2: 168, GYM1: 296, GYM2: 240). For example, Ana reported that she, her siblings, and their mother mix their family languages Bulgarian and German (HAK1: 134). Ana and Klara (GYM1: 296) mentioned that they code-switch when they communicate with their friends. Ana sometimes uses a specific language mix of Serbian and Bulgarian (HAK1: 144). Derya explicitly only code-switches when people can understand all languages involved as a sign of respect:

Sonst nicht, also sonst vermeide ich das, weil ich's einfach voll respektlos finde. Also ich versetze mich halt immer in die Personen oder in die Situationen und ich denk mir dann quasi immer, wie würde ich drauf reagieren oder wie würde ich mich fühlen. Und wenn ich das nicht möchte, dass jemand bei mir das macht, dann mach ich das auch nicht bei jemand anderem. (HTL2: 258)

Four of the interview participants do not use code-switching at all when they are at school (HAK1: 298, HAK2: 314, HTL1: 294, HTL2: 258). Only Klara reported that it sometimes happens in order to compensate a lack of words in German or English (GYM1: 276) and at Lina's school, code-switching is often used in conversations in either English or German (GYM2: 242). The reasons for code-switching vary among all six students, but there is one use they agree on: All six interview participants deliberately use code-switching when they cannot think of a certain word in the language they are currently using, even though the languages most often involved vary among the six (HAK1: 146, HAK2: 318, HTL1: 296, HTL2: 242, GYM1: 276, GYM 2: 232, GYM2: 242). Derya and Ana explicitly named code-switching as a strategy they use when they visit family members abroad (HTL2: 168, HAK1: 146).

Switching to the English language partly seems to happen due to the language's high status and prevalence, at least for two of the interview participants: Sofija (HAK2: 174) and Klara specifically noted that they sometimes like to switch to English; Klara simply explained: „Manchmal klingt's cooler auf Englisch!“ (GYM1: 290). Lina also deliberately uses code-switching to change from a language shared by all to a kind of 'secret' language: “Vor allem mit meinen Geschwistern, wenn wir irgendwo sind, wo es viele Menschen gibt, dann sprechen wir immer in der Sprache, die die anderen nicht verstehen werden.“ (GYM2: 242).

Interestingly, however, code-switching is not always a deliberate decision. In fact, four out of the six interview participants noted that they sometimes switch between languages subconsciously and only notice it after it happened (HAK2: 318, HTL1: 282, HTL2: 168-170, GYM1: 132).

Compensating linguistic difficulties

Whenever linguistic difficulties arise, three compensating strategies are mainly used by the interview participants. Firstly, when they cannot think of a certain word or phrase they want to use, Sofija (HAK2: 296), Aylin (HTL1: 280) Klara (GYM1: 278), and Lina (GYM2: 232) reported that they reformulate, describe, or use different vocabulary in the same language. Furthermore, switching to another language just for the word or phrase in question is a common strategy, as previously described. Lastly, almost all six of the interview participants simply ask for help when the meaning of a word is not clear or they lack a certain word (HAK1: 284, HAK2: 292, HTL1: 284, HTL2: 254, GYM1: 284).

Most of the interview participants do not experience their linguistic difficulties as something negative; they mostly are indifferent if such occurrences happen. Klara mentioned it does not matter to her (GYM1: 285), as did Aylin (HTL1: 280). However, Lina noticed a difference regarding the language and the peer group in question, as she finds difficulties in German less embarrassing than in English:

Naja, im Englischunterricht wär's mir ehrlich gesagt ein bisschen peinlich, weil... ich werde normalerweise als eine der Guten angesehen im Englischunterricht. Aber im Deutschen, da würde ich mir keine Gedanken machen, weil ich weiß, dass Dutzende rund um mich herum es auch nicht verstehen. (GYM2: 238)

Derya was the only interview participant who sometimes feels stupid or like the odd one out when she experiences linguistic difficulties:

Wenn das eine Sache ist, die alle anderen verstehen und nur ich nicht, dann ist es wirklich blöd. Das ist nicht so ein gutes Gefühl, weil man denkt sich, es verstehen

alle, wieso ich nicht? [...] [I]ch will da jetzt auch nicht so blöd rüberkommen beim Lehrer. Nicht als eine Person gesehen werden, die die einfachen Wörter vielleicht nicht versteht, die die anderen verstehen. (HTL2: 254)

After presenting findings with regard to the interview participants' perceptions of multilingualism and their linguistic practices, in the following chapter, the CLIL programmes that the interview participants attend are described in more detail.

5.3. Affective Perceptions of CLIL Lessons

The following chapter seeks to report on what is done in the participants' CLIL lessons, the kinds of materials used, et cetera. Furthermore, the students' overall impression of their CLIL programme is described and finally, the connection between CLIL and motivation is elaborated on.

5.3.1. CLIL Lessons Description and Overall Satisfaction

Naturally, all six students described their CLIL lessons in different ways, but this chapter attempts to synthesise these differences as well as similarities.

CLIL lesson activities

Aylin, Derya, and Lina all stated that sometimes, regular subject lessons do not greatly differ from the CLIL lessons and mostly consist of teacher input. Derya explained: "Die Lehrerin hat das alles vorgetragen und wir haben zugehört, so wie auf Deutsch. Und wer Fragen hatte, durfte halt fragen, und das war's eigentlich." (HTL2: 56) and Aylin noted: „[N]a wir machen einfach den Stoff, den wir auf Deutsch machen würden – den machen wir halt auf Englisch. Also wir haben nichts Spezielles“ (HTL1: 56). Ana remarked that content is usually less complex in CLIL classes compared to regular classes (HAK1: 94).

Opportunities to actively participate in CLIL lessons were named by Sofija, who tends to be more active than in regular lessons, partly due to more creative tasks her teachers tend to design in CLIL lessons (HAK2: 64). Klara also stated that CLIL lessons are varied and that she can be more active (GYM1: 106). However, Ana feels that in her regular English lessons at HAK, tasks are more varied in comparison to CLIL lessons and that students cannot be overly active when they have CLIL (HAK1: 74). The latter statement is supported by Lina, who wishes: "Ein bisschen Abwechslung wäre schön. Also nicht immer Arbeitsblätter und PowerPoints" (GYM2: 70). While discussions are wished for in CLIL lessons, for example by Aylin ("Wenn's spannende Themen sind [...], dann könnte ich schon mitreden, aber so fachliche Sachen auf

Englisch machen nicht immer Spaß“ (HTL1: 94)), Klara remarked that such things sometimes do occur in her CLIL classes (GYM1: 56).

Despite the wish for more active discussion in English, there are opportunities to practice oral productive skills in CLIL lessons: In one of Sofija's CLIL classes, presentations can be done in either German or English (HAK2: 120), and Aylin reported that at HTL, her class once had English-language mini presentations in a CLIL class (HTL1: 66). Klara also mentioned various presentations and projects throughout the schoolyear (GYM1: 36).

Games are part of CLIL classes for some of the students (especially those at HAK and AHS), and they are received positively. For example, short in-between quizzes and vocabulary games following the rules of the game *Taboo* were mentioned by Sofija:

In Betriebswirtschaft hatten wir das Thema Kreditinstitute, und da haben wir zum Beispiel die ganzen Begriffe auf Englisch gehabt. Also sie hat uns ein Arbeitsblatt gegeben, und da musste einer aus der Klasse ein bestimmtes Wort erklären, aber er durfte das Wort nicht sagen, auf Englisch, und wir sollten es dann erraten. (HAK2: 46)

Klara described one of her teachers using creative methods such as throwing a ball to create opportunities to speak in CLIL lessons:

Sie hat einen Ball, den sie immer wirft, und es ist lustig, weil dann können wir immer durch die Klasse werfen. Und sie macht auch meistens, wenn sie reinkommt, stehen wir alle auf, und dann fragt sie eine Frage und dann dürfen wir uns hinsetzen. Also so eine Art Stundenwiederholung auf Englisch. Oder wir sollen ein Wort erklären, das wir in der vorigen Stunde gelernt haben. (GYM1: 46)

CLIL materials

The materials used in the participants' CLIL lessons are quite diverse. Worksheets are apparently the most often used materials in CLIL lessons (HAK1: 60, HAK2: 68, HTL1: 66, HTL2: 70, GYM1: 64, GYM2: 52). Some students noticed differences between regular and CLIL worksheets: For example, crossword puzzles and gap-filling tasks are especially used on Ana's, Sofija's, Lina's, and Derya's CLIL worksheets, and indicate a focus on vocabulary and subject-specific concepts in CLIL lessons (HAK1: 60, HAK2: 68, HTL2: 56, GYM2: 52).

Watching short clips or films in English is part of CLIL lessons for the HAK and AHS students (HAK1: 46, HAK2: 42, GYM1: 36, GYM2: 52). Furthermore, Sofija mentioned that in some of her schoolbooks at HAK, there are CLIL pages used in class that deal with certain subjects in English (HAK2: 40). At HTL, Aylin and Derya reported that CLIL materials and instructions are used especially in some laboratory classes:

Für ein Labor, da sind zum Beispiel alle Unterlagen auf Englisch [...] und wir müssen alles auf Englisch verstehen, damit wir überhaupt im Labor arbeiten können. (HTL1: 52)

CLIL grade and overall impression

All six students were asked which overall grade they would give their CLIL programme, and the answers all revolved around *Befriedigend* (3) (HAK1: 104, HTL2: 78, GYM2: 88, HAK2: 100, GYM1: 96, HTL1: 107). Overall, all four students who voluntarily chose CLIL are happy about their decision (HAK1: 110, HAK2: 116, GYM1: 100, GYM2: 94). Derya, as one of the students who did not specifically select a CLIL class, is dissatisfied with the amount of CLIL offered at her school: “Aber es ist ganz wenig, wenn man das im Durchschnitt anschaut, wirklich ganz wenig.” (HTL2: 48).

