

The language repertoires of five IB Diploma students in an international school.

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Abstract

In this study the language repertoires of five students at an international school (IS) are investigated, as revealed through semi-structured interviews with them. The aims are to see how the students perceive themselves in the framework of their languages, how they value their languages, and how the assessment model of the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme motivates them to maintain their mother tongues. There is a brief overview of the international schools network and its curriculum and accrediting agencies. The concept of a 'multilingual space' is introduced, defined as the multilingual environment of international schools, for students living in an 'international space', which is the domain of students who, because of their parents' occupations, can be defined as a community which is transient, lives in various countries, is served by international schools around the world, and is considered an elite. This is followed by a review of relevant literature on bilingualism and the advantages and disadvantages of studying and learning through more than one language. There is then a review of theoretical and methodological considerations where the advantages of certain types of bilingual education are presented, with a discussion of how the situation in international schools is different from national systems. Sociolinguistic approaches are also reviewed, and methods of coding the transcripts presented. The interviews with the five students are then discussed in the light of the above information, sections of the interviews being abstracted and commented on in detail. Conclusions are then drawn about the value of the programme provided for the students, and their reactions to the programme, against the background of the theory of bilingualism proposed. Finally recommendations and suggestions are made as to how the provision for students' mother tongues might be improved.

Introduction

The focus of this study, based on data collected in 2007, is on the language repertoires of five students in an international school, especially on issues relating to the importance of maintaining fluency and literacy in their mother tongue. In the study the following methods of data collection, largely qualitative in this instance, are used to gauge students' responses to the mother tongue programme at the IS: a selected group of five students in the IB

(International Baccalaureate) Diploma programme (grades 11 and 12) are interviewed about the languages they use in the school, at home, and in the host country, how they value these languages and relate to them in the different contexts in which they are used (see Appendices 1 and 2 for information about the IB exams). The aim will be to see how the school develops their language competencies and if adjustments can be made to the programme offered by the school.

General question:

What are the different language configurations and repertoires individual students may have within a complex multi-language school?

Specific questions:

How do learners with different language repertoires perceive the value of their languages?

How does the IB assessment model motivate students to achieve in the full range of their languages?

Research has been done on these areas in public, or state, schools, especially in the USA (e.g. August, D. and Hakuta, K. (eds), 1997; Ramirez, J.D. 1992; Thomas and Collier, 1997; Greene, J. 1998), but little in international schools.

Background: the international school

Cummins (2008: viii-ix) has suggested that:

International schools are the scouting parties of educational globalization. At a time when population mobility and cross-cultural contact are at an all-time high in human history, international schools are in the vanguard of exploring uncharted territory.

Students in the school are from over 100 nationalities and over 75 languages (the UN has recognized 192 member states: www.un.org) and there are estimated to be over 6,000 languages worldwide (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000:31). The curriculum followed is that of the International Baccalaureate (the IB: see www.ibo.org, and Appendices 1 and 2); in the primary school, EC to grade 5, the IB Primary Years Programme (PYP); in grades 6-10 the IB Middle Years Curriculum (MYP); and in grades 11 and 12 the IB Diploma Programme (DP). The aim of parents is for their children to leave the school at the end of grade 12 with the IB

Diploma and go on to university. The school is considered 'academic' and is justifiably proud of its IB results over the years, with over 90% of students regularly gaining a Diploma.

The number of students attending international schools around the world has been characterized as being equivalent to the population of a nation of three to four million (Jonietz & Harris, 1991), and the number has increased greatly since then. Many school leaders and educators in international schools take it for granted that English will be the language of the school curriculum, and that all students will need to become fluent in this language in order to succeed. English is currently the world's *lingua franca*, and also the language of the world's most powerful state. Those who do not have English as their first language are offered language education in the form of ESL classes. Spolsky (1999:657) defines second-language acquisition as follows:

Someone who additionally has contact with at least some communicative use of the language outside the classroom or indeed is learning wholly from contact with such uses of the language is said to be learning a second language.

In some international schools students may be required to pay extra for these classes, on top of what are usually already high fees. Occasionally they will be left to sink or swim, with no second language classes at all. Their mother tongue will often be ignored.

However, at the school in this study much emphasis is placed on bilingualism and its benefits. The aim has been to make students, parents, staff and administrators aware of the various academic, metalinguistic and cognitive advantages of maintaining the mother tongue at the same time as developing advanced literacy skills in English shown to be beneficial through research by Lanauze & Snow, 1989; Torres, 1991; Hornberger, 1990; Calero-Breckheimer & Goetz, 1993, Cummins, 2000, 2003, Baker, 2000, 2001, and Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000. When biliteracy is encouraged in minority language children, the literacy skills learnt in one language appear to be transferred to the second language.

In order to gain the IB Diploma at the time of this study all students were required to take an IB language A1 (see Appendices 1 and 2): this requires following a two-year course in literature at a demanding level and is taken in the student's best language. ESL students are unable to reach such a level for English A1 in less than about six years, and they often take their mother tongue as IB language A1, albeit paying privately for mother tongue lessons which are mostly after school. About one third of students follow this option in each

graduating year, which contains over one hundred students, and doubtless more would do so if the price of lessons were included in the school fees; in grade 12 approximately 40 students per year only gain the IB Diploma because of this option. If they had to take English as their Language A1 it is likely that they would fail the Diploma.

The school curriculum is taught entirely in English. All students also learn German, the host-country language, and in the secondary school students may choose either French or Spanish as a Foreign Language in Grades 6-10. Those students who do not have sufficient fluency in English to follow the curriculum participate in ESL classes (English as a Second Language) which are timetabled parallel to the French/Spanish class times.

A few parents also see 'being in the ESL class' as a stigma: three years ago the parents of a Korean boy insisted that he leave the ESL class in order to join the regular English class. They also did not wish him to take mother tongue classes in Korean, even though there is a competent teacher of Korean. They preferred him to take French as a foreign language, and did not wish to pay the fees for the mother tongue class. Last year this boy, by now in grade 12, was told by his English teacher that he would never pass the IB English A1 exam as his level was too low. Since he had not been taking Korean lessons he could also not take Korean as language A1 for the IB and he could therefore not fulfil the requirements for taking the IB Diploma exams. This is a classic example of parents not understanding the length of time it takes to learn English for all academic purposes, nor of the importance of maintaining lessons in the mother tongue.

The language repertoires of the five students who are the focus of this study are complex. The students have certain things in common: they have all been brought to the school by their parents. None of them actually said whether they had been asked for their agreement in coming to the IS except Maria, who came even though she was one year away from graduation in her home country. There seems to be little doubt that parents see bringing their children with them, placing them in a 'prestigious' school, with the chance for their children to become fluent in the world's current 'lingua franca', English, as a desirable goal. It is unlikely that the parents understand the complexities of learning a language for schooling, or of the amount of time it takes. Some parents are so focused on English that they believe that this should be the only language their children function in, to the exclusion of the mother tongue, as Krashen has shown in 'English Fever' (2006). Other parents become more

involved in the educational process, listen to advice, and pay extra for mother tongue lessons willingly.

These examples set the scene for the situation of those students who are not literate in English.

International Schools - Language

In the majority of international schools the language of instruction is English: 87.94% in international schools offering the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme according to the IB-DP Statistical Bulletin, 2006. Over 50% of students in schools accredited by the Council of International Schools (CIS) do not have English as their mother tongue (ESL Gazette, August, 2005, cited in Carder, 2007: xii-xiii). The research by Thomas and Collier (1997: 14) in public schools in the USA indicates that only students who have received strong cognitive and academic development through their first language for many years as well as through the second language (English) are still doing well in their final years in school. They also conclude that the most powerful prediction of academic success in the second language is formal schooling in the mother tongue (op.cit.p.39).

Maintaining literacy in the mother tongue, or first language (L1), has been shown to confer considerable benefits relating to the academic and social aspects of each student's life, including better performance in the second language (L2, usually English), and is known as *additive bilingualism*. Conversely, not maintaining literacy in the mother tongue has been shown to have negative effects, leading often to poor performance in the second language; this is known as *subtractive bilingualism*. These terms were proposed in the model devised by Lambert (1974). The model is valuable as it combines both the individual and societal elements of bilingualism.

International School Mother Tongue Programme

At the international school in this study there is a programme of mother tongue instruction for students, but it is paid for privately above the school fees. Most international schools do not have such a programme at all, students being offered only English. At the school all students are advised to maintain and improve fluency and literacy in their mother tongue by taking mostly after-school lessons, often one-to-one or in small groups, in their language: there are

some 45 teachers available for this task and new ones are sought if a student arrives with a language not yet taught in the programme.

The mother tongue programme forms a part of the recommended model by Carder (2007) for international school students, the three-programme model:

- Immersion in the school's language of instruction by all students, with a strong ESL programme for non-English speakers, taught through content subject material. This can lead to fluency if students are able to benefit from this programme for at least five to seven years. This programme will not be described as 'support' as this would diminish the status of ESL students and their teachers, thereby 'disabling' them, with due consequences.
- Instruction in the mother tongue, given individually or in small groups for non-English speakers, which would continue ideally right through until graduation. In the case of schools offering the IB, students will take their Mother Tongue as Language A1 or A2 and English, or other Language of Instruction, as A2 or B.
- The programme of linguistic and cultural awareness training for staff will form an integral part of the school's in-service training. Every teacher will be expected to take part on a continuing basis (Carder, 2007:7).

International and intercultural dimensions

Maintaining literacy in their mother tongue and developing literacy in English lead to all round advantages in academic success, much in demand by parents. In fact we could refer to a '*multilingual space*' at the international school which students inhabit. In the corridors groups of students can be heard conversing in many languages; even where English is dominant there may be rapid interjections in German, the host country language, or other languages depending on the repertoires of the students involved. In such an environment terms such as mother tongue, first language, second language, foreign language, or best language take on a delimitative function that may be relevant in a national school but is only useful in the IS for the purpose of deciding which level of language a student is taking for IB examinations, and which pedagogical model will be necessary for students at various stages of learning. Jonietz (1994) proposed the term 'trans-language learners' to describe the language repertoires of international school students as they moved around countries and across languages. I have conceptualized the term 'multilingual space' to describe appropriately the linguistic sphere which international students inhabit. Having studied languages at school and university and added languages to my own repertoire in countries where I have taught, living in a multilingual family where the family language may change depending on which 'multilingual

space' we are in, I can relate closely to the language ethos of the international community. The language needs of the students are complex.

However, in an English-speaking environment, with teaching and administrative staff largely from the English-speaking world, it is frequently the case that there is a drift towards a simplistic acceptance of 'getting by' in English without consulting the broad range of materials and research now available which show the importance of (a) literacy as the means to success in the IB Diploma and (b) literacy in the mother tongue assisting in developing literacy in the second language, in our case, English.

This scenario is compounded by other factors: the perception of many parents that 'English is the solution' (Garcia et al, 2006:39-41, Krashen, 2006); the all-pervasive use of English in modern popular music and media; the spread of the internet, where most sites consulted by students are in English. Several writers have presented a case for what they term 'linguistic imperialism'. Foremost among these is Phillipson, who in several works (e.g. 1992, 1997, 2000, 2003) lays out his arguments. He argues that the commercial and political interests of the UK and the USA are served by the promulgation of English. He quotes as evidence two events. The first is the famous Minute of 1835 of Macaulay which aimed to develop people

Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect (Phillipson, 1992:110).

The second event is the Makerere Conference of 1961, which

did not look at the overall needs of periphery-English children, or even their overall linguistic development, but at English and ways of strengthening English (Phillipson, 1992:216).

However, Brutt-Griffler (2002:65) has pointed out that

Africans and Asians under British rule deliberately took advantage of the imperial role of English ... to undertake a policy of their own. They transformed English from a means of exploitation into a means of resistance. Through appropriating the language, they empowered themselves to resist colonialism at the most essential level.

Brutt-Griffler in fact concludes that the spread of English was as much a by-product of the anti-colonial struggle as a result of imperialism.

Pennycook (2007:13-24) reports a

cycle of reproduction of colonial relations in ELT [English Language Teaching] that looks virtually impossible to break out of,

though quotes four ‘strategies of resistance’ suggested by Canagarajah (2000), which are:

discursive appropriation, meaning “transforming the sign system of English to represent a discourse alien to it” (2007:125); *reinterpretation strategies*, referring to the ways in which people used dominant Western discourses (such as Christianity, liberalism, humanism) to articulate their own interests and ideologies; *accommodation strategies* through which local elites started “invoking English and its discourses to accommodate their vested interests” (p.127); and *linguistic appropriation*, where the use of different language constructs a “system of hybrid codes” that destabilize “the integrity of the language we call English” (p.128).

Pennycook closes with four questions that he believes teachers are faced with when teaching English, of which perhaps the most searching is

‘is it a contradiction to try to teach English or teach about English teaching in a way that promotes appropriation?’ (p.128).

The IS community could, by becoming more aware of the importance of maintaining their own cultural roots and national language(s), help a balanced formation of their children’s development including the accepted academic benefits already referred to. While the large number of nationalities, languages and cultures is broadcast to the community as a representation of our ‘internationalness’, and students freely talk in groups in their own languages, the school offers an essentially English-language education, the mother tongue programme being the only academic/pedagogical offering for the true international needs of the students. Despite this, the statistical breakdown of grades in all subjects in grades 6-12 in June 2007 showed that students gained either the highest or near highest grades in their mother tongue compared with other subjects.

International schools are of course all different, but they do represent a ‘type’ that can be identified. Keson, (1991:55-57) for example, pointed out that:

The children passing by seem to show an alert curiosity. Visitors often comment on how well the students get along, how they learn from their classmates, and how considerate they seem to be towards others. A long-time international teacher says, ‘International students are fun, they don’t feel the enormous pressures of a single-culture school pressing down on them’.

