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THESIS

**CHALLENGING THE ENGLISH-ONLY ORTHODOXY: LINGUISTIC
PLURALISM, RECOGNITION AND DIVERSITY RATHER THAN
ASSIMILATION**

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Abstract

It will be argued here that in the Unonia International School many students' language repertoires are central to their lives in ways that differ from those in national schools, and that these students can benefit from an enrichment of their language repertoires.

I trace the issues involved which have led to a situation where there is a preponderance of monolingual input to the programmes and curriculum provided in such schools, and a failure to acknowledge bilingualism as an autonomous discipline, a case argued in the text. An assimilationist pedagogical ideology towards English at the UIS is considered inappropriate for international school students, who are seen as living in an 'international space' where English-as-an-International-Language is but one part of their language repertoires, their mother-tongue(s) maintaining a prominent position in their identities as regards sociocultural, cognitive and academic formation.


This study is a natural development of my Institution Focused Study, which investigated students' views of their languages. The data collected for the present study consists of discussions with parents, teachers and administrators at the Unonia International School, and is analysed to ask how these constituent groups perceive, understand and value the effectiveness of the mother-tongue programme at the school. Sociological developments in the world at large, namely 'the new capitalism,' will also be introduced as possible explanations for ways in which more satisfactory outcomes for students are not achieved.

The impact and influence of the curriculum model of the International Baccalaureate on the language choices of students, of the body responsible for accreditation, the Council-of-International-Schools, and of the body which supports subject committees, the European-Council-of-International-Schools will be investigated and recommendations suggested which may be more positive for developing satisfactory trajectories for international students.

The aim of this study is thus to investigate the views of the UIS community involved with the mother-tongue programme.

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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The 2,000 Word Statement highlighting the link between each element and my professional and academic development.

The five years of the EdD (International) have given me a far greater depth to the understanding of my chosen topic of investigation than I had anticipated. I have pursued one topic throughout the course: the linguistic competences and repertoires of students at the Unonia International School, the programmes offered to them, and how these are perceived by the community. Initially my aim was straightforward: to show that the students taking mother-tongue classes were scoring good results in their mother-tongues, and that these results could be better acknowledged and integrated.

The initial courses at the Institute of Education introduced me to what professionalism implied. The lectures and shared sessions, and especially the readings compiled into booklets, provided a wealth of information that literally opened my eyes to the wider issues underlying professional action in schools at the present time. The title of my 'Foundations of Professionalism' paper: 'Postmodern professionalism in the mainstream? Or in the slipstream of management and market?' confirms that I had already become aware that there were reasons underlying the nature of the programmes at the UIS beyond those of pedagogy. I concluded in that paper that 'two concepts of professionalism – postmodern, within a democratic framework - and managerial – came into collision to the detriment of enriched pedagogical programmes for L2 students.' I found particularly useful and enhancing for my role the seven standards of postmodern professionalism of Hargreaves & Goodson (1996), which I measured against the practice of the mother-tongue teachers at the UIS. I concluded that improvement in the mother-tongue programme would require the mobilisation of political support at the level of umbrella organisations in international education such as the Council-of-International-Schools and the International Baccalaureate, and that I would need to mobilise support from the parent group directly affected by policies and programmes imposed by the CIS, the IB, and the UIS. If this did not produce any change, then the result could be an undercurrent of discontent and difficulty in running the programme. I also pointed out that second-language students were in many ways being treated as a minority even though they are now a majority in most international schools. The international element of my research became increasingly evident as revealing how the

very fact of the students that I was investigating being international was the basis of their requiring a different pedagogical model from students in national systems.

My second paper, for the first Methods of Enquiry module, was titled: 'Should mother-tongue programmes for second-language speakers of the school language be established in International Schools?' and this led on naturally from the previous work and gave me the opportunity to widen the literature base of my enquiry. Readings of Bourdieu, Habermas and Wolin were especially rewarding. I discovered more about the central factor of power and hegemony in any society or organisation and was able to understand why the problem that I was investigating had arisen. I was also able to look at various methods of qualitative research and action research, and outline a method which I later applied in the Institution-Focused-Study when interviewing students about their language profiles.

It seemed appropriate in the paper for the second Methods of Enquiry module: 'Bilingualism in International Schools: valued and rewarded? Or the poor cousin in a world of English only?' to widen my knowledge, and I chose to carry out a quantitative study on the results of a set of data of students at the UIS. The data related to the language repertoires of the graduating class of the UIS in May 2005. In that year 121 candidates sat for International-Baccalaureate examinations, 92% of them for the IB Diploma, 86% of those sitting exams gaining the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma. The analysis of the various combinations of languages that students took in the exam revealed trends about why students performed better or worse in certain areas, and the data could certainly be discussed within the school to modify placement in particular programmes. It was a productive exercise in itself as I learnt the value of collecting and interpreting this type of data. However, it became evident that each set of findings could be further investigated for individual differences in student, family, and schooling factors, and this could only be carried out by qualitative research: in my case quantitative analysis supplied the stepping board for qualitative investigation.

For the Specialist Course in International Education I decided to present my own model for encouraging all students and staff to capitalise on students' language repertoires with a paper titled 'ELT in the international context: Establishing and cementing a curriculum base for second-language and bilingual students in international schools: ESL professionals, ESL students, and ESL and Mother-Tongue programmes as valid

and necessary curriculum areas in our globalised world.' I proposed a model with three constituent parts, each related to the other: an ESL programme for second-language students, based on teaching English through subject skills and content; a mother-tongue programme for as many students as requested it; and a programme of awareness training for all staff and management in understanding and catering for students' various language identities. I felt that this was a natural sequel to the modules already written about: they had shown up areas for improvement in the delivery of the curriculum at the UIS, and in this paper I was able to devise a combination of programmes and training that I believed could address all the perceived areas for improvement. The suggested components were not without difficulties, and the reading I discovered while preparing for this paper opened my eyes to research done in national systems: for example that of Arkoudis (2006), on 'Negotiating the Rough Ground between ESL and Mainstream Teachers,' a subject that I was aware of from experience at the UIS, but was relieved to find was acknowledged elsewhere. I also began to be able to justify more clearly my perception that there were fundamental differences between international schools and national schools as regards the needs of second-language learners from the writings of Crawford (2000), and Mohan, Leung and Davison (2001) especially.

By this stage I had begun to formulate a strategy for gaining data for the larger project of the Institution-Focused-Study, which was to interview several students and analyse the results to see how they talked about their perceptions of the language programmes offered to them at the UIS. The resulting paper was titled: 'The language repertoires of students in the UIS; issues relating to the importance of maintaining fluency and literacy in their mother-tongue.' I was still exploring ways to collect data at this stage, and had thought of giving questionnaires to students and parents; this was related to my strong belief in the past, I believe, that quantitative data were 'the best.' By the time I had finished the paper my perception was profoundly altered; I saw that in education each student's identity and choice of how to study was central to their development. This in turn made the decision of how to approach the thesis clearer: the next step would be discussions with parents and mother-tongue teachers.

In order to set up meetings with parents I had to gain the approval of the UIS administration. Fortunately this was possible – not an easy task at the UIS – though there is a critical comment from a parent at the final meeting which attests to the attitude of some of them that 'I didn't attend the meetings because I think you were

very, er, transparent anyway in telling us that you were trying to gather some feedback for your thesis and we acknowledge your expertise in this, but as parents we are here for the children.’ Letters were sent out to the parents of all students enrolled for mother-tongue classes; a notice was also put in the bulletin sent out to parents. A small group of parents attended the initial two discussion meetings, and a similar number of mother-tongue teachers attended the two discussion meetings scheduled for them. The meetings were run alternately so as to have some cross-feedback, and the final meeting three months later with both constituencies included the UIS administration. In retrospect the data which emerged from the total of five discussions did, in fact, produce information which gave inter-related feedback, as will be shown in the analysis.

In the thesis I drew on elements already addressed in previous modules: in some senses the Foundations of Professionalism paper contained the basis of the project with its focus on the conflict between the professional educator, attempting to improve the pedagogical programme, and issues of management and market involving both the International-Baccalaureate and the Council-of-International-Schools. The first Methods of Enquiry module had led me to investigate the influence of power and hegemony, and to discover the advantages of qualitative research. In the second Methods of Enquiry module I used data from International-Baccalaureate mother-tongue results, and other language programmes, to conduct a quantitative study which convinced me that ultimately the area under investigation was better researched by a qualitative study, as the reasons for the differences in each student’s development were more subtle than could be corroborated from quantitative data. In the fourth module, on English-Language-Teaching in the international context, I was able to gain further insights into the fundamental differences between national and international education as they impacted on second-language students. I also found readings which backed up some experience at the UIS to explore the difficulties that could be encountered between ‘mainstream’ and ESL staff.

Using the Institution-Focused-Study as a stepping stone, since it dealt explicitly with the focus of education at a school – the students – the thesis gave me the opportunity to synthesise the elements discovered to that point, to draw them out and investigate them in more depth, to discover more angles on why the programme as I wanted it to run was facing difficulties, and to attempt to suggest resolutions. The status of the mother-

tongue programme, which included many aspects of the way it was run at the UIS, was a focal point for teachers and parents; the administration appeared to ignore this aspect, concerned more with issues of cost and the successful exam results of students. The attitude and professionalism of mainstream staff was touched on but not in any depth by any of the parties interviewed, though I consider this an important factor in the underlying ethos of international education. The need for the International-Baccalaureate and the Council-of-International-Schools to change the way they address language and languages will be fundamental to any expectation of recognising that the international world of 2010 is intrinsically different as regards students' linguistic repertoires from that for which they provided programmes in the past. A more self-critical stance on what they are educating students for would also alleviate the comments made by an International-Baccalaureate school head about the failings of the IB to address the concerns expressed by many other heads. The marketing tendencies of both organisations, the IB and the CIS, are seen to have a dominant effect on down-playing issues of critical awareness in various areas.

International and intercultural elements are an integral part of my chosen object of study due to the character of the group under observation, and the comparative element arises through the discovery that the reasons partly causing the treatment of the international group under study are due to them being accorded the same programme as national second-language students: it was when this became apparent to me that I developed a clearer rationale for a solution. It is my hope that by disseminating the findings of this thesis professional practice relating to second-language students may be enhanced.

CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction to the topic

1.1.1 Rationale

The focus of this study will be on how the various parties involved with the UIS mother-tongue programme – parents, mother-tongue teachers and school administration – view the effectiveness of the programmes offered in the Secondary section (Grades 6-12, ages 11-18) of the Unonia International School – henceforth the UIS - for maintaining and developing the language abilities of non-native speakers of English, specifically: the types of programmes offered and whether they should be adjusted; how to raise staff awareness of the language potential that lies in these students; and how the whole school can benefit from and contribute to the development of young people's lives in a multicultural, multilingual environment. The study will also illuminate the potentially deleterious effects of not developing such potential. The focus will be on the value of maintaining students' mother-tongues at a literate level, in addition to developing literacy in English, in order to achieve bilingualism: pluralism and multiculturalism, rather than assimilation. The case will be put for the offering of mother-tongue programmes for all students whose native language is not that of the language of instruction of the school, alongside a quality, needs-based programme of second-language instruction with appropriate pedagogical instruction, involving ESL – English-as-a-Second-Language - taught through academic content in a socioculturally supportive environment - CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning: Wolff, 2004) - and training for all staff in a methodology for integrating students' mother-tongues into daily instruction. As Corbin & Strauss (2008:23) clarify:

Professional experience frequently leads to the judgement that some feature of the profession or its practice is less than effective, efficient, humane, or equitable. So, it is believed that a good research study might help to correct that situation.

1.1.2 Overview of chapter 1

This chapter presents the context of the Unonia International School. Since this thesis refers to various aspects of my Institution-Focused-Study (Carder, 2008b) where the history of the UIS and its place within the international schools framework was appraised, it will not be repeated in such depth in the present study. This stance will also be taken regarding the principal agencies relating to curriculum and examinations – the

International Baccalaureate (the IB) – and to accreditation – the Council-for-International-Schools (the CIS: see section 1.6.1 for more details). The study of bilingualism, and related studies such as sociolinguistics, are introduced with the aim of communicating the complexities involved in the subject under scrutiny, and showing how it is intimately related to each child’s cognitive and emotional base; as will be emphasised in chapter two, I believe that the largely unacknowledged status of bilingual studies, and the politics involved with the lack of acceptance of such status, is in the end responsible for the poor provision of appropriate programmes of study for bilingual students. The far-reaching spread of English in the world, with the particular circumstances of English-speaking societies and their attitude to bilingualism, will also be discussed. There will be a discussion of the context of students in an international framework highlighting the fundamental differences between students learning in such a framework and those in a national context. Students’ identities, their daily interactions in an international and multilingual space, and the attitudes of the parents, the mother-tongue teachers and the school administration to these phenomena will be discussed. First the complexity of language issues in international schools is introduced.

1.2 Introducing the Unonia International School as a community of bilinguals

1.2.1 International schools and the language factor

International schools are, as I have experienced at the UIS and on visits to many similar schools around the world, engaged in creating a ‘sophisticated’ curriculum usually based on International Baccalaureate programmes, where English is the Medium of Instruction (EMI - Tsui, 2004), and students are expected to cooperate and accept the status quo of the school’s ethos. Challenges to the curriculum model are often seen as unwelcome (see correspondence between Carder and the Director of the Council-of-International-Schools Accreditation, Gerry Percy, in Carder, 2005, 2006a, and Percy, 2005).

Thus there are various factors that have led to conducting this study. In addition, there has been little research into the language factor in international school students (see chapter two for more discussion). This may seem surprising, given the wealth of potential material, but I believe the primary factors underlying this lack are connected to the nature of the international school network, which is not widely known among the

mainstream of international researchers. Many of the staff working in international schools move around frequently and so do not have the facilities for undertaking serious research; funding and time are not easily come by, ironic in view of the private nature and commercial aspect of the enterprise; the student body itself is internationally mobile and thus long-term studies would involve tracking students around the world.

Huge amounts of research have been undertaken in recent decades on language acquisition and it has become clear that the key factor in enabling children to succeed in learning English is maintaining literacy in their mother-tongue while enrolled in a second-language programme of carefully-structured development in content-area language, within a supportive sociocultural environment. Collier and Thomas (2007:344), whose work is discussed more fully in chapter two, summarised much of their research in diagrammatic form showing that second-language students made best progress in a two-way bilingual programme with Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). An important finding of their research is that many second-language programmes demonstrate rapid gains in acquisition of English in the early years but the poorest performance in the long term, i.e. students have to maintain their mother-tongue and improve their English at an academic level, and within a supportive sociocultural context, over their whole school career. Collier wrote a Foreword to *The International Schools Journal Compendium: Volume 1, ESL* (ed. Murphy, 2003:8) in which she states:

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

This is, in fact, the model followed at the UIS.

My efforts throughout my time at the UIS since 1981, and my wider involvement with the agencies providing the framework for the curriculum, have been to introduce bilingualism as a mainstream concept. Adorno wrote (1967:10) that 'education must transform itself into sociology, that is, it must teach about the societal play of forces that operates beneath the surface of political forms.' The majority of students at the UIS are second-language speakers of English, as are students in European-Council-of-International-Schools worldwide. Thus the common term used for such students,

‘minority students,’ is not appropriate in our context, and though it appears in this paper in quotes from researchers, my preferred term is second-language learners.

1.3 Research overview

1.3.1 Research question

The aim of this study is to listen to the views of the UIS community and relate their perceptions to the literature base on bilingualism. Thus my research question is:

How do the various parties involved with the UIS mother-tongue programme – parents, mother-tongue teachers and school administration - perceive, understand and value the effectiveness of the programme offered?

1.3.2 The method of data collection

The data consists of five sets of discussions, recorded and transcribed (see appendix 1). The discussions are semi-structured, consisting of two sets with UIS parents; two sets with UIS mother-tongue teachers; and finally a session with parents, mother-tongue teachers and the school director in an open meeting to which all parents of secondary school students taking mother-tongue lessons were invited. The points to be discussed had been posted to all those attending beforehand, and for all discussions participants had been told that material was being collected for this study, and that the meetings would be recorded and transcribed. The data is qualitative, the first four sessions lasting just over an hour each, with five to twelve participants, and took place in classrooms; the final session lasted over an hour and a half with some fifty participants, and took place in the UIS secondary aula. Given the small numbers of those attending it is likely that only strongly committed parents and teachers came to the first four meetings, and though they are therefore an atypical group, their views are considered valid as those attending could be viewed as being particularly concerned about the issues being discussed, and possibly more vital and focused than if a larger more representative group had attended. In the context of international schools it is not unreasonable to see them in the role of ‘activists.’

1.3.3 Previous study on the subject: the Institution Focused Study

The Institution-Focused-Study by Carder (2008b) looked at the language repertoires of five bilingual students at the Unonia International School. The current thesis will build

on that study as it gave an in-depth background to many of the elements relevant to this thesis, and can be viewed as a 'platform' for continuing the thread of the argument given there.

Five students gave their views of the programmes provided by the Unonia International School relevant to their bilingual skills, and how they used their languages in various settings. It is worth recalling some of my final comments on their situation, summarised from the IFS, pp.64-66.

These young people arrive from their home country often as high achievers, and have to start 'from the bottom' with little knowledge of the UIS language of instruction, English. They live in an 'international space' where English is spoken by them in school but not at home *or* in the general environment. Thus there is less opportunity for them to practise and hear the language than if they were immigrants to a country. Balanced against this is the fact that English is the world's lingua franca, so there is much access to it.