As pointed out in chapter 3.3.1, motivation is a multifaceted field. In the next chapters, Somers’ and Llinares’ (2021) concept of CLIL motivation is loosely followed in order to structure the discussion of CLIL motivation. Intrinsic and instrumental motivation are in focus first, while the CLIL learning experience is separately dealt with later on.

5.3.2. Instrumental CLIL Motivation

In this chapter, aspects of the interview participants’ CLIL lessons that both boost and diminish instrumental motivation are described. For example, grading (or rather, the lack thereof) in CLIL classes seems to play a (negative) role for motivation for some students. For Ana, not including CLIL sequences in testing at school means that CLIL is not viewed as important:

[D]as ist eh egal, was wir auf Englisch machen. Weil zum Test kommt’s dann ja nicht auf Englisch, es kommt ja dann im Endeffekt auf Deutsch, deswegen ist das immer so: Ja, das müssen wir eh nicht können, das muss man eh nicht machen. (HAK1: 80)

Aylin has similar experiences in her class, as she feels less motivated in CLIL lessons due to the fact that it is not part of the overall subject grade: „Ja, also im CLIL-Unterricht juckt’s irgendwie niemanden, und dann hört man nur zu.“ (HTL1: 82).

Nevertheless, there are other aspects of instrumental CLIL motivation that are more positively connotated. For example, international opportunities and cross-cultural communication due to CLIL are viewed as motivating by some of the participants. For example, Klara chose her CLIL class at AHS because of the international focus (GYM1: 88) and Sofija views CLIL as a welcome opportunity to prepare for working with people from diverse backgrounds in the future (HAK2: 116).

Language improvement is one of Sofija's reasons for having chosen a CLIL programme (HAK2: 116). At HTL, Aylin is also aware of the advantage CLIL offers for language improvement and in the interview, she talked about her experiences with doing a presentation in English: "ich fand's gut, weil man dann richtig spürt, dass es einem was bringt" (HTL1: 120). Lina, who rarely speaks German with her family, finds CLIL ideal for her personal linguistic development (GYM2: 190). She especially appreciates her CLIL programme because it helps her develop both her English and German skills:

Aber ich würde sagen, das ist schon sehr wichtig für mich, dass es auch teilweise auf Englisch ist, weil man natürlich in beiden Sprachen unterrichtet wird. Und ich finde, bilingual wäre für mich sowieso besser als eine komplette Englisch-Schule, weil ich natürlich auch Deutsch brauche und ich natürlich auch Deutsch prägen will. Und so, dass es bilingual ist, finde ich einfach sehr praktisch, weil da beide Sprachen zum Einsatz kommen. (GYM2: 96)

The crucial role of the English language is key to all six participants' instrumental CLIL motivation. Aylin explained that CLIL made her aware of the importance English has in various academic disciplines (HTL1: 234). She even reported that the high status of English is more important to her than lesson enjoyment:

Ich mein, es macht mir jetzt nicht sehr Spaß, Wirtschaft auf Englisch zu haben, aber ich weiß, dass es wichtig ist. Man hat ja immer das: Man will es nicht machen, aber man weiß, dass es etwas Gutes ist und dass es eigentlich eh sehr gut ist, dass man's hat. (HTL1: 116)

5.3.3. Intrinsic CLIL Motivation

Intrinsic CLIL motivation can be connected to enjoyable aspects of CLIL and thus be positive, but may also be diminished by anxiety, pressure, or other unenjoyable aspects such as boredom. In this chapter, both sides of intrinsic CLIL motivation are looked at.

Sometimes, simply loving learning languages and enjoying the learning process is a positive source for CLIL motivation, as is the case for Lina (GYM2: 190). Sofija also especially enjoys using English for business and economics related topics (HAK2: 122).

Games such as those mentioned by the participants in chapter 5.3.1 are a boost for CLIL lesson enjoyment. In part, the reason for this is that lessons tend to be more interactive and 'regular' teaching sequences become more varied, as was also mentioned previously. Sofija at HAK enjoys CLIL sequences more than her regular German-language lessons, despite finding them more exhausting, because she can be more active during CLIL sequences (HAK2: 64) and Klara feels the same (GYM1: 106). Aylin, who was critical of some of her CLIL lessons during the

interview, recalled that one specific teacher makes CLIL especially enjoyable because she expects and encourages participation:

Freitags haben wir immer bis 17:00 Labor und wir sind halt immer komplett fertig, und dann haben wir eine Stunde Wirtschaft vor dem Wochenende und da hat sie immer CLIL gemacht. Und obwohl wir zum Beispiel bis 17:00 Labor hatten, konnte ich mich in dieser einen Stunde bei ihr auf Englisch schon konzentrieren, weil sie halt irgendwie auch indirekt wollte, dass wir mitarbeiten. (HTL1: 120)

Despite the positive impact CLIL lessons have on motivation, not all CLIL lessons are seen as motivating. For example, Ana finds that even though some teachers really try to make CLIL engaging, numerous CLIL lessons are monotonous (HAK1: 86). Derya has a similar opinion and wishes for less teacher-centred input phases (HTL2: 80), and Sofija also finds the lack of creativity and the ubiquity of worksheets in some CLIL lessons demotivating (HAK2: 84).

In general, Aylin rarely enjoys CLIL lessons, but cannot pin down exactly why. She dislikes certain subjects anyway, and having them in English makes it even less fun (HTL1: 236). Generally, CLIL does not seem to be established well in Aylin's class, which may lead to a certain negative dynamic within the class:

[Wir sind] nicht interessiert, CLIL zu haben [...]. Ja, also in unserer Klasse war's, glaube ich, einfach so „ja, CLIL ist irgendwie unnötig.“ (HTL1: 314)

Despite some CLIL lessons being viewed as monotonous and generally less enjoyable, language anxiety was not mentioned specifically in most interviews. Sofija, for example, actually prefers speaking English in CLIL classes to German in some cases: “Ich traue mich mehr auf Englisch zu sagen als auf Deutsch irgendwie” (HAK2: 308). Derya, however, feels anxious in some instances when she has to use English in class (HTL2: 130). Nevertheless, she also explained the rewarding feeling of having dared to try afterwards:

Wenn man im Unterricht auf Englisch was beitragen möchte, und noch dazu ist es ein Unterricht, wo man normalerweise alles auf Deutsch hört. Und wenn man dann einfach den Mut hat, etwas von sich zu geben und plötzlich im Unterricht einfach, in Wirtschaft vor allem, zu reden, dann ist man auch wirklich mutig, weil man zeigt, dass man sich traut, etwas zu tun, was normalerweise nie der Fall war. (HTL2: 264)

In some previous quotes, the role that teachers play in making CLIL lessons more motivating has become obvious, so it is worthwhile to look at the impact that students' perception of their teachers' motivation has on their CLIL motivation in more detail.

In the course of the interviews, Ana, Sofija, Lina, Derya, and Aylin all named at least one teacher who is especially keen on teaching CLIL lessons, and whose motivation is infectious

(HAK1: 114, HAK2: 120, HTL2: 56, HTL1: 68). Sofija speculated that CLIL is a welcome change for many teachers (HAK2: 72). Lina also thinks that most of her teachers at AHS enjoy teaching CLIL (GYM2: 60). Nevertheless, the interview participants are aware that not every CLIL teacher does these lessons voluntarily. For example, Ana thinks that one of her teachers compensates for other colleagues who are not motivated to integrate CLIL: “Er hat, glaub ich, das Gefühl, dass er als Einziger diese CLIL-Stunden erfüllen muss, damit die anderen nicht so viel machen müssen” (HAK1: 78).

However, there are naturally not only teachers who are motivated to teach CLIL – Ana actually thinks that her teachers are not as engaging in CLIL lessons as they should be, and Aylin feels the same. She sees the cause for this partly in overwhelming and stressful circumstances, and demanding school curricula:

[I]ch glaub, manche Lehrer kommen einfach gar nicht dazu, was auf Englisch beizubringen oder wollen halt quasi, dass die Schüler es wenigstens auf Deutsch verstehen, damit sie die Kompetenzen haben. (HTL1: 108)

The direct impact of teachers’ motivation on students’ motivation, either positive or negative, is acknowledged by the interview participants. Ana would try to motivate teachers more because, in her opinion, this motivates the students (HAK1: 108).

The following chapter explores various aspects of the interview participants’ CLIL learning experience from their point of view as multilingual individuals, which is equally important as motivational aspects.

5.4. Learning Experience as Multilingual CLIL Students

In this chapter, the students’ perceptions of CLIL’s impact on language learning, language skills, and attitudes towards multilingualism is described. Then, the participants’ perspectives are examined regarding differences compared to their (monolingual) classmates, managing multiple languages at school, and teachers’ responses to multilingualism and linguistic challenges.

