Research Journal

Journal de recherches

LIFELONG LEARNING

SE FORMER TOUT AU LONG DE SA VIE PROFESSIONNELLE

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Introduction

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In this edition of the Research Journal we continue to reflect on the interconnectedness of educational theory, research and practice and to promote RIPE (Research Informed Practice in Education).

The purpose of the RIPE network is to bring together university researchers and classroom practitioners with the aim of promoting robust research informed practice in international education and to collectively construct a deep understanding of dialogic teaching and learning in a plurilingual and pluricultural context.

The contributions to this journal are divided into three categories: (1) work presented at the RIPE Conference held in June 2020, (2) the work of independent researchers who collaborate with teachers at Ecolint and (3) research carried out by Year 13 students on their experience with Global Citizenship Education at the International School of Geneva. Together, they reflect deep engagement with educational research by students, classroom practitioners and university professors that contributes to developing what Jackson and Temperley (2007) refer to as "networked learning communities" that have a positive impact on student learning.

"Schools exist in both physical and metaphorical space"

Kevin House poses a profoundly ontological question about the nature and purpose of international education. Answers to this question vary, however, depending on stakeholder groups as well as linguistic and cultural contexts in a complex dynamic whereby "subjectification creates those areas of tension between the individual and the dominant socialising narrative of the school". Dr. House reminds us of the challenge we face as international educators to grapple substantively with the notion of "other" and to avoid the problem of hegemonic Western definitions of international education and pedagogical practice as we seek to balance the overlapping qualification and socialization functions of our schools.

Libérer le potentiel de la diversité culturelle

Abdeljalil Akkari et Myriam Radhouane se font l'écho du contexte culturel évoqué par le Prof. House. Ils nous rappellent que la culture évolue constamment et que nous devons abandonner toute conception essentialiste de celle-ci. Le défi pour les praticiens de la classe ainsi que pour les programmes de formation des enseignants est de fournir à ces derniers les outils nécessaires pour "accepter la traversée des frontières culturelles et les identités multiples comme une réalité quotidienne." Nous devons puiser dans la diversité culturelle et ethnique que nous trouvons dans nos salles de classe afin de transcender les limites du multiculturalisme et de passer à un espace d'interculturalisme plus complexe mais d'autant plus enrichissant.

A language to describe what we think and know about children's learning

Ahmed Hussain, Fiona Carter and Kirsty Anderson provide us with a rich example of how rigorous school-based research can inform the way we promote student well-being in the context of bilingual education in China. Their study deepens our understanding of how schools may engage in effective change management by promoting shared reflection among school leaders and classroom practitioners on the identification and implementation of pedagogical practices that enhance the student learning experience. Their work echoes themes prevalent in literature on the importance of taking a coherent, systematic approach to modifying instructional practices if we wish for consistency and the means to measure and evaluate their impact on student learning. Perhaps most importantly, they help us to fill the gap in research on culturally and linguistically responsive pedagogy.

Creating a multilingual habitus

Eowyn Crisfield points to an important contradiction that we have thus far failed to address sufficiently as international educators: "the tension between current stated goals of international education, which are to promote global citizenship and international mindedness, and lack of attention to the multilingual learner and the multilingual experience." Crisfield offers a solution by articulating what it means to engage in intentional pedagogical translanguaging, an approach that contributes to student wellbeing and socioemotional development by actively recognising the importance of the home language for long-term academic success. Perhaps most importantly, she demonstrates how the creation of a multilingual habitus results in a more inclusive classroom environment as we learn to embrace "other ways of knowing."

Apprendre une langue étrangère… c'est apprendre à se décentrer

Dans son article, Béatrice Pothier nous parle de l'apprentissage des langues comme essentiel dans le développement d'un environnement de classe inclusif, dans lequel nous acceptons et respectons le point de vue des autres. "Je suis le résultat des liens que je tisse avec les autres." Tout comme les autres chercheurs qui ont contribué à ce journal, elle montre une grande sensibilité aux besoins tant cognitifs qu'affectifs des élèves. Enfin, en approfondissant le lien inhérent entre la langue et l'identité personnelle, elle offre une raison supplémentaire de promouvoir une pédagogie de translinguisme.

Solving global problems of inequity and injustice

In the final article of the Journal, seven Year 13 students explore the way in which the Ecolint experience shapes its students into global citizens by exploring three essential qualities: multilingualism, tolerance and a multicultural mindset. The preliminary results of their study suggest that much of what we wish to impart to students takes place outside the classroom. Thus one important implication resulting from their work is the need for school leaders and teachers to deliberately and intentionally weave elements of Global Citizenship Education into the curriculum and classroom experience. As these students powerfully conclude: "The young global citizens of today will be at the forefront of solving the largest issues our species has ever faced, ranging from deep-rooted societal issues such as racism and economic inequality to large environmental and sustainability issues such as mass extinction and climate change. Only by embracing global values and working collaboratively will we overcome these challenges."

My heartfelt thanks to the contributors to this journal who inspire us to deepen our understanding of how research in education can help us to create ever more inclusive learning environments that allow both children and adults to flourish intellectually, socially and emotionally.

Weaving an emperor's new clothes: Considering contradictory accounts of international education's purpose

Kevin House

Dulwich College International, Singapore

'In deliberating about the purpose of education we should make a distinction between three functions of education to which I refer as qualification, socialisation and subjectification.' *Good Education in the Age of Measurement* (Biesta 2008)

The presentation takes a pluriculturalist approach to Biesta's 'functional distinctions' by looking at the East meets West cultural interchanges that play out in three distinct types of Asian private international school. By considering high stakes credentials, citizenship education and differing views of the learner's subjectivity we see where a Western view of education's purpose marries with an Asian one, and where it does not. In turn, this questions the lack of plurality in the 'purpose' narrative produced by Biesta and arguably other English-medium research generally. By considering the values each culture attaches to the purpose of education, we see why Western, English-medium research needs to remain cognisant of its predisposition to cultural generalisms when telling its stories.

Over the last twenty-five years, as I worked my way across half a dozen countries and three continents, I have been intrigued by the intersection between education, culture and identity. Not merely as a teacher witnessing the vibrant cultural exchanges international education offers to young people, but also as someone experiencing the richness of a pluricultural expatriate life. In other words, for a large part of my life I have experienced, in a variety of international contexts, what it is to live as 'other,' albeit in the cosseted community of international education. Since a young man, I have been fascinated by what motivates some of us to seek out an *elsewhere*; beyond the borders of the known. Whether from a village, a town or a city, a number of us choose to leave behind the certainties or constraints of our first home in search of new communities and experiences. And, beyond this simple fascination I am intrigued by how new communities influence, and are influenced by, such emigres.

My interest in this phenomenon has coincided with the proliferation of international schools in the traditional private education landscape. In many countries it has become a common mode of private schooling with affluent parents placing substantial investment in a pluricultural education for their children. And, this research community needs to better understand this pluricultural phenomenon and what each stakeholder regards as the purpose of the education being provided. However, our efforts to be analytically objective must refrain from cultural bias and remain sensitive to the pluricultural nature of these learning communities. I would argue our pluricultural focus needs be expanded to include all stakeholders in these types of school. In particular, those who may not have access to the school's language of instruction because they are key parts of these schools' pluricultural reality.

Investigation of these stakeholder groups in international schools is definitely a research path less travelled. Hence today, I argue that this is an important research area for RIPE because the diverse groups found in international schools have profoundly different views on the purpose of the education they provide. As the Council for Europe has said, 'while plurilingual and pluricultural experiences are not exceptional in their great diversity, they are neither simple nor cut-and-dried. They are a matter of individual choices but also of family histories and community paths' (COE, 2009). It stands to reason then that as researchers we must remain cognisant of everyone's *choices*, *paths* and *histories* if we are to fully comprehend the pluriculturalism of international schools. And thus, pluriculturalism must be a core focus in the emerging research agenda in this network.

To frame my argument today I explore a very simple question, but one that offers a clear point of difference for everyone in an international school community: *What is the purpose of education?* By starting here, I the hope to highlight, from an international perspective at least, that rather than there being an uncontested hegemonic, one-size-fits-all view of education's purpose, we instead are faced with a range of viewpoints, held across different stakeholder groups. Consequently, if each of these groups understand the purpose for an education differently, what must we as researchers be aware of if we are to better understand pluriculturalism in these communities? I hope to show that for us in the RIPE network this richness offers a fantastic opportunity to build an interesting body of research.

After a briefly contextualising the importance of culture in my own experience, I will summarise some of the more hegemonic Western definitions of education's purpose. None of them will come as a surprise but they will set the scene before I give an overview of three distinct international school types found in Chinese private education. I argue that each school type serves a different student and parent community and, to varying degrees, has a different faculty and support staff profile. However, all represent a variety of pluricultural contexts, and so add to my case for a more expansive application of the 'purposes' discourse when trying to investigate them. In the final part of this presentation, I will offer an analytical heuristic that provides another way of interrogating the complexities surrounding such international schools. My aim being to invite some of you to kick around my ideas in the follow up sessions later in this conference.

Before we look into some of the suggested purposes of formal education, I first want to highlight the complexities of the pluricultural landscape many of us work in by describing a cultural misunderstanding I experienced early in my international teaching career. My subsequent reflections on the experience made me realise I had little of what Julia Middleton calls 'cultural intelligence' Middleton, 2015) and this led me to make cultural assumptions in my international classroom. Furthermore, it showed me how important a flexible, cultural intelligence is for international teachers working with communities whose choices, paths and histories are so different from their own.

This story unfolds in my first teaching role in Asia in the late 1990s. I had just joined a K-12 British national curriculum international school in Thailand where students graduated with the IB Diploma. The curriculum provision was offered to a largely local Thai student population with only a smattering of expatriate children due to the mass retrenchments following the 1997 economic crash. Of course, as we will see later today this style of international education has become by far the norm in the Asian private school context. It was not my first experience of teaching oversees and so naively I felt well-equipped to navigate the pluricultural classroom environment even though I was a product of a British

education, which woefully undervalues the 'global competence' offered by plurilingual curriculum. My ignorance to cultural nuance became apparent in one of my earliest classroom interactions. I found myself in an exchange with a high school student who had not handed in an assignment. I gently scolded her using a number of specifically English communication strategies to establish both my point and my authority. There was the was the hint of irony in my voice, the deliberate use of direct eye contact and the casually accusative finger pointed in her direction. Now most of this would have been common 1990s British classroom practice. In this culture we tend to use irony and a lackadaisical demeanour to overcome the embarrassment of having to be authoritative. So for me, the relatively new teacher, all this seemed culturally appropriate.

The student reacted by immediately averting my gaze and looking to the ground with a very broad smile. My interpretation of her response was to read it as a somewhat mocking challenge to my classroom management. In my inexperience, I moved to become more forthright by slightly raising voice because I thought what began as a simple reminder had now escalated into a more disciplinary moment. And, what is more, I let it play out in front of her peers. Then, the moment passed and the lesson moved and, at first, the whole thing was of little significance. However, as the weeks rolled by I realised this student did everything in her power to avoid interacting with me.

I began to worry and so I consulted with a local teaching colleague to figure out why such a routine British-style classroom interaction seemed to have created such a barrier to us building a working relationship. My colleague patiently listened to my description before explaining that in Thai culture the recipient of a rebuke, however subtle, will always avert her gaze from the authority figure as a demonstration of humility. Additionally, she will offer a broad smile to show respect and compliance. Of course, I had interpreted this as defiance and so proceeded to raise my voice, demand eye contact and point towards the student. I had also done all of this publicly. My colleague put it succinctly: 'You embarrassed everyone in the room with your behaviour.' She went on to explain that my misreading the student's compliance for defiance, and my subsequent escalation, had deeply damaged both the child's reputation with her peers, and my own standing with the class. Finally, my colleague concluded by telling me it was unlikely the child would ever respect or connect with me again – and she was right. For the subsequent two years of the course, the student and I co-existed in different worlds and all my later efforts at trying to recoup some sense of mutual respect proved fruitless.

Now this relatively small event taught me an awful lot about the purpose of what we were doing in that classroom and how different our perspectives can be. As a relatively new teacher, socialised through my culture and training, I saw my role as governed by a rigid and authoritative code of instructional leadership that expected student dissent in almost every lesson. We were trained in crowd control. Whereas my student's culture gave the role of teacher much higher status, one demanding unquestioning respect and compliance. Then, in this small incident, my behaviour had radically disrupted this model for the child in ways that undermined both of us. Over the years, this brief incident got me thinking very deeply about the purpose of formal education, in particular international education. What was it for? And was its purpose the same for everyone in the community?

This lesson in cultural identity politics helped me realise education's purpose was a far more complex issue than I appreciated. And, I offer the story here to illustrate both how effortlessly we attach our own cultural assumptions to sense making in a pluricultural

context, and just how difficult it is to see a broader range of perspectives. But, in the spirit of this conference, I also use it to make the point that in the field of international educational research we must do our utmost to remain mindful of pluriculturalism when building hypotheses and carrying out the research. So keep my rooky teaching in mind as I describe to you three different models of international schooling found in Chinese private education. You will see that each of these communities contain stakeholders whose biases regarding the purposes of education mean we must remain attentive to the pluricultural context.

In examining the topic of the purpose of education, I need to first hold up my hands and reveal my true colours. I am neither visionary nor evangelist when it comes the what is and what should be the purposes of a formal education. I suspect that my late-life reticence to nail my colours to any singular flag is borne from having done so in my earlier career, only to find certain educational visions actually more a convenient marketing strategy. For example, the popular vision of diversity in international schools appears to not marry well with the global racism often found in private international school recruitment practices.

Having said this most of us educators are part idealist, part pragmatist and part expert, with one's individual experiences blending these components into an interesting tapestry of dispositions, values and beliefs. What's more, I believe this tapestry alters over time because one's view about the purpose of education shifts over the course of an international career. For today, however, I will concentrate on the more commonly held Western democratic assumptions about education's purpose as a way of highlighting the need for research to be self-conscious when evaluating another's cultural values in this area.

Educational philosopher, Andy Stables, in *Philosophy of Education* (2009) posed a more radical question than I do today; he asked if the whole project of compulsory education should be re-examined. But, what he was really after was a debate about the point at which compulsory education offers what he called 'diminishing returns' and thus might it be time to consider alternatives in education policy. To frame his argument, Stables presented four traditional Western definitions of formal education's purpose. First, it serves a *moral* purpose in that it should be the protected right of every citizen to have access to some form of schooling. Second, education is *empowering* because 'one learns more from going to school than if one does not.' Third, the purpose of education is to provide a 'net *economic* gain for society.' And fourth, its purpose stems from a belief that formal, compulsory schooling results in 'a net social gain in terms of *equity*.' He accepts, however, that these criteria may not be exhaustive and notes areas such as 'wellbeing' present another education purpose narrative. However, my aim here is not to engage with his provocation about diminishing returns but rather ask that we keep these four purposes in mind when we come to examine private international schooling in China. Then, we will consider how each of these purpose narratives might be prioritised by the different stakeholders found in these pluricultural communities.

For me, while Stables' four purposes provide a more extrinsic, or objective overview but they do not give the whole picture. In particular, in the pluricultural context of a private international school in China I feel there is also a need to consider how the purpose narratives play out in more intrinsic, or subjective ways. In other words, how do individual students, parents or teachers see the purpose of their school's education? And so I briefly turn to Gert Biesta who he has written extensively over the last twenty years about the

impact hegemonic educational narratives on individual teachers. Since the late noughties, Biesta has published extensively to highlight the fact that education is dominated by leagues tables drawing on metrics generated by such benchmarking assessments as TIMMS and PISA.

Biesta argues that the qualification function has created a paradoxical situation where we value only what we measure rather than measuring what we value. In its turn, for Biesta, this has replaced teaching's creative, agentic reality with narratives focused only on student outcomes and professional accountability, and which consequently meant the profession is seen as simply a performative, instructional science. The philosopher Michel Foucault would identify such an institutional discourse as a 'regime of power' in which the teacher's practice, the act of learning and the purpose of education are all regulated by forms of 'governmentality.' In the context of this presentation such regulatory narratives limit the potentialities of every educational subject be they a student, a teacher or a parent.

The 'qualifications function' dramatically effects students, parents, teachers, and school leaders. Biesta suggests this 'common sense' perspective builds the myth that 'what matters most is academic achievement in a small number of curricular domains, particularly language, science and mathematics' (Biesta, 2008). And, of course as educators, we all know how the 'qualification function' (Biesta, 2008) is internalised by every stakeholder differently in a pluricultural international school.

Next, is what Biesta refers to as the 'socialisation function.' This is similar to what educational sociologists refer to as the 'hidden curriculum' and I think we will all agree it is a particularly complex aspect of any international school's culture. In Chinese international schools, I would argue, their pluricultural and plurilingual reality means it's these often unspoken norms and values that have the biggest, yet most intangible, impact on the purpose of education narratives. In turn, and to varying degrees, such hidden norms and values either reinforce or disrupt discussions about key areas such as curriculum, pedagogical philosophy and, even more fundamentally, views of childhood. Later, I argue we must avoid over-simplifying socialisation by only referencing Western, English speaking generalisms because this particular function requires a more flexible approach.

Finally, Biesta's identifies the 'subjectification function' as the individual subject's reaction to the socialisation function. However, unlike a more traditional Foucauldian view of subjectification in which the subject is the product of regimes of socialisation, Biesta's subjectification is the antithesis. For him, subjectification is a mechanism for differentiating the self from the socialising narratives within which one finds one's self immersed. Subjectification is 'not about the insertion of "newcomers" into existing orders, but about ways of being that hint at independence from such orders; ways of being in which the individual is not simply a "specimen" of a more encompassing order' (Biesta, 2008).

In the context of our discussion here, subjectification creates those areas of tension between the individual and the dominant socialising narratives of the school. This is, again, another area we researchers need to better understand in pluricultural international schools serving the needs of a largely local population. How does the subjectification function influence views held of a school's various educational purposes, at the same time as its socialisation function drives the school's explicit and hidden narratives? Or put more directly, as a student, a parent or a teacher, to what extent does my personal view of the purposes of education influence how I engage with the school's public and private

educational agenda? And, how do personal perspectives impact on other members of the learning community? This whole landscape, as many of us will attest, is fraught with ignorance and misinterpretation, often leading to what might be avoidable conflict or disruption in the learning community if we only understood pluriculturalism better. In the context of today's presentation, I would posit that Biesta's three functions suggest the ways in which Western education purpose narratives intersect with the 'common sense' views of individual stakeholders in Chinese international schools. Furthermore, these functions play a more intrinsic role in the development and maintenance of the individual points of view we find in these school communities.

To summarise, Stables suggests four Western, and broadly democratic, purposes for education and Biesta's argues there are three functions. I believe both highlight the complexity we face in defining the purposes of education in a pluricultural context. However, as I will argue later, I also see this as a fertile environment for school-based researchers to explore. But, before discussing I want to offer a brief sketch of the three school types making up the group I work for because they are typical of those found in the private, Chinese international school market. Doing this, I hope, will better articulate some of the complexities I believe we face in many similar pluricultural educational contexts.

'The same global change forces that manifest in the USA, Europe, Australia, Canada, and Japan, have an even greater impact in Southeast Asia. The social, economic, political and cultural institutions in the developing societies that comprise this region face the challenge of adapting to the same global standards in trade, commerce, education, human rights, and manufacturing.' (Hallinger, 1998).

Hallinger's quote resonates with me personally because it coincides with first setting foot into the British curriculum international school I mentioned earlier. It was the early days of what is now a global phenomenon whereby private education in many countries uses the term 'international' as a market differentiator. However, it seems strange to see China missing from Hallinger's assessment because by that time Deng Xiaopeng's reforms had already opened the country up to foreign influence and so Hallinger's summary is also applicable to China and its education market. For example, by the turn of the century some 'experimental' public schools were running the IB's MYP and DP, and some private schools began to receive government licences to offer international high school credentials to the elite.

To illustrate the three different styles of international education found in China, I am using nine of our schools in China, which serve three distinct demographics. I am focusing this brief overview on four stakeholder groupings: students, parents, faculty and functional support staff. My intention is to highlight the different pluricultural environments found in each school type, and successfully argue that any research into the purpose of the education in these contexts needs to be sensitive to the identity, values and beliefs of each group.

	Students	Parents	Educators	Functions
Colleges	Foreign	Foreign workers	Expatriate ES (85%)	Chinese (99%)
	Chinese but 2 passports	Chinese & expatriate	Chinese ES (15%)	Expatriate (admissions)
	Returning expatriates	Returning expatriates		
High Schools	Local Chinese (90%)	Chinese & expatriate	Expatriate ES (90%)	Chinese
	Returning expatriate	Returning expatriates	Chinese ES (10%)	
Dehong	Local Chinese (99%)	Chinese & expatriate	Expatriate ES (60%)	Chinese
	Returning expatriates	Returning expatriates	Chinese ES (40%)	

The Dulwich College International group of schools began with a partnership in 2003 with Dulwich College London to establish an international college in Shanghai. This was set up to serve a rapidly growing expatriate community and offer an English National Curriculum framework until grade 10 after which students would embark on the IB Diploma programme. In more recent years, and as subsequent colleges opened in Shanghai, Beijing, Suzhou, the original demographic has shifted as more and more returning Chinese expatriates and local Chinese gained licences to send their children to an international private school. Therefore, while the colleges still serve the most diverse population in the group the numbers of Chinese nationals have steadily increased.

Soon after the establishment of a college in Suzhou the group also began to open international high schools serving local Chinese students who had government permission to leave the Chinese National Curriculum after sitting for the compulsory Zhongkao in grade 9. These schools offer the UK IGSCE followed by A levels to both boarders and day school students.

In the last three years, the group has also opened three K-12 schools for the local Chinese population under the group name of Dehong International. These schools offer a bi-lingual approach to the Chinese National Curriculum until students sit for the Zhongkao in grade 9. Thereafter, they follow a bespoke grade 10 programme before embarking on the IB Diploma for the final two years.