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

Some of the students have strong criticisms of the way the mother-tongue lessons are organised, and taught. Miriam, Ahmed and Maria all express their wish for the lessons to be included in the regular timetable and fee structure, though one at least, Ahmed, admits there are problems with this as he is the only student learning Persian. They all preferred the way their language was taught in their home country, where they studied all subjects in the language. Miriam points out that her parents did not understand the importance of keeping up Arabic when she first came to the school. Ahmed noticed 'gaps' in his language when he goes home to Iran. Maria's mother pointed out that Maria appears to have 'gaps' in her Spanish. Natasha admits that she is losing her ability in Romanian because she doesn't use it, though thinks she can recover it fairly easily as she has a good base.

The focus on achievement can be seen as a motivating factor: the UIS is a strongly achievement-focused school, and if these students did not follow the programme they have, with the aim of passing an exam in their mother-tongue, they would be seen as outsiders. Both Natasha and Young-Min express satisfaction with the mother-tongue programme and their teachers.

The students mostly recognise that their mother-tongue(s) have perhaps slipped in fluency, but also see that by studying them they can maintain literacy, which in turn is relevant to the learning of all subjects in English, the school language, and the current international language.

This summary of students' views from the IFS gives a relevant lead-in to the current study, in which parents and teachers, and also the school director, give their views and input to the programmes.

1.4 Issues of language and identity

1.4.1 Attitudes of parents to their children's course of study

Some parents see 'being in the ESL class' as a stigma, as is corroborated in the case, four years ago, of the parents of a Korean boy who insisted that he leave the ESL class in order to join the regular English class. The parents also did not wish him to take mother-tongue classes in Korean, even though there was a competent teacher of Korean. They preferred him to take French-as-a-foreign-language, and did not wish to pay the fees for the mother-tongue class. This led to a lengthy process of discussions with the parents. Their English knowledge was limited, but it became clear that their focus was for their child to be educated in English only. They seemed to reject, or perhaps not fully understand, the importance of continuing literacy in Korean. There was perhaps also an element of not wanting their son in a separate ESL class, preferring him to be in the regular English class. This is an unusual occurrence at the UIS, where the ESL classes are generally accepted as routine, and appreciated by parents and students. In his final year this boy was told by his English teacher that he would never pass the International Baccalaureate English A1 exam as his level was too low. Since he had not been taking Korean lessons he could also not take Korean as language A1 for the IB and he could therefore not fulfil the requirements for taking the IB Diploma exams (see appendix 2 for an overview of the IB structure). Since the

parents also mentioned that they were not receiving a financial subsidy for the mother-tongue classes, payment was perhaps a significant factor in their decision: the data will demonstrate the importance of finances for some parents.

1.4.2 The International Space in which UIS students live

International school students are in fact living in an '*international space*'. They may have come willingly or unwillingly to the school, with or without a knowledge of English, and much of their life will be lived in an 'international' arena: their parent(s) probably work in an international organization where English is likely to be the medium. Their friends will be international school students, and they may be viewed by those not in this milieu as being an elite: elite children, however, may well require as much understanding and attention to their linguistic, emotional, and related profiles as any other children. In fact the model most applicable for such students is that of pluralism and multiculturalism; in international schools an assimilationist model is not appropriate as there are no political pressures for assimilation; there is no nation-state to assimilate to, nor political measures to treat immigrants circumspectly. Therefore a model can be provided that promotes enrichment in each student's mother-tongue while encouraging students to gain biliteracy in English. The issue of a 'multilingual ethos' can also be addressed, which is of considerable relevance in the UIS setting which is in fact a multilingual one: international schools provide a unique opportunity for a truly multicultural and multilingual teaching programme.

1.4.3 Translanguage learners

In international education many students are 'translanguage learners', a term proposed by Jonietz (1994), and the level of their mother-tongue may be anything from oral competence to full literacy as they have moved around the world and improved or diminished in their knowledge of various languages, including their mother-tongue.

As the person responsible for the students in the secondary school who are not fluent in English, I developed the understanding that maintaining literacy in their mother-tongue and developing literacy in English led to all-round advantages in academic success, much in demand by parents: the literature on this issue is discussed in chapter two. This tied in to the 'multilingual space' at the Unonia International School which students inhabit. In the corridors groups of students can be heard conversing in many languages;

even where English is dominant there may be rapid interjections in German, the host-country language, or other languages depending on the repertoires of the students involved. In such an environment terms such as mother-tongue, first language, second-language, foreign language, or best language take on a delimitative function that may be relevant in a national school but is only useful in the UIS for the purpose of deciding which level of language a student is taking for International Baccalaureate examinations. Living myself in a multilingual family where the family language may change depending on which 'multilingual space' we are in, I can relate closely to the language ethos of the international community. The language repertoires of the students are complex and my career has focused on attempting to improve the language offerings available to them. However, the model at the UIS should be seen as evolving, as many areas are in need of further development. The charts on pages 23-24 show the varieties within the term 'bilingualism' and the variety of different functions a mother-tongue can have, and are particularly relevant to the mobile translanguaging of international students.

1.4.4 Types of bilingualism

<i>Criterion</i>	<i>Definition</i>
	A speaker is bilingual who:
<i>1. Origin</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. has learned two languages in the family from native speakers from the beginning b. has used two languages in parallel as means of communication from the beginning
<i>2. Competence</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. has complete mastery of two languages b. has native-like control of two languages c. has equal mastery of two languages d. can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language e. has at least some knowledge and control of the grammatical structure of the other language f. has come into contact with another language
<i>3. Function</i>	a. uses (or can use) two languages (in most situations) (in accordance with her own wishes and the demands of the community)
<i>4. Identification</i>	
internal	a. identifies herself as bilingual/with two languages and/or two cultures (or parts of them)
external	b. is identified by others as bilingual/as a native speaker of two languages.
Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins (eds.) (1988:21)	

Bilingualism will be discussed in more depth in chapter two.

1.4.5 Definitions of mother-tongue competence

<i>Criterion</i>	<i>Definition</i>
<i>Origin</i>	the language(s) one learned first
<i>Competence</i>	the language(s) one knows best
<i>Function</i>	the language(s) one uses most
<i>Identification</i>	
a. internal	the language(s) one identifies with
b. external	the language(s) one is identified as a native speaker of by others
The same person can have different mother-tongues, depending on which definition is used.	
A person's mother-tongue can change during her lifetime, even several times, according to all other definitions except the definition by origin.	
The mother-tongue definitions can be organized hierarchically according to the degree of linguistic human rights awareness of a society.	
Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins (eds.) (1988:16)	

These charts show the varieties that can exist under one heading.

1.4.6 Identity in international schools

Issues of identity are finely nuanced and are an important factor in international schools. With their continual movement around the world children may lose a sense of belonging: Durkheim (1997/1897) proposed the term 'anomie' to describe problems of marginalization and emotional difficulties, and Fishman (2009:442) touches on the 'terrifying state of liminality,' which is when one's sense of identity dissolves to some extent, bringing about disorientation. Speaking a particular language may mean belonging to a specific speech community, or community of practice, though this will depend to what extent the speaker wishes to belong to a community. For international school students their mother-tongue certainly represents their former community of practice, with a modified and smaller community in the new setting, and their newly acquired English places them in the international school 'bubble;' thus this part of the social context that a student's individual personality is shaped by and that supplies the

raw materials for her personality will be linguistic. If more than two languages are involved the 'colours' of the student's personality will be quite different from those of the English monolingual. Grosjean (1982) has reported that bilinguals sometimes feel that language choice draws out different personalities. It follows that the deeper a person is immersed in the language and culture of another community, the greater the impact will be on their identity. For bilinguals there is a constant tension, varying depending upon the age at which they 'joined' the second-language group; the distance between the native culture and the English-speaking one; the way in which their native language is treated in the school. The five students studied in my Institution-Focused-Study represent an interesting cross-section in this respect. Since students' mother-tongues are ignored in many international schools, it could be argued that a whole part of these students' identities is also being ignored. Cummins (2000:51) reports how a Finnish student in a Swedish school felt that 'it was despicable to be a Finn, I began to feel ashamed of my origins. So down with the Finnish language! I spat on myself, gradually committed internal suicide.' One can only wonder how many international school students have similar feelings, faced with the huge peer-pressure from students speaking the world's 'cool' language, and parents' expectations that they perform at an advanced level in English. Conversely, when there is a mother-tongue programme to provide literacy to graduating level, students at least have the opportunity to feel acknowledged and valued (see Carder, 2007a).

Once anyone leaves their home country they have 'taken a jump', and, as the Czech writer Milan Kundera (1984:71) wrote:

Being in a foreign country means walking a tightrope high above the ground without the net afforded a person by the country where he has his family, colleagues, and friends, and where he can easily say what he has to say in a language he has known from childhood.

Such a situation will be familiar to those who have lived in a country where the language is unfamiliar: for young children, perhaps with no knowledge of English at all, the impact can be painful and they may take a long time to feel any sense of belonging in the new community: having a class in their own language where they can at last express themselves and be understood, with a teacher who shares their background, can alleviate the all-pervading strangeness and provide some familiarity.

1.4.7 Second-language learners

Spolsky (1999:657) defines a second-language learner as follows:

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

In the context of international schools, a second-language learner is someone who is required to learn the language for access to the whole curriculum; for classroom language; and for social language within the school. This will imply levels of academic language in depth and in the daily language of discourse. Thus all four language skills will be required: listening, speaking, reading and writing.

The all-pervasive fact of language is summed up by Postman and Weingartner (1971):

Almost all of what we customarily call 'knowledge' is language, which means that the key to understanding a subject is to understand its language. A discipline is a way of knowing, and whatever is known is inseparable from the symbols (mostly words) in which the knowing is codified. What is biology (for example) other than words? If all the words that biologists use were subtracted from the language there would be no biology. ...What is history other than words? ...If you do not know the meaning of history words you do not know history. This means of course, that every teacher is a language teacher: teachers, quite literally, have little else to teach, but a way of talking and therefore seeing the world.

To which could be added 'some teachers are unaware teachers of language,' and this is a key factor which impacts on teacher preparation.

1.4.8 Sociolinguistics and Communities of Practice

The field of sociolinguistics can be introduced at this point in order to show how it helps to place students as language-learners in a social context. With 'a history of some 50 years' (Coupland and Jaworski, 2009:1) it is defined as 'the study of language in its social contexts' (ibid). Building on Sharp's (1973) 'each bilingual community is unique', Wenger's (1998) concept of 'communities of practice' serves to give a sociolinguistic framework within which the students at the UIS can be placed. Such communities are defined as:

[I]nformal groups who interact and communicate regularly. Each community of practice has a shared repertoire of communal resources that binds its members together in mutual engagement. Among those communal practices will be shared

ways of communicating, including possibly the use of two or more languages. The linguistic choices made by members play an important role in constructing meaning and social identity (Romaine, 2004:387).

Blommaert (2009:560) argues for developing a ‘sociolinguistics of globalization.’ He acknowledges that the complexity we are facing is a challenge (ibid, p. 561) and suggests that Pennycook’s (2003) term of a particular *niche* is applicable to particular groups, networks, communities of practice. The students at the UIS can therefore be niched within the globalised world in a sociolinguistic context in a general niche of international schools. These issues will be further discussed in chapter two. Next the actual place of study will be reviewed, in the wider context of the international school framework.

1.5 The UIS and languages

1.5.1 Institutional structures - the context of the Unonia International School

In the majority of international schools the language of instruction is English: 87.94% in international schools offering the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma-Programme according to the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma-Programme Statistical Bulletin, 2006. Over 50% of students in schools accredited by the Council-of-International-Schools do not have English as their mother-tongue (ESL Gazette, August, 2005, cited in Carder, 2007a:xii-xiii).

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

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

If this is the case, there is still much room for improvement. In an English-speaking environment (English-as-the-medium-of-instruction) with teaching and administrative staff largely from the English-speaking world, it is frequently the case that there is a drift towards a naive acceptance of ‘getting by’ in English without consulting the broad range of materials and research now available which bear out the importance of (a) literacy as the means to success in the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma-

Programme and (b) literacy in the mother-tongue assisting in developing literacy in the second-language, in our case, English.

The UIS gained its status as the Unonia International School in 1978. A governing board was set up with members from the United Nations, the International Atomic Energy Agency, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, the Austrian Government and members of the Parents Association. In September 1978 the school was officially approved as a 'Verein' (Association - Carder, 2007a:148-149; see also www.vis.ac.at). The Austrian government provided the school building and also provides an annual subsidy.

There are some 1,400 students in grades from Early Childhood to the graduating year, grade 12. Students are from over 100 nationalities with over 75 languages; the UN has recognized 193 member states (www.un.org) and there are estimated to be over 6,000 languages worldwide (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000:31). It has been suggested (Edwards, 2009:10-11) that recently 'language contact ... is happening on an unprecedented scale' and 'the current flow of people across borders is a phenomenon that some writers are describing as 'superdiversity.' In the secondary school there are some 780 students in grades 6-12. The curriculum followed is that of the International Baccalaureate (www.ibo.org): in the primary school, Early Childhood to grade 5, the International-Baccalaureate-Primary-Years-Programme; in grades 6-10 the International-Baccalaureate-Middle-Years-Programme; and in grades 11 and 12 the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma-Programme. The aim of parents is for their children to leave the school at the end of grade 12 with the IB Diploma and go on to university. The school is considered 'academic' and is justifiably proud of its IB results over the years, with over 90% of students regularly gaining a Diploma.

While the large number of nationalities, languages and cultures is broadcast to the community as a representation of 'internationalness', and students freely talk in groups in their own languages, the school offers an essentially English-language education, the mother-tongue programme being the only academic/pedagogical offering for the home language profile of the students; and this programme is out-sourced, costs extra, and is not considered part of the Core programme. Despite this, the statistical breakdown of grades in all subjects in grades 6-12 in June 2007 substantiated that students gained either the highest or near highest grades in their mother-tongue

compared with other subjects – an average of 6.4, out of a maximum of 7 in grade 11, for 40 students, in 19 different languages.

1.5.2 The status of ESL and mother-tongues at the UIS

The way second-language students' programmes are perceived is an important factor as this may impact on students' motivation. Staffing and curriculum for another language area, Foreign Languages (mostly French or Spanish), is seen in most international schools as routine and necessary. Hélot and Mejía (2008:199) note that

modern foreign languages have higher status than ESL.

Edwards, V. (2004:144), writing about the UK, comments that:

The foreign languages taught in school enjoy high status with the dominant English-speaking group; the heritage languages associated with minority groups are regularly marginalized

while also pointing out that the relaxation of the requirement to study foreign languages at all is likely to

reduce to crisis proportions the numbers of students wishing to continue with languages in higher education (op.cit., p. 143).

UK statistics (www.cilt.org.uk 2009) show only 5% of students taking a foreign language for 'A' level; this compares with 100% at the UIS for the IB Diploma. Fishman (2004:417) notes, as 'he has been arguing in print for 35 years,' that

It is just as scandalous and injurious to waste 'native' language resources as to waste air, water, mineral, animal, and various non-linguistic human resources. How long must languages and cultures be trivialized if they are learned at home, in infancy and childhood, and only respected if they are acquired later, during adulthood, when they are usually learned less well and at much greater cost in competence, time and money?

For foreign languages, often French or Spanish in international schools, a curriculum and staffing are provided, even though it can be argued that foreign language classes have a less demanding aim than second-language classes. In foreign language classes, students generally learn a language progressively in a carefully-structured way over five years. Second-language students would equally be well served by a structured programme, with a clearly outlined curriculum and pedagogical model, as would

mother-tongue students, not simply ‘support’ which is a term frequently used when referring to second-language provision.

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

for many years policy and practice in international schools was as likely to position students’ multilingualism as a deficit rather than an asset, there is now more recognition that ESL students are the norm and that these students do not suffer from intrinsic deficits by virtue of the fact that English is not their home language.

Nevertheless there is still a long way to go before appropriate programmes for such students are instituted and integrated into the regular programme. Such programmes can be articulated within the model outlined in the next section (see appendix 3 for an overview of the ESL and mother-tongue pedagogical framework at the UIS).

1.5.3 Carder’s three-programme model of language instruction for second-language learners

The model which has developed over many years at the UIS for second-language students is as follows:

- Immersion in the school’s language of instruction by all students, with a strong ESL programme for non-English speakers, taught through content subject material (CLIL – Content and Language Integrated Learning: Wolff, 2003).
- Instruction in the mother-tongue, given individually or in small groups for non-English speakers, which continues ideally right through to graduation.
- A programme of linguistic and cultural awareness training for staff as an integral part of the school’s in-service training. Every teacher will be expected to take part (Carder, 2007a:7).

In spite of continued attempts to put this model into practice at the UIS, it is far from being fully in place, and the example of the Korean student (in section 1.4.1) confirms how second-language students may still have poor English skills even after many years. As regards the first point, the ESL programme, there are frequent attempts by the management to cut staffing, thereby jeopardising various aspects of the programme; and requests for there to be additional ESL-content classes, particularly History and Geography, have been repeatedly ignored. Concerning point two, the

mother-tongue programme, requests for better scheduling, room allocation, more inclusive ways of payment for staff, and inclusion in the Core programme, have been ignored by the management. Point three, training for all staff, has been addressed sporadically, but as of 2009 there were no plans for undertaking such training in spite of repeated requests on my part. In order to understand why the proposed model may not have been better applied, it is timely to turn to the writings of Sennett, who in *The Culture of the New Capitalism*, 2006:105-6, explains how:

The more one understands how to do something well, the more one cares about it. Institutions based on short-term transactions and constantly shifting tasks, however, do not breed that depth. Indeed the organization can fear it; the management code here is *ingrown*. Someone who digs deep into an activity just to get it right can seem to others ingrown in the sense of fixated on that one thing – and obsession is indeed necessary for the craftsman.

