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LIFELONG LEARNING

SE FORMER TOUT AU LONG DE SA VIE PROFESSIONNELLE



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Introduction

Karen L. Taylor, International School of Geneva, Associate Professor in Practice, Durham University School of Education

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

The purpose of the RIPE network is to bring researchers and classroom practitioners into a space of collaboration and exchange with the aim of promoting robust research-informed practice in international education and collectively to construct a deep understanding of dialogic teaching and learning in a plurilingual and pluricultural context. The fundamental aim of the RIPE network is to develop deeply engaged international “networked learning communities”¹ whose work will ultimately have a positive impact on student learning. The articles in this volume offer a wide range of provocative thinking about learning and teaching in a variety of contexts. Together they push us to reexamine our stance as educators, our principles and our values as expressed in our practice.

Privilege comes with responsibility

Elke Van dermijnsbrugge poses compelling ethical questions about the nature and purpose of international education in a complex world, one in which we have an obligation to acknowledge our privilege and to live up to the values so often stated in our mission statements. We have the potential to transform our classrooms into “ethics-centred” political spaces to promote a concept of human flourishing that is collective rather than individualised.

Positioning language as critical to the international education sector

Eowyn Crisfield’s work echoes concerns raised by van Dermijnsbrugge by challenging us to think critically about the core values about global citizenship and intercultural learning so often found on school websites. Crisfield outlines the linguistic and cultural consequences of using English as the medium of instruction. When international (or internationalised) schools offer English medium instruction without support for the child’s first or home language, they risk

¹ Jackson, D. and Temperley, J. (2007). From professional learning community to networked learning community. In Stoll, L. and Seashore Louis, K. (Eds), *Professional Learning Communities: Divergence, Depth and Dilemmas*. Berkshire, England: Open University Press.

undermining students' long-term academic achievement and contribute to the linguistic, cultural and pedagogical dominance of the anglophone world.

Access to education for children in refugee camps

Building on the theme of addressing social justice issues in education, Kennedy Monari evokes the consequences of marginalisation by exploring the conditions and contexts under which education is offered for Rohingya children in Bangladeshi refugee camps. Using a political economy of education policy analysis framework, Monari outlines both the challenges and progress of providing access to education for children in a highly vulnerable situation and points to the troubling relationship between juridical status, belonging and opportunity for stateless children.

Bilingual and bicultural schools in the Chinese context

If the preceding articles revealed elements of marginalisation in international education, Ragan et al.'s study reflects a desire for integration and demonstrates how the Dehong Education Strategy (DES), seeks to build bilingual and bicultural fluency through delivery of the Chinese National Curriculum and constructivist, inquiry-based approaches while providing instruction in Chinese and English via content and language integrated learning (CLIL).

Empowering learners to become social beings

The fascinating dynamic of intercultural learning and teaching is likewise at the heart of Cabraal's study of cooperative learning in the teaching of English literature in Sri Lankan private secondary schools. While reminding us of the challenges teachers and students faced in the context of Covid-related online learning, Cabraal shows us how adapting collaborative teaching practices may allow for the promotion of student engagement, collective meaning making and democratic values.

Transgression through 'Fluid Grading'

Fanny Passeport's thought piece challenges us to reconsider traditional grading practices in order to create more equitable and humane learning experiences for our students. Drawing from critical pedagogy, Passeport proposes an innovative dialogical approach to crystalizing student learning whilst reminding us of our ethical obligations as classroom practitioners.

Leadership styles and organisational performance

Wayne Russell's study focuses on international and internationalised schools in China, Hong Kong and the United Arab Emirates. Russell argues that, as international schools grow in



number globally, it becomes increasingly important to evaluate organisational performance and its implications for programme quality, staff recruitment, and stakeholder group satisfaction. Whilst there is considerable discussion about leadership styles among international school heads, Russell's findings suggest that the job satisfaction of school principals may be key to institutional wellbeing.

If you would like to submit an article to the next edition of the *Research Journal: International Education Theory and Practice*, we invite you to submit your work to karen.taylor@ecolint.ch.

(Re-)thinking human flourishing in the privileged spaces of international schools

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Abstract

The field of international education is locked into a 'what works' logic that is focused on a notion of human flourishing that is too individualistic, whereby humans are reduced to units of performance. I argue for those of us in international education to rethink human flourishing as the individual commitment to the collective good, and urge international educators to acknowledge their privileged positions, and instead of disavowing their responsibility for the increasing economization and individualization of the field of international education, to turn their classrooms into political spaces that engage with a different kind of human flourishing where the seeds of a better world are planted.

Keywords: Common good, human flourishing, privilege, shared responsibility

Many of the mission statements of international schools and transnational educational organizations (e.g. the International Baccalaureate) around the world echo similar aspirations, aims and values, centered around notions such as "global citizenship", "international mindedness", "intercultural understanding" and "equal opportunities". Additionally, students are often encouraged to "develop their potential", to grow into happy human beings who have a high sense of wellbeing and accomplishment. It seems very difficult to argue against any of these aims. However, a closer look reveals a number of underlying assumptions, unarticulated aims and assessment practices that I consider to be problematic and potentially damaging.

In what follows, I argue that the field of international education within which international schools and transnational educational organizations operate, is locked into a 'what works' logic that is focused on a notion of human flourishing that is too individualistic, whereby humans (i.e. students and teachers) are reduced to units of performance and measurement. I make a plea for international education to be concerned with the development of *homo democraticus* instead of *homo economicus* (Biesta, 2020, p. 35) and for human flourishing to be understood as the individual commitment to the collective good. I urge international educators to acknowledge their privileged positions, and instead of disavowing their responsibility for the increasing economization and individualization of the field of international

education, to put their privilege to work (Chomsky, 2010) and turn their classrooms into political spaces that engage with a different kind of human flourishing where the seeds of a better world are planted.

From homo economicus...

International educational practices are very much driven by the 'what works' logic (Biesta, 2010; 2020) of contemporary education, whereby the identification of good education is dependent on that which can be measured. Measurement and comparison tools are abundant: benchmark testing, league tables, staff performance etc. These tools are concerned with progress and economic productivity through a measurement of the effectiveness of individual performance and development (Komatsu & Rappleye, 2017). Meanwhile, it is commonly admitted that education does not seem to be offering adequate responses to larger societal crises such as rising nationalisms, environmental destruction and increasing global inequalities (see for example Van dermijnsbrugge & Chatelier, 2022). One of the results is a decline in the well-being of staff and students in schools. This realization has led to a proliferation of publications, initiatives and tools that are concerned with the measurement of well-being. One such widely known example is the 'OECD Guidelines on Measuring Subjective Well-being' (2013) which states that such measurements are 'fundamental when assessing the progress of societies' (OECD, 2013, n.p.). Concurrently with this focus on well-being as the latest unit of measurement, the notion of human flourishing is highly discussed and on many a school's agenda. The widely used work of scholars such as Kristjánsson (2015) and Seligman (2011) has contributed to this focus and has developed an understanding of human flourishing that is individualistic in its orientation, and is concerned with, for example, character building, well-being, moral education or personal development. These perspectives have, implicitly as well as explicitly, made their way into schools' mission statements and practices, and are being connected to the aspiration to develop global citizens.

These taken for granted individualistic and measurable notions of well-being and human flourishing, however, are subsumed under a governing regime that is connected to the broad homogenization and economization of society, reducing all of life - including human beings - into commoditised units of measurement (Brown, 2015). Human beings have effectively become "homo economicus" (Biesta, 2020, p. 35). This focus on measurement, evidence and data has resulted in a 'distance between man and the world' (Arendt, 1998, p. 252) or 'world alienation' (Arendt, 1998, p. 252) whereby not only human beings, but the entire planet is seen as a commodity. We have effectively distanced ourselves from the world we live in.

International schools, in their aspiration to develop accomplished individuals who strive to live and perform to their fullest potential, are often contributing to this world alienation and are failing to live up to their responsibilities as privileged institutions if they are solely concerned with the development of the individual, measured through anything from mathematical knowledge to competencies to well-being. This homogenization and depoliticization of international schools and the field of international education is damaging for a world shared by 8 billion people, and problematic if international education is expected to play a key role in transforming the world for the better.

...to homo democraticus

If we want to make the shift from “world alienation” to “world familiarization”, we need to develop an understanding of human flourishing as *an individual commitment to the collective good*. This understanding entails a return to a kind of humanism that is driven by ‘an ethical impulse for a better world’ (Chatelier, 2015, p. 91). Education can enable this kind of human flourishing when it sees its purpose as supporting students and teachers in being and becoming responsible members of society who can show ‘compassion, altruism and ethical engagement’ (Biesta, 2020, p. 32). In other words, I view it as the task of international education to support the development of *homo democraticus* instead of *homo economicus* (Biesta, 2020, p. 35). The development of *homo democraticus* demands an understanding of human flourishing as, for example, ‘a respectful engagement with limited natural and social resources’ (Biesta, 2020, p. 32) and ‘peaceful democratic coexistence’ (Biesta, 2020, p. 32). This perspective cannot be driven by individualistic notions of human flourishing or global measurements, but requires acknowledging the ‘plurality of visions of the good life’ (Appadurai, 2013, p. 300), which are taking shape in spaces where human beings gather, not in the least in the multicultural spaces of international schools. Chatelier (2015), drawing on Appiah, puts it thus:

Thinking about, designing and practising education in a global era provides the challenge and opportunity for imagining a new iteration of humanism. Appiah (2007), in his ethics-centred call for cosmopolitanism, offers the challenge to ‘develop habits of coexistence’ (p. xvii) and to seek a way through the inevitable clash in a global world of ‘universal concern and respect for difference’ (p. xiii). (p. 91)

Human flourishing, in other words, is then a concern for the common good, an acknowledgement of the diversity of perspectives on the good life and a starting point to imagine how we as individuals are contributing to and responsible for larger societal dynamics.

To think of human flourishing as the depoliticized, measurable development of one's individual potential is not contributing to this kind of imagination. As Arendt (1961) reminds us: 'whenever people come together, it doesn't matter the size, public interests come into play and the public sphere is formed' (n.p.). Classrooms, therefore, inevitably are political spaces.

Calling all international educators

I have tried to illustrate how the prevailing understandings of human flourishing in international schools are contributing very little to a better world or a kind of global citizenship that is concerned with the common good. Yet, simply changing our understanding and being open to a collective and more humanistic understanding of human flourishing is not enough. 'Without content and vision', Webb (2017, p. 560), drawing on Harvey, reminds us, we run 'the risk of becoming an empty and endless project that romanticizes the process while losing sight of the goal (Harvey, 2000, 174)'. It is therefore important to ask normative and ethical questions about human flourishing: What does it mean to be a citizen in the contemporary moment? What does a good society entail and why do perspectives differ? How can individuals take responsibility for larger global issues? What are the collective responsibilities of international schools? International educators are paramount in working with and through these questions with their students and have a responsibility in not just opening up a way, but also in leading by example (Webb, 2017) and showing students what 'imagining ourselves otherwise' (Levitas, 2013, p. 177) might look like.

In addition to leading by example, educators have a set of other responsibilities that they can take up. For students to contribute to the common good and to imagine and do things differently in the present, it does not suffice to simply teach knowledge as the *what* of a phenomenon. It is crucial to investigate *why* a phenomenon came into being and what the underlying view on being human is. This is vital in the development of a broader perspective on society and what human flourishing for the common good might mean. For teachers, this means having the courage to work through the difficult knowledge, experiences, traumas and stories that students bring to the classroom. Webb (2017) adds that 'the role of the educator is to create spaces for the telling of forgotten histories, and to demand that they be listened to responsibly' (p 558). He goes on to say that educators have the duty 'to unsettle dominant narratives that seek to close the future and to keep alive the sense of human becoming as a shifting, fluid, open, unfolding process' (p. 558), yet with a clear ethical stance and without shying away from making normative judgements. The relativist and depoliticized approaches often chosen in international schools, under the guise of not wanting to offend or provoke, take away the opportunity for students to learn to work through difficult knowledge, stories and

experiences that are 'other' to them. Moreover, it takes away the opportunity to develop an ethical stance and for students to become political beings who can imagine and enact human flourishing otherwise.

International schools are often uniquely placed to engage students in conversations about different historical and cultural traditions' views about humanity and the world. International school teachers are in a privileged position to unsettle dominant narratives, to listen to forgotten histories as narrated by their students, and help their students to develop perspectives of multiple possibilities for a world of human flourishing.

Privilege comes with a shared responsibility

I have argued that perspectives on and approaches to human flourishing need urgent re-considering and require a shift from an individualistic focus to a focus on individual development for the collective good. I have also suggested that international school teachers are also often in a privileged position to help facilitate this shift. To put things even more strongly, this shift is necessary if international education truly wishes to contribute to a better world by developing and supporting global citizens who are equipped not only with knowledge and understanding, but also with appropriate ethical and normative perspectives to imagine and create a different future, starting from their present school experiences.

It is the privilege of international educators, their 'training, resources, facilities and opportunities' (Webb, 2017, p. 561) that 'confer a responsibility' (Webb, 2017, p. 561). Indeed, failing to live up to this responsibility is itself a political act: an abdication of responsibility by those privileged with power. The task is urgent and pressing, and is a shared one. We cannot wait for systemic changes to happen, but we can start imagining alternatives by forming small communities and coalitions in schools (see for example Chatelier & Van Dermijnsbrugge, 2022) which further dethrone the individual. Drawing on Chomsky, I ask educators, with Webb (2017) that 'rather than disavowing their privilege, it is incumbent on them to put it to use (Chomsky 2010)' (p. 561).

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Orientations to Linguistic Diversity in International Schools: Setting a new agenda

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Abstract

Linguistic diversity is a fact in international education, and that fact requires us to think carefully about approaches to language learning and language teaching in international schools. Current approaches in many, if not most, international schools disregard this key feature of their student populations, often at the expense of the full development of their multilingual students. This article reviews the research on languages and learning, and proposes two pathways international schools must embrace in order to ensure that they are providing ethically sound and beneficial educational experiences to all our students.

Keywords: Multilingualism; EAL/ELL, Linguistic Diversity, DEI, ethical bilingualism

International Schooling: The dominance of English in a multilingual world

The main consistent feature across all types of international school is the linguistic experiences of the student body. Aside from schools in English-speaking countries, the majority of students in international schools are learning in a second/additional language (Bailey, 2022; Carder, 2018) through an immersion approach. It is often not named as such, but the common term 'English as a Medium of Instruction' (EMI) is analogous to immersion for any student entering without proficiency in English. Despite this, or perhaps because of it, discussions about the suitability of English immersion for children in international schools are largely absent. This article will outline the linguistic and cultural origins of 20th century international education, the shift over the last two decades away from these models, and the reasons why this shift is problematic. I will conclude by setting an agenda for two pathways for change that are critical to developing ethical linguistic approaches in international schools (Crisfield, Holland, & Gordon, 2021).

Linguistic and cultural roots of international education

International education is a largely subjective term, and there are no straightforward ways to clearly delineate which schools are or are not *international*. The ideological roots of international education are often associated with the 19th century Spring Grove School, founded in Hounslow, London, in 1867. The founding group "[...] hoped to realise their vision

of international harmony by the creation of a new type of education which would enable the citizens of different countries to become international ambassadors” (Sylvester, 2002, p. 5). The school, which brought together (male) students from various countries, was intended to be part of a network of schools in several countries. The curriculum and teaching would be identical across all participating schools to allow for student exchange, with the goal that students would circulate across several schools over their course of study. The exchange process was mainly designed to allow students to learn a new language in each location and finish with fluency in several languages. This first effort in international education was designed to explicitly support the development of multilingualism and the associated benefits of an ‘international outlook’. The Franco-Prussian war (1870-71), saw the permanent collapse of the initiative, but echoes can still be heard in elements of the International Baccalaureate’s (IB) ‘Learner Profile’ and particularly in the United World Colleges movement founded by Kurt Hahn in 1962, whose stated mission is to ‘make education a force to unite people, nations, and cultures for peace and a sustainable future’ (UWC Schools & Colleges, 2022).

The second wave of international education was pragmatic in nature, with the founding of the first *international school*, the International School of Geneva, in 1924, followed quickly by the Yokohama International School. These schools were created to provide an education to the children of internationally mobile elite workers post-WWI (Hayden, 2006), and have multiplied over the last century. By their very nature, they have always had a high level of linguistic diversity, and high proportions of students acquiring the language of instruction (English).

These early initiatives spawned an industry that has been growing exponentially and shows no signs of slowing down. Tracking growth in the sector is difficult as the term *international school* is entirely unregulated. While schools can be accredited by the Council for International Schools (CIS), others can (and do) label themselves as *international* at will, and why they choose to apply that label is self-determined. Some schools use the label *international* to indicate the diversity of their student body, while others use it to indicate a curricular focus linked to internationalisation, or to indicate that they use all or part of a non-local/national curriculum (mainly from English-speaking countries). A growing number use the label *international* for marketing purposes, to tap into (local) parents’ aspirations for their children (Bailey, 2022).

ISC Research reports a 343% increase in ‘international’ schools, from 2,584 schools in 2000 to 11,451 in 2022 (Bailey, 2022). What is troubling about this data is how ISC defines an *international school*.

In fact they define an *international school* in one of two ways:

- The school delivers a curriculum to any combination of pre-school, primary, or secondary students, wholly or partly in English outside an English-speaking country or;
- If a school is in a country where English is one of the official languages, it offers an English-medium curriculum other than the country's national curriculum and the school is international in its orientation. (ISC Research, 2022)

We can see here worrisome intimations about what makes a school *international*, as the one cohesive factor across both definitions is that the curriculum is taught (wholly or partly) in English. In the first category, we find increasing numbers of schools that combine an international qualification with a national qualification, such as the international bilingual schools in China. In these schools, the label international indicates the presence of an international curricular element that is taught in English. If the school happens to be situated in an English-speaking country the school must also have an *international orientation*, which remains undefined in any way. If the school is in a non-English speaking country, then the only necessary characteristic is that it teaches at least partly in English rather than in the local language, thus entirely conflating *international* with 'English'.

Thus, we see that while early efforts in international education were either ideological, in the case of the Spring Grove School, or pragmatic, in the case of the International School of Geneva and Yokohama International School, these two original motivations have been joined by a third motivation: profit. Hayden and Thompson (2016, p. 13) have proposed a typology to categorise these different orientations:

- Type A Traditional International Schools (children of the internationally mobile global middle class)
- Type B Ideological International Schools (United World College and similar)
- Type C Non-traditional International Schools (students from the elite of the host country accessing an English-language education)

There are challengers to the grouping of Type C schools into the category of 'international schools'. Bunnell, Fertig, & James (2016) conclude that applying their framework for examining the institutional legitimacy of international schools would find many or most Type C Non-traditional International Schools to be non-legitimate in terms of the use of 'international', and Poole (2020) labels these *internationalised* schools, rather than *international* schools. These

challenges are seen by some as a way of safe-guarding of the prestige of international schools for the Global Elite or Global Middle Class (Bailey, 2022), which is in and of itself problematic, but not more so than the defining of international education based only on the use of English for teaching.