I hope this whistle stop tour helps you get a sense of both the pluricultural nature of each school type, and the research challenges when trying to understand the purpose of the education each offers to its community. It is clear it cannot be a one-size-fits-all approach. For example, the expatriate educators may align themselves with the equity, empowerment and moral perspectives identified by Stables. Whereas, most local Chinese teaching staff may be more inclined to share similar views to the local parents and emphasise the economic purpose or what Biesta called the 'qualifications function.' Furthermore, international expatriates and returning expatriate Chinese parents may hold conflicted views of purpose based on their own childhood educational experiences. And of course, all of this will in turn influence the students and their developing views as to the purpose of what they're doing and why. Finally, support functions such as admissions, marketing, HR, finance and operations will see the educational purpose of the school differently because for them sending their children to these schools is not an option.

In essence, the methodologies designed to scrutinise the culture and identity found in these schools so as to evaluate their purpose within contemporary Chinese education, needs very careful consideration. And of course, behind all this sits the political climate.

This is a country where ideology and politics play an overt role in how the local Chinese parents and students balance the disparate narratives surrounding the purpose of a private education in a communist country. For example, as Hallinger has suggested when considering the impact of authoritarian communist regimes on pedagogical leadership cultures, 'it would be both difficult and perhaps pointless to try to conceive of 'principal effectiveness' without taking into account the political context' (Hallinger, 2016).

As a further example of the challenges facing research, we at Dulwich have engaged with an external team to investigate the experiences of online learning for different stakeholder groups during the Covid pandemic. Very soon into our planning we realised the complex matrix of the focus groups needed if were to get an honest picture of the learning experience. This inevitably means research in these environments requires more resources just when finances are becoming particularly tight. Hence, our network has a fantastic opportunity to fill the shortfall by developing more grassroots, school-led research projects.

I have used a 'purpose of education' thinking model to put into relief certain methodological problems facing any research in a pluricultural context. By holding Stables and Biesta up to the reality of private Chinese international schools we see the shortcomings of applying Western cultural assumptions to this pluricultural environment. And so, by way of closing off this presentation I'd like to consider a RIPE research agenda that might evolve in this context, and share an alternative theoretical framework I have developed when considering both cultural evolution and identity building in an international context. By doing this, I hope to show how practical examples of theory, still drawn from the Western tradition, can allow for a more culturally sensitive way of engaging with the purpose of international education debate.

In some of my earlier research, I investigated how an international school's values might influence, or not, its pedagogical leaders' understandings of cultural difference. To do this I built a heuristic that combined two sources from critical theory; Michel Foucault's description of a 'heterotopia' and Manual De Landa's refinement of Deleuze and Guattari's term 'assemblage.' Together, these concepts enabled me to build an analytical framework with more flexibility than those traditional disciplines drawn on by educational theory. Disciplines such as psychology, sociology and anthropology present rigid models and mono-cultural generalisations that assume cultural homogeneity and hence insufficient flex to appreciate difference.

The two concepts I combine, provide a spatial and a collective behavioural way of thinking through the divergent pluricultural discourses that exist in these types of school. I believe these international schools exist in both a physical and metaphorical space, beyond the rationality of their location. While they of course exist in the reality of all other lived spaces in China they also exist beyond them, as a sort of looking glass. In describing a heterotopia Foucault says it is 'at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point that is over there' (Foucault, 1984). In other words, a heterotopia is always other than what it seems to be at first glance, amidst the epistemologies that dominate spatial discourse and the beings within it. In the context of today's discussion, the international school is a heterotopia in that it is an enclosed educational space existing, and to some degree at odds with, the space it finds itself located in. As Foucault puts it, a heterotopia is the site of both the 'mythic and the real contestation of the space in which we live' (Foucault, 1984). And as such, it represents both the mainstream

understandings of education in contemporary Chinese culture but at the very same time sits beyond it, as if a kind of other country offering alternative reflections to its Chinese stakeholders.

Way back in 1995, Manuel DeLanda argued that emerging participant behaviours in newly formed online communities represent an example of Deleuze and Guattari's notion of an 'assemblage' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) because they were 'more than the sum of the parts' (DeLanda, 1995). Later, he was to describe this behaviour as 'social ontology.' For DeLanda, there was a synergistic nature to an assemblage, which meant it displayed 'emergent properties,' whereby 'attractors' in a community affected other people so that before long the whole community behaved in comparable ways to the initial attractor. DeLanda argues that this 'rhythmic behaviour' takes place without direction or centralised coordination because each 'component follows the same attractor' (DeLanda, 1995). From this summary, I hope, it is obvious why I saw the concept's potential as a way of better understanding how collective values, or social ontologies, develop in an international school.

I see both the assemblage concept and Foucault's heterotopia as offering an interesting heuristic for considering pluricultural schools with their matrix of stakeholder identities and social ontology(s) existing in a national educational landscape. The pluriculturalism of an international school means there is value in seeing it as a heterotopic site mirroring and unsettling the worlds both within and without its campus. While it is rooted in a specific physical space and governed by policy and regulatory practices, the Chinese international school is also dramatically elsewhere. Consequently, its social ontology, I believe, is part of the 'flex' Middleton describes in her 'cultural intelligence,' and thus a point of departure from the 'core' of a student's local cultural context. My point here is that to effectively research this phenomenon we have to consciously look beyond the obviousness of our own cultural assumptions when trying to make sense of pluriculturalism.

As I conclude this presentation, I like to return to the work of Gert Biesta because it offers an intriguing continuation of the question around education's purpose, and, I believe, aligns with my own perspective as to the purpose of *international* education. In a paper published in April this year, Osberg and Biesta argue that rather than restraining education with purpose and function narratives, we should instead regard it as an aesthetic and fluid means in and of itself. They argue that education represents an 'affective, emergent entity' and this echoes with my view that learning an international school represents an emergent 'assemblage' of cultures and identities. In other words, international education's purpose is more than the sum of its measurable parts and has a value in and of itself.

The heterotopic reality of this pluricultural assemblage means international educational research really has its work cut out! Analysis requires complex and flexible methodologies. However, if through this network we can develop both a cadre of teacher-researchers and a group of professional tertiary research partners who understand the context, we can really push forward the international school research agenda. Why is this of any great importance right now, given the long list of issues facing us as a species?

Well, in an era of polarisation on the one hand, and a desire for generic 'global competence' on the other it remains imperative that we strive to better understand the complexities of Western models of education in China. To paraphrase Chen's description of the problematic influence of the West on Asian identity: 'It would be wrong to consider

these interwoven problems as theoretical abstractions. On the contrary, they exist in our bodies and minds, and the related desires and psychic pain that must be overcome are palpable parts of our everyday lives. In short, they are matters of subjectivity, and it is on the plane of subjectivity that we must reopen the past for reflection in order to make moments of liberation possible in the future**'** (Chen, 2010).

Understanding Chinese international schools better offers us an incredible opportunity to expand our knowledge of pluricultural education in general. The international school represents nothing less than our best petri dish for figuring out if cultural intelligence, or what I call pluricultural literacy, can really can help dissolve the cultural tensions and identity misunderstandings that seem so prevalent in the world today. I hope, like me, you can see how we as a community we might develop a more nuanced and exacting way of analysing the international education phenomenon.

Of course, the elephant in the room is the need for cross-cultural research partnerships. In the context of the examples I presented today, this means we need Chinese research partners because I for one, have to hold up my hand and say I am 'other' in terms of the traditions and trajectories of Chinese educational research. Inevitably, it will have commonalities with the Western theories I shared today. However, there are key unanswered questions. For example, how does the Chinese research community view the international schooling phenomenon that has taken hold in their country? I must again plead ignorance, but I suspect there is as much of a dearth in Chinese education research as we find in international education research elsewhere. So I guess, I am saying we need the Asian chapter of RIPE to bring Chinese educators into our research community as soon as possible.

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Au-delà du débat conceptuel multiculturalisme ou interculturalisme: comment libérer le potentiel de la diversité culturelle en éducation?

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Pour paraphraser le fameux rapport Delors (UNESCO, 1996) qui disait : « L'éducation : un trésor est caché dedans », nous dirons : « La diversité culturelle : un trésor est caché dedans ». En raison de cette croyance en la richesse du potentiel de la diversité, nous souhaitons explorer les possibilités et les conditions pour l'inclure de manière positive dans les écoles et dans les classes. Au fil de cet article, nous explorerons diverses possibilités.

Avant d'approfondir les enjeux liés à la prise en compte de la diversité culturelle en classe et de manière plus générale à l'école, il est important de préciser que notre approche tente de dépasser le clivage pouvant exister entre partisans de l'interculturalisme et du multiculturalisme. Il nous semble que la distinction entre ces termes tient plutôt du slogan que véritablement d'arguments sur leur contenu ou sur leur différence d'impact. Pour caractériser avec humour cette « non-différence » Alenuma-Nimoh (2016) a dit « *eating the other multiculturalism* » comme s'il s'agissait d'une compétition, alors qu'au-delà du concept, l'intérêt central est le bénéfice que l'on peut apporter aux élèves dont la construction identitaire se fait sur une base de multiples appartenances culturelles, dans un monde divers et fait autant d'échanges que de tensions. Dépasser l'opposition conceptuelle ne doit pas non plus se réduire à ce que l'on appelle « *Benetton multiculturalism* » (Akkari & Maleq, sous presse), autrement dit un multiculturalisme de surface (ou de vitrine) qui ne s'intéresse pas à la profondeur des enjeux identitaires ou des tensions relatives aux relations interculturelles.

Dans cet article, lorsque nous évoquons le concept de diversité culturelle, nous pensons évidemment à celle portée par les enfants, mais aussi celle des enseignants, des parents ou encore celle présente dans les curricula. La diversité culturelle est présente à de nombreux niveaux des systèmes éducatifs, et c'est là sa complexité mais aussi sa richesse, car elle offre de multiples options pour la prendre en compte, l'étudier et la valoriser.

Cet article est composé de trois parties principales. Une première dans laquelle nous évoquons les étapes préalables pour « libérer le potentiel de la diversité culturelle ». Une deuxième, dans laquelle nous présentons les termes du débat conceptuel entre les tenants du multiculturalisme et ceux avançant la supériorité de l'interculturalisme. À cet égard, nous essaierons de montrer qu'il existe des différences entre multiculturel et interculturel. En outre, ces deux conceptions bénéficieraient de miser sur leurs forces respectives ainsi que sur leurs objectifs profonds… qui s'avèrent pouvoir être très proches. Enfin, dans une troisième partie, nous aborderons les changements

pédagogiques nécessaires dans la formation et le travail des enseignants pour transformer la diversité culturelle, la faisant passer « d'un problème à résoudre » ou « d'une réalité démographique à contempler » à une « ressource indispensable pour les apprentissages, la gestion de la classe et les élèves ».

1. Débloquer le potentiel radical de la diversité culturelle

S'il est vrai que de nombreux travaux (dont les nôtres !) décrivent des contextes statistiques pour illustrer la diversité des sociétés et des écoles, en rester à un stade démographique ou contemplatif n'est pas suffisant et est, de ce fait, peu significatif en éducation interculturelle. Dans différents contextes, on entend parler de forte diversité culturelle, ethnique, religieuse, de classes très hétérogènes… mais si ces informations sont importantes, à elles seules, elles ne permettent pas de comprendre l'ouverture d'un pays ou d'une école à l'altérité, d'interroger les relations intergroupes et interculturelles ou encore de mettre en lumière des enjeux intersectionnels comme les inégalités liées aux appartenances sociales et ethniques. Ainsi, traiter la diversité culturelle comme un objet de recherche, mais aussi d'apprentissage (grâce au contact et à l'intérêt pour autrui), nécessite de « débloquer » son potentiel ; pour cela, nous identifions quatre étapes préalables.

La première étape nécessaire pour faire émerger le potentiel de la diversité culturelle est de la problématiser et de la questionner. Autrement dit, dépassons le stade de l'émerveillement et orientons notre regard sur les véritables enjeux : les appartenances multiples, le racisme, les divisions, la hiérarchie des individus en fonction d'appartenances sociales, ethniques ou de genre. Cette posture critique permet à chacun d'interroger son rapport à l'autre et son rapport à la diversité en les ancrant dans une vision globale des relations interculturelles. Si cette proposition peut paraître déstabilisatrice, dans le sens où elle interroge ce qui dysfonctionne, elle repose également sur la capacité des individus à être des acteurs du changement, à s'engager pour la libération et l'émancipation et à se mobiliser contre les inégalités… C'est une approche promouvant la responsabilité de chacun dans l'établissement d'un monde plus juste localement et globalement. La problématisation devient alors une ressource d'analyse et de compréhension des enjeux interculturels (Matus & Infante, 2011 ; Desmarchelier & Austin, 2019).

La deuxième étape, pour la libération du potentiel de la diversité culturelle, est de résister au fait de croire que la valorisation de la diversité culturelle constitue une menace pour l'identité et la cohésion sociale au sein des pays et des institutions. Reconnaître qu'une école est culturellement diverse par ses élèves, enseignants, administrateurs et contenus à enseigner ne constitue pas une incitation à la division.

Contrairement à ce qu'avancent certains, la reconnaissance de la diversité culturelle est une conséquence des mouvements des droits civiques et n'est pas une alliée naturelle du communautarisme. De plus, la négation du droit à la différence n'est pas efficace dans la lutte contre le communautarisme ou certaines formes de fondamentalisme. Cela dit, lorsque ce sont la discrimination systématique, le colonialisme ou encore la non-réconciliation qui sont privilégiés dans l'organisation des relations interethniques, certaines minorités trouveront avec raison, au sein de leur communauté d'origine, l'espace et la sécurité nécessaire à leur bien-être : *« Si tu ne m'acceptes pas comme je suis avec ma différence culturelle, alors le seul chemin qui me reste est de m'entourer des miens »*. En ce sens, le communautarisme est le plus souvent une réaction à des problèmes historiques, sociaux et politiques non résolus.

La troisième étape pour débloquer le potentiel de la diversité culturelle est de reconnaître la nécessité de tendre vers un équilibre indispensable entre les principes d'égalité et de différence (voir Ogay et Edelmann, 2011). Tendre vers cet équilibre, ne veut pas dire figer les relations interculturelles dans un schéma type. Cela signifie plutôt garder à l'esprit que la prise en compte de la différence peut être une ressource comme une discrimination, tout comme la promotion de l'égalité peut être une voie vers la justice comme elle peut constituer une indifférence aux différences. En ce sens, l'enseignement différencié peut être une ressource pour une éducation interculturelle juste, mais celui-ci doit être constamment réévalué en fonction des élèves et de leurs besoins. L'enseignement différencié ne doit pas se transformer en solution automatique pour les élèves culturellement différents car, sans distance critique, il peut signifier la ségrégation et la séparation.

La quatrième étape, pour libérer le potentiel de la diversité culturelle, est liée à la nécessaire finesse et la flexibilité avec laquelle on doit considérer le concept de culture en éducation. Il n'est pas facile à définir et il n'existe pas de consensus intra ou interdisciplinaire quant à sa signification. Premièrement, la culture doit être considérée comme étant « dynamique, complexe, contradictoire [et] ambiguë » (Abdallah-Pretceille, 2008, p.55). Ces premiers apports la concernant montrent principalement son instabilité et donc la nécessité de ne pas la figer ; la culture est en évolution constante, c'est un phénomène diffus plutôt qu'un fait objectif établi. À cela, Lemaire (2017) ajoute que la culture peut être négociée par les individus et ce, de manière personnelle ou collective. Ainsi, en plus d'être complexe et malléable, la culture peut se rapporter soit à une personne soit à son groupe d'appartenance réel ou supposé; elle a donc des points d'accroche différents qui sont à prendre en compte lors de sa compréhension. Par ailleurs, en ce qui concerne l'individu, Abdallah-Pretceille (2008) explique que si la culture peut s'y rapporter elle ne doit pas l'enfermer. En d'autres termes, chacun a le droit de se prononcer sur ses appartenances culturelles et sa construction identitaire.

Il est également essentiel de considérer la culture comme ayant des impacts sur les relations intergroupes et notamment sur la création d'accès différenciés aux pouvoirs et privilèges (Cruz & Soon, 2015).

Enfin, dans le cadre des relations interculturelles se déroulant en contexte éducatif, il est primordial pour qui veut débloquer le potentiel de la diversité culturelle de ne pas résumer « la prise en compte de la dimension culturelle » à la « seule prise en compte des cultures apportées par les élèves migrants dont il est question dans la vulgate de l'éducation interculturelle » (Ogay & Edelmann, 2011, p.52).

Pour résumer, faire de la diversité une ressource positive nécessite de laisser libre court à la flexibilité des identités culturelles, à la compréhension des enjeux de pouvoir liés aux appartenances et à la décentration nécessaire à la perception de soi comme porteur de culture (afin de ne pas constamment rapporter la question de la culture à l'Autre, celui qui ne nous ressemble pas).

2. Au-delà du débat conceptuel interculturel / multiculturel, travaillons-nous à l'école pour maintenir l'exclusion ou pour promouvoir l'inclusion?
Le débat concernant l'éducation inter ou multiculturelle existe depuis plusieurs années et de nombreux auteurs se sont attelés à le clarifier. Nous avons alors choisi d'exposer certains points de vue relatifs à ces deux préfixes, toutefois nous croyons utile de

dépasser le débat conceptuel et de poser la question sur le travail fait en contexte scolaire : que ce soit dans le cadre d'une éducation inter ou multiculturelle, quelle direction prennent les pratiques des acteurs ? Vers plus d'inclusion, d'assimilation ou d'exclusion ?

Afin de clarifier le débat, revenons premièrement sur la position monoculturelle. Celle-ci privilégie l'idée que la cohésion sociale se développe grâce à la réduction de la différence culturelle ou ethnique, autrement dit, grâce à un processus d'assimilation participant à une homogénéisation des populations qui serait alors garante de la paix sociale. Dans cette optique, les minorités ethniques sont invitées à laisser de côté leurs particularismes afin de « se fondre dans la masse ». À l'école, cela se traduit par exemple par une emphase sur l'apprentissage de la langue de scolarisation au détriment du maintien de la langue d'origine. Cet exemple montre notamment les tensions lors de la prise en compte de la diversité culturelle, puisque s'il s'ancre dans une logique assimilationniste, il est parfois le résultat d'une intention bienveillante. Cette position monoculturelle de l'école facilite ce que Bourdieu appelle la production d'individus équipés d'un programme « homogène, de perception, de pensée et d'action » (Bourdieu, 1967, p. 369). Cette fonction de standardisation de l'école n'est pas naturellement compatible avec la diversité culturelle.

Deuxièmement, intéressons-nous à la position multiculturelle. Celle-ci reconnait la diversité ethnique comme un fait observable et légitime. La définition qu'en donne Cohen-Emerique (2011) met en exergue son ancrage « libéral » dans le sens où « les individus et la société s'enrichissent de la diversité des cultures en son sein, [le multiculturalisme] prône la coexistence de communautés culturelles différentes avec la liberté pour chacune de maintenir sa culture » (p.11). Cette posture implique la reconnaissance du pluralisme culturel, linguistique et religieux ainsi que la possibilité pour les minorités ethniques d'afficher publiquement leurs spécificités culturelles, y compris en milieu scolaire (Horts, 2016). La question qui se pose alors est la suivante : comment la reconnaissance d'une telle diversité permet-elle l'égalité entre des individus ? Comment un Etat démocratique peut-il représenter et servir une population aussi diversifiée de manière égalitaire et garantir un traitement équitable de chacun ?

Troisièmement, définissons la posture interculturelle. Pour Cohen-Emerique (2011), cette posture implique une double reconnaissance par le groupe culturel dominant : (1) son mode de pensée n'est pas supérieur à celui des autres et (2) il ne peut que s'enrichir de la diversité. En ce sens, ce groupe doit « accepter de ne plus être le seul à organiser la vie sociale et que d'autres modes de vie sont possibles et légitimes à ses côtés, sans toutefois menacer l'identité nationale » (p.11). Dans ce paradigme interculturel, la diversité est considérée comme une norme et non comme une situation particulière (UNESCO, 2019).

Après avoir clarifié ces trois postures, revenons sur le débat qui les caractérise. Pour l'UNESCO (2006), par exemple, l'éducation multiculturelle enseigne à propos des autres cultures tandis que l'éducation interculturelle privilégie la coexistence et le dialogue. Ces deux approches sont parfois différenciées en utilisant pour le multiculturalisme la métaphore de la mosaïque et pour l'interculturalisme, la métaphore du tapis tissé (Akkari & Radhouane, 2019 ; Akkari & Broyon, 2014). La mosaïque illustre une certaine séparation entre les pièces qui la composent même si l'ensemble doit exprimer de l'harmonie. Les fils constituant un tapis tracent des motifs harmonieux et sont tous liées les uns aux autres.

Figure 1. Différentes conceptions des relations entre les cultures : multiculturalisme et interculturalisme en images

La mosaïque multiculturelle	Le tissage interculturel
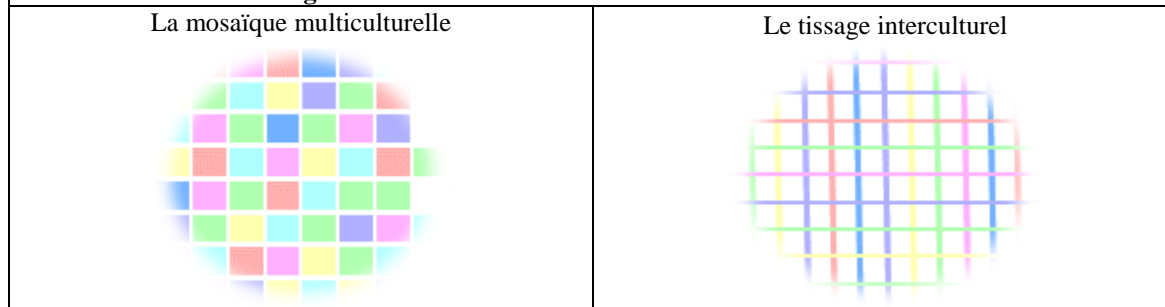
Si ces deux paradigmes diffèrent au niveau conceptuel, il est important de dépasser ce stade et d'interroger tant leurs fondements que leur développement pratique.