In this sense Sennett also elaborates on Bourdieu (1984), who demonstrates that the dominant can only dominate with the consent, mostly passive, of the dominated. As a ‘middle manager’ responsible for a department of professionals, I can present the case for modification to the programme, but if the management does not approve it the programme remains unimproved. Management also has an ‘adjunct’ which is the outside agencies who provide curriculum and accreditation, which I turn to next.

1.6 The impact of outside agencies on the UIS language structures

1.6.1 The responsibilities of International Educational agencies

The European-Council-of-International-Schools (ECIS) and the Council-of-International-Schools (CIS) began as one – ECIS – and remained as such until June 2003, when CIS split off from ECIS and became a separate organization. CIS is now the body responsible for accreditation, teacher and executive recruitment, and higher education recruitment, all offered worldwide; while ECIS continues to devote itself to services such as professional development in Europe, awards, fellowships, advice on student and programme assessment and curriculum development. The two organizations share facilities (in Petersfield, Hampshire), some staff, publications and some financial schemes, and work together in many other ways (see the websites: www.cois.org and www.ecis.org).

The CIS has 700 affiliated schools, 320 of them accredited. The mission statement of the ECIS is: ‘The European-Council-of-International-Schools (ECIS) is a collaborative

network promoting the ideals and best practice of international education. ECIS leads in addressing significant current and future educational and global issues in support of its membership in Europe and worldwide.’

The Council-of-International-Schools has apparently taken its terminology and recommended practice for second-language students from England (terms such as ‘support’ and ‘EAL’). However the English model works in quite different circumstances from those which obtain in international schools. In national systems, immigrants often become assimilated, and after three generations the mother-tongue has largely disappeared. In any case, the UK has a record of poor support for language policies for non-English speakers: in a book about multilingualism in the English-speaking world (Edwards, V. 2004), government policies aimed at minorities in England regularly appear grudging compared to those in Australia and Canada:

Levels of official support for community-based language teaching are more impressive in Canada and Australia than in the UK and USA (op.cit, p.123).

National language policies ensure a high level of support in Canada and Australia; traditional antipathy and indifference in the UK and USA have resulted in a much lower level of support (op.cit, p.125).

Content-based teaching – where one or more areas of the curriculum are taught through the medium of the second language ... The UK has shown far less enthusiasm for content teaching (op.cit., p.139).

In October 2007, the brief footnote at the end of the short ‘English Language Support’ section of the Council-of-International-Schools accreditation report on the UIS stated:

NOTE – the Visitors recognise and commend the existence of an active Mother-tongue support system at UIS, something which is unfortunately still relatively rare in international schools.

In fact the UIS mother-tongue programme was established in 1980. The CIS is thus out of step with latest research evidence showing the importance of students maintaining their mother tongue. Other subject areas have several pages of boxes with text, headings and comment, in contrast to the relative neglect of such allocation for mother-tongue teaching.

‘Support’, the terminology used by the CIS, is not anything that a trained teacher of a vastly complex subject area uses as the basis of a curriculum which is in fact becoming ever more complex as the teaching profession develops, in line with the current realities

of professional life in the world at large. Placing ESL at the end of the CIS accreditation document with Special Educational Needs (SEN) also implicitly presents ESL students in the same category, while mother-tongues simply get a footnote. (In England, since ESL is not a statutory professionally recognised discipline, and SEN is, 'EAL' teachers frequently report to the SEN department, and mother-tongue support is frequently provided by bilingual assistants).

On ECIS/CIS websites, ESL is increasingly replaced with 'EAL' (English as an Additional Language), a term proposed by Rampton, (1997), and that has come to be associated with the model in England. ESL is the standard terminology used by the majority of academics and researchers writing about the field of second-language learners. Indeed, the term 'EAL' is often not mentioned in any literature outside Britain (though there may well be good reasons for using the term).

The field of ESL and bilingual education is an emerging profession, and various terms are used in different parts of the world. I believe that it is important to maintain the term 'ESL' as it relates directly to the discipline – Second Language Acquisition, SLA - which describes it; and that the CIS, by proliferating the term 'EAL,' albeit an important definition, is also covertly aiding in spreading a 'support' methodology for teaching practice based on a model designed for immigrants who will assimilate to a national model.

1.6.2 The International-Baccalaureate-Middle-Years-Programme and ESL

This programme is crucial for the language development of UIS students where the school curriculum is taught entirely in English. All students also learn German, the host-country language, and in the secondary school students may choose either French or Spanish as a Foreign Language in Grades 6-10. Those students who do not have sufficient fluency in English to follow the curriculum participate in ESL classes which are timetabled parallel to the French/Spanish, English and Humanities class times. This 'setting' has been discussed at much length over the years. The original reasons were that second-language students would be best placed in a timetable that focused on their prime needs, i.e. to learn the language of the curriculum for other subjects. As students join the school throughout the year French and Spanish teachers presented the issue that new arrivals would have difficulty attaining the same levels of language proficiency as

those already in the programme: however, this argument applies equally to ESL students.

Mother-tongues can only be offered under special conditions which are at times not approved by the International-Baccalaureate-Middle-Years-Programme. It is difficult for me to advise parents to pay for their children to have mother-tongue lessons in grades 6-10 when the IB is not reciprocating with transparent ways of recognising these languages for certification. The IB claims that in particular circumstances taught mother-tongues can be certificated, but teachers have reported that they have met difficulties when applying for such certification, rapid turnover in personnel at the IB being apparently responsible for the lack of knowledge there about the procedure. This point will be seen to be relevant later when discussing terms of equity with mother-tongues in the IB Diploma Programme.

1.7 Conclusions

As already quoted, Bourdieu (1984) establishes that the dominant can only dominate with the consent, mostly passive, of the dominated. Accrediting agencies for international schools devise their 'rules for being accredited' largely unchallenged – and challenges can be brushed aside, as has been input from the ECIS ESL-and-Mother-Tongue Committee over the years. As regards the International Baccalaureate, over 50% of IB schools are now in North America, and there is a perception that a business ethos is motivating the organisation. This would not want to support a potentially expensive educational issue such as students' native languages at the heart of an 'English-only' culture.

It has been shown in the UIS that a viable programme – including both ESL and mother-tongues – can be offered, though much remains to be done in that sphere. Thus 'ESL as learning support' could be removed from the vocabulary of the CIS/ECIS, who could keep up with best educational practice for second-language learners in an international school context by including ESL and mother-tongues only in the section of regular subjects since second-language learners now constitute the majority of students in CIS accredited schools (ESL Gazette, 2005).

The clientele of international schools are an elite (Baker, 2006:252), and it is bizarre that a section of the elite – those who are learning the school's language of instruction –

are often served a 'support' model that was designed for immigrants to Britain, where it is also now receiving criticism. Having watched second-language students excel and students in the mother-tongue programme gain good or excellent scores for the IB Diploma over three decades at the UIS, it is frustrating to observe the CIS/ECIS's lack of inclusion of good practice in this fundamental area in international education. The implication is that in many international schools worldwide non-native speakers of the school's Language of Instruction are not necessarily being offered the most suitable programmes for their needs.

The situation in many countries where issues of language acquisition and language maintenance have become political issues is similar: according to Shohamy:

Immigrants, for example, are constantly being told that keeping their home languages will damage and harm their success in acquiring new languages and their eventual success in the new societies. Immigrants realize very fast, given such propaganda and myths, that the languages they used in their home countries have no relevance in the new place, are of no value in the new societies and may communicate disloyalty, resulting in negative language stigmas and stereotypes about belonging and exclusion (Shohamy, 2006:68).

In international schools students are in a different language landscape, and a different sociological context. In summary: second-language students have great potential for becoming fluent in the second-language of the school to a literate level, overwhelmingly English in international schools, and also for maintaining and developing literacy in their mother-tongue(s). This can provide innumerable benefits: linguistic; sociological; cognitive; affective; which in turn could come to fruition by an appropriately designed model for instruction of these languages in international schools, with associated curriculum and examinations provided by the IB or other agencies, and accreditation instruments that measure these programmes provided by the CIS or other agencies. The UIS is in fact an international, multilingual space where students from around the world, speaking a multitude of languages, mingle and interact. With a more finely-tuned sense of direction, supported by appropriate curriculum and accreditation tools, these students could develop their language skills more fully, bringing rewards to the whole community. These points will be more fully argued through, with illustrations from literature on the subject, in chapter two.

CHAPTER 2

A critical review of literature relating to second-language education, bilingualism and international schools

2.1 Initial comments

2.1.1 Introduction

This investigation is concerned with the learning needs of second-language learners of the school's language of instruction, English, and what is involved in all aspects of providing an appropriate programme for these learners, but especially maintaining fluency and literacy in their mother-tongue. The relevant literature will therefore be that discussing second-language acquisition, bilingualism, mother-tongue provision, language policy and planning, sociolinguistics, issues of identity, the politics of English as a global language, globalisation and language, and issues relating to second-language and special learning needs differentiation. Clearly this is a vast field, so the focus will be on the circumstances of students in international education as much as possible, while drawing on wider references when they are considered relevant. The first section will look at literature specifically focused on international schools.

2.1.2 Literature about language issues in international schools

There is a limited amount of published research on bilingualism, Second Language Acquisition, and mother-tongue programmes in international schools, perhaps for reasons already given: the mobility of the students and thus the difficulties involved in carrying out long-term studies. *The International Schools Journal Compendium – ESL: Educating Non-native Speakers of English in an English-medium international school*, (Murphy, ed., 2003) contains all the articles relevant to second-language learners for the 21 years during which Murphy had edited the journal (1981-2002), in which she writes:

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 organize themselves and create their curricula as if all their students shared not only the same language, but the same culture as well (op.cit., p. 9).

In this compendium an article by Carder (1993) discusses the importance of having a language policy in schools, and of creating 'biliterate bilinguals'. Jonietz (1994) proposes the term 'trans-language learners' to describe how international school students gain or lose proficiency in languages as they travel around the world. MacKenzie (2001) includes a small research project which substantiates that parents overwhelmingly wanted their children to learn English, at any cost – apparently including the loss of their mother-tongue. This reflects the observation by Edwards (2009:44) that

There is palpable tension [in the context of South Africa] between the perception of parents, on the one hand, that the surest route to upward mobility is through English-medium education and the firm belief of policymakers, on the other hand, that a strong foundation in the children's mother-tongue will lead to more equitable outcomes

with the proviso that in international schools it is practitioners rather than policymakers who advocate the importance of the mother tongue.

The other journal which focuses on issues in international education is the *Journal of Research in International Education*. Allan (2002:82), writing about a research project in an international school in the Netherlands on 'Cultural Dissonance,' concludes that

Schools must adopt a culturally democratic pedagogy where different learning styles are recognized in the classroom, and a non-culture-specific curriculum is delivered in a more pluralist style which makes it accessible to all pupils.

He adds that

A quality assurance approach that looks for multiculturalism in the process of international education, rather than in its inputs and outcomes, would be a more productive, as well as a more valid, way forward (op.cit., p.84).

These insights both point towards developing appropriate teaching styles from subject teachers.

Carder's 2007a book presents the 'three-programme-model' of ESL taught through content, beside a mother-tongue programme and also a training programme for staff as being the most viable way of providing an enriching linguistic framework for multilingual students. Gallagher's 2008 book devotes a chapter to 'Hidden and Overt Power Structures in International Schools' (op.cit., pp.1-34), distinguishing between the often encountered 'authoritarian' mode of management, and the more desirable

‘authoritative’ approach, where school leaders provide equitable models of language programmes. Mejía (2002) in a chapter headed ‘World-Wide Elite Bilingualism’ traces the history and development of international schools, noting that while many of the students are in fact bilingual, the emphasis in curricula and school language provision is monolingual and often monocultural.

To my knowledge, other research done in the field is that of Tosi, whose PhD thesis (1987, Institute of Education) has a section on the language needs of second-language students in the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma-Programme. This research actually led to a working group which resulted in the creation of language A2 in the IB Diploma programme. Tosi pointed out (Tosi, 1991:94):

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

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

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

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

He posited the idea that in the IB, Group 2 presents perhaps the greatest complications from a language viewpoint in the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma-Programme (see appendix 2 for an overview). Until 1989 group 1 was language A, and group 2 was language B - the study of a ‘foreign language’. This was a balance that was targeted at monolinguals that had English as their mother-tongue, and usually French as a foreign language. However, in international schools, and in today’s globalised world with mobile migrants increasingly national schools, there are many students who have a range of language competencies, and there are many who may be virtually equally competent in two, or more, languages. Thus to speak of a language A as ‘mother-tongue’ and language B as ‘foreign language’ was no longer the case for many students. This is precisely the point Jonietz (1994) made with her suggestion of applying the term ‘translanguaging’ to international school students.

It is worth noting that some researchers have labelled linguistic discrimination (i.e. discriminating against students on the basis of their language by not providing programmes of instruction for them in their language) as a form of racism, terming it ‘linguicism’ (Fishman, cited in Coupland and Jaworski, 2009a:426; and Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), certainly not a concept that most international schools would wish to be accused of. Fishman, after reflecting on the ‘joys of one’s own language and ethnicity,’ further states that:

democracy guarantees the right to retain one’s own ethnicity ... to develop creatively, and to [enable one’s children] to reach their full potential without becoming ethnically inauthentic, colourless, lifeless, worse than lifeless: nothingness (Fishman, 2009:441).

2.1.3 Bilingualism: introductory comments

In 1945 bilingualism was viewed largely negatively. Since then, it has become an autonomous discipline, and has come to be seen as a positive asset, though complex: it requires attention to detail, and sensitivity for each child’s individual needs and language trajectories. I believe knowledge of this discipline, with an awareness of latest developments, will be essential for those working in international schools, especially for those working in leadership and management positions. As will be outlined below, English no longer has specific cultural bases to which students can become integrated, but has an ‘international posture’ (Dörnyei and Ushioda, 2009:145). As Coetzee-Van Rooy records about English (2006:442):

English is an international auxiliary language. It is yours (no matter who you are) as much as it is mine (no matter who I am) ... No one needs to become more like Americans ...or any other English speaker to lay claim on the language. ... it isn’t even necessary to appreciate the culture of a country whose principal language is English in order for one to use it effectively. This argument assumes a much more complex view of the identities of second-language learners in world English contexts.

She writes about the mother-tongue that:

The fascinating challenge for these groups [L2 speakers] however is to keep their own cultural and linguistic identity while mastering the second-language. What has been most encouraging to us throughout these investigations is the fact that with the *proper attitudinal orientation* and motivation one can become bilingual without losing one’s identity (Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2006:441).

This sets out in crystal-clear terms the position of international school students (although written in the context of South Africa): they learn English as a tool which will

belong to them, and they will keep their own cultural and linguistic identity, their mother-tongue. Wright (2004:14) observes that ‘currently globalisation is producing worldwide social diglossia and ever extending personal bilingualism.’ This is the world we live in today, yet I have repeatedly been in a position with school colleagues, management, the IB, the ECIS and the CIS where I am regarded as an ‘enthusiast,’ which translates into the ‘ingrown’ employee in Sennett’s terms, for arguing the case for what I considered to be the best possible education model for international students, as opposed to those in national systems in the UK or the USA. The often encountered alternative to bilingualism is described in the next section.

2.2 The status of English in the contemporary world

2.2.1 English language teaching in the world

English language teaching has changed dramatically from a research perspective. Until recently, the concept of ‘integrativeness,’ defined by Gardner & Lambert (1959:267) as ‘a willingness to be like valued members of the language community,’ was seen to be the main motivational factor for students learning English – or any language. Thus the model held out was that of native English speakers. This view has been challenged with the rise of English-as-an-International-Language (EIL) in a sea of Speakers of World Englishes (SWE) (Sharifian, ed., 2009:3). The methodology currently accepted as most relevant for motivation is that of ‘the L2 Motivational Self System,’ with its concepts of the ‘ideal self’ and the ‘ought-to self’ (Dörnyei & Ushioda, eds., 2009:3-4).). Coetzee-Van Rooy (2006:442) believes that:

The main foundations of the criticism of the notion of integrativeness are the ‘simplex’ views of the identity of second-language learners and the incorrect assumptions made about the sociolinguistic contexts of many learners of English as a second-language across the world.’

She explains:

I use the term ‘simplex’ view of identity to refer to the underlying notion held by some researchers that learning a second-language necessarily results in the loss of the first language, and the establishment of a new ‘simple’ identity as monolingual speaker of the target language’ (op.cit., p.440).

She also quotes Lamb (2004:3) who comments that:

As English loses its association with particular Anglophone cultures and is instead identified with the powerful forces of globalization, the desire to

‘integrate’ loses its explanatory power in many EFL contexts. Individuals may aspire towards a ‘bicultural’ identity which incorporates an English-speaking globally-involved version of themselves in addition to their local L1-speaking self.