While the roots of the international education sector are in Type A and Type B schools, the future, and arguably even the present, of international education is in Type C schools. In fact, current indications of student population and market share are that close to 80% of students in international schools are now local students, with only 20% representing the traditional globally mobile children in multicultural schools (Keeling, 2012). Shifts in the market are often a response to changes in local/national regulations about who can attend international schools. In some countries, less restrictive access for local students has turned international schools into the choice of education for local elites, where financial means allow wealthy families to step out of the local education system and offer their children a 'better quality' education (Bailey, 2022).

It is clear from this typology that the most salient factor across international schools is that they cater to mainly non-English speaking students and teach them mainly through English. What is therefore notable and concerning is the complete absence of publicly available data about language-related demographics from any of the major analytical organisations, such as the Council of International Schools (CIS) and ISC Research. This is part of a worrisome anecdotal trend that schools populated primarily by students who are multilingual are being led by mostly Anglo-centric, often monolingual school leaders (Carder, 2007). These leaders are not positioning language as critical to the international education sector, and therefore the sector itself largely ignores the language aspect of the composition of international schools.

Compelling data from the CIS report *Determining the Diversity Baseline in International Schools* (CIS, 2021) show that heads of school in international schools accredited by CIS (the major accrediting body) are eight times more likely to be from a Western country (note that a 'Western' country is defined as a developed country that has a predominantly Western culture). A head of school is 5.3 times more likely to be white than of any other ethnicity, and the most represented nationalities are the United States of America (32%), Canada (15%) and the United Kingdom (13%). Despite being focused on 'diversity', the report makes no mention at all of languages spoken by heads of school, staff, or students. ISC Research also does not collect or report on data relating to languages in international schools.

A less than satisfactory proxy, but all that is available to gain some insight into the numbers of multilingual students in international schools, is the IB Diploma Program (DP) examinations (equivalent to A-levels). The latest statistical bulletin for DP results (IBO, 2021) reports 165,884 students from 211 first nationalities, with 186 reported first languages, sitting exams in 3,073 schools in 153 countries. This shows broadly the level of diversity in terms of background and language that IB schools encompass, although these account for less than 25% of international schools overall (Bailey, 2022).

Research in International Education

The sector that calls itself *international education* is not only largely unregulated, it is also under-researched. Funding for research is principally university based, and the lack of connection between the international and state sectors has led to a field of research that is dominated by the organisations involved in the providing of accreditation and curricula, and has had little external impact on schools and the wider sector (Dolby & Rahman, 2008). CIS has a research arm, but it has an exclusive focus on collecting data about factual elements of the international schools it accredits. ISC Research engages in research studies but only as a market development tool, not in terms of examining matters related to teaching and learning or outcomes of such. The IBO does commission regular research, but only to examine and support its own programmes, which does not result in meaningful or generalisable outcomes for the sector overall. In terms of the research agendas currently pursued by researchers, they can largely be grouped into three themes: what is an international education; third culture kids; how international schools function on a structural level within local and global arenas (Dolby & Rahman, 2008).

A position piece on the need for research in and of international schools (Lauder, 2015) proposes three pressing issues for this research agenda: the nature of the networks of students in international schools, the formation of views related to economic, social, and political issues surrounding globalisation, and the mechanics of recruitment into the international school system and international labour market. None of these are related to the quality of teaching and learning overall, or to the social, academic, and linguistic impact of international education on students from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Therefore, we need to look at data from other sources about the impact of schooling in a non-dominant language on student outcomes.

Research on the role of first language in education and development

Globally, over 40% of students do not access education in a language they understand (UNESCO, 2016). This is of growing concern to education-related organisations around the world due to strong connections between language of education and academic achievement in terms of school completion and academic outcomes. A 2016 report (UNESCO, 2016) outlines the challenges for learners who are educated in a non-dominant language, and makes five recommendations to improve inequality in education:

1. Teach children in a language they understand, for at least six years.
2. Train teachers to teach in more than one language.
3. Recruit diverse teachers.
4. Provide inclusive teaching materials.
5. Provide culturally-appropriate school readiness programmes.

These five recommendations stem from consistent findings linking development of and in the first/home language (L1) with successful development in the new school language and with academic achievement and participation. There is also ample data from other contexts linking bilingual education in the L1 and English as being more successful in developing both languages, as well as academic progress (Chumak-Horbatsch, 2012; Collier & Thomas, 2012; May, 2008). A 2019 policy report (Chalmers) outlines the evidence that students who are educated bilingually, in both their L1 and English, have improved academic outcomes, better linguistic outcomes for both languages, and improved engagement and well-being. Collectively, this evidence would indicate that 'English-only' models in international education are in need of a rethink.

Research related to language/s in international education: the elephant in the room

Despite the significant body of research on the importance of a child's L1 in their educational development, the subject is little discussed in international education and most international schools continue to operate as a 'monolingual habitus' (Gogolin, 1997), where English dominates instructional and social spaces.

International schools are predominantly fee-paying private schools, which attract parents of a certain educational and financial background. There is a clear notion of *privilege* in international education, both in the opportunities afforded by a more international educational experience, and by the opportunity to study in English. In the global quest for earlier English (and a 'native speaker' competency), parents choose to pay for a prestigious English-language

education as a perceived means of improving their children's future opportunities, but this choice can also bring with it significant linguistic, academic, and cultural consequences.

Nonetheless, language is rarely a part of the discourse around issues in international education. A recent publication critiquing international education as a neo-colonial Western movement (Bailey, 2022) contains just over a page in a section entitled 'Language and Power' and a two-page section on 'Linguistic Dimensions of Culture', with other brief mentions throughout (out of 153 pages). The 2015 SAGE Handbook of Research in International Education (Hayden, Thompson, & Levy, 2015) has a total of 40 chapters, only one of which focuses on language (Grimshaw, 2015). While this chapter does discuss the important issues of linguistic imperialism and native-speakerism in EMI international schools, it does not offer any reviews or references to empirical research. This lack of attention to language learning and teaching in EMI international schools contradicts the reality that language is in fact one of the key issues in international education. In fact, languages are central to international education in the following ways:

1. Most students in international schools are learning the language of instruction through an immersion model, although it is rarely designated as such (Carder 2007, 2018), necessitating the support of a specialist department for supporting the development of the school language
2. International schools commonly teach the host country language at different levels
3. International schools also teach other languages, usually designated as World Languages or Modern Foreign Languages

This means that a significant amount of time, money, and resources is dedicated to language learning and development in any school, with up to three departments devoted to language teaching. It is my experience, however, that far more resources (staff, time, teaching resources) go towards host country and World Languages in many schools, with far less going to support students learning the instructional language (English or other), which, going by the research base, should be the priority.

While it is often the case that certain types of bilingualism are valued over others globally (high-status languages over low-status languages) (de Meija, 2002) it is even more problematic in a system that touts values such as 'international-mindedness' and 'global citizenship'. The central issue here is not necessarily that English is the medium of instruction in most international schools, it is how this is framed and the impact on students. English is not a benign language for students to learn and learning through English is not only a linguistic

endeavour. In defining *linguistic imperialism* in English Language Teaching (ELT), Phillipson (1992) links it to both *cultural imperialism* and *social imperialism* (Galtung, 1980). While this was identified as a concern in ELT many years ago, it still seems to be largely absent from discussions in international education, despite the scope for both to be far more damaging in a school structure that teaches not only the English language, but also delivers the part or even the entire curriculum through English-medium resources and with teachers mainly from English-speaking countries.

A further inherent tension in international schools is that language acquisition is encouraged in the pursuit of 'international-mindedness', but the simultaneous existence of a monolingual habitus suppresses the natural multilingualism of many learners. Cummins' has identified the underlying issue with this aspect of education in schools with multilingual students but a monolingual habitus: "[...] thus we are faced with the bizarre scenario of schools successfully transforming fluent speakers of foreign languages into monolingual English speakers, at the same time as they struggle, largely unsuccessfully, to transform monolingual English speakers into foreign language speakers." (Cummins, 2005, p. 586).

Maurice Carder, long considered to be one of the key experts on language learners in international education, outlines what he considers to be the 'relevant research and other publications' (Carder, 2018, pp. 59-61). The main resource he refers to is the *International Schools Journal ESL Compendium* (Murphy, 2003), which includes 22 articles published between 1981-2002. It is important to note that this was, at the time, the main journal of the international school sector. Of the 22 chapters, only five report any type of empirical research, the rest are opinion or practice-related articles. The editor notes that:

'Articles that have appeared regularly in the ISJ through the years, however, show that in many international schools whose client base includes large numbers (in many, the majority) of students whose native language is other than English, such research has been slow to gain currency, and even slower to produce genuine change. Even today, many schools organise themselves and create their curricula as if all the students shared not only the same language, but the same culture as well' (Murphy, 2003, p. 9).

A pattern that may have started out as disinterest or lack of knowledge around such a critical issue has now become, consciously or not, avoidance. Research in national contexts shows clearly that maintenance and development of the strongest language leads to the best linguistic, educational, and social outcomes for students (Baker & Wright, 2017). This gives

rise to concern on multiple levels about a sector that regularly transgresses this basic principle: children have the right and the need to continue to develop in their own languages, regardless of the language of schooling. As a sector, we must ask ourselves the question: How do we know if an English-language *international* education is beneficial for students? Is it different for students from various linguistic backgrounds, or in different types of schools?

Pathways to Transformation

It is evident, and evidentially supported, that we need a significant shift in approaches to language acquisition and development in international schools, moving from prioritising the learning of English at all costs to the development of multilingualism. Given the diffuse nature of the sector, there will never be a one-size fits all answer. In this section I will propose two parallel but connected areas for development. The first will improve approaches in the short term, and the second in the long term. These pathways are based on the understanding that the way we approach the languages of our students needs to be both beneficial and ethical, defined as follows:

‘The language choices a school makes for its educational programmes, and whether these are beneficial or harmful to the students’ identity, development and academic achievement, therefore have an ethical dimension. Whether we intend it or not, these choices also convey implicit messages to students about the values we hold with regard to the status of different languages and cultures.’ (Crisfield, Holland, Gordon, 2021, p.68)

Orientations to Linguistic Diversity in International Schools

This first shift focuses on the everyday experiences of learners in international schools, and on drawing on the evidence base from research on the role of the first/home language in linguistic development, academic development, and social and emotional well-being. This evidence base indicates strongly that efforts to include learners first/home languages will improve their experiences and development in all of these areas (Chalmers & Crisfield, 2019; Chalmers & Murphy, 2022; Cummins, 2021). The *Orientations to Linguistic Diversity Framework* provides schools with a pathway for moving past tokenistic actions towards approaches that favour true linguistic and cultural inclusion (Spiro & Crisfield, 2018).

Schools can use this framework to interrogate their own approaches to linguistic diversity, and how these connect with their work on DEI (Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion), international mindedness, and global citizenship. A journey through the stages of the framework will take

time and effort, but it is the only pathway to developing school environments that focus on the development of learners' languages as a part of the whole, with the learner at the centre.

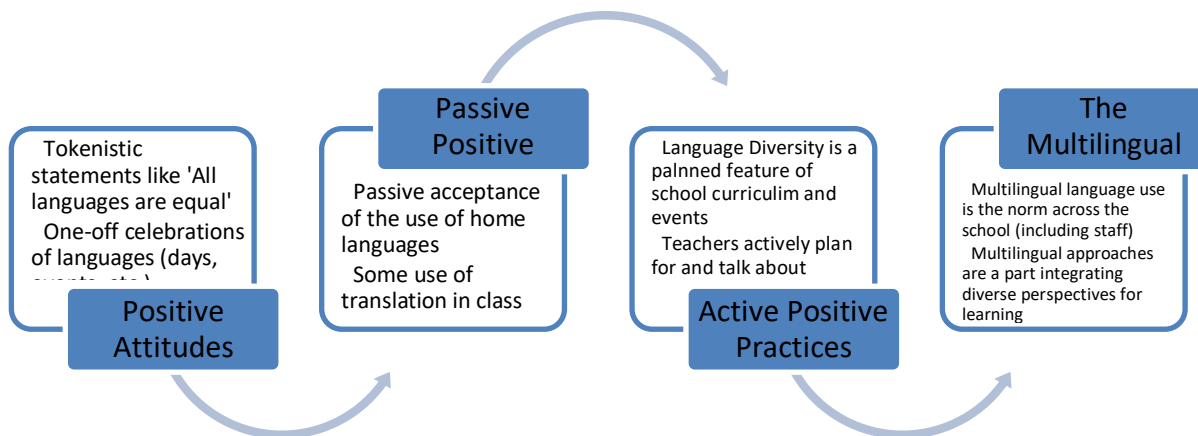


Figure 1: Orientations to Linguistic Diversity Framework

Developing a research agenda on multilingualism and language acquisition in international education

Research on raising bilingual children, both in families and in schools, is highly influenced by context. The variables that can influence success or failure (and even what constitutes *failure*) include a wide range of features related to language status, economic status, education of parents, language policy, availability of resources, and many more (Schalley & Eisenclas, 2020). This makes comparative research challenging to carry out, and generalisability is often limited. International education has long relied on research in other educational contexts to inform practice, but this research is not fit for purpose. The impact of a mathematics programme with English-speaking students in the UK, or the assessment of reading using measures developed for English-speaking students in the US cannot be assumed to be equally effective in a super-diverse classroom in Switzerland or with a class of Mandarin-speaking students in Beijing.

(Mis)application of research findings in non-comparable contexts can lead to unpredictable effects for children/students, therefore research in international schools must be context-driven, created for and with international schools, with our learners at the heart. We need to develop research that reaches into the centre of international education, to challenge the received wisdom that more English, earlier, is what is right for all children. For every opportunity there is a potential cost, and for many children, the cost of an English-language

education will be fluency in their own language and the access that brings to family, culture, community, and work. It is our responsibility to take on this challenge; all international schools should be not only research-informed, but also engaged in on-going tracking and research in their own context, to ensure that the decisions being made are the right decisions for their students and families. We need to strengthen the ways in which we communicate research with others within the sector, and prioritise the development of an evidence base for this unique sector, to ensure that we are doing what is right and good for all our students.

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Towards universal education access for refugees: A critical document analysis of policy and practice supporting the integration of Rohingya refugees in education in Bangladesh

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Abstract

Rohingya refugee children and youths are continually challenged by complex factors that fail to provide access to education services. The paper examines the position of education within a broader framework of refugee education and the politics of its provision. Even though much research is done on the experience of refugee children and youth in schooling contexts, less is known about educational policy and practice reforms for refugees in resettlement schools. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the Rohingya refugee crisis is one of the most significant ongoing humanitarian emergencies in recent history. The Rohingya is a stateless minority group in Myanmar, suffering from ethnic and religious armed conflicts, state persecution, and displacement. Since the escalation of violent conflicts in the early 2000s, Rohingya have fled the country and sought refuge in neighbouring countries, particularly in Bangladesh. Living in densely populated refugee camps, Rohingya children have very limited access to education and are exceptionally vulnerable to illnesses, violence, and trafficking. The influx has also created substantial development challenges for Bangladesh to support these refugees while struggling with other domestic political and development issues. This paper employs the political economy of education analysis framework to explore the conditions and contexts under which education is offered for Rohingya children in Bangladeshi refugee camps and identifies promising policies and practices supporting the integration of Rohingya refugees in education. The study relies on existing literature, secondary data, and document analysis including academic and grey literature.

Keywords: Education in Emergencies, Rohingya refugee, policy and practice, Bangladesh

Introduction

The Rohingya refugees have experienced decades of exclusion from accessing education. Despite having lived in Myanmar for generations, they faced limited or were denied access to

public services, including public education, with the revocation of their citizenship by the Myanmar administration in 1982 (Human Rights Watch, 2018). This marginalisation has been manifested similarly in their displacement in Bangladesh where they have been refugees since 1978 (HRW, 2018). Even though considerable research has been done on the unique circumstances and experience of Rohingya refugees in their endeavour to access and participate in education, less is known about the reforms to educational policy and practice in Bangladesh that support the integration of Rohingya refugees in education. Thus the relationship among the education system, policy and practice, and the difficulties refugee children experience in accessing public education in Bangladesh cannot be overlooked within the broader discussion of the future of education in emergencies.

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2019), Bangladesh is home to over 860,000 Rohingya refugees who fled Myanmar due to persecution and violence in the Rakhine state which began in 2017. This soon became the fastest-growing refugee crisis with an estimated 500,000 children lacking access to learning. And according to Human Rights Watch (HRW, 2019), an entire generation is at risk of growing up without education if no proper measures and actions are taken into consideration. The Rohingya refugee children are vulnerable to trafficking and abuse with no support to recover from the trauma they have experienced.

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) guarantees the right to education to all children. It also encourages state parties to make primary education broadly accessible and mandatory for all children within their jurisdiction. Myanmar and Bangladesh are both signatories to this international human rights standard (Guhathakurta, (2017). They are obligated to put into effect a non-discriminatory education policy. However, both countries consistently deny the stateless Rohingya population's right to an education. The majority of Rohingya children in Myanmar have had limited access to formal education, making it difficult for them to pursue and complete higher-level education. This is due to discriminatory laws enacted by the government of Myanmar in the late 1970s, forcing hundreds of thousands of Rohingya to leave their homes in the largely Buddhist country (HRW, 2019). Additionally, the Rohingya have been prohibited from enrolling in Myanmar's public universities since the 1990s. They have been structurally disenfranchised from the educational system by the revocation of citizenship (Azeem, 2016).

In Bangladesh, education remains restricted for most refugee children. The influx of Rohingya refugees into Bangladesh poses a significant threat to socioeconomic and political stability as

well as a serious protection risk for refugees (BRAC, 2018). The Bangladeshi government has frequently voiced the potential "pull factor" associated with aiding people of concern from Myanmar. As a result, it has implemented a stringent policy that restricts available safe spaces for registered refugees in the official refugee camps while offering limited access to unregistered Myanmarese refugees outside the camps. The Bangladeshi government exclusively provides the right to education to its citizens and allowed residents; as a result, non-citizens (including refugees and stateless individuals) are not included in the framework of its national policy (HRW, 2018). Therefore, the government consciously implements measures that limit their access to public services, including public education. Although Article 17 of the Bangladeshi Constitution is critical in ensuring that everyone has equal access to basic education without any discrimination, stateless refugees are not covered by this provision (ISCG, 2018a).

Evidence suggests that education is crucial in building a resilient, socially cohesive, and inclusive society. When minorities are denied access to social services, including education, they often live within a protection gap. Education is a long-term human rights instrument that contributes to the development of a more robust global civil society (INEE, 2010). It has the potential to promote peace and security, and to avert future conflicts. When society educates adolescents and children, there is less motivation for them to engage in violent groups or criminal gangs. This paper employs the political economy of education analysis framework to explore the conditions and contexts under which education is offered for Rohingya children in Bangladeshi refugee camps and identifies the promising policies and practices supporting the integration of Rohingya refugees in education. The study relies on existing literature, secondary data, and document analysis including academic and grey literature.