5.4.1. CLIL Impact on Language Learning and Skills

When asked about the impact CLIL has on their language learning, Ana (HAK1: 164) and Lina responded that they notice a positive impact. Lina, who attends an intense CLIL programme, feels that her English skills are better than those of students in regular, non-CLIL, classes, which brings her an enormous advantage overall:

Vor allem habe ich auch das Gefühl, dass mein Englisch viel besser ist als von jetzt, sag ich mal, nicht bilingualen Schülern an unserer Schule. Und trotzdem können wir [in der CLIL-Klasse] den Arbeitsstoff genauso gut wie sie. Und sogar in einer anderen Sprache auch noch dazu, also das finde ich sehr cool. (GYM2: 94)

However, the other interview participants did not respond in such a positive way: For example, Klara does not assign CLIL classes a crucial role as learning languages and speaking English have always been easy for her (GYM1: 262). As previously mentioned, both HTL students, Aylin and Derya, find that they simply had not enough CLIL lessons for them to have made a difference (HTL2: 84). Aylin claimed her English would have improved more if CLIL had been done regularly:

Englisch ist eine wichtige Sprache, und hätten wir's jede Woche, dann wären wir alle wahrscheinlich viel, viel besser gewesen in Englisch. Ich meine, ich bin jetzt nicht soo schlecht, aber ich wäre noch besser vielleicht. (HTL1: 100)

The six students were asked which language skills they believe are most effectively developed through CLIL lessons. All interview participants stated that their speaking skills are enhanced by CLIL (HAK1: 70, HAK2: 62, HTL1: 60, HTL2: 302, GYM1: 54, GYM2: 56), but writing skills are also named by Ana (HAK1: 70) and Lina (GYM2: 56). Reading skills are mentioned by Sofija and Klara (HAK2: 82, GYM1: 54).

When looking at improved speaking skills, it is worthwhile to take a closer look at what exactly is meant by this. Klara from AHS mentioned that sometimes, pronunciation errors are pointed out in CLIL lessons (GYM1: 54), but pronunciation was not mentioned by the other interview participants. Improving spontaneous speaking through CLIL lessons, however, seems to be key for many of the interview participants (for example, Sofia, Aylin, and Klara), as this is what makes communication authentic – but some of the students do not experience this enough in their own lessons. In Sofija's case, CLIL apparently helps her becoming used to speaking English, which she is happy about as this will be needed later on in life:

[I]ch finde das ganz gut, weil immerhin im echten Leben ist es nicht so, dass dir jemand sagt „okay, wir werden jetzt darüber reden“, sondern es beginnt einfach. Deshalb finde ich das gar nicht so schlecht. Ich finde das gut, wenn man eine Herausforderung hat, mit jemandem auf Englisch sprechen zu müssen, ohne davor vorbereitet zu sein wie bei einem Test oder so. (HAK2: 322)

Aylin at HTL also finds CLIL can be helpful because she does not only learn to deliver prepared speech, but can practice free, spontaneous conversations:

[W]enn man ein Referat zum Beispiel hält, dann bereitet man sich ja vor. Aber wenn man im Unterricht mitarbeiten oder quasi spontan über ein Thema eine

Minute lang reden muss, dann macht man das ja einfach, wie gesagt, spontan, und dann ist es ja wirklich der skill und nicht dieses Vorbereiten vorher. (HTL1: 302)

However, Aylin personally feels that due to the limited amount of CLIL in her class, her own spontaneous speaking skills do not really improve through CLIL (HTL1: 260)). In contrast to Aylin, Klara finds that discussing various topics in CLIL classes strengthens her abilities to communicate with others:

[A]lso wir diskutieren sehr viel über vor allem aktuelle Themen und ich finde, es ist gut, solche Sachen zu lernen, damit man sich da auch gut mit anderen Menschen versteht und gut kommunizieren kann. Ich finde, das hab ich erlernt im bilingualen Unterricht. (GYM2: 246)

Moreover, all students, except for Derya, feel that CLIL helps them expand their vocabulary (HAK1: 112, HAK2: 81, GYM1: 166) While Aylin criticises that the students need to make their own translations as some materials are only in English, she also acknowledges the impact that such materials have on her vocabulary: “[A]lso dieses Jahr im Labor, zum Beispiel, haben wir wie gesagt Unterlagen auf Englisch, und da hab ich wirklich bemerkt [...] ist auch unser Wortschatz irgendwie viel größer geworden“ (HTL1: 84). Interestingly, Lina is in a similar situation and wishes that sometimes they would not only get monolingual (English-language) materials but German-English translations:

[J]etzt, zur Zeit in Biologie ist es sehr viel, ja das musst du selber halt mitbekommen oder du musst selber wissen, was eine Mitose ist, et cetera. Und in anderen Fächern ist es auch wirklich sehr viel selber mitbekommen und wenn wir etwas lernen im Unterricht, dann wird einfach von uns erwartet, dass wir diese Begriffe während des Unterrichts selber erlernen und dann in beiden Sprachen können. (GYM2: 72)

In sum, speaking skills in the sense of communicative skills and spontaneous speaking, and an expanded lexicon were named to be most positively affected by CLIL lessons. Nevertheless, the impact of CLIL classes does not stop at language skills, and so the next chapter looks into other aspects that may be changed or affected by CLIL.

5.4.2. CLIL Impact on Aspects other than Language Learning

The interview participants’ attitudes towards multilingualism, learning languages, and in particular learning English are now presented. During the interviews, the participants were asked whether their attitudes towards multilingualism have changed since they started having CLIL classes. Lina reported that her views on multilingualism have changed; however, not the CLIL programme per se but the international classmates she has in her CLIL class have made a difference:

[J]etzt in der Schule bin ich ja umzingelt von Schülern, die mehrsprachig sind, und in der Volksschule war das halt... es war auch so, aber es war eher normal, Deutsch als Muttersprache zu haben. [...] Also, ich finde, das hat sich definitiv verändert. (GYM2: 204)

Apart from Lina, all other students gave a negative response (HAK1: 230, HTL1: 102, HTL2: 190, GYM1: 230). For Sofija, much rather than being in a CLIL class, it was being at HAK that actually made her aware of the impact being a multilingual has on her:

Also in der Schule habe ich dann halt voll gemerkt, wie unterschiedlich eigentlich ich die Sprachen beherrsche, auf Serbisch und auf Deutsch. Weil in den anderen Schulen war das halt nicht so extrem fokussiert, die deutsche Sprache war schon auch ein Teil meines Schullebens, aber nicht so extrem wie jetzt in der Schule. Es ist eher auf einem anderen Niveau, sagen wir so. Dann habe ich's halt schon gemerkt, [...] es ist halt als Zweisprachige nicht einfach. (HAK2: 254)

Klara does not feel her attitudes towards multilingualism have changed, but that she is more interested in the topic of speaking multiple languages per se: „[J]etzt befasse ich mich mehr mit dem Thema.“ (GYM1: 230)

Apart from their opinion on multilingualism, the interview participants were also asked whether their attitudes towards learning English have been impacted by CLIL, and while Aylin and Derya again voiced their disappointment about the small amount of CLIL they had (HTL1: 260, HTL2: 194), they both stated that they have become more aware of the importance of English due to CLIL (HTL1: 234, HTL2: 261).

When asked about whether CLIL changed their attitudes towards learning languages in general, the participants' answers are diverse. For Ana and Derya, CLIL does not make a difference in how they feel towards learning languages (HAK1: 234, HTL2: 208). The opposite is true for Lina, who exclaimed: „Viel lieber!“ (GYM2: 220). Sofija and Klara stated that they like learning languages more than before but that they have always enjoyed it anyway (HAK2: 258, GYM1: 244).

5.4.3. Language Learning and Use in Comparison to Monolinguals

All six interview participants have at least two home languages and naturally, they notice differences in their own language learning and use compared to those classmates that only speak German at home. In this chapter, these differences are presented.

When it comes to learning certain foreign languages, some of the interview participants notice advantages because of linguistic similarities to their own L1. For example, two of the students, Ana and Sofija, learn Russian at school, a Slavic language written in Cyrillic script. Both Ana

and Sofija speak another Slavic language with Cyrillic script (Bulgarian and Serbian, respectively). In Sofija's class, many classmates struggle with the script, whereas she does not (HAK2: 273), and Ana reported that learning Russian is quite easy for her in comparison to her monolingual peers (HAK1: 212).