My own experience backs this up: I have visited many international schools in many corners of the world and their similarities to each other are as noticeable as their differences from national schools. Children are from many nationalities, are probably not in uniform, are

generally well-behaved, there is a well-organised feel to the school, which is probably light, spacious and clean; and the language of instruction is English. As their parents can afford the fees, they come from a background of a relatively high socio-economic status.

The complexity of the language repertoires of international students was recorded by Jonietz (1991:79-80), who gave the example of a Japanese living in Spain but attending an English language-of-instruction school where she chose IB Language A in Japanese, Language B in Spanish, and all the other subjects (history, science, and maths) in English.

Cummins suggests that there is a perception of the change taking place throughout the world as regards the language repertoire of each individual. He writes (Cummins, 2008: x) that though

for many years policy and practice in international schools was as likely to position students' multilingualism as a deficit rather than an asset,

there is now more recognition that ESL students are the norm, and

that these students do not suffer from intrinsic deficits by virtue of the fact that English is not their home language.

Another writer of relevance to international schools is Shohamy (2006:112), who writes of 'linguistic landscape (LL)', which she says

can be viewed as one domain within language in the public space; it refers to specific language objects that mark the public sphere.

In the school in this study most signs, instructions, forms, information leaflets and newsletters are in English. The only exceptions are one-word signs to the administrative offices which are also in German, Russian, French, Spanish and Arabic. It could, however, be argued that such signs further minimize the importance of the other 70 languages spoken by the school community, creating a language hierarchy.

International school students then are living in an '*international space*'. They may have come willingly or unwillingly to the school, with or without a knowledge of English, and much of their life will be lived in an 'international' arena: their parent(s) probably work in an international organization where English is likely to be the medium. Their friends will be international school students, and they may be viewed by those not in this milieu as being an

elite. Sporting events take place against other international schools and students will travel to other countries for such events. The same goes for musical performances, and activities such as the ‘Model United Nations’, when students meet once a year in a specified venue to role-play the activities of the United Nations Security Council. Regular air travel to their home country on ‘leave’ or for holidays is routine. Staff at international schools soon see such happenings as routine, and as English has become the ‘lingua franca’ of the world, parents are keen for their children to be fluent in the language, many seeming not too concerned at their children’s lack of written fluency in their mother tongue.

Equity of language provision

An important issue is that of equity, of how students are rewarded in the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme points system for their language abilities, and how students at the school are able to choose a programme relevant to their language needs. The great majority of international schools offer the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme in English (French and Spanish are other languages in which students can offer the whole programme in all subjects. Figures given in the IB Diploma Programme Statistical Bulletin, 2006, show that 10.74% offered it in Spanish and 1.32% in French). For English native speakers this is a demanding programme, requiring students to take six different subjects, labeled in groups from 1-6, shown below (the IB changed this model in 2011, reverting to the old ‘language A/language B dichotomy, presumably finding language A2 a ‘bridge too far’):

Group 1: Language A1

Group 2: Language A2, B, Ab Initio

Group 3: Individuals and Societies

Group 4: Experimental Sciences

Group 5: Mathematics and Computer Science

Group 6: The Arts; or another subject from Groups 1-4.

All subjects can be taken at Higher or Standard level (see Appendixes 1 and 2 for IB curriculum details).

At the school those who have English as a Second Language must take all of these subjects in English except in Group 2, which concerns languages, and Group 1, where they can take their

mother tongue. Depending on their length of time in an English-speaking environment and the quality of the education this will be a demanding task. Thomas and Collier (1997) have shown that second-language learners require from 5-7 years in a **good** programme to reach peer-level proficiency with native English speakers.

In IB Diploma group 1, second language learners of English may take their own language as IB language A1 provided the IB offers it (it offers some 80 languages as A1, and some available as 'special requests'). The course requires that students study works of literature from their own language, and from an International Baccalaureate list of 'World Literature'.

To summarise: native English speakers will study 6 subjects, all in English except for group 2. Second language learners will also study 6 subjects, all in English which is of course a second language for them, except for group 1 where they may study their own country's literature in their mother tongue, and for group 2, where they may choose English A2 or B, or another language. All students may choose an additional language option in group 6 if they wish. Language A2 offers the choice to study several texts of literature as well as choosing thematic topic work; language B is described as a 'foreign language' and literature is not studied in depth, the focus being on modern English.

Second-language students who study their own language and literature in group 1, and subjects in groups 3-6 in a different language, usually English, will be awarded a Bilingual Diploma, although no criteria specifically assess language accuracy in groups 3-6: Carder, 2006, critiques this practice, pointing out that since the IB Diploma Programme uses criteria-based assessment for all subjects, consistency should be shown when awarding the Bilingual Diploma and criteria-based assessment should also be used in this case. This shows up once more the IB ambivalence towards bilingualism.

Group 2 presents perhaps the greatest complications from a language viewpoint in the IB Diploma Programme (N.B. The IB has now revised (2011) the provision for languages in Groups 1 and 2, reverting to language A and language B). Until 1989 group 1 was language A and group 2 was language B: the study of a 'foreign language'. This was a balance that was targeted at monolinguals who had English as their mother tongue, and usually French as a foreign language. However, in international schools, and in the globalised world of today increasingly national schools, there are many students who have a range of language

competencies, and there are many who may be virtually equally competent in two, or more, languages: to speak of a language A as ‘mother tongue’ and language B as ‘foreign language’ was no longer the case for many students. A series of working parties came upon the solution of creating a ‘language A2’ for such students. They could take their own language as language A1 (the new name for language A) and English as language A2, or vice-versa if English had, after many years of schooling, become the language in which they were most academically proficient. This whole scenario was the subject of a PhD thesis by Tosi (1987), who pointed out (Tosi, 1991: 94):

In the IB schools as in European Schools, there are three different language learning processes at work with their multilingual populations:

1. Mother tongue learning for the native as well as the non-native speakers of the school language;
2. Foreign language learning for the native speakers of the school language;
3. Second language learning for the non-native speakers of the school language.

Tosi also noted (op cit: 97-98):

The IB emphasis is still on assimilation rather than on diversity ... [it] must rid itself of its Anglo-centric cultural and linguistic biases if schools wish to avoid the criticism of those governments which are seriously committed to bilingualism and language equality.

It is some twenty-five years since Tosi’s work, and I believe the situation in the world bears out his analysis. Aronin and Singleton (2008) suggest:

that current multilingualism should be treated as a new linguistic dispensation for the following reasons:

1. Multilingualism is ubiquitous, on the rise worldwide, and increasingly deep and broad in its effects
2. Multilingualism is developing within the context of the new reality of globalization
3. Multilingualism is now such an inherent element of human society that it is necessary to the functioning of major components of the social structure.

The IB has again reformed the language options in Groups 1 and 2: from 2011 Group 1 offers only ‘language A’, and Group 2 only ‘language B’. However, there will be two choices of language A: one will be as at present, i.e. literature-oriented; the other will be more language-oriented, aimed at those who wish to develop high levels of language proficiency but without the particular skills and knowledge required for literary analysis. It has already been described by teachers as ‘moving language A2 from group 2 to group 1’. Precise implications for second language learners will not be seen until the course has run for a few years. However, the rules for gaining a Bilingual Diploma remain the same, including the track for second-

language students who study their own language and literature in group 1, and subjects in groups 3-6 in a different language, usually English, thus being awarded a Bilingual Diploma, although no criteria specifically assess language accuracy in groups 3-6. Language is thus being specifically isolated as a subject for which no assessment criteria are required: 'general competence' in writing about a subject is apparently enough to show you are 'bilingual'. The term is thus relegated to the role of an 'amateur' skill. This shows up once again the IB ambivalence towards bilingualism: while producing various documents that discuss bilingualism and suggest ways that it might be promoted, in practice there is no rigorous assessment of bilingual skills, nor clearly defined pedagogical programmes for bilingual models or for second language programmes: they are subsumed into the overall curriculum and rewarded 'incidentally'.

My concern is that second language speakers are not treated with equity. Although it should be obvious that with so many nationalities being represented among the student body in international schools the language issue should be paramount (Carder, 2005, 2006, 2007).

Literature Review

Introduction

The professional literature on the areas of language, languages and bilingualism is vast, though not so much has been written specifically about these areas as they relate to students in international schools. Indeed, it has been my aim over the years to remedy this situation and include the international schools network as much as possible within the mainstream of professional analysis and discussion. However, books which include reference to international schools are Jonietz and Harris (1991), Sears (1998), Skutnabb-Kangas (1995; 2000), Mejia (2002), Murphy (2003), Baker (2006), Carder (2007) and Gallagher (2008).

International Schools

Although international schools, with students from diverse linguistic backgrounds, might be considered to offer rich grounds for research and investigation, in reality little has been published in this area; there is a need for a wider focus on the language needs of international school students. One notable exception is the work of Mejia (2002) which will be discussed below. The principle journals relevant to the field are the *Journal of Research in International Education*, and the *International Schools Journal*. The former publishes seriously researched articles about international education in its widest sense, i.e. education in the international

arena, and articles are reviewed and screened by outside agencies before being published; the latter focuses specifically on the world of international schools and articles less deeply researched.

Baker (2006: 252) summarises the situation in international schools, saying they are ‘mostly for the affluent’, that one language of these schools is frequently English, and that when they have English as the sole medium of transmitting the curriculum they cannot be included under the heading of ‘Bilingual Education in Majority Languages’. He also says that

Generally, the languages of International Schools are majority languages with international prestige. Minority languages are rarely found in these schools.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 624-625) comments on international schools, noting that those who want to be included in the new globalised elites need to be multilingual, and

For them multilingualism means enhanced symbolic capital and, through a conversion process, economic and political capital. ‘International schools’ have a similar goal even if they do not use several languages as media of instruction.

This suggests that international schools are perceived by elites as providing symbolic capital, though **not** using several languages as media of instruction. The situation is not so clear-cut, as many discussions with parents have revealed that they are grateful for *any* school which can accommodate their children, with English as the language of instruction since it is the global lingua franca. My perception is that such elites focus principally on their children becoming fluent in English, while not considering what might happen to their children’s own language and identity. Skutnabb-Kangas’ comments are those of an outsider; the situation in international schools varies from school to school, and in any case there is a developing awareness of the educational and societal benefits that maintaining students’ mother tongues may bring.

Other writers who discuss the complex interplay of languages in international schools are Baker and Jones (1998), and Sears (1998), who writes specifically about the needs of ESL students mostly at the primary level. Murphy (2003) compiled a compendium of all articles written about ESL and associated matters for the International Schools Journal over some 20 years.

Mejia (2002), in a chapter headed 'World-Wide Elite Bilingualism' traces the history and development of international schools, noting that while many of the students are in fact bilingual, the emphasis in curricula and school language provision is monolingual and often monocultural. She concludes by asking (2002:21) how far international schools

are content to offer their clients access to a world language, usually English, without taking into account local or individual language and cultural backgrounds within the curriculum.

Collier, as we have already shown, endorses the model practised at the school, of mother tongue literacy development for each language group. Finally, Carder (2007) has devoted a book to the issue of the language development of international school students. As written (p. 116) in the conclusion to chapter 4 'Mother Tongue Programme':

International education should take them (mother tongues) on board principally for the cognitive, academic, metalinguistic reasons already stated, and for reinforcing student self-esteem, but also to keep faith with their stated internationalist philosophy.

The importance of socio-cultural processes, language development, academic development and cognitive development for bilingual students.

Collier and Thomas (2007) encompassed all of the developmental factors listed in the above heading into their 'Prism model' (see Appendix 4). They envisioned the prism as a figure (2007:334-5) which should be seen as multidimensional, with each student's emotional responses connected to the socio-cultural processes that influence the learning process.

These processes are then each described in detail by Collier and Thomas. Socio-cultural processes, at the heart of the Prism model, are shown to include students' emotional responses to school, including self-esteem, anxiety, or other affective factors. Language development includes acquisition of the oral and written systems of students' first and second languages in all language domains. A third component of the model is academic development, including all school work, and research by Zappert & Cruz (1977), Troike (1978), Dulay & Burt (1978, 1979), Baker & de Kanter (1983), Collier (1992), Lam (1992) and Thomas & Collier (1995) has shown the vital importance of maintaining such development in students' first language. Collier and Thomas describe the fourth component, cognitive growth, of the Prism model as also being crucial to children's success. It requires daily attention to interaction and family-based problem-solving in the family's chosen language of communication. In conclusion, they write that 'from the growing research base we know that educators must address linguistic,

cognitive, and academic development equally if they are to assure students' academic success in the L2' (Collier and Thomas 2007:332).

The relevance of theory and research for establishing valid models of practice.

Cummins has written widely on bilingual students, and some of this will be reviewed for its relevance to our situation, i.e. students at the International School. In his 1999 article he points out that the huge amount of research on bilingual education has been controversial for over 25 years, writing (p. 26)

Clearly the political sensitivity of the issue has contributed to confusion about what the research is actually saying.

Crawford (2000:3) writes cogently about the political aspects surrounding bilingual education in the USA, saying

Increasingly it is politics, not pedagogy, that determines how children are taught.

Cummins says, though, that it is his belief that a cause for confusion has been the extremely limited way in which educational researchers have examined the research as they imply that we can only draw policy-relevant conclusions from methodologically acceptable studies. Cummins (ibid) finds this limited as there are too many variables (human, administrative and political), and there is also an implied connection between research and policy; he would rather see a paradigm where the research for policy is mediated through theory, and argues that in contrast to research findings, theories are by definition applicable across contexts:

The validity of any theoretical principle is assessed precisely by how well it can account for the research findings in a variety of contexts (Cummins, 1999: 27).

Instead of a 'Research-Policy' paradigm he proposes a 'Research-Theory-Policy' paradigm, the assumption being that policy will lead to informed practice. This is a standpoint that I support for international school students, who are largely subjected to an Anglo-conformity model, by which is meant a model taught in English only. Cummins had much earlier provided a theory that could indeed be applied to bilingual students. It is the 'interdependence principle', created by Cummins in 1981, and accessed here in Cummins, (1988:15):

To the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly.