Historical overview of Rohingya refugees, access to education and political position

The term "Rohingya" is the subject of numerous conflicting local and international statements and has become emotive and politically sensitive. Defining the term Rohingya is heavily debated in Myanmar and their status might include stateless immigrants, refugees, asylee, or people with temporary protected status, among other terms; each conjures up a particular set of de facto and de jure connotations. According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Rohingya are a stateless, predominantly minority ethnic group, many of whom have lived in Myanmar's Rakhine State for generations. Before the genocide, an estimated one million Rohingya lived in the Rakhine state in Myanmar. They made up roughly a third of the population (UNDP, 2018).

Despite living in Myanmar for many years the Rohingya are not legally recognized as one of the ethnic groups in Myanmar. In the late 1970s, the government of Myanmar enacted discriminatory laws that forced hundreds of thousands of Rohingya to leave their homes in the largely Buddhist country (HRW, 2019). The vast majority arrived in Bangladesh by road, while others journeyed by sea to Malaysia, Indonesia, and Thailand. For decades, the Rohingya have been intentionally disenfranchised from political, social, and economic life in Myanmar (ISCG, 2018). As a result, they are denied the right to possess property, are ineligible to run for public office, and have limited freedom of movement. Violence and state-sponsored pogroms against Rohingya people occurred frequently, most notably in 1978, 1991-1992, 2001, and 2009. As a result, 300,000 Rohingya people fled to Bangladesh (Prodip, 2017). In 2017, an escalation in violence marked the beginning of the most recent and severe crisis forcing hundreds of thousands of people to cross the border into Bangladesh.

The Bangladesh government, despite having limited resources opened its border to welcome Rohingya as refugees on humanitarian grounds (Prodip, M. A., & Garnett, J. (2019). More than 40% of those who arrived in Bangladesh are children under the age of 12. The majority of Rohingya refugees live in camps, with little access to education and with substantial concerns about nutrition, mental health, and well-being (Prodip, 2017). Bangladesh is neither a signatory to the 1961 Convention on Reduction of Statelessness, the 1954 Convention Relating to the Status of Stateless Persons nor the 1951 Refugee Convention. Hence Bangladesh has no explicit legislation addressing issues related to refugees, besides offering physical protection to everyone within her territories, including foreigners. The lack of a comprehensive national policy for refugee education makes it difficult for Rohingya refugees to access education. Formal education in Bangladesh is exclusively available to Bangladesh nationals, hence Rohingya refugees' access to education is hampered by their lack of Bangladeshi citizenship (HRW, 2018).

In response to these challenges, a few NGO initiatives to support refugee education emerged. The United Nations agencies and partner non-governmental organisations established and operated temporary learning centres in refugee camps along with psycho-social activities including games. However, these informal education centres are not authorised to use the Bangladeshi curriculum. Yet, Bangladeshi authorities approved INEE handbooks to be used to teach basic education to Rohingya refugees in camps and temporary settlements by non-governmental organisations (UNICEF, 2018). Since 2017, the Rohingya refugee crisis has made it difficult for the government of Bangladesh and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to cope with the massive influx of refugees. Existing makeshift learning facilities are

insufficient to accommodate the increasing number of learners. Not all tented settlements have adequate learning facilities to provide basic education to displaced children (Save the Children, 2018). The scaling-up of the education response has been limited by a lack of physical space and difficulties securing government authorization to operate for Education Sector partner NGOs outside UN agencies.

Government political position and engagement of global actors

Although the government of Bangladesh is more receptive to providing education for Rohingya children, the low level of engagement of international actors and potential resistance to interventions substantially impede the achievement of targeted objectives. The key issue among the government, humanitarian, and development partners is who is responsible for all facets of the response, including education (The Globe Post, 2019). In 2017, the government of Bangladesh expanded its oversight of international aid organisations, with a focus on sectors such as education (Dhaka Tribune, 2017). The existence of a power imbalance is reflected in the bureaucratic and slow process of approving Foreign Donations (FDs) for the Rohingya crisis, notably for Education Sector Group partner NGOs, which impedes the implementation of education interventions.

The NGO Affairs Bureau has repeatedly rejected foreign donation forms (FDs) concerning educational activity. The names of the teachers and the temporary learning centres have to be changed to "Child Play Areas" and "facilitators," respectively (HRW, 2019). In 2020, the government approved a plan by aid organisations to help them provide education to Rohingya refugees. The Bangladesh administration is open to temporarily integrating the recently arrived Rohingya into the country without integrating them into the broader host population, including enrolling Rohingya children in the formal educational system of the nation (The Daily Star, 2018). Any long-term educational engagement is viewed as undermining the government's negotiating strategy for the repatriation of Rohingya refugees to Myanmar. The government limited humanitarian initiatives and delayed approval of the program's delivery by humanitarian partners. All humanitarian projects were required to only be in effect for periods of six months. As a result, there was significantly less room for project planning, teacher preparation, and long-term continuity of education delivery (Mallick, 2020).

Despite these challenges, the parties involved desired broader humanitarian development collaboration. The government of Bangladesh established a national forum to strengthen humanitarian response coordination. The utilisation of humanitarian and development funds for refugee education, as well as the inclusion of funders as advocacy partners, made it

simpler for partner organisations to collaborate and coordinate their efforts in humanitarian and development programs (ISCG, 2019).

The current state of education response

Following the 2017 inflow, the government permitted the provision of informal schooling to Rohingya refugee children in the camps. Education is provided by several international aid organisations (INGO), community-based organisations (CBO), and other national development organisations (Cox's Bazar Education Sector, 2018). According to the government, the Rohingya are just temporarily housed in Bangladesh, thus they should only receive informal education. The government's intention to repatriate Rohingya refugees to Myanmar barred aid organisations from constructing permanent educational structures in refugee camps. In 2018, humanitarian organisations developed the Learning Competency Framework and Approach (LCFA), a model of emergency intervention (UNICEF, 2018). This was approved by the government's Guidelines for Informal Education Programme for Children of Forcibly Displaced Myanmar Nationals in Bangladesh (GIEP) for levels I and II. The authorization of the informal curriculum was a big improvement over the prior status where teachers lacked lesson plans and students lacked educational resources. However, the Bangladesh administration has not accredited the informal curriculum to offer a path to certified education for Rohingya children or permit them to sit for a national examination (UNHCR, 2020c).

In 2020, the government permitted the use of the Myanmar curriculum in refugee camps. The COVID outbreak forced schools and learning centres to close, delaying curriculum implementation. Nonetheless, this policy move boosted Rohingya refugees' access to education and skill development. A total of 10,000 Rohingya school children were enrolled in a pilot program using the Myanmar curriculum (UNICEF, 2020). The pilot program first targeted students in grades six through nine, typically pupils aged eleven to fourteen. Many Rohingya refugee children, however, have fallen behind in their education, and the majority of students enrolled in grades six through nine are between the ages of 14 and 16. UNICEF plans to gradually scale up such that all school-aged children are educated using the Myanmar curriculum by 2023. When they return home, they will be able to assimilate into the national educational system of the country (UNHCR, 2021).

At present, in terms of the politics of aid, secondary education, technical and vocational education have proven to be difficult for international aid agencies and partners to provide under the informal education program. The main challenge for the humanitarian actors is to

overcome the reluctance in approving education programs by the government of Bangladesh (UNHCR, 2021). Even though the government of Bangladesh is commended for taking a significant step to ensuring that Rohingya children and teenagers have access to education, it does not offer a long-term solution for the educational needs of Rohingya children and youth. According to UNHCR, the average duration of protracted displacement lasts 20 years. In actuality, it contradicts the government's view of refugees as temporary residents. The choice of using the Myanmar curriculum might not be able to meet the educational needs of Rohingya refugees if they are made to live in a protracted refugee situation in Bangladesh (Mallick, 2020).

Analysis of promising policy and best practice

Positive policy development

Significant progress has been made in Bangladesh's policy framework for supporting Rohingya refugees' right to education. In recent times, in light of recommendation No. 129.156 of the Universal Periodic Review's (UPR) second cycle (2012), the government of Bangladesh adopted the National Strategy on Myanmar Refugees and Undocumented Myanmar Nationals (see *UN-HR-5013/14/121*). This strategy, which was passed in 2013, recognizes the humanitarian needs of the current population of already registered Myanmar refugees as well as the existence of between 300,000 and 500,000 "Undocumented Myanmar Nationals" on Bangladeshi soil (UNHCR, 2021). The document also permitted several humanitarian players, including those from the United Nations country team, to carry out their plans for the Myanmar Refugees. The government of Bangladesh remains dedicated to its commitment to making every attempt to put the measures adopted in the 2nd Cycle of Universal Periodic Review (UPR) into practice (MOFA, (2013). In collaboration with international partners, it reaffirms its commitment to continuing to work toward making stronger and bigger strides in upholding human rights and humanitarian principles (Zafari, 2020).

Two significant policy decisions were implemented at the outset of the response in 2017, in accordance with the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh Act No. of 1972 Part II under the fundamental principles of state policy.

1. In light of the constitution of Bangladesh and building on the National Strategy on Myanmar Refugees and Undocumented Myanmar Nationals (see *UN-HR-5013/14/121*), the government granted the Rohingya refugees who fled to Bangladesh in August 2017 the status of Forcibly Displaced Myanmar Nationals, permitting the

humanitarian community to provide informal education with the condition that no instruction would be given in Bangla.

2. In line with Bangladesh Compilation, A/HRC/WG.6/30/BGD/2, Paragraph 5, of the Human Rights Council Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review Thirtieth session, 7–18 May 2018, and building on the prior recommendations made by the committee on the rights of the child (see CRC/C/BGD/CO/4, para. 75), the government of Bangladesh authorised informal education to be provided to Rohingya refugees. The learning centres provided basic and informal learning activities in English and Myanmar, as well as instruction in mathematics and life skills in three daily shifts of two hours each (Human Rights Watch 2019).

These policy decisions were informed by the technical and broader political discourse of the time. The Bangladesh administration anticipated that granting Rohingya refugees access to the national school system would provide them a compelling reason to remain in Bangladesh and prevent them from leaving for Myanmar. The authorities widely considered the Rohingya to be temporary migrants, and repatriation to Myanmar was deemed the best solution (UNICEF, 2020).

The involvement of the government in the response has been through the Ministry of Disaster Management and Relief (MoDMR) and the National Taskforce (NTF) which governed emergency response while also ensuring the fulfilment of the right to education for Rohingya. Moreover, the primary ministries responsible for national education sector planning are the Ministry of Primary and Mass Education (MoPME) in charge of primary education and non-formal education programs for out-of-school children and adults, and the Ministry of Education (MoE) dedicated to secondary and higher, technical and vocational education and training (TVET). However, neither of these two ministries took over responsibility for the emergency response strategy involving refugee education. The MoE and MoPME are regarded as implementers in this context (ISCG, 2019).

In early 2018, the government authorised UNICEF and humanitarian education providers to develop the Learning Competency Framework and Approach (LCFA). This was because neither the curriculums of Bangladesh nor Myanmar are permitted to be used to educate refugees in camps. The LCFA was implemented throughout the camps. It consists of a systematic set of teaching and learning resources with lessons created for children between the ages of four and fourteen in both English and Burmese. Levels I, II, III, and IV of the LCFA are equivalent to preschool through grade 8 (UNICEF, 2019). A decision that may have

contributed to this organised educational offering was to align the government's goals for the repatriation of Rohingya refugees to Myanmar since mobile learning centres could be moved upon repatriation. Government responsibility for refugee education in Bangladesh was reinforced through the National Education Sector Plan, which was supported by a multi-year collaborative initiative of UNESCO, UNHCR, and UNICEF (UNESCO 2018). The Education Cannot Wait (ECW)-funded Support Programme strengthened the Bangladesh Response Plan. All levels of formal and informal education were addressed by the Inter-Sector Coordination, this included ad hoc involvement by government departments, United Nations organisations, and NGOs. Various levels of engagement occurred at different stages throughout the response, with varying levels of input (The Daily Star, 2018).

Diverse viewpoints may be held regarding the development of LCFA. It can be considered a positive milestone since it provides a practical strategy for making education delivery through a distinct institution as successful as possible (Gallano, 2018). Furthermore, the framework's comparability to both the host country and the country of origin was deemed critical. It could also be seen as a new framework and strategy that calls for new processes, techniques, and resources that could be expensive and provide challenges for having a coordinated response from education partners.

In 2019, the government of Bangladesh issued a policy directive called the Guideline for Informal Education Program (GIEP). In line with the general recommendation GIEP No. 2 (2019), specifies the limitations of Rohingya refugees' educational opportunities, with the proviso that it will only provide access to the first and second grades (for preschool and first-year primary). The government's adopted policy document reiterates the directive to provide "informal learning" in either English or Myanmar (UNICEF, 2020). Additionally, it reaffirms that the education policy "chooses to be modest in its aspirations" due to the practical challenges of space in the camps, a lack of resources, and the limited time available for the instruction given as "it is expected that the repatriation to Myanmar will take place within two years" (Human Rights Watch 2019). The GIEP has made it possible for students to access informal education in learning facilities throughout all of the camps. However, it is insufficient to guarantee the Rohingya children's access to a high-quality education. The informal education program represents remarkable progress, but it does not meet Bangladesh's obligations under the Convention on the Rights of the Child to guarantee equality of access to education for all children. Despite its best efforts, the government has never declared that it will acknowledge the education of Rohingya children, permit them to take national examinations, or assist them in the transfer to formal education. GIEP strives to be practical and realistic while taking into

account the protracted refugee situation, and the responsibility of the government to safeguard Rohingyas' right to inclusive education (HRW, 2019).

In 2020, the government of Bangladesh and the United Nations made a historic decision to introduce formal education in refugee camps by adopting the Myanmar curriculum. The introduction of the Myanmar Curriculum improved access to formal education for Rohingya refugee children and adolescents whose families migrated to Bangladesh from Myanmar in August 2017 (UNICEF, 2020). The implementation of the Myanmar curriculum fulfilled the right to an education, intricately linked to the realisation of numerous other rights, and serves as the fundamental criterion for identifying Rohingya children's learning attainment, certifying the learners, and determining their completion status. According to authorities in Bangladesh, this was a good step and a resounding demonstration of the government's commitment to ensuring that Rohingya children and teenagers have access to education and that they are given the skills and capacities they need to succeed in the future and return to Myanmar when the circumstances permit (UN, 2020).

The question of whether or not the Bangladesh administration officially acknowledges this education before repatriation remains unanswered. According to the literature, Rohingyas were denied a Burmese education in Myanmar (Save the Children, 2017) thus, using the Burmese curriculum in Bangladesh might be ineffective unless both authorities consent to legally acknowledge the Rohingya refugee's right to education. Appropriate action in both countries to create a favourable environment that recognizes the educational qualifications of Rohingya refugees is a crucial factor in hastening the repatriation process and increasing refugee readiness to repatriate. Meanwhile, education programs in refugee camps might not be effective unless it is systematic, formal, and officially recognized.

In 2022, the Government of Bangladesh, in collaboration with the humanitarian community, launched the Joint Response Plan (Rohingya-2022_JRP), to raise approximately USD 881 million for 136 partners, 74 of whom are Bangladeshi organisations, to address the urgent needs of Rohingya refugees and Forcibly Displaced Myanmar Nationals (FDMNs) in Cox's Bazar and Bhasan Char, as well as mitigate the effects of these disasters (UNHCR, 2020a). In light of 2022-jrp-rohingya, (SO1, SO2, SO3, SO4, SO5) the 2022 Joint Response Plan is guided by three pillars which recognize the need for a focus on critical protection needs, measuring the adequacy of humanitarian interventions, taking into account community views, the availability of information and feedback mechanisms, and commitment from all humanitarian partners to protection and gender mainstreaming throughout the humanitarian

response in due consideration for the 'do-no-harm' principle. The JRP promotes Rohingya refugees' ability to live in dignity and safety while they remain in Bangladesh, as well as their ability to build the skills and capacities that could support their sustainable return to Myanmar (UNHCR, 2018).

Best practices

The access to education and the development of critical competencies for Rohingya refugee children has been supported by significant initiatives. The government of Bangladesh has responded effectively and cooperatively to promote the education of refugee children. The fundamental point of involvement of the government of Bangladesh, whether direct or indirect, in any sort of decision-making process involving humanitarian issues is the search for solutions to a problem faced by the Rohingya (Cox's Bazar Education Sector, 2018). Numerous NGOs operating in Bangladesh's Rohingya refugee camps have expressed an urgency to develop safe spaces and adopt long-term initiatives to improve access to education. In the context of human rights, the accessibility of education for Rohingya refugees includes factors like sufficient infrastructure and trained teachers as well as the liberty of Rohingya communities to establish their own schools (UNHCR, 2016).

The initial step in providing the Rohingya education was the formation of an education sector in 2017 as a response to their educational needs. The education sector for Rohingya children comprises 45 active partner organisations. They target 390,923 children from the Rohingya community (Cox's Bazar Education Sector, 2018). As a result, the provision of education services for Rohingya children is totally directed by government ministries and international non-governmental organisations under the oversight of the Government of Bangladesh. Through the education sector, 3,329 Learning Centres (LC), Community Based Learning Facilities (CBLF), and Cross-Sectoral Shared Learning Facilities (CSSLF) were built to provide informal education utilising the Learning Competency Framework and Approach (LCFA) (UNICEF, 2020).

Child-Friendly Space was developed to offer traumatised Rohingya children a safe environment. Children from the Rohingya ethnic group were traumatised for life by the bloodshed in their own country and the agony of crossing the border (UNHCR, 2021). With the help of psycho-social support, traumatised children have begun to reconstruct their lives through diverse activities such as playing, studying, engaging with others, and expressing their opinions. The intervention supported the development of a sense of belonging in Rohingya

children by assisting them in developing the coping skills required to adapt to their new environment (UNHCR, 2019).

In 2018, the government granted UNICEF and humanitarian education providers authorization to develop the Learning Competency Framework and Approach (LCFA). Five subjects — maths, English, science, the Burmese language, and life skills were taught in schools as part of this curriculum. The LCFA curriculum was a combination of the Bangladesh and Myanmar curricula. Access to education has been made possible through the LCFA curriculum. The curriculum is prepared to teach Rohingya children the fundamentals of literacy while taking into account their cultural environment. However, as this curriculum is non-formal, its legitimacy is still contentious (ISCG, 2018).

Formal education is being implemented using the Myanmar curriculum. The Bangladeshi government authorised this curriculum in 2020. The curriculum's instructional materials are in the Burmese language, and the education community is working to persuade the Myanmar government to provide material support for the curriculum. Myanmar's curriculum seeks to provide students with equal educational opportunities and to ensure that their certifications are recognized once they return home. When the Myanmar curriculum is fully implemented in 2022-2023, children will be able to adjust to and benefit from learning in their native language (UNHCR, 2021).