These findings relate directly to international school students: they remove the previously held focus on learning about the *culture* of the target language; and at the same time emphasise that students will maintain their own language and culture. It is fair to say that Western-Based-TESOL is still the model employed in many schools, with textbooks still containing British or American cultural models. At the UIS, ESL teachers create their own materials for language teaching, and the focus is more on adapting other subject materials, such as history, geography and biology. However, not all international schools recognise the language needs of second-language learners.

2.2.2 ESL in England

In schools in England ‘language support teachers’ frequently come under the umbrella of Special Education Needs Departments. The negative effects of treating ESL students as SEN students have been documented throughout the literature on ESL students (e.g. Cummins, 1984, and Leung and Franson, 2001:164).comment:

As a curriculum area, ESL has not been allowed a distinct discipline status; there are no ESL curriculum specifications and there is no national ESL scale for assessment. In the past few years, the funding for ESL has been reduced repeatedly and the cuts have always been justified on financial grounds. These can be seen as indicators which point to ESL’s loss of academic status and curriculum value in the official view and with it the privilege to argue for its protection and development.

The ‘British’ model had consequences for international schools: in 2002 the Council-of-International-Schools reallocated ESL and put it in the same section as SEN; in 2006 the IB devised a new post of Second-language-learning specialist, but appointed her under the SEN section; the person appointed had to argue her case to have an independent voice. International schools in Europe are more affected by the proximity of the British experience and many ESL teachers in international schools in Europe are British, bringing with them the British experience. The result is often a docile acceptance that ESL will not be seen as a separate discipline, and it will be subsumed under the SEN umbrella.

2.2.3 Native English speakers as ‘smug’

A reason for getting beyond the 'English-only' approach of the majority of international schools is that of students' identities. Although Crystal (1997) estimates that two-thirds of the world's children grow up in a bilingual environment, the 'West' is largely monolingual in outlook. Even 'bilingual' countries like Belgium, Finland and Switzerland have populations that exist in a state of 'territorial unilingualism' (Romaine, 2004:398). English speakers, especially, are prone to entrenched attitudes in the climate of the current dominance of English. Ireland and the UK are now the only countries in the EU where there is no requirement to study a foreign language. English and American monolinguals are often characterised as having no aptitude for foreign-language learning, such a failing often being accompanied by expressions of envy for multilingual Europeans, and

Sometimes (more subtly) by a *linguistic smugness* reflecting a deeply held conviction that, after all, those clever 'others' who don't already know English will have to accommodate in a world made increasingly safe for Anglophones. All such attitudes, of course, reveal more about social dominance and convention than they do about aptitude (my emphasis) (Edwards, J. 2004:11).

Fishman uses the same word, 'smug', to describe the situation in the USA:

Unfortunately, a country as rich and as powerful as our own, *smugly speaking* 'the language that rules the world,' can long afford to continue to disregard the problem (my emphasis) (Fishman, 2004:418).

Factors which impinge on students keeping up their mother-tongue include: the perception of many parents that 'English is the solution' (Garcia et al, 2006:39-41, Krashen, 2006); the all-pervasive use of English in modern popular music and media; the spread of the internet, where most sites consulted by students are in English, although increasingly other languages are being used (Graddol, 2006); also the failure of the school's accrediting agency, the Council-of-International-Schools to acknowledge the situation of second-language students (Carder, 2005, 2009b).

There may be scant attention paid to what Edwards, J. refers to (2004:22-23) as the 'linguistic axles and gears occasioned by bilingual competence' let alone the relationship between language and identity, and how this relationship may alter when more than one language is involved. Other reasons for the slow development of appropriate second-language and mother-tongue programmes in international schools will now be discussed.

2.3 Models of practice

2.3.1 Assimilation versus multiculturalism/pluralism

Studies of second-language students in state schools in English-speaking countries (e.g. Mohan, Leung, and Davison, 2001; Crawford, 2000) demonstrate that the model most often followed is one of assimilation to the host-country language, with varying amounts of 'support' for English-language competence, and frequently no programme or recommendations for keeping up the students' mother-tongue (see Carder, 2005, 2006b, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2008a, 2009a, 2009b). Students in international schools, as noted in chapter one, are in a quite different situation from those in national systems as they are not assimilating to any national system, but are rather in a 'bubble' of internationalism where English is the language of the school for academic and social purposes, but not of the wider environment. The language of the host country can be anything from Italian to Indonesian and this language may be taught in the school if it is considered 'useful' for any future use; however, host country languages such as Vietnamese or Mongolian are usually not taught, French or Spanish being preferred as suitable for the study of a Foreign Language. Students return to their own countries for frequent visits, and some continue their university studies in their own country (see the European-Council-of-International-Schools Directory, 2010, for a listing of international schools worldwide). It is clearly in students' interests to maintain fluency and literacy in their mother-tongue.

Models of providing education for second-language learners which will allow them to reach their full potential, linguistically as well as regards their social identity, come under the heading of pluralism, in a model of multiculturalism. Assimilation, on the other hand, is when the educational model focuses exclusively on assisting students to conform to mainstream expectations and become like the dominant group. Benesch (1993:713-714) claims that it is a self-defeating exercise to study the demands of mainstreaming courses and try to make them accessible to ESL students, as it is these very demands which restrict the participation of ESL students. This is realised as an argument in favour of having separate classes for ESL students, the model at the UIS.

Baker and Prys Jones (1998:301) comment that:

Research is unlikely to solve debates over assimilation and multiculturalism. While recent research may inform and refine opinions, the two positions of assimilation and pluralism differ in such fundamental, ideological ways, that simple solutions and resolutions are impossible.

These two positions are at the heart of the matter as far as international schools are concerned, though largely, I suspect, unacknowledged by those who design the programmes and administer the schools.

Shohamy (2006:97) also discusses the nature of assimilation when she writes

In earlier *assimilative* models, there was no appreciation of the knowledge that minority groups had; rather, they were expected to relinquish it and acquire the knowledge that is associated with the dominant group.

She also believes that elite groups tend ‘to deny interactive models in overt and covert ways and continue to perpetuate assimilative models (op.cit.).’ This rings true as regards the practice in most international schools, though it is ironic that in the international school setting all students may be described as belonging to an elite, and second-language learners are often not a minority but a majority. In some situations the different groups are encouraged to maintain their languages, but it is rarely the case that the dominant group acquires the other languages spoken in the society. On a recent visit to the International School of Prague (November 2009) I found that teachers had collected vignettes of students, one of which was of an English-speaker who ‘had been at the school for many years but spoke not one word of Czech.’ Discussion with another invited workshop leader revealed her experience in Asia, where she felt students were often totally isolated from the local community; when I spoke of the international ‘bubble’ students lived in, her comment was that some lived in a ‘bubble within a bubble’, their wealthy parents ensuring that they ‘floated above the daily lives of ordinary people, their feet literally hardly touching the ground as they were chauffeur-driven around and pampered.’

A summary of the positions of assimilation and multiculturalism is given by Baker and Prys Jones (1998:299):

At the heart of the assimilationist ideology is the belief that an effective, harmonious, society can only be achieved if minority groups are absorbed into mainstream society. Harmony and equal opportunity depend on a shared language and culture. A multicultural viewpoint is partly based on the idea that an individual can successfully hold two or more identities.

The situation of many educators and school leaders in international schools seems to be that of those in national systems, i.e. whereby over time students will move away from native language cultural maintenance and absorb majority English language and culture. Globalisation and technology may have added strength to their argument, many parents – their children are unlikely to have a say in moving to a new school abroad – seeing knowledge of the worldwide dominant language, English, as a safer guarantee for a secure future than their native language. This, of course, is often the lay person's view, uninformed by the issues of additive and subtractive bilingualism (see below, 2.4.5)

2.3.2 Theory, practice and the reality in international schools

Fortunately there are academics who understand the dilemma faced by practitioners. May (1994:1) wrote over fifteen years ago that 'the gap between theory and practice in education is a worrying one,' and added that 'For many teachers, education is simply a matter of survival; teaching children as best they can, and with what limited time and resources they have at their disposal' (ibid); also 'recent developments internationally to deskill the teaching profession have further removed theory from the realms of educational practice' (Apple, 1986, in ibid, p.1). Edwards (2009:7) writes that 'decisions about best practice are sometimes driven more by politics than the evidence of research.' May (op.cit.) comments that there has been a tendency to simply 'insert' minorities into the dominant culture, which leaves the long-standing hierarchies intact. May also emphasises that along with cultural pluralism there has to be structural pluralism.

A further reason for the apparently inappropriate programmes for students' language repertoires in international schools may be societal. Gramsci (1971) conceived the concept of 'hegemony,' which refers to a process of moral and intellectual leadership through which dominated or subordinate classes consent to their own domination by ruling classes, as opposed to being simply forced or coerced into accepting inferior positions. The ideas of the ruling class come to be seen as the norm; they are seen as universal ideologies, perceived to benefit everyone whilst only really benefiting the ruling class. He argues that schooling actually functions to legitimise and reinforce disadvantage. Of course this hegemony has to be maintained by the dominant group, and Bourdieu has pointed out (1977) with his concept of 'habitus', which represents all the social and cultural experiences that shape a person, how those who possess the

dominant habitus, in our case native speakers of English, have what Bourdieu refers to as 'symbolic capital' which may be used in this case by a school, knowingly or unknowingly, as a form of 'symbolic violence.' He also develops a concept of 'cultural capital' which consists of language, meanings, thought and behavioural styles, values and dispositions. Bourdieu believes that education favours a certain kind of cultural capital: that of the dominant culture.

This last concept is especially worth bearing in mind in international schools where English is the language of instruction and is still associated with the cultures of the UK and the USA. Just as Bourdieu refers to symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1977) as the malformations that school culture effect upon individuals' perceptions and beliefs, where working-class children find their home culture devalued and disconfirmed but come to accept that rejection as legitimate, so it could be argued that second-language speakers of English in international schools find not only their home language and culture, but their enfranchisement in the school language, English, ignored and marginalised. Since the language of the managerial class and also that of the majority of the teachers is English, it is a form of educational *laissez-faire* to adopt the well-known pedagogical strategies of the English-speaking home country and transplant them to the international milieu. Bourdieu proposed symbolic violence in a framework of the ills suffered by working-class children, and it is ironic that in the context of international schools it is one section of the elite – the non-speakers of the school language – who find their home culture devalued and disconfirmed by a largely monolingual Anglo-American managerial class who may, in fact, come from a lower 'status group' than those in the schools they purport to be serving. May (1994) believes that schools, in order to make a difference, have to show collective, coordinated resistance, which should be formalised in a critical practice.

It seems that many international schools still have the view laid out by Mullard 28 years ago:

The assimilationist perspective was seen... as one which embodied a set of beliefs about stability. The teaching of English along with a programme of cultural indoctrination and subordination... would help in short to neutralize sub-cultural affinities and influences within the school (Mullard, 1982:123-124, in May, 1994).

International schools are overwhelmingly private and parents expect a quality English-language education. Directors are conscious of this and are anxious to have staff that do not disturb a smooth operation with ideas of structural change, even when this would be of benefit to the multilingual community. As Sennett (2006:126) points out:

An organization in which the contents are constantly shifting requires the mobile capacity to solve problems; getting deeply involved in any one problem would be dysfunctional, since projects end as abruptly as they begin. ... The social skill required by a flexible organization is the ability to work well with others in short-lived teams, others you won't have the time to know well... Your skill lies in cooperating, whatever the circumstances...

This describes well the scenario for me at the UIS, attempting to institute systemic change in the treatment of second-language learners. In order to enable change it is advisable to have good grounds for recommending it; since there was little research evidence from international schools it had to come from national systems, and this is addressed in the next section.

2.3.3 Research evidence for the benefits of mother-tongue maintenance

The research by Thomas and Collier (1997:14) in public schools in the USA indicates that only students who have received strong cognitive and academic development through their first language for many years as well as through the second-language (English) are still doing well in their final years in school. They also conclude that the most powerful prediction of academic success in the second-language is formal schooling in the mother-tongue (op.cit., p.39). They state

We have concluded that L1 cognitive and academic development is a key predictor of academic success in L2 (Thomas and Collier, 1997:49).

There is a wealth of research showing the advantages of keeping up the mother-tongue in tandem with acquiring a literate knowledge of English, given in the next section, which leads to bilingualism. Perhaps of more concern are the potential negative effects of not keeping up fluency in the mother-tongue. This leads into further discussion of bilingualism: what it means; what it represents for students; its status in the world today.

2.4 Bilingualism as a the basis of good practice

2.4.1 The development of bilingual studies

Based on my many years of working at the UIS, and seeing the developments in the Council-of-International-Schools, and to some extent in the International-Baccalaureate, I consider that an unwillingness to appreciate and acknowledge the burgeoning literature on second-language acquisition and bilingualism and to recognise these as disciplines in their own right has much to do with why there is not better provision for second-language students. Thus the arguments below for the need to have bilingualism firmly recognised are considered a necessary part of this study.

The study of bilingualism, and interpretations of its effect on young people, has developed immensely over the past century. Early studies generally associated bilingualism with lowered intelligence (Edwards, J. 2004:15) and one well-known study concluded that ‘the use of a foreign language in the home is one of the chief factors in producing mental retardation’ (Goodenough, 1926:393, in Edwards, J. 2004:16). However, in the early 1960s Peal and Lambert (1962/72) carried out studies which verified a positive relationship between intelligence and bilingualism. They carefully controlled the relevant variables in an examination of ten-year-old bilingual and monolingual children and the bilinguals were found to ‘outperform their monolingual counterparts on both verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests.’ The authors concluded that the bilingual child had ‘mental flexibility, a superiority in concept formation, and a more diversified set of mental abilities,’ while noting that ‘it is not possible to state from the present study whether the more intelligent child became bilingual or whether bilingualism aided his intellectual development’ (Peal and Lambert, 1962:277, in Edwards, J. 2004:16-17).

This produced a surge of publications on language acquisition by psychologists and linguists investigating bilingual children during the 1960s and led to an increase of research activities from the 1980s on, which in turn contributed to ‘the establishment of bilingual studies as an *autonomous discipline* with its own textbooks and journals’ (my emphasis) (Meisel, 2004:92). This is immensely important: there is now a separate discipline which has devoted vast amounts of research, investigation, conferences and literature to varied topics coming under the heading of bilingualism.

2.4.2 The Advantages of Bilingualism

Various authors have written on the earlier metalinguistic awareness of bilinguals compared to monolinguals (e.g. Ben-Zeev, 1977); their increased metacognitive abilities

and metalinguistic awareness (e.g. De Avila & Duncan, 1979); and their greater separation of form and content (Leopold, 1939-49). Cognitive advantages attributed to plurilinguals by psychologists, e.g. advantages in conceptual development (e.g. Cummins & Gulustan, 1974; Peal & Lambert, 1962); higher verbal intelligence and greater psycholinguistic skills (e.g. Lambert & Tucker, 1972); and more divergent thinking (e.g. Landry, 1974) are all related to metalinguistic awareness as to the practice of switching between languages (Dewaele, Housen and Wei, eds. 2003:48).

Bialystok, 1991, Cummins, 1984, 1993, 2000, Hakuta, 1986, and Lambert, 1974, also show that maintaining the mother-tongue and adding English – in other words bilingualism – confers advantages. This academic base is vital for practitioners in international schools so that they can argue their case for appropriate programmes.

Baker (2006:255) records about eight potential advantages of bilingual education which include: enabling children to engage in wider communication across generations and cultural groups; fostering a sympathetic understanding of differences in creeds and cultures; achieving biliteracy; increasing classroom achievement; gaining from cognitive benefits; raising self-esteem; establishing a more secure identity; and having economic advantages.

At the beginning of the Institution-Focused-Study it was pointed out that little has been published in the area of bilingualism for international school students, one exception being the work of Mejía (2002), and that this has been a driving factor in my attempts to bring a wider focus onto the language needs of these students. Baker (2006:252) summarises the situation in international schools, saying they are ‘mostly for the affluent; that one language of these schools is frequently English; and that when they have English as the sole medium of transmitting the curriculum they cannot be included under the heading of ‘Bilingual Education in Majority Languages’. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000:624-625) also comments on international schools, noting that those who want to be included in the new globalised elites need to be multilingual, and

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

This suggests that international schools are perceived by elites as providing symbolic capital, while not using several languages as media of instruction. The situation is not clear-cut as many discussions with parents have revealed that they are grateful for *any* school which can accommodate their children with English as the language-of-instruction since it is the global lingua franca. My perception is that such elites focus principally on their children becoming fluent in English, while not considering what might happen to their children's own language and identity.

2.4.3 Bilinguals as more numerous, but more complex, than monolinguals

Bilingualism is considered to be more common than monolingualism in the world. Crystal (1997) estimates that some two-thirds of children in the world grow up in a bilingual environment. On the issue of 'who does better', monolinguals or bilinguals, commentators are increasingly pointing out that there is an inbuilt bias towards monolinguals, an attitude that

reflects a perspective strongly biased toward monolingualism in that it implicitly assumes that monolingual acquisition is the norm. Indirectly, at least, such an approach conveys the view that multilingualism deviates from what may be regarded as normal (Meisel, 2004:93).

It is equally important to understand, as Grosjean (1989) writes, the necessity of seeing that the 'bilingual is not two monolinguals in one person.' He argues that bilinguals rarely use their languages equally frequently in every domain of their social environment but use each of them for different purposes, in different contexts, and in communicating with different partners (Grosjean, 1989, in Meisel, 2004:93). This reflects the chart of Skutnabb-Kangas in section 1.4.4.