Regarding their German skills, however, students such as Sofija and Lina notice that their classmates are more advanced than them. For example, Sofija is sometimes a little slower than her classmates: "Viele andere Schüler verstehen gleich, worum es geht, und ich muss dann zuerst [...] kurz überlegen. Aber viele haben da halt ein bissl einen Vorteil." (HAK2: 218), and many of Lina's classmates are more fluent than she is: "Sie sprechen viel fließender, auf jeden Fall. Ich muss immer nachdenken, wenn ich Deutsch spreche. Bei denen kommt es so natürlich." (GYM2: 202) Interestingly, Ana sometimes even feels that her German skills are superior to others, resulting in curious situations: "Ich bessere sogar teilweise Leute aus, die keine Zweitsprache haben, jetzt von der Grammatik her, wo es dann immer heißt: „Ja, du bist Ausländer, warum besserst du mich aus?“" (HAK1: 192)

The interview participants navigate various languages in their lives, and one language they all share is English. No student interviewed identified disadvantages in English proficiency due to their multilingualism in comparison to monolinguals; if differences were mentioned, they were consistently viewed as advantages. For instance, for Klara, English is even easier than German (GYM1: 226). Furthermore, Ana (HAK1: 258) and Lina suggested that because of their multilingualism, their English pronunciation is more natural than that of their peers. In her interview, Lina explained this in detail:

Man merkt auch, dass sie sehr deutsches Englisch sprechen. Also man hört wirklich, dass sie nicht Englisch als Erstsprache haben und man merkt es auch an ihrer Grammatik und sie sind halt in Englisch nicht fließend. Und ich finde, ich mache das schon besser als sie. (GYM2: 202)

Sofija, however, notices that some of her monolingual peers engage with the English language more than she does, but in the interview, she did not explicitly link this imbalance to multilingualism:

Es gibt halt viele Schüler in meiner Klasse, die auch so unverbindliche Übungen auf Englisch machen, sich viel mehr mit Englisch auch identifizieren und sich viel beschäftigen mit der Sprache. [...] Und da merk ich dann schon, dass sie durch dieses Wissen, es ihnen einfach einfacher fällt, es einfach schneller und besser zu formulieren. (HAK2: 282 & 284)

All interview participants were asked whether they notice any differences in CLIL classes, where all classmates speak a language that is similarly familiar to all them (no matter whether they are monolingual or not), as opposed to regular classes, and only Sofija mentioned an equalising function of CLIL. For her, CLIL is a great opportunity to balance out the linguistic inequalities that exist in regular content classes at her school:

Weil immerhin, es ist für uns alle dann eine Challenge, und da merke ich schon eher diese Challenge, dass die Mitschüler es auch irgendwie nachvollziehen, dass es nicht einfach ist. Und ja, weil immerhin, Englisch haben wir alle gleich gelernt, gleich viele Jahre in der Schule. Ja, also ich finde schon, dass das dann für uns alle eine kleine Challenge sein kann. (HAK2: 248)

In contrast to Sofija, other interview participants do not see these linguistic inequalities (HAK1: 222, GYM1: 226). For Aylin, there are no significant differences between multilinguals and their monolingual counterparts in CLIL lessons. In a statement during the interview, she refuted possible expectations about multilinguals being at a disadvantage: “Also in meiner eigenen Klasse finde ich nicht, dass wir, die als Muttersprache etwas anderes hatten, Nachteile haben.” (HTL1: 264 & 272).

5.4.4. Managing Multiple Languages

Since the interview participants’ family languages, aside from German, are not used as languages of instruction at school, they reported challenges such as occasionally mixing up certain languages, and not speaking all of them at the desired level.

English is the CLIL language for all six students, and during the interviews, various issues connected to this additional language were mentioned. A sometimes overwhelming feeling towards English as the language of instruction is present for some students such as Sofija (HAK2: 84), Ana and her classmates (HAK1: 64), Aylin and her peers (HTL1: 32), and Derya (HTL2: 66). Except for Klara and Lina at AHS, all students mentioned that learning new and complex content is sometimes difficult for them, which is increased by doing so in English. The reason for this, in Derya’s experience, is that some subjects are challenging anyway, and when the language of instruction is also challenging, it becomes too much:

[W]enn man die Fächer an sich betrachtet, den Inhalt und so, das ist eh alles schwer. Und als Plus kommt noch die Sprache, wo man sich schon schwer tut, und dann macht das irgendwie noch einen Pluspunkt dafür, dass es schwieriger wird. (HTL2: 204)

The issue of challenging subjects becoming even more challenging when taught in English was also mentioned by various other students, such as Ana, Ayлина, and Derya (HAK1: 46, HTL1: 32, HTL2: 56).

Furthermore, Aylin, Derya, Aylin, and Sofija reported that their multilingualism at times leads to a mix-up of languages, especially with English (HTL1: 206, HTL2: 226, HAK2: 106). For example, Aylin sometimes struggles to find the right language when someone starts speaking English at school:

[M]anchmal verwirrt es auch einen, wenn jemand jetzt auf Englisch plötzlich mit dir beginnt zu sprechen, dann ist es ja eine andere Sprache und nicht Deutsch, und dann denkst du dir „okay, das ist jetzt eine andere Sprache“ und dann beginnst du random so auf Türkisch zu reden, weil du dann quasi denkst auf Türkisch, aber du denkst dir „okay, das ist zwar eine andere Sprache, aber das ist jetzt Englisch, nicht Türkisch“, und dann musst du zuerst mal auf Englisch switchen. (HTL1: 256)

Derya even explained that her multilingualism is in the way of improving her English skills, due to a lack of opportunities to integrate yet another language in her everyday life:

Und, ich mein, ich bin jetzt in der Phase, wo ich mein Englisch immer verbessern möchte [...]. Und gleichzeitig muss ich halt andere zwei Sprachen sprechen und das ist halt immer voll schwer. Weil eigentlich kann man ja, wenn man eine Sprache sehr oft spricht, kann man das eigentlich auch leichter verbessern. Aber ich hab die Gelegenheit nicht, weil ich kann jetzt nicht mit meinen Eltern plötzlich nur auf Deutsch sprechen, ich muss mit ihnen Türkisch sprechen. Und in der Schule muss ich dann auf Deutsch sprechen. (HTL2: 228)

In addition to the aforementioned school-related issues with managing multiple languages, some interview participants also noted that their linguistic abilities vary in all their languages. Lina knows several languages, but, since she does not use them equally often, she does not speak them all with the same level of fluency (GYM2: 184). Sofija also reported on the difficulty of cultivating all her languages in equal measure:

Weil für die [monolingualen Sprecher:innen] ist es halt nur so Deutsch, Englisch, und vielleicht die Fremdsprache, und zuhause und überall Deutsch. Und ich bin eher so, okay, Deutsch, Serbisch – es ist verwirrend bei mir und dann kommt man halt nicht dazu, dass man halt alle Sprachen [...], dass es irgendwie gleich bleibt oder so. (HAK2: 288)

5.4.5. Teachers' Reactions to Multilingualism and Linguistic Challenges

The crucial role of teachers in learning and motivation has already been discussed in chapter 5.3.3. In this section, the teachers' reactions to multilingualism and to linguistic challenges with the languages of instruction at school are now in focus.

None of the interview participants reported that their teacher discriminate against students with an immigrant background, but with regard to students speaking languages other than German or English at school, Ana reported that some of her teachers expressed disapproval of this behaviour. Nevertheless, she agreed with their perspective (HAK1: 186). In some cases, teachers may still encourage students to use any language that helps them learn: For example, Lina reported that some of her classmates are refugees from Ukraine and receive full support from their teachers.

Also ich weiß, dass da die Lehrer wirklich sehr engagiert sind, damit die Schüler das auch lernen. Und im Unterricht, wenn die Schüler Ukrainisch miteinander sprechen, sind die meisten Lehrer auch ganz okay damit, weil es dauert halt ein bisschen, dass man in einer Sprache gut kommunizieren kann. (GYM2: 216)

The German language can be a challenge at school, as was reported by Lina, Sofia, and Derya. Since German is the official language of instruction, this may be especially face-threatening, but all three reported that their teachers do not make them feel awkward about it. For example, in Lina's class, many students prefer English over German, which is accepted by all their teachers: "Ich glaube, einige deutschsprachige Lehrer nehmen sich das sehr zu Herzen, dass wir sehr viel Englisch sprechen und deswegen sehr einfache Wörter [auf Deutsch] verwenden" (GYM2: 176). For Sofija and Derya, struggling with German feels unpleasant, despite their teachers not actively showing disapproval. In Sofija's case, her German teacher helps her improve but the situation still remains awkward for her (HAK2: 303, HTL2: 232).

Teachers' reactions to struggles with English were also covered in the interviews, and the participants' statements were mixed on this matter. For Ana, it is a relief that some of her teachers understand the students' struggles quite well because they also face difficulties with speaking English in class (HAK1: 282). Aylin explained that during the short time in which they had CLIL in her laboratory class, switching from German to English was especially hard at the beginning but the class had a supportive teacher who recognised the class's need to become familiar with relevant vocabulary first and adapted his teaching to help them ease into English as the language of instruction (HTL1: 58). In contrast to this positive experience, Derya wished that some teachers would show more understanding towards multilingual students who struggle with managing all their languages:

Ich finde, Lehrer sollten bisschen vorsichtiger sein. Vor allem, wenn es darum geht, dass eine Person wie ich zum Beispiel auch Englisch sprechen muss. Das ist einfach voll schwer, weil, ich meine, ich musste mein Leben lang auch mein Deutsch verbessern und immer mit den anderen mitkommen. (HTL2: 270)

During the interviews, the students were also asked about their teachers' attitudes towards questions related to clarification, vocabulary, or repetition, and they mainly reported about helpful and understanding teachers (HAK1: 293), who even actively encourage the students to ask for clarification, unknown words, et cetera, and then explain again (HTL1: 290). Derya reported that at the beginning, she was unsure whether asking questions was okay, but soon she noticed that her teacher did not react badly to it, which was motivating:

[A]m Anfang war ich immer so: Darf man das überhaupt oder wie reagiert sie drauf? Aber nachdem ich gesehen hab, dass die guten Schüler das auch ab und zu machen, hab ich gedacht, ah okay, dann reagiert sie eh nicht so blöd drauf und hilft weiter. Dann hab ich das auch einfach gemacht. Weil das hat mich eigentlich auch irgendwie bisschen mehr motiviert zum Sprechen, weil es kommt während dem Reden öfters vor, dass ich ein paar Wörter vergesse, vor allem im Englischen. Und dann hatte ich immer so die Angst, okay ich sag lieber nix, damit ich dann während dem Gespräch nicht abbrechen muss. Aber nachdem ich gesehen hab, sie hilft da eigentlich wirklich, das hat mich eigentlich beruhigt und mehr motiviert. (HTL2: 252)

The interview participants seem to have supportive teachers who mainly encourage their students to ask questions and want to help when someone is struggling. Nevertheless, some of the students reported negative feelings towards asking for help.