Teachers in refugee settings have received basic training in pedagogy, psycho-social support, child safety, child awareness, and classroom management to ensure that refugee children have access to a wide range of educational opportunities (UNICEF, 2020). All the NGOs working in the field of education have established fundamental training frameworks and guidelines for Rohingya instructors or facilitators. Additionally, training is scheduled based on an evaluation of the needs. Teachers Professional Development (TPD) is also accessible through the education sector to provide teachers with technical assistance on social-emotional learning activities centred on their subject. As part of its obvious efforts, NGOs are running initiatives to strengthen the capacity of teachers (UNICEF, 2020).

Conclusion

The government of Bangladesh has welcomed nearly 1 million Rohingya refugees from Myanmar since the 1970s. The current magnitude of displacement creates a new standard where the future of education is anything but assured. Under the Education Sector for Rohingya children, several national and international NGOs have implemented a range of

education strategies particularly tailored for the Rohingya children in an emergency setting. Humanitarian organisations have made significant progress in organising personnel and resources to provide basic education. Although the government and humanitarian actors have addressed many educational needs of Rohingya refugees, several specific components deserve special attention. The curriculum adopted may be vulnerable to politicisation, causing issues with identity and national security. The educational decisions regarding the Right to Education in the protracted refugee situation and how it is implemented often have the most long-term consequences for refugees' way of life, capacity to enter the labour market, and their future trajectories.

The government of Bangladesh has a responsibility to uphold every child's right to education on her soil in order to provide them with the political, intellectual, and social skills they need to succeed in life. Integrating refugees into the host country's educational system is not always easy since there are many factors to consider in cultural, political, and economic spheres (UNHCR 2015). The long-term strategy for implementing the Right to Education must be acceptable and culturally relevant to the Rohingya community, yet it is unclear how acceptable any initiatives can be in the absence of real decision-making power.

It is crucial to take into account the frequently protracted nature of displacement and the effects this has on educational priorities, planning, and delivery while examining how to fulfil the right to education. The debate over long-term vs. short-term plans often reflects a broader discussion regarding divergent interests among actors in the government, humanitarian, and development sectors. Recognizing that violence and forced migration may not be temporary, necessitates reimagining education planning and delivery as a humanitarian response.

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A Preliminary Evaluation of Facilitators and Barriers When Implementing the Dehong Education Strategy for Bilingual and Bicultural Education

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Abstract

With the increase in globalization, there has been a commensurate surge in the number of bilingual and internationally-oriented education approaches to prepare global citizens of tomorrow. One strategy, the Dehong Education Strategy (DES), seeks to build bilingual and bicultural fluency through delivery of the Chinese National Curriculum and constructivist, inquiry-based approaches while providing instruction in Chinese and English via content and language integrated learning (CLIL). This mixed method evaluation integrated data from 908 students, 92 teachers, and 7 school leaders to identify facilitators and barriers to implementation. Considerations of these findings and related recommendations are discussed.

Keywords: Bilingual Education; Bicultural Instruction; Content and Language Integrated Learning; Chinese-medium Learning; English-medium Learning

A Preliminary Evaluation of Facilitators and Barriers When Implementing the Dehong Education Strategy for Bilingual and Bicultural Instruction

The proliferation of technology-mediated communication has been associated with an increase in globalization across international finance structures, multinational production, and trade that has rippled across all aspects of modern life (Garrett, 2000). As a result, today's global citizens are living in social spheres characterized by an interdependent system of cultural exchange that increasingly reflects the concurrent existence of local history, norms, and values with broader globally-referenced ones (Abdunayimova et al., 2020). In response, many industrialized countries have seen an uptick of interest in bilingual and internationally-

oriented education with a commensurate proliferation of approaches for delivery. These efforts are intended to provide increased social and economic opportunities for students who learn new cultural perspectives while staying connected to their heritage. Taken together, the prospects for approaching educational experiences with an eye toward the intricate connection between sustainability and global citizenship have auspicious implications for future generations. Dehong's focus on worldwide education and global citizenship are informed by each school's Global Citizenship Competency Frameworks, which prioritize both national pride and global engagement. The intersection of international and bilingual/bicultural curricula warrants inquiry into facilitators and barriers for this type of model.

In the past, international schools typically offered a curriculum distinctly different than the host country, often served students who were non-nationals, and were staffed by relatively large numbers of expatriate teachers and staff (Hayden & Thompson, 2008). More recently, Hayden and Thompson (2013) have reconceptualized international education and schools as differentiated across a tripartite typology based on the characteristics of their curriculum, students, teachers and administrators, and approaches to management, leadership, and governance. From a high-level perspective, Type A schools respond to a pragmatic demand of expatriate needs, are designed for foreigners, and exist in either private or traditional formats. By contrast, Type B schools are ideologically purposed with an international perspective and position the centrality of international mindedness as a symbolic center of the system. Type C schools are intended as a response to the demand for high-quality international schools within a national system, are designed for students to complete national and international curricula and are offered in non-traditional systems. Whereas these typologies are a helpful heuristic for broader conceptualization, many applications may represent blended features which have positive implications for administrative responsiveness, educator identity development, and student learning (Poole, 2021).

Dehong Education Strategy (DES)

The Dehong Education Strategy (DES) was designed and delivered by the Dehong Chinese International Schools as a sister institution to Education in Motion (EIM) with Type B and C educational features that offer a holistic, immersive bilingual and bicultural education with a focus on mother tongue and cultural heritage. This central focus on mother tongue and native cultural heritage distinguishes Dehong from its sister international schools by gearing this type of international education toward Chinese nationals. The DES provides instruction in Chinese [specifically, standard Mandarin] and English via content and language integrated learning (CLIL) and seeks to build bilingual and biliterate fluency, as well as high-level critical thinking

in both languages. The core values integrated across all curricular activities include attention to well-being, global citizenship, life-long learning, sustainability, cultural heritage, respecting differences, critical thinking, self-cognition, creative expression, and joy for learning.

The education strategy features CLIL, Chinese-medium learning (CML), and English-medium learning (EML) embedded within the framework of the Chinese National Curriculum (CNC) through Grade 9 to prepare students to matriculate into the International Baccalaureate (IB) Diploma Programme curriculum beginning in Grade 10. The CNC recently transitioned to a core competencies framework that includes three dimensions (Autonomous Development, Civic Participation, Cultural Foundation), six modules (Learning to Learn, Healthy Living, Assuming Responsibility, Innovation and Practice, Humanistic Understanding, Scientific Spirit), and 18 items (See Wang, 2019). While the evidence related to learning outcomes associated with the CNC is only beginning to emerge, evidence tied to CLIL interventions is more robust. One meta-analysis of 25 studies completed by Graham et al. (2018) found promising associations between use of CLIL interventions with overall language proficiency, productive/receptive language skills, mathematics, science, and tertiary education outcomes. Dehong relied on established models and best practices from the research literature in constructing the DES. To support bilingual skill development, for example, Dehong chose from existing language ratios used in other immersive school environments (i.e., 50:50 for grades 1-9; 80:20 English to Chinese in grades 10-12). As a culmination of Type B and C international education components offering both CNC and IB curricula and using CLIL as its guiding methodology, this bespoke model displays a new and innovative education strategy. Though its many components have a strong literature base, this model as an amalgamation of emerging and established educational strategies has limited representation within the educational literature.

Purpose for Evaluation and Guiding Questions

While the immersive bilingual and bicultural education components of the DES bear promising evidentiary support, a greater understanding of the synergistic interaction among elements within the learning environment is warranted. Therefore, our evaluation efforts were designed to explore how the DES was being implemented in practice and provide formative feedback as part of routine quality improvement activities. Specifically, we aimed to answer one omnibus evaluation question: What factors facilitate successful (and unsuccessful) implementation of the DES? The evaluation team comprised a group of external evaluators with prior experience in educational evaluation in international school systems; one of the authors of this paper

serves in a leadership capacity with Education in Motion, the sister company to Dehong Chinese International Schools.

Method

We implemented a convergent parallel mixed methods evaluation design to simultaneously collect and analyze quantitative and qualitative data that were merged during interpretation activities.

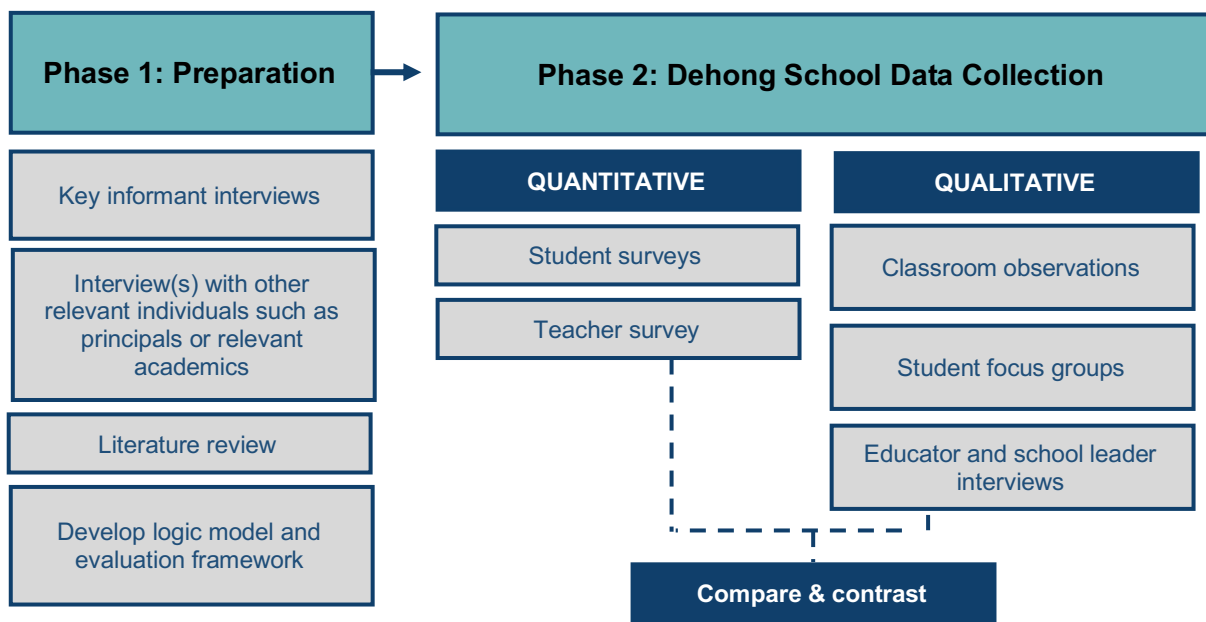


Figure 1.

Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria

Participants were students, teachers, school leaders, and key informants associated with the Dehong Chinese International Schools between July 2020 and June 2021.

Participant Characteristics

Survey participants were 908 students stratified across academic grades 1-5 ($n = 677, 74\%$) and 6-10 ($n = 231, 26\%$), 92 teachers of CML and EML courses, and seven school leaders. Among these individuals, 30 students ($n_{G1-5} = 20, 67\%$; $n_{G6-10} = 10, 33\%$), 29 teachers ($n_{CML} = 15, 52\%$; $n_{EML} = 14, 48\%$), six school leaders participated and three experts in Chinese education systems and pedagogical strategies in focus groups and individual interviews. We conducted observations of one elementary classroom (i.e., grades 1-5) at each school and two observations of middle and secondary classrooms at Shanghai (i.e., grades 6-10). Three observed classrooms were in English and two were in Chinese. During the evaluation, no students were enrolled in grades 11 and 12.

Data Sources

To support Dehong's long-term efforts, the evaluation team developed a comprehensive toolkit to facilitate ongoing evaluations. All data-collection tools, instructions, and analysis guides developed throughout the lifetime of this evaluation were shared back with the Dehong school contact.

Key Informant Interviews

We conducted 11 key informant interviews during the preparation phase of the evaluation to increase and contextualize our understanding of the DES. As part of this process, we interviewed school leaders, educators, Dehong leadership and Chinese academics who had familiarity with the regional and national educational context. These interviews collected information related to (a) the core components of the model; (b) how the strategy was intended to be delivered in practice; (c) how the model was expected to influence teachers, students and school communities; and (d) the nature of teaching excellence in CNC pedagogies and education-based changes over time.

Literature

We completed a literature review to explore theoretical and practice-based research on bilingual/bicultural education. This activity was intended to (a) describe existing literature on these concepts, and (b) document how bilingual/bicultural schools function in the Chinese context. Taken together, these data elements supported an understanding of alignment/fit between the DES model and representations in the broader literature, supported survey design, and defined the context for interpretation of findings.

Surveys

Student and teacher survey items were developed based on findings from key informant interviews and the literature review. We prepared all materials in Chinese- and English-language formats with student items focused on experiences associated with school climate, expectations and experiences, and early outcomes. Student surveys were different lengths for grades 1-5 ($i = 30$) and 6-10 ($i = 71$) and estimated attitudes about bilingual education processes, instructional experiences, satisfaction with curriculum, learning outcomes, and emerging global interests. Teacher survey items ($i = 76$) explored the degree of understanding about the DES model, experiences implementing curriculum, attitudes about the model, and facilitators/barriers of successful implementation.

Focus Groups and Individual Interviews

All interviews were based on semi-structured dialogical protocols we developed that targeted perceptions of the learning experiences and were conducted via Zoom due to COVID-19 pandemic travel restrictions. Interviews with school leaders consisted of 21 items that explored the DES strategy, implementation activities, systems-level outcomes, communication, and available supports. Teacher interviews consisted of 22 prompts associated with perspectives on teaching, the DES strategy, related approaches to teaching, implementation activities, and communication. Student interviews were of varied lengths for grades 1-5 ($i = 13$) and 6-10 ($i = 19$) and intended to identify experiences with bilingual language use, classroom processes, teacher-student engagement and support, learning styles, and perceived benefits of the DES.

Classroom Observations

Classroom observations used a standard protocol that included narrative descriptions ($i = 7$) and behavioral ratings ($i = 20$) made by trained observers. Narrative descriptions detailed features of the classroom location, lesson plan, student engagement, response to content, and collaboration, as well as general perception of the learning environment atmosphere. Behavioral ratings were centered on language use, instruction versus inquiry, modes of teaching, student-teacher interaction, peer-to-peer interaction, and student engagement with content.

Sampling Procedure

We identified a target number of participants for each data source and collaborated with Dehong school leadership to administer surveys, schedule interviews, and facilitate classroom observations. Dehong students and teachers completed these activities based on volunteer and targeted recruitment initiatives.

Analytic Plan

Quantitative

We computed descriptive statistics for individual items across teacher and student surveys and represented data to portray visually apparent differences in data by curriculum delivery medium, school level, and student type. Data were compared and contrasted to the broader professional literature to contextualize findings based on the DES and wider population of bilingual education settings.

Qualitative

Data from focus groups and individual interviews were transcribed and analyzed using a Directed Content Analysis approach (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). First, transcripts were read in their entirety to create a broad sense of the topic and issues. Next, transcripts were re-read to identify initial codes signifying themes and sub-themes which were compared and contrasted to representations in the professional literature. Finally, interview data were analyzed again to finalize codes and extract specific excerpts that captured the essence of data clusters. Similarly, we aggregated data collected using observation protocols and identified themes to assess the extent to which they supported and corroborated other data sources. We used the MAXQDA qualitative data analysis software throughout this process to sort each theme and quantitatively represent its salience within the larger corpus of data.

Results

Facilitators of Implementation

Teacher and student data sources provided insights into structures, processes, and activities that facilitated effective implementation at Dehong-i.e., that Dehong's teaching practices and student learning activities were implemented as intended. Chief among these were (a) Best Practices for Teaching, (b) Models of Instruction and Assessment, (c) Promotion of Activities that Support Student Engagement, (d) Professional Learning Opportunities, and (e) Focusing on Well-Being (See Table 1).

Best Practices for Teaching

Educators emphasised the importance and benefits of cultivating mindsets that *embrace new and different teaching methods* and value the strengths of each approach within the DES context. One teacher commented, "We're still so new but moving in a positive direction. Sometimes we maybe second guess ourselves but actually there's no real right or wrong at this stage." This process appeared to result in a collective valuing of a best practices mindset coupled with an expressed aim of sharing successful strategies across schools while remaining open to receiving feedback from those schools. One teacher commented, "Coming together as a Dehong group, we're jigsawing in and we're taking each other's best practices...I'm guessing there's going to be a little bit more consistency as we grow as a group."

Models of Instruction and Assessment

Models of instruction and assessment that are differentiated for the individual student were important facilitators of Dehong's student-centered educational strategy. One key input within

this process was a sense of *teacher openness to helping students* that was free from criticism and instead denoted by a sense of authentic care and exploration for a formative learning opportunity. Students reported that this strategy was complemented by meticulous grading of assignments and *consistent feedback to encourage academic growth*. As a result of these efforts, teachers and students reported that *individualised support* through instruction and assessment was associated with mutual empowerment and effectiveness. One student illustrated the process stating, “Our head teacher has personal interaction with each student every semester. We go over some books and our grades, and we learn a lot... Our teachers help us to take the learning content and turn it into our own personal hobbies.”

Promotion of Activities That Support Student Engagement

In addition to supporting students academically, teachers at Dehong engaged their students through *variety among avenues for participation* that feature *multiple opportunities for student growth and persistence*. While this approach facilitated advancement across the curriculum as a whole, the encouragement based on various participation and academic performance levels was associated with the emergence of personal identification with specific topics. One student mentioned, “The school strongly encourages us to ask questions as soon as they arise and receive answers. We also are encouraged to use our own capabilities to try and find answers; this is very beneficial to us.”

Professional Learning Opportunities

Survey and interview data indicated that professional learning opportunities were essential for developing a sense of excellence in teaching practices. Teachers reported access to a *variety of professional learning opportunities* at their respective schools while also having the *autonomy to self-select specialty topics* that will support their unique developmental experiences. One teacher noted, “We recently had one, we're always talking about differentiation and scaffolding. But you can talk about something, but unless somebody has actually done it, and seen it, they won't know. You've got to make it visible. So, we had one on differentiation.”

Focusing on Well-Being

Students reported a general perception that teachers have *genuine concern about overall well-being*, not just academic performance. Students referred to the *availability of counselling services* through school as a resource that was both available and accessible. One student stated, “As I arrived as a new student, even in the last few days when we have gotten three other new students, the teachers have checked on us often. Head teachers and subject

teachers ask how we are adjusting and how we feel. The counsellor also finds us to talk and ask how we are adjusting, regarding our mental health. I feel that I've received a lot of teachers' concern and attention. This is very warm." In addition to student-oriented well-being supports, school leaders emphasised the *importance of compassion and assistance* with teacher well-being and mental health. This care-based value was demonstrated by *providing practical supports* such as transportation for some teachers to support focus on teaching.

Barriers to Implementation

Teacher and student data sources provided insights that underscored five key factors which functioned as barriers to effective implementation at Dehong, although they are not unique to the DES. Paramount among these were (a) Workload and Time, (b) Challenges to Collaboration between CML and EML Teachers, (c) Managing Evolving Requirements from Multiple Authorities, (d) Variability in Student Ability Level, and (e) Emerging Alignment of Curricular Standards and Assessment See Table 1).