Bialystok takes the issue one step further by pointing an accusatory finger at researchers, who she says have

essentially developed their models from the simplifying assumption that children have one mind, one conceptual system, and one language. The limitations of this assumption are quickly apparent when one considers the inevitable and prolific interactions between language and thought in virtually every cognitive endeavour (Bialystok, 2004:577).

She then reviews the major researchers who have contributed to a more positive view of bilinguals' potential. First, Peal and Lambert, who 'saved' bilingualism by their study (1962/72, already mentioned); Vygotsky (1962, but written some thirty years earlier),

who said that knowing two languages led to awareness of linguistic options; Clark (1978), who wrote that learning two languages might heighten awareness of linguistic devices in both languages; Leopold (1961), who discovered that understanding the nature of the relationship between words and meanings is superior in bilingual children; Cummins (1984), who found that bilinguals have greater flexibility in grasping concepts, solve problems faster than monolinguals, and who also developed the ‘threshold hypothesis’ (see section 2.5.2), which posited that a minimal level of bilingual competence is necessary to avoid deficits and enjoy the advantages of bilingualism: the context of each bilingual’s community of practice is paramount here. Bialystok’s conclusion is that bilingualism makes it easier for students to master skills, though she leaves open the matter of their overall achievement in comparison to other researchers who point, for example, to metalinguistic advantages for bilinguals.

2.4.4 Each bilingual community is unique

Another important tenet to bear in mind when discussing bilingualism is that ‘any meaningful discussion must be attempted within a specific context, and for specific purposes’ (Edwards, J. 2004:9), a point elaborated on by Baker and Prys Jones (1998:99), who conclude that

there is no preferred term that is capable of summing up all the complexity, dynamism and colour of bilinguals existing in groups. Simple labels hide complex realities. The way forward is to recognize the limitations of our terminology and to acknowledge the many dimensions underlying them.

Or to put it another way, as Sharp (1973:11, cited in Romaine, 2004:387) has, ‘each bilingual community is unique.’ From this it can be seen that bilingualism has come to be seen in a positive instead of a negative light and that definitions of bilingualism will depend on each separate community. This has clear implications for the present study: at the UIS there is a unique bilingual community, the extent of which can be seen in the data. Parents come from all around the world, their children are at the school for differing lengths of time, and families have varying linguistic needs and repertoires. Many of them have developed some understanding of the situation they now find themselves in, but some are entranced by the promises of English where it is seen as the language of success and do not realise the potential hurdles their children may face. The administration sees the existence of a mother-tongue programme as the solution, and the

mother-tongue teachers are among the few professionals who understand the depth of the challenges faced.

A further comment on this important point is made by Auer (2009:491) who concludes that the impasse of defining bilingualism can only be overcome if it is:

No longer regarded as ‘something inside speakers’ heads, that is, a mental ability, but as a displayed feature of participants’ everyday linguistic behaviour. Bilingualism must be looked upon primarily as a set of complex linguistic activities, and only in a ‘derived’ sense as a cognitive ability. Consequently there is no one definition of bilingualism: bilingualism becomes an interactionally constructed predicate.

The issue of a ‘multilingual ethos,’ of considerable relevance in our setting, is discussed by various researchers, e.g. Crawford, 2000; Ferguson, 2006; Graddol, 2006; Shohamy, 2006; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000. Edwards, V. (2004) addresses broader issues of bilingualism and frequently places it in the context of how it benefits the wider community. Quoting a US researcher investigating language policies of English-only in the workplace in the USA, it is suggested that English-only policies ‘create disruption’ and ‘feelings of alienation and inadequacy (op.cit, p.163).’ Edwards also quotes former Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau who commented:

Of course, a bilingual state is more expensive than a unilingual one, but it is a richer state (op.cit., p.49)

which leads to further important concepts concerning bilingualism outlined in the next section.

2.4.5 Factors involved in academic success: additive and subtractive bilingualism

Maintaining literacy in the mother-tongue, or first language (L1), has been established as conferring considerable benefits relating to the academic and social aspects of each student’s life, including better performance in the second-language (L2, usually English), and is known as *additive bilingualism*. It is a situation where the second language and culture is unlikely to replace the first language and culture. Cummins (1986:25) stated that

Educators who see their role as adding a second language and cultural affiliation to their students’ repertoire are likely to empower students more than

those who see their role as replacing or subtracting students' primary language and culture.

There will also be other recognised benefits on a variety of cognitive and metacognitive tasks such as

Counting the number of words in sentences and judging the grammaticality of anomalous sentences, suggesting that they have higher levels of metalinguistic awareness, allowing them to focus on the form rather than the meaning of language. There is also evidence of greater sensitivity to the social nature and communicative functions of language. Finally, psychologists point to the greater mental flexibility of bilinguals (Edwards, 2009:19-20).

Conversely, not maintaining literacy in the mother-tongue has been shown to have negative effects, leading often to poor performance in the second-language and known as *subtractive bilingualism*. Schools which ignore children's mother tongue and only provide education in the second language, usually English, are providing a model of subtractive bilingualism, with the likelihood that children may become academically 'disabled' (Baker, 2004:415). When literacy is only attempted through the second language, a child's oracy skills in English may be insufficiently developed for such literacy acquisition to occur (Baker, 2004:332). These terms were proposed in the model devised by Lambert (1974). The model is valuable as it combines both the individual and societal elements of bilingualism, which provides the theoretical base for the model developed at the UIS.

The European Schools offer a good model of bilingual education. These schools were set up for the relatively elite workers of the European Community, are largely subsidised by the EU and have up to eleven different language sections. Baker (2006:252-3) writes that

Younger children use their native language as the medium of learning but also receive second language instruction (English, French, German) in the primary school years.

The vehicular language of instruction, chosen from one of the three given in brackets, is used for giving classes to mixed language groups in history, geography and economics from the third year of secondary education. This second language – i.e. that used for instruction – is also taught as a subject before students begin studying through the language. The result is that students gain very good results in the European Baccalaureate.

A researcher who has continued in the pioneering footsteps of those who presented bilingualism as a positive asset is Jim Cummins, whose work and theories are discussed next.

2.5 The work of Jim Cummins on bilingual issues

2.5.1 Bilingual students: Cummins' research

Cummins has had a great impact on the field of bilingual studies. Since he was also a person who had a considerable effect on my application of theory to practice, came as the keynote speaker at the UIS at the first conference organised there by me in 1987 and discussed how his theories were relevant to international school students, it is appropriate to focus on his work in this section.

2.5.2 The Threshold Hypothesis and the Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis

In 1976 Cummins first postulated the hypothesis that 'there may be a threshold level of L2 competence which pupils must attain both in order to avoid cognitive disadvantages and allow the potentially beneficial aspects of becoming bilingual to influence their cognitive functioning' (Cummins, 1976:41, in Baker and Hornberger (2001)). He elaborated on this (1979a) with his developmental interdependence hypothesis, in which he suggested that a child's second-language competence is partly dependent on the level of competence already achieved in the first language, implying that the more developed the first language, the easier it could be to develop the second-language:

To the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in school or environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly' (1988:245, in Baker and Hornberger (2001)).

Thus if the first language is at a lower stage of development it will be more difficult to achieve proficiency in the second-language. Cummins acknowledged (1979a:75) that the basic idea had 'been previously expressed by Toukoma and Skutnabb-Kangas' (1977). He then reviews research evidence (ibid, p. 76) by Toukoma and Skutnabb-Kangas in which they found that the extent to which the mother-tongue had been developed by Finnish-speaking children prior to contact with Swedish was strongly related to how well Swedish was learned. Toukoma and Skutnabb-Kangas also

reported (op.cit.) that mother-tongue development is especially important in school subjects which require abstract modes of thought:

Subjects such as biology, chemistry and physics also require conceptual thinking, and in these subjects migrant children with a good mastery of their mother-tongue succeeded significantly better than those who knew their mother-tongue poorly (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976:69)

Cummins comments on studies by Hébert (1976) and Ramírez and Politzer (1976) that:

The major educational implication of these hypotheses [on time spent learning L1 and L2] is that if optimal development of a minority language child's cognitive and academic potential is a goal, then the school program must aim to promote an additive form of bilingualism involving literacy in both L1 and L2 (Cummins, 1976:91).

This statement encapsulates the reasons for the establishment of the model set up at the UIS, with an ESL and mother-tongue department, and also for the current enquiry. Although developed for students in national systems, Cummins' research is directly relevant to the international school context.

2.5.3 BICS and CALP – Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills, and Cognitive and Academic Language Proficiency: Common Underlying Proficiency

Two concepts that have become well-known to teachers involved with bilingual children are BICS and CALP. These terms, defined by Cummins (1980:31), refer to the types of language that children acquire, and require for school. He showed in his 'iceberg' representation of language proficiency how children acquire, 'above the water,' basic interpersonal communication skills in their first language by natural processes of communicating with their family and peers. On the other hand the skills that refer to the dimension related to literacy skills which are acquired in decontextualised academic situations are 'below the water' and are described as cognitive and academic language proficiency. This is necessarily a simplified description of a student's language ability, but it does point out the fundamental differences between the language most used for everyday discourse and that required for higher level thinking skills. The diagram below shows the rate at which children acquire proficiency in the two areas: The BICS skills are acquired rapidly in the first five years, after which they develop more slowly, shown in the chart by the rapid rise in the

developmental level before tapering off. The CALP skills follow a steady curve similar to that of overall cognitive development, beginning to flatten out only around mid-adolescence. This indicates that children take longer to reach the same academic developmental level than in 'face-to-face' skills. Development in each area will also depend on the context of each child's learning environment.

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Developmental trends of CALP and BICS

Accompanying this hypothesis, Cummins proposed a Common Underlying Proficiency hypothesis, by which:

Experience with either language can, theoretically, promote the development of the proficiency underlying both languages, given adequate motivation and exposure to both, either in school or wider environment (Cummins, 1980:131). This model thus rejects the Separate Underlying Proficiency model of bilingualism which involves the misconception that a bilingual's two sets of linguistic abilities are separate (and was used as a pretext for moving children out of bilingual programmes into English-only programmes 'in order to learn English') (op.cit., p. 130).

Cummins further elaborated on the differences between the language proficiency required in face-to-face communication (BICS) and that involved in most academic tasks (CALP) by showing schematically (in Cummins, op.cit., p.144) the relationship between them as two continua, consisting of two types of proficiency: context-embedded and context-reduced. The former refers to language embedded in meaningful contexts, and supported by situational props, for example by using experiments in a Science class, whereas the latter is when a student has few or no such props. An example would be when a teacher is simply talking, with no overheads or other aid, or

when a student is reading a text or writing, again with no supporting material. Cummins points out that ESL students quickly develop some context-embedded skills, 'BICS', whereas gaining proficiency in context-reduced aspects of English, takes much longer.

2.5.4 Time needed for second-language learners

Cummins (1980) refers to his own studies of immigrant students' learning of English in successful bilingual programmes, which substantiate that it takes 'from five to seven years, on the average, for minority language students to approach grade norms in academic (context-reduced) aspects of English proficiency' (op.cit., p.145). This finding was confirmed by the work of Thomas and Collier, discussed later in this chapter. Cummins then makes a further point also reinforced by Thomas and Collier, i.e. the 'moving target' analogy:

As shown in Figure 2 [see below], a major reason for this is that native English-speaking students are not standing still waiting for minority language students to catch up with them (op.cit., p. 145).

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----- Native English speakers
 _____ ESL learners
 (From *NABE Journal* 5, No. 3: 35, used by permission)

Figure 2 Length of time required to achieve age-appropriate levels of context-embedded and context-reduced communicative proficiency

The first chart shows that ESL learners need two years to reach the same level of proficiency in 'face-to-face' proficiency as native English speakers, whereas for more 'academic' work which is typically required in schools and for which grades are given it takes seven years for second-language learners to 'catch up' with native-English speakers.

In other words, ESL students are aiming at a moving target: as native-English speakers make academic gains routinely every year, ESL students have not only to learn the academic content of the curriculum, but also to learn the language needed to understand and use that language (Cummins, 1979b).

These are facts which need to be continually reiterated to colleagues, parents and school management. Such communications also reinforce the fact that second-language learners simply need time and appropriate programmes and should not be compared to learners with special educational needs.

2.5.5 Empowered versus Disabled Students

Cummins moved on to look at the situation within schools, and how the relationships between teachers and students affected the development of students; he believes there is a difference in how students develop depending on the extent to which educators redefine their roles with respect to second-language students. In his 1986 paper (Cummins, 1986) he states that:

Implementation of change is dependent upon the extent to which educators, both collectively and individually, redefine their roles with respect to minority students and communities (op.cit., p.175).

He lays out three sets of power relations, which include the daily interactions between teachers and students, the overall relationship between the school and the local community, and finally the power relations between groups within society as a whole. There is no reason for these power relations to be any different in the international school context as the same groups exist, though there is the added complication of having an 'extra' community: the international community. Cummins reports that sociological and anthropological research suggests that status and power relations between groups make up an important part of the account of minority students' failure in school, based on research by Fishman (1976) and Paulston (1980). The main tenet of

his theory is that minority students are either 'empowered' or 'disabled' as a direct result of how the interactions result with teachers in school, and based on four characteristics of the institution of the school: how much the minority language and student is integrated into the school; how much each minority community is encouraged to join in the affairs of the school; how much the pedagogy encourages intrinsic motivation in students to use language to generate their own knowledge; how much educators involved in assessment use it to encourage students rather than put them in a 'failing box.' As already noted, at the UIS second-language students are not a minority, and the international community occupies a different type of space from local communities, being transient.

Cummins goes on to posit that though theorists have shown that academic failure can be attributed to a lack of cultural identification (Cummins, 1984), or the disruption of intergenerational transmission processes (Feuerstein, 1979), nevertheless school failure does not generally occur when minority groups are positively oriented towards both their own and the dominant culture. This is particularly relevant to the UIS where there are so many nations and languages. Clearly it will be necessary for each individual language community to recognise that it is a part of the 'international community' and as such is an equal to, not above or below any other one. An example of how much the attitude to a language and culture can affect a student is given by Troike (1978) discussing the academic failure of Finnish students in Sweden where such students are 'low status'. This is compared to their academic success in Australia where they are seen as a 'high status' group. It could be argued that in an international school such as the UIS there would be a level playing field, where all cultures are equal. However, this is not my perception, as those with mother-tongues other than English or German have to pay extra for mother-tongue classes.

The cultural values of the predominant school nationalities, as well as the culture of the school rules of discipline and expected behaviour, the cultural style and content of the lessons, and the teaching styles and attitude of the staff, all form a framework within which less dominant nationalities interact. Matthews (1989a, 1989b) carried out a study which showed that international school teachers are predominantly American or British, have little or no training in cross-cultural learning differences, and largely retain their

national teaching style. All of these factors can impact negatively on the motivation of other national groups.

Cummins devised a framework to show how schools can provide a model which aims to provide equity across the curriculum. In this framework there is a cultural and linguistic pedagogical model in which ESL students will be nurtured in an additive rather than subtractive approach; community participation will be collaborative rather than exclusionary; pedagogy will be 'reciprocal/interaction-oriented' rather than transmission-oriented; and assessment will be advocacy-oriented rather than legitimisation-oriented. Cummins stresses the 'enhanced metalinguistic development' found in association with additive bilingualism, also reported by Hakuta & Diaz, 1985, and McLaughlin, 1984. The more second-language students' parents are involved in their children's education, the more the parents will feel that they understand and can contribute, for example by encouraging reading in the mother-tongue at home and providing a 'book rich' environment, with positive academic results. The pedagogical model is vital, and this is where appropriate training for all staff plays a key role. Informing and involving parents are important factors in the process of ensuring that children can benefit appropriately from their two or more languages. All new parents can be engaged in discussion of what is at stake, given information booklets about the importance of literacy in the mother tongue, referred to websites, and told about the possibility of having mother-tongue lessons. The crucial time of arrival at an international school can be seized on by those responsible for the mother tongue programme in order to establish a firm foundation for each child in their mother tongue which can be maintained and built on.

Cummins (2000) points to the model which is most unhelpful to ESL students, and terms it a 'banking' model, in which students are the passive receivers of knowledge which is 'banked' in their brains by a transmission model of pedagogy. Alternatively, a 'reciprocal/interaction' model will encourage students to enter into discussion, dialogue, and continual exchange with teacher and students, which will encourage feedback in both content and form (Wong Fillmore, 1983). Haynes (2002:2) comments that:

Critical thinking in schools is limited by the boundaries of a system where teachers not only teach but also control the behaviour of pupils through regimes of discipline.

However, developing a climate of self-discipline where students can be involved in productive critical thinking is not only possible in my experience, but vital to meaningful education.

Finally assessment is a key factor in how ESL students are judged, and thus value themselves in the school environment. A grading system that sees only their insufficiencies in language will fail them and 'disable' them, resulting in many ESL students being classified as having Special Educational Needs. Schools could therefore develop alternative methods of assessing ESL students' true knowledge and abilities through suitable training of all staff and also by offering portfolio assessment tasks, and 'modified' grades in subject matter. The latter involves each subject-teacher making allowances for ESL students' developing proficiency in English and giving a grade which is based on the teacher's perception of the student's real proficiency rather than that revealed by English knowledge which may look superficially flawed. It will require a whole-school language policy.