In sum, the findings have outlined how multilingual students perceive their identities, use their languages, and experience CLIL in different school contexts. While these findings provide a descriptive account of students' perspectives, the following discussion chapter will move beyond description to interpret these findings.

6. Discussion

This chapter synthesizes the previously gathered and analysed data to address the research questions. At this stage, the aim is to shift from description to interpretation, as the empirical findings are analysed in relation to the literature review.

6.1. Identity and Language Practices of Multilingual Secondary Students

The first research question aimed to investigate how multilingual secondary students perceive and describe their multilingual identity. In the interviews, all participants found that being multilingual is part of their identity and noted that they particularly identify with other multilinguals. This perception is also reflected by research findings (Henry, 2017, pp. 549–550; Kemp, 2009, p. 21). Even though all interviewees learned German when they entered

kindergarten at the latest, only half of them included it in the list of the languages that they identify with most; their other family languages (or English) seem closer to them. Depending on contextual factors such as the people surrounding them, different linguistic and cultural backgrounds of theirs are in focus at a particular time. Thus, their way of understanding the world is shaped by their linguistic repertoire. For the participants, this multilingual identity is also a source of pride. Following Pavlenko (2006, p. 29), however, multilinguals experience tensions in their multilingual identity; on the one hand being empowered or enriched while on the other hand feeling incomplete or inadequate. The findings of this thesis highlight this, as some of the interview participants voiced a fear of speaking languages that are particularly relevant among their peer group (i.e. German or English) at a seemingly unsatisfactory level - or, to put it another way, not as well as their peers. In addition to fears of insufficient proficiency, some participants found it difficult to maintain all their languages equally well, which are common issues among multilinguals (Prasad, 2020, p. 902).

The findings further highlight the role of language hierarchies, even though the students overall view being multilingual as something normal. While many of the interviewees' home languages are vital immigrant languages in Austria and are valued among family or peers, some students experience indifference or negativity towards these languages by others. This is also reflected in the literature (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 43), as especially such immigrant languages do not have high symbolic value, for example in the education system. While German is considered essential for educational success and social participation, it is experienced as challenging by some interviewees. The students perceive English as prestigious and useful for future opportunities, a perception that aligns with literature (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 43; Jessner & Mayr-Keiler, 2017, p. 43). Thus, the interview participants all use English for various purposes, including 'sounding cool', and explicitly want to make use of its door-opening function.

Despite experiencing some negative attributions regarding their multilingual identity, all students reported that multilingualism enhances their intercultural understanding and ability to connect with different people and cultures. Furthermore, they stated that they have more diverse perspectives on the world. In addition, the participants described regularly drawing on their lexical repertoires as an aid in their language learning, and acknowledged these benefits of being multilingual that are also highlighted in the literature (Cenoz, 2019, p. 76; Mehisto & Marsh, 2011, p. 31).

In sum, multilingual secondary students experience their multilingual identity ambivalently; while multilingualism is largely seen as enriching and an integral part of their identity, students

also face challenges related to language hierarchies, language proficiency struggles, and limited recognition of their multilingual repertoires in a societal and an educational context.

The second research question revolves around linguistic practices multilingual secondary school students engage in across academic and social settings. Overall, the students navigate multiple languages on an everyday basis, varying according to, for instance, social and cultural considerations, as suggested by research findings (Jessner & Mayr-Keiler, 2017, pp. 90–91). There is a tendency for German to be used more in conversations with siblings and friends than with parents. Notably, not all the participants' families use German for communication regularly, but in each family, at least two languages are used for everyday communication. Within these domains, the interviewees' language use is often fluid and playful, for example when they integrate strategies such as code-switching, which they deem natural and valuable.

Neither of the students learn their family languages (apart from German) as a subject at school. As suggested by Cenoz and Gorter (2010, p. 38), who state that languages are likely to enter school curricula if they are assigned a certain symbolic value, this implies that students' immigrant family languages are not highly valued within the school system. This is also reflected in the languages used for communication at school: German and also English dominate among students and in lessons, while other languages (except for foreign languages that are also part of their schools' curricula) are often marginalised. According to the interview participants, this is partly because only few students share a home language and partly because the students (and also the teachers) deem it disrespectful to use non-dominant languages. This is in line with current practices in Austrian schools, where linguistic diversity is officially acknowledged but seldom integrated into everyday practice (Jessner & Mayr-Keiler, 2017, p. 88).

The interview participants view code-switching as a useful and valuable strategy, which is in contrast to popular beliefs but corresponds to current research opinion (Karabassova & San Isidro, 2020, p. 3; Nikula, 2017, p. 118). As discussed earlier, while code-switching in school is largely restricted to the languages of instruction, a greater variety of languages are involved in the private domain, which fulfils multiple functions (San Isidro & Lasagabaster, 2019, p. 337): It occurs naturally with family and serves as a playful identity marker among friends. Participants use it to compensate for linguistic difficulties or to adapt to new environments when visiting relatives abroad. Importantly, they reported that such strategies rarely cause embarrassing situations, neither with friends or family nor at school; instead, the students rephrased, switched languages, or sought clarification. Thus, the potential of supportive,

appreciative environments to normalise multilingual practices is reflected (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 43; Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2017, p. 24), despite not all of the participants' languages being involved at school in equal measure.

To summarise, the linguistic practices multilingual secondary school students engage in across academic and social settings are shaped by the dominance of German and English at school, while family languages are primarily used in private contexts. Within these domains, students employ code-switching and other strategies in a fluid and playful manner, which demonstrates how supportive environments can normalise multilingual practices, even though many of the students' languages receive little recognition or integration within the school setting.

After discussing multilingual secondary students' perceptions of their multilingual identity and their linguistic practices, the next chapter focuses on their experiences with CLIL.

6.2. CLIL Experiences of Multilingual Secondary Students

The first research question in this chapter (RQ3) addresses how the students generally describe their CLIL experience. The interview participants' CLIL programmes differ considerably regarding their intensity (from sporadic sequences to covering about half of the subjects) and student selection (from mandatory to selective programmes), which is typical in the Austrian education system (Hofstadler et al., 2021, p. 221). Overall, the findings show that the interviewees favour a clearly structured, consistent CLIL organisation.

As stated by, for instance, Roiha and Sommier (2018, p. 632) and Meyerhöffer and Dreesmann (2019, p. 1368), selective CLIL programmes often attract students with above-average motivation. This is reflected in the findings: The four students who entered such selective, more intense CLIL programmes are especially motivated to take their language learning further and found that CLIL motivates them even more for language learning. In contrast, the two students in non-selective, low-intensity CLIL settings did not regard CLIL as particularly influential for their linguistic development, highlighting that the increased opportunities for target language practice typically associated with CLIL (Dalton-Puffer, 2011a, p. 186) are largely absent in low-intensity settings. While all six participants gave their CLIL programme the grade *Befriedigend* (indicating that all of them acknowledge the need for improvement), those who specifically selected CLIL were generally happy with their decision.

The students reported considerable variation in CLIL lessons, largely influenced by teacher practices and subject matter. In line with Coyle (2011, p. 17) and Bower (2019, p. 562), an engaging learning environment promotes co-operative and purposeful learning. The

participants reported that their CLIL lessons are to some extent characterised by teacher-focused input, but at the same time, most of them also described lessons in which oral productive skills are emphasised and in which game-based learning is integrated. Across interviews, such interactive and participatory lessons were seen as motivating, while teacher-centred instruction often reduced engagement. Perceptions of content difficulty varied: Some found CLIL content easier than content in regular lessons, while others experienced the opposite. Furthermore, some students enjoyed discussing current events and cultural phenomena, but others missed having such discussions in their CLIL lessons.

Overall, the students' descriptions of their CLIL experience reveal considerable variation in programme intensity, student selection, and lesson design. Lesson experiences similarly depend on teacher practices and subject matter: Interactive, participatory, and game-based approaches are motivating, whereas teacher-centred instruction often reduces engagement. Differences in content difficulty and opportunities for discussion further illustrate that students' CLIL experiences are shaped by the interaction of programme structure and classroom dynamics.

Building on these insights, the second research question in this chapter (RQ 4) explores how the students perceive their multilingualism in CLIL education, and what implications they associate with participating in such programmes.

CLIL has often been proposed to enable deeper intercultural awareness (Coyle et al., 2010, p. 41; Roiha & Sommier, 2018, p. 633), and indeed, English as the CLIL language acts as a motivational booster for the participants due to its perceived usefulness. In fact, international opportunities and cross-cultural communication were among the main benefits of CLIL for the interviewees, or even a key reason to enter a CLIL programme. However, the participants did not report substantial changes in their multilingual identity as a result of CLIL but rather by the people they met in their CLIL classes.

When comparing their perceived English language proficiency to that of their non-CLIL peers, only two students clearly stated they have an advantage. With regard to language skills, speaking (i.e. communicative competence) and subject-specific vocabulary were identified by all students as the areas most enhanced by CLIL, which is in line with current research such as by Nikula (2017, p. 115) and Lamb and King (2020, p. 521).