Workload and Time

Teachers indicated the lack of *time to fully cover the curriculum* with CML teachers citing this as the greatest barrier to implementation. Relatedly, the scope of curricular elements was associated with *narrow planning windows* for some elements that compressed meeting requirements against available time. EML teachers indicated that lack of existing curricula required more planning time than that needed by teachers of CNC content. One teacher stated, "We have limited class time to cover content... we do not compare to the preparation level of other public schools. There is insufficient class time." *Wide-ranging responsibilities among school leaders* tended to include covering teaching and other tasks as needed. Some school leaders indicated that there was a need for deputy heads and emphasized *coaching and mentoring supports for both teachers and school leaders* as predictors of implementation success.

Challenges to Collaboration between CML and EML Teachers

Despite collaboration being situated as an imperative feature of the DES, *collaboration gaps between CML and EML teachers* were cited as an opportunity for enhancing implementation efforts. One teacher noted, "We don't know what we are all doing. There is no avenue for this. We could use this communication to learn from each other and improve." Data suggested that limited communication avenues were associated with *limitations to relationship building* between CML and EML teachers which hampered opportunities for mutual exchange and growth. Increased opportunities for cross-medium collaboration would also allow for the

creation of shared cultural and pedagogical knowledge bases, enriching teachers' understanding of both curricula and teaching styles.

Managing Evolving Requirements from Multiple Authorities

Teachers and leaders indicated a trend for regional bureaus to implement *policy and practice changes without context* that would support the operational execution at the local level. This strategy was replicated through a parallel process at the Dehong (i.e., school group) and Education in Motion (i.e., company) levels. One educator stated, "We do have a situation where the staff look to the SLT [senior leadership team] to explain what it is that we're doing and where it's coming from... Unfortunately, we often don't have the answer." Furthermore, the requested changes were often associated with late notice (i.e., delayed communication) and *precipitous timelines for redressing issues* at hand which do not allow for inclusion of input at the local level.

Variability in Student Ability Level

Teachers and students reported difficulties with *simultaneous engagement of high- and low-performing students* as evidenced by a trend to support lower-performing students at a higher rate than their higher achieving peers. This experience appeared to be particularly pronounced among EML teachers when *differentiating lesson plans in response to language barriers* associated with lower levels of English proficiency. One teacher mentioned the barrier "is making subjects like English very difficult to teach when you have such contrasts... differentiation is one thing, but differentiation of such a distance is quite challenging."

Emerging Alignment of Curricular Standards and Assessment

Teachers suggested that the emerging nature of the EML curriculum resulted in *annual modifications of curricular content* and implementation which was experienced as a tiring endeavor. Concurrently, the emerging nature of English proficiency benchmarks resulted in considerable *time deconstructing evaluation rubrics to align instructional strategies* for meeting their learning outcomes. One educator illuminated, "we've had to spend a tremendous amount of time pulling them apart, and basically using them to create our own documentation to think about where we want the children to be."

Discussion

The findings from this evaluation provide preliminary support for the DES as a viable strategy for delivering the CNC within the context of bilingual and bicultural education programming that features CLIL, CML, EML and constructivist, inquiry-based approaches. Data from

classroom observations, educators, and students highlighted several facilitators of effective implementation. In particular, the composite characteristics associated with the identified facilitators were indicative of practices that represented the DES's core values of well-being, life-long learning, respecting differences, critical thinking, self-cognition, creative expression, and joy for learning. The identified facilitators were not as clearly linked to the values of global citizenship, sustainability, and cultural heritage, but we did find evidence supporting these in other data from the evaluation. Furthermore, it was clear from our data that implementation facilitators were at least moderately linked to the three dimensions (Autonomous Development, Civic Participation, Cultural Foundation) and six modules (Learning to Learn, Healthy Living, Assuming Responsibility, Innovation and Practice, Humanistic Understanding, Scientific Spirit) of the CNC. Taken together, it is reasonable to conjecture that the processes and practices that were reported as facilitators of effective DES implementation may function as connectors between DES's internationally-oriented values and CNC domestic learning objectives.

Our analyses also revealed some key opportunities for enhancing administrative, teaching, and assessment activities that may bring the DES implementation closer to its aspirational potential. These activities are viewed as foundational elements that are integral to assuring that teachers are able to support students in filling gaps in knowledge and skills in ways that are scalable and transferable within and across campuses. Specifically, the inclusion of additional deputy heads may provide meso-level support within the DES structure and function as an advocacy-oriented weigh-station for logistics that promotes the protection of teaching planning periods, cross-school learning and strategy collaboration, and role consistency. The Dehong schools are addressing this issue by installing deputy heads in the two schools that do not already have one in place. Additionally, we believe that developing, piloting, and improving processes for communicating, implementing, and supporting school-level changes will be critical as the most parsimonious and efficacious strategies for meeting educational objectives within the broader national context continue to be identified. Furthermore, it may be imperative to identify an optimal sense of proportionality between prescribed and self-selected professional development opportunities, particularly when considering the need to support simultaneous engagement of high- and low-performing students and differentiated lesson planning to overcome language barriers. Finally, it appeared that the regular use of universal and targeted quality assurance and quality improvement assessments to represent the climate surrounding key issues among stakeholders (e.g., students, teachers, administrators, parents, community members) would provide a cost-effective strategy to approach greater implementation efficacy. On balance, these considerations represent general

recommendations that are possible; however, buy-in and coordination across all levels of the Dehong schools and EIM group will determine the degree that associated impacts are probable.

Conclusions

The DES represents a unique approach to bilingual and bicultural education programming that features CLIL, CML, EML, and constructivist, inquiry-based approaches embedded within the CNC. This pre-experimental mixed methods evaluation of facilitators and barriers to implementation yielded findings that can inform consideration of structural, administrative, and educational developments moving forward. These findings are considered preliminary and more data will be needed across additional features of the DES, including contrasts of academic achievement and social outcomes with non-bilingual educated comparisons. Future Dehong cohorts can also speak to the full implementation of the IB curricula once current Grade 10 pre-IB students move into their intended Grade 11 and 12 IB years. Future evaluations are considered imperative to identify the long-term outcomes for matriculation, as well as putative indicators of Dehong values including well-being, global citizenship, life-long learning, sustainability, cultural heritage, respecting differences, critical thinking, self-cognition, creative expression, and joy for learning. While these findings relate specifically to the DES, they have general applicability to many educational strategies and models.

Table 1

Facilitators for Successfully Implementing the Dehong Education Strategy

Implementation Facilitator	Composite Characteristics
<i>Best Practices for Teaching</i>	Embracing new and different teaching methods Best practices mindset Sharing success strategies
<i>Models of Instruction and Assessment</i>	Teacher openness to helping students Consistent feedback to encourage academic growth Individualized support
<i>Activities That Support Student Engagement</i>	Variety among avenues for participation Multiple opportunities for student growth and persistence
<i>Professional Learning Opportunities</i>	Variety of professional learning opportunities Autonomy to self-select specialty topics
<i>Focusing on Well-Being</i>	Genuine concern about overall well-being Availability of counseling services Importance of compassion and assistance Providing practical supports

Table 2
Barriers to Successfully Implementing the Dehong Education Strategy

Implementation Barrier	Composite Characteristics
<i>Workload and Time</i>	Time needed to fully cover the curriculum Narrow planning windows Wide-ranging responsibilities among school leaders Coaching and mentoring supports
<i>Challenges to Collaboration between CML and EML Teachers</i>	Collaboration gaps between CML and EML teachers Limitations to relationship building
<i>Managing Evolving Requirements from Multiple Authorities</i>	Policy and practice changes without context Precipitous timelines for redressing issues
<i>Variability in Student Ability Level</i>	Simultaneous engagement of high- and low-performing students Differentiating lesson plans in response to language barriers
<i>Emerging Alignment of Curricular Standards and Assessment</i>	Annual modifications of curricular content Time deconstructing evaluation rubrics to align instructional strategies

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Building or Breaking Democracies in Virtual Classrooms? A Qualitative Study on the Use of Cooperative Learning Strategies in Teaching English Literature Online

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Abstract

English Literature benefits from many modern pedagogic practices. Among them, Cooperative Learning has gained prominence as a suitable pedagogy to teach English Literature, and both the subject and the pedagogy instil democratic values in students. Whilst this modern teaching method is relatively new to Sri Lanka it has gained significance among private secondary schools of the country. Therefore, teachers use various teaching and learning activities in English Literature classrooms such as dialogic approaches and literature circles. However, the shift from face-to-face classes to online classes has posed a challenge to the use of cooperative learning in teaching English literary texts. Any variation of pedagogic practices has an effect on learners. Therefore, considering the novelty of online education for secondary schools of Sri Lanka, it is necessary to observe the cooperative learning strategies used to teach English Literature online. Data was gathered using semi-structured interviews with secondary school teachers of English Literature who use cooperative learning strategies for their lessons. The implications of this study highlight online cooperative learning practices in the teaching of English Literature and the effect online cooperative strategies have on democratic values among students. I conclude that the findings of this study direct us towards the understanding that translating cooperative learning strategies from face-to-face teaching to online teaching in English Literature classes does not have the same effect as intended. In fact, the use of cooperative strategies in online classes challenges the notion of democratic practices that help build and sustain such important skills and lessons.

Keywords: Cooperative Learning, English Literature Teaching, Online Learning, Pedagogy

Introduction

English Literature, as a subject, benefits from a range of contemporary pedagogical practices. In order to facilitate lively discussion and learner autonomy, cooperative learning (CL) has gained prominence as a suitable pedagogy for English Literature teaching (ELT). Moreover, both the subject and the pedagogy may instil democratic values in students. Whilst this teaching method is relatively new to Sri Lanka it has gained significance in private secondary schools of the country with teachers using various teaching and learning activities in ELT such as dialogic approaches and literature circles. These methods of teaching help transform learners from passive recipients of information within classroom environments to active consumers of knowledge and skill.

The ways in which pedagogies function help to understand how knowledge is gained and how learners are empowered to become social beings. CL in particular caters to the needs of all learners by increasing learner participation. It is useful not only to gain knowledge but also to generate interest in the subject and to teach important social values that will benefit students in the long run (Johnson and Johnson, 2018).

“Cooperative learning requires pupils to work together in small groups to support each other to improve their own learning and that of others,” (Jolliffe, 2007, p. 3). This concept is also referred to by Johnson and Johnson (2002) as the “learning together and alone” model (p. 95). It is evident that this approach requires moving beyond a philosophy of self-centred, individualised learning that was prevalent up until the 1960s and using a more enhanced cooperative learning strategy for knowledge and meaning generation (Johnson & Johnson, 2008). Prominent educational theorist Paolo Freire (1968), states that “knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other” (p. 53). This in turn suggests moving beyond banking information which bell hooks (1994) refers to as “passive consumer[ism]” to becoming “active participant[s]” of education (p. 14). Cooperative Learning contributes to making students more active learners and social beings who will learn the skills to work together that may uphold democratic values.

Purpose of Study

The shift from face-to-face to online classes particularly during the pandemic has posed a challenge to the use of CL in ELT. Online courses have been in existence since the early 2000s and many studies have been conducted on ELT and the use of CL in university settings over the past two decades (Manzollilo, 2016; Lancashire, 2009). However, the use of CL and

its shift to online platforms at the secondary school level have not been thoroughly researched. This study explores the following questions:

1. How is CL used to teach English Literature online at the secondary school level?
2. How are democratic values affected by the use of CL in online English Literature classes?

This study will focus on the importance of CL as a democratic pedagogic practice, ELT pedagogies, and the use of CL for ELT via online teaching platforms at the secondary school level. Most importantly, this study will seek to evaluate the impact of online CL practices on students and democratic values within classrooms.

Methodology

This study gathered data from three middle and upper school teachers of English Literature from the same private school in Colombo. The participants were selected using a purposive sampling method according to the participants' use of CL for online Literature classes. Semi-structured interviews were conducted and recorded via Zoom due to risks posed by COVID-19. The interviews were conducted to understand the use of CL in online English Literature classes and the teachers' observations on how CL practices in online classes affect the democratic values typically promoted by the pedagogy.

Code Name of Participant	Years of Teaching Experience	Years of Experience Teaching Online	Year Groups Taught
Teacher A	7 years	2 years	Middle School
Teacher B	22 years	2 years	Middle and Upper Schools (including Sixth Form)
Teacher C	9 years	2 years	Middle and Upper Schools

Participants' information Table 1

Permission to select and interview teachers was gained from the school upon producing a plain language statement elaborating the nature and purpose of the study, as well as via an organisational consent form. Moreover, individual consent forms were given, signed and received by the selected research participants. These documents helped to highlight the research objectives, participants' rights, and the procedure of the study for the participants. Due to ethical concerns, the school of the teachers and any identifiable markers were eliminated from the research. Moreover, code names were used for the research participants as illustrated in Table 1. Since research data were gathered from semi-structured interviews,

the results were largely descriptive and qualitative. Therefore, through a deductive data analysis method, data were analysed to answer the above-mentioned research questions.

Findings

The three research participants are familiar with the use of CL for classroom activities when teaching English Literature. All three teachers use CL for ELT in face-to-face classes which they then began to use for online classes upon the start of the pandemic in early 2020. Although the three participants have varying degrees of experience in the profession, their experience in teaching online is the same. This further showcases the fact that online teaching is a new phenomenon to secondary school teachers in Sri Lanka. Teacher B stated that it took her some time to get used to online teaching platforms (OTP) but within a few months she was familiar enough with the software to use breakout rooms and other practices to facilitate CL strategies online. Teacher C stated that she tends to use more CL activities online than in face-to-face classes because “during physical school, it’s easier to get students to speak up and give their ideas and opinions as a class... when it’s online, students are very reluctant to speak up, so putting them in smaller groups helps in getting them to speak up”. Teacher A said that she facilitates more CL activities in physical classes than online.

All three participants primarily facilitate CL to promote discussion among students. Teacher A stated that she uses group activities and pair discussions to discuss the thoughts and feelings of the students about the texts that they study. For instance, after providing a brief summary of the text, she would group them to encourage sharing their thoughts and feelings about the text and to achieve a common understanding of what the text implies; essentially to interpret the text as a group and to arrive at a consensus on the text. Teacher B mentioned that in face-to-face classes she encourages students to “go up to the board and brainstorm ideas pertaining to the text such as themes and characteristics”. She facilitates the same through small group discussions on the OTP. Moreover, she also stated that she has begun to increasingly use quizzes to test students’ knowledge which she achieves by grouping them into small groups to work collectively and score marks for their groups. Additionally, she also encourages roleplay as a CL strategy. Teacher C stated that she would typically get students to work in groups or pairs to interpret texts and discuss points for an answer or debate. Whilst translating these to online classes, she also uses other OTPs such as Kahoot to facilitate CL activities.

However, all three teachers stated that the smaller the groups, the higher the participation of all team members. Whilst Teacher A uses groups of five or pairs for CL activities, both

Teachers B and C use groups of three to ensure that student participation is at a maximum level.

How are Democratic Values Affected by the Use of Cooperative Learning in Online English Literature Classes?

Despite innovative practices used to encourage student participation and democratic values such as equal participation and working together towards a common goal, the three participants identify internet and device issues as a common challenge for many students. Teacher C claims that some students pass through an entire year of online learning with zero participation in group or pair activities even after the teacher has reached out to parents. At such times, she claims that she “cannot help but leave them behind”. However, for the most part all three teachers have found alternatives. Whilst identifying online CL as having a negative effect on student participation, Teacher A provided an example of how her Grade 7 and 8 students conducted meetings outside school hours to ensure the participation of all students in group activities. Additionally, students have shared resources and their homework with the rest of the group via WhatsApp groups and email if their internet connections were unstable during a scheduled meeting. Teacher B stated that she has encouraged students to communicate with her via WhatsApp if they are unable to unmute and share their responses on the OTP. Teacher C said that she has encouraged students to message her on the OTP if they are unable to unmute and participate in class discussions. Therefore, it is evident that all participants have found means to further encourage students to participate in class and group discussions despite internet and device challenges.

Additionally, Teacher B shared one of her recent experiences with a student who, for the purpose of this research, will be referred to as Anya. She stated that “Anya seems extroverted and talkative when teaching online”. However, when she met her in person for the first time, “Anya was the very opposite – hardly speaking to anybody”. She identified the environment to be a primary contributing factor, stating that the student was new to the school and might have found the home environment more encouraging rather than the school environment. Thus, Anya appeared to be a more extroverted and engaged learner, perhaps even a leader, online. Moreover, Teacher B identified online environments as better for CL activities than face-to-face settings because OTPs provide many more provisions such as Poll Everywhere that can be utilised for these purposes. Additionally, she identified home environments as being more encouraging for introverted learners to participate in CL activities than school environments which can often be hostile towards newcomers and introverts. Moreover, Teacher B also believes that “forcing introverted students to talk would only result in them being even more

reluctant to engage in the lesson”. Teachers A and C both believe that extroverted students definitely overpower introverted students, resulting in a power imbalance in class and a negative effect on democratic values. Moreover, they believe that face-to-face CL activities are more effective as they can ensure the participation of all students and can thus uphold democratic values among students by ensuring that all voices are heard.

The above findings point towards the use of CL in online ELT and the effect it has on democratic practices in the classroom. Both CL and ELT value democratic practices, however, it is evident that when CL is translated to online ELT, it problematizes the very notion of democracy.

The findings suggest that one of the key reasons for using CL in ELT is to encourage discussion. Whilst this enhances skills such as listening and speaking which are considered essential, especially the latter (Rao, 2019), CL practices also encourage negotiation for meaning. Moreover, they encourage communication to broaden ideas and provide learners with multiple meanings of texts (Delic & Bećirović, 2016). It is also possible that on OTPs, unless the teacher encourages students to discuss and communicate, the students would remain “passive consumer[s]” of knowledge rather than “active participant[s]” (hooks, 1994, p. 14). To echo the sentiments of Freire (1968), knowledge emerges only when a learner enquires, which cannot be achieved in a primarily teacher-led pedagogy. Moreover, especially in a subject such as literature which requires meaning to be negotiated (Gill and Illesca, 2011), it would be unlikely for knowledge and learner autonomy to increase and have a positive effect if it does not encourage learner discussion.

Literature encourages learner participation. Pedagogies used for ELT before the time of Covid-19 still used CL activities such as literature circles (Shelton-Strong, 2012), dialogic enquiry (Gill and Illesca, 2011). and think-pair-share (Ugwu, 2019). Due to the pandemic, online learning became the norm for education for two years. This also raises the question as to whether online learning requires different pedagogies instead of an adaptive form of face-to-face CL as observed in this study. Whilst this is the case for the most part, Teachers B and C also point towards using OTP facilities such as Kahoot and Poll Everywhere for CL purposes. These point towards their efforts to use more appropriate tools to facilitate CL online rather than merely and entirely translating pedagogies used in face-to-face settings to online settings. Perhaps with more training, practice and experience, they may learn to use CL in a much more engaging way online. However, Cawsey and Lancashire’s (2009) study on online learning in tertiary education may suggest that irrespective of practice and experience, online learning

may not create an entirely inclusive environment. The study's reference to the benefit of online learning on "committed students" (p. 311) subtly yet evidently points towards this perception.