In the context of any international school, Lx would be the students' mother tongue, and Ly would be English. Thus for students coming to the secondary school, grades 6-12, with well-grounded proficiency in their mother tongue, this proficiency will transfer to the second language, English, as there is adequate exposure to English, and also adequate motivation to learn English, as all subjects are taught through English and the language of social discourse is generally English. I would add to Cummins' theory 'provided a well-devised programme of ESL instruction is implemented, including graded instruction through subject matter in all subjects, and also continued instruction in each student's mother tongue'.

Other theories of Cummins will now be presented as they are relevant to the current study. In 1980 he wrote *The entry and exit fallacy in bilingual education* (Cummins, 1980a). In this paper he argued for a distinction between two aspects of language proficiency: basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS), and cognitive/academic language proficiency (CALP). He demonstrated this by means of his 'iceberg' representation (see Appendix 5) of language proficiency in which the 'visible' language proficiencies of pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar are above the surface, whereas the cognitive/academic language proficiency required to manipulate the surface features is below the surface. It is this aspect which is frequently ignored in policy decisions. Cummins writes (1980a:31):

In another study, Cummins (1980c), has shown that it took immigrant children, who arrived in Canada after the age of six, between five and seven years, on the average, to approach grade norms in English CALP. However, the study of minority children referred for psychological assessment (Cummins 1980b), as well as common observance, shows clearly that immigrants acquire a high level of English communicative proficiency in interpersonal situations in a considerably shorter period of time than five years. In summary, a high level of L2 BICS does not imply a commensurate level of L2 CALP.

My own observation of international students over many years would largely bear this out.

This matter was taken up by Thomas and Collier and led to their wide-ranging study already mentioned (Thomas and Collier, 1997, and also Collier and Thomas 1999a, b, and c).

Cummins goes on to explore the relation between BICS and CALP as it relates to bilingual learners. He summarises (1980a:32):

L1 BICS tells us virtually nothing about L1 CALP; native-like L2 BICS in a bilingual situation tells us very little about a child's ability to survive educationally in an L2-only classroom.

The section is concluded with two main points (op cit:36):

1. CALP is a reliable dimension of individual differences in decontextualized literacy-related functions of language which appears to be distinct from interpersonal communicative skills in L1 and L2;
2. L1 and L2 CALP are interdependent, i.e. manifestations of a common underlying proficiency. The immediate psycho-educational implication of these hypotheses for bilingual education is that instruction through a minority language for either minority or majority language students will be just as, or more effective in promoting literacy skills in the majority language as instruction through the majority language.

Critiques of the conversational/academic distinction have been advanced by Edelsky (1990) and Wiley (1996), amongst others. Cummins addresses these critiques (Cummins, 2000:86-99) and (2000:86) summarises the major criticisms as being that:

- The conversational/academic language distinction reflects an autonomous perspective on language that ignores its location in social practices and power relations.
- CALP or academic language proficiency represents little more than ‘test-wiseness’ – it is an artifact of the inappropriate way in which it has been measured.
- The notion of CALP and the threshold hypothesis promote a ‘deficit theory’ insofar as they attribute the academic failure of bilingual/minority students to low cognitive/academic proficiency rather than to inappropriate schooling.

Cummins’ rebuttal of these criticisms is lengthy; he says (2000:96), for example:

No form of language is cognitively or linguistically superior to any other form of language in any absolute sense outside of particular contexts

and points out that within the context of schooling knowledge of academic language is clearly relevant to educational success. He adds (op.cit.: 96)

Wiley takes a conceptual distinction that was addressed only to issues of schooling, and criticizes it on the grounds that this distinction is ‘specific only to the cultural setting of the school’, and these critics seriously misrepresent the distinction when they label it ‘autonomous’ or ‘independent’ of particular contexts.

In conclusion Cummins notes (op.cit.:98) that his primary goal

has been to clarify misconceptions regarding the constructs of conversational and academic language proficiencies so that policy-makers and educators can re-focus on the issue of how to promote academic language development effectively among bilingual children.

Cummins continues in his 1980a paper to discuss the ‘exit fallacy’, i.e. the assumption that mainstreaming minority children out of a bilingual programme into an English-only programme will better promote the development of English literacy skills. He argues that those who defend English-only programmes assume the validity of a Separate Underlying Proficiency (SUP) model of bilingual proficiency which involves the misconception that a bilingual student’s sets of linguistic competencies are separate. This model is better rejected in favour of a Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) model of bilingualism (see Appendix 6) in which the cognitive/academic proficiencies underlying literacy skills in L1 and L2 are seen as interdependent. These represent diagrammatically the characteristics of the interdependence hypothesis already discussed.

They also present potential advantages which are consistent with Cummins’ ‘threshold hypothesis’. This was presented in a 1979 paper (Cummins, 1979) and states that

bilingual children’s competence in a language may be sufficiently weak as to impair the quality of their interaction with their educational environment through that language (op cit:230).

In other words, bilingual children who receive continued CALP instruction in their mother tongue are likely to achieve better academically in their second language: that this is not always implemented or considered feasible will be the subject of much of this study.

Another important clarification made by Cummins is his presentation (Cummins, 1982) diagrammatically of the importance for bilingual students of distinguishing between context-embedded and context-reduced language proficiency, and how this is presented pedagogically (see Appendix 7 chart). Context-embedded communication can be characterized as being more typical of the everyday world outside the classroom, involving words that are linked to cues, actions and practical props, making understanding easy (BICS). Context-reduced proficiency, on the other hand, involves language that is typically associated with schooling: listening to a teacher lecturing with no visible props; reading a text; writing an essay (CALP).

Comment and critique

Much of the English-speaking world is monolingual, yet bilingualism or multilingualism is commonplace for the majority of the world’s population. The rise of the nation-state may be seen as responsible for the ‘one state/one-language’ paradigm, and it is not hard to see the difficulties and marginalization faced by minorities in most of the world’s current 193 nations

at present recognized by the United Nations. Ostler (2005) has pointed out how language follows power, and today's pre-eminent English, with the dominance of an English-speaking country, the USA, as the world's richest and most powerful state, continues to attract people all around the globe. It is equally widely recognized that citizens of the USA, the UK, and Australia are not the most enthusiastic learners of other languages. But those who want to share in the wealth seen to be generated from the English-speaking world eagerly add English to their language repertoire.

Graddol (2006) shows that native English speakers might lose out in the long term as more students become fluent in English as a second language and are also fluent in one or more other languages: he predicts that second language speakers of English will become far more numerous than native speakers, with the advantage of knowing other languages and thus the advantages of additive bilingualism. Maalouf (2000) elaborates on this when he writes (p.116):

It will always be a serious handicap not to know English, but it will also, more and more, be a serious handicap to know English only. And this will apply equally to those for whom English is their mother tongue.

All the more reason, therefore, to ensure that the values of bilingualism are recognized and students' language repertoires are valued, with suitable programmes for their development put in place.

Ferguson (2006) writes about the issues touched on above, including the political dimensions of bilingual education; the global spread of English; the new Englishes; and minority languages. What is interesting for us in the context of international school students is that such schools in some ways present a microcosm of the wider world, but from the point of view of languages they have one crucial difference: immigrants nearly always, by definition, remain in the country to which they have immigrated and are largely motivated to learn the language of the country migrated to in order to be integrated. Typically by the third generation the language of the host country has become the only language known by the immigrant family – and it is often English. International students, although they may choose to study at a university in the English-speaking world, usually return frequently to their parents for holidays and keep up their mother tongue and contacts with family and friends at home. They do not become assimilated because they are often on the move. English has

become their tool for mobility, but they retain their mother tongue and possibly other languages acquired along the way.

Ferguson (2006:40) comments that Cummins now gives more emphasis to societal power relations as having a significant impact on the academic outcomes of minority students. Quoting Schmidt (2000), August and Hakuta (1997) and Crawford (1997), who note that relative segregation in underfunded schools staffed by inexperienced teachers are among current features of many second language students' schooling, he says it is difficult:

to be unsympathetic to Cummins's (2000:44) argument that 'coercive relations of power' obliging students to 'acquiesce in the subordination of their identities', are an important contributor to their relative educational underperformance.

However he adds (op cit:41) that Cummins's call for a 'transformative pedagogy' is less likely to come about given the degree to which schooling processes are a part of the wider social context; 'schooling processes' are indeed embedded in the wider social context, and the context of international schools is much influenced by the IB and the CIS, as already noted. The failure of the IBMYP – Middle Years Programme – to provide a separate pedagogical model for ESL students, suborning them to 'language B, foreign language', is a classic example of these students having to 'acquiesce in the subordination of their identities'.

The social context is a wealthy one in most international schools, but the circumstances and status of mother tongue classes certainly puts them in a subordinate role at international schools, as will be seen when we look at the student interviews, and in most international schools there is no mother tongue programme at all.

Ferguson (2006:45-47) then outlines the main types of bilingual education in the USA. One of these programmes, Structured English Immersion (SEI), is similar to that used in international schools: academic subjects are taught in English, with specialized materials adapted for second language students. However, the dominant majority language is taught using a methodology that gives second language students' mother tongues hardly any role. Ferguson also reports that the number of such programmes is reported to have increased 'quite substantially' since the passage of Proposition 227, which was passed in California in 1998 and gave second language students only one year of pullout ESL education, followed by immersion in the mainstream. They made rapid progress in that year, but evidence from other long-term studies would indicate that they will fail or drop out before graduating (see

Krashen, 1999, for a well-argued endorsement of such failure, also Crawford, 2000, and the data shown by Thomas and Collier in the chart in Appendix 3: Programme 7).

Ferguson goes on to summarise key parameters distinguishing programme types, and states (op cit:48):

There is a near consensus among bilingual education researchers that greater support for L1 development, and academic development in L1, is positively related to higher long-term academic attainment by LEP (limited English proficient) pupils.

He then encapsulates two issues that are directly relevant to the situation of second language learners at the IS (Ferguson, 2006:49):

The bilingual education debate in the United States has an instrumental, pedagogic dimension and, more fundamentally, an ideological, political one;...(in) the former...there are fundamental disagreements between two opposing camps, pluralists and assimilationists.

Bilingual education (BE) opponents have tended to see L1 teaching as a distraction from, and even an impediment to, the important goal of acquiring English. Supporters of BE, on the other hand, backed by empirical evidence and theory, have tended to view support for the L1 as highly functional both in the mastery of academic content and in the acquisition of the L2. They also stress the potential cognitive advantages of full bilingualism.

This represents a summary of the principal concepts surrounding what type of model would be best for international school students, and of why: as we have already noted, the assimilationist model is inappropriate for international school students as they remain internationally mobile; and the evidence for maintaining the mother tongue, allied to its cognitive advantages and the fact that international school students have enduring contact with their home language and culture, presents this as the best solution. However, the school under study has a largely assimilationist, ‘Anglo-conformity’ model, albeit with the option of paying extra for mother tongue lessons.

Further sources documenting the fact that students educated for part of the day through a minority language do not suffer adverse consequences are: Baker & Prys Jones, (1998); Cenoz & Genesee, (1998); Cummins & Corson, (1997); Dutcher, (1995); Skutnabb-Kangas, (1995). In addition Cummins has demonstrated (2000:208) that there is a wealth of data showing that the push for all-English programmes is without merit, and that students in bilingual programmes suffer no adverse effects in mastering English.

Ferguson backs up much of the message of Cummins's theories, and supports the additive concept of bilingualism (2006:56):

The available evidence suggests that the two languages interact, allowing the integration and transfer of cognitive material learnt in either language, an idea encapsulated in Cummins's proposal of a common underlying proficiency model of bilingualism (CUP).

Writing in the *International Schools Journal* about a survey carried out on international school parents at schools in Switzerland, MacKenzie confirms that many of these parents want their children to be bilingual with the important proviso that one of their languages is English (Mackenzie, 2001, in Murphy (ed.) 2003:76):

These are parents of children who will indeed be bilingual. Their home lives will often see to it that fluency in their mother tongue is maintained while the 'international' school will provide an education in English. This, it would appear, is these parents' preferred model of bilingual education.

However, Mackenzie does not make it clear whether or not he informed parents of the many issues involved; for example, the transfer of literacy skills from the mother tongue to the second language; the difference between conversational use of language and being literate in the academic use of language. My experience suggests that once parents are informed of the importance of literacy in two languages, and the potential benefits of bilingualism when seen as biliteracy, they are willing to pay extra to keep up their children's mother tongue.

Interestingly, MacKenzie perceives that those who require bilingual education most of all are the monolingual English speakers (op cit:76): 'Who needs bilingual education? The answer seems obvious. They and their parents may not know it but our British and American students do'.

This line of argument is supported by Graddol (2006:118-9), who says 'English is not enough' for the UK, or for the USA; 'we are now nearing the end of the period where native speakers can bask in their privileged knowledge of the global lingua franca'.

Attitude and language

Lindholm-Leary points out (2001:271) that: 'Examining student attitudes is important, given the consistent findings that student attitudes affect academic achievement'. In the context of

the school under study it would also be important to investigate the attitudes of the parents, as their input could be considerable.

The attitude that a student may have towards learning and using a language has also been written about by Baker (1992); this factor will be relevant when investigating the student interviews. He traces students' attitudes to learning Welsh and English in monolingual Welsh schools, monolingual English schools, and bilingual Welsh/English schools. Two of his aims are (op cit:6) to:

Establish, at a conceptual and operational level, attitude to bilingualism as distinct from attitude to language.

Examine the origins of attitude to a language and attitude to bilingualism in terms of individual and contextual variables.

At the school our aim is to encourage students to have a positive attitude to their own language(s) and to those of others for the various reasons already given; developing bilingualism; transferring the literacy skills developed in the first language to the school language, English; maintaining contacts with their own culture and family; raising self-esteem.

Baker traces the learning attitudes of over 2,000 students, and reveals that their attitudes are in fact formed by many different factors of a socio-cultural nature, and also by age. As he states (op cit:11):

...attitudes cannot be directly observed. A person's thoughts, processing system and feelings are hidden.