It is the daily approach to second-language students by teachers that leads them to succeed or fail. Mainstream teachers and administrators who refer to 'the ESL students' are instantly classifying them, and this may, depending on a school ethos, disable them. (The Council-of-International-Schools has not helped by placing 'ELS' – English Language Support - under the area of SEN in its accreditation guide). ESL students do not need to be isolated as a group, any more than any other group of students: this is a sensitive issue, but one which could be included in teacher training. At the UIS there is a Special Educational Needs department, separate from the ESL & Mother-tongue department, and both departments share information and cooperate successfully. This has developed over many years, perhaps due to the strength of the ESL programme, and also a perception by some directors that there was little need for an SEN department in the UIS, again pointing to differences between national systems and the international schools network. For ways of transcending 'disablement' Cummins proposes solutions outlined in the next section.

2.5.6 Societal agendas

Finally in this section on the work of Cummins is his suggestion in a paper written in 1992, and reinforced through his 2000 book *Language, Power and Pedagogy*, that in

some countries at least, particularly in North America, there is an agenda of producing students who are in harmony with the societal power structure, and not giving students enough critical literacy 'to deconstruct disinformation and thus challenge structures of control and social justice' (Cummins, 1992:270). The importance of critical literacy has also been discussed by Wallace (2003:200) in which she makes the point that in a world of globalisation in which English is the language of power, 'a critically nuanced, elaborated English offers learners a potentially powerful identity outside the classroom, as well as within it'. Edwards (2009:2) writes that:

Reading is not only about decoding the word from the page; it is also about the ways in which literacy can be used to empower and disempower people.

It is therefore important for educators to select curricular topics that relate to societal power relations, and then give students the opportunity to analyse such topics from multiple perspectives. At an international school such as the UIS this is crucial as students come from so many different parts of the world which may have different outlooks on any number of topics. Nieto (1992) also urges a focus on critical pedagogy. However, Hedges believes that:

Most elite schools do only a mediocre job of teaching students to question and think... They focus instead ... on creating hordes of system managers. Responsibility for the collapse of the global economy runs in a direct line from the manicured quadrangles and academic halls ... to the financial and political centres of power (Hedges, 2009:89).

It is easy to see an international school such as the UIS, with its clientele of wealthy students and spacious, well-equipped facilities, as being a successful model of education, and many parents seem entranced by this superficial impression for their children. However, my experience of visiting similar schools throughout the world has revealed that second-language students are often treated in just the ways that researchers have shown to be inadequate, with no mother-tongue programme, an approach to pedagogy that may not encourage critical, interactional teaching, and where testing has become valued above all other projects, often to the disadvantage of second-language students.

Another area of concern is attitudes towards bilingualism; Baetens-Beardsmore, (in Dewaele et al, eds., 2003) for example, quotes comments on the politico-ideological fears of many people concerning bilingualism:

Unease about language is almost always symptomatic of a larger unease... The issues in question, I would suggest, are much more likely to be such things as dominance, elitism, ethnicity, economic control, social status and group security (McArthur, 1986:87, 88).

And

... derrière cette guerre des langues, se profile une lutte pour le pouvoir (Calvet, 1987:181).¹

Edwards, V. (2004) brings together the issues of racism hiding behind linguistic discrimination when she writes:

While it is no longer politically acceptable to express deep-seated fear and mistrust of minorities in direct terms, the same restrictions do not apply to opinions about language. It has become increasingly clear, however, that debates which on the surface focus on language are actually about culture, identity, power and control (op.cit:216).

This makes it all the more important to make a determined effort to demystify bilingualism and consistently research for the best models.

2.6 The work of Collier and Thomas on bilingual issues

2.6.1 Models of good practice: Collier and Thomas

Two key researchers on second-language learners are Collier and Thomas. They carried out various studies, published in Thomas and Collier 1995, 1997 and 2002, and Collier and Thomas 1999a, 1999b, 1999c and 2007. Collier also wrote about many aspects of providing appropriate provision for ESL students in Collier 1989, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, and Ovando, Collier and Combs, 2003. These researchers have twice come to the UIS to give advice.

They related, on the basis of their research (Collier and Thomas, 1997):

- The amount of time needed by second-language learners to reach the same levels of proficiency as native speakers of English (Collier, 1989; Thomas and Collier, 1997)
- The best models for achieving proficiency in English (Thomas and Collier, 1997; Collier and Thomas, 2007)

Their main conclusion is that maintaining and improving literacy in the mother-tongue has been confirmed as a key variable in their studies on the 'how long' question. Other researchers have reached a similar conclusion (e.g. Baker, 1993; Cummins, 1991, 1996;

¹ Behind this war of languages there is an indication of a struggle for power.

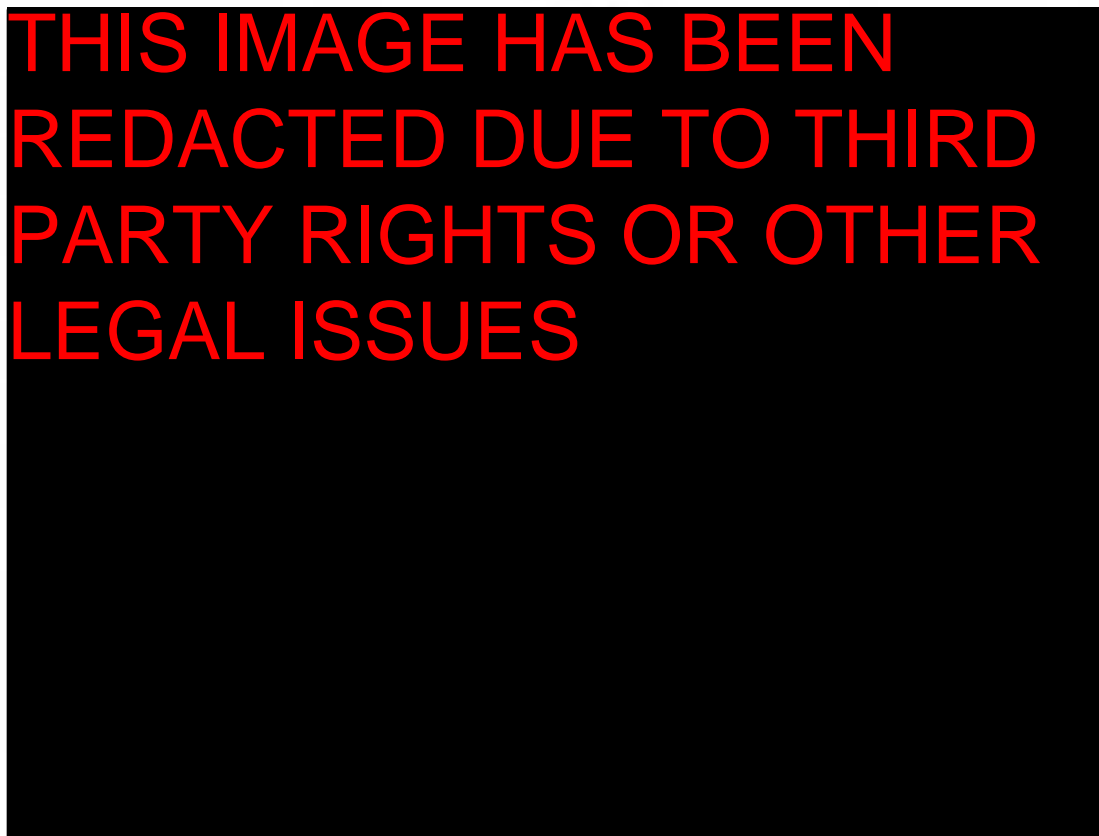
Genesee, 1987, 1994; Hakuta, 1986), and in a recent article (2009) Max de Lotbinière writes that:

Developing countries are unlikely to meet UN targets for improving education because of the widespread marginalisation of students' first languages, which results in teaching being delivered in languages that children struggle to understand or to use effectively.

International school students are in many ways privileged, but some second-language speakers are in fact in the same situation as students in developing countries in this regard. Thomas and Collier devised a model for ensuring that second-language-learners could be treated equitably.

2.6.2 The Prism model

Below is the 'Prism' developed by Thomas and Collier to portray their holistic model for the successful education of second-language learners.



The Prism Model

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The Prism model has four components that drive language acquisition: sociocultural, linguistic, academic, and cognitive processes. The four components are equally important, and the prism should be imagined as a complex, multidimensional prism, viewed from above like a pyramid, with the student in the centre.

2.6.3 Sociocultural Processes

This is the central area of the prism. Collier and Thomas state:

Central to the student's acquisition of language are all of the surrounding social and cultural processes occurring in everyday life... home, school, community, and the broader society. For example, sociocultural processes at work in SLA may include individual students' emotional responses to school such as self-esteem or anxiety or other affective factors (ibid, 2007:335).

At the UIS this area is generally fulfilled as staff are understanding, and there is a tradition of teachers being closely involved with students. However, although this supportive and collaborative atmosphere does much to enable students to feel that they can approach staff with any issues, it does not compensate for the failure of classroom procedures to recognise and build on students' mother-tongues.

2.6.4 Language Development

Emphasised under this heading, is:

To assure cognitive and academic success in the L2, a student's L1 system, oral and written, must be developed to a high cognitive level at least throughout the elementary school years (ibid, p.335).

The authors also clarify that:

Linguistic processes consist of the subconscious aspects of language development... as well as the metalinguistic, conscious, formal teaching of language in school... (Collier & Thomas, 2007:335).

At the UIS we struggle every year with both of these tasks: for ESL it is a question first of justifying the separate ESL programme, when the Council-of-International-Schools accreditation agency talks of 'support', the International-Baccalaureate-Middle-Years-Programme does not provide a programme for second-language students, and new directors are not familiar with such a programme. For mother-tongues it is a question of informing parents of the underlying benefits of having mother-tongue lessons.

There is a wealth of literature on ways of giving students the language skills they need. A good entry point to this area is that of scaffolding as written about by Gibbons (2002). She describes how to give students structures and frameworks around which they can develop their learning. Scaffolding is an instructional technique in which teachers model learning strategies and build up students' abilities to perform tasks themselves. One scaffolding strategy is when teachers model working skills in the classroom. This in turn helps children learn to operate in the school culture. When faced with an unfamiliar problem, they can construct a similar but simpler problem; in this way students manage their own gradual self-regulation and can carry out new tasks successfully.

2.6.5 Academic Development

This includes all school work in all subjects, for each grade level. Since academic work transfers from the first to the second-language, Collier and Thomas argue that it is best if academic work is developed in the first language, while the second-language is taught through meaningful academic content. The authors state that:

Research (their own) has shown that postponing or interrupting academic development while students work on acquiring the L2 is likely to lead to academic failure in the long-term (Collier & Thomas, 2007:335-336) (parenthesis added).

In the UIS context, mother-tongue teachers largely concentrate only on language and literature: to attempt to teach the whole curriculum is not within their capabilities. In the ESL programme the curriculum is largely taught through academic subject matter. Efforts to maintain the in-service course of 'ESL in the Mainstream,' a 27-hour course of training for secondary staff in methodology for teaching second-language students (see Carder, 2007a, chapter 3, for a full description), have met with opposition from staff who complain of time issues, and also reiterate that they are already professionally trained, a stance I have attempted to query.

2.6.6 Cognitive Development

Collier and Thomas argue that this is a natural process, as when an infant builds thought processes through interacting with loved ones at home which they then bring with them to school. They again emphasise the importance of this development continuing through a child's L1 at least through the elementary school years.

Extensive research has demonstrated that children who reach full cognitive development in two languages enjoy cognitive advantages over monolinguals...

Too often neglected was the crucial role of cognitive development in the L1. Now we know from the growing research base that educators must address linguistic, cognitive, and academic development equally through both first and second-languages if they are to assure students' academic success in the L2. This is especially necessary if English-language learners are ever to reach full parity in all curricular areas with L1 English speakers (ibid, p. 336).

Every effort is made at the UIS to communicate this to parents by means of booklets, websites, and parent information evenings.

Finally it is again emphasised by Collier and Thomas that all four components are interdependent, and that it is crucial for educators to provide:

A socioculturally supportive school environment, allowing natural language, academic and cognitive development to flourish in both L1 and L2 (ibid, p.336).

The former is certainly provided at the UIS, where students are encouraged to use their own languages in free time, and staff are generally supportive. However, in classes many teachers do not allow the use of any language except English, and efforts to encourage them to build in activities using other mother-tongues proceed with difficulty. This reflects once again the issues raised by Matthews (1989a & b - see section 2.5.5), and also the potential pitfalls of ESL teacher/subject-teacher collaboration which Arkoudis (2006, 'Negotiating the rough ground between ESL and mainstream teachers') discusses.

2.7 Parents

It is a truism to say that parents are a major factor in how their children are educated. In international education, especially at the UIS where there are large numbers of parents who work for international organisations such as the United Nations, the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries, at embassies and other prestigious bodies, parents have high expectations of the educational programme. As in any group of people, there is a variety of attitudes on education and clearly the cultural background of each family will influence their attitudes. As Baker (2003:101) says, when discussing bilingualism in Wales:

There is a significant task in persuading parents to pass on the language to their children. Such persuasion is always going to be difficult. It is not easy to reach parents, nor is it easy to influence them.

Fishman (2004:435) also discusses the matter of parental involvement, and recommends that

If intergenerational mother-tongue transmission is being aimed at, there is no parsimonious substitute for focusing on the home-family-neighbourhood-community processes which bind together adults and children in early bonds of intergenerational and spontaneous affect, intimacy, identity and loyalty.

At the UIS there are various parental groups which are official bodies, for example the Parent-Teacher Association, and once a year there is an Annual General Meeting where parents elect a new Board of Governors. The PTA focuses largely on fund-raising and organising such events as the annual bazaar; the AGM is mostly taken up with choosing new board members and the percentage increase of the fees. Parents are given much information about the issues concerning their children's language development, and there is also an ESL & mother-tongue department website. Parents come into the school whenever they require meetings or information. However, it is fair to say that a primary preoccupation of many parents is cost: the UIS is a private school, and any additional costs such as mother-tongue classes will impact on each family in different ways. As will be seen from the data, attempts to make mother-tongue classes more inclusive by including them in school fees for all were rejected by the director. This is the second time that a petition has been presented by a group of parents. There is a sense at the school that parents are unwilling to become 'activists' for the cause in the way that happens in some national contexts; they are middle-class professionals and many prefer to take their cause individually to the director. Since directors do not stay long at the school, such issues evaporate. There is little in the literature on international schools which reports on such matters of parental activism for this cause.

2.8 Conclusions

For many years those directly involved in the teaching of second-language learners have advocated more awareness among those responsible for curricula and accreditation processes, as well as programme design in schools. In many ways little has been achieved at the institutional level as there may be a reluctance to make changes that conflict with perceived views in political circles in certain English-speaking countries, and finances also play a part. However, there are schools where practitioners have built up programmes which recognise students' multilingual identities, and provide outlets for their cognitive, academic language growth: UIS has made a contribution in this sphere. As Fred Genesee writes (2004:550-551):

The success of bilingual education, like general education, depends on the day-to-day quality of instruction (including materials), continuity in program delivery, competence of instructional personnel, class size and composition, etc.

This is self-evident, but in fact it is these factors which will make or break a successful programme, and which are so difficult to institute and keep running.

CHAPTER 3

Research issues

3.1 Methodology and Method

3.1.1 Introduction

Corbin and Strauss (2008) give the following definitions of these key concepts:

Methodology: A way of thinking about and studying social phenomena.

The methodology chosen for this study is outlined in the next section.

Methods: Techniques and procedures for gathering and analysing data (op.cit. p.1).

Discussions with groups of participants were recorded and transcribed, and form the data for this study.

3.1.2 Research question

My research question is:

How do the various parties involved with the UIS mother-tongue programme – parents, mother-tongue teachers and school administration - perceive, understand and value the effectiveness of the programme offered?

The programme in this context is understood as being the mother-tongue programme (see appendix 3 for the content), which consists of lessons in students' mother-tongues, from grades 6-12, mostly taught after school, and paid for privately. In grades 11 and 12 it includes the curriculum of the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma-Programme, which involves in-depth study of literature in students' mother-tongues, and also the study of world literature. About one third – 35-40 students - of every graduating grade 12 class take their mother-tongue as IB language A1 every year.

3.2 Nature of the research

3.2.1 Social research: Action research

Social research has gone through a great many changes since its inception. From an initial foundation on the research methods of the natural sciences and the ideas of the Enlightenment, it has developed in many directions which all have their bifurcations,

sub-groups and counter-arguments. Crotty (2005:5) discusses the various methodological choices available, among which is action research.

Action research, one of the approaches available to the teacher as researcher, is a reflective process of progressive problem solving led by individuals working with others in teams or as part of a community, and is considered appropriate for the present study. It aims to address both the practical concerns of people in a community, and the goals of research through people working together. I therefore decided to collect information from teachers and parents in the form of guided discussions on the subject. It is action research as the issues under discussion have been in some form raised by all the parties involved at various times over the years. My intention was to discuss with different groups matters relevant to all parties in a progressive way, and then bring them together in the hope of formulating an agenda for further solutions. By coming to a consensus on agenda items to be discussed, taking them one by one in each of the groups of participants – parents and teachers – the aim was to progressively build up a body of information that could at least show what the involvement, understanding and interests of each group were. By having a final meeting of the two groups together, with the additional presence of the school management, it was hoped that there might be a better understanding of all the issues faced by the parties so that better educational solutions could be devised for the students. Thus each meeting would produce data which could be fed into the next meeting; participants could absorb this and respond to it, and produce further inputs which could in turn be fed into the following meeting, thereby fulfilling the criteria for action research which are of progressive action and analysis. The complex issue of bilingualism and the provision of appropriate programmes of study for the linguistically diverse student body could be shown to be central to the UIS, and thus arguments could be presented on the basis of evidence collected by the study to improve the programmes of study.