Upholding Democratic Values through Online Cooperative Learning Practices

In understanding the impact of CL on democratic values, it is first and foremost important to understand the ways in which CL functions. In grouping or pairing learners for short or long time periods, learners are encouraged to work together and arrive at a common consensus as a group. Moreover, a group would uphold mutual goals and strive to achieve them collectively. For instance, in Teacher B's roleplay activity, the group members would not be able to outperform other groups if they do not work together to achieve the same goal. The same may affect quizzes such as the ones conducted on Kahoot by Teacher C. This notion essentially echoes Deutsch's theory of social interdependence (Johnson & Johnson, 2018). This may seem positive as online learning, which can be an isolating experience, may allow learners to interact and depend on each other, thus forming bonds outside the classroom. However, online learning can still be a challenging experience, especially in collaborative learning tasks through group work, group presentations and group assessments (Gillett-Swan, 2017). This may particularly affect introverted students who might be reluctant to engage and seek help. Teacher B's anecdote of Anya, the introverted student who projected qualities of extroversion online, further problematizes this notion. An introverted student may feel more confident behind a screen and in a familiar environment while other introverted students may further isolate themselves. As some voices will inevitably be unheard, ideas of isolation and introversion may affect the overall skill development and democratic climate of an online class.

Activities such as brainstorming and collective interpretation of texts fall under dialogic enquiry and literature circles (Gill and Illesca, 2011; Shelton-Strong, 2012). It is evident that such activities result in building constructive controversies as learners collectively negotiate meaning of texts which contributes to the development of social and cognitive skills and citizenship values of democratic societies (Johnson and Johnson, 2014). As Teachers A and C confirmed, certain students may overpower and overrule the rest of the classroom, creating a power imbalance and undemocratic views. Therefore, it is evident that while the use of CL encourages discussion and engagement, it does not necessarily uphold and sustain values and skills of democracy in an online class.

The Role of the Teacher

The teacher's role in facilitating CL for online ELT is important to understand. By facilitating CL, the teacher helps sustain the same value and time given to student input in face-to-face classes in online environments. The teacher's involvement remains essential to direct tasks. Both Shelton-Strong (2012) and Gill and Illesca (2011) highlight the role of the teacher in literature circles and dialogic enquiry, respectively. In the present study, the teachers' efforts to facilitate student participation as much as possible is notable. All three participants mentioned alternative methods used to communicate with more introverted students. The use of email, WhatsApp and chat options of OTPs by the participants echo Hanson-Smith's (2009) rationale that OTPs facilitate both oral and written communication, resulting in higher levels of learner interaction. As Best (2009) highlights, OTPs may encourage effective and democratic communication. However, as highlighted by all research participants, some students are still left behind. Whilst Teacher B may think it best not to force participation, it is evident that full participation does not take place which both Teachers A and C claim can be achieved in physical classes. Although by "broadcasting" resources via emails and social media and "communicating" with the teacher and peers through other means students engage in CL activities, this does not provide a foolproof plan for inclusive education (Chambers and Gregory, 2006, p. 156). Using CL practices online may not have a full and inclusive effect, especially due to the teachers' inability to monitor students closely as opposed to their ability to do so in physical classes.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is evident that CL may not create fully inclusive classrooms. Nevertheless, the teachers' efforts to bridge the gap as much as possible and to encourage collective participation and responsibility through CL pedagogy should be appreciated. Considering the context of the study, i.e., Sri Lankan secondary schools which are new to online learning, the efforts to transform, adapt and use CL strategies for online learning are commendable. The use of technology and other OTPs such as Poll Everywhere and Kahoot suggest that with further practice and experience, teachers may become more adept at using online CL for ELT and towards fuller inclusivity.

Limitations and Further Research

This study referred to a homogenous sampling community as it interviewed and utilised data pertaining to three English Literature teachers of the same private, international school in Colombo. Sri Lanka has many types of schools such as state-run schools, missionary schools and international schools, and the resources and pedagogies used in different localities of Sri

Lanka may vary. Researching on diverse subjects, and different types of schools and localities may provide better insight into this study's focus. Further research should be conducted to identify how cooperative values can be enhanced and instilled in students when teaching ELT online and to identify modern pedagogies leading to a more inclusive and holistic approach to sustaining said values in online teaching environments.

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Fluid Grading: Enacting practical wisdom and transgressing in the act of grading

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Abstract

Grading is a complex subject in education and is often surrounded by strong, divergent views often related to people's lived experiences and to selective and biased use of research findings. While many schools might like to do away with grading, it cannot be discarded easily as grading allows us to represent students' learning achievements in the form of abbreviated symbols. In this article, I revisit the main issues surrounding grading to demonstrate where I believe the real problems lie and to reframe our thinking about grading and imagine a constructive way forward. Drawing from critical pedagogy (Freire, hooks), I propose the conceptual model of 'Fluid Grading' with five principles (contextual, ethical, pro-human, dialogical and dynamic) that mobilises teachers' practical wisdom and calls for transgression in the act of grading.

Keywords: Grading, assessment, professional judgement, practical wisdom, responsibility, reflection, reflexivity, freedom, emancipation, dialogue.

"The classroom, with all its limitations, remains a location of possibility. In that field of possibility we have the opportunity to labour for freedom, to demand of ourselves and our comrades an openness of mind and heart that allows us to face reality even as we collectively imagine ways to move beyond boundaries, to transgress. This is education as the practice of freedom." (hooks², 1994, p. 207)

Introduction

Grading, in its myriads of forms, is about 'measuring' learning. This process allows students - but also parents, administrators, and teachers themselves - to gain an understanding of where the student is on their learning journey. In addition, grades serve as a form of 'learning data' to support teachers in responding to students' needs and to improve future performance. At the heart of grading, therefore, is the idea of accurately reporting a student's level of achievement. However, the grading process may not be entirely accurate due to:

² The author's name is intentionally in lowercase throughout this article, to respect bell hooks' wishes.

- the form of the assessment (e.g., its design)
- the 'testing' conditions (e.g., a formal examination hall, low-stake formative moments)
- the tools and techniques used to assess or measure learning (e.g., scoring tools, rubrics...)
- the decision-making process (e.g., algorithms and calculations, triangulation of data, use of professional judgement).

In other words, the quest for accuracy can be lost in translation, amongst the conditions around grading that are partially controllable.

Sitting above this situation, we observe that many grading systems across the world fit into Freire's (2005) notion of a 'banking model' whereby the teacher deposits knowledge in the head of students who simply regurgitate what they are asked to memorise. In this context, the student is a mere receptacle (an object and not a subject) experiencing oppression. The teacher has significantly more power and authority that, in this case, is used to perpetuate the structures in place (controlling paradigm), rather than the possible dismantling of systemic barriers (liberatory/emancipatory paradigm).

Moreover, we live in an age of measurement (Biesta, 2010) where everything is 'datafied' and countable. The irony in education is that we often go after data that is based on external instruments (e.g., PISA, SAT, ACT...) which dictate a hegemonic 'universal standard' of quality. Biesta (2010, 2014) exposes this fundamental issue by asking us to consider whether we are measuring what we value or valuing what we measure. This very provocation allows us to consider whether to maintain or challenge the status quo of grading.

In today's world, professional development on assessment and grading is rhythmised by the pursuit of 'effectiveness' (including the focus on 'effect sizes') and the notion that when an educational intervention is successful in one context, it can be generalised as effective in another. If we do not think critically about this assumption, we accept the idea that teachers are reduced to being a mere 'factor' (Biesta, 2007) for consideration. According to this input-output approach, we believe that an intervention will result in a certain effect on students and that students will respond in predictable ways (Biesta, 2007).

The present article explicitly rejects this approach and uncovers some possible alternatives by reclaiming our humanity as teachers and making use of the "*beautiful risk of education*" (Biesta, 2013): moving away from a functional and instrumental view of the teacher and

promoting the idea that education calls for unpredictability, ambiguity, fluidity, and vulnerability.

With the idea of *Fluid Grading*, we renegotiate the boundaries of the system, stretch them, and move determinably beyond them through transgression (hooks, 1994). We engage in the act of shaping (and sometimes fading) scores or grades in dialogue with our students. Instead of relying on “disembodied knowledge” that remains in the head only (through intellectual processes), we reconnect with our intuitive embodied knowledge (Cairo, 2021) that allows us to be present to our students and welcome their contributions, in co-regulation. This requires a *reflexive* posture - an attitude of bending onto ourselves (Steier, 1991), of reflecting in and on action (Schön, 1983) - as well as interrogating our dynamic positionality as “Dominant” or “Other” (Cairo, 2021). We are called to be fully present to the complexity of the classroom, open to the variability of human beings interacting with one another, and welcoming of surprises and uncertainties.

Interrogating our grading habits

There are plenty of radical opinions surrounding grading that often polarise into a pro vs con debate without much room for exploring nuances and contexts. As Lipnevich et al. (2021) posit: “a numerical score or a grade does not inherently carry any valence, be it positive or negative” (p. 2). Grading is an abbreviation that gives us quick feedback about where students are in their learning (Guskey, 2019). However, there are grading practices that create widely different learning climates. When it comes to grading, we might want to pay more attention to the context than to the symbol. (Reeves, Jung, & O'Connor, 2017). In a criterion-referenced system, the grade is determined against a particular learning objective. We can consider this a constructive practice. In contrast, in a norm-referenced system and with standardised tests, the grade reflects a student’s standing against others. For whom is this effective? What message does this model reinforce? In addition, there are other ways in which the grading process can contribute in maintaining or reinforcing the status quo of the banking system (Freire, 2005).

Extrinsic motivation and grades

One of the contexts in which grading can be ethically questionable is when it is used to reward or punish. Using grades this way focuses students’ attention on the result rather than the actual learning. It conditions students to perform based on a positive or negative consequence. While viewing high grades as a reward might (often momentarily) work for students on a winning streak, using grades as punishment hurts students, especially the ones who

experience this repeatedly (Chappuis & Chappuis, 2002). It is not a sound practice and certainly not ethically desirable. Incentivizing behaviours can be experienced as manipulation (introjected regulation) or controlling (external regulation), resulting in generating unhealthy learning environments for students (Ryan & Deci, 2017).

When grading is used to manipulate their behaviour, students may feel anxious, hopeless, or ashamed (Pekrun, Elliot and Maier, 2006), which in turn may prevent them from achieving at higher levels. Students may also become obsessed with grades and the pressure they are under to achieve high marks. This may push them to respond in maladaptive ways, such as engaging in cheating (Cizek, 2003). In sum, when students experience grades as controlling, it may undermine their basic psychological needs (Ryan & Weinstein, 2009; Ryan & Deci, 2017) and detract from the very purpose of measuring student learning. When the grade is either experienced as a carrot or a stick, students might be tempted to take the shortest path to success.

Grading on the curve

Norm-referenced grading or “grading on the curve” is about organising scores into a bell curve. In a normal distribution, we have an average and an equal distribution of data above and below it. This way, a student’s performance can be compared against their peers, as opposed to a criterion-referenced system where student results are compared against the mastery levels of specific standards. When grading on the curve, there are only a few high and low achievers and many individuals performing on ‘average’. “Excellence is not defined in terms of rigorous and challenging learning criteria. It is defined in terms of a student’s relative standing among classmates.” (Guskey, 2014, p. 17). Student results are represented in a predictable way that ignores student variability and reinforces the myth of average (Rose, 2016). Grading on the curve emphasises potentially negative aspects of competition, stigmatises learners by labelling them, embraces a deficit model, and mismeasures about what students have learned (Guskey, 2015). Just because normal distribution exists as a mathematical concept it does not mean it is a valid representation of reality. Grading on the curve represents a distorted reality that not everyone can succeed, that individuals (whether students or teachers) have little control over the quality of teaching and learning, as if success was a matter of destiny and one that often favours the most privileged students (e.g. students with access to additional material or tutoring). As any teacher knows first hand, the reality is more complex than this. Grading on the curve reinforces the banking model (Freire, 2005) and reduces students to data points (students as objects) that are mathematically organised. Such practices always

find justification from the point of view of the 'collector of data' but rarely from the perspective and experience of the students.

Number crunching

Many schools maintain the status quo of grading adhering to the mainstream orthodoxy of using points and percentages. Even outside the realm of norm-referenced grading, with the intention to measure student's mastery against a standard and not against other students, the use of points and percentages also raises questions.

"Points give us cover and safety. They give our measurement of student performance a veneer of fairness and quantifiable objectivity. We assign a point maximum that a student can earn for each question, count up the total points the student earned, and then divide that total by the total points possible and - presto! - we have a grade."

Feldman (2018, p. 38).

However, the use of points, percentages and conversation scales only gives the illusion of objectivity, for each step associated with grading this way is highly subjective. For example: Did the questions require the same cognitive load? How were the points assigned for each question? How were the points accumulated? How were the conversation scales (points to percentage and percentage to letter grade) designed? In the end, the grade may only be an inaccurate aggregate of data. As Guskey (2013) argues, percentages cannot possibly summarise learning because they show the items correct and incorrect but do not depict the student's mastery of a particular standard/learning outcome.

Finally, the 'calculator method' (i.e., the use of mathematical formula to calculate a grade using varied data points, such as averaging), sometimes determined by the grading policy or by teachers themselves, is another way in which student performance may be misrepresentative by falsifying achievement through algorithmic subjectivity (Guskey & Jung, 2016).

Hodgepodge grading

Finally, another issue with grading is captured by the concept of the *hodgepodge* grade, coined by Brookhart (1991). The term essentially illustrates the idea of mixing a variety of data (such as attitude, effort, and achievement) with performance data. This potpourri of data that does not deliver the information that a grade should provide, thus rendering it invalid.

The "primary purpose for grading - for both individual assignment grades and report card grades - should be to communicate with students and parents about their achievement of learning goals" (Brookhart, 2004, p. 5). When we engage in *hodgepodge* grading, we fail to

accurately communicate information about a student's performance (Brookhart, 1991, Brookhart, 2004, Feldman, 2019). Some examples of *hodgepodge* grading may include deducting points for late submission or providing bonus points for 'participation'. It's not always possible to detect these practices and they often weave themselves into the hidden curriculum. In this context, we tamper with evidence, make a false assessment of student learning by engaging in a form of "social engineering" (Brookhart, 1991). This may manifest itself by, for example, adding a point here and there in the grade to make sure students don't feel bad. This "false generosity" (Freire, 2005) maintains the power dynamics between teachers and students.

Transgressing through *Fluid Grading*

Grading isn't inherently good or bad; we need to consider the grading system with its surroundings. The underlying potential problems are tangled in existing structures, such as:

- rigid policies simply followed (e.g., grading on the curve)
- patterns and habits (e.g., engaging in 'hodgepodge' grading)
- mental models (maintaining authoritative power structure – even unintentionally – through rewarding/punishing with grades).

It can be convenient to retreat into rule-following and habitual actions, however, if we pause and radically open ourselves (hooks, 1989a), we can engage in substantive examination of our practices and find the courage to disrupt them. Teacher agency is not about capacity building or willingness to change - putting all responsibility on them - but "the interplay of what teachers 'bring' to the situation and what the situation 'brings' to the teacher" (Priestley, Biesta, & Robinson, 2015, p. 7-8). Adopting an emancipatory approach to grading is unlikely to arise from a top-down model since emancipation is about challenging systemic barriers (Crenshaw, 1989; hooks, 1989a). Whilst administrators may play a role in introducing more fluidity into their system, teachers are at the heart of this approach and may implement its principles in their classroom. I write this article with the hope that *Fluid Grading* may resonate with educational staff in schools and provide an opening to reimagine grading.

Grading fluidly

Fluid Grading is a dialogical approach to crystalizing student learning whereby students and teachers encounter each other at a human level and navigate the grading process horizontally, as equals. The idea of *Fluid Grading* stems from the necessity to rethink grading. Many claims are made and decisions taken about assessment without really considering the deeper sources that cause the problems we want to solve. For example, many schools promote a shift from grading and summative assessments to an emphasis on feedback and formative

assessments, or even ‘ungrading’. Such initiatives may be meaningless if the question of *challenging the underlying structures and issues of grading* isn’t present. When the solution is simply to replace one system by another, we can fall into what is known as ‘shifting the burden’ archetype in systems thinking (Senge, 1993). In this context, the problem we hope to solve or minimise will initially be reduced but after a time the same problem may reappear with greater force. As posited by Guskey (2022): “if we use grades the right way, at the right time, and for the right reasons, they can be an effective form of feedback for students.” With *Fluid Grading*, the idea is not a replacement solution but a lens through which teachers in any given school can approach grading in their classroom through a praxis of liberation. This approach may be especially emancipatory for teachers who experience a deep misalignment between their frame of reference (values and beliefs) and their actions. Such classroom practitioners can use the principles of *Fluid Grading* to resist and realign. *Fluid Grading* is a transgressive approach that requires courage to question the structures in place and to deliberately disrupt them inside the boundaries within our control. *Fluid Graders* are teachers and students, who engage in pro-human³ dialogues around assessment, encounter one another and manifest as subjects (Biesta, 2020) thus going against the grain (hooks, 1989b).

The five principles of *Fluid Grading*

In order to find ways to transgress current grading practices that may misrepresent student performance, favour the most privileged students, and marginalise the most vulnerable, we must disrupt our habits and adopt an emancipatory praxis. We need to consider students as subjects, not objects. *Fluid grading* is an idea that strives to capture grading as a human and humane act, calling for practical wisdom and dialogue. As Coles (2002, p. 9) posits: “We need to question the notion of objectivity and look to improve our deliberative subjectivity.” Many progressive grading experts call for attentiveness when it comes to over-reliance on ‘objectivity’. Nothing is neutral when it comes to assessing and grading: from decisions made in assessment design, to the tools we use to guide grade determination, to the data we select when triangulating. Subjectivity is everywhere and when we acknowledge its presence, we can critically position ourselves and make conscious choices in the enactment of our professional judgement. For Allal (2013), professional judgement is called for both cognitively and socially.

Embracing practical wisdom allows teachers to bridge the gap between advocacy and judgement of student learning and to adopt a reflexive posture. Such praxis can manifest itself in the way the teacher chooses grading methods, modifies and applies them, in the way that

³ The term ‘pro-human’ is borrowed from Aminata Cairo’s blog post “[Let me be clear](#)”.

rubric items are rethought during or after the assessment, responding to the reality of its use in the classroom, or when we observe students' varied experiences and adjust approaches to ensure equity. To mobilise this way of navigating grading, I propose five principles that can guide teachers in refining and enacting practical wisdom.

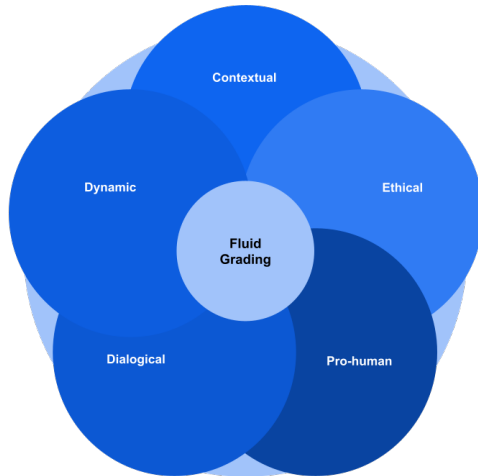


Figure 1. Fluid Grading Model

#1 Contextual

- Grading is not an isolated act that follows predictable rules that can be applied universally. It is embedded in a social context and in an assessment culture (Birenbaum, 2014) which need to be taken into consideration.
- We acknowledge that students are variable and diverse and bring with them their own intersectional identities, making them subject to varied degrees of privilege and power and this influences their experience.
- We acknowledge that teaching, learning, assessing, and grading are embedded within a structure over which we have some control, but where everyone's agency is contingent upon local variables (such as a school's culture and values).