He defines attitude as having three components: 'cognitive, affective and readiness for action'. He concludes the section with (op cit:21):

Language engineering can flourish or fail according to the attitudes of the community. Having a favourable attitude to the subject of language attitudes becomes important in bilingual policy and practice.

This statement is hugely important as it highlights the need for there to be a pervasive atmosphere which promotes the language repertoires of all students. This has to come from the top, i.e. the school management, the IB and the CIS.

Finally, Baker notes (op cit:97) that:

...it is clear that language attitudes are manipulated by power groups. Such manipulation can be by gentle persuasion, intensive indoctrination, subtle influence or Machiavellian programming.

These are all insights which are relevant to the situation of students at the IS, as we shall see when we look at the five students interviewed. In most international schools the power groups are frequently school principals and management, who are often monolingual; the curriculum supplier, often the International Baccalaureate, which in the MYP places obstacles in the way of having students' mother tongues given full certification and does not offer a pedagogical programme of instruction for second language learners (Carder, 2013); and the Council of International Schools, which refers to second language programmes as 'support'.

Programme models

Thomas and Collier, whose analysis of more than 700,000 student records compiled during 1982-1996, with core analyses carried out on 42,317 students with more than 150 home languages, investigated seven programme models and summarized them on a chart (Carder, 2007:24) which can be seen in Appendix 3. The chart shows a comparison of students' progress in various types of second language and bilingual programmes in comparison with average native speakers of English, measured over Grades 1 – 11. Only the first two programmes enabled English learners to achieve above normal curve equivalents (NCEs) on standardized tests in English.

The programmes involve either language majority and language minority students being schooled together in the same bilingual class, students working together at all times and serving as peer teachers, one group teaching the other and sharing information; or academic instruction half-a-day through each language. The difficulty for international schools is that there can be anything from ten to ninety languages in the school population: in the USA much bilingual education involves just Spanish and English, and much of this is with lower socio-economic groups than those seen in international schools.

The models in the USA that are unsuccessful in reaching the 50th percentile of NCEs mostly involve ESL pullout programmes. What is interesting is that these offer the most rapid gains in increased English knowledge in the first one or two years but then drop off increasingly in higher grades. In fact there is almost a perfect symmetry between the rapid increase in grades 1-3 and the decrease in grades 5-11. Politicians, often inclined to short-term success, were

quick to exploit the rapid gain factor in the early years of children's education and thus Proposition 227 was passed, already mentioned above.

Thomas and Collier (1997) show that three elements are necessary for second language students (or language minority students) to achieve equity with their language majority peers: a well-devised second-language programme taught through academic content; continued instruction in students' mother tongues, including content; and a socio-cultural model of instruction in the school that recognizes and encourages diversity. Only with such a programme will second-language students avoid failure. At the school under study the ESL programme is taught through academic content, though mother tongues are taught mostly only from a language and literature point of view, not with subject-matter from the whole curriculum. An excellent book geared specifically at international school content teachers when teaching ESL students is Mertin's (2013) *Breaking through the language barrier*. Another point emphasized by Thomas and Collier is the long-term nature of a good programme: the short-term 'ESL fix' is precisely that, i.e. short term. It is necessary for students to have the three elements of a good programme throughout their schooling in order to succeed.

An additional point to emphasize is the dotted horizontal line across the middle of the chart (in Appendix 3); this shows the 50th NCE representing the average performance of native-English speakers making one year's progress in each consecutive grade. It is the latter point which often goes unremarked by teachers and parents, i.e. not only do second-language learners have to develop their English skills to an acceptable level in order to be able to simply participate in the curriculum, but every year their English-speaking peers are widening and deepening their knowledge of specialized language types. Thus ESL students are not only aiming at a moving target, but it is a target which is moving away from them. It has been estimated that in a school year based on ten months' studying time, ESL students have to make 15 months' progress every school year just to keep up - or 18 months' progress over a 12 month year - and they have to do this for 5-7 years in a row in a good programme, 6-8 years in an average programme, before they reach the same grade level performance as their native-English speaking peers.

Implications to be drawn from this information are that at the Primary level students need to be integrated and taught through content, with instruction in their mother tongue in whatever

way possible (during or after school, or at home), and there should be overall teacher and administrative awareness of the factors involved, necessitating specialised training.

Virginia Collier, the co-researcher of this data, who has also spent time in international schools giving advice, wrote a Foreword to the International Schools Journal Compendium: Volume 1, ESL (ed. Murphy, 2003:8) in which she states:

When the demographics of a school population include a multilingual student group with small numbers of each language represented, *then mother tongue literacy development for each language group*, combined with ESL taught through academic content, may be the best choice for support of non-English-speakers' needs.

Another large-scale methodologically acceptable study that investigated the issue of the programme-type needed for second language students to reach grade level comparability with native speakers is that of Ramírez (1992). His study (in Cummins 1992:8):

compared the academic progress of several thousand Latino/Latina elementary school children in three programme types in different parts of the United States:

- a) English 'immersion', involving almost exclusive use of English throughout elementary school;
- b) Early-exit bilingual in which Spanish was used for about one-third of the time in kindergarten and first grade with a rapid phase-out thereafter; and
- c) Late-exit bilingual that used primarily Spanish instruction in kindergarten, with English used for about one-third of the time in grades 1 and 2, half the time in grade 3, and about 60% of the time thereafter.

Cummins (1992:8) says of the Ramírez report data that they 'directly refute the three theoretical positions upon which the opposition to bilingual education is based'. These are that there is an inverse relation between 'time on task' – i.e. exposure to English - and English academic development; that students immersed in English do not advance more rapidly than those in bilingual programs; and that much exposure to English at a young age appears to be less effective than providing a solid foundation for students' L1 conceptual base and cultural identity, and then introducing them gradually to English academic skills. These data refer to very young students; those coming to the secondary school under study mostly have literacy skills well established. Interestingly, the one student with weaker English skills in the present study, the Korean boy, came to the school at a younger age when his mother tongue literacy was probably not so well grounded, and he did not take mother tongue lessons initially at the school.

Sociolinguistic considerations

The language content of the school is profoundly complex, and perhaps represents a microcosm of our increasingly mobile world. The type of English students speak cannot be easily categorized, and their myriad language repertoires have hardly been looked at in depth by any studies. Sociolinguistics is the field in which such analysis will now be applied, and has been characterized as:

The study of the characteristics of language varieties, the characteristics of their functions, and the characteristics of their speakers as these three constantly interact, change, and change one another within a speech community (Fishman, 1976:4).

In an international school each student will bring his or her own varieties of their mother tongue or mother tongues with them. Students from Indonesia may have Sundanese as their mother tongue, while having undergone education in Bahasa Indonesian; Arabic-speaking students may speak any one of the Arabic dialects spoken from Morocco in the west to Iraq in the Middle East; African students often come from families where each parent speaks a different local language and the child has been educated in a third language, possibly with a form of English also used. In Nigeria, for example,

Nigerian Pidgin English is used as a second language by about 30 percent of the population (Baker & Prys-Jones, 1998:365).

Students will then acquire the English variety of the international school, which may be British or American and will also depend on the student composition of the school at any moment in time; the number of 'native speakers' of English and their variety of English; the variety of English of the teachers; and perhaps influences from the host country language. These varieties of English can be referred to as 'social dialects' or 'sociolects' as they arise from simultaneous settlements in international schools around the world. Fishman (op cit:33) introduced the concept of 'societal domains' in order to be able to categorise where members used different varieties of language, for example: home; school and culture; work; government; church. For students at the school under study it will not only be which varieties of English they use in particular domains, but which *language* they use: their mother tongue(s), English or German. The variety of English they use may be influenced by: the English variety of each teacher; the English variety of their fellow students; the English variety of their parents, and so on. The variety of their mother tongue may be influenced by that of their parents, or their former school or region, and so on.

International school students frequently move from school to school around the world and, though the language of instruction is in most cases English, host country languages are of course different, and ‘foreign languages’ taught in school can vary, though French and Spanish, and occasionally German, are still favourites. These students are thus exposed to frequently changing language influences, and Jonietz’s (1994) term ‘trans-language learners’ for such students never became adopted, which is unfortunate given the continuing development of students’ language repertoires: it is singularly appropriate.

When it comes to methodological research on individuals, relevant to the current study, researchers have developed various models for investigating groups. A brief review of differing fields – social groups; ethnicity; language policies; language status – shows the following: Milroy (1987) discusses an ‘introspective method’, an ‘analytic method’, and an ‘experimental method’. Milroy and Milroy (1997) present a ‘social network’ theory based (p. 59) more on relationships between individual speakers than between groups of speakers.

Fishman notes (1989:335) that in a democratic society individuals have the right to be ‘free from ethnicity’, by which he means being a citizen of the world rather than belonging to one tradition or ethnic group, whilst allowing for the fact that democracy ‘guarantees the right to retain one’s own ethnicity’. This statement can now be considered increasingly relevant, given the insights of Aronin and Singleton (2008) about ‘multilingualism being ubiquitous’.

An individual’s right to use a language and have it recognised can often be an important issue in socio-political conflicts all over the globe. Maintaining a minority language within a majority culture (e.g. Spanish in the USA) is frequently associated with the maintenance of the minority values and cultural identity. This leads to loss of a language being associated with loss of cultural identity. However, see Block (2008) on the ‘Metaphor of Loss’, and the danger of ‘romanticising’ loss; Block calls for a more nuanced approach to the research of language maintenance and shift concerns.

Models for defining language competence

The complexity and transience of bilingualism is commented on by Fishman (1989:627) who writes that the phenomena are so complex that it should be no surprise that external characteristics are hard to define. This comment will be useful as we attempt to resolve how to provide suitable language programmes for the bilingual students at the school.

Such an approach is reflected by Brutt-Griffler (2004) who notes (p. 93) that the study of the world's bilingual majority has proven elusive because bilinguals themselves do not follow the rules set for them by academics, or in a political sense.

Far from being monolinguals in two languages, as it were, they carve out their own space as bilinguals (cf. Grosjean, 1989). An increasing body of evidence shows that they do not use language the way monolinguals do. They refuse to hold their two (or more) languages as distinct, disconnected systems.

This statement is relevant to the five students appearing in the present study, and is highly relevant to both their lives and also the approach to the assessment model of the IB.

A combination of models will be used to code the student interviews. Fishman's concept of 'domains' is relevant, and the following will be used:

- home, meaning home country/ies of the student;
- home, meaning home residence of the student in ;
- school, in its various facets – interaction with teachers, with students, with IB programmes; host country culture.

Controversy continues around terminology, and Brutt-Griffler writes (2004:95):

... 'mother tongue' is a political ascription, the usefulness of which has begun to erode for hundreds of millions of persons around the globe.

Earlier she comments (2004:94) that the whole field of bilingualism has gone through a transformation in which postmodern formulations of culture and identity are being challenged and replaced by an emphasis on multiple, overlapping identities and cultures, which are particularly applicable to the students studied in this study.

The terms best suited for this paper will be those which describe the students' situation at home and in the school; in the country they are studying in; and in today's globalised world. 'Mother tongue' will refer to each student's home language, and the language they are taking as IB language A1; 'second language' will refer to English, each student's knowledge of the language of schooling and daily discourse, following Spolsky's definition (Spolsky, 1999:657) already mentioned. 'Host-country language' will refer to German, the language of the host country. In the case of Natasha, who learned a 'second language', Romanian, before

she came to the school, this will be referred to as her former second language, and English as her current second language.

It is against this background that we shall describe the language repertoires of the five students, looking at their identities now and plotting their future trajectories.

Methodology for collecting data

The interview was chosen as the best survey method. Relative merits of the interview compared with a questionnaire are (Cohen and Manion, 1996:272):

Opportunities for response-keying (personalization); opportunities for asking; opportunities for probing; relative magnitude of data reduction (due to coding).

The type of interview used as a specific research tool was the completely informal interview ‘where the interviewer may have a number of key issues which she raises in conversational style instead of having a set questionnaire’ (op.cit.:271). Also described as the ‘unstructured interview’,

although the research purposes govern the questions asked, their content, sequence and wording are entirely in the hands of the interviewer (op.cit.:273).

All students in two classes in grades 11 and 12, were told about the current research project and asked if they would like to participate; five students volunteered, three from grade 12 and one from grade 11, both classes which were preparing to take the IB English B Exam. In addition a former student who had heard about the project, and was in a grade 12 IB English A2 class, also volunteered. Procedures for recording were explained and they were given a sheet of information with the guiding questions, set out below. The questions were motivated by comments students have made over the years, discussed in class, and also by perceptions of what constitutes an appropriate pedagogical model for multilingual students in a ‘multilingual space’. The questions were not asked directly in the interviews.

General questions

What is your mother tongue?

What language do you learn through at the school?

What other languages do you know?

Which languages do you use in which settings?

Do you think you have a 'stronger' language? Or are your languages stronger in different functions – spoken, written, etc?

Have you had advice on which languages to take for examination?

How do you feel about these languages in the school, with its many languages? Do you feel the school helps you in all your languages?

Mother tongue

Does the school support you? How? Any comments – about extra payment – lessons at the end of the school day – only 1-2 hours a week.

Should the school have a clear statement on encouraging bilingualism?

What do you know about bilingualism?

ESL

Any comments on the programme? Does it help you? Is it perceived positively or negatively?

Is there enough 'content' matter taught in the ESL Humanities and ESL Literature classes?

IB

Does the school promote your language through the IB?

Does English B fulfill your language needs?

Is the mother tongue taught well? Is the course satisfactory?

Staff

Do subject teachers make you feel your language needs are included in their classes?

Do you have any comments on the amount of interaction? Do you feel excluded? Are you referred to as 'the ESL students'?

Do subject teachers advise you on using or not using your mother tongue?

Do they incorporate students' mother tongues in class work?