Prenons deux exemples : la recherche en éducation inter et multiculturelle et le développement de l'éducation interculturelle dans l'École. Si les chercheurs s'inscrivent dans des logiques différentes (multi ou inter), de nombreuses études se rejoignent en termes d'objectif, de volonté d'intégration, de lutte contre les inégalités et les injustices. En contexte scolaire, l'impact de ces deux paradigmes devrait être évalué par la capacité des systèmes éducatifs et des établissements à inclure tous les élèves et à leur permettre de se sentir chez eux à l'école. Le projet éducatif du 21ème siècle doit favoriser l'inclusion, la solidarité et la justice sociale plutôt que la standardisation, la compétition ou la recherche de l'excellence. Ce projet éducatif nécessite donc de dépasser le débat pour se concentrer sur les véritables objectifs de la prise en compte de la diversité culturelle.

La question qui nous intéresse alors n'est plus: faut-il développer l'éducation multi ou interculturelle, mais bien "Est-ce que la diversité culturelle et ethnique est neutralisée ou utilisée comme un atout dans l'école?" tel que défini par le Conseil de l'Europe :

> L'atout de la diversité est à la fois un concept et une approche qui reposent sur l'idée que la diversité peut être une source d'innovation et qu'elle peut s'avérer réellement bénéfique pour les organisations, les communautés et les entreprises lorsqu'elle est gérée convenablement et dans un esprit d'ouverture. L'atout de la diversité est aussi le produit de politiques qui libèrent le potentiel de la diversité tout en réduisant au minimum les risques associés à la mobilité humaine et à la diversité culturelle (Conseil de l'Europe, 2013, p. 8).

Enfin, tout comme le démontrent Sleeter et Grant (2009) l'éducation multiculturelle (et nous croyons que le constat vaut pour l'éducation interculturelle) peut prendre de nombreuses formes et peut se retrouver être un concept « fourre-tout ». Au regard de la typologie développée par les auteurs, il nous semble plus pertinent de s'interroger sur les fondements des approches (leur ancrage dans la justice sociale, dans la logique d'inclusion et d'intégration, leur perspective critique, leur rapport aux inégalités…) que sur leur inscription dans un pôle précis relatif à la prise en compte de la diversité culturelle (inter ou multi).

Pour conclure, reprenons les propos de Cohen-Emerique (2011) : « À la lumière de ses propres expériences, chacune de ces conceptions est amenée à assouplir ses principes

idéologiques et à chercher, auprès des autres, des voies différentes tout en les adaptant à son histoire et à son identité » (p. 13).

3. Formation et le travail des enseignants pour transformer la diversité culturelle d'un défi pédagogique à résoudre en une opportunité d'apprendre autrement.
Nos deux premières parties nous ont permis d'analyser la diversité culturelle du point de vue de ses ancrages, notamment dans les politiques éducatives ou institutionnelles. Dans cette dernière partie, nous aborderons plutôt des questions pédagogiques, dans lesquelles les enseignants peuvent avoir un rôle majeur.

Premièrement, la formation initiale ou continue et le développement professionnel tout au long de la carrière constituent une opportunité importante pour construire les compétences des enseignants à propos de la diversité culturelle dans leur classe. Des avancées notables ont d'ailleurs été constatées dans ce domaine, puisque l'inclusion du multiculturalisme dans les programmes de formation était une exception en 1980 et qu'il semble qu'elle soit devenu la règle en 2010 (UNESCO, 2019).

Toutefois, différentes tensions apparaissent encore : les contenus de formation semblent se centrer plus facilement sur la sensibilité interculturelle ou sur des notions figées à propos des cultures que sur des contenus permettant de rendre son enseignement culturellement pertinent ou de se former à la communication interculturelle (UNESCO, 2019). Dans d'autres recherches, il a été constaté que les approches interculturelles sont diluées dans différents contenus de cours (handicap ou différenciation) ou alors sont inscrites dans le grand ensemble de la « différence » (Kerzil & Sternadel, 2018 ; Radhouane, 2019).

C'est peut-être pour ces raisons que de nombreuses recherches mettent en évidence le sentiment d'un manque de préparation ressenti par les jeunes professionnels de l'enseignement (Steinbach, 2012[1]). D'autres recherches quant à elles évoquent l'inconfort des enseignants lorsqu'il s'agit d'intégrer des enjeux interculturels à leur pratique (Fine-Davis et Faas, 2014 ; OECD, 2019, citée par Équipe du Rapport mondial de suivi sur l'éducation, 2020).

L'un des aspects les plus rapportés par la littérature renvoie aux relations qu'entretiennent les enseignants avec leurs élèves. Ladson-Billings (1995) a constaté que les enseignants ayant du succès avec les élèves afro-américains se considèrent comme faisant partie des communautés des élèves et font des ponts entre leur enseignement et les connaissances personnelles des élèves. Leur pédagogie partage trois dimensions : (1) Ils ont des attentes académiques élevées pour tous les élèves; (2) ils ont une compétence culturelle avérée en remodelant le programme scolaire pour l'ancrer dans les connaissances que les élèves apportent avec eux à l'école et construisent des relations étroites avec les familles et (3) ils cultivent la conscience critique des élèves à propos des relations de pouvoir et en particulier du racisme. De même, Irizarry et Raible (2011) ont mis en évidence que les enseignants identifiés comme exemplaires avec des élèves latino-américains ont un engagement persistant avec la communauté latino-américaine locale, notamment en établissant des relations avec les élèves et leurs familles. Ces enseignants sont familiarisés avec les connaissances et les ressources culturelles locales et les incluent régulièrement dans les apprentissages en classe.

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[1] Pour arriver à ce constat global, l'auteure mobilise des études menées au Québec, au Canada, aux Etats-Unis et en Europe.

Au regard de ces constats, il est plus que nécessaire de s'interroger sur le lien entre « diversité culturelle » et « travail enseignant ». Pour ce faire, nous nous baserons sur la séparation entre le « travail codifié » et le « travail flou » proposée par Tardif et Lessard (1999). Le travail codifié s'exécute dans un cadre organisationnel relativement stable et uniforme : *« Il s'agit aussi d'un travail dont le déroulement est agencé grâce aux programmes, aux évaluations et, plus globalement, aux différents standards et mécanismes qui régissent l'évolution des élèves dans le système scolaire »* (Tardif & Lessard, 1999 p. 29). La présence de la diversité culturelle dans le travail codifié de l'enseignant repose pour une large part sur les orientations officielles de l'école et des politiques éducatives. Par exemple, la présence du multiculturalisme, de l'esprit international ou de la citoyenneté mondiale dans les orientations curriculaires du Baccalauréat international sont explicites et se traduisent par des recommandations de lecture de livres provenant de la littérature mondiale pour les élèves. Cependant, dans les écoles internationales, le multiculturalisme, l'esprit international et la citoyenneté mondiale sont également portés par les histoires des élèves, les trajectoires des enseignants et la décision de ces derniers de les investir dans l'apprentissage en classe. Cette dimension floue du travail pédagogique est pertinente.

Le travail flou de l'enseignant correspond aux diverses ambiguïtés, aux éléments informels, à l'indétermination et aux imprévus. Pour Tardif et Lessard (1999), ce flou laisse une bonne marge de manœuvre aux enseignants à la fois pour interpréter et réaliser leur tâche, notamment sur le plan des activités d'apprentissage en classe et de l'utilisation des techniques pédagogiques. Cette marge de manœuvre semble constitutive du travail de l'enseignant avec la diversité culturelle dans sa classe : *« enseigner, c'est d'une certaine façon toujours faire autre chose que ce qui était prévu par les règlements, le programme, le plan de cours, la leçon, etc. »* (Tardif & Lessard, 1999, p.30).

En somme, le travail flou semble être un espace potentiel où l'enseignant peut valoriser et construire son enseignement à travers le prisme de la diversité culturelle telle que portée par sa propre identité, celle de ses élèves, et interprétée à travers son usage du curriculum. Si cet espace est porteur, on peut tout de même questionner la relégation de la question interculturelle aux espaces flous et donc peu visibles du métier. Reste alors en suspens la question suivante : la prise en compte de la diversité culturelle ne mériterait-elle pas une intégration dans toutes les dimensions de l'enseignement, dans sa transversalité mais aussi dans les approches disciplinaires, les relations, la planification, l'évaluation etc. (Ladson-Billings, 1995 ; Gay, 2010) ?

Ainsi, pour travailler à tout moment avec la diversité culturelle dans la classe d'une manière critique et appropriée, il nous semble possible de s'inspirer des principes suivants :

(1) **La posture** : Prendre en compte la diversité culturelle nécessite un travail sur soi et surtout sur la connaissance de soi et de son identité culturelle. Tout comme l'école est une institution porteuse de culture, l'enseignant – son représentant – l'est également. Comme précisé plus haut, le travail sur les identités culturelles ou la différence ne doit pas uniquement être rapportés à l'Autre (voir : Ogay & Edelmann, 2011) ; il est nécessaire de s'inclure dans ce travail. Par ailleurs, l'introspection ne doit pas uniquement concerner l'identité, elle doit aussi permettre d'analyser ses propres conceptions de la culture (comme un concept non figé/instable) notamment en refusant une vision essentialiste de celle-ci. Elle doit également concerner l'inclusion de la notion de justice et d'éducabilité universelle dans la logique
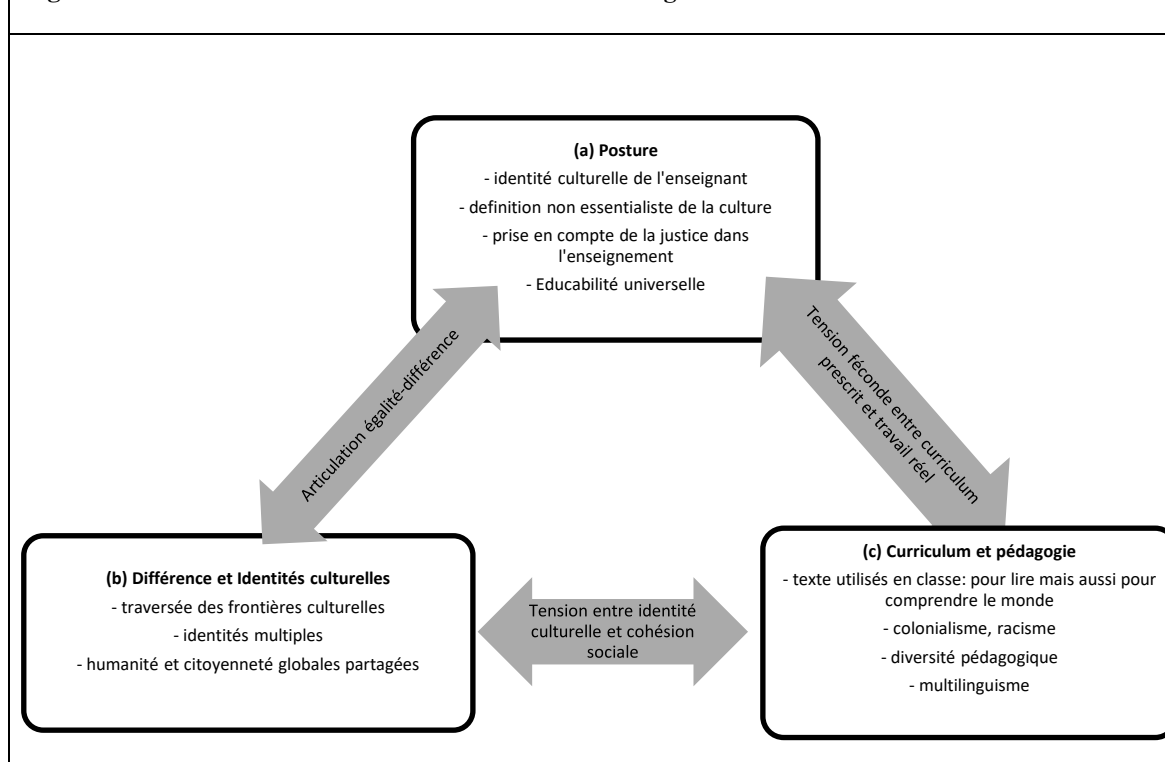
enseignante. Inclure ces dimensions dans sa réflexion sur sa pratique est un premier pas vers une prise en compte de la diversité culturelle en classe.

(2) **La différence et les identités culturelles** : Tout en acceptant la valorisation et l'expression des identités des élèves, l'enseignant doit être prêt à accepter la traversée des frontières culturelles et les identités multiples comme une réalité quotidienne. Les notions d'humanité ou de citoyenneté partagées peuvent être une ressource pour guider les interactions dans un contexte très hétérogène. L'objectif porté par l'Agenda 2030 visant à faire des élèves des citoyens du monde, peut être un véritable appui pour le travail enseignant dans ces contextes. En outre, les apports de la différence culturelle doivent également être travaillés dans des milieux homogènes : il est important que ces thématiques ne soient pas constamment rapportées aux élèves issus de la migration, mais qu'elles soient bien incluses dans une logique de solidarité, de traversée des frontières et pourquoi pas de citoyenneté mondiale.

(3) **Le curriculum et la pédagogie** : Les savoirs et les ressources pour y accéder (le matériel pédagogique) devraient permettre aux élèves de faire face à la diversité du monde et aux tensions qui la traversent notamment les rapports historiques et sociaux inégalitaires entre les groupes. A la manière de Paulo Freire, il s'agirait de leur apprendre à « lire le monde » (« read the words and read the World » (Freire, 1985)). Ainsi, l'enseignement pourrait devenir un outil de la justice sociale telle que définie par Bell (2007) : il serait le processus par lequel les élèves deviennent acteurs du changement et serait le résultat puisqu'un curriculum plus inclusif et sensible aux enjeux interculturels participe à rendre les systèmes éducatifs plus justes.

A titre d'exemple, les liens entre l'expérience que les élèves ont du racisme, du colonialisme et du post-colonialisme permettent d'ouvrir un débat nécessaire sur ces questions dans la classe. Enfin, l'enseignant peut également s'ouvrir aux pédagogies du monde majoritaire (Dasen & Akkari, 2008) et abandonner l'impérialisme cognitif. A cet égard, un enseignement plurilingue peut également être une ressource pour renforcer la prise en compte de la diversité culturelle.

Notre figure ci-dessous synthétise la manière dont l'enseignant peut travailler avec la diversité culturelle en classe.

Figure 2. La diversité culturelle au cœur du travail enseignant

(a) Posture
- identité culturelle de l'enseignant
- definition non essentialiste de la culture
- prise en compte de la justice dans l'enseignement
- Educabilité universelle

Articulation égalité-différence

Tension féconde entre curriculum prescrit et travail réel

(b) Différence et Identités culturelles
- traversée des frontières culturelles
- identités multiples
- humanité et citoyenneté globales partagées

Tension entre identité culturelle et cohésion sociale

(c) Curriculum et pédagogie
- texte utilisés en classe: pour lire mais aussi pour comprendre le monde
- colonialisme, racisme
- diversité pédagogique
- multilinguisme

Conclusion

Au fil de cet article, nous avons tenté de montrer que malgré le défi - tant conceptuel que pratique - qu'elle peut représenter, la prise en compte de la diversité culturelle est possible et féconde. Toutefois, sa mise en œuvre n'est pas évidente, elle nécessite de passer par des étapes nécessaires telles que la remise en cause de croyances relatives à la définition de la culture, au communautarisme ou à la déstabilisation des identités nationales (lorsque l'on valorise les appartenances multiples). Par ailleurs, prendre en compte la diversité culturelle nécessite d'accepter sa complexité et son ambiguïté : la relation de tension entre égalité et différence (voir : Ogay & Edelmann, 2011) ou l'instabilité du concept de culture en sont des exemples parlants.

Ensuite, notre raisonnement nous a amené à questionner les paradigmes dans lesquels la prise en compte de la diversité culturelle peut se développer : inter ou multiculturel… telle est la question ? Notre réponse est donc la suivante : ne répondons pas à cette question et interrogeons les pratiques, les résultats, les ancrages idéologiques plus profonds… Quelle est le degré de problématisation des interactions entre les cultures à l'école et dans la société ? Quelle est la place de la justice sociale ? De l'égalité ? De la valorisation des identités multiples ? … C'est ainsi que la prise en compte de la diversité culturelle pourra être analysée et ce, en dépassant un débat conceptuel qui ne permet pas toujours d'aborder l'importance des enjeux qu'elle couvre.

Dans un troisième et dernier temps, nous nous sommes intéressés aux acteurs de la prise en compte de l'altérité : les enseignants. Les tensions relatives à la compréhension de la diversité culturelle se répercute sur leurs pratiques et leur volonté de prendre en compte la diversité des enfants. Ils ont besoin d'être préparés et soutenus afin de rendre viable, visible, pertinente et sensible leur approche de l'éducation interculturelle. Le

problème survient quand on veut implanter à l'école le multiculturalisme essentialiste et ses modules complémentaires et ponctuels pour célébrer la diversité qui perpétue les façons traditionnelles de voir le monde, d'enseigner et de comprendre, tout en donnant l'illusion de l'inclusion (Sleeter, 2018b).

Pour que l'école s'ouvre encore plus à la diversité et qu'elle l'intègre dans ces fondements (le programme, les interactions, …), il est nécessaire d'interroger ses propres postures enseignantes, son rapport à la culture, mais aussi les outils de l'enseignement. Par ce texte, nous invitons les éducateurs à examiner de manière critique les livres, les manuels, les films … bref les ressources qu'ils présentent aux élèves afin de pouvoir participer à rendre l'école plus sensible à la diversité.

Enfin, si notre travail porte sur les enseignants et leur pratique, la responsabilité de la prise en compte de la diversité comme une ressource doit être partagée et répartie entre politiques publiques, éducatives, formation des enseignants, acteurs de l'institution scolaire et à termes avec les élèves.

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Maximising learning and development of young children: The case for Well-being and Involvement

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Abstract

Developing and supporting wellbeing in children is increasingly understood as part of the role of teachers. To do this successfully it is essential that schools not only select an appropriate strategy or practice, but also that this is effectively introduced into a setting. This paper explores how one strategy, the Leuven Scales, have been introduced into different settings in China. The Leuven Scales focus on a process approach through which teachers monitor and develop both wellbeing and involvement. In this exploration the authors examined teacher understanding and use of the Leuven Scales, and how adopting this process approach might change perceptions of their role as a teacher. Results indicate clear understanding of the process and its potential for maximising children's progress and offer useful insights on developing teachers for schools in China and beyond.

Key words: wellbeing; involvement; teacher development; China

Introduction

A 2017 NHS survey indicates that emotional disorders are prevalent in 8.1% of 5 to 19 year olds, clearly signalling the importance of supporting and developing children's emotional health (NHS, 2018). This can reasonably be considered part of the roles and responsibilities of teachers, who should protect, guide and develop learners (DfE, 2011). Public knowledge and understanding of mental health continue to develop, and with it an awareness of how schools can support children to understand and to manage their own mental health and wellbeing (Brown, 2018). In the UK for example, the first school Mental Health Champion was appointed in 2015 (DfE, 2018) and guidance is now available for schools (Brown, 2018), whilst in China children's wellbeing features prominently in education reform (MoE, 2010; SMEC, 2013). It is essential that practices supporting these aspects of children's development are not simply an "add-on"; practices which support and improve mental health need to be embedded and maintained (Brown, 2018). For any practice to be fully embedded in schools it is vital that teachers can see that it has a positive impact on the quality of learning (Hattie, 2009; Hopkins, Ainscow and West, 1994). The Leuven Scales, which measure children's wellbeing and involvement as part of a process of improving children's learning experiences (Laevers, Declercq & Buyse, 2011) is therefore a potential shift in practice which impacts on both mental health and quality of learning and is thus a sustainable improvement (Hopkins et al, 1994).

Learning has been closely linked to behaviours such as interest, engagement, persistence and motivation (Bruner, 1966; Deci & Ryan, 1981; Dewey, 1916; DfE, 2019). Demonstrating these learning behaviours is what Laevers et al, (2011) term "involvement", and it is this which is measured alongside wellbeing in the Leuven Scales (Laevers et al, 2011). Wellbeing has been described as an affective aspect of learning (Declercq, Ebrahim, Koen, Martin, van Zyl, Daries, Olivier, Venter, Ramabenyane & Sibeko, 2011) suggesting that being in a positive emotional state means that children are more disposed to want to learn. Whilst wellbeing is the affective aspect leading to a desire to learn, involvement is described by Declercq et al (2011) as the cognitive aspect; it actually leads to learning. Declercq et al (2011) explain that measuring wellbeing and involvement (the use of the Leuven Scales), provides a link between context and outcomes. Understanding school contexts is essential in recognising which pedagogical practices will meet the needs of the different and distinct groups of learners in every school. The schools involved in this research are providing bilingual education (Chinese and English). This context is distinct and effective pedagogies need to meet the needs of bilingual learners as they continue to develop L1 alongside L2. As young learners develop the L2, teachers should utilise what Krashen & Terrell (1983) call "caretaker talk", effectively echoing parental roles of repeating, rephrasing and correcting the developing spoken language in L1 acquisition. If teachers echo a parental role to develop L2, it is clear that this should include caring for the learners, ensuring that their wellbeing is high, reflecting the affective role wellbeing has on learning (Declercq et al, 2011). Potentially then, the L1 will develop more effectively when children are interested in their play, as they use more language to explain what they are exploring. This can be echoed in L2 learning and teaching. Cummins (2000) also indicated that L2 improves when developed within a comprehensible context, and again ensuring this is relevant and interesting to learners is important. It is possible then that L2 will develop in a similar way, suggesting that introducing the Leuven Scales as a way of developing wellbeing and involvement will have an additional benefit of L2 development in a bilingual school context.

Effective use of the Leuven Scales in schools involves observing children as they play, learn and interact with adults and other children. Separate scores are recorded as groups of children are scanned (see table below) for a period of ten minutes. Scores of 3 and below indicate that improvements are needed in the quality of learning opportunities. Changes are made, and observations repeated. This scanning, reviewing, reflecting, modifying and screening process is continual and cyclical, developing alongside children as they learn.

Figure 1: *Summary of wellbeing and involvement measurements*

Wellbeing scale	Involvement scale
1- outspoken signs of distress	*1- no activity*
2- signs of distress predominate	*2- interrupted activity*
3- mixed picture, no outspoken signs	*3- activity without intensity*
4- signs of enjoyment predominate	*4- activity with intense moments*
5- outspoken signs of enjoyment	*5- continuous intense moments/activity*

The initial focus of this study is to initially explore whether teachers in bilingual and Chinese schools can be trained to effectively scan and screen for levels of student wellbeing and involvement using the approach reported by Laevers & Declerq (2002). The research questions are:

1. Can teachers in bilingual and state schools be trained to accurately scan and screen for student wellbeing and involvement?
2. How does knowledge of student wellbeing and involvement influence teacher perceptions on their role and educational provision?
3. Does an understanding of student wellbeing and involvement improve student learning opportunities and the quality of teaching?