The danger of ignoring the context and the unique parameters of a particular classroom is the reinforcement of a *one-size-fits-all-model*. It can be 'effective' in the sense that many schools get to showcase a fabulous dashboard of data and compare their school to others, but it's not always desirable. When we follow the principle of contextualising, we recognize the human variability and diversity of our classrooms.

#2 Ethical

- Grading isn't an action that we can separate from our moral responsibility. It comes with consequences, such as promotion to the next grade level or access to certain funds/scholarships and reactions from parents, etc.
- Student ill-being can emerge from poor grading practices and can easily go unseen due to our reliance on 'evidence', which tends to select some data (accepted as 'objective' and 'valid') and ignore others. Embracing an ethical approach allows us to consider other ways of knowing - such as "street data" (Safir and Dugan, 2021) - to allow for a more holistic picture of where our students come from, and where they are located especially in relation to the 'norm'.
- We need to direct our grading practices in the direction of what is right for students, and transgress when we need to challenge rules or break patterns that do not serve students. This is our duty of care.

We may not be intentionally unethical, but we know from Priestley, Biesta, & Robinson (2015) that teacher agency is contingent upon our context and therefore, we may follow a system we don't believe in, because we feel stuck. Being ethical can mean recognizing systemic problems in our grading policies or practices and actively working towards dismantling what we can do within our sphere of influence. It can mean that we contest them and speak up, ideally with others (colleagues and students), to challenge and break unhealthy patterns. It can manifest in the form of giving more time or an opportunity for a redo/retake to students who need it, despite a strict policy. And when we can't, for example, avoid mandatory external examinations, we can let students know that we support them.

#3 Pro-human

- This principle focuses on using our human judgement. We listen to our inner voice signaling us to pause and reflect when things don't feel right. It's about our 'gut feeling' and exercise of practical wisdom.
- Instead of shying away from subjectivity, pro-human teachers embrace what makes them human and engage in inter-subjective dialogues, allowing themselves to examine implicit bias through self-reflection, critical incidents examination (Tripp, 1993), and by seeking and receiving feedback.
- By reclaiming teaching as a human endeavour (Biesta, 2012), we accept and share our vulnerabilities; we explore our blind spots, and build and refine our integrity and sense of rightfulness.
- When 'grading', we don't just apply tools as a technician, but use our qualitative judgement to crystalize data and dialogues.

With the essential development of practical wisdom, we emancipate ourselves because we can identify ethical dilemmas that call us to feel and think as whole beings. We cannot be mere policy-followers, simple ‘tool-users’, or outsource our decisions to A.I. or digital platforms. We need to ground ourselves in examining processes critically and daring to challenge the status quo when the structures are not ‘right’ anymore and endanger the accuracy and fairness of our decisions.

#4 Dialogical

- We make grading constructive when we operationalize it as a dialogical process, where students and teachers engage in sense-making together before converging into a decision (a grade).
- A dialogue includes adopting a whole-person approach with unconditional positive regard (Rogers, 1986) and seeing the classroom as a plural world where every individual is welcome and where the teacher is the “primary source” of the invitational message.
- Drawing on Freire (2005), we embrace a dialogical approach by adopting the attributes of:
 - **Love:** we share our love for the world and are committed to encouraging our students.
 - **Humility:** we enter into dialogue with our students with the genuine desire to learn together and by inviting students’ contribution.
 - **Faith:** we believe in our students as a prerequisite condition and assume that they are able and capable.
 - **Trust:** we engage in a dialogue where both the students and the teacher consider each other as equal partners.
 - **Hope:** we envision an optimistic future for our students and find energy in examining problems because we can make a change.
 - **Critical thinking:** we liberate and transform ourselves through thinking and acting together, realising our full humanity.
- The relationship between teachers and students must be psychologically safe (Edmondson, 1999), that is that each party can take personal risks without fearing consequences.

Teachers should not be the sole ones responsible for determining grades. When teachers have the dual role of supporting student learning and judging their results, they remain in a position of power and in which students are not seen as partners. When we begin to co-grade

by sitting with students at the same level to make sense of learning evidence we may uncover hidden data that emerges from our dialogues with students. We partner with our students in co-regulation through various dialogues (e.g., conferring, informal conversations, coaching dialogues) and by using constructive tools (e.g., criterion-referenced rubrics, reflective routines, self-assessments) while ensuring that the conditions around these tools are dialogical.

#5 Dynamic

- We allow ourselves to move forward when we know that students are ready, and we do not hold old data against them because of procedural matters.
- If grading symbolises learning, it should be dynamic. A student's learning journey is ever-changing and non-linear.
- As students engage in self-assessing, monitoring their progress, peer-learning, and co-regulating via the many dialogue opportunities, they understand that learning is never fixed and that assessments only capture frozen moments.
- When we grade, we need to understand that not all learnings are created equal (factual knowledge, skills, conceptual understandings, dispositions) and that we need to be aware of how we organise the way we show these marks and grades to avoid aggregating data that don't belong together.
- We need to educate students and parents to recognize that reported grades are only representative of a particular moment in time, that we accompany with qualitative data (such as a narrative comment or a discussion at a three-way conference), and contextualise in order to show where the student has come from or is heading towards for instance).

As a result, *Fluid Grading* avoids casting learning permanently and recognizes that grades are always temporary (Guskey, 2022). Reporting on learning is a work in motion, and examining student learning should be conceptualised as a moment to pause and examine the current location of a student, not to label and stream them.

Conclusion

Fluid Grading emerged out of a concern with grading and assessing as enacted through the dominant post-positivist lens, anchored in the measurement paradigm (Nieminen, Bearman, & Tai, 2023). Inspired by critical pedagogy, black feminism and critical theory, *Fluid Grading* is an attempt to put into words a position of contestation of some of our grading practices, without falling into the illusion that the elimination of grades will result in the decolonization of all our assessment practices... *Fluid Grading* is a way of *talking back* as “the expression of

our movement from object to subject – the liberated voice.” (hooks, 1989b, p. 9). The set of *Fluid Grading* principles allows us to slow down, access our subjectiveness, and engage in dialogue with students so that grading is not an experience that is ‘done’ to students but a democratic and participative endeavour taking place in inviting and pro-human spaces.

It takes courage and a bit of rebellion to practise *Fluid Grading* since it is a praxis of resistance and transgression. Perhaps you are already doing it out in the open at your school or quietly within the walls of your classroom. For the teachers of the world who joined this human profession to make a difference, mobilising practical wisdom and dialogue in the act of grading isn’t new but always needs constant attention and could help some teachers to align their beliefs and actions.

Fluid graders make ‘good trouble’ because they refuse to comply to unethical demands, frequently consult their internal moral compass, and recognize the signals that call for transgression. They become unstoppable community builders who always have their students’ best interests at heart and who create ‘islands of sanity’ (Wheatley, 2017) where genuine human relationships prevail. With *Fluid Grading*, we restore the *beautiful* risk of education (Biesta, 2013), we dare to throw ourselves into the unexpected, and trust that we can indeed sit with our students at the same level and together, recognize the plurality of learning expression, making true learning ‘count’ by crystalizing it in qualitative, and meaningful ways.

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Leadership Styles, Job Satisfaction, and Organisational Performance in Accredited International and Internationalised Schools

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Abstract

The international and internationalised school sector has witnessed substantial growth over the past two decades. There is a need to assess the organisational performance of this growing sector. This quantitative study assessed the organisational performance of international and internationalised schools in China, Hong Kong, and the United Arab Emirates. The study also assessed the leadership styles of heads of these schools and the job satisfaction of principals who report directly to these heads. The study's sample included 129 principals. Each principal completed a survey that included three instruments and demographic questions. The Kruskal-Wallis statistical test was used to analyse the relationships between variables. There were no relationships between leadership styles and organisational performance. However, there was a relationship between the job satisfaction of principals and organisational performance. Findings suggest that school boards and owners pay greater attention to the job satisfaction of their principals than the leadership styles of their head of school. Also, heads of school should seek to promote and maintain high levels of job satisfaction among their principals.

Keywords: International schools, internationalised schools, organisational performance, leadership styles, transformational leadership, job satisfaction, China, Hong Kong, United Arab Emirates

Introduction

The international and internationalised school sector has witnessed substantial growth over the past 20 years. Asia, in particular, has seen rapid growth. This growth is fueled by an increasingly prosperous middle class, returning nationals, and the traditional expatriate population (Gardner-McTaggart, 2018).

With increased entrants into the market, it is imperative that schools determine what creates competitive advantage. Traditionally, schools market the academic performance of their high

school students. For example, schools may tout their IBDP and AP results. Many schools publish a list of universities from which their students received admission and/or scholarships. Few schools market themselves based on organisational performance indicators. There are several indicators that could be used to signal to the market that a school is outperforming other nearby schools. Indicators could include the quality of programs and services, the ability to attract and retain teachers and school leaders, parent satisfaction, and relations among staff. In the world of business and organisational leadership, many companies and institutions measure their organisational performance. They also seek to determine which factors increase organisational performance.

This study sought to measure the organisational performance of international and internationalised schools in China, Hong Kong, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). International and internationalised schools were chosen for two reasons. First, the researcher has worked in these types of schools over the past 20 years and has developed an understanding of and interest in them. Second, there is little research related to the organisational performance of these schools. China was selected because it has the most international schools and the UAE was chosen because it has the most students enrolled in international schools (Bunnell, 2019b; Poole & Bunnell, 2020). Hong Kong was selected because it actively competes for students with the neighbouring Chinese province of Guangdong. The study also explored if variables such as leadership styles and job satisfaction are related to a school's organisational performance.

Quantitative research methods were used in the study. A survey was shared with school principals in China, Hong Kong, and the UAE. The survey included questions to determine the head of school's leadership style, the principal's level of job satisfaction, and the organisational performance of the school. The study included seven research questions. Three questions asked about the relationship between a head of school's leadership style and a school's organisational performance. One question asked about the relationship between a principal's job satisfaction and a school's organisational performance. The final three questions were focused on mediation i.e., If there is a relationship between a head of school's transformational leadership and a school's organisational performance, is the relationship mediated by a principal's job satisfaction?

The components of the conceptual framework are presented in Figure 1. Muterera et al. confirmed their three hypotheses: (a) increased transformational leadership (TFL) is linked with increased job satisfaction; (b) increased transformational leadership is connected with

increased organisational performance, directly and mediated through job satisfaction; and (c) increased job satisfaction is related with increased organisational performance. Unlike Muterera et al The Transactional Leadership (TAL) and Passive/Avoidant Leadership (PAL) styles are also included in this study.

The study made several assumptions such as participants provided accurate, honest, and unbiased answers on the survey. The study also had limitations such as if responses to survey questions were based on a specific incident instead of reflecting what participants feel in general. Finally, the study had delimitations such as to narrow the scope of the study, only principals serving at *accredited* schools counted as participants in the study.

Literature Review

International School Leadership

The organisational structure of an international school usually includes a head of school that reports directly to the school owner or school board. Divisional principals report to the head of school. The principals and any assistant principals, and head of school and any assistant heads of school are often referred to as the senior leadership team.

Several researchers note a scarcity of research related to international school leadership (Bailey & Gibson, 2019; Bunnell, 2019b; Gardner-McTaggart, 2018; Howling, 2017; Lee & Walker, 2018). Bunnell (2019b) notes several features of recent international school leadership research. First, most studies are qualitative; empirical studies are rare in the Asia-Pacific region. Second, the qualitative studies revolve most around leadership styles. Instructional leadership is discussed most, followed by distributed and transformational leadership. Third, many studies take place in East Asia. Fourth, most of the literature involves traditional not-for-profit international schools. Finally, a sizable portion of the literature since the 1960s is focused on negative aspects of international school leadership.

Recent studies focused on heads of international schools explore tenure (Palsha, 2017; Ting, 2019) and leadership styles (Mancuso et al., 2010; Roberts & Mancuso, 2014). Head of school job advertisements were analysed to find the type of leader international school owners and school boards desire (Roberts & Mancuso, 2014). Most owners and boards seek a managerial leadership style. There was also an increase in the need for transformational leaders, especially leaders strong in individual consideration and intellectual stimulation. Although managerial leaders are most sought after by boards and owners, international school teachers want a head of school who practises transformational or distributed leadership (Bunnell, 2018).

Mancuso et al. (2010) discovered that a head of school's leadership style, more than a principal's leadership style, predicts teacher turnover. This finding is novel because principals typically spend more time with teachers than heads of school.

Organisational Performance

Organisational performance is a dominant aspect of organisational and business research. Organisational performance, or firm performance, often refers to an organisation's financial, market, and shareholder performance (Herciu & Şerban, 2018; Singh et al., 2016; Yaghoobi & Haddadi, 2016). The popularity of its use as a dependent variable shows its importance as a measure of organisational success.

There are multiple ways to measure organisational performance. Conventionally, organisational performance is measured with objective financial measures such as return on assets (Sethibe & Steyn, 2016; Sondakh et al., 2017). However, some firms are reluctant to make financial data publicly available as objective financial data may draw attention to shortcomings within a company (Singh et al., 2016; Vij & Bedi, 2016).

In recent years, organisational performance studies used subjective measures more frequently (Crucke & Decramer, 2016; Dickel & Moura, 2016; Farouk et al., 2016; Rajapathirana & Hui, 2018). With subjective measures, senior managers compare their company's performance to the performance of the industry or to immediate competitors (Al Khajeh, 2018; Hussinki et al., 2017; Sethibe & Steyn, 2016; Singh et al., 2016; Vij & Bedi, 2016). Subjective measures of organisational performance are both valid and positively correlated with objective measures (Hussinki et al., 2017, Singh et al., 2016; Vij & Bedi, 2016).

Several models and tools are used to subjectively measure organisational performance. A validated and reliable subjective survey that is often used to measure organisational performance was developed by Delaney and Huselid (1996). Since 2016, several studies used the survey, including studies by Alatailat et al. (2019), Andreeva and Garanina (2016), Hussinki et al. (2017), Shanker et al. (2017), and Singh et al. (2019). Using a four-point Likert scale, the survey asks senior managers to rate their organisation's performance as compared to the performance of its competitors.

Organisational Performance, Leadership and Leadership Styles

Studies find links between leadership, leadership styles, and organisational performance. Al Khajeh (2018) explored the relationship between six leadership styles and organisational

performance. Three of the six leadership styles are negatively related to performance while three are positively related. Transactional leadership, charismatic leadership, and bureaucratic leadership are negatively related with performance. Transformational leadership, democratic leadership, and autocratic leadership are positively related with performance.

Organisational Performance and Job Satisfaction

Employee satisfaction, or job satisfaction, is used in multiple studies as both a subjective measure of organisational performance (Selvam et al., 2016; Singh et al., 2016; Yaghoobi & Haddadi, 2016) and as an independent variable when organisational performance is the dependent variable (Miah, 2018; Vij & Bedi, 2016). Some studies discovered a positive connection between job satisfaction and organisational performance while others did not find a statistically significant connection between the two variables (Bakotić, 2016). In Miah's (2018) study of employees at private companies in Malaysia, a strong and positive relationship was found between job satisfaction and organisational performance. Bakotić also found a positive association between job satisfaction and organisational performance. Onyebu and Omotayo (2017) conducted a study within a service industry because their literature review revealed that employee satisfaction within the service industry is critical to organisational growth and success. Onyebu and Omotayo found a positive relationship between employee job satisfaction and organisational performance.

Job Satisfaction and International Schools

A few studies in recent years relate to job satisfaction within the international school context. All these studies focused on the job satisfaction of teachers. Shen et al. (2018) designed a study in Malaysia to compare the job satisfaction level of teachers at a private school with those at an international school. Shen et al. found that teachers in the international school had significantly higher levels of job satisfaction than those in the private school.

Job Satisfaction and School Principals

There is little research related to the job satisfaction of school principals (Sealy et al., 2016). Most of the job satisfaction research in the education field is focused on the job satisfaction of teachers (Liu & Bellibas, 2018). Although teachers positively impact student achievement, school principals are "an indispensable ingredient for school success" (Liu & Bellibas, 2018, p. 15). There is a clear need for research focused on principal job satisfaction.

Job Satisfaction, Leadership and Leadership Styles

Studies related to leadership, leadership styles, and job satisfaction are conducted in multiple industries, including the financial, healthcare, and education industries. Some recent studies are conducted in the school setting around leadership, leadership styles and job satisfaction. A study in Indonesia explored how the leadership styles and decision-making styles of principals forecast teacher satisfaction (Hariri et al., 2016) concluding that transformational leadership and rational decision-making lead to the “largest unique contribution to teacher job satisfaction” (Hariri et al., 2016, p. 52).

Theoretical Framework

This study’s framework centres on the study of leadership and specifically on the theory and model of transformational, transactional, and passive avoidant leadership. Transformational leadership contains four dimensions: idealised influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individualised consideration (Avolio & Bass, 2004). Through idealised influence or charisma, followers view transformational leaders in an idealised way (Avolio & Bass, 2004); transformational leaders become examples for their followers (Strukan et al., 2017). Followers trust their leader and wish to identify with him or her. Through inspirational motivation, transformational leaders communicate shared goals, providing a motivating and exciting vision of what is possible (Buil et al., 2019). High expectations are set for followers (Strukan et al., 2017). Through intellectual stimulation, followers think about old problems in novel ways. They are encouraged to be creative and innovative (Strukan et al., 2017). Followers are also moved to question the status quo and to “question their own beliefs, assumptions, and values” (Avolio & Bass, 2004, p. 30). Through individualised consideration, transformational leaders treat each individual uniquely and they work to assign tasks on an individual basis (Avolio & Bass, 2004). Individual needs and aspirations are carefully considered (Strukan et al., 2017; Xenikou, 2017). Exclusive use of one of the dimensions of transformational leadership leads to poor outcomes. For example, followers of a leader, who exclusively uses intellectual stimulation, report higher levels of burnout (Bass & Avolio, 1990). It is important that transformational leaders increase their skills in using all four of the transformational leadership dimensions.

Transactional leadership centres largely on the exchanges between followers and leaders. An example of exchanging effort for a specific reward is a parent’s approval for his or her child achieving good grades (Avolio & Bass, 2004). Transactional leaders explain requirements and specify compensation (Bass, 1990). A transactional leader often fails because they lack the

resources to deliver on promised rewards, therefore tarnishing his or her reputation (Avolio & Bass, 2004).