Appointments were set up for each student in 45 minute slots. As an 'insider' I made every effort to allow them to speak freely, and for them not to feel constrained to give a 'required answer'.

Five students at the school

Baker (2006:252), already quoted, says that international schools are ‘mainly for the affluent’. This is indeed the case, but these are not necessarily students who have been at private schools before, and if for some reason they have to return to their home country they may well go to a local, state school. At the school the majority of students have parents who are working at international agencies. They are often on a contract of about three years, and may then return to their own country, or move on to another posting in a different country. The students thus live in an ‘international space’. They are described as an ‘elite’ (as in Mejia, 2002:14-21), and my experience teaching them over several decades has shown me that while this aspect insulates them from much of the daily struggle typical of much of humanity, they are nevertheless young people who need a clear orientation as regards language issues so that they can communicate successfully in whatever sphere, or domain, they find themselves. Interestingly, Aronin and Singleton (2008:11) note:

As for the association of multilingualism with educated social elites, the fact that education – and initiation into additional languages – is progressively available to all social categories means that the notion of a multilingual educated social elite is constantly being eroded.

Students who do not want to take their mother tongue as a subject at the school soon come to realise that their level of academic language in their mother tongue does ‘drop’ – they often notice this when they return to their home country and talk with friends or visit their old school.

The final IB choices of the students are given in Appendix 9. All five students have a mother tongue which is neither English, the sole instructional language of the school, or German, the language of the host country. All five students arrived at the school with no or very little knowledge of English and were therefore in the ESL programme before Grade 11 except for one, Maria.

Coding and terminology

Definitions will be given according to the framework of Skutnabb-Kangas (2000:106).

<u>Criterion</u>	<u>Definition</u>
1. Origin	The language one learned first (i.e., the language one has

.	established the first long-lasting verbal contacts in)
2. Identification	
<i>Internal</i>	The language one identifies with/as a native speaker of
<i>External</i>	The language one is identified with/as a native speaker of, by others
3. Competence The language one knows best	
4. Function The language one uses most	

Definitions need to be nuanced, as Brutt-Griffler (2004:95) has shown:

A ‘first language’ or ‘mother tongue’ can be acquired under all kinds of different circumstances – and in fact there can be more than one.

Terminology is currently sensitive and problematical when describing people’s language competencies and therefore every effort will be made to elaborate on such descriptive usages as they arise.

Students are given pseudonyms and come from varied pedagogical backgrounds: Iraq, South Korea, Iran, Colombia and Moldova; also from different affiliations: Sunni Muslim; Christian; Shiite Muslim; Catholic; and ex-Soviet. They mostly have different scripts: Arabic; Korean; Persian; Russian; and though three of them speak languages which are in the Indo-European group – Russian/Romanian, Spanish and Persian - Arabic and Korean are each in different groups. They arrived as almost complete Beginners in English, except for Maria, and found the ESL classes satisfactory, with occasional criticisms of how subject teachers treated them.

All students are gaining top grades, 6s or 7s, in their mother tongue. In English their grades vary, and this variation is not necessarily related to their length of time in the school. Young-Min, who has been at the school the longest, is having the most difficulty with English. Interestingly, it was some time before he started Korean lessons: there was a gap of two years after coming to the school before he took mother tongue classes, and the parents stated at the time that it was because of the cost.

Student Miriam from Iraq. Age: 18. Arabic. Entered school in Grade 9.

[Miriam begins by saying that Arabic 'is more important' in the context of the school, but then immediately qualifies this by saying 'but English is as important as well because it's the language of the school'. She continues 'But I still like, inside me, I feel like I like Arabic more and I'm much better in Arabic because it's the language I have been studying for a long time'.]

As described above, the interviews were unstructured, but I generally began with a question about the students' mother tongue. In this extract Arabic can be seen as her mother tongue. She grew up at home with Arabic; all her schooling was in Arabic until she came to the school in grade 9. It is thus her mother tongue by origin. It is also her language of internal identification. Arabic is her language of external identification by family and friends, and also by the IB, as it is her chosen subject for language A1, the level for having a knowledge of a language sufficiently advanced to study the literature of the culture. Arabic is also the language she knows best, and is therefore her mother tongue of competence. As regards function, her comment that 'English is the language of the school' shows English as the 'second language'.

[She did not start Arabic mother tongue lessons until Grade 11 as 'I just came from, I didn't think I need, I needed Arabic by that time. But in the Grade 11 I dropped German so I took Arabic'. As the reason for doing this she says 'from the advice that everyone gave me Arabic is my top language and then English comes second so, and I felt if I would take German I wouldn't get as good a grades, and I also want to work in a Arabic country.' She then criticises the way Arabic is taught at the school 'we're just reading books. In Baghdad we learn much about the language itself and the background of the language, and how grammar and everything'. I ask how she thinks the school can do more to help, and she responds 'maybe have more Arabic lessons because once a week and after school, we're just tired by that time, and plus it's expensive'. 'First when I came my parents get this book which says the importance of mother tongue and when they read it they were like, yeah, you have enough Arabic, I don't need my mother tongue, but now they're realising how much important it is because my little brother is losing it'.]

As far as domains are concerned, the focus is clearly on school and academic success. Arabic is seen as her 'top language', and she expresses a wish to work in an Arabic country. Arabic is the language of home and of her home country which has been thrown into war and chaos, to which she cannot return at present. She is critical of the way Arabic is taught, and of the conditions. She also chides her parents for not encouraging classes in Arabic from the beginning of her stay at the school. This gives an insight into the situation of any student coming to a new school environment with a new language: she does not feel she is learning enough Arabic, is not happy with the way it is taught, and believes her parents have failed to understand the importance of keeping up what has been for her the basis of her life so far: her language and culture. This is a deeply significant statement as regards Miriam's personal life. In contrast, by saying that her little brother is losing his Arabic brings the realization that a language *can* be lost.

[When asked 'How much has English become part of you?' Miriam replies 'So much, you can't imagine'. She continues 'Just sometimes I realize I'm speaking to myself in English, and I stop myself and turn to Arabic, but so much, so many times I think, start thinking in English, but then when I realize myself in English I change to Arabic because it's easier for me to think in Arabic, but, I don't know, I can't control it every time'. She adds that she speaks to her brothers in Arabic, except when they don't want their mum to understand, when they speak English. She later adds that if in a group with friends, all talking English, she turns to her brother and switches immediately to Arabic 'when I see his face I still can't speak English to him'.]

This section might indicate that English will soon achieve the status of function as 'the language one uses most', and perhaps also 'the language of external identification'. Arabic is still used for communicating naturally with her brothers, but the siblings all change to English as a 'code' if the mother can hear her. Arabic, her mother tongue, has a strong internal meaning for her, as she shows when she says she can't speak to her brother in English when she sees his face.

[When asked if she thinks English will become equal with Arabic, she answers no 'because after school I'm planning to study in German, so I'll leave English

completely and start German. I don't know when I'll use English again - after university maybe'. 'I didn't like German at all. It's just so hard. Maybe because I also didn't speak English. The teacher used to teach us sometimes in English and sometimes in German, and I don't understand both of them'. When asked how much German she spoke anywhere, she answered 'zero', and added that she had no German input from anywhere, including TV or newspapers.]

This section allows us to see her own perceptions of her future competencies. The decision has been taken that she will study in German. She thus assumes her English competence will reach a ceiling at the end of her schooling at the school. When she goes to university German will probably be, by function, the language she uses most when attending lectures and writing homework, and will thus be a future 'second language'. However, given the predominance of texts in English for pharmacy, her course of study, she will have an advantage here. Miriam is ambivalent about the way German is taught, sometimes using English, as for those who are beginners in English it is doubling the difficulty.

[When asked if any teachers ever gave suggestions about writing notes in the mother tongue, she replied 'no, for me no-one but I remember a friend told me that she once was taking notes in her language and her teacher told her ; "don't do this"'. I then asked if teachers ever included students' languages in classwork. She replied 'yes, I think specially Spanish - so many times but not so much the other languages' I asked if she felt her language was valued in the school, and she said no, because 'it's not so many Arabic people here'.]

This extract reveals that though Miriam identifies internally with Arabic, she sees teaching staff as not being aware of this, or not being concerned. For a teacher to tell a student specifically not to use their own language when taking notes provides grounds for concern. International school teachers are largely monolingual and specific training aimed at awareness of the 'language factor' should be seen as vital by administrations. The fact that Arabic is Miriam's language of highest competence is not built on or acknowledged by teaching staff, and the same is true for other students' languages 'except Spanish'.

Student Young-Min, from South Korea. Age: 16. Korean. Entered school in Grade 5.

[Young-Min opens by saying that his mother tongue is Korean and the ‘second language I speak is English and I think my mother tongue is important because when I learn how to write stuff I have to know the history of my country so I could write more about so, so I won’t be like isolated from my home country if I go back to Korea’. When asked how he felt when he first came to the school (in grade 5, aged 9) he said ‘I missed it, Korea, because I have my friends there...and since I’m new here, I did not make friends, I couldn’t speak English so I didn’t know how to talk to them’. I asked if he kept up his own language, and he said ‘No, not for the first two years and then I started meeting Ms Lee’ (the Korean teacher). ‘She’s taught me a lot. I got better, each year, and she said I’m improving and I’m very interested in learning Korean’. I asked if he went back to his country, and he answered ‘every two years’, and had last gone there last summer. I asked if he had met friends then, and he replied ‘I think they all moved. He did meet ‘my grandfather, and my families, and my mother’s friends’, and he felt comfortable with his use of Korean with them. I asked how he felt about his language in the school and he replied ‘In this school I want to improve my English so I want to talk to them in English but I just talk to them in Korean’. He later added ‘we use Korean in our home’. He also spoke Korean to his sister.]

This extract shows Young-Min’s language of origin to be Korean. It is his mother tongue, the language he uses with his family and friends both in Korea and at home in the host country. He is also taking lessons in Korean. It is thus, in Skutnabb-Kangas’ terms, his language of internal identification, and of external identification probably by those in school. By competence Korean is the language he knows best. By function, he uses Korean but also English for school work. He is ambivalent about not being with friends and seems resigned; there is an indication that matters improved when he started taking lessons in Korean, though I recall that it was only after lengthy meetings between the teacher and the parents that they agreed for mother tongue lessons to start.

[When asked about English, he said ‘I think it’s kind of hard in grammar. I’m have difficulty in grammar because there’s no article in Korean like ‘the’ ‘a’ and past tense, the writing system is different, like, if I say a word in Korean I have to

change the places to speak in English'. I asked how he found it when expressing himself writing in English, and he said 'That's kind of hard because I think of a word in Korean and then I have to translate it in English , I just don't do that very well'. I asked if he knew what language he thought in. He answered 'Yeah, I know what language I'm think in but English - I'm not very good at English but I'm using it so, so I'm OK, it's just the writing and grammar I have a problem'. 'I just hope I can get better in English, that's all, and I can get more confident in English'. Asked why this hadn't happened he replied 'I think it's me, because I wasn't very good student in Korea'. He expressed the hope that he could get better in English and gain more confidence in English.]

Young-Min has found it hard to develop his English skills after seven years at the school. His grades have improved in all school subjects since starting Korean lessons. This is possibly evidence of the research that shows maintaining literacy in the mother tongue leads to increased literacy in the second language (Cummins, 2003:62). His teacher, Ms Lee, had a difficult time initially with many Korean students, and she confided in me that it was hard convincing parents of the importance of Korean lessons: parents saw English as the panacea (see Krashen, 2006) and many found the expense of paying for mother tongue lessons unreasonable. Young-Min comments laconically that he wasn't a good student in Korea, as if that explains why he hasn't improved faster in English. Given his slow progress this may be the case.

[I asked him what he felt about German. He said 'it's also hard, because there's 'der, die, dast' so I'm not very sure where to put it and if you have to change that into some other words, and I don't use it in school or home'. When out on the streets he says 'I try to speak to them in German so they could understand and sometimes they do sometimes they don't'. When asked where he would study, he said 'probably the place where they can use English, not German'.]

He has studied German for five years now. He finds German hard, and gives the example of the three genders of the article in German – which he says wrongly. For him it has a certain communicative value, and can be classified as a limited language of function. He was an ESL beginner when he started to learn German as the school policy requires that all students learn

German. Most ESL students are successful in German as well as English; for him this was clearly difficult.

As regards domains of use, Young-Min uses Korean at home in, in South Korea with his family and friends, and at school with Korean friends and in Korean classes. English is used in school subjects and with non-Korean friends. Limited German is used in the host country.

Student Ahmed, from Iran. Age: 17. Persian. Arrived at the school in grade 7.

[First Ahmed said 'my mother tongue was quite good before I came to this school'. Asked how it felt changing from one way of life and one language to another he replied 'it's quite hard, 'cause first of all you don't speak the language and second in order to understand others you have to know the language so it's not kind of good feeling'. I asked if he was able to use his language here ; he answered 'Not really. I started my mother tongue lessons like after my second year here, about twice a week, one and a half hours'. Asked if this was useful he said 'It doesn't really help'. I asked how it felt when he went back for holidays, and he said 'I don't have problem with that because at home I'm using my mother tongue, but there's always some problems because there's a difference between slang language and like formal language. Daily language I use at home with my family, and like the formal language in school with my teacher'. He said 'there is a little tiny gap between my friends, it's kind of weird because it's my own language and I don't know some words'. Asked how this made him feel, he said 'Not so good'. Asked how long he thought it would take him to get his language back up to normal, he said 'probably 3 months'. About the mother tongue lessons in Persian he said 'Well I find these classes actually useless somehow 'cause I see no improvement', 'maybe because I'm the only student in the class with the teacher so if it was like in the timetable I would take it more serious'. I asked if the class would be more interesting if it was not only literature, and he answered 'yes, because literature is not that interesting, but still it helps you with some words, many actually'. He suggested 'if they can somehow put this in the timetable it'd be much better', 'because I'm taking A1 High and I have a lesson a week or something, and for English B High I have five lessons.' I added 'Everything included in the regular programme', and he said 'That would be much better'.]