Literature review

Introducing any new practice effectively into schools involves carefully planned change management; teacher understanding of new practices, and the assimilation of these with existing values; and establishing and embedding the change (Coe, Aloisi, Higgins & Elliot Major, 2014; Hopkins et al, 1994; Zimmerman, 2004). The focus of this project is the impact of the introduction of the Leuven Scales into Early Years settings in China. Within this literature review the introduction of the Leuven Scales in schools is considered through the lens of developing capacity for change in education.

Leading change in education is a complex, non-linear construct (Hopkins et al, 1994; Zimmerman, 2004). In order to lead change successfully it is essential to understand change as a process which demands preparation, reflection and review (Zimmerman, 2004). Zimmerman (2004) notes that successful change leadership involves shared reflection. If a change is to be embedded then those utilising the new practice are best placed to reflect on any challenges and successes in order to plan for effective ways forward. Changing practices in schools needs more than an understanding and belief in the quality of the new practice; it demands effective, accountable leaders who understand how to shift teachers' beliefs and practices (Hopkins et al, 1994; Zimmerman, 2004). Two important factors impacting on leading change in education are shared success and accountability (Hopkins et al, 1994; Carrington, Deppeler & Moss, 2010; Lunn & Bishop, 2002; Zimmerman, 2004). These factors have been found to be successful in those leading change in schools and are echoed in research on the impact of introducing the Leuven Scales, with teachers valuing seeing an impact and being supported by those who were aiming to lead the change (Lenaerts, Braeye, Thi Lan Huong Nguyen, Tuyet Anh Dang & Vromant, 2017). Teachers' beliefs in the impact their practice can have seems to be highly valued (Coe et al, 2014; Lenaerts et al, 2017; Lunn & Bishop, 2002) suggesting perhaps that when leading change it is vital to focus attention and reflection on any potential impact, and to ensure teachers understand their role in this.

Within their exploration of "great" teaching Coe et al (2014) provide detail on six identified areas: content knowledge; quality of instruction; classroom climate; classroom management; teacher beliefs; professional behaviours. Research on using the Leuven Scales also includes the importance of teacher knowledge and understanding and the

need for teachers to see the impact of their practice (Askell-Williams & Lawson, 2013). Teacher beliefs, including having a capacity for reflection, are important when considering how teachers can influence learning, and how they view the introduction of a new initiative like the Leuven Scales (Brown, 2018; Coe et al, 2014). An effective and positive environment is highlighted as a key element of settings where the Leuven Scales have been introduced (Laevers & Declercq, 2018; Shewark, Zinsser & Denham, 2018). Existing research examines the impact of using the Leuven Scales in early year's settings, including those where outdoor play dominates the "offer" (Mackinder, 2017; Wainwright et al, 2018). Within a positive environment, teachers need to ensure learners are presented with appropriately challenging activities which will engage and motivate learning.

Laevers et al (2011) posit that motivated learners are happy; the learner is in a state of wellbeing as demonstrated visibly by an enjoyment of a task for example. How involvement links to learning is more complex and is more challenging to provide for and monitor, as Laevers & Declercq (2018) note. It involves an understanding of motivation at a deeper level (Bryson & Hand, 2007; Deci & Ryan, 1981; Van Heerden, 2016). Children who demonstrate high levels of involvement in their learning are intrinsically motivated. These children have been presented with opportunities to engage their curiosity and exploratory drive, and have become both cognitively and emotionally invested in the task. This is a challenging feat for teachers who must ensure that learners are given tasks which match interests and cognitive ability, providing appropriate challenge (Coe et al, 2014; Covell, 2010; Ulich & Mayr, 2002). This may be directly linked with the importance of participation, by both adults and children, which can be a useful means by which to model involvement, indeed Mackinder (2017) found adult participation which appropriately stimulated learning through following the guidance offered by Laevers and Heylen (2003) was essential when improving children's involvement in a forest school environment.

Studies exploring the impact of the Leuven Scales suggest that it is a change which leaders can introduce effectively. This may be attributed in part to the inclusion of reflections which are embedded in the scanning and screening process and because impacting on children's wellbeing and involvement can be clearly and immediately observed through the structured processes of the Leuven Scales (Coe et al, 2014; Hopkins et al, 1994; Laevers et al, 2011; Laevers & Heylen, 2003; Lunn & Bishop, 2002; Zimmerman, 2004). There are gaps in the research, for instance no current published research on schools in China, either of monolingual or bilingual children although studies from other countries do exist, including South Africa and Vietnam, indicating it is possible to assimilate this practice into non-Western education (Declercq et al, 2011; Lenaerts, Braeye, Thi Lan Huong Nguyen, Tuyet Anh Dang & Vromant, 2017; Van Heerden, 2016). Moreover, although the existing research highlights a broadly positive view of the impact of utilising the Leuven Scales, the potential challenge of introducing a process-based practice into a product-driven education system has not been addressed (Declercq et al, 2011; Laevers & Declercq, 2018; Laevers et al, 2011; Laevers & Heylen, 2003; Lenaerts et al, 2017; Mackinder, 2017; Ulich & Mayr, 2002; Van Heerden, 2016; Wainwright et al, 2016). Product, or results driven education systems are not exclusive to China, as is

evidenced by PISA data for example (OECD, 2018), and so introducing a process-based system needs to be managed carefully.

Research methodology

This research project is focused on exploring the introduction of the Leuven Scales into schools in China. The hypothesis is that scanning and screening for levels of student wellbeing and involvement will allow teachers to adapt practices to ensure that learning opportunities are maximised and thus, quality of student experience and learning is enhanced. The research questions are:

1. Can teachers in bilingual schools in China be trained to accurately scan and screen for student wellbeing and involvement?
2. How does knowledge of student wellbeing and involvement influence teacher perceptions on their role and of educational provision?
3. Does an understanding of student wellbeing and involvement change and improve student learning opportunities and the quality of teaching?

This study takes the form of a mixed methods research study. Quantitative methods seek to measure and observe patterns in order to establish universal realities. Qualitative methods seek to understand a research focus from the perspective of the people it involves. Through utilising a mixed method approach we aim to identify themes through analysis of quantitative data and to then use qualitative methods for in-depth exploration of these themes. Moreover, in utilising a mixed methods approach, the study will be enhanced by a combination of positivism and interpretivism which can enable and enhance reliability and validity simultaneously (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018; Zohrabi, 2013). Other research in this field makes use of mixed approaches, examining and analysing data different ways (De Greve, Van Weghe, De Coninck & Van de Wiele, 2018; Singer, Nederend, Penninx, Tajix & Boom, 2013; Ulich & Mayr, 2002).

Method

The study was undertaken using a questionnaire, the construction of which is described below, and follow-up focus group semi-structured interviews. Questionnaires are frequently used when undertaking quantitative research. Data gathered in questionnaires can be nominal, ordinal or word based (Cohen et al, 2006). It was decided that several different question types would be useful, to maximise the information collected. This then meant that the questionnaire itself represented a mixed methods approach. Asking a range of questions provided balanced between quantifiable data of respondents' views, and useful information about these views which informed the construction of the semi-structured interviews. Use of a questionnaire and follow up interviews to explore understanding and use of the Leuven Scales adds to current research in this area as it explores Wellbeing and Involvement from teachers' perspectives (Lenaerts et al, 2017; Van Heerden, 2016). In uncovering what works well in building capacity for change, and specifically on effectively facilitating a shift in teacher understanding of what can contribute to children's learning, it is possible that significant contributions will be made to research on leading change in education.

Ratings scale based questions were chosen to allow respondents to identify priorities. These were constructed using Likert scales with a scale of 1-5. Likert scales are limited by the interpretation of the divisions on the scale, but it was considered useful to ascertain broad views of the process, and data which is comparable. The use of open-ended questions therefore provided respondents with the opportunity to explain views in some depth, therefore the limiting factor of interpretation was somewhat countered.

The purpose of the questionnaire was to collect information on the following aspects of the study:

1- Collect teachers' perceptions of their own understanding of wellbeing and involvement
2- Collect teachers' views on the impact of understanding of wellbeing and involvement on attainment
3- Collect views on how the environment (physical and human attributes) can impact on wellbeing and involvement
4- Collect information on the ways that the environment/the offer/the provision has been changed to improve wellbeing and involvement

The second research tool used to collect data was semi-structured interviews. These were undertaken as focus group interviews reflecting research by Van Heerden (2016) which sought to explore the impact of the Leuven Scales in schools in South Africa. This qualitative tool was used to explore the themes identified from the collated and analysed questionnaires in greater depth. Semi-structured interviews add validity as the data sources- the respondents- provide information which represents their views. Moreover, semi-structured interviews were chosen in order to ensure that responses could be explored in depth with open questions providing the opportunity for follow up questioning which can add clarity and even greater depth (Cohen et al, 2018). The depth of responses in interviews provided greater understanding of the knowledge of respondents on the focus of this study, however, this it is recognised that this is not transferrable to a wider population, but rather is representative of these participants.

The questions used to generate discussion were:

• What would you do to improve Wellbeing scores for a group of learners?
• How would you describe a rich learning environment for children?
• How might you improve Involvement for a group of learners?
• What would you look for to improve Involvement for an individual learner?

Follow up questions were asked when clarity was sought, for example: *can you explain that a bit more? Can you give specific examples of this?*

Project development and data collection

Between April to June 2019 teachers in four schools in China were trained on the Leuven Scale screening and scanning process by Professor Laevers and a team from Leuven

University. From September to December 2019 teachers implemented a consistent approach to scanning and screening for wellbeing and involvement. The veracity of teacher judgments on wellbeing and involvement was reviewed by researchers who were part of the Leuven University team, and the judgements made by the newly trained teachers were validated. Importantly, researchers from Leuven University identified that:

- Training resulted in teacher acquiring an effective understanding of wellbeing and involvement
- Teacher judgments of both wellbeing and involvement are accurate (see appendix 1)

The feedback from the Leuven University team allowed the next phase of the project which comprised attempting to gather evidence to respond to the research questions above.

The questionnaire was developed using an online tool. A web link and QR code was shared amongst teachers who participated in the Wellbeing and Involvement training. Purposeful sampling was considered appropriate for this research because the of the study's aims to explore if teachers' have the capacity to develop skills in using the Leuven Scales, and to ascertain teacher perceptions on this developing skill. Using an online questionnaire offered greater convenience for the respondents.

Semi-structured focus group interviews were conducted using an online meeting tool. Focus groups enable discussion and may prevent limitations caused by the Hawthorne Effect (Cohen et al, 2018). At the same time, however, it was recognised that focus groups are contrived settings and that the views presented may be collective rather than individual though this was countered somewhat by the use of very small groups (of 3) and since the research is exploratory and will lead to further research, focus group interviews at this stage were practical, an economical use of time, and yielded a good deal of data (Cohen et al, 2018).

Data analysis

The collected data has been organised and presented so that identified themes and patterns are clearly evidenced. Initial findings were tabulated and evidence the outcomes of the initial training phase. Data from the online questionnaires was automatically available in tabulated form through the website (see Findings section below) and through analysis of this data the focus group interview questions were formulated. The focus group interviews were transcribed and extraneous information removed so that the raw data could then be analysed to identify themes which would provide useful research findings. Word clouds were used for preliminary analysis of the interview data as this can quickly and easily demonstrate graphical representation of key information (DePaulo & Wilkinson, 2014; McNaught & Lam, 2010). Salient comments were then tabulated which highlighted, described and portrayed participant understanding of these identified themes (Cohen et al, 2018).

Results

Findings from the training, questionnaires and focus group interviews are presented below. The information from the initial training provides evidence that the processes of scanning and screening children for levels of wellbeing and involvement are generally understood, which is echoed in the questionnaire.

Based on the descriptions for the areas of strength and improvement, we assume that they have understood the 5 factors well (Leuven Team, 2019)
nothing was missed in the training sessions and ample time was given to ask questions and gain reassurance about the process and its importance
training had such an impact that all attendees said Screening and Scanning for Well-being and Involvement has become second nature
new learning was mainly from the realization that Well-being and Involvement are separate but linked at the same time
training from side-by-side-coaching was most helpful for the teachers

Table 1: *reporting from the Leuven training*

The questionnaire data is from a small but representative sample of experienced teachers. Responses indicate that participants can define well-being and involvement as established through the use of the Leuven Scales, and can articulate the value of the process for children's learning.

Well-being explained	**satisfaction…when you have accomplished your goal…how much you have enjoyed when doing your task…comfort and relaxation you have in such environment…**
	essential for children to **engage** in the full range of activities… impacts on social, emotional, behavioural and **academic readiness**
	a measure of the **confidence** and **happiness** of a child in order for them to **access education**
Involvement explained	how **deep** you can dig and how **wide** you can explore, and how long you can **focus**
	how deeply a child or adult **engages** in all activities. It highlights how **open** they are to new experiences,
	actively involved in completing an activity, demonstrating both **perseverance** and **enthusiasm**

Table 2: *explanations of Well-being and Involvement*

Results from Likert Scale questions where 1= strongly disagree and 5= strongly agree indicate a mixed picture in terms of the impact of Well-being and Involvement monitoring in classroom practice. It is notable that although all participants have received training and indicate an understanding of the process, some participants report scores of 1 or 2 in relation to the changes in their own practice as a result (ie. little or no change). A further question with a 3 scale response looked at which specific areas of the Early Years provision were changed, which interestingly showed that some areas had not been changed at all. As some of the responding participants are Lead Practitioners in their settings it might be assumed that they have an overview of changes across the setting,

although it is possible that their responses are only related to their own classrooms. This led to the formulation of questions in the focus group interviews which would examine what changes in practice had been undertaken.

Statement	1	2	3	4	5	Avg
Adult participation influences Wellbeing and Involvement	10%	0%	10%	40%	40%	4
Adults need to be encouraging and empathic to develop Wellbeing and Involvement	10%	0%	0%	40%	50%	4.2
Adults need to allow children to experiment	10%	0%	0%	30%	60%	4.3
Understanding Wellbeing and Involvement has changed how I interact with children	10%	10%	0%	60%	20%	3.7
Continuous provision needs to match individual needs and interests	0%	10%	10%	50%	30%	4
Outdoor provision needs to match individual needs and interests	0%	10%	20%	40%	30%	3.9
It is easy to match individual interests in continuous provision	0%	20%	30%	30%	20%	3.5
Total	5.71%	7.14%	10%	41.43%	35.71%	3.94

Table 3: exemplification of the impact of using the Leuven Scales on classroom practice

Table 3 demonstrates that though teachers are committed to the processes, there is some variance in how it is being implemented. A majority of respondents recognise the importance of adults, agreeing or strongly agreeing that adult participation influences wellbeing and involvement, however 10% of the responses strongly disagree, and the same is found with the role of adults in encouraging and allowing children to experiment. This is notable as it suggests that although the process is understood (as shown in **Table 2** and highlighted by the Leuven Team Report, 2019) it is possible that some teachers are not fully deploying the Leuven Scale process, suggesting that teachers lack the confidence and capacity to apply this information to adapting the learning opportunities for pupils. This may be because teachers have not had sufficient time to embed the practice and potentially that this change has not led to a shift in their personal values yet. This is further indicated in the range of responses on continuous provision, although this might be attributed to the differences in the children in the settings. Some further support to develop continuous provision in relation to Leuven Scale scores might be useful, as **Table 3** shows only 20% of teachers find this easy.

Continuous provision area	Not at all	Some changes	A lot of changes
Personal, social and emotional development	0%	80%	20%
Communication and Language	10%	70%	20%

Physical development	30%	70%	0%
Literacy	20%	70%	10%
Mathematics	20%	60%	20%
Understanding of the World	20%	60%	20%
Expressive arts and design	20%	60%	20%

Table 4: *changes made to specific areas of learning as a result of using the Leuven Scales*

Integrating wellbeing and involvement across the different curriculum domains is presented in **Table 4** and shows a mixed picture. The area of PSE development was changed by all respondents, but in each of the other seven areas it is indicated that some respondents made no changes; although CL seems a little elevated relative to other domains. This may be because of the children's interests; however a focus on CL may also be attributed to the study being located in bilingual settings where developing CL is central to practice. In the area of physical development only *not at all* or *some changes* are recorded, suggesting that this is an area which already supported high wellbeing and involvement scores although this may result from a belief that wellbeing and involvement is better improved in other areas.

The focus group, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 3 small groups, and comprised questions on three main themes: change in understanding and practice; examples of changes to improve involvement; and how the process could be sustained. The first question explored any changes in practice and understanding in these Early Years teachers. Preliminary analysis using word clouds highlights ***think***, ***know*** and ***terms*** as significant language used, suggesting perhaps a shift in mindset and articulation of the learning process are outcomes of committing to use the Leuven Scales; teachers have the *terms* to better describe their understanding, what they *think* and *know* about children's learning.

Figure 2: *word cloud preliminary analysis of focus group interviews*

The responses indicated that the Leuven Scales provide structure and scaffold which was missing before, and support understanding of how children learn. It is notable that the responses suggest that practitioners believe they were utilising the skills developed through the Leuven Scales before the training, but this was unintentional: *you know it's just like you're not groping in the dark anymore, so you have things which are clearly laid out for you.* It is clear that guidelines and process helped the participants to better understand the needs of the children by giving the teachers clarity and a better informed way of articulating the process: *validates what we've been trying to do… systematic approach, uniform approach.* Of further interest were comments made about role of adults in the process, which indicate that some practitioners have focused on the offer- the classroom environment- and how that can be changed: *how can we make the environment as useful as we are…* This echoes the findings in **Table 2**. Although making changes to the offer is an essential aspect of the Well-being and Involvement process, the role of the adult remains significant, and understanding effective interactions is part of the success of the model; this is highlighted in the **discussion** section.

Participants were asked to provide examples of ways that involvement had been improved (**Table 5**). All groups were able to offer examples though notably two groups were very specific whilst the third needed more time to recollect examples, and unlike the other groups, did not name specific children.

Focus group	Examples of improving involvement
1	*create some cars and he didn't want to like make a lot of friends and to express his feelings…we invited him to introduce lots of knowledge and (it) improved his confidence…he wants to talk with some other children*
2	*he couldn't sit down to do the task…wander(ed) around in the classroom…so his involvement is really low…I find out the reason…he couldn't understand it at all so that is the reason…we set a teaching assistant sitting next to him*
3	*we opened it up and there was much more space for construction and some of the more boisterous personalities, bold personalities had their area to work, but then she also had a place that was a little bit further back*

Table 5: *examples of involvement*

When discussing involvement participants noted the importance of the ***Ten Point Scale*** (an aspect of the Leuven Scale training), the importance of the scanning and screening processes when considering the ***offer*** for children, and further noted the value of the structured process as the observation tool provides both a record of the scanned scores, and a ready prompt for reflecting on the scores***: straightaway… start thinking about things.***

Focus group	What else do we need?
1	*you know that moderation is very important than it can never stop because you can never really know enough… learn from each other together*
2	*I think I need more training about this to use and help other teachers who don't quite understand this… to help their children to increase the marks in well being and involvement*
3	*side-by-side **coaching** and exemplification of what the levels look like… it's really important that they can receive coaching and we can go can go into the classes just side by side*

Table 6: examples of reflections on next steps

The final stage of the interviews was designed to encourage participants to reflect on their understanding and consider what further support and guidance would be beneficial as the project moves into the next phase, as presented in **Table 6**. The responses indicate a good level of confidence in current understanding, accompanied by reflections on **continuous learning**. Two groups had similar responses, through which they reflected on their own need to continue to develop and learn and to share this experience in collaboration with each other, and the third group focused on receiving further external support in the form of **coaching**.

Discussion

The findings from this project demonstrate clearly that teachers in bilingual schools can be trained to accurately scan and screen for student wellbeing and involvement; we have found that teachers can utilise the Leuven Scales effectively within different bilingual settings in China (**Tables 1 & 2**) reflecting the successes found in existing research (Declercq et al, 2011; Lanearts et al, 2017; Van Heerden, 2016). Establishing teacher understanding with expert guidance and support from the Leuven Team ensured that effective preparation was given to facilitate a shift in practice (Declercq et al, 2011; Zimmerman, 2002). Moreover, changing teacher understanding of the constructs of wellbeing and involvement, and the role these play in learning was assisted by the support and coaching provided by the Leuven Team which enabled the teachers to feel involved in the development of the project (Askell-Williams & Lawson, 2013; Laevers, 2005; Lunn & Bishop, 2002; Schäfer & Eberhart, 2017). As changes are introduced, shared reflections are essential to allow progress to be reviewed and further changes to be shaped (Zimmerman, 2002). The respondents demonstrated a good awareness of their own knowledge, and the importance of continuing to develop this, as highlighted in **Table 6** (Coe et al, 2014). As lead practitioners of this process approach, the respondents were able to consider how the support they received impacted on their understanding, and thus how important such effective guidance would be to disseminate the approach further (Askell-Williams & Lawson, 2013; Coe et al, 2014; Lunn & Bishop, 2002). Continued support through coaching and collaboration would doubtless be useful (**Table 6**), especially if accompanied by support from school leaders who share success and accountability (Hopkins et al, 1994; Zimmerman, 2004).

In terms of accountability, the respondents have shown a sound understanding of their role in ensuring the Leuven Scales are effectively deployed. A significant finding from the research is that these teachers are better equipped to articulate the learning processes observed, suggesting that through understanding wellbeing and involvement they have a new set of "tools" with which to describe and crucially to improve the quality of learning for children; examples are highlighted in **Table 5**. The findings presented in **Table 4** indicate that teachers changed the provision for children, although changes made were varied across the different areas. It is possible that although the teachers understand and can use the Leuven Scales more time is needed to embed confidence and capacity to deploy this new toolkit across the "offer". Further variance is noted in the views on the role of the adult as presented in **Table 3**. Previous research highlights the importance adult participation and interaction with learners when using the Leuven Scales, listing this as a key indicator of success (Laevers et al, 2011; Mackinder, 2017; Wainwright et al, 2018). Laevers & Heylen (2003) provide guidance to exemplify these behaviours. This research suggests that adult participation and in particular the role the adult can take to model and demonstrate extended involvement could be further developed; learners become more involved when teachers engage with learners, the subject and the teaching process (Bryson, & Hand, 2007; Coe et al, 2014; Deci & Ryan, 1981). This may be especially significant in a bilingual context as it is possible that an adult could support extended L2 acquisition if this is carefully modelled in the same way that a parent might support L1

development (Krashen, 1983), although further specific exploration of this is needed. What is evident from this research is that teachers have a good understanding of how they can make a difference to children's learning through reflecting on wellbeing and involvement and moreover are appreciative of the difference they can make to the provided learning opportunities, or "offer".