The themes discussed in chapter four were arrived at by an intensive process of trawling through the data and isolating each matter of relevance to the subject of the thesis. Individual items were then grouped under headings as the process continued and broader themes eventually materialised.

Paulo Freire, the Brazilian educationalist, wrote that reflection without action is empty ‘verbalism’ (Crotty 2005:147). Freire also used terms such as ‘critical thinking’ which

is 'thinking which does not separate itself from action' (Freire 1972:65). Since my efforts over many years have been to develop mother-tongue programmes at the UIS it would seem appropriate to follow a path of 'action research' as being the appropriate methodology. As Crotty points out:

Critical forms of research call current ideology into question, and initiate action, in the cause of social justice... Critical inquiry keeps the spotlight on power relationships within society so as to expose the forces of hegemony and injustice. It is at all times alive to the contribution that false consciousness makes for oppression and manipulation and invites researchers and participants (ideally one and the same) to ... take effective action for change (Crotty 2005:157).

Freire believed that the 'Third World' is not a geographical concept but essentially socio-political in character (Freire 1972b:16-17). He was led by a concern for 'the oppressed,' who belong to 'a culture of silence.' In international schools the second-language learners are in a very real sense those who may be locked into a 'culture of silence:' they are not fluent in the school's language of instruction, English. This can lead to a situation similar to that of Freire's 'oppressed:' 'a lack of awareness, absence of self-respect – even a fear of freedom' (Crotty 2005:155); as Wittgenstein wrote: 'the limits of my language means the limits of my world' (Wittgenstein, 2007/1922; Proposition 5.6).

Action research which may provide justification for establishing or improving mother-tongue programmes in international schools in order for students to develop literacy which can transfer to their second language thus appears to be the most suitable tool of enquiry. All of the commentators quoted point to the importance and power of language in the contemporary world: by not giving language minority students appropriate programmes to develop their language skills we are in danger of removing them from having a voice in our complex society. Within the philosophy of Pragmatism, Dewey (1938:20) states that:

Neither inquiry nor the most abstractly formal set of symbols can escape from the cultural matrix in which they live, move and have their being.

At present only a limited percentage of students take classes for their mother tongue: my aim through this research is to show the importance for all students of choosing this option and making it available through a process of inclusion: in the fee structure, in timetabling, and in the accreditation process. This would radically alter the current

perception that students' mother tongues are peripheral and are thereby of lower status than English, and would empower students in their knowledge base as the advantages of additive bilingualism – having literacy in two languages – are pursued.

3.2.2 A qualitative enquiry

The methodology used to analyse the data collected will necessarily be complex. The aim will be to capture as much of it as possible, while recognising that capturing it all is virtually impossible. The object is not to reduce insights of the interactions and emotions revealed in the data to one explanation or theoretical scheme, but rather to accept that concepts of diverse levels of abstraction can all contribute to the basis of analysis.

Initially an analysis of the data using the 'grounded theory' approach of Corbin and Strauss (2008) was undertaken. This gave an overview of the principal concepts thrown up by the data, and from this point the issues central to the current study as given in the research question could be isolated. Thereafter the line of action research is followed, and issues are presented under thematic headings, at times using quotes from participants.

The methodology used in this study will be qualitative, a choice that is largely decided by the nature of the research question which both sets the parameters of the study while also suggesting methods for data gathering and analysis. A quantitative study would be inappropriate on a study of perceptions and values, and data would be awkward to set up. A qualitative study also provides more scope for a fluid, evolving and dynamic approach as compared with the necessarily more rigid format of quantitative methods. Qualitative analysis is characterised as requiring

above all, an intuitive sense of what is going on in the data; trust in the self and the research process; and the ability to remain creative, flexible, and true to the data all at the same time (Corbin & Strauss, 2008:16).

However, the essential approach will be one of action research, by means of which it will be possible to draw out and highlight items considered central to the research question and, ultimately, to suggest courses for future action.

Discussion groups were chosen as the best survey method. Relative merits of discussions compared with a questionnaire are (Cohen and Manion, 1996:272):

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

By allowing participants to discuss the agenda items agreed on, and in fact other relevant issues that arose, participants became confident to 'open up' and be transparent about their views. For the mother tongue teachers this was relatively easy as I have known many of them for a considerable time. As colleagues we frequently discuss many of the matters aired during the recorded sessions. Additionally, having the opportunity to talk about matters of concern in a framework which they knew could possibly lead to improvements gave them a sense of being involved in a professional context that focused input. For the parents it was a chance to share their views openly with others that they did not know, and there was much cross-fertilisation of ideas which must have benefited and reassured them. In addition, the process of discussion was developmental and certain points were built on in a way that would not have been possible with, for example, interviews.

The final meeting with the two groups together, with the management also involved, developed in a fashion that was unexpected, possibly because of the presence of different parties who came with their own agendas, but it nonetheless led to the possibility of elucidating aspects of the management's view of the mother tongue programme.

3.3 Aspects of the various parties participating in the research

3.3.1 Insider role versus critical distance

As the person who has been responsible for the development of the programme over a period of 28 years I believe I am well placed to respond in this respect. I can play an 'insider role,' and bring insights to the dynamics of the dialogue through my knowledge of the community. I know many of the mother-tongue teachers personally, as we have struggled together in building up the programme, spending many hours with parents explaining to them the advantages of their children maintaining literacy and fluency in their mother-tongue. We also have a historical knowledge of the institution of the UIS, which has both advantages and disadvantages: the former as we can argue for a continuing development and expansion of the programme as a justifiable process in an educational establishment, and have a detailed knowledge of the intricacies of the difficulties that may be encountered in dealings with the IB, with finding classrooms, or

problematic parents; the latter is the difficulty of achieving a critical distance to clearly evaluate possible modifications to the programme. However, my close involvement with the mother-tongue teachers over many years, and my efforts to further integrate their programme, does in fact place me in a position of being very much 'embedded' in their cause; this makes acquiring a 'critical distance' problematic, though being away from the UIS for one year now, combined with the process of reading research, and re-evaluating and rewriting this paper, has led to a greater ability to focus on essential educational issues.

An issue relating to the administration is that it chooses to praise the programme in the final meeting; however, such eulogies are difficult to accommodate when I am aware of the many areas that need attention, particularly those of inclusion. This leads to an issue relating to the researcher.

Li Wei (2007:497-8) has pointed out that the identity of the researcher is extremely important. He proposes various points which are useful to consider, and these will now be addressed. First he asks whether the researcher is monolingual or bilingual? To which my response would be that I consider myself bilingual. My interest in languages began at school, and after leaving I chose to live in Spain in order to learn a new language, Spanish, which I then studied at university. After graduating I worked in Spain for two years, and later in Mexico, and consider myself bilingual in Spanish. My wife is Croatian and this language is partly the family language, as both children speak it fluently: we all slip in and out of English, Croatian and German depending on the setting. Having lived in Austria for 29 years German has also become a natural element in my linguistic repertoire, as it is of the family, one in which we all 'translanguage' at ease. French and Portuguese are also strong languages for me, from study and working in those countries.

Li Wei's second question concerns the ethnic origin and nationality of the researcher. To this I can respond that I am British, born in Britain of British parents, educated in Britain, but I have worked for most of my life in other countries with other nationalities. I am male, the next question, an important factor to bear in mind as the majority of the mother-tongue teachers and the parents who attended the discussion meetings are female. The age group the researcher belongs to is the following question: I am over 65, an age bracket which shows the amount of experience the

researcher has over a long time-frame. The educational level of the researcher is largely explained by this study. The disciplinary background of the researcher is the study of languages and their literature; education; applied linguistics and language teaching. Finally the researcher's attitude towards bilingualism is wholly positive.

3.3.2 Parents in a multicultural environment

A key feature of the community at the UIS is the diversity of the cultures represented; depending on how long they have been involved in 'international life' or have been at the UIS, students and parents bring with them aspects of their own cultural matrix and also aspects of the international community, however that might be conceptualised. This is a suitable point at which to discuss the issue of cross-cultural research. Corbin and Strauss (2008:32) discuss the importance of sensitivity in qualitative research when stating that 'objectivity in qualitative research is a myth.' They believe that sensitivity stands in contrast to objectivity, and is especially important when dealing with other cultures. They quote the book *Lost in Translation* (1989) by Eva Hoffman which describes the problems encountered by a Polish woman who immigrated to Canada, especially not having the complexity of language knowledge to express her experiences. Since the focus of the present study is about that very issue this is a salient reminder. Each parent brings their own cultural preconceptions with them, as well as their parental concerns of wanting the best for their child. There is also the 'international culture' of the diverse community at the UIS, with its own strivings and ambitions. Added to this are the various educational systems in which the parents have grown up, and their expectations of the services of the UIS. Much patience and understanding are needed in dealings with such a community.

In their work on qualitative research methods Corbin & Strauss (2008:6-8) give a list of 'assumptions' lying behind a methodological approach, some of which reveal their relevance in the data analysis. For example, they write that interactions can generate new meanings as well as altering and maintaining new ones; that various actors' interpretations of the temporal aspects of an action may differ according to the actors' respective perspectives; some rational actions may be perceived as irrational by others; in societies - especially in the international society of the UIS - memberships in social worlds and subworlds are often complex, overlapping, contrasting, conflicting, and not always apparent to other interactants. These scenarios involve discussion and debate,

possibly leading to disagreement over issues. This means that an arena has been formed that will affect the future course of action.

What these assumptions are saying in fact is that the world is a complex place and there are no simple explanations for things. In the international community especially events are the result of multiple factors and language issues, coming together and interacting in complex and often unanticipated ways. We are dealing here with language as a concept in itself; with many different languages and their cultural manifestations; with an international community, with its many different languages, cultures, prejudices and aspirations – and a phenomenon peculiar to this situation which is that the community believes itself to be privileged, but in fact a vital aspect of educational provision, i.e. students' mother-tongues, is treated in a way which reflects the treatment usually allocated to a dominated section of society, i.e. immigrants. This in turn means that parents are thrust into a role with which they may feel uncomfortable. We are dealing with a parent body, some members of which have their own agendas, covert or overt, and also with the natural concerns of any parent body relating to the best provisions for their children, academically, emotionally, culturally, with in addition financial aspects. Also involved is a body of teachers of different language and cultural origins, who have financial concerns as well as pedagogical concerns. In addition there is the school management which has to cater for a broad range of parental concerns in an environment of a perceived elite enrolment representing international organisations, linked to the Austrian government for financial reasons – there is a yearly subsidy. Finally, there is the spectre of the Board of Governors, who have shown themselves in the past to be unpredictable but potentially ruthless towards any management that does not follow its views.

3.3.3 Mother-tongue teachers as outsiders

The mother-tongue teachers are in a different category from UIS subject teachers as they are not paid by the school. They are paid directly by the parents according to a form of contract, agreed by the school management, and are responsible for their own tax and social security payments. In addition, they do not have regular classrooms and teach after regular school hours. They are thus outsiders. Over the years efforts have been made to include them in certain school routines, but these procedures vary depending on the school management, which changes frequently. Details such as access

to photocopying, having a post-box in the staffroom, having a department office, even having their own name on each student's report (instead of mine) have only been achieved after lengthy negotiations, the latter still not resolved. The most common complaint from the mother-tongue teachers is that students miss their classes, which happens either because there are conflicting activities after school or because students simply go home and do not attend the class. Thus the mother-tongue teachers are not a part of the regular routines of school life, for example they do not attend staff meetings. The only contact they have with school procedures is through the head of department – me – and everything possible is done to at least keep them informed. All information about school events is always forwarded immediately to them by email. However, a visit to the staffroom after school will find mother-tongue teachers in groups of their own – regular staff members rarely talk to them.

These are all matters that have been regularly passed on to the management on various occasions over the years, but with minimal response. The mother-tongue teachers' awareness of their status, and that of the programme, will be seen in the analysis of the data.

3.3.4 Management in a 'political' school

Between 2002 and 2006 there were five different directors of the UIS. Some directors have commented publicly that 'the UIS is known around the world (in the international school circuit) as a highly political (implying volatile) school, and not one that potential directors would like to work in,' (a paraphrase of lines in the opening speech of Mr Watford, August 2006). Reasons for this are various, but are perhaps to be found in the complex interaction of: a board of governors that has some appointed members and some elected members, from agencies of the United Nations, the city of Vienna, and international business; a staff that has a Works Council and union that is strongly protected under Austrian law; an at times volatile parent body that can be demanding about fee levels. Whatever the causes, requests for more inclusion for the mother-tongue teachers are not considered high on the list of priorities by an incoming director. To give but one example: some five years ago a group of about eighty parents signed a petition for the director to consider including mother-tongue lessons in the regular fee schedule. It was presented in May, and that director left in June. In the autumn I asked the personal assistant to the director if I could have a copy of the petition, but it was

nowhere to be found. As will be seen from the data for this thesis a further petition to the director was presented, with a negative result.

It is important to understand that the school has been through many upheavals which have effectively sidelined efforts to develop the mother-tongue programme. A significant event was the school decision in 2002 to withdraw from the International-Baccalaureate-Middle-Years-Programme in 2004. This was closely tied to the philosophy of a particular secondary school head, who was soon dismissed. Staff then spent three years devising a UIS Middle-Years-Curriculum for grades 6-10; then in 2007 a new director announced that the UIS would be re-joining the International-Baccalaureate-Middle-Years-Programme: no discussion was allowed. Since this programme is the basis of the secondary school curriculum in grades 6-10 much energy was diverted to the area, and simply coping with the demands of meetings and informing mother-tongue teachers of new procedures left little room for addressing matters of inclusion.

At the time of writing, a new director and a new head of secondary school will be appointed in August 2010. This vignette of management changes at the UIS conveys only a small picture of daily procedures in a volatile work environment, but is intended to highlight the difficulties of making progress with vital matters relating to the status of mother-tongue teachers.

3.4 Processing the data

3.4.1 Methods of gathering data

The data consists of five sets of discussions, recorded, transcribed, and translated into English where necessary by me (appendix 1). The discussions are semi-structured, verging on unstructured. They consist of two sets between UIS parents and myself; two sets between UIS mother-tongue teachers and myself; and finally a session with parents, mother-tongue teachers, the school director, the IB Coordinator, and myself, in an open meeting to which all parents of secondary school students taking mother-tongue lessons were invited.

The points to be discussed had been posted to all those attending beforehand, and for all discussions participants had been told that material was being collected for this study, and that the meetings would be recorded and transcribed. The data is qualitative, the

first four sessions lasting just over an hour each, with five to twelve participants, and took place in a classroom; the final session lasted over an hour and a half, with some fifty participants, and it took place in the UIS secondary aula in September 2008.

The first four meetings took place in May and June, 2008. Groups were alternated, the first meeting being with parents, the second with teachers, the third with parents, the fourth with teachers. This gave the opportunity for immediate insights into any common ground or differences in outlook between the two groups. For the first meeting with parents a letter had been sent to all parents of the 160 students in grades 6-11 who were currently taking mother-tongue lessons at the school. The letter stated:

Mother-tongue instruction in the Unonia International School.

As you know, at present many students take lessons in their mother-tongue; these lessons are usually after school, and have to be paid for privately. Every year approximately one third of graduating students take Language A1 in their mother-tongue.

I would like to have a series of meetings – probably two or three – to discuss the many aspects of this programme. Some are listed below, and I would hope to receive more input from you. There is no ‘hidden agenda’ – this will be open discussion about educational benefits, issues of equity, status of languages and access to programmes, and any other matters. As a start I have listed some items below, but this should not be considered in any way a ‘final’ list.

Our objectives will be to come up with a series of recommendations which I can take to the UIS management for consideration. I should also like to use the data gathered for input to research I am doing at the Institute of Education, University of London; this should make our meetings as ‘objective’ as possible. I have informed the Director, Mr Watford, and the Head of Secondary, Ms Karulaitis, about the meetings.

1. Bilingualism: educational benefits?
2. Mother-tongue in the International-Baccalaureate-Middle-Years-Programme: recognition for Austrian Matura Equivalence?
3. Timing of classes: after school/during the school day.
4. Allocation of classrooms.
5. Reporting: inclusion in ‘Core’ programme, with name of language and teacher.
6. Payment.
7. Points for Community-Action-Awareness: all students in the International-Baccalaureate-Middle-Years-Programme have to do activities under these headings for a specific number of hours each year.
8. Content of mother-tongue curriculum; ‘language and literature’ – or more?

Timing of meetings is always a difficult matter to agree on; I have already been asked to arrange meetings after school, and during the school day. If you could tell me which you prefer, and if you have any preferred day, then I will announce the date of the first meeting.

Maurice Carder

For the first discussion 11 parents attended. This apparently low figure represents a feature of the UIS: many parents have professions which are both demanding and require frequent travel; arranging any event where parents are invited is often challenging. Participants gave their agreement to being recorded, and to the data being used for this paper; the meetings took place in a classroom. The first discussion for teachers followed a week later; a similar letter was sent to the 45 mother-tongue teachers involved, and for the first meeting, 7 teachers attended. For the second discussion of each group, 7 parents attended, and 7 teachers. I would characterise these numbers as 'normal': parents of students in the secondary school do not get very involved, except for a small group who serve on the Parent-Teachers-Association (PTA). The mother-tongue teachers are involved in teaching all around the city of Vienna and it is an extra burden to give up an evening, and may involve loss of income.