Ahmed, when asked about his mother tongue, spoke at some length. For him, Persian is his language of origin and mother tongue. He always uses 'Persian', not Farsi, for the name of his language as it is the IB term, and for his nationality Persian, not Iranian, perhaps revealing his awareness of the negative connotations some politicians have ascribed to Iran. It is also his language of internal identification, and for those who know him, the language of external identification. It is his language of competence, though he is aware of increasing gaps.

He is critical of the mother tongue lessons, both because they are 'useless' and because of the timetabling, though he admits that being the only student is part of the problem. He has noticed that when he goes back home to Iran there is a gap in his knowledge of his own language, about which he is ambivalent. This demonstrates the importance of keeping up the academic language as postulated by Cummins in his BICS/CALP distinction (see above, Cummins, 1980a). He would prefer the mother tongue classes to be included in the regular school timetable. This reflects Cummins' (2003:64) note that:

When the message, implicit or explicit, is 'Leave your language and culture at the school-house door', children also leave a central part of who they are – their identities- at the school-house door.

[First Ahmed commented that when he first came to the school 'I didn't know anything - I couldn't talk English'. Later he added 'It's actually become a part of my life...every time I sit on my desk I'm thinking about something it's in English...it's kind of like the main language so everywhere I go I can use English'. Asked if he put his languages in order, he said 'Yeah, there is actually an order, like Persian is first because it's fluent, my mother tongue, can't change it, that's kind of like other way it's English the first one now as well, because no-one seems to speak my mother-tongue, so in order to talk with anyone I have to use English so they're kind of like both first'.]

English seems to have become Ahmed's primary language of function, the one he uses most. He puts this down to the fact that no-one else speaks his language at school. He also says it has become a part of his life, so is on the way to becoming a language of competence. The fact that he has to speak English and feels comfortable with it has put it almost on an equal

footing with Persian. Thus English has become useful, helpful, a means to communicate with the outside world, and a part of his life. This reflects the ‘historical distinctiveness of contemporary multilingualism’ discussed by Aronin and Singleton (2008), where they mention, for example (pp.9-10), that

the diffusion of English is no longer tied to Britain’s colonial past and multilingualism involving English is present in cultures and amidst languages far removed not only geographically but also historico-politically from the historical source of English and indeed from all centres of English native-speaking population.

[Asked how good his German was, Ahmed said ‘it’s OK, not that good, not perfect, and not like beginners, it’s in the middle’. Asked how much he used it, he replied ‘not in the school but I know enough for what I want here. I try my best to do German’.]

He has a positive attitude to German, which can be described as a language of function. He often speaks in class of various contacts with local people, from buying kebabs to watching films in German.

Domains of use would place Ahmed with home here and Iran as the place of use of Persian, used socially and emotionally with parents and friends, and academically during mother tongue lessons. English is used in the school both academically and socially, and for trips abroad; German in the wider sphere of the host country.

4.5 Student Maria, from Colombia. Age:17. Language: Spanish. Came to school in grade 11.

[Maria begins by saying that her mother tongue is Spanish, and she came to the school in Grade 11, so is in her second year. Before that all her schooling had been in Spanish. She announced that this was her first year of being ‘bilingual’, which she understood as meaning ‘I can communicate, I can say what I’m feeling, I can express myself completely, I can write, I can read, and if I feel angry I can say everything I feel’. Asked why she felt angry, she replied ‘I am a very explosive person and if someone did something bad to me I feel that I have to tell the people how I am feeling so they change what they have made wrong’. I asked if it made her feel lost, and she said ‘Yeah, I feel lost. At the beginning when I came I was really shy because I didn’t know how to talk so I was afraid of making mistakes and

people make laugh make fun of me, but now with time I got more language and I can talk and say whatever I want'.]

Maria is one of a few students who were accepted into the school in grade 11. Her mother tongue, language of origin, is Spanish, and this is also her language of internal and external identification, and of competence. Interestingly she says that she is now 'bilingual' and this may imply that she considers English has reached equivalence with Spanish as a language of function, though I cannot agree with her judgement. Expression is obviously important for her, as is self-esteem, shown by her declaration that she doesn't like others to make fun of her mistakes.

[We then established that Maria had been a high-flying student at her last school, so I asked 'how does that make you feel, from being a really good student and you come to a school where you suddenly realize that the language is going to be the barrier?'. She answered 'That was terrible for me. I cried like many many days because of that, because my country when I was there I was like the fifth student in the entire school, I got scholarships, all the teachers loved me, I had friends, I could teach everyone if they need help, now I came and maybe I know this already but I don't know if I know it or not because I don't know the language, so it was really hard'. I asked if she had now overcome these factors, and she answered 'yes and no. Because when I need to read something like for Physics or for Design Technology there're still words that I don't use every single day so I don't get like the real meaning in my mind already so I kind of know what they mean but maybe I don't use it like in the proper way. I am a really really good writer in my language, I can write poetry and I can do songs and all of that, but when I try in English it's so hard'.]

Here she shows more of what it is like to be a new student in a new language. From being a high flyer she has had to adapt. She has literacy in Spanish to an advanced level, and has realised that gaining the Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) of Cummins (1980a), and being able to write for a specific register, requires more time and work. She has also had to accept that her 'identity' will have to be re-established. She had been used to being surrounded by friends and respected as one of the best students in the school. At this school

she is a student with limited English skills among a student body of high flyers in English; this has certainly affected her deeply.

[Asked if she was keeping up her Spanish she replied ‘That’s a problem, because I’m talking in English the whole day like most of time, I spend most of my day reading, talking or doing things in English and if I talk at home basically I say ‘hi mum, how are you, how was your day?’, I go to my room and start to do homeworks in English, then I go on-line, talk in English probably, I also talk in Spanish with some friends, but then I got the word in English but I don’t get really quickly the word to express that in Spanish, so my mother is like ‘you have been talking Spanish like for all your life, what is wrong with you?’ and I’m feel so bad about it’. She added ‘First of all, I find it really unfair the fact that the English-speaking students and the German-speaking students have four lessons per week of literature mother tongue, and then I got to pay more than the school fee that’s already high and then I got two lessons per week, and I’m doing Spanish A1 High’.]

This is again a plea for more time for mother tongue lessons – though slightly ambivalent as she believes she already knows enough Spanish. It lays bare the fundamental lack of equity across language provision in the school, even for a language as widely spoken as Spanish. Students studying English or German are taught within the curriculum; those doing other languages pay full fees but receive one less language in the curriculum, and pay extra for their own language.

[Asked how she saw English as a part of herself now she answered ‘I feel it’s the best thing ever happened to me because now I can go wherever I want to go and if I get lost I can communicate, so I can go and explain what I want. That’s really important for me because here I cannot make friends outside the school because they speak German and I can go to the shopping centre here and I can express what I want’. She added ‘Yeah, as long as English the world language, I can make new friends in different countries that open opportunities for me, I can go to different countries to study’.]

This would place English as a language of function without doubt, likely to become stronger and probably equal with her mother tongue. It shows the global role that English now plays, as commented on above (Aronin and Singleton, 2008; Pennycook, 2007; Brutt-Griffler, 2004).

[Asked why she was taking the school German course she responded ‘Because it’s really important for me to express myself, whatever someone outside of school make something bad to me, I want to listen and know what they are saying. Most people in school speak German and so I find really annoying, that they talk in German in front of people who doesn’t understand so they could like make fun of you. That’s another wall when you came because if they’re going out, in the city as friends and they will talk in German, but you cannot go with them because you cannot speak the language, so German is also really important because I live here’.]

Maria values German in order to be able to express herself, and also so as to be able to be included in a conversation rather than be the object of gossip. She also values it because she is living in a German-speaking community and therefore wishes to participate. The German course is not obligatory in grades 11 and 12, though some 30% of students take German as an IB subject, so Maria has made a real effort to learn the language for personal reasons.

Her domains of use show that Spanish is used at home, and at school in mother tongue classes, and also with friends. English is used at school for academic work and also socially with friends. German is also important for Maria socially, and because she believes it is a suitable thing to do as she lives in a German-speaking country. Most students at the school do speak German; it is taught to all students from early childhood, and as the host-country language is widely used.

4.6 Student Natasha, from Ukraine. Age: 17. Russian and Romanian. Came to school in grade 9.

[First I asked Natasha to talk about her languages. She said ‘Well I consider I have two mother tongues, one of them is Russian and the other one is Moldovan’. I said I thought I remembered something about Ukrainian, and she said ‘Ukrainian yes, but

it's probably more my parents' mother tongue, I just understand a lot and I can talk'. Natasha said she started Russian lessons as soon as she came to the school, and 'I'm doing A1 High, Russian. I had perfect speaking knowledge and vocabulary but I never learned the grammar, so it is a disadvantage now 'cause whenever I get essays for 2,000 words I have the most stupid mistakes ever, they are the grammar mistakes'. When she was six her family moved from Ukraine to Moldova, where Natasha started school in Romanian. She said 'I didn't know any Romanian, but I just learned it, well I was young and it was easy for me'. She stayed there till Grade 8, and then came to the school in Grade 9. I asked her 'Moldovan was then your main language, your school language?', and she responded 'Yeah. I guess it is Romanian more, but it's just many people calling it Moldovan'.

I asked her 'when you were still at school in Moldova what language did you speak to your parents?' and she replied 'Russian, my family', to which I asked 'So Ukrainian didn't come into it at all?' She said 'No, no Ukrainian. Even to my relatives when I go visit them in Ukraine we still talk Russian. I asked 'So you never actually went to any schooling where you learnt to read and write Russian?' She answered 'No' and said it was still the home language. She said 'my Romanian wasn't as strong at the beginning because I had no-one to help me with the homework, but then, I improved, but still my spoken Romanian was not as good - the grammar is perfect because I learned it but the vocabulary isn't great, so even the literature, I read it in Russian because I liked reading in Russian'. She said that 'a shop, you can see it's written 'shop' in Romanian and then the word 'shop' in Russian (in Cyrillic)'. She said 'Didn't really read any books in Romanian, I just like the Russian literature more than the Romanian'.

Natasha confirmed that she was taking Russian A1 High, English A2 Standard and German B High. I asked about Romanian, and she said 'No, I didn't take it'. I commented 'the language that was your school language before you came here, that you were most literate in, you've dropped completely'. She said 'I think I'm losing it really because I don't use it, I don't speak it to my parents and the only time I use it is when I go to Moldova, I speak to some of my friends but I don't use the actual Romanian grammatical way of Romanian, I use this mixture of Russian and Romanian so I'm forgetting the real 'Romanian' Romanian'. I asked if 'when you came here you chose to take Russian as your mother tongue? Did you think

about doing Romanian?’ and she responded ‘I was considering taking Romanian but then I thought probably I’d need Russian more in my life. It is the family language first of all, probably I’ll just need it more in my life and Romanian anyways if I want to, I can recover everything because I have a good base’. I asked if she noticed gaps in her Romanian. She replied ‘it’s quite embarrassing sometimes but as I told you before it’s normal when people speak a mixture of Russian and Romanian so whenever I don’t know a word I automatically switch to Russian, everyone understands’.]

Natasha has a more complex repertoire of languages than the other four students. Her family language was always, and remains, Russian. This will be her language of origin, her mother tongue. Russian is also the language she likes best, and likes reading literature in. It is the language she has chosen to do her highest level of literature study for the IB Diploma, although she has never been at a school where subjects were taught in Russian; this makes her unique. She started schooling at the age of six in Moldova in Romanian (‘Moldovan’ is the term generally used to describe the dialect which includes many Russian words in Romanian in Moldova) and her schooling was all in Romanian, her ‘former second language’, until she came to the school in grade 9. She chose not to continue Romanian as a studied subject at all, and her schooling has been in English at the school. She understands Ukrainian but does not speak it; Russian is the family language, and she did not go to school in Ukraine.

Thus Russian is her language of origin and her mother tongue; it is her language of internal and external identification, and of competence. It is one of her languages of function. Romanian is not used at home, but with her friends in Moldova. When in that milieu it is likely that she is identified as a native ‘Moldovan’ speaker by the residents. It is probably no longer the language she knows best, but will still be the language of function when she is in Moldova.

[I asked Natasha ‘You arrived here and your English was?’ Natasha: ‘Not so good, well, I had problems understanding people, and then later on when my English improved I found English-speaking friends’. ‘It affects some of my grades, for example, biology, but maths, for example, I went to the highest group, so, it depended what subject, where I didn’t really need the English I was doing quite

good, but where I had to know like more vocabulary, it's more difficult'. I asked 'how did you react to that?' and she replied 'it wasn't that nice because I wanted to be a better student. I was reading, I was talking to people, communicating a lot, and it just improved'. However, she added 'somehow it was hard for me to talk during class because I was kind of embarrassing to talk in front of people because I knew my English is not as good as their English and you know, some people...can make fun of you or something. No, I didn't want to talk, well now I talk easily because I'm confident, most of the times'.]

English was a language that Natasha made rapid progress in, and she also comments that it improved more quickly when she made friends. She alone of the five students researched in this study is taking English A2, not B. English, her 'current second language', is possibly her highest language of function. IB English A2 is for students who have a higher level of ability in English; by taking a language A1 – which Natasha is doing in Russian – and a language A2, students gain an IB Bilingual Diploma. It is interesting to conjecture that Natasha may have reached this higher level of achievement because of her ability in two other languages – Russian and Romanian – showing the benefits of transferring literacy from one language to another. See, for example, Cummins, 2003:61: 'Bilingualism confers linguistic advantages on children'.

[Natasha said when she first came to the school she knew no German. She said 'Well, German is quite important in my life because I want to learn it and I just started learning it as soon as I came to the school but only last year I started learning it properly'. I asked 'If you're out and about do you speak German or English?' She said 'Well I try to use my German skills, but if that doesn't help then I just speak English because it's easier and it's not that embarrassing because my German's not that good'. However, she went on to say that she is taking IB German B Higher.]