Transactional leadership is not the opposite of transformational leadership. Transformational leadership is also not an alternative to transactional leadership (Xenikou, 2017); it enhances transactional leadership (Avolio & Bass, 2004). When appropriate, transformational leaders can be transactional. Effective leaders practise both transformational and transactional leadership but in different amounts (Avolio et al., 1999; Xenikou, 2017). Transformational leadership and transactional leadership are both “conducive to organisational effectiveness” (Xenikou, 2017). Several meta-analyses conclude that transformational leadership has the strongest positive influence on outcomes such as effectiveness and satisfaction (Avolio & Bass, 2004). Although the contingent reward dimension of transactional leadership has a lower impact, it is still positive and significant (Xenikou, 2017). Laissez-faire leadership and passive management-by-exception is negatively related with effectiveness and satisfaction.

Transformational Leadership in Cross-Cultural Contexts

The model, theory, and measurement of transformational leadership originated in the individualistic culture of the U.S. However, transformational leadership may be “more applicable in the collectivist societies of Japan, China, Korea, and elsewhere in East Asia” (Avolio & Bass, 2004, p. 44). Individualistic cultures motivate employees to satisfy their own self-interests whereas employees in collective cultures develop a stronger attachment to the interests of their organisations (Jung & Avolio, 1999).

Recently, an increasing number of transformational leadership studies are conducted in China (Sun et al., 2017). Findings in China closely match findings in the U.S. Studies in China also found that transformational leadership is positively linked to job satisfaction (Avolio & Bass, 2004). Sun et al.’s (2017) systematic review concluded that setting direction and developing people were the most powerful transformational leadership practices in both the U.S. and China. Also, a leaders’ own qualities, contextual factors, and follower characteristics predict the use of transformational leadership (Sun et al., 2017).

Crede et al. (2019) used the Global Leadership and organisational Behavior Effectiveness (GLOBE) cultural dimensions to test three competing cultural propositions. The least support was discovered for the proposition that transformational leadership and follower performance is invariant across cultures. Some support was found for the proposition that transformational leadership and follower performance will be “strongest in countries in which [the] national

culture is congruent with transformational leadership” (Crede et al., 2019, p. 142). The strongest support was found for the proposition that transformational leadership and follower performance will be greatest in countries in which the national culture is incongruent with transformational leadership. Therefore, transformational leadership is most effective when “it is in line with some cultural values and practices while challenging other cultural values and practices” (Crede et al., 2019, p. 151). Transformational leadership seems to be more effective in developing countries, such as China, than in the U.S. and Europe.

Transformational Leadership and Education

Several recent transformational leadership studies take place in the context of K-12 education (Dean, 2020; Hariri, 2020; Litz & Scott, 2016; Niessen et al., 2017; Sutresna & Wijayanti, 2020; Xenikou, 2017). Sutresna and Wijayanti’s (2020) meta-analysis revealed that principals who practise transformational leadership significantly affect teacher performance. Hariri (2020) found in their study in the context of East Asia (Indonesia) that both transformational leadership and transactional leadership is positively and significantly related with three leadership outcomes: extra effort, satisfaction, and effectiveness. In China, Li and Liu (2020) explored how the transformational leadership of school principals levied teacher leadership.

A systematic review of empirical research of transformational leadership in the Chinese K-12 setting was conducted (Li, 2020). Eighteen articles published between 2010 and 2019 in either Chinese or English were analysed. In contrast to Liu (2018), Li found that researchers utilised Li and Shi’s 2008 model of transformational leadership slightly more than Bass and Avolio’s 1985 model (seven versus six studies, respectively). The eighteen studies most often examined teacher-level variables such as commitment, engagement, performance, and job satisfaction. Two studies found that transformational leadership had both direct and indirect positive effects on job satisfaction. Only two studies tested organisational-level variables (organisational citizenship behavior and organisational silence). Although there is an increased interest in studying transformational leadership within the Chinese school context, there are few empirical studies.

Methodology

A quantitative research method was selected for this study. The method was selected for five reasons. First, the study’s research questions were able to be answered with a quantitative research method; the data collected for each variable could be quantified and statistically analysed. Second, literature within the international school leadership context over relies on qualitative research methods (Bunnell , 2019b). Third, quantitative research methods can

support theories (Apuke, 2017). This study helped determine whether the theory of transformational leadership was supported in the international school sector. Fourth, quantitative research methods can build knowledge within an industry (Apuke, 2017); organisational performance is rarely measured in the international school setting. Finally, quantitative research findings are more generalizable than qualitative research results (Apuke, 2017). The findings of this study might be generalizable to the population of accredited international schools in China, Hong Kong, the UAE, and to the broader international school industry in the greater Asia region. The study assessed and examined if and how leadership styles are related with organisational performance. It also determined if any relationships between leadership styles and organisational performance were mediated by job satisfaction.

Population and Sample

Estimated Population

As of March 2021, there were 215 schools in China that were accredited by one or more of seven international accreditation agencies (AdvancED/Cognia, BOS, CIS, COBIS, MSA, NEASC, and WASC). Likewise, there were 29 schools in Hong Kong that were accredited by one or more of these seven agencies. In the UAE, 192 schools were accredited. A school may have no principals, one principal, two principals, three principals, or four principals. A small school may only have a head of school and no divisional school principals; teachers report directly to the head of school. At a large school, up to four divisional school principals may report to a head of school i.e., lower primary school principal, upper primary school principal, middle school principal, and high school principal. Using the *median* number of principals at a school, two, the total estimated population of principals at international schools across China, Hong Kong, and the UAE was 872.

Sample

The participants in the study were principals who reported directly to a head of school at accredited schools in China, Hong Kong, and the UAE. Vice principals who are members of the senior leadership team were also included in the study. A list of accredited international schools was put together from seven international school accrediting organizations. In this study, enough data points were needed to run tests. Assuming an effect size, d , of 0.15 and an $\alpha = 0.05$, this study required 129 data points as it contains four independent variables (transformational leadership, transactional leadership, passive/avoidant leadership, and job satisfaction). Therefore, the required sample size of principals was 129. Random sampling was used.

Role of the Researcher

The researcher designed this study based on his experiences as an international school principal. In the increasingly competitive international school industry, he was curious whether certain leadership styles are associated with higher organisational performance. Also, few studies measure the job satisfaction of principals. The researcher wondered whether any relationships between leadership styles and organisational performance were mediated by the job satisfaction of principals.

Procedure

The researcher created a database of international and internationalised schools in China, Hong Kong, and the UAE that were accredited by at least one of seven international school accrediting agencies. For each school, the researcher found the email address of the head of school from either an accrediting agency website or the school's website. The researcher emailed heads of school and sought permission to email their principals an online survey. Heads of school served as school representatives and understood the project's purpose, the data collection procedure, a projected data collection period, and the necessity to document site permission as a step in ensuring ethical research practices.

Principals read and electronically sign a consent form. They then began the online survey that includes general demographic questions about themselves, their head of school, and their school, followed by questions about their head of school's leadership style, their job satisfaction, and the organisational performance of their school.

Instrumentation

Three instruments were used in this study. Bass and Avolio's (2004) Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ) was used to collect data about the leadership style of the head of school. The researcher purchased the MLQ manual and has permission to reproduce a copy of the manual within three years of August 12, 2020. The researcher also purchased administration licenses for the required sample. Second, to collect data about the job satisfaction of the principal, the Abridged Job in General scale (AJIG) was used. The researcher bought the AJIG reference guide on December 10, 2020. Third, Delaney and Huselid's (1996) survey of perceived organisational performance was used to collect data about a school's organisational performance. Permission to use this instrument was obtained on December 10, 2020.

Findings

General Description of Participants

Almost all (98%) of participants were divisional principals or divisional vice principals who reported directly to a head of school and/or were members of the senior leadership team. Participants who reported directly to a school board or school owner were removed from the survey results during data cleaning. Of the 129 participants who remained after data cleaning, 71 were located in China, seven in Hong Kong, and 51 in the UAE. More than half (56%) of participants were in their first, second, or third year in their current role at their current school.

More than half of heads of school were in their first through third year. The majority of participants worked at WASC, AdvancED/Cognia, and CIS accredited schools: 31% of participants worked at WASC accredited schools, 27% at AdvancED/Cognia accredited schools, and 19% at CIS accredited schools. A majority (90%) of participants described their schools as an international school and a minority (9%) described their schools as internationalised local schools.

Sample Size

Through the random sampling of 436 schools, 55 schools gave permission for their principals to participate in the study. The survey was emailed to 186 principals and vice principals; 145 completed the survey. Therefore, the response rate was 78%.

Data Collection

Data was collected over a four-week period, beginning on September 29, 2021, and ending on October 27, 2021. Data was cleaned, organised, and scored after collection and before hypotheses tests were conducted. After data cleaning, 129 of 145 survey responses had the required data for analysis. From the raw data, the following scores were calculated, following the instructions of three scoring guides/studies: transformational leadership, transactional leadership, passive/avoidant leadership, job satisfaction, and organisational performance.

Results of Hypothesis Tests

To determine the appropriate statistical test, data normality was first tested. Each of the seven organisational performance subscales were negatively skewed. Therefore, a nonparametric Kruskal-Wallis (KW) test was chosen to analyze the relationships between variables.

First Hypothesis Test

A Kruskal-Wallis test showed a head's *transformational* leadership did *not* significantly affect a school's organisational performance, $H(1) = .615, p = .433$. A

school's organisational performance with a head who was *less* transformational ($M = 3.83$) was about the same as one who was *more* transformational ($M = 3.95$).

Second Hypothesis Test

A Kruskal-Wallis test showed a head's *transactional* leadership did *not* significantly affect a school's organisational performance, $H(1) = .001$, $p = .970$. A school's organisational performance with a head who was *less* transactional ($M = 3.90$) was the same as one who was *more* transactional ($M = 3.90$).

Third Hypothesis Test

A Kruskal-Wallis test showed a head's *passive/avoidant* leadership did *not* significantly affect a school's organisational performance, $H(1) = 1.799$, $p = .180$. A school's organisational performance with a head who was *less* passive/avoidant ($M = 3.99$) was a little better than with a head who was *more* passive/avoidant ($M = 3.77$).

Fourth Hypothesis Test

A Kruskal-Wallis test showed a principal's job satisfaction significantly affected a school's organisational performance, $H(1) = 17.444$, $p = .000030$. A school's organisational performance with a principal with *lower* job satisfaction ($M = 3.44$) was worse than with a principal with *higher* job satisfaction ($M = 4.13$). Therefore, the measurement of a school's organisational performance was *sensitive* to a principal's job satisfaction.

Fifth to Seventh Hypotheses Tests

The relationship between a head's *transformational* leadership (or *transactional leadership* or *passive/avoidant leadership*) and a school's organisational performance was *not* significant (see first to third hypotheses tests), making mediation by a principal's job satisfaction *unlikely*.

Conclusion

Limitations

Several limitations were experienced while collecting data. First, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, obtaining site permissions was challenging. One head of school wrote, "We are still short staffed with multiple new staff still waiting to get through the visa process or complete quarantine. As a result, everyone on campus - especially school leaders are working long hours to make up the shortfall. During this time, we have agreed to a complete moratorium on

any additional workload or initiatives. As such, we are unable to participate on this occasion." The pandemic may have also influenced the job satisfaction results. Principals are facing workload challenges due to the pandemic, and some may feel stuck in their current role as international mobility has been drastically reduced.

The study was conducted primarily during the month of October, which is near the beginning of the school year. The beginning (and end) of a school year can be overwhelming for school leaders. Although the researcher deliberately waited a few weeks after the start of the school year, some heads of school communicated they did not want to add anything else to their principal's workload and therefore did not give permission for principals to complete the survey. Another limitation to the study is that only a few principals in Hong Kong completed the survey. Only four schools in Hong Kong gave permission for the study.

First year principals may not have had an accurate understanding of their school's organisational performance or the leadership style of their head of school. For heads of school in their first year as head, principals may have not had enough time and experience with the head to accurately assess his or her leadership behaviours. In the organisational performance section of the survey, participants may have understood the term, "similar schools" differently. For example, one participant wrote, "I interpreted ['similar' schools] to mean schools of similar demographic (more truly international) and their quality (Tier II maybe). I wasn't sure whether I should also think about schools in China, so I tried to think about schools in the SE Asia region generally."

Findings

Research Question 1

There was no relationship between a head's *transformational* leadership and a school's organisational performance. This finding is contrary to findings within the *transformational leadership* and organisational performance literature.

Research Question 2

There was no relationship between a head's *transactional* leadership and a school's organisational performance. This finding is contrary to findings within the *transactional leadership* and organisational performance literature.

Research Question 3

There was no relationship between a head's *passive/avoidant* leadership and a school's organisational performance. This finding is contrary to findings within the *passive/avoidant leadership* and organisational performance literature.

Research Question 4

There was a relationship between a principal's *job satisfaction* and a school's organisational performance. A principal's job satisfaction significantly affects a school's organisational performance. A school's organisational performance with a principal with *lower* job satisfaction was worse than with a principal with *higher* job satisfaction. This finding matches findings within the *job satisfaction* and organisational performance literature.

Research Questions 5 to 7

The relationship between a head's transformational leadership (or transactional leadership or passive/avoidant leadership) and a school's organisational performance was not mediated by a principal's job satisfaction. The relationship between a head's *transformational* leadership (or transactional leadership or passive/avoidant leadership) and a school's organisational performance was *not* significant, making mediation by a principal's job satisfaction *unlikely*. These findings were contrary to the study's conceptual framework (see Figure 1).

Reflection

The literature pointed to a positive association between transformational leadership and organisational performance. However, within the international and internationalised school sector in China, Hong Kong, and the UAE, there was no relationship between transformational leadership and organisational performance. However, there was a relationship between a principal's job satisfaction and a school's organisational performance. To improve a school's organisational performance, more attention should be given to the job satisfaction of principals than to having leaders with specific leadership styles.

Recommendations

The problem this study addressed was the need to assess the organisational performance of the growing number of international schools. School leaders and owners should continue to annually or biannually assess the organisational performance of their schools so their schools can continue to compete and create sustainable competitive advantage. The measurement of organisational performance should go beyond academic performance metrics and should include metrics related to parent satisfaction, retention of teachers and leaders, etc. The study also examined variables that may be related to organisational performance. Instead of

measuring transformational, transactional, and passive/avoidant leadership, other leadership styles such as distributed leadership could be measured to determine whether other leadership styles are related to organisational performance. A new research question could be “What is the relationship between a divisional principal's *distributed* leadership and a school's organisational performance?” Instead of measuring the leadership style of the head of school, researchers and practitioners could measure the leadership style of divisional principals because divisional principals are more involved in the day-to-day operations of the school. Teachers could rate their divisional principal's leadership style using the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire.

The meaning of the finding related to research question 4 could be interpreted as follows. The job satisfaction of divisional principals is related to organisational performance and should be prioritised by school boards and owners. This finding matches findings within the job satisfaction and organisational performance literature; there is a strong and positive relationship between job satisfaction and organisational performance. Also, instead of measuring the job satisfaction of divisional principals, the job satisfaction of teachers could be measured to determine whether the job satisfaction of teachers is related to organisational performance. A new research question could be “What is the relationship between a teacher's job satisfaction and a school's organisational performance?”

In this study's conceptual framework (see Figure 1), the job satisfaction of divisional principals should be changed from a mediating variable to an independent variable. Contrary to the literature, job satisfaction did not mediate the relationship between leadership styles and organisational performance. Job satisfaction was related to organisational performance. School boards and owners should pay greater attention to the job satisfaction of their principals than the leadership styles of their head of school. Heads of school should also seek to promote and maintain high levels of job satisfaction among their principals.

Suggestions for Future Research

Although there was a warm reception to this study, characterized by statements such as “I hope you publish your findings in a peer-reviewed journal,” “It seems to me that this information will be valuable,” and “I look forward to reading your findings,” the study can be improved and built upon with future research. Future research could use a different leadership style as the independent variable. Future research could use different job satisfaction scales such as the Job Satisfaction Survey (JSS) or Job Descriptive Index (JDI).

The study could be conducted in a non-pandemic school year to determine if the pandemic had any effects on the results. The study could be conducted in March or April of a school year so new principals have a better understanding of their school's organisational performance and their head's leadership style. The study could be conducted in countries beyond China, Hong Kong, and the UAE. For example, a future study's population could be all accredited international and internationalised schools in East Asia.

A qualitative study could be designed where heads of school are interviewed regarding their leadership styles, perceptions regarding the job satisfaction of their principals, and their perceptions of the organisational performance of their school. Heads could describe how they improve organisational performance. For example, they can describe what they do to improve parent satisfaction and how they improve relations between employees.

Final Thoughts

Based on the study's theoretical and conceptual framework, relationships were expected between leadership styles, job satisfaction, and organisational performance. However, there were no relationships between the three leadership styles under study and organisational performance. This result was surprising. As an international school principal, I expected a significant relationship between transformational leadership and organisational performance. There was however a relationship between the job satisfaction of the principal and organisational performance. As a school principal myself, this result matched my experiences within international schools.

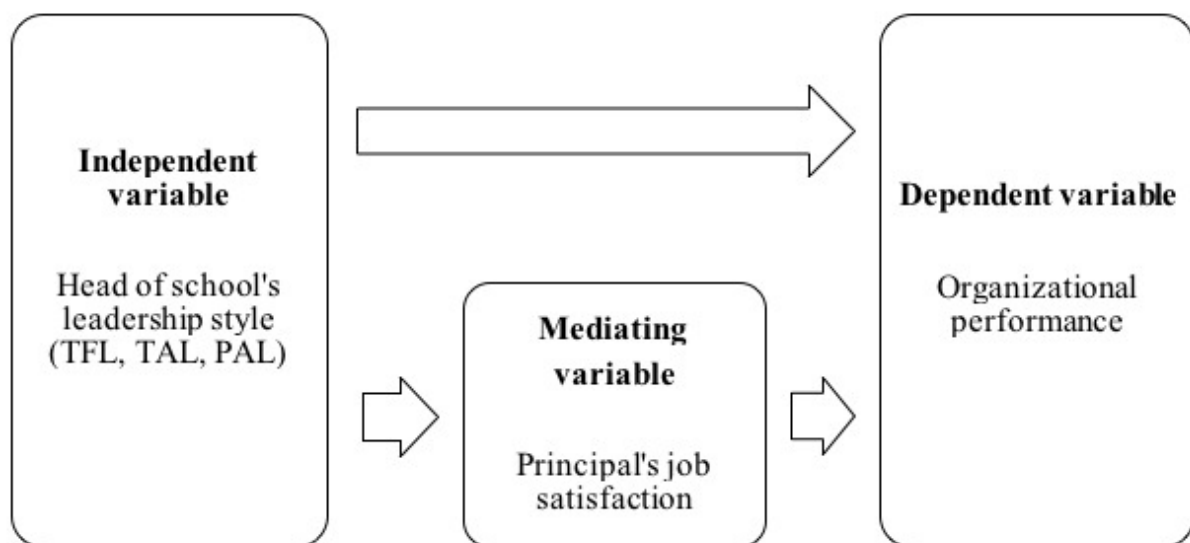


Figure 1.

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