This understanding of the importance of the "offer" and how this provision can affect learning shows teachers in this research generally have good content knowledge of wellbeing and involvement as an effective process (Laevers & Declercq, 2018; Shewark et al, 2018). However, for this to be fully embedded it is important that teachers are able to see the impact of their role (Coe et al, 2014; Hopkins et al, 1994; Lunn & Bishop, 2002). Comparing learning outcomes with wellbeing and involvement scores should effectively ensure that teachers can see the impact of this new process on the children's learning, which should contribute to successfully embedding the change. Limitations resulting from specific and challenging circumstances have reduced the opportunities to draw comparisons between outcome data and the Leuven Scale scores, however, the findings as presented in *Table 6* do suggest that teachers are keen to move towards making these comparisons and know that this evidence of impact will strengthen the effectiveness and belief in adopting the Leuven Scale approach. The research has found that understanding wellbeing and involvement has resulted in improved learning opportunities for children, for example through teachers making changes to the "offer"; the learning experiences offered in the guided teaching, continuous and outdoor provision are scrutinised and adapted to improve quality of learning which has an impact on children's involvement and responsiveness (Lenaerts et al, 2017; Van Heerden, 2016). Teachers are acutely aware now of how use of the scanning and screening process enables them to immediately start to consider how children are engaging with the learning process as they can see quickly if the affective factor of wellbeing needs to be addressed and/or if the cognitive factor of involvement is being supported by interesting and engaging learning opportunities. Teachers demonstrate that because their understanding has shifted they are better able to change the provision to meet the needs and interests of learners, and moreover this has become "second nature" and is not an "add-on" but rather that having this empathic understanding is part of everyday practice (Brown, 2018; Ulich & Mayr, 2002). Introducing the process of scanning and screening through use of the Leuven Scale measure has led to teachers having a greater understanding of how children learn, not only demonstrable through an awareness of what children need, but also through greater understanding of what they as teachers need to do to evaluate the impact of the process on learners.

Next steps

The researchers acknowledge limitations in this study, including the small number of respondents, and we note that the findings are representative only of this purposive sample. However, as this is the first phase of a three-part study, this exploration has provided valuable insight which will be useful moving forward. Exemplification of the changes in the specific learning areas will provide greater clarity on how the process is being implemented and may offer further explanation for the noted variance. Observation

of these changes and of adult interaction including the modelling of involvement will be undertaken in order to provide deeper understanding of the application of the Leuven Scales, and it is thought that this might also provide insight on the reflections on the role of the adult presented in *Table 3.* Further investigations on the impact of the Leuven Scales on children's learning outcomes will be undertaken as part of the second phase of the project. It is clear that continued review of teacher understanding, confidence and capacity to improve wellbeing and involvement- which link with their values- should also be part of this next phase. The final phase of this project will involve supporting state schools in China to implement the Leuven Scales. This will be more effective if we have a better understanding of how teacher understanding, confidence and capacity have been developed.

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Challenging the monolingual habitus of international school classrooms

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Introduction

This paper is designed to explore the intersections of language and translanguaging theory and practice in international schools. Language is an important but complex issue in international education for many reasons. Despite this, or perhaps because of this, little work has been done on ensuring adequate provision in international schools for our bi/multilingual students. There is a tension between the current stated goals of international education, which are to promote global citizenship and international mindedness, and lack of attention to the multilingual learner and the multilingual experience. Where traditional routes for supporting multilingualism such as afterschool clubs and classes fail to meet the needs of many learners, embracing and embedding dynamic language practices in the classroom seems to be a way forward.

International schools are, by their nature, multilingual environments. Despite this, they function in many ways as a monolingual habitus (Gogolin, 1997). The natural multilingualism of many of the students and some of the teachers is supressed by the monolingual curriculum and the push towards proficiency in English. This has been noticed and remarked upon within the field (Carder, 2007) (Horsley, 2011) but there are currently no clear solutions within programmes and curricula to bring about a change in situation. Where institutional solutions are absent, there is the potential for a pedagogical solution to many of the language and learning related concerns in international schools: pedagogical translanguaging.

The term translanguaging has only been in current use since the mid-1980s, when Cen Williams translated the original Welsh "trawsiethu" into English. There are many other related research constructs, from applied linguistics (plurilingualism, metrolingualism); literacy studies (code-meshing, multiliteracies); sociolinguistics (code-switching) and education (interlingual teaching). The choice for the term *translanguaging* in this article is based on two factors. The first is *intentionality.* Many of the other current paradigms that involve describing multilingual language use are describing natural phenomena, in which speakers react to their environment and interlocutors in making their language use choices. Translanguaging, from the Welsh school, involves *intentional* language planning

for pedagogical purposes. The second factor is *directionality*. Translanguaging implies across languages, which illustrates well the pedagogical use of languages across a teaching and learning cycle. Other iterations of the concept often imply between (interlingual) or mixing (code-meshing, metrolingualism).

The term translanguaging itself has undergone a field-expansion in recent years, moving from the strictly pedagogical concept it was originally, and Lewis, Jones & Baker (2012) now suggest a tripartite distinction between classroom translanguaging, universal translanguaging, and neurolinguistic translanguaging. Thus, the focus of this article is (pedagogical) classroom translanguaging, as conceptualised by the Welsh school, which defines it as "the planned and systematic use of two languages inside the same lesson by specifying and varying the languages of input and output" (Williams, in Abello-Contesse et al. 2013, p. 110).

There are two areas of concern regarding language development in international schools. The first is immersion-style experience of students who arrive without the language skills necessary to mediate content in the school language; usually English. There is a pervasive misconception in education that content-based learning (immersion, EMI, CBI, CLIL) is sufficient to provide students with the language development necessary to not only manage the content but to be successful academically. Years of research on immersion schooling has clearly shown that this is not the case. In order to develop the levels of language required, students need more than just immersion or they lose out on content learning as well as language development (Lyster, 2007). The second area of concern is the students' own languages. There should be a clear mandate within international education that students who arrive speaking a language other than English should not weaken or lose that language in the pursuit of English. Academically, there are strong links between the level of development of a student's own language (mother tongue/home language) and their development in English. Ethically, it is not acceptable for students to be alienated from their language and culture as a result of being schooled in an English-medium international school.

Current approaches to supporting bilingual development in international schools are voluntary, fragmented, and of varying quality and successfulness. There is no one-size fits all for supporting home languages, and given the linguistic diversity of international schools, there never will be. Each school is unique in its language profile, which includes student language backgrounds, staff language backgrounds, and the local language ecology. Schools with a curriculum framework that encourages bilingualism in policy (if not always in practice) often make efforts to support the home languages of students in some way. Some schools never get past a basic linguistic tokenism, where shallow efforts are made to give the illusion of inclusion (Motha, 2014). Schools that make a more concerted effort generally use one of the following three models:

Extra-curricular	Parallel	Integrated
After school hours	During the school day	During the school day
Usually community organised	Teachers employed by school	Connected to school curriculum
Variable in content and quality	Curriculum and pedagogy independent and variable	Connects to school methodology and pedagogy

(Crisfield, 2016, p. 12)

All of these models are problematic in one common area: they only allow for support for a finite number of languages, generally those with the highest student numbers. Translanguaging pedagogy has the potential to address and rectify this weakness in current approaches to both EAL/ELL and home language/mother tongue development in international schools.

Research on translanguaging is still in its infancy, and remains mainly tied to the original Welsh school, or the growing New York school, with Garcia at the head. Both of these are bilingual contexts, with two main languages involved in each. This leads to problems of extrapolation to diverse multilingual contexts, but there is still much on which to base our understandings. The Welsh school have identified four potential benefits of translanguaging, all of which are pertinent in international schools.

1. It promotes deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter.
2. It may help students develop in their weaker language.
3. The dual-use of languages can facilitate the home–school connection.
4. It may help the integration of fluent speakers with early learners.
   (Baker & Wright, 2017)

Here we find two elements that are linked to our first area of concern: support for EAL/ELL learners. Using translanguaging pedagogy can help support the content-learning of students who are still learning English, so that they can fully understand subject-specific knowledge. It can also help moderate the interactions between students who share a language, as a proactive pedagogy that allows for same-language students to support each other, while still focusing on the task and eventually the development of English content ability. The other two elements are linked to our second area of concern: supporting home language development. Strategic use of translanguaging can help students develop from BICS to CALP in their own languages, and also allow access and participation in their learning for parents.

A final benefit of translanguaging pedagogy not noted by Baker et al (because it is not relevant to their situation) is the benefits of positive multilingualism in promoting international mindedness in international schools. An inclusive attitude to languages is better aligned with this goal than the monolingual habitus that currently exists in many international schools. New research has shown the potential of translanguaging pedagogy in supporting the development of cross-linguistic awareness in both bilingual and monolingual students, as well as positive bilingual identities (García-Mateus & Palmer, 2017), both of which are beneficial in the international school context.

Developing a translanguaging pedagogy

The first element of developing a translanguaging pedagogy is to create what Garcia et al. call a *translanguaging stance*. This attends to four aspects of the classroom and learning:

1. To support students as they engage with and comprehend complex content and texts
2. To provide opportunities for students to develop linguistic practices for academic contexts
3. To make space for students' bilingualism and ways of knowing
4. To support students' socioemotional development and bilingual identities
   (Garcia, Ibarra Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017, p. 50)

Essentially, a translanguaging stance in the classroom leaves space for students to use their stronger language for learning, and to use it to scaffold both content learning and language learning. This works for students who are learning English and use their own language as a scaffold, but for students who have become English-dominant, these same structures can help them re-engage in developing their own languages for academic contexts as well. The acknowledging and accepting of other ways of knowing creates an inclusive classroom environment where students can develop as bilinguals, and not as aspiring English-only speakers, and to access and use prior knowledge that is encoded in their own languages. A classroom with a translanguaging stance naturally allows for the presence of serendipitous translanguaging, which is the first of two types of classroom translanguaging. *Serendipitous (unplanned)translanguaging* happens at the point of need, and usually involves translation strategies or on the spot scaffolding to ensure understanding. This type of supportive pedagogy happens in most classrooms where other languages are not banned, although it is often seen as a crutch or temporary scaffold, only to be used until the students' English is good enough to not need it. The second type of classroom translanguaging is *planned translanguaging*. This involves the teacher actively considering all aspects of learning and language, and making clear decisions about where the use of home languages will be valuable for learning content, for scaffolding language, or for bringing students' varied backgrounds and experiences into the classroom.

One of the essential areas for progress regarding translanguaging is the development of a clear and applicable pedagogical framework There are many valuable resources coming out of the New York school, but they are highly embedded in the US context, both in terms of curricula and in terms of sociopolitical issues. There are also many excellent examples of pedagogical activities available in various publications, both print and digital. What is lacking, however, is a clear framework for classroom translanguaging that would allow every teacher to start planning for multiple languages in the classroom. The following framework has been developed working with international schools, and is designed to offer a clear template for teachers to use in order to move from serendipitous to planned translanguaging.

Step 1: Critical questions

Are there aspects of this content that will be inaccessible for some learners?	If the answer is yes:	If the answer is no:
Consider: - Type of input (accessibility and contextual support) - Level of language of learners - Prior knowledge or new knowledge? - BICS or CALP related?	How can we use translanguaging to set them up for success? • Pre-work, group work, home language resources or partner, etc.	Are there any aspects of this topic that *make sense* for learners to approach in their own language? • Cultural aspects, identity, local knowledge, etc.

From the answers, teachers can start thinking about where to plan for translanguaging within the unit or theme, and can consider how best to do so in the second step.

Step 2: Planning the learning cycle

This takes inspiration from the original Welsh "varying the language of input and output" and adds in the critical step of *processing*. Thus, each class period will be divided into input-processing-output, and the answers from Step 1 will inform the planning.

Input	Processing	Output
- What input sources will be used (text, video, discussions, etc.) - Do some students need to access input in languages other than English for comprehension? - Should some students access input in other languages to enhance the input (prior knowledge, cultural factors, etc.)	- How will the students process the input (alone, pair work, group work)? - What language use structures would allow for better processing? (same language groups, varied level of English groups, etc.)? - How will I ensure I can track the processing (graphic organiser, written notes) if necessary?	- Do I need to know what the students have learned immediately? - If yes, how can I scaffold them towards sharing their learning in English (translation, visuals, other methods of presenting)? - If I would like the output in English, have I built into the processing opportunities to transfer knowledge from their own languages into English?

Sample learning cycles:

Input	Processing	Output
Students research an ecosystem from their own countries in their own languages and take notes on a graphic organiser in English, using their own languages when necessary	Using a VENN diagram, pairs of students compare and contrast the ecosystems from their own countries, using translation where necessary	Pairs present a short summary of their findings to the class in English, using visuals
Learning impact: Students learn about a variety of ecosystems, and use their own languages for academic research. Students transfer their learning from their own languages into English, and learn the necessary language to present in English.		

Input	Processing	Output
Students watch a video in English, with a annotated graphic organiser as a guide for note-taking (in any language)	Guided group discussion (multilingual, with access to same-language peers or translation resources) on key questions (different questions for each group) Preparation of a short presentation of answers to the class in English	Groups present questions and answers in English, all students note answers down on graphic organiser
Learning impact: Planned used of graphic organisers helps EAL/ELL students tune in to necessary content in the video and increases understanding. Group discussions allow all students to check understanding, and to transfer the gained knowledge into English to share with the class.		

Teacher understanding of task design is an important factor in making translanguaging work in the classroom. It is important to be clear about the goals of each learning cycle within a unit, and to plan for the gradual scaffolding of students towards the final assessment in terms of language and content. One common criticism of translanguaging is that if teachers let students work in their own languages, their English will not improve as much. Clearly, there is a need in English-language schools for English language development to be a focus, but carefully planned classroom translanguaging offers a scaffold both for content and for English language development, through task design elements.

Classroom translanguaging can be used across all age groups and language levels. There are differences in implementation with younger learners and older learners, due to literacy levels and cognitive development. With pre-literate students there is greater use of technology as support, as students cannot read and write in their own languages. The benefits of translanguaging with younger learners are particularly evident in promoting inclusion, and allowing them to communicate before they have enough English to do so. Schools that have tablets in the classroom can use these for translation of spoken language, either from teacher to student or student to teacher. As the students learn to read and write, they can begin experimenting with putting thoughts into one language and translating to the other themselves.

Translanguaging with literate learners (upper primary and middle school) is particularly useful and beneficial, as it can allow better access to the curriculum for students who are still learning English, and opportunities to develop CALP and academic literacy skills in home languages as well.

Conclusion

> Thus, we are faced with the bizarre scenario of schools successfully transforming fluent speakers of foreign languages into monolingual English speakers, at the same time as they struggle, largely unsuccessfully, to transform monolingual English speakers into foreign language speakers. (Cummins, 2005, p. 586)

Classroom translanguaging has the potential to address the most pressing language-related issues in international schools. It allows for better inclusion of speakers of other languages, provides a scaffold for learning content while English is being learned, and provides continued development for the home languages of all the multilingual students in international school classrooms. Perhaps most importantly, it allows for international school classrooms to become the multilingual habitus that they should be, and to develop true international mindedness through the sharing of knowledge, perspectives and culture through the many lenses our students bring into the classroom with them.

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L'apprentissage d'une langue implique un changement de vision du monde

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Au XIXe siècle, la théorie associationiste prétendait que l'apprentissage d'une langue étrangère consistait à emmagasiner un dictionnaire, puisque les mots n'étaient que des étiquettes que chaque civilisation ou culture, « accrochait » à un objet ou à une idée… En termes linguistiques, et selon la terminologie de Saussure, il serait possible de traduire cette approche en affirmant que la langue se résume à l'association d'un signifiant à un signifié aux contours prédéfinis. De fait, les pré-saussuriens pensaient que le monde était prédécoupé et que les éléments linguistiques permettaient de nommer les choses et les gens. C'était la conception biblique que l'on peut lire dans la Genèse, versets 1 à 9 : « Au commencement était le VERBE» «Il y eut un soir, il y eut un matin... » « Et Dieu nomma la lumière 'jour' et les ténèbres 'nuit' »...

Les traducteurs se doivent de remercier Saussure et la fantaisie linguistique des humains, car si cette théorie s'était révélée exacte, ils n'auraient plus guère de travail et pourraient trembler quant à leur avenir professionnel. Il suffirait effectivement à n'importe quel quidam de posséder la liste des termes d'une langue et de faire figurer les concepts en face. Traduire consisterait alors à changer la liste des termes de la langue source pour accéder à la langue cible...

Ce type de principes a été mis en œuvre dans les premières tentatives de traduction automatique, il y a quelques années (TAO). Les résultats furent peu probants. Tout le monde connaît ces expériences qui réjouirent les soirées des traducteurs en place, s'esclaffant devant leurs incongruités, après avoir quelque peu chancelés à l'arrivée de ces machines sur le marché. La théorie chomskyenne de la langue promettait un brillant avenir à la traduction automatique. Noam Chomsky, chercheur américain pensait en effet, que l'on pouvait se baser uniquement sur les structures syntaxiques, le sens n'étant pas à prendre en compte et ne venant, en quelque sorte, que de façon superfétatoire dans la communication. Mais, dès lors, comment traduire des énoncés français comportant ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler une polysémie syntaxique (M. Bréal) telle que dans les phrases suivantes :

« La belle porte le masque » ou encore « La petite élève la montre et la lance ».

Saussure, précurseur s'il en fut, était dans le droit chemin en combattant, pacifiquement, cette théorie de l'associationnisme. Georges Mounin, après lui, permettait de comprendre que : «À chaque langue correspond une organisation particulière des données de l'expérience... Une langue est un instrument de communication selon lequel l'expérience humaine s'analyse différemment dans chaque communauté.» Il affirmait, en outre, qu'imaginer que nous avons une vision du monde réaliste relève de l'utopie ! Il s'agit d'allers-retours permanents entre le monde réel à dire et la langue qui touchent non seulement l'aspect lexical mais également l'aspect syntaxique de tout idiome. « Les

limites de mon langage signifient les limites de mon propre monde. » écrivait Ludwig Wittgenstein dans son *Tractatus logico-philosophicus*.

Notre idiome nous permet de découper le réel qui nous entoure. En effet, un francophone ne voit pas le monde de la même façon qu'un anglophone ou qu'un sinophone et ceci parce qu'ils n'utilisent pas la même langue. La langue de chacun fait appréhender le réel commun de façon différente. Le monde n'est pas « prédécoupé » avant le recours au signe linguistique, avant la capacité à parler : « La pensée est une masse amorphe avant l'émergence au signe » (Saussure). L'accession au « signe linguistique» permet à tout individu doué de capacité langagière de percevoir le monde. Dans sa théorie, Ferdinand de Saussure n'avait pas inclus d'autres signe que celui de la langue orale, ce que font les linguistes à présent, comme les signes gestuo-visuels de la Langue des Signes (LSF par exemple).

Le tout petit ne peut commencer à penser, à organiser le monde, à le répertorier, le classer, le hiérarchiser, le formaliser, le structurer qu'à partir du moment où il le fait avec des mots ou des gestes.

La pensée de l'homme ainsi que ses comportements sociaux et psychologiques sont déterminés par les structures inconscientes qui s'imposent à lui ; c'est pourquoi, l'apprentissage de la langue est en même temps l'apprentissage de toute la structure sociale. L'homme dans sa vie appréhende le monde essentiellement ou même exclusivement selon l'image que lui en donne sa langue.

Il semble actuellement évident que les diverses formes de langue constituent des modes d'appréhension différents du même réel. Chaque idiome possède, en lui-même, sa façon de catégoriser, de sérier le réel commun. Notre façon de parler nous donne, nous montre, nous fait appréhender le monde de façon particulière. Ceci peut se résumer grâce à l'assertion de Jean Gagnepain : «Tant il est vrai qu'on ne saurait aller de la pensée à la langue, mais plus modestement de la langue à ce que, historiquement, on tient pour la pensée. »

Les exemples sont nombreux qui viennent étayer cette théorie. L'un des plus connus - et sans doute des plus probants - est celui du spectre de la lumière. Posons-nous la question de savoir combien de couleurs différentes nous voyons dans un arc-en-ciel ? [Rappelons, pour mémoire et pour que le propos soit bien clair de ce que nous voulons démontrer, qu'un arc-en-ciel est le résultat de la réfraction et de la réflexion des rayons du soleil dans les gouttes de pluie et qu'il ne saurait y avoir de phénomène plus physique et plus répandu de la même façon à travers le monde]. À la question du nombre de couleur dans l'arc-en-ciel, tout individu ayant le français comme langue maternelle répondra, sans barguigner, qu'il voit sept couleurs dans ce continuum physique.

Pourquoi, dès lors, un russophone voit-il douze couleurs dans le même continuum physique ? Personne n'a raison et personne n'a tort, bien évidemment, dans ce décompte, mais chacun voit ce que lui dicte sa langue (sept ou douze couleurs). Les Bretons bretonnants, c'est-à-dire de langue maternelle bretonne, étaient considérés comme quelque peu anormaux quant à leur vision des couleurs. Existait-il un gène spécifique à ces gens qui se trouvaient dans l'incapacité de reconnaître le «bleu » du « vert » dans un certain nombre de cas ? Cette interrogation n'avait rien à voir avec l'ophtalmologie, mais était bien plutôt une conséquence du découpage différent du (même) réel, par les langues. Le mystère de cette espèce de « daltonisme breton»

s'explique par le fait que la langue bretonne utilise dans un certain nombre de cas le même mot « glas » pour nommer la couleur naturelle du ciel, de la mer ou des prés et qui s'avère se trouver dans l'espace entre ce que d'autres langues nomment bleu et vert….