Most participants expressed relatively high intrinsic and instrumental CLIL motivation even though, as discussed earlier, students in non-selective CLIL programmes were less strongly motivated overall (Nikula, 2017, p. 119; Somers & Llinares, 2021, pp. 849–850). One of these

students reported feeling anxious when speaking English in certain situations, yet also reported feeling rewarded from daring to try. One organisational feature of Austrian CLIL appears as particularly demotivating: Students are not assessed on language proficiency but only on subject knowledge. Several participants felt this discourages them from investing effort, reflecting research that links a lack of perceived relevance to weaker motivation (see chapter 3.3.2).

The participants may regard CLIL – using a language of instruction that is neither their own nor their monolingual peers' home language – as potentially having an equalising function, an argument made, for example, by Somers (2017, p. 512). Yet, only one student explicitly reported such an experience, while some interviewees rejected it – one student, for instance, pointed to the fact that many of her peers were multilinguals and therefore in similar situations. More commonly, the participants highlighted the challenges of managing multiple languages, especially when English is the language of instruction. Not only home languages (including German) but also this additional language must be managed simultaneously. Research has linked this, e.g., to cognitive overload (Bono & Stratilaki, 2009, p. 207; Illman & Pietilä, 2018, p. 268), though notably, the two AHS students did not report such difficulties. As discussed in chapter 3.1, students in school types like HAK or HTL have fewer opportunities to learn multiple foreign languages and are often considered less successful in language learning than students of other school types, such as AHS, which may help explain this difference. Furthermore, most students described complex subject content as increasingly difficult when taught in CLIL contexts, sometimes causing participants to mix up languages. Although such struggles do not cause negative reactions from others, some students nonetheless perceive them as face-threatening.

Across both research questions, the significant influence of teachers is evident. From the participants' perspectives, many teachers approach CLIL with enthusiasm and employ motivating practices that enhance lesson enjoyability. However, curricular constraints and an inflexible education system often limit their ability to realise CLIL's potential to promote multilingualism. Furthermore, as noted in chapter 2.4.2, while schools are expected to embrace diversity that is a reality in Austrian classrooms, the education system provides insufficient resources to meet students' diverse linguistic needs, thus posing challenges for both teachers and students. Nevertheless, some of the interviewees' CLIL teachers have to some extent adopted multilingual approaches, such as acknowledging difficulties with German as the language of instruction or encouraging questions for clarification, vocabulary, and repetition.

Still, one participant noted that teachers do not always understand the specific challenges faced by multilingual students, which may be linked to the fact that few teachers themselves come from minority backgrounds (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, pp. 45–46).

In exploring how the students perceive their multilingualism in CLIL education and the implications they associate with participating in such programmes, the findings indicate that English functions as a motivating and useful language, while home and other additional languages must be managed simultaneously. The students reported that CLIL enhanced communicative competence and subject-specific vocabulary, yet its impact on multilingual identity was limited and influenced more by peer interactions. Teacher practices were central to students' experiences, with motivating, multilingual-aware approaches supporting engagement and language development, whereas curricular constraints and limited recognition of linguistic diversity often restricted the programme's potential.

To summarise, the results of this study stress both the potential and the limitations of Austrian schools in supporting multilingual learners, and provide a basis for the concluding reflections and implications of this thesis.

7. Conclusion

On the basis of an in-depth literature review and a qualitative interview study of six Austrian multilingual students, this master's thesis has explored the experiences of multilingual secondary students and their perceptions of CLIL programmes in Austria. It has examined how students understand their multilingual identity and engage in linguistic practices across academic and social contexts. The way they experience multilingualism within CLIL education and the implications they associate with participating in these programmes have been the present master's thesis research focus. The findings reveal how multilingual students navigate their identities in CLIL settings and how these programmes can either empower or constrain multilingual practices, depending on their organisation and classroom implementation.

Multilingualism was found to be both a core aspect of students' identities and a source of tension. Pride in their linguistic and cultural backgrounds often coexists with challenges in individual and societal contexts. Students reported feeling empowered by their ability to connect with diverse people and perspectives, yet some expressed concern about not speaking key peer-group languages well enough, struggled to maintain all of their languages equally, and observed societal hierarchies that privilege languages such as German and English over

immigrant languages. These dynamics were also visible in educational settings: While students' multilingual practices are fluid and playful in private contexts, including strategies such as code-switching, schools rarely provide opportunities to fully make use of their linguistic repertoire.

The study further indicates that students value CLIL programmes that are transparent, predictable, and engaging. Motivation increases when CLIL is experienced as relevant, particularly due to its perceived usefulness and function as a door-opener. CLIL thus represents an established opportunity to promote multilingualism. In most cases, multilingual and monolingual students approach the target language English from comparable positions, creating an environment in which linguistic background plays a less prominent role than in regular lessons. This might suggest that CLIL serves as an equaliser. However, this effect is not uniform; especially (though not exclusively) multilingual students in non-selective classes may still face significant challenges managing the additional language of instruction. As with monolingual students, multilingual learners form a highly heterogeneous group, and individual factors such as linguistic background, language aptitude, and learning strategies determine to what extent they struggle or thrive in CLIL settings.

This master's thesis has highlighted the need for the Austrian educational system to integrate and promote multilingualism more actively, including the strengthening of non-dominant languages. While teachers alone cannot bring about institutional change, they play a crucial role in recognising the opportunities and challenges multilingual students face. By incorporating students' family languages into classroom practices or enabling them to transfer strategies such as code-switching into the school context, teachers can acknowledge the symbolic value of the students' linguistic repertoires and backgrounds. Implementing such measures is challenging, yet it remains essential that teachers find ways to integrate multilingual practices, particularly in CLIL classrooms.

The interviewees are more motivated when they identify CLIL as relevant not only for their future endeavours but also for their everyday school experiences. Stronger institutionalisation of CLIL through clearer guidelines and structural support could enhance teachers' capacity to implement effective practices and improve all students' perceptions of CLIL, regardless of programme selectivity. Such changes would likely benefit all learners, not only multilingual students.

Teachers must also be aware of the additional demands an extra language of instruction places on multilingual learners. Institutional support is therefore critical, including access to research-

based guidance, teaching tools, and targeted professional development. Specific training should address practical CLIL implementation, as well as the development of materials and methods that add value in multilingual CLIL contexts.

An important area for future studies may lie in examining the types of guidance schools and CLIL teachers require to ensure that all students, and multilingual learners in particular, fully benefit from the opportunities CLIL programmes can offer. Furthermore, investigating teachers' perspectives on multilingual students in their CLIL classrooms would undoubtedly further enrich understanding of the complex field of CLIL education in relation to multilingualism.

While this master's thesis provides valuable insights into the experiences of multilingual CLIL learners in Austrian secondary schools, several limitations must be acknowledged. The study had a small sample size of six students and a focus on Viennese upper secondary schools. As is common in qualitative research, which emphasises depth over breadth, the study focused on detailed individual experiences rather than broad representativeness. Gender imbalance was also evident, with all participants being female. While the participants shared a key factor, namely being multilingual, their individual language biographies, challenges, and contextual settings varied. Additionally, the differences in execution, selectivity, and intensity of the participants' CLIL programmes make it difficult to draw uniform conclusions and capture the full spectrum of multilinguals' experiences. Furthermore, the use of self-reported data obtained through semi-structured interviews can lead to potential biases, as students may withhold critical information out of social concerns, especially when the interviewees reflect on intimate, delicate issues that are so narrowly intertwined with their own identities as was the case in the interviews conducted for the present master's thesis.

Nevertheless, this thesis demonstrates that multilinguals bring with them a valuable resource that deserves strong recognition. Failing to sufficiently address their complex identities and practices in CLIL teaching risks depriving them of meaningful learning opportunities. It is therefore essential that teachers approach their practice consciously and intentionally in order to adhere to the specific needs of both individual students and specific CLIL classroom contexts.

Finally, I hope that this thesis contributes to the field by helping current and future CLIL teachers better understand the perceptions and challenges of multilingual students. It may encourage them to reflect on teaching practices in CLIL settings and develop greater sensitivity toward linguistically diverse classes – as these are, indeed, the norm rather than the exception.

8. References

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9. Appendix

9.1. Permission Form

Kurzinformation zum Interview über Mehrsprachigkeit und CLIL

Mein Name ist [...]. Derzeit arbeite ich als Lehrerin im [...] und schreibe meine Masterarbeit im Unterrichtsfach Englisch an der Universität Wien.

Im Zuge meiner Masterarbeit möchte ich herausfinden, wie mehrsprachige Schüler:innen, die weder Deutsch noch Englisch als Erstsprache haben, über Unterricht mit Englisch als Arbeitssprache (CLIL) denken.

- Das Interview dauert voraussichtlich **ca. 1 Stunde** und wird **online** (via Zoom) durchgeführt.
- Die Teilnahme ist **freiwillig**. Alle Antworten werden streng **vertraulich** behandelt. Die Interviewdaten werden auf universitären, sicheren Servern gespeichert.
- Die Ergebnisse dieser Arbeit werden **anonymisiert**. Das heißt, die persönlichen Daten Ihres Kindes oder der Name der Schule werden nicht in der Masterarbeit verwendet.

Falls Sie Fragen haben, können Sie mich gerne unter folgender Mailadresse erreichen:
[...]