German, the 'host-country language', is therefore also a language of function, both in school as a subject, and in the wider sphere of the host country.

As regards domains of use: home is Russian; school is mostly English but also Russian and German; when with friends in Moldova, it is Romanian. She is at home in a country, Moldova, where plurilingualism is a fact of life. Natasha appears to value all her languages, and is choosing a career, Human Resources Management, where she believes they may be useful. Russian is valued as the language of the home, in which she speaks to all her family members, also those still in Ukraine. She read Russian literature even when receiving education in Romanian as ‘she liked reading it’ and ‘somehow I thought probably I’d need Russian more in my life...It is the family language first of all, I don’t know, probably I’ll just need it more in my life’.

Natasha is fairly diffident about how she values English. She mentions ‘when my English improved I found English-speaking friends’; ‘I was reading, I was talking to people, communicating a lot, and it just improved’; and ‘now I talk easily because I’m confident, most of the times’. However, she is someone who is used to learning new languages and she accepts them as a natural part of her life. She has taken English into her ‘family’ of repertoires and it will have natural value, foremost as the language for all other curriculum subjects, and then as the current lingua franca.

Different reactions from different students

The analysis of the transcripts has shown the complex situation these young people are in: they arrive from their home country often as high achievers, and have to start ‘from the bottom’ with no, or very little, knowledge of the school language of instruction, English. They live in an ‘international space’, one barely discussed in the literature on sociolinguistics, where English is spoken by them in school but not at home *or* in the general environment. Thus there is less opportunity for them to practise and hear the language than if they were immigrants to a country. Balanced against this is the fact that English is the world’s lingua franca at present, so there is much access to it on the internet, in books and other spaces. Maria expressed her frustration at not being able to express herself as she wanted – she felt it very important emotionally and with friends, and did not like to be excluded.

On top of this there is the language of the wider environment, German. For some nationalities this presents a huge challenge, as if a British person, for example, in a hypothetical situation where Chinese was the lingua franca, were to go to a school in Japan where all subjects were taught in Chinese, and she also had to learn Japanese, meanwhile taking mother tongue

lessons in English. For some students this is problematical, as seen by the reactions of Young-Min, who after seven years in the school has learned very little German, and whose English is also weak. The 'multilingual space' he inhabits may have simply been incomprehensible for him. However, the law requires that all students take German lessons in our school. On the other hand, students such as Maria learn German determinedly and apparently with success; she is an example of someone who is at home in the 'multilingual space' she lives in.

Some of the students have strong criticisms of the way the mother tongue lessons are organised, and taught. Miriam, Ahmed and Maria all express their wish for the lessons to be included in the regular timetable and fee structure, though one at least, Ahmed, admits there are problems with this as he is the only student learning Persian. They also have criticisms of their teachers, ranging from 'just reading books', to general accusations of 'not being at a high enough level' (the Persian teacher). They all preferred the way their language was taught at home, where they studied all subjects in the language. Miriam points out that her parents did not understand the importance of keeping up Arabic when she first came to the school. Ahmed has noticed the 'gaps' in his language when he goes home to Iran. Maria's mother has pointed out that Maria appears to have 'gaps' in her Spanish. Natasha admits that she is losing her ability in Romanian because she doesn't use it, though thinks she can recover it fairly easily as she has a good base. She is a bit embarrassed about the 'gaps' in her Romanian, but says it is not a problem in Moldova because she can just use Russian words, which most people understand.

It is questionable if, were it not for the requirements of the IB Diploma whereby a language A1 is necessary, the students would pay extra and keep up lessons in their mother tongue: in this respect the focus on achievement can be seen as a motivating factor. The school is a strongly achievement-focused school, and if these students did not follow the programme they have they would be seen as outsiders. Both Natasha and Young-Min express satisfaction with the mother tongue programme and their teachers.

The students have mostly similar attitudes to English, Maria, Miriam and Ahmed saying they sometimes feel they think in the language. Ahmed especially values English, as hardly anyone else speaks his language, Persian, in the school environment. Maria values the status of English and the doors it opens. All of the students will now go on to study at university in English. Even students with weak English usually go to study at university in English, thus

reinforcing the claims in Krashen's (2006) book that 'English Fever' is rampant. There is a Webster's University locally which is considered easy to enter, and students also choose to study there if their parents want them to remain nearby, or possibly because fees for non-EU citizens are too high at universities in the UK or the USA.

Most of the students have a positive approach to German: Ahmed uses it when appropriate in the host country; Miriam will use it to study at university; Maria does not want to be laughed at so needs to understand what others are saying; and Natasha also shares this feeling, while wanting to use German whenever possible.

The arguments for additive bilingualism have been laid out above, and it is most probable that by keeping up their mother tongue at a literate level the five students in this study are gaining all the advantages stated there. By implication, if they were not taking their mother tongue in the IB it is most likely that they would be susceptible to the effects of subtractive bilingualism, and their performance, grades, and self-esteem would suffer accordingly. It is unfortunate that they do not always enjoy the classes. Certainly, having them after school, once a week, sometimes one-to-one, is not necessarily motivating, and having to pay extra, on top of the school fees, aggravates the situation.

Recommendations

Given the multitude of factors which are at stake, and the constraints which are bound to exist in privately funded institutions like international schools, the following recommendations can be made:

- a. At the secondary level there needs to be a sensitively developed programme of ESL taught through academic content, mother tongue instruction, and an in-service training course of linguistic and cultural awareness for mainstream staff and management that helps them understand the large role that 'language matters' play in international school students' lives. Such a course also gives them practical techniques for teaching, which is most important (Mertin, 2013). The IB could play a helpful role here by establishing a specific programme of instruction and assessment for second language learners in the middle years programme, and delete the term 'support' from its description of such provision. Likewise the CIS, which

could cease using the all-pervasive ‘support’ for ESL students, which casts them in a peripheral role.

- b. A greater awareness among subject teachers of the inherent richness of languages in students in order to draw on it more would perhaps give the students more motivation and feeling of being included.
- c. Mother tongue teachers can be made aware of the wider pedagogical potential of including other subject matter in lessons.
- d. Parents could be made aware from the very beginning of the importance and benefits of their children maintaining literacy in their mother tongues from an early age.
- e. The pedagogical advantages of having some mother tongues at least included in the school timetable and fee structure could be communicated to the school management.

Putting such proposals into practice would give international schools a more credible ‘international’ outlook and practice than simply having students from many different countries, all learning in English. The research base is clear: Cummins (2003:61) notes, adding that more detail on the findings can be found in Baker (2000, 2001), Cummins (2000), and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), that:

More than 150 research studies conducted during the past 35 years suggest that when children continue to develop their abilities in two or more languages throughout their school years, they gain a deeper understanding of language and how to use it effectively.

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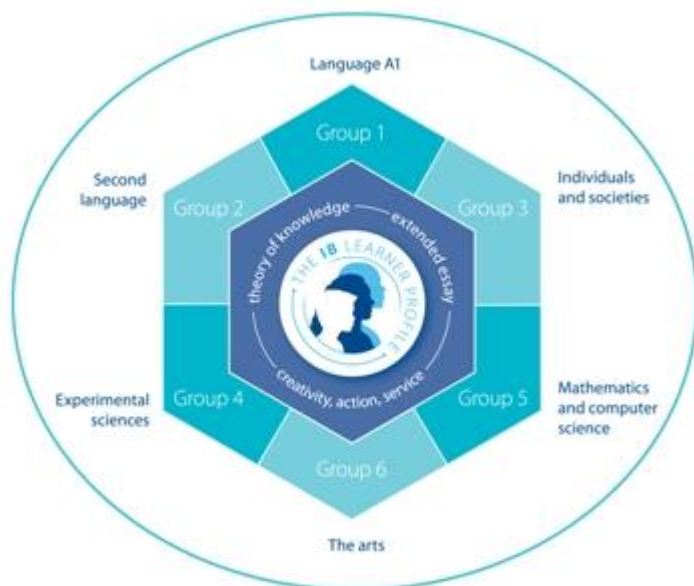
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Appendix 1

IB Diploma Programme model (no longer valid)

The curriculum is modelled by a hexagon with six academic areas surrounding the three core requirements.



Over the course of the two-year programme, students:

- study six subjects chosen from the six subject groups
- complete an extended essay
- follow a theory of knowledge course (TOK)
- participate in creativity, action, service (CAS).

Normally:

- three of the six subjects are studied at higher level (courses representing 240 teaching hours)
- the remaining three subjects are studied at standard level (courses representing 150 teaching hours).

Subjects, other than languages, may be taught and examined in:

- English
- French
- Spanish.

Appendix 2

INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE – IB (no longer valid)

Taken from the following website:

<http://www.ibo.org/diploma/recognition/guide/slided.cfm>

What are the requirements for the IB diploma and certificate?

The Diploma Programme is a two-year, full-time programme. Students must choose one subject from each of groups 1 to 5, thus ensuring breadth of experience in languages, social studies, the experimental sciences and mathematics. The sixth subject may be an arts subject chosen from group 6, or the student may choose another subject from groups 2 to 5. At least three and not more than four are taken at higher level (HL), the others at standard level (SL). HL courses represent a recommended 240 teaching hours; SL courses cover 150 teaching hours.

In each examination, the student is graded on a scale of 1 (minimum) to 7 (maximum). The award of the diploma requires students to meet defined standards and conditions. These include a minimum total of 24 points and the satisfactory completion of three compulsory core components: 1) theory of knowledge (TOK); 2) extended essay; and 3) creativity, action, service (CAS). Thus, the programme has the strengths of a traditional and broad curriculum, augmented by the three requirements shown at the centre of the programme model above.

Approximately 80% of students are awarded the diploma. A student who does not satisfy the requirements of the full Diploma Programme, or who has elected to take fewer than six subjects, is awarded a certificate for the examinations completed. Students who complete more than six subjects receive an extra certificate for the additional subject(s).

Group 1: Language A1

It is a requirement of the programme that students study at least one subject from group 1.

Language A1 is the study of literature in a student's first language, including the study of selections of world literature.

Forty five languages are regularly available at either higher level or standard level. Other languages may be studied provided:

- there is sufficient written literature available
- a request is received by the IB well in advance of the examination period.

In studying their first language, students are able to develop:

- a personal appreciation of the literature
- skills in literary criticism
- strong written and oral skills
- respect for the literary heritage of their first language
- an international perspective.

The range of texts studied in language A1 courses is broad, and students grow to appreciate a language's complexity, wealth and subtleties in a variety of contexts. A specific aim is to engender a lifelong interest in literature and a love for the elegance and richness of human expression.

Language A1 Group 1—best language

Offered at both higher (HL) and standard level (SL) in more than 60 languages.

A pre-university literature course in the student's native or best language.

- Promotes an appreciation of literature and a knowledge of the student's own culture along with that of other societies.
- Develops the student's powers of expression, both in oral and written communication.
- Emphasizes the skills involved in writing and speaking in a variety of styles and situations.
- Offers the student the opportunity to read 11-15 works grouped by genres. Works are chosen from a broad list of prescribed authors and works representing different literary periods, genres and regions in the target language, as well as literature in translation.

The course is assessed through both oral and written examinations that allow students to demonstrate:

- individual language skills
- the ability to analyse critically and to comment upon both familiar and unfamiliar texts
- the ability to express a personal and independent response to literature.

Assessment

Higher level (HL)

- Two written examination papers externally assessed
- World literature assignments: two written papers of 1,000-1,500 words each
- Two oral activities internally assessed by the teacher and externally moderated by the IBO

Standard level (SL)

- Assessment as HL, except only **one** world literature assignment

Group 2: second language

It is a requirement of the programme that students study at least one subject from group 2.

The aim is to promote an understanding of another culture through the study of a second

language. A large range of modern languages are available plus two classical languages (Latin and classical Greek).

The main emphasis of the modern language courses is on language acquisition and use in a range of contexts and for different purposes. Three options are available to accommodate students with different backgrounds.

- **Language *ab initio*** courses are for beginners, ie students who have no previous experience of learning the language they have chosen. These courses are only available at standard level.
- **Language B** courses are intended for students who have had some previous experience of learning the language. They may be studied at either higher level or standard level.
- **Language A2** courses are designed for students who have a high level of competence in the language they have chosen. They include the study of both language and literature, and are available at higher level and standard level.

Language B Group 2—second language

Offered at both higher level (HL) and standard level (SL) in more than 30 languages.

A foreign language course for students with two to five years' previous experience in learning the target language.

- Promotes an awareness, and sensitivity to, the culture(s) related to the language studied.
- Prepares students to use the language appropriately in a range of situations and contexts and for a variety of purposes.
- Focuses on language acquisition and development in the four primary language skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing.
- Language skills are developed through the study and use of a range of written and spoken material, which extends from everyday oral exchanges to literary texts related to the culture(s) concerned.

Assessment

Higher level (HL)

- Two written examination papers externally assessed
- Two oral activities internally assessed by the teacher and externally moderated by the IBO

Standard level (SL)

- Same assessment model as HL

Language A2

Group 2—second language

Offered at both higher level (HL) and standard level (SL) in 16 languages.

A language and literature course for bilingual speakers and for highly competent users of the target language.

Gives students the opportunity to develop and refine their language skills.

- Includes an exploration of the culture(s) related to the target language.
- Develops students' ability to communicate clearly, fluently and effectively.
- Enables students to engage in critical examination of a wide range of texts.

Assessment

Higher level (HL)

- Two externally assessed written examination papers
- Two externally assessed written tasks: one based on literature and the other on a topic of cultural interest (total of 1,500 words for both tasks)
- Two oral tasks assessed by the teacher and externally moderated by the IBO

Standard level (SL)

- Same assessment model as HL

How to interpret IB grades and transcripts

A student's examination performance in individual subjects is scored on a scale of 1–7 points with a further 3 points available based on a matrix of performance in the theory of knowledge (TOK) and the extended essay components. Students who display satisfactory levels of performance across all subject areas and achieve a minimum of 24 points (out of a possible 45) are awarded the IB diploma. All others receive a certificate of results for the subjects examined. Subjects are marked according to the following scale:

- 7** Excellent
- 6** Very good
- 5** Good
- 4** Satisfactory
- 3** Mediocre
- 2** Poor
- 1** Very poor
- N** No grade

The TOK course and the extended essay are graded according to the following scale.