Le découpage du monde des couleurs se fait de façon arbitraire puisqu'il n'y a pas de possibilité de savoir où commence et où se termine telle ou telle «bande » de l'arc-en-ciel... Le sujet utilisateur de la langue ne se rend pas même compte de l'arbitraire de son propos... Comme l'écrivait Georges Mounin : « L'individu est condamné à voir le monde à travers le prisme de sa langue ». Il n'a pas le choix. La langue peut se comparer à des lentilles de contact que l'on porte sans s'en apercevoir, mais qui cependant médiatisent tout ce que l'on voit. Ce sont les conclusions d'autres théories qui ont également battu en brèche l'idée des langues comme nomenclatures. Entre autres, la théorie Sapir-Whorf, des noms de deux chercheurs américains dont l'un était l'enseignant de l'autre, qui est parvenue à exciter l'esprit des chercheurs en sciences du langage, puisqu'elle disait que, bien au contraire de ce que proposait la théorie associationiste : « Les mondes où vivent des sociétés différentes sont des mondes distincts, pas simplement le même monde avec d'autres étiquettes. » Avant eux, le relativisme linguistique de Wilhelm Humbolt initiait d'ores et déjà l'idée que chaque idiome découpe le monde différemment.

Plus encore, il arrive bien souvent que la vision que nous avons du réel qui nous entoure relève de ce que d'autres avant nous voyaient ou croyaient. De fait, on peut dire que : « La langue est sanctuaire de l'identité. » (Béatrice Pothier). Comment un jeune enfant francophone peut-il concevoir qu'on lui impose de traverser une rue « dans les clous » ou de « faire attention à ses sous » ? Les signifiés n'existent plus, n'ont plus cours matériellement, mais les signifiants les perpétuent. Les termes deviennent alors désémantisés.

La langue - et la vision du monde qu'elle implique - est un héritage et l'individu devient porteur des valeurs véhiculées par sa langue maternelle : cette dernière est le résultat d'une histoire, d'un vécu commun, d'une religion...

Elle constitue le révélateur de la pensée des peuples qui l'utilisent comme moyen de dire le monde qui les entoure et les proverbes qui peuvent être assimilés à des sentences morales ou les dictons qui seraient la révélation du bon sens populaire révèlent, en des formules lapidaires ou sacramentelles, la vision de ce monde que les hommes se sont façonnée. Ces expressions sont couramment employées par les locuteurs et ce, depuis des générations. Ils ont le pouvoir de véhiculer ainsi - sans aucune réflexion de la part de ceux qui les emploient - des jugements de valeur propagés par leurs utilisateurs. Michelet écrit que : « La langue est la représentation fidèle du génie des peuples, l'expression de leur caractère, de leur existence intime, de leur verbe pour ainsi dire. » et, comme en écho lointain, Marina Yaguello lui répond que : « Nommer c'est catégoriser et organiser le monde. » Cela signifie qu'apprendre une langue étrangère aujourd'hui c'est apprendre à se décentrer, apprendre à dire aux autres ce que l'on pense dans un souci de communication avec des partenaires. Ces données sont relativement nouvelles, même si elles représentent un truisme pour les gens de nos générations. En effet, il fut un temps – connu de nos parents ou de nos grands-parents – où l'apprentissage d'une langue étrangère avait des objectifs plus belliqueux puisque, bien souvent, il se faisait dans le but d'espionner un adversaire potentiel.

Apprendre une langue étrangère, c'est donc prendre le risque de se décentrer, d'accepter le point de vue des autres, en le considérant non comme absurde ou étrange, mais tout simplement comme différent.

Apprendre une langue étrangère, c'est apprendre à envisager les choses sous un autre angle, de façon différente, c'est introduire du culturel et du social en plus de l'économique et du politique. (B. Pothier)

La langue et son apprentissage permettent de comprendre les comportements propres à une population donnée. Ces éléments de connaissance ne peuvent s'acquérir qu'en se rendant dans le ou les contrées où cette langue est pratiquée. De fait, se rendre dans un pays étranger et y vivre quelque temps, c'est accepter de prendre le risque de changer ses propres représentations. Si l'on se rend à l'étranger avec l'intention d'y imposer sa culture, son environnement et sa façon de vivre, point n'est besoin de faire les frais du voyage. En revanche, si l'on veut pouvoir s'identifier aux habitants du pays, non pour se fondre dans la masse, mais pour essayer de comprendre les réalités de l'intérieur, avec ses propres repères, il faut un apprentissage.

Nous devons nous assurer que nous sommes capables de maîtriser l'outil linguistique mais aussi que nous pouvons analyser le comportement de nos partenaires, le comprendre - sans pour autant obligatoirement le partager - et ceci avec des yeux impartiaux et sans aprioris.

Il importe de se servir de l'outil linguistique pour apprendre à connaître l'Autre, c'est pourquoi il est bon de se rappeler que l'étymologie associe dans une même origine les verbes « communiquer » et « communier »... Quand on pratique un sport collectif, il n'y a pas que la connaissance des règles qui importe, il faut aussi que règne une bonne entente sur et en dehors du terrain pour réussir à gagner ; dans un partenariat, la connaissance profonde de la mentalité, de la façon de vivre de l'Autre est indispensable.

La langue agit, d'une part, comme un déclencheur de rencontre puisque sans un mode de communication commun il n'existe pas de rencontre, également d'échange possibles, mais elle est par-dessus tout le moyen de communiquer, d'entendre l'Autre - dans le sens plein du terme - c'est-à-dire de le comprendre.

Au début de son apprentissage de langue maternelle, l'enfant s'exprime grâce à des termes génériques, aux aires sémantiques larges, acceptant que le terme de « maison » par exemple représente la possibilité de mise à l'abri de tous les êtres vivants sur cette terre que l'apprenant peut ou non côtoyer. De fait, au début de sa construction langagière, le jeune apprenant francophone parlera de « la maison de l'oiseau », « la maison des vaches », etc. Puis, la surface sémantique étendue du signifiant « la maison » se réduit au fur et à mesure que d'autres termes apparaissent dans le vocabulaire de l'apprenant et ce dernier saura bientôt ce que représente : la niche, l'écurie, l'étable, le nid et autre terrier.

Si l'on pousse le raisonnement à l'extrême, on pourrait imaginer qu'un élève francophone qui ne connaisse que trois termes de la langue anglaise puisse réussir à s'exprimer grâce à (par exemple) : a girl, a house, a flower. Il aurait ainsi déterminé les trois règnes terrestres, à savoir : les espèces animées (a girl), les espèces végétales (a flower) et les espèces minérales construites (a house). De fait, loin de signifier véritablement quelque chose par lui-même, un terme ne signifie que ce que les autres termes ne signifient pas.

Un mot isolé est une abstraction (B. Pothier); c'est le contexte qui lui fait prendre sens. Combien d'apprenant·e·s ne se sont-ils (elles) pas heurté·e·s aux phénomènes de polysémie ou d'homophonie ?

La polysémie signifie qu'à un seul signifiant sont associés plusieurs signifiés (Michel Bréal). Les amateurs de jeux de mots se délectent de ce phénomène linguistique qui permet les bons mots, mais qui est réservé à celles ou ceux pour qui la langue est familière ! Les autres essuient parfois quelques déconvenues. Tel cet étudiant rwandais, accueilli à sa descente d'avion par un groupe d'étudiant·e·s, et à qui il fut proposé d'aller au bar pour faire plus ample connaissance. L'heure matinale incita les étudiant·e·s a commandé des cafés que la langue familière permet d'appeler « un petit noir ». L'étudiant rwandais qui maitrise bien le français livresque n'en connait pourtant pas tous les arcanes et pense alors que l'on se moque de lui. Désirant ne pas se trouver en reste, il commanda « un petit blanc ». Lorsque le serveur lui apporte sa boisson, il la boit hardiment alors que les boissons alcoolisées lui sont inconnues.

La riche langue française recèle dans son lexique des termes que l'on dira homophones, mais non homographes, ce qui - nous le verrons par la suite - crée une difficulté supplémentaire pour les apprenant·e·s étrangers (mais également pour les apprenant·e·s francophones).

Si l'on prend l'exemple des trois phonèmes /vɛʀ/, nous constatons qu'ils correspondent à cinq réalités orthographiques et davantage encore de réalités sémantiques : un ver, un vers, un verre, un vert, un vair. La polysémie de ce signifiant se trouve à l'origine de la représentation cinématographique de la pantoufle de Cendrillon dans le dessin animé de Walt Disney. Lorsque les douze coups de minuit sonnent la princesse doit regagner son carrosse et, en courant, perd une de ses pantoufles. Le dessin animé susnommé montre une pantoufle de « verre ». Nul étonnement alors à ce qu'elle la perde ! Mais, dans le conte initial, cette pantoufle est de « vair ». C'est-à-dire en fourrure de petit écureuil gris. Il est à noter que lorsqu'on interroge petit·e·s ou grand·e·s sur la nature des pantoufles, la réponse est quasi unanime : « c'est du verre »…

Les procédés pédagogiques s'adressant aux élèves d'aujourd'hui ne peuvent donc plus s'apparenter à ce que les enseignant·e·s mettaient en œuvre il y a encore une génération et la recherche s'adapte aux apprenant·e·s actuel·le·s. Lorsque l'adulte a bien entériné qu'un mot seul ne revêt aucune existence, mais que le vocable ne prend sens qu'accompagné d'un contexte, il ne peut proposer à ses élèves – quel·le·s qu'ils ou elles soient – d'apprendre des séries de mots sans lien sémantique entre eux, voire par liste. La recherche sur le terrain démontre la dangerosité d'un tel processus mémoriel. Dans une liste d'apprentissage d'orthographe lexicale pour enfants de fin de l'école primaire se trouve le terme que nous avons pris comme exemple lors de notre propos sur la polysémie à savoir : vers. Tout d'abord, sans déterminant, il est impossible de savoir si ce terme se réfère à : « un ver » au pluriel, un vers (de poésie) ou la préposition « vers »… Par ailleurs, sans contexte, la confusion peut être grande avec d'autres termes homophones mais non homographes. Les enfants ont été sollicité·e·s pour introduire ce mot dans un contexte. La plupart d'entre eux l'ont interprété selon le sens qu'ils ou elles connaissent le mieux pour cette phonie et ont créé des phrases comme : « je bois dans un /vɛʀ/… » L'erreur n'incombe pas ici aux apprenant·e·s…

La recherche a démontré que l'antique façon d'enseigner l'orthographe des mots par listes, sans déterminants ni contextes, peut se montrer néfaste et décourageante pour les

enfants qui pensent avoir répondu à l'attente des adultes et qui se retrouvent blâmés d'avoir obéi à une injonction qui les a desservi·e·s.

L'apprentissage de la langue ne peut se faire que dans un contexte qui prend en compte les différentes variations de sens, d'orthographe, et de situations sociales.

Les études sur le genre (concept peut-être plus compréhensible sous sa forme anglo-américaine « gender studies ») sont légion actuellement et l'on comprend bien que les débats ne couvrent pas « que » des questions linguistiques, mais qu'ils enveloppent tout une vision du monde, tout une politique, tout une façon de considérer le réel. C'est la raison pour laquelle un certain nombre de personnes - qu'elles soient dans la recherche ou qu'elles représentent ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler l'homme de la rue (tiens ! pas la femme ?) - se montrent très réfractaires à ce concept ! Certains esprits chagrins se hérissent dès que l'attelage linguistique « étude de genre » est prononcé devant eux. Cependant, il s'avère difficile de nier que l'expression : « les droits de l'homme et du citoyen », ou que la règle syntaxique « le masculin l'emporte sur le féminin » portent intrinsèquement en eux une certaine vision du monde.

Qu'en est-il des apprenants en français langue étrangère devant cette distribution genrée de l'univers? Plusieurs cas de figure se présentent selon leur langue maternelle :

- Les langues dans lesquelles il est coutumier d'affirmer qu' « il n'y a pas de genre ». C'est le cas de l'anglais qui, de fait, connait une distribution de genre sémantique : « she/he » « her/his », etc., mais pas vraiment de genre syntaxique. Par exemple, on ne rencontre pas d'accord marqué en genre dans la conjugaison au participe passé ou dans les adjectifs… L'enseignant·e ne peut, de but en blanc, asséner des vérités sur la notion de genre ; il lui faut impérativement procéder auparavant à une explication fournie de ce que signifie « un genre », car il est difficile pour un allophone dont la langue ne connait pas ce fonctionnement de se souvenir, voire d'accepter que les choses inanimées ou les animaux soient marqués par un genre. Ceci est non seulement inexplicable (pour les objets et pour un grand nombre de termes désignant des animaux l'attribution d'un genre n'est rien moins qu'arbitraire) mais également parfois non perceptible à l'oreille : le genre exigera une grande attention, une vigilance soutenue, lors du passage à l'écrit. Comment comprendre et admettre que la française utilise le féminin pour « une perche, une cigogne… » et le masculin pour « un gardon, un mammouth…». Pourquoi « une chaise, une voiture… » mais « un bureau, un coupé… » ?

Le genre s'entend lorsqu'il est question d'un grand /gʀɑ̃/ garçon ou d'une grande /gʀɑ̃d/ fille, mais qu'en est-il lorsqu'il faudra écrire : cette fille est partie ? /paʀti/…

- Les langues qui connaissent l'utilisation des genres, deux ou trois le plus souvent, mais pour lesquelles leur distribution divergent dans la langue en apprentissage de celui attribué dans leur langue maternelle ? Comme le supposait l'hypothèse Sapir-Whorf, « on voit le monde à travers sa langue », et pour un francophone, cela ne pose aucun problème (et c'est tout à fait compréhensible !) que « la lune » soit de genre féminin et « le soleil » de genre masculin. Certains ajoutent même des relations entre l'astre de la nuit et les femmes qui viendraient expliquer le genre féminin… Cependant, il en va différemment dans d'autres langues : en allemand, par exemple, puisque, pour un germanophone, le genre de ces deux termes est inversé. « Die Sonne » mais « der Mond »…

Un autre exemple (mais il en existe des milliers !) : le français utilise le féminin pour désigner « une araignée » et chaque francophone de considérer cet arthropode dans toute sa féminité, tissant une si jolie toile, nous faisant penser à Pénélope attendant Ulysse… Il semble tellement évident qu'il s'agit là d'un être féminin… C'est oublier un peu rapidement que ce même animal - outre que le bon sens doit faire penser que les deux sexes sont représentés dans le règne animal sous peine de disparition quasi immédiate - en langue arabe accorde le genre masculin au même animal arthropode : عنكبوت et qu'il en est de même dans d'autres idiomes proches de la langue française, comme l'italien : il ragno…

-   D'autres langues latines connaissent également les deux genres, puisque c'est de la langue mère qu'ils proviennent et, qu'au fil du temps, l'emploi du genre neutre a peu à peu disparu.

Cependant, si l'on considère l'emploi du genre en italien ou en espagnol, l'orthographe est facilitée par la langue orale qui change de morphologie quand le genre diffère : le scripteur peut se fier à l'aspect auditif pour transcrire le terme.

La jolie fille pourrait se traduire par : la bella ragazza en italien ou la niña bonita en espagnol...
«Le joli garçon" pourrait se traduire par : il bel ragazzo" dans la langue de Dante et el chico bonito", dans celle de Cervantès.

Il apparait que la différence de genre n'est pas toujours auditivement perceptible en français et que l'attention doit être portée sur un accord graphique qui ne pose pas problème dans d'autres langues pour lesquelles point n'est besoin de penser ce que l'oral indique. La relation graphophonétique est alors univoque. L'exemple pris fait référence à deux termes marqués sémantiquement par le genre ; cependant, pour les "objets inanimés", le genre est arbitraire et doit être appris en même temps que le terme auquel il a été attribué.

Les exemples de différenciations linguistiques portant une vision du monde particulière sont très nombreux, nous en prendrons un autre qui constitue une réelle difficulté pour les apprenant·e·s allophones de la langue française à savoir : la conjugaison des verbes. Dans beaucoup de langues parlées à travers le monde, la conjugaison des verbes requiert un changement de personne suivi du verbe conjugué de la même façon pour toutes les « personnes ». Les anglophones disent et écrivent : I want, you want, she wants, we want, they want… Dans la langue française, non seulement le pronom sujet change, mais également la morphologie verbale qui peut – de plus – se dire ou s'entendre exactement de la même façon ! Je finis, tu finis, il, elle ou on finit, nous finissons, vous finissez, ils ou elles finissent…

Nous n'aborderons pas ici les différences d'utilisation des temps du verbe, mais prendrons un exemple entre l'anglais et le français sur la construction d'un verbe conjugué à l'imparfait français qui ressemble – de loin – au prétérit anglais.

Dans toutes les langues, existent des verbes dits réguliers et des verbes classés comme irréguliers, [excepté en espéranto qui a été créé de toutes pièces par Zamenhof pour un apprentissage rapide. Il est à noter que pour beaucoup de linguistes, l'espéranto constitue un moyen de communication, mais pas véritablement une langue née d'une civilisation et

d'une culture. Cela sera peut-être le cas un jour, lorsque des enfants seront élevés avec l'espéranto comme « langue maternelle ».]

La comparaison des conjugaisons en français et en anglais montre combien les apprenant·e·s doivent réfléchir lorsqu'il s'agit d'orthographier une de ces formes verbales. En langue anglo-américaine, il « suffit » de changer de pronom puisque la forme verbale demeure inchangée, quelle que soit la personne dont il est question, que le verbe soit « régulier » ou non : I, you, he, she, it, we they ate.

En revanche, en français, non seulement la personne, sujet du verbe, change - et il n'y a là rien de plus habituel - mais encore la morphologie verbale est différente selon lesdites personnes, même si l'oral ne le précise pas. Je mangeais /mɑ̃ʒɛ/ tu mangeais /mɑ̃ʒɛ/, elle, il mangeait /mɑ̃ʒɛ/, nous /mɑ̃ʒjɔ̃/, vous mangiez /mɑ̃ʒje/, elles, ils mangeaient /mɑ̃ʒɛ/… L'attention doit se porter sur l'ensemble de l'écrit alors que dans beaucoup de langues (maternelles pour les apprenant·e·s) l'habitude préconise de faire porter l'attention sur une seule morphologie verbale. Par ailleurs, dans l'exemple ici cité, la langue française demande de modifier également la partie lexicale du verbe « manger » selon la voyelle qui suit le radical du verbe ! Je mangeais, mais nous mangions …

Pour tous, il est impossible d'écrire quoi que ce soit, en français, sans maintenir une attention de tous les instants, mais cette remarque est encore plus évidente lorsque l'on est habitué à une autre langue qui a formé l'esprit, commandé des habitudes à l'encontre desquelles il faut se forcer à aller … C'est ce qu'Olivier Houdé explique par le concept de « résistance » en pédagogie. Ceci requiert un long apprentissage, tissé d'attention, de persévérance et de volonté qui ne peuvent être mobilisées que dans le cadre du désir d'apprendre, aiguillonné par le plaisir de comprendre.

Cependant, la langue française et son orthographe - qui peut apparaitre comme assez complexe au premier abord - présente l'avantage de mieux appréhender les nuances et oblige celui ou celle qui la met en œuvre à faire évoluer sa pensée et sa réflexion. Il suffit de comparer les deux énoncés suivants, semblables à l'oral, pour s'en persuader :

Elle a l'air fier de son père / Elle a l'air fière de son père

Par ailleurs, l'orthographe inclusive utilisée dans ce texte « donne à voir » tout une philosophie, une vision du monde qui change la civilisation, la société française ou francophone.

Comme on le comprend, la langue n'est pas un catalogue de termes à apprendre, mais toute une représentation du monde réel que doit s'approprier l'apprenant, en se décentrant de ce qu'il ou elle connait pour accepter une autre vision du monde, différente de ce qu'il ou elle a toujours connue. Demander à quiconque possède d'ores et déjà une représentation de ce réel à travers sa langue maternelle d'acquérir une ou plusieurs autres langues, c'est le déséquilibrer momentanément, lui faire prendre le risque de se décentrer d'une vision unique du monde, tout en lui offrant la possibilité d'élargir son horizon de pensée et ainsi de comprendre l'Autre, de pénétrer son point de vue, et par là-même de devenir tolérant·e à la différence. Comme le disait Albert Jacquard : « Je suis le résultat des liens que je tisse avec les autres ».

Il était question, précédemment, des proverbes et adages et nous disions qu'ils étaient la révélation du bon sens populaire. L'adage français, révélateur de cette assertion nous dit :

« L'ennui naquit un jour de l'uniformité ». Avec plus de 6.000 langues à travers le monde, nous ne risquons pas de nous ennuyer... L'idéal serait d'en connaître une bonne partie ainsi nous pourrions appréhender le réel commun de tellement de façons différentes que jamais ce monde ne nous semblerait semblable ou monotone et nous apparaîtrait chaque fois sous un jour nouveau.

Il nous faut combattre (avec Claude Hagège) pour que n'existe pas qu'une seule langue, une lingua franca qui gommerait toutes les appréhensions possibles de notre planète. Il nous faut admettre qu'il n'existe pas qu'une seule vérité, que l'Autre ne représente pas un danger mais qu'il est une richesse pour nous. Pour cela, il faut un brin d'intelligence, dans le sens latin et originaire du terme intelligo qui signifie « comprendre ». Les maîtres-mots de nos apprentissages en langues seraient dès lors : connaître, comprendre, communiquer, communier.

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An Exploration of the Student's Global Citizenship Experience at Ecolint

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1. Context

This research project was carried out at The Foundation of the International School of Geneva (Ecolint) across the three campuses. Founded by local educators and by officials of the League of Nations and ILO in 1924, 'the purpose of the school was – and still is – to provide an international education based on the progressive educational principles of the éducation nouvelle movement' (Our History 2018). The Foundation's mission and guiding statements suggest that the school aims to develop students into global citizens by promoting the teaching of languages, recognizing issues of global significance, fostering international values and integrating them into the curriculum. In carrying out this study we sought to explore how students experience these elements associated with global citizenship.

The International Baccalaureate Diploma programme was developed by Ecolint teachers in the late 1960s, and is now taught in over 5000 schools around the world. The aims of the International Baccalaureate are to 'develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect,' values which are a core part of life at the International School of Geneva (A bespoke curriculum for every child, 2019).