Einverständniserklärung zum Interview über Mehrsprachigkeit und CLIL

Forschungsprojekt: Ansichten und Einstellungen von mehrsprachigen Schüler:innen zu CLIL-Unterricht an österreichischen Schulen

Hiermit bestätige ich, dass meine Tochter/ mein Sohn im Rahmen des genannten Masterprojekts am Interview teilnehmen darf. Wir wurden über das Ziel und den Verlauf ausreichend informiert.

Das Interview darf aufgezeichnet und durch die Studentin [...] verschriftlicht und ausgewertet werden. Die Transkripte der Interviews dürfen anonymisiert (d.h. ohne Namen- und Personenangaben) gespeichert und vertraulich für das Vorhaben der Masterarbeit verwendet und an diese angehängt werden.

.....
Ort, Datum

.....
Unterschrift des/der Erziehungsberechtigten

.....
Name des/der Erziehungsberechtigten

9.2. Interview Guide

Leitfaden Einleitung

Vielen Dank für die Teilnahme an meinem Forschungsprojekt. Mein Name ist [...] und ich bin Master-Studierende (Lehramt Englisch und Geschichte) an der Universität Wien. Dieses

Interview ist Teil meiner Masterarbeit, die den Fokus auf mehrsprachig lebende Schüler*innen legt. Die Masterarbeit ist das letzte große wissenschaftliche Projekt, das ich für meinen Universitätsabschluss fertigstellen muss. Hier forsche ich sowohl in der Theorie und, durch Interviews, in der Praxis, an meinem Themengebiet und veröffentliche zum Schluss meine Ergebnisse an der Universität Wien.

Im Zuge meiner Forschung möchte ich herausfinden, was mehrsprachige Schüler*innen, die weder Deutsch noch Englisch als Erstsprache (das Wort kennst du vielleicht als „Muttersprache“) haben, über CLIL-Unterricht (Content and Language Integrated Learning) an österreichischen Schulen denken. Deine Teilnahme wird sehr geschätzt, denn du bist Experte / Expertin auf diesem Gebiet. Ich kann von deinen Antworten sehr viel lernen. Deshalb interessiere ich mich besonders für deine Gedanken, Ideen und Meinungen zu diesem Thema. Dieses Interview wird aufgezeichnet. Wenn du das nicht möchtest, kannst du das gerne jetzt sagen.

Bezüglich der Teilnahme an diesem Forschungsprojekt wird sichergestellt:

- Die Teilnahme ist freiwillig. Du kannst zu jedem Zeitpunkt während des Forschungsprozesses die Teilnahme beenden.
- Deine persönlichen Daten werden streng vertraulich behandelt und auf einem sicheren, universitätsinternen Server gespeichert.
- Die Ergebnisse dieser Arbeit werden anonymisiert; Klarnamen werden zu keinem Zeitpunkt während des Forschungsprozess verwendet.
- Die Ergebnisse dieses Forschungsprojektes werden für meine Masterarbeit verwendet. Diese wird an der Universität Wien sowohl online als auch in Buchform einsehbar sein.

Das Ziel dieses Forschungsprojektes ist es, einen Einblick in die Ansichten von Schüler*innen mit anderen Erstsprachen als Deutsch oder Englisch über CLIL-Unterricht zu bekommen – wie sie diesen Unterricht im Hinblick auf ihre Mehrsprachigkeit wahrnehmen, welche Strategien sie im Umgang mit CLIL dabei entwickelt haben, und vieles mehr. Es gibt natürlich keine richtigen und falschen Antworten zu meinen Fragen und es gibt keine Verpflichtung, auf Fragen zu antworten, die du nicht beantworten möchtest. Du kannst dir außerdem Zeit zum Überlegen nehmen und die Länge bzw. Ausführlichkeit der Antworten sind dir überlassen.

Wenn du Interesse hast, die Ergebnisse dieser Studie zu erhalten, schicke ich sie dir gerne per E-Mail zu, sobald die Masterarbeit eingereicht wurde. Dafür gib mir bitte deine E-Mailadresse bekannt. Wenn nach diesem Interview Fragen oder Bedenken auftauchen, kannst du mir jederzeit gerne eine E-Mail schicken (a1140479@univie.ac.at).

Vielen Dank nochmals für deine Zeit und dein Interesse an meiner Forschungsarbeit! Nun können wir loslegen.

Leitfaden Interview

Einleitung

- Biografische Daten (*das hilft mir, deine Situation besser nachvollziehen zu können*):
 - Wie alt bist du?
 - Welches Geschlecht darf ich dir zuordnen?
 - Zähle bitte kurz auf: Welche Sprachen sprichst du alle? (*Das inkludiert alle Sprachen, die du außerhalb der Schule benutzt und die du innerhalb der Schule lernst/verwendest*)
- Zu Beginn erzähle mir bitte über deine bisherige Schullaufbahn. (*Checkliste*)

- *In welchen Schultypen warst du bisher Schüler*in? Wo waren diese Schulen (z.B. ländliches Tirol oder Wien)?*
- *Welche Schule besuchst du derzeit?*
- *Was ist dein Lieblingsfach? Warum?*
- *Welches Fach magst du am wenigsten? Warum?*
- Aus der Gegenwart springen wir in die Zukunft.
 - Was für eine Schule/Ausbildung möchtest du nach deiner jetzigen Schule absolvieren?
 - Hast du generell schon ein Ziel vor Augen, wo es in deinem Leben hingehen soll?
 - Wenn ja, welche Branche (= welches Feld) oder welcher Job interessiert dich denn am meisten? Warum?

Schulwahl und Wahl des CLIL-Programmes

- Erzähl mir doch bitte, wie der CLIL-Unterricht an deiner Schule organisiert ist. (Checkliste)
 - *Welche Klassen/Abteilungen/... haben an deiner Schule CLIL-Stunden?*
 - *Welche Unterrichtsstunden hattest du bisher als CLIL-Stunden?*
 - *Welche Gegenstände werden in deiner Klasse momentan als CLIL-Stunden unterrichtet?*
 - *Denk an eine (mehr oder weniger) ganz normale Woche im Schuljahr: Wie viele Stunden hast du CLIL-Unterricht in der Woche?*
- Im CLIL-Unterricht wird der Fokus typischerweise nicht auf die Sprache, sondern vor allem auf das Fach gelegt. Beschreibe mir, wie derzeit eine typische CLIL-Stunde bei dir organisiert ist. (Checkliste)
 - *Welche Aktivitäten macht ihr besonders häufig/selten?*
 - *Welche language skills (=grammar, writing, listening, ...)verwendest du am meisten in einer typischen CLIL-Stunde?*
 - *Wie aktiv könnt ihr Schüler*innen sein?*
 - *Welche Materialien oder Unterlagen verwendet ihr normalerweise?*
 - *Wie motiviert schätzt du deine Lehrperson ein?*
 - *Was sind für dich die größten Unterschiede zu regulären Englischstunden?*
 - *Was würdest du am CLIL-Unterricht ändern, wenn du könntest?*
- Du hast dieses Jahr [...] als CLIL-Fach. Bitte vergleiche die heurigen [...] -Stunden mit den [...] -Stunden aus dem Vorjahr! Was sind die größten Gemeinsamkeiten, was die Unterschiede?
 - Welche dieser Unterschiede würdest du als Vorteil und welche als Nachteil von CLIL-Stunden sehen?
- Erzähle bitte: Wie bist du zu CLIL-Unterricht gekommen? (Bausteine als Nachfragemöglichkeit)
 - *War das Angebot des CLIL-Programms ausschlaggebend dafür, dass du dich für deine jetzige Schule entschieden hast?*
 - *Hast du dir ausgesucht, am CLIL-Programm teilzunehmen?*
- Welche Schulnote würdest du deinem CLIL-Unterricht insgesamt geben?
 - Warum? (Was wäre die wichtigste Sache, die sich ändern müsste, damit sich die Note verbessert?)
- Antworte frei aus dem Bauch heraus, ganz kurz und spontan: Wie zufrieden bist du allgemein damit, dass du eine Schule mit CLIL-Unterricht besuchst?
 - Was gefällt dir an den CLIL-Stunden am besten?

- Erzähl mir von der CLIL-Stunde, die dir bisher am besten gefallen hat. (*Oder von einer Stunde, die dir besonders gut in Erinnerung geblieben ist.*)
- Hast du schon einmal bereit, in eine Schule mit CLIL gegangen zu sein? Warum?