- A** Excellent
- B** Good
- C** Satisfactory
- D** Mediocre
- E** Elementary
- N** No grade

The results also indicate the completion of creativity, action, service (CAS) and total number of points for the diploma, if a diploma has been awarded.

Bilingual diplomas are awarded for:

- two languages A1, or
- a language A1 taken together with a language A2, or
- a group 3 or 4 subject taken in a language other than the candidate's language A1,
or
- an extended essay in a group 3 or group 4 subject written in a language other than the candidate's language A1.

Appendix 3

ENGLISH LEARNERS= LONG-TERM K-12 ACHIEVEMENT IN NORMAL CURVE EQUIVALENTS (NCEs) ON STANDARDIZED TESTS IN ENGLISH READING COMPARED ACROSS SEVEN PROGRAM MODELS (Results aggregated from a series of longitudinal studies of well implemented, mature programs in five school districts and in California from 1998-2000

Program 1: Two-way developmental bilingual education (BE), including Content ESL

Program 2: One-way developmental BE, including ESL taught through academic content

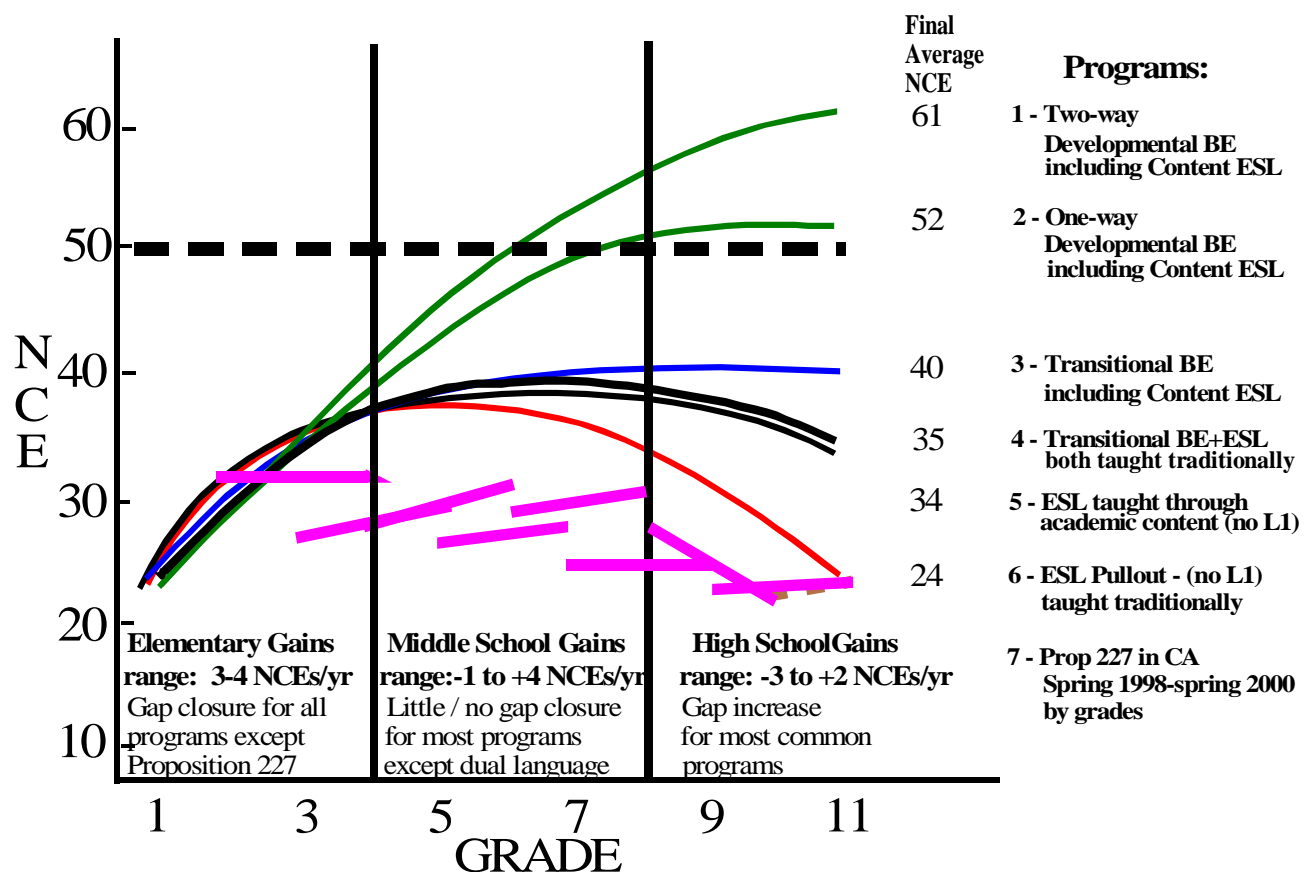
Program 3: Transitional BE, incl. ESL taught through academic content

Program 4: Transitional BE, including ESL, both taught traditionally

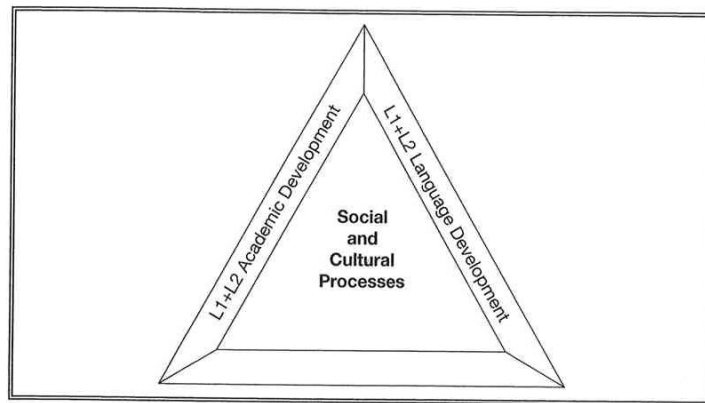
Program 5: ESL taught through academic content using current approaches with no L1 use

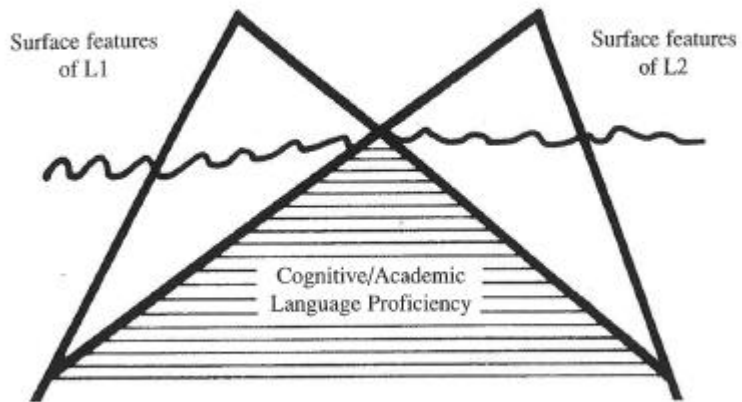
Program 6: ESL pullout - taught traditionally

Program 7: Proposition 227 in California (sequential 2-year cohorts, spring 1998-spring 2000)



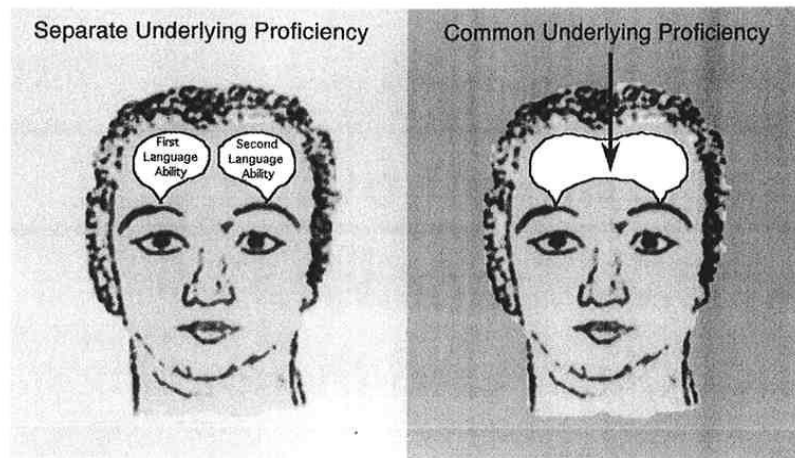
Appendix 4



Appendix 5

* The 'dual-iceberg' representation of bilingual proficiency

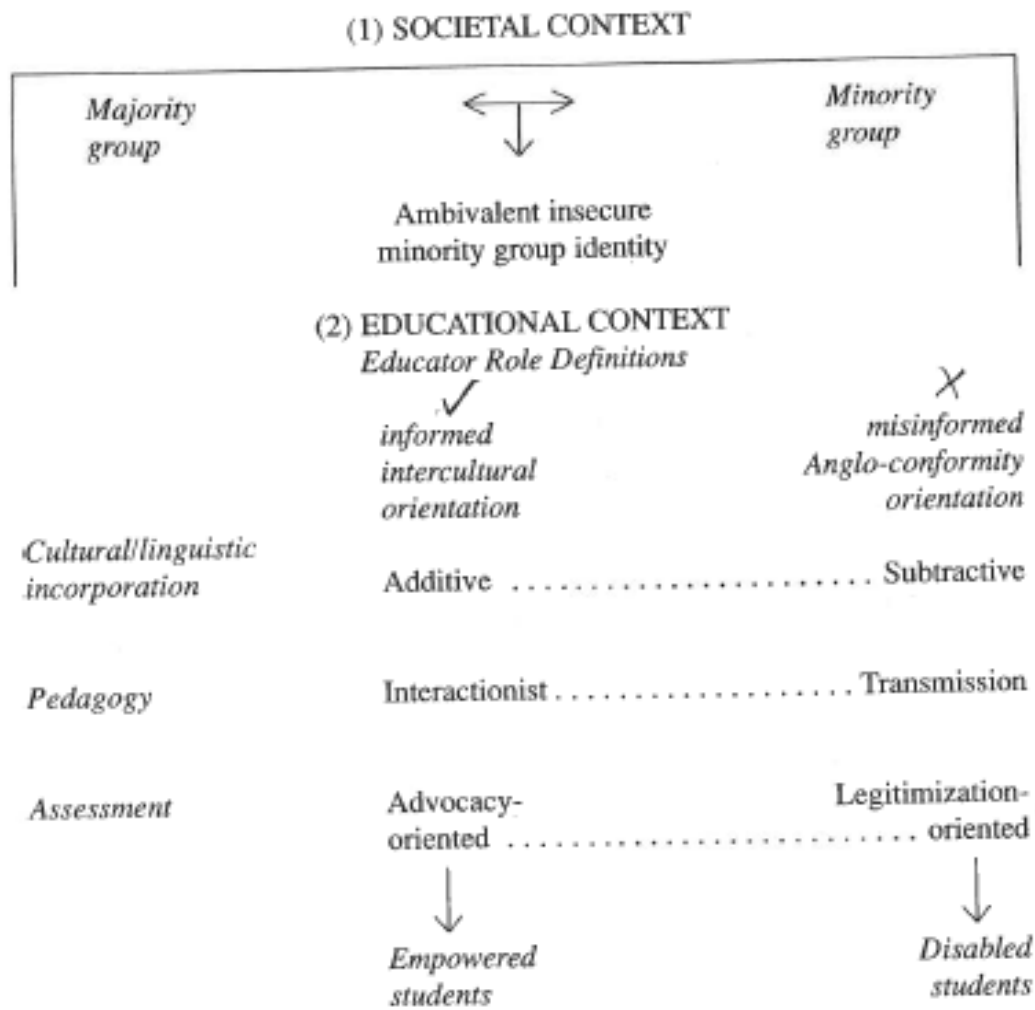
Appendix 6



Appendix 7

		Cognitively undemanding						
		Greeting someone	Recites nursery rhymes					
		Talking about today's weather	Listens to a story or poem					
		Tells their own stories	Describes a story on TV					
		Describes what they have just seen	Copies information from a screen or text					
Context embedded		Compares and contrasts	Reflects on feelings	Context reduced				
		Summarizes	Argues a case					
		Recalls and reviews	Sustains and justifies an opinion					
		Solution seeking to problems	Evaluates and analyzes critically					
		Explains and justifies	Interprets evidence					
		Role play	Applies principles to a new situation					
			Cognitively demanding					

Appendix 8



Empowerment of minority students: a framework for intervention

Appendix 9

Achievement focus: the IB

All five students are taking their '**mother tongue**' in Group 1 as Language A1, and all are taking it at Higher level, as follows:

Miriam: Arabic A1 Higher
 Young-Min: Korean A1 Higher
 Ali: Persian A1 Higher
 Maria: Spanish A1 Higher
 Natasha: Russian A1 Higher.

Their choices for IB **English**, their '**second language**', in Group 2, are:

Miriam: Grade 12; English B Higher - came to IS in Grade 9.
 Young-Min: Grade 11; English B Standard - came to IS in Grade 5
 Ali: Grade 12; English B Higher - came to IS in Grade 9
 Maria: Grade 12; English B Higher - came to IS in Grade 11
 Natasha: Grade 12; English A2 Standard.- came to IS in Grade 9

Three students chose German, the '**host-country language**':

Miriam: IB German B Higher, in Group 6
 Ali: IB German B Standard, in Group 6
 Maria: School course German

If successful in the IB Diploma all five students will be awarded a Bilingual Diploma as they are taking their Group 1 subject, Language A1, in a language other than the subjects being taken in Groups 3-5. Natasha would gain the Bilingual Diploma by two routes as she is taking a Language A1 and a Language A2.