The Ecolint student body is diverse, both in terms of students' nationalities and mother tongues. Instruction is either bilingual (French/English) or primarily in English with strong emphasis on French depending on the campus. The study participants numbered 34 different languages and 57 different nationalities.

La Grande Boissière campus	1900 students, aged 3-18 years
	100 nationalities, 66 mother tongues
	Bilingual (French/English) programmes for every age group

La Châtaigneraie campus	1550 students, aged 3-18 years
	83 nationalities, 47 mother tongues

	Bilingual (French/English) programmes for every age group

Campus des Nations	1000 students, aged 3-18 years
	113 nationalities, 79 mother tongues
	Instruction primarily in English, with strong emphasis on French

For our study, we decided to target years 11, 12 and 13 on the three campuses. In nearly all cases, students in years 12 and 13 undertake the International Baccalaureate Diploma Program. We chose these year groups as we believe them to have the most comprehensive understanding of the concept of global citizenship and they are more likely to have had a longer exposure to the Ecolint experience. Overall, the study participation rate was 12.71% and fairly equal across year groups and campuses. The highest participation rate was registered in the year 12 group with 15.63% and the lowest participation rate amongst the year 11 group with 10.31%. In terms of campus participation rate, Campus des Nations registered 13.00%, closely followed by La Grande Boissière campus with 12.68% and La Châtaigneraie campus with 12.56%. 153 students in total responded to the survey.

Given the context of the Covid-19 pandemic during which the data was collected, we expected a relatively low participation rate. The target group was experiencing an exceptional situation therefore it was understandable that they would have less time to spare for our survey. Besides the limitations of a low participation rate, we also considered the fact that more globally minded students were more likely to participate in the study. Female students represented 60% of the responses and students that have attended the school for seven or more years represented about 45% of the responses. When it came to the analysis of the long response answers, strong statements that stood out as anomalies tended to be disregarded as they did not represent the general view of the student body.

1.1 Definition of global citizenship
Before being able to explore how the Ecolint experience develops global citizenship among adolescents, we had to define this complex concept ourselves. We dedicated our first two meetings to shape our definition of global citizenship through discussions and readings, but continued to develop our understanding of it as we went along over the course of a seven-week period.

Given the fluidity of the idea of global citizenship and its consequent lack of a fixed definition, we decided to focus on concepts that we felt to be essential qualities of a global citizen. First of all, being a global citizen must recognize and respect the multitude of values that exist in the world. A global citizen will see diversity as a strength and be able to listen to, take into consideration, and embrace the ideas of others when engaging in conversation or working towards a common goal. When an individual is globally minded, they have embraced the values that protect the common interest of the world's citizens and the planet.

After having defined the main concepts associated with global citizenship, we turned our attention to the question of how it can be developed among adolescents receiving

education at international schools, taking the example of Ecolint. Based on our reading of recent research on the subject, we selected, non-exhaustively, three qualities and three external factors to explore the way in which the Ecolint experience shapes its students into global citizens. The three qualities are multilingualism, tolerance and a multicultural mindset while the three external factors are the curriculum, extracurricular activities and exposure to other types of educational systems such as public schools. Members of our team of seven students took responsibility for one of the qualities or external factors to design the relevant survey questions and analyse the responses for that specific area. The results and analysis for each of the qualities and external factors will be presented below.

1.2 Literature review

In 'Internationalism and globalization as contexts for international education' Cambridge & Thompson (2004) compare and contrast the different usages of the term 'international education'. They also discuss internationalism and globalisation as contexts for international education and as practiced in international schools with reference to the history and programmes of the IBO (Cambridge & Thompson, 2004). They concluded that 'the internationalist approach to the practice of international education is founded upon international relations, with aspirations for the promotion of peace and understanding between nations. It embraces a progressive existential and experiential educational philosophy that values the moral development of the individual and recognizes the importance of service to the community and the development of a sense of responsible citizenship. Internationalist international education celebrates cultural diversity and promotes an international-minded outlook' (Cambridge & Thompson, 173).

In 'Belonging, Identity, and Third Culture Kids' Fail, Thompson & Walke (2004) discuss the concept that Third Culture Kids typically exhibit particular behaviors when establishing their sense of identity(ies). The study found that many third culture children can experience an identity crisis from not having a specific home. The study also found that people can subconsciously adjust their memories to help them identify with a country of their choosing.

In 'Being International: Student and Teacher Perceptions from International Schools' Hayden, Rancic & Thompson (2000) explore what it means for students attending and teachers teaching at international schools worldwide to 'be international'. The study comes to the conclusion that an 'international' student does not necessarily mean they come from "somewhere else", rather that they have been given an education, at home or at school, where they can cross 'intellectual' borders outside of their country, religion, etc. The study suggests the following series of factors may shape a student as 'international': open-mindedness, adaptability, second language competence, openness towards other cultures, respect for others, international experience and international-mindedness; attitudes towards one's own value system and culture; tolerance of the behaviour and the views of others, parental factors and the type of institution attended, and 'neutrality' (no strong identification to a single belief, nationality, etc.).

These journal articles served as the basis for the selection of the main themes developed in this study. Hayden, Rancic & Thompson (2000) as well as Cambridge & Thompson (2004) discuss what does it mean to be 'international' and their interpretations helped us structure our survey and identify the themes we wished to focus on. Fail, Thompson & Walke (2004) gave us insight into the experiences of Third Culture Kids. Together, this research helped us develop a deeper understanding of the subject and an analytical

framework for the long answers. It also helped us put students' examples in a better context.

2. Methodology

In developing the structure of the survey, we thought in terms of themes, and each member of the group adopted one of the themes for developing questions and analyzing their responses. The themes were chosen by considering key factors that may affect global citizenship and included multilingualism, the school curriculum, extra-curricular activities, tolerance, and a multicultural mindset.

The survey was three pages long and consisted of multiple choice and short answer questions. We wanted to ensure that it was not too long in order to retain the recipients' attention. Its format was a combination of the aforementioned elements as we felt that multiple-choice questions allowed for concise responses while the four short answers allowed for elaboration. Students were able to communicate specific examples and reflect their feelings on the matter in greater depth and personally. Since these questions required more time to answer than the multiple-choice, it was optional to answer all four; students were encouraged to respond to at least two. These questions were open-ended and thought-provoking.

3. Analysis

3.1 Extracurricular Activities

The responses to the questions regarding ECAs were cross-analyzed to the responses given to several other questions. The most significant findings have been summarized below.

Firstly, it was found that students who regularly partook in more ECAs agreed more to the statement 'The extracurricular activities I regularly partake in are major factors in helping me develop my global citizenship'.

Relationship between n° ECAs and importance of ECAs in development of global citizenship
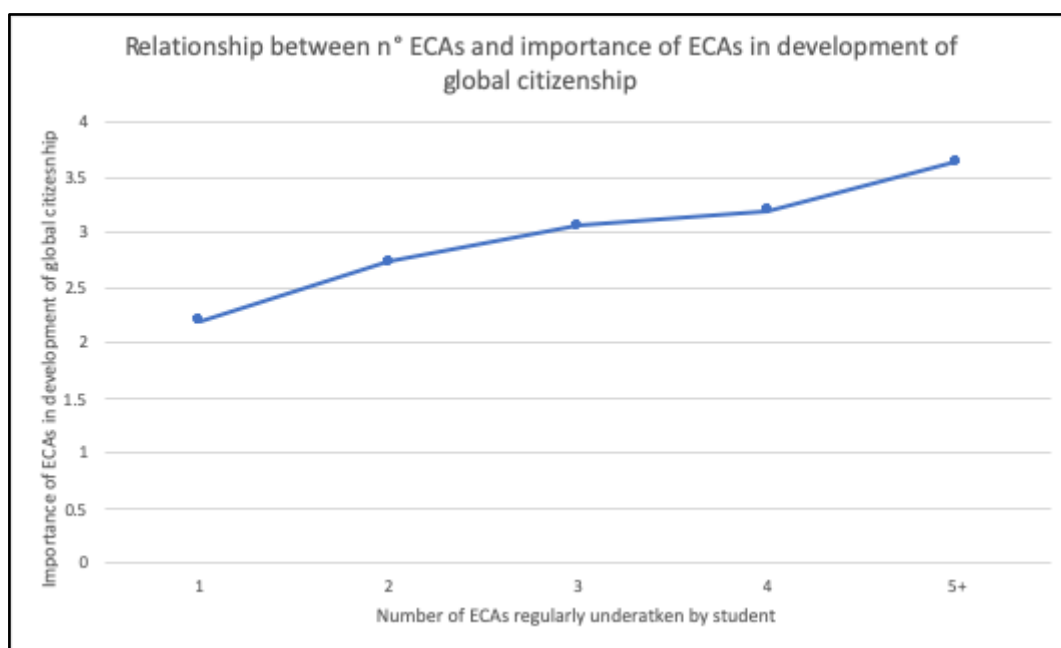
A possible explanation for this is that a higher number of ECAs means that the student is exposed to a wider variety of situations potentially related to global citizenship, assuming the ECAs are not all similar. In addition, since the student's ECAs take up more of his/her time per week, the student is probably likely to spend more time reflecting upon these situations and thus, even more likely to develop his/her global citizenship.

Secondly, it was found that students who regularly partook in more ECAs felt more strongly that 'tolerance' is a characteristic of a global citizen.
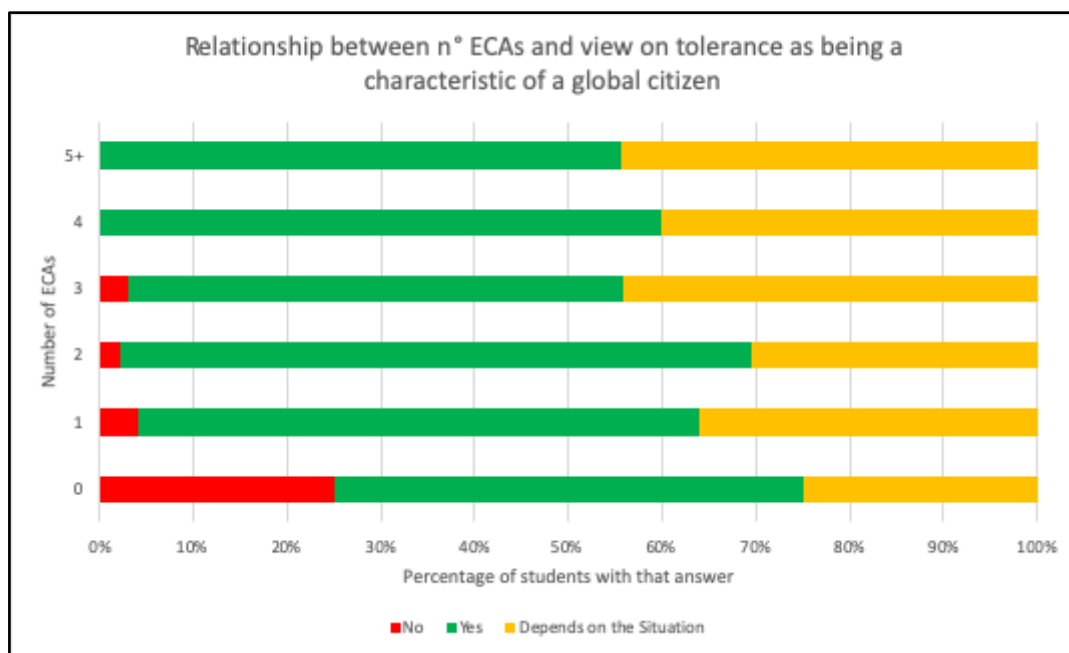
A possible explanation to this correlation is similar to the previous one. Students that have more ECAs probably find themselves in varied situations where they have to cooperate and/or work with people coming from different social groups. Therefore, they come to value tolerance more as a helpful characteristic. In retrospect, it would have been interesting to know the specific activities that the respondents partook in, as this would have enabled us to group the activities into categories and to deduce whether or not the type of extracurricular activity had any effect on student views on global citizenship.

3.2 The Curriculum
The curriculum could be viewed as the best tool an educational institution has to get values across to its students and develop their thinking in regard to those values. Ecolint has developed principles stating that it will "ensure an international dimension to the curriculum". Therefore, we devoted a section of our research to explore how the curriculum develops global citizenship among students and to see if the school acts sufficiently and substantially in this domain.

In the survey, three questions were devoted to the curriculum, each asking about a slightly different aspect of how it links to global citizenship. The first question was a multiple-choice question asking how frequently classes touched upon the topic of global citizenship. 44.7% of students felt that their classes seldom touch upon the topic, 36.2% sometimes, 15.1% never and only 3.9% frequently. This suggests quite clearly that global citizenship is not integrated into the curriculum in the final three years, contrary to the

aims of the school. However, the data may be slightly tilted towards the low end of the scale as the topic may be covered to some extent without being mentioned explicitly as being global citizenship.

The second question was a scale question with the statement "My classes are major factors in helping me develop my global citizenship". The responses were recorded on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 as strongly disagree and 5 as strongly agree. The responses made up a very even bell curve with 6% on either extreme, about 25% on either side of the middle which, itself, sat at 40%. This suggests that most students don't think of their classes as major factors in developing their global citizenship although they do contribute to an extent. When compared to how much students feel their ECAs contribute to the development of their global citizenship, the trend seems to be rather similar. However, as seen in the graph below, students seem to feel more strongly about the contribution of their ECAs, where more responses sit on either extreme and the results are less uniformly shaped (i.e. not as bell shaped as the curricular activities). This could be due to the fact that the choice of ECAs tends to be more personal whereas the classes students take tend to be very similar across the board.
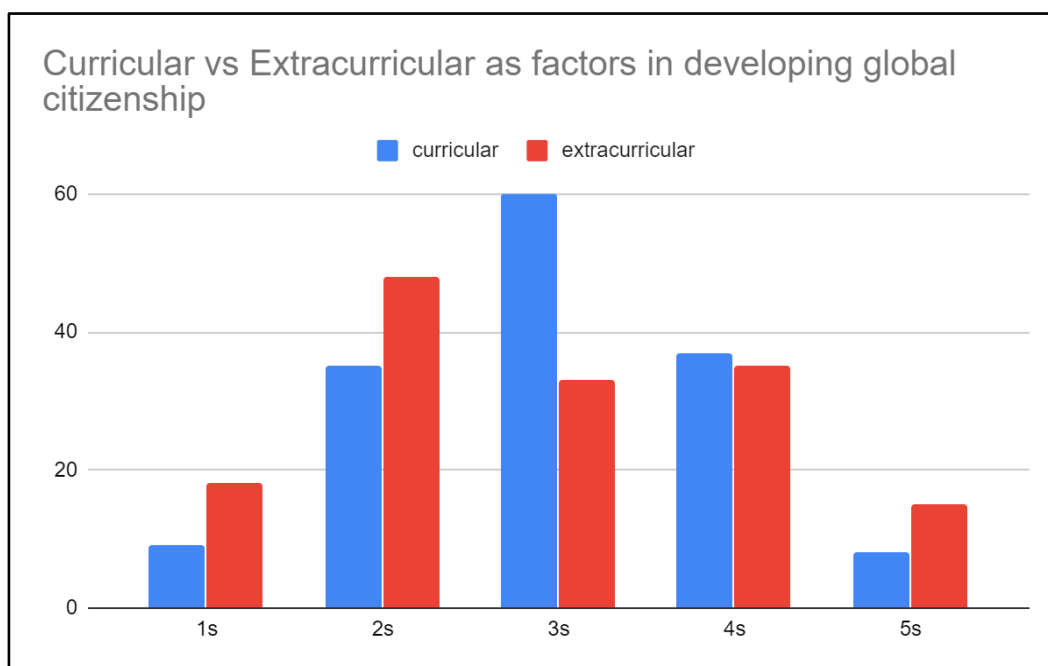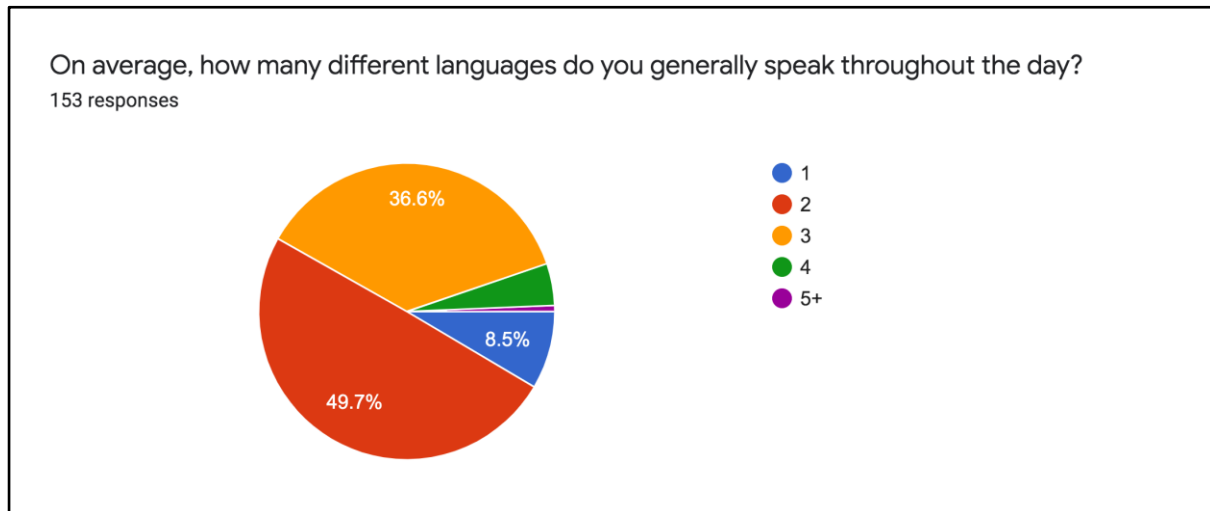

The third question was a long answer question asking "Do you think your class topics link enough to global citizenship?" This question was answered in three ways; a simple yes or no, a neutral response with a short sentence with vague reasoning or a no with a long response explaining why and what should be done. Only 13.5% responded with a clear yes, 37.8% responded with a clear no, and the remaining 48.7% sat somewhere in the middle. Thus the majority of students feel that their subjects do not sufficiently discuss the topic and that they would want some change to increase its coverage.
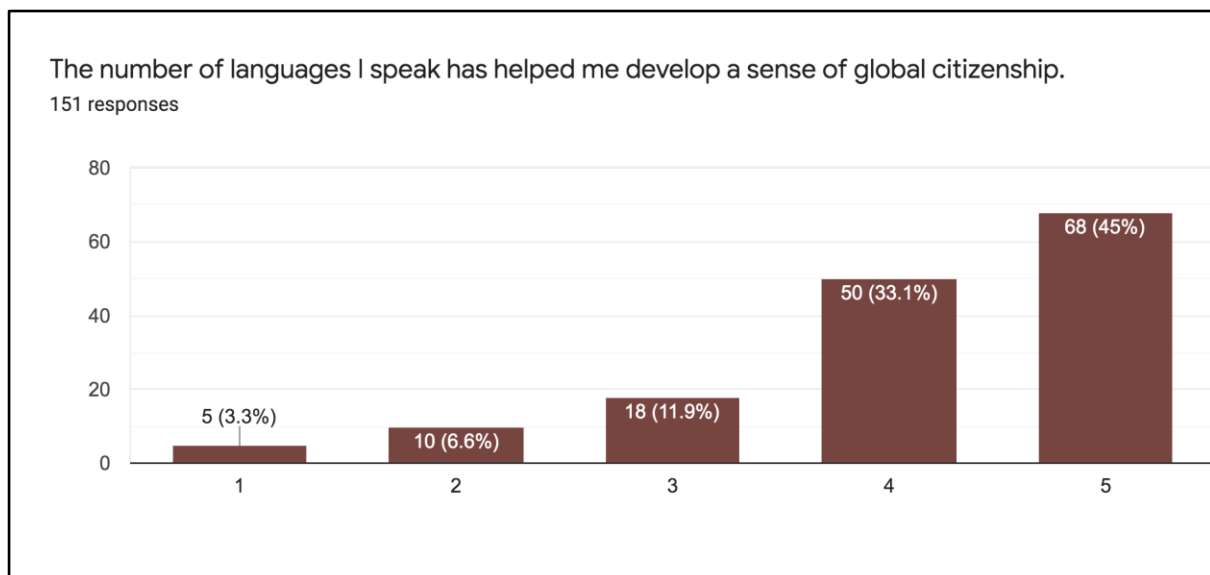
3.3 Multilingualism
Our research allowed us to surmise a number of conclusions on the relationship between multilingualism and global citizenship. As Ecolint is an international school and a bilingual foundation, it should come as no surprise that approximately 92% of survey respondents

stated that they speak more than one language on a daily basis, as indicated by the graph below.

On average, how many different languages do you generally speak throughout the day?

153 responses

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5+

36.6%

8.5%

49.7%

In addition to this, when students were asked if their multilingualism played a key factor in establishing a sense of global citizenship, the majority of respondents stated that they strongly agreed. This question produced one of the most one-sided responses in the survey, as only a small minority of students stated that the number of languages they spoke did not help them establish any sense of global-mindedness. However, out of the 5 students that stated this, 3 were monolingual, while the other two were bilingual. This suggests that an individual is more likely to develop a sense of global citizenship if they speak several languages, which further alludes to the positive relationship between multilingualism and global-mindedness.

The number of languages I speak has helped me develop a sense of global citizenship.

151 responses

1	5 (3.3%)
2	10 (6.6%)
3	18 (11.9%)
4	50 (33.1%)
5	68 (45%)

This relationship is further supported by the responses we received when respondents were asked to describe how their multilingualism may have impacted their global-mindedness. The most prominent response was that speaking more languages allowed students to interact with individuals of different cultures, which helped them learn more

about the given culture's traditions. Other students added that one can achieve a sense of a cultural values and thought-processes through learning the culture's language:

"The structure of a language reflects the thinking of the people and culture of the community. It helps one better understand the humor used by those people, what aspects of life are important to them, what has impacted them (their history and in their life), and generally helps give a gist of how people might think about certain things and as a multilingual, I would be able to understand their perspective on it. Yet, that doesn't mean I would always agree with it."