Identität

- Mit welcher „deiner“ Sprachen würdest du dich am ehesten identifizieren?
 - Welchen Stellenwert hat diese Sprache in deinen Augen in der Gesellschaft bzw. in deinem Umfeld?
- In welcher Sprache denkst du/träumst du?
- Welche Sprache(n) verwendest du am ehesten zur Kommunikation mit deiner Familie?
- In welchen Sprachen kommunizierst du mit Freund*innen?
- Welche Sprache(n) nutzt du online und wofür? (*z.B. auf social media*)
- Welche Sprache(n) verwendest du in der Schule, um mit Schulkolleg*innen oder Lehrpersonen zu kommunizieren?
- In der Schule, auch durch den CLIL-Unterricht, spielt Englisch ja offiziell eine wichtige Rolle – aber auch im „normalen“ Leben ist das so.
 - Wofür benötigst du Englisch in deinem Alltag?
 - Wofür wirst du Englisch deiner Meinung nach später verwenden?
 - Für wie wichtig hältst du es im Berufsleben, auf Englisch kommunizieren zu können? Warum?
 - Was ist dein „Englisch-Ziel“? Im Sinne von: Was möchtest du einmal mit deinen Englischkenntnissen schaffen können?
 - Inwiefern kann dir der CLIL-Unterricht dabei helfen?
- Verwendest du deine Erstsprache im Schulalltag? Wenn ja: In welchen Situationen?
- Wie viele Schüler*innen deiner Klasse haben (deiner Einschätzung nach) nicht Deutsch oder Englisch als Erstsprache?
 - Wie beeinflusst das die Art und Weise, auf die in deiner Klasse kommuniziert wird? (*Checkliste*)
 - *Wie spricht ihr Schüler*innen miteinander in der Freizeit und in den Pausen?*
 - *Wie spricht ihr miteinander während des Unterrichts?*
 - *Wie stehen die Lehrer*innen dazu, wenn ihr eure nichtdeutschen Erstsprachen verwendet?*
- Ist bzw. war es für dich manchmal eine Herausforderung, dem deutschsprachigen Unterricht sprachlich zu folgen?
 - Wie hat sich das seit Beginn deiner Schulzeit verändert?
 - Kannst du dich an eine besonders schwierige Situation erinnern? Bitte beschreibe sie.
- Gibt es Situationen, in denen du denkst, dass dich deine nichtdeutsche Erstsprache im Schulalltag benachteiligt?
- Gibt es auch Situationen, wo deine Erstsprache für dich ein deutlicher Vorteil ist?
 - Welche?

Einstellungen und Emotionen zu Mehrsprachigkeit und CLIL-Unterricht

- „Jeder Mensch sollte mehrere Sprachen beherrschen.“ Was sagst du zu dieser Aussage?
 - Was sind in deinen Augen ganz allgemein (nicht nur in der Schule) die Vorteile von Mehrsprachigkeit?
 - ...und was die Nachteile?

- „Eine dritte Sprache zu lernen ist einfacher als die zweite Sprache zu lernen.“
Inwiefern stimmst du dieser Aussage zu?
- Wie geht es dir damit, nicht in deiner Erstsprache unterrichtet zu werden? Empfindest du es öfter als Bereicherung oder als Belastung?
 - Erzähle, wann du davon eher belastet bist.
 - Empfindest du diese Tatsache manchmal als stressig?
 - Erzähle, wann du diese Tatsache eher positiv, als Bereicherung, siehst.
- Mitschüler*innen mit deutscher Erstsprache haben im CLIL-Unterricht die gleichen Voraussetzungen wie du (= niemand wird in der Erstsprache unterrichtet). Welchen Unterschied macht das für dich im Gegensatz zu den regulären (deutschsprachigen) Stunden?
 - Stresst dich der CLIL-Unterricht auf Englisch mehr oder weniger als der reguläre Unterricht auf deutsch?
- Seit du CLIL-Unterricht hast:
 - Inwiefern haben sich deine Ansichten zu Mehrsprachigkeit verändert?
 - Inwiefern haben sich deine Ansichten zum Englischunterricht verändert?
 - Inwiefern haben sich deine Ansichten zu Sprachenlernen verändert?
- Wird in deinem Unterricht in der Schule generell auch eine andere Sprache als Deutsch (oder die gerade unterrichtete Fremdsprache) verwendet?
 - Beschreibe solche Situationen: Wer verwendet sie? Wann passiert das?
 - Wie gehen deine Lehrer*innen mit Mehrsprachigkeit im Unterricht allgemein um? (Z.B. Regen sie euch an, in eurer Erstsprache zu sprechen, oder verbieten sie es aktiv?)
 - Wie sieht es im Besonderen in den CLIL-Stunden aus? Gibt es Unterschiede zu regulären Stunden?
- Wenn du die regulären Unterrichtsstunden auf Deutsch und die CLIL-Stunden vergleichst: Welche Stunden findest du anstrengender? Warum?
- Seit du CLIL-Unterricht hast: Beschäftigst du dich lieber oder weniger gerne mit Fremdsprachen oder auch deiner Erstsprache?
 - Welche Gründe gibt es dafür in deinen Augen?

Lernstrategien

- Wenn du etwas Neues in einer bzw. über eine Sprache lernst: Kannst du dann manchmal Gemeinsamkeiten oder Unterschiede zu anderen Sprachen, die du sprichst, erkennen?
 - Bitte erkläre das an einem konkreten Beispiel.
- Glaubst du, dass du gegenüber deinen deutschsprachigen Mitschüler*innen einen Vorteil oder einen Nachteil hast, wenn es darum geht, spontan auf Englisch zu kommunizieren?
 - Woran liegt das deiner Meinung nach?
 - Welche Rolle spielt der CLIL-Unterricht dabei?
- Wenn du dich mit deinen deutschsprachigen Mitschüler*innen vergleichst: Würdest du sagen, dass du mehr oder weniger Druck als sie verspürst, im CLIL-Unterricht perfekte Sätze/Aussagen/... zu formen?
 - Ist dieser Druck generell im CLIL- oder im regulären Englischunterricht größer?
- Wenn du sprachlich nicht weißt, wie du etwas genau (korrekt) formulieren sollst: Wie löst du diese Situation?
 - Geht es dir mit diesen Situationen im CLIL-Unterricht besser oder schlechter als im regulären Sprachunterricht?

- Was tust du, wenn du etwas nicht so gut verstehst? Wie geht es dir dabei?
 - Wie reagieren deine Lehrer*innen darauf? Wie findest du das?
 - Gibt es solche Situationen auch im CLIL-Unterricht?
- Als „code-switching“ bezeichnet man u.a. das Hin-und-Her-Wechseln zwischen zwei Sprachen. Verwendest du diese Strategie manchmal?
 - In welchen Situationen wird diese Strategie verwendet?
 - Wie gehen nichtbeteiligte Mitschüler*innen und Lehrpersonen mit code-switching um?
- Welche Skills werden deiner Meinung nach besonders durch den CLIL-Unterricht trainiert?
 - *ev. klären und Beispiele für skills nennen, z.B. allgemeine Themen auf Englisch besprechen oder Englisch nicht perfekt formulieren müssen*
- Zum Abschluss: Gibt es noch etwas, das du gerne erwähnen würdest und das wir noch nicht besprochen haben?

10. Abstracts

10.1. Abstract (English)

This thesis explores multilingual learners' perceptions of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) programmes in Austrian schools. Despite the prevalence of multilingualism, research on multilingual students' perspectives in CLIL education remains limited. Based on an in-depth literature review and a qualitative study, this thesis addresses this imbalance. It investigates multilingual learners' identity perceptions and practices across academic and social contexts, alongside their experiences in CLIL programmes, in particular in relation to their multilingualism. Semi-structured interviews with six multilingual upper secondary students in CLIL programmes are analysed using qualitative content analysis. Findings indicate that multilingualism can be a source of tension, as pride in students' linguistic background coexists with challenges such as societal hierarchies that marginalise immigrant languages. CLIL is valued for enhancing cross-cultural communication by students, yet its benefits vary; individual factors such as programme intensity, language aptitude, and multilingual-sensitive teaching practices shape whether multilingual learners thrive or face difficulties in CLIL contexts. The study underscores the central role of supportive teachers and school environments in maximising CLIL's potential, while also highlighting the need for further research to fully understand multilinguals' CLIL experiences.

Keywords: CLIL, Content and Language Integrated Learning, multilingualism, secondary education, language learning

10.2. Abstract (German)

In dieser Arbeit werden die Eindrücke mehrsprachiger Schüler:innen vom Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)-Unterricht in Österreich untersucht. Trotz der weiten Verbreitung von Mehrsprachigkeit gibt es bislang nur wenig Forschung zu den Perspektiven mehrsprachiger Schüler:innen im CLIL-Kontext. Auf der Grundlage einer umfassenden Literaturrecherche und einer qualitativen Studie widmet sich diese Arbeit dieser Forschungslücke. Sie untersucht die Identitätswahrnehmungen und sprachlichen Praktiken mehrsprachiger Lernender in schulischen und sozialen Kontexten. Im Fokus stehen ihre Erfahrungen mit CLIL-Programmen in Zusammenhang mit ihrer Mehrsprachigkeit. Semi-strukturierte Interviews mit sechs mehrsprachigen Schülerinnen der Sekundarstufe II aus CLIL-Klassen werden mittels qualitativer Inhaltsanalyse analysiert. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass Mehrsprachigkeit ambivalente Erfahrungen mit sich bringt: Dem Stolz, mehrere Sprachen zu beherrschen, stehen gesellschaftliche Hierarchien gegenüber, die zur Marginalisierung von Migrationssprachen führen. Die Schüler:innen schätzen CLIL insbesondere wegen der Möglichkeit zur interkulturellen Kommunikation, jedoch werden die jedoch unterschiedlich wahrgenommen; individuelle Faktoren wie die Intensität des CLIL-Programms, die Sprachkompetenz der Schüler:innen und didaktische Ansätze im Umgang mit Mehrsprachigkeit beeinflussen, ob mehrsprachige Schüler:innen im Kontext mit CLIL erfolgreich sind oder auf Schwierigkeiten stoßen. Diese Arbeit unterstreicht die zentrale Rolle unterstützender Lehrkräfte und schulischer Rahmenbedingungen, um das Potenzial von CLIL bestmöglich zu nutzen. Zugleich weist sie auf weiteren Forschungsbedarf hin, um die CLIL-Erfahrungen mehrsprachiger Lernender umfassender zu verstehen.

Schlagwörter: CLIL, Content and Language Integrated Learning, Mehrsprachigkeit, Sekundarstufe, Spracherwerb