Even in scenarios in which an individual has never lived in their country of origin, understanding the language of that country nevertheless gave them access to culture. Language thus appears to be one of the most defining features of a culture and language acquisition one of the most effective means of establishing a sense of identity with said culture:

"I have never lived in Canada, France, Germany or the Netherlands *but I do feel that languages have a big connection with the cultural and historical background of a country. This is because when learning a language, I think you are automatically almost forced to learn the culture and history as language is extremely intertwined with these two."*

In another response, insight is given on an individual's transition from monolingualism to multilingualism. Upon learning another language, this person was able to develop a sense of community in a place that was once foreign to them. Multilingualism may help individuals integrate more fully into other cultures:

"Coming from the south of the U.S., there was not a whole lot of exposure to different languages, so coming here and learning how to speak French fluently has taken me out of that mentality. Like many international students, I feel very much in the between spaces of cultures. Speaking another language has made me feel at home here, and there."

One respondent, however, indicated that multilingualism may not always help someone expand their global-mindedness. In this case, it was suggested that learning languages from two different cultures may result in a sense of alienation from both. The respondent indicates that it becomes natural to code-switch in a way that can cause one to feel detached from both languages. In this respondent's case, they believe that a monolingual society would result in less confusion between different cultures and, therefore, less alienation:

"My multilingualism has not helped me develop a connection with different cultures. I speak both Chinese (Mandarin) and English (American.) Being able to converse to different people in different languages has not made me realize the value in other cultures, but the stupidity of a cultural identity and the inconvenience it causes. A really simple example is catching a taxi in Taiwan or Mainland China. In Mainland, you ask for a chu zu che. In Taiwan, you ask for a kai chen che. If you ask for a taxi in the wrong place, you're going to be met with blank stares. Wouldn't it be so nice if I could ask for one thing and get a consistent result? Not only this, but it has led to my alienation in school, including Ecolint. Because I can freely change between Chinese and English, I can easily get myself confused on which language I should speak. In class, I often think in Chinese, sometimes accidentally starting my speech with it. It's caused me to feel alienated both because they give me blank stares, but also the fact that there are concepts in each language that are not included in the other. My multilingualism has not helped me develop

a connection with different cultures, but realize the importance of a homogeneous society. Sorry if this isn't what you wanted, but I just decided to answer honestly."

Despite the statement above, it is evident from the overwhelming majority of responses that there is a strong, positive correlation between multilingualism and global-mindedness. Although there are arguments to suggest that a homogenous society would enable more efficient communication, it is important to acknowledge that the world is divided among people of different cultures, values, and heritages. As reflected by the respondents, the more we attempt to learn about aspects of other cultures, through and in addition to language, the easier it will be to expand our global-mindedness.

3.4 Multicultural mindset

The second quality we wanted to explore was having a multicultural mindset and how that affects the development of an adolescent's global citizenship. The demographic of our survey responders was very diverse, representing 57 nationalities. The way in which they defined their nationality or cultural identity varied with most (45.1%) defining it according to their parent's nationality, about a quarter (27.5%) by their passport, some (22.2%) by their culture, 4.6% by other means and 0.7% by residency. However, this was not our focus, but rather how adolescents become global citizens through their experience with different cultures.

The main question exploring this theme was an open-ended question: "Describe an event where you felt that identifying with several cultures made you more susceptible to empathy and understanding of others." When analysing the 74 responses to this question, some patterns emerged. It seems that there are three main factors which make adolescents more susceptible to empathy and understanding of others through a multicultural mindset. The first is their personal context, referring to their nationality/ies, cultural identity/ies, upbringing, and exposure of different cultures through living in different countries and traveling with their family. Many responses described that having parents of differing nationalities and cultures has enriched their upbringing and made them more globally minded. Furthermore, being exposed to new cultures through moving countries seems to induce the same effect whereby an understanding of different cultures enables them to understand a larger range of values offering wider perspectives on various aspects of the world such as disputes between countries. An example of this is a student who lived in the Philippines, a low-income country (LIC), who better understands the situation of LICs in times of severe natural disasters, a topic frequently covered at school. It is possible that the families at ecolint and other international schools will have been more exposed to different cultures and therefore have a more multicultural mindset due to their mobility.

The second factor is the international school experience through which adolescents develop friendships with people from diverse backgrounds, participate in cultural events, and learn about the importance of the diversity of cultures present in our community. The most common mention of a multicultural mindset experience at school was related to building friendships and sharing values originating from different countries, religions and cultures. Multiple respindents described scenarios where they had bridged a gap between friends of different cultures due to their multicultural mindset. The diversity of values within friendships seems to be one of the most important factors to adolescents at international schools. This is likely to be because friendships reach beyond the learning in classrooms and into people's personal lives. Some responses talked about international days[2] or
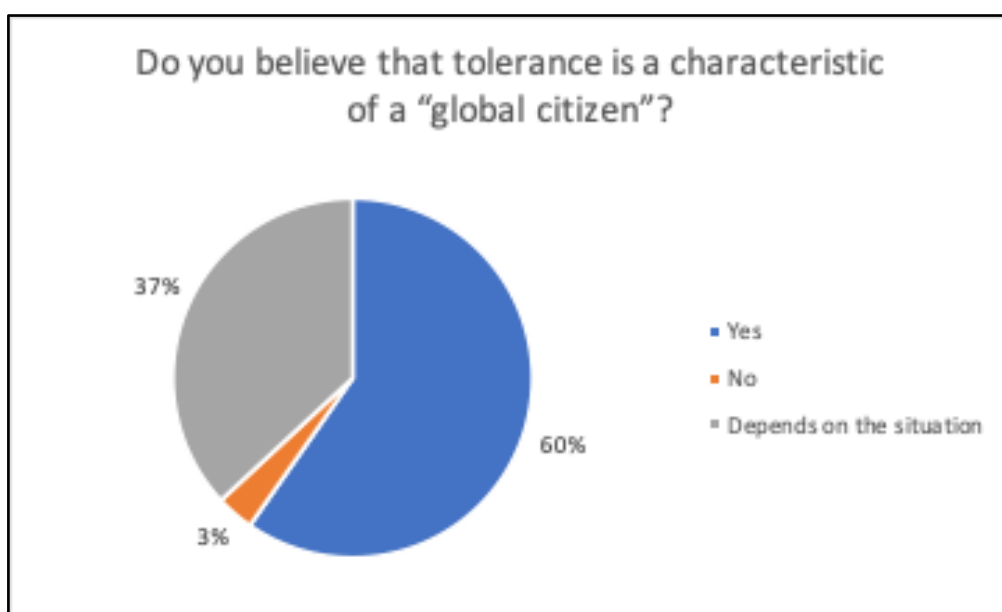

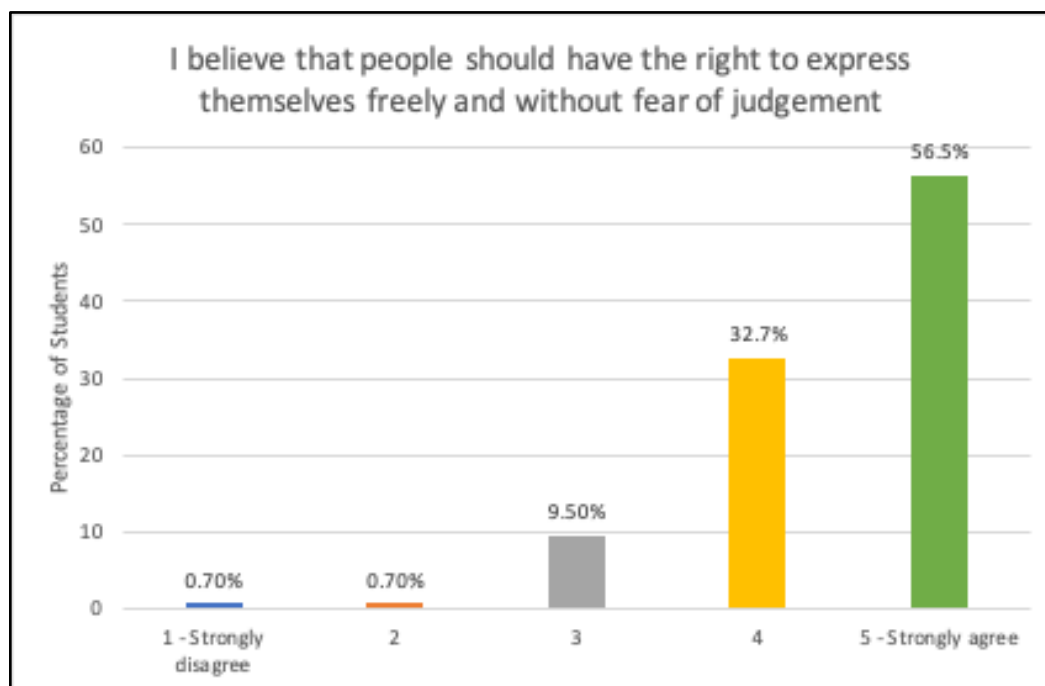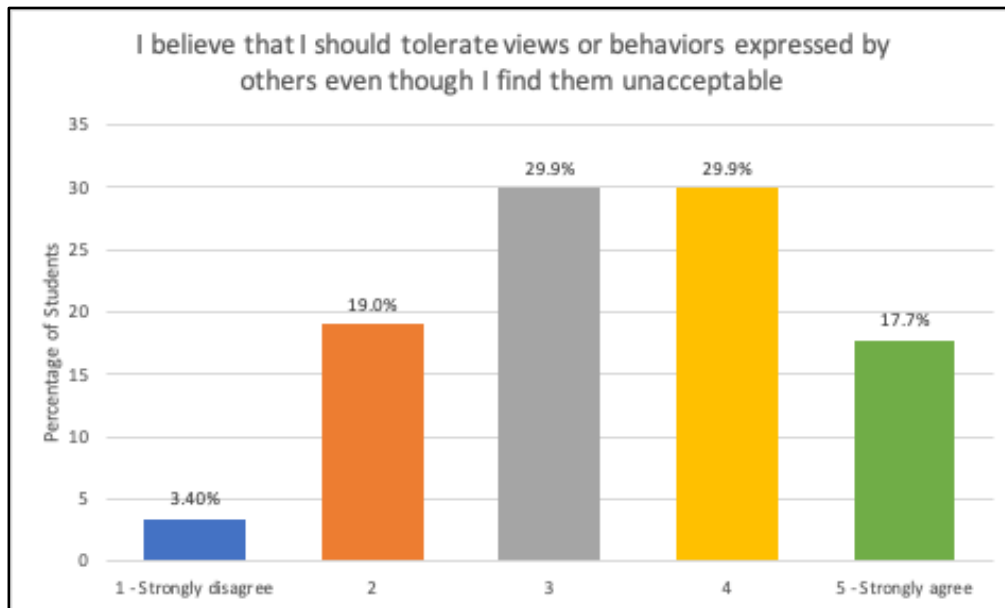[2] At Ecolint, the equivalent to such an event is the yearly *Kermess*.

events at international schools where students get to share their culture through food and other traditional activities. Only a few responses made any mention of learning about different cultures in the classroom or being taught to appreciate the diversity around them. This is a recurring theme seen in section 3.2 about curricular activities where it was noted that classes do not frequently touch upon the topic of global citizenship and students feel the school should do more to include this in classroom discussions.

The third factor, although in some ways similar to the first, is having been a victim of discrimination. The reason for this being a separate factor from one's personal context is because it is not one's own identity that is the factor but rather the perception of it by others. Having been discriminated against based on race, religion or other identity traits seems to enhance one's ability to empathise with others as they undergo discrimination. This raises an interesting, yet serious aspect of international education and diverse communities in general where there seems to be more opportunity for discrimination because of the diversity but where the discrimination seems to promote empathy. This complex dynamic is discussed in the next section under the topic of tolerance.
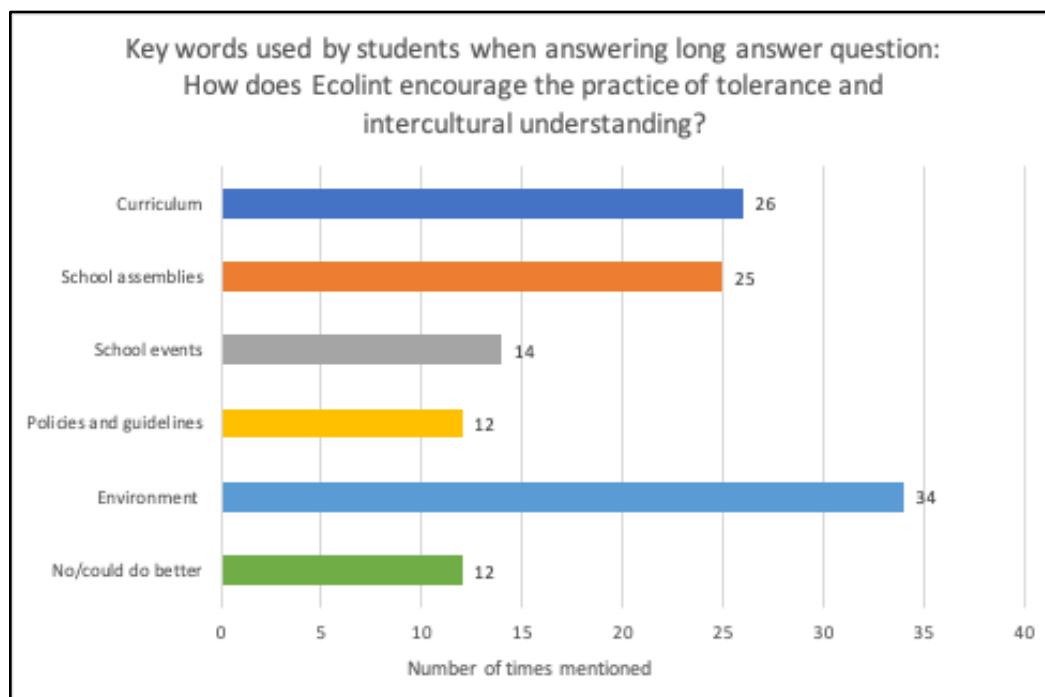
3.5 Tolerance
The following section analyses the results obtained from the questions about tolerance, its place at Ecolint, and how it is encouraged.

I believe that I should tolerate views or behaviors expressed by others even though I find them unacceptable

I believe that people should have the right to express themselves freely and without fear of judgement

From the results of the questions above, it is clear that tolerance is generally considered to be a trait of a global citizen. The majority of the students who answered the survey (59.7%) even believe that one should always, and with no exception, be accepting of others' beliefs. However, only 17.7% of the students strongly agree that they would be tolerant towards views they find unacceptable. Furthermore, a little over half of the students (56.6%) strongly agreed with the idea that, 'people should have the right to express themselves freely and without fear of judgement', while 32.7% just agree with the statement which means that there is still room for disagreement depending on the circumstances.

Key words used by students when answering long answer question:
How does Ecolint encourage the practice of tolerance and intercultural understanding?

After an analysis of the long answer responses to the question, 'How does Ecolint encourage the practice of tolerance and intercultural understanding?', it is interesting to note how many students said that tolerance and intercultural understanding is a product of the environment they are in. The most popular responses referred to a diverse student body, class, assemblies, school events, and the school values.

34% of the responses put an emphasis on the fact that an international environment such as the one offered by Ecolint and its diverse student body and staff automatically makes the students practice tolerance and intercultural understanding, some even pointing out that they do it unconsciously and/or naturally. These students pointed out that rather than being explicitly taught, tolerance and acceptance is acquired through exposure to this particular environment. Therefore, the most popular response can be summarized by the following student response: *"The constant exposure to multiple different nationalities and cultures makes the practice of tolerance much more of a habit which eventually becomes part of who we are."* One student even pointed out that, *"Diversity should not be a focal point, it should be a happy side effect of international teaching".*

Regarding the curriculum, it appears that while it does have an impact on the development of tolerance, some subjects appear to do so more than others. Subjects such as Theory of Knowledge, language classes (especially world literature[3]), humanities and social sciences (notably history), have the largest impact. Furthermore, 26% of responses also pointed out the importance of class discussions which seem to enrich and even complete the curriculum. Another interesting point which was brought up by a few students was the trust and openness of teachers who listen to students even after class. Nevertheless, opinions were diverse as a small minority of students pointed out that the curriculum was too 'eurocentric' or 'Western' even though other students suggested the opposite.

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[3] World literature refers to books which have been translated from a foreign language.

Another quite frequent answer was that the school encourages the practice of tolerance and intercultural understanding through assemblies. It appears that a lot of students have learned important lessons by listening to guest speakers, especially on controversial issues. Most will even say that they have been provoked in a positive way. For example, a student wrote: *"We are able to have conversations on taboo topics but that are important such as conversations about racism and the causes and consequences of these. This helped me understand that the world is not black and white."* Other students have also pointed out the importance of school-run assemblies where staff and students have openly spoken about a cause or the school values.

Moreover, important school events also seem to have left a mark on the students when it comes to accepting others' values and cultures. The most mentioned events are the Kermess, Spirit Day and the Students' League of Nations (SLN). All of these appear to have left a particular mark on students, especially surrounding intercultural understanding.

Lastly, a few students pointed out the importance that Ecolint gives to school values. A large number of those who did mentioned 'policies and guidelines', which probably refer to the School Charter. This is an interesting observation as the School Charter along with other documents of the same nature are distributed to the students at the start of the school year and oftentimes brought up by teachers in the classroom or during assemblies. However, this observation also comes with criticism as a student pointed out that the school might be trying too hard: *"There are times when we as a school can get a bit overly sensitive and careful, and we sometimes miss great opportunities to develop real understanding of other cultures because of this."*

It is also important to note that a few students have said that the school does not encourage tolerance and intercultural understanding. However most of the students who answered negatively did not provide an explanation and simply wrote statements such as 'no', 'it does not' or 'n/a' making it hard to interpret or justify their opinions. A potential interpretation of these answers can be discomfort. Students who have experienced instances of dicrimmination and intolerance in the past may feel like the school did not do enough for them. This feeling may explain why they would not be comfortable talking or expanding on why they feel like the school does not encourage the practice of tolerance.

4. Conclusion

After having conducted this research project, it is interesting to note how most development of global citizenship among adolescents actually takes place outside the classroom. This was seen in most sections, but most notably in the sections about tolerance and curricular activities. While the curriculum, extra curricular activities, and other school efforts played a role in shaping the definition of tolerance, which has been shown to be a trait of a global citizen, exposure and interaction seem to be the traits students most commonly identify with when defining their own global citizenship. With 140 different nationalities, Ecolint provides a diverse community for students to interact in and thus the potential to develop a sense of global citizenship. Principles associated with global citizenship can be taught. Yet it is interesting to see how the early development of one's global citizenship is promoted by something over which the school has little control.

The diversity of international school communities serves as a microcosm of the global community. Herein lies the value of an international education where individuals learn to respect, embrace and put into practice the values to protect the common interest of the entire community. This is what is needed in our current global society, to accept the set of

global values that protect the interest of all human beings today and in the future. The young global citizens of today will be at the forefront of solving the largest issues our species has ever faced ranging from deep-rooted societal issues such as racism and economic inequality to large environmental and sustainability issues such as mass extinction and climate change. Only by embracing global values and working collaboratively will we overcome these challenges. Therefore, we find it of great importance that international schools and all other educational institutions increase their ambitions on developing global citizenship among their students; this is the key to ensuring the survival of our species.

4.1 Further Areas of Study
This examination of student global citizenship experience suggested several further areas of study. We could explore whether the characteristics of global citizens can be treated more fully in an academic context and not only through proximity to others. As noted above, these characteristics include open-mindedness, flexibility of action and thinking, second language competence, attitudes towards other systems and cultures; respect for others; and tolerance of the behaviour and the views of others. This exploration could be done through a similar method to the one used in this study: multiple choice questions, short and long answered questions.

We could also explore the effect of student's exposure to different educational systems on their global citizenship experience by developing several long answer questions. This would give us a more in-depth understanding of how education systems shape a global citizen and of what elements different systems may have in common. The data obtained from the multiple-choice questions in our survey was, unfortunately, not sufficient to develop in-depth analysis and come to a relevant conclusion on this matter.

4.2 On a Personal Note
As a team, we decided to add a few reflections and philosophical thoughts about the exceptional circumstances under which this study was undertaken.

Firstly, as we are all IB students whose exams were cancelled, we had quite some time to think about the past year and a half which brought us to point out a major flaw in the programme. The IB promotes itself as encouraging personal engagement with issues of global significance and intellectual exploration, however, under normal circumstances, the significant workload that comes along with doing the IB does not actually allow for this to take place. We believe that the pandemic has demonstrated to students that there is so much more to learn than what is taught within the framework of curriculums, and that introspection and personal development are just as essential. Therefore, if the syllabus for each subject were less dense, students would be able and encouraged to take more time for personal reflection and engagement in the community outside of the CAS programme.

Another point of reflection was whether under this situation of crisis, students responded more negatively (or simply differently) than the way they might have responded under normal circumstances. This pandemic has caused immense stress on the students surveyed. For example, year-11 students are preparing to start the IB next year and the current learning circumstances may not be beneficial to them at all for what is to come; year-12 students are in the middle of the IB, they are already preparing their exams for next year and have had to take online end of year exams which are huge determinants of the predicted grades which are sent to universities; year-13 students are awaiting their IB results which to some may be a determining factor of whether they are accepted into

university or not. These stressful circumstances may have impacted students' responses or their willingness to respond at all. This we cannot know for certain.

Thirdly, this crisis has highlighted global inequalities worldwide. It has shown the importance of access to good and affordable healthcare, a reliable income and other social security structures. The lack of these have helped redefine the words 'community' and 'humanity'. These growing inequalities and new outlooks on life show the growing importance of being a global citizen. The development of global citizens means the shaping of human beings who are able to embrace all the values around the world and find new ways to solve the problems of inequity and injustice and to close the existing gaps which this pandemic has brought to the surface.

Lastly, as we finish up this project, we realise that without the COVID-19 virus outbreak, this project would not have taken place. As year-13 students, this pandemic has given us a lot of valuable time. Time to reflect on the past few years of our life, to read the books we did not get a chance to read, to catch up with friends and family, time that we were able to put to good use by, for example, signing up to and going through with such a project. It is unlikely that any of us were expecting to conduct a research project about our school and its values as an international school during our time as students, especially at this time. We are very grateful for the time this pandemic has given us to take on this project and to undertake the introspection and intellectual exploration that the IB programme was designed for us to do.

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