The final discussion took place in September 2008 and there were 42 participants, including 23 parents, 15 teachers, the Director of the UIS, the Head of the Secondary School, the IB Coordinator, and a technician. It is noticeable that the numbers of each group, parents and teachers, increased, though not dramatically, perhaps due to the fact that the meeting was near the beginning of the school year and was advertised widely via the PTA, the internet and school bulletins. The discussion took place in the Secondary Aula. The agenda was displayed on a screen, and included the same eight agenda items as issued previously. I again announced at the beginning that the discussion would be recorded and used as data for this study.

It had been advertised widely in school bulletins and PTA bulletins, as follows:

SPECIAL INVITATION TO A MEETING ABOUT THE MOTHER-TONGUE PROGRAMME

Dear Parents,

Following on from two meetings which were held in May and June to discuss the Secondary School Mother-tongue programme in the UIS Secondary School, we will be having another meeting on Wednesday, September 17 at 18.00, in the Secondary Aula.

Both Mother-tongue teachers and parents are invited to attend, and the UIS Director, Mr Watford will also be present. At this meeting I will briefly summarise the previous discussions, and the Director will be open to questions.

I hope you will be able to attend,

Yours sincerely, Maurice Carder

Head of ESL and Mother-tongue Department

Although there was an agenda which was thought necessary in order to give a framework to the discussions so that people would attend, discussion during the meetings was free. I would therefore characterise the data as largely unstructured, a mechanism that Corbin & Strauss (2008:27) state can be the most data dense.

3.4.2 Methods for analysing data

As already outlined above, the approach will be one of qualitative analysis. The data will be analysed in order to develop concepts, and themes. This analysis is the process of extracting concepts from the data and then determining which ones will be relevant to the research question. It involves asking questions of the data, making comparisons, and recording all the points that challenge, or look odd and interesting. It is also important during analysis to be prepared to recognise my own bias, beliefs or assumptions – in other words to keep a certain distance. This will require repeated revision of my analysis of the data.

When the overall analysis in terms of concepts has been completed, I shall lay out the results for reference, and then select what I consider to be those most salient for this study. Next I shall decide on a number of themes, choosing statements by participants as additional headings.

3.4.3 Procedure when analysing data

There are various computer programmes for storing codes and gathering data; however, I have chosen to rely on memos and notes. I am in agreement with Corbin who says

I worry that somehow using computer programs for analysis will stifle creativity, mechanize the analytic process, or worse yet ...letting the computer program rather than the analyst structure the analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2008:310).

I have made several copies of the data, and have built up various methods of recording observations and grouping concepts. For example, by selecting a large sheet of drawing board paper, reading through the data, coding it as I read, and transferring selected items

to the sheet of paper. These can be initially placed under concepts or themes, and as the process develops I make memos, add notes to a draft matrix, refine my original placements, reread the data, and keep repeating the process. This leads to sensitive replacing of some topics, and possible reassignment of concepts. Headings for the latter can be determined which leads to choosing themes.

3.5 Ethical issues

The Revised Ethical Guidelines of the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2004) have been followed for the purpose of the current research. The principal guideline is that given on page 10:

The Association takes voluntary informed consent to be the condition in which participants understand and agree to their participation without any duress, prior to the research getting underway.

Researchers must take the steps necessary to ensure that all participants in the research understand the process in which they are to be engaged, including why their participation is necessary, how it will be used and how and to whom it will be reported. Researchers engaged in action research must consider the extent to which their own reflective research impinges on others, for example in the case of the dual role of teacher and researcher and the impact on students and colleagues. Dual roles may also introduce explicit tensions in areas such as confidentiality and must be addressed accordingly.

All participants were informed in writing before all sets of meetings, and also at the beginning of each meeting, that the sessions would be recorded and used as data for the current study. There were no instances of participants objecting to the data being used for this purpose, and no requests for anonymity were lodged.

My dual role in this aspect is that I am a teacher in the school and am responsible for the mother-tongue programme, while also being a researcher. As the person paid a responsibility allowance for the programme I am fully accountable.

The fact that bilingualism is a complex area, and is often a political issue, will mean that there are inevitably tensions: with the financial aspects of private payment on top of this, the tensions resulting can be seen in the data. I shall take responsibility for any political and ethical implications of the research (Cohen & Manion, 1996:347-382).

CHAPTER 4

Presentation and analysis of the data from parents, mother-tongue teachers and administration

Transcription conventions:

Transcriptions are verbatim, with pauses and interruptions; however, extracts have occasionally been edited if there are repetitions or pauses in order to aid the flow.

Where languages other than English are used, I have put a translation (mine) into English in square brackets, and the non-English in italics. In extracts in this chapter only the English is presented.

All names have been replaced by pseudonyms. Nationalities of contributors are given in brackets.

Each extract has a page-number reference to the original in the transcripts, given at the beginning of each extract.

4.1 The UIS setting

4.1.1 Introduction

The data will be analysed for salient points and key sections will be highlighted according to each of the three constituent groups: parents, mother-tongue teachers, and administration. As discussed in chapter three, various themes will be determined, drawn out from the data as being relevant to the research question, which is to elucidate 'How the parents, mother-tongue teachers and school administration perceive, understand and value the effectiveness of the programme offered.' These will then be commented on and related to the research question and the literature discussed in chapter two.

Sections are divided into themes, which were established by analysis of the data, relating them to the research question, and also to the meeting agenda items. This was an extensive process, carried out as described in section 3.2.1 by extrapolating information from the data, compiling it on large sheets of paper, and deciding on themes as the data accumulated. The principal themes presented are grouped under broad headings, which are in turn subdivided into subjects relevant to the theme.

4.1.2 The agenda items

The agenda that was sent with the letter was drawn up as a result of feedback over a long period with all parties concerned, but especially the teachers. The items are

1. *Bilingualism: educational benefits?*

2. *Mother-tongue in the International-Baccalaureate-Middle-Years-Programme: recognition for Austrian-Matura-Equivalence?*
3. *Timing of classes: after school/during the school day.*
4. *Allocation of classrooms.*
5. *Reporting: inclusion in 'Core' programme, with name of language and teacher.*
6. *Payment.*
7. *Points for CAA – Community-Action-Awareness; all students in the Middle-Years-Programme have to do activities under these headings for a specific number of hours each year.*
8. *Content of mother-tongue curriculum; 'language and literature' – or more?*

As will be seen from the data, not all items were covered in all sessions, and some items that I had hoped to focus on, for example numbers 1 and 8, were of less interest to particular groups than expected.

4.1.3 Background information

The Austrian-Matura-Equivalence is a certificate that students can qualify for by doing certain subjects in addition to the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma, and thus gain an equivalent national Austrian qualification which will guarantee them entry to an Austrian university. Many students do this as an 'insurance' in case they do not get into an overseas university. The particular subjects which concern the current study are languages, and in this case the students' mother-tongues: UIS students, by studying, for example, French as a foreign language for four years in the middle years, can have it counted towards the three languages required for Matura. However, students taking their mother-tongue do not qualify because it is taught after school by a teacher not employed by the school. Neither is the mother-tongue counted for Community-Action-Awareness hours, nor is it included in the 'Core' programme. However, if it is taken as an International-Baccalaureate-Diploma subject it is counted for Matura. There is thus a discrepancy between the status of the International-Baccalaureate-Middle-Years-Programme and the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma-Programme. The matter has been raised with the school administration on several occasions, but with no result. It is clearly a discrepancy, and one which impacts negatively on the mother-tongue programme and on students' motivation.

4.2 PARENTS

4.2.1 Family language identities

4.2.1.1 Parents discuss their family language background: ‘It’s a great thing that this school encourages to keep the mother-tongue’ – Venezuelan parent.

156-Mrs.Hernandez(Spanish): I have three children in school; they’re going to Spanish mother tongue, and, grades 7 and 9.

Mrs.Berndtdottir(Icelandic): I’m Icelandic ... They’re two Icelandic boys and they’re taking mother-tongue lessons in Icelandic in Vienna. Per is a bilingual in Belgium so he has Icelandic and French. (Author’s comment: the parent is implying that Per learnt French in Belgium).

Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): I have two children, one in grade 10 and grade 7, and I have a Spanish husband.

Mrs.Larsson(Swedish): I have two sons, mother-tongue Swedish, one in grade 1 and one in grade 6, and I think the experience with the mother-tongue is very different between the two boys. With one of them who is now in grade 6, he learnt Swedish already in Sweden and I think it helped him to be strong in his mother-tongue, then he started learning English here, in primary. But with the other one, he’s grown up here, we’ve been a bit reluctant to stress the Swedish because he has both German, English and Swedish, and so...

Mr.Lezitski(Polish): I have twins in grade 11. One of them is taking Polish as a mother-tongue for the IB Matura, but both ... will continue.

Mr.Vuketic(Serbian): I have a boy and a girl. The boy is now taking IB and the girl is grade 9. So we come from Serbia, and we are having these mother-tongue lessons.

Mrs.Pogled(Slovak): I have a son in grade 11. We have mother-tongue Slovak.

Mr.Gonzalez(Spanish): I am from Caracas, Venezuela. I have two kids, one, a daughter, who is 18 years old, she is in 11th grade –and my son who is in grade 9. But I think it’s a great thing that this school encourages to keep the mother-tongue.

Comment

The brief introductions from the parents give an interesting insight into the multi-language backgrounds of UIS students: it is not a question of having their mother-tongue plus English; there are complex factors at work here, showing at times different languages in different families, and children who have followed varied language trajectories through their lives. This reflects the ‘translanguaging’ scenario painted by Jonietz (1994). The complexities of an international life are revealed by the Icelandic parent informing us that one son is bilingual in Icelandic and French as he was at school in Belgium. Since he is now in grade 11 at the UIS he has added English to his repertoire. A Swedish parent relates that she has a Spanish husband. Another Swedish

parent outlines how the experience for her two children has been quite different as one grew up in Sweden and is strong in Swedish, while the other grew up in Vienna so the family has focused more on English and German. This confirms that the experience of international parents, even in a 'one-language' family, presents complex decisions for the parents at every stage. The grade 6 boy established a literate base in Sweden and the parents can see he will build on this. However, with the other boy they can see that he has had linguistic formation in English and German as well as Swedish, and they are not sure how far they should emphasise his Swedish. Then a Polish parent tells how he has twins, now in grade 11, one of whom is taking Polish IB, the other one not. The son of the Slovak mother arrived in the school in grade 11 and has a teacher of Slovak who teaches the boy in Slovakia at weekends, by agreement with me (I have to approve all IB Diploma teachers for mother-tongues). This initial extract epitomises the complexity of the language issue in international schools. Of the eight parents who talk about their children, none of them has a similar pattern. It is difficult to find anything in the literature which acknowledges such disparity of language repertoires not only in one family, but in many families in one school. In national systems there are often many languages in large cities, but these are frequently in large groups of minority cultures which supply a base for potential support programmes. In international schools there is no such structure, and I am the only person delegated to resolve and advise the parents at the UIS on the most suitable language paths for their children to follow.

4.2.1.2 'He has to go back, back to his national system' – Hungarian parent

177-Mrs.Bohancz(Hungarian): I'm from Hungary. I have a son in grade 6 and we do double schooling.

Maurice Carder: Meaning?

Mrs.Bohancz(Hungarian): Meaning that he's a private student at his home school.

Maurice Carder: In Hungarian?

Mrs.Bohancz(Hungarian): Yeah, and he's a private student, so that means he has to take all the exams every term.

Maurice Carder: Where does, how does he learn for that?

Mrs.Bohancz(Hungarian): My husband teaches him in mathematics, and all the other subjects are from me; I teach him five subjects this year.

Maurice Carder: Does he get very tired?

Mrs.Bohancz(Hungarian): Yes, he is.

Maurice Carder: It's tough. But it's excellent ...

Mrs.Bohancz(Hungarian): I hesitated last year whether to go or not, because primary is primary, and secondary is secondary, but now I'm more concerned that there's no other way.

Maurice Carder: Well,

Mrs.Bohancz(Hungarian): Because we'll return home one day.

Maurice Carder: Exactly – that's what it's about.

Mrs.Bohancz(Hungarian): Yes.

Maurice Carder: Yep, this is where international schools are different from national systems, completely.

Mrs.Bohancz(Hungarian): He *has* to go back, back to his national system.

Maurice Carder: Yes. Which is my argument that programmes like this should be included in the regular school timetable, especially in 'The Street of Human Rights'.

Comment

Families relatively new to international transfer may be keener for their children to maintain literacy in their mother-tongue, depending on their own educational traditions. This is revealed most strongly with the Hungarian mother who tells of how she and her husband teach the whole Hungarian curriculum to their son as they consider it essential. She leaves no doubt about her son's options: he has to return to his national system. However, it is not every parent who has such foresight, influence over their children, or the involvement, energy, and marital support to carry out such a task. The boy is at present in grade 6, and as he progresses there will be a large increase in the amount of work. The family has the advantage that they are close to their country – a thirty-minute drive to the Hungarian border – and resources are therefore close at hand. They are, in fact, providing a programme as advocated by Toukomaa and Skutnabb-Kangas already mentioned (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976:69), where mother-tongue development is especially important in school subjects which require abstract modes of thought.

4.2.1.3 The various multilingual identities of UIS students – Polish twins

171-Mr.Lezitski(Polish): My children, they were going to school organised by Embassy of Polish government for six years.

Maurice Carder: Here in Vienna.

Mr. Lezitski (Polish): Here in Vienna, from grade 1-6, but later ...there was more and more work in grade 9, 10, it was impossible simply to help them. It was nice, it was very, very helpful, getting friends, getting different ...

179-Mr. Lezitski (Polish): One of them is taking Polish mother-tongue as IB A1, the second one is not taking Polish, so that's the answer to your question maybe. Actually the second, boy, could take both, the daughter was actually not recommended by teachers so she's taking English as B Higher because when came to subject selection as mathematics ...

Maurice Carder: Very much so ...

Mr. Lezitski (Polish): So she took basically B as she was not recommended even though she's from primary school here.

Comment

These comments contain a wealth of information, which is interesting as it relates to the entire schooling at the UIS of two twins. The parent states that his children, who were at the UIS, also attended the Polish school ... This was successful up to grade 6, but it then became increasingly difficult due to pressure of work at the UIS. When the decision had to be made about which subject to choose for language A1 in the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma-Programme, it became apparent that his daughter was not approved for English as her level was considered insufficient. Thus she took Polish, while the son took English. His comment 'so that's the answer to your question, maybe,' refers to a query from a parent:

178: What I find interesting is here, like, who chooses, which students do choose mother-tongue A1? Are these the students that come in quite new to the school? Or are these the students that have been through this system since primary, or pre-primary?

I believe there is no clear answer to this question. It would require a long-term study of students over many years. However, it does point to the need for there to be comprehensive, informed advice available to parents at every stage of their children's international education, for new parents especially.

Another factor here is the failure of his daughter to reach a higher level of English after a lifetime of schooling at the UIS, from early childhood to grade 10. I recall when this became evident, and the father was angry with the school. I was told by the English department that the girl was not at a level to take English at A1 level in grades 11 and 12, involving the in-depth study of 15 works of literature. She was instead recommended for English B, which falls under the remit of the ESL-and-mother-tongue department, and which is labelled a 'foreign language' by the International

Baccalaureate. In fact discussion with the Polish teacher revealed more background information about the girl, which had not become apparent and was of a confidential nature: it concerned deafness, and an unwillingness by the parents to recognise that it existed. It happened that the Polish teacher had taught the girl since early childhood and knew her intimately, and passed on the details to me: the UIS had no record of this information. This is a good example of the value of mother-tongue teachers, and the insights they have which can contribute to providing appropriate programmes for students, and on the other hand of how excluded they are from the mainstream of the school, having no input to official records or academic profiles. The Polish teacher does not speak English, and we spoke in German about the girl: many staff at the UIS do not speak German. This is a fine example of the fund of knowledge that can be garnered from mother-tongue teachers; they prove invaluable when issues relating to children's development arise, and second-language speakers who cannot express themselves fluently in English are well served by the mother-tongue teachers, who are, however, 'outsiders' in the UIS context.

4.2.1.4 The Frederiksson family

177-Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): I have two children, in grade 7 and grade 10. The mother-tongue they have been taking is Spanish, although I speak to them in Swedish, though the father speaks Spanish, and they won't take IB Spanish.

Maurice Carder: They won't?

Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): No.

Maurice Carder: Do you want to say anything about that? Or not?

Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): The reason being that their Spanish is not so strong, their dominant language is actually English, so I think it wouldn't be fair to put them through ... They've done mother-tongue since grade1 and they've had it every week, but to do it as an IB language would be ... My daughter is choosing English and German as A in the two languages, because this is what happens, I think, when you have lived away from, when you haven't lived in the country where you have the mother-tongue or father tongue, if it's not the dominant language; it's very difficult to keep it up, particularly as they've done all their studying in English, ... lived in Mexico for 3 years, they do speak Spanish, but their English and I would say probably their German is stronger as well, yeah.

Maurice Carder: It's what happens, but ... what happens with grandparents and things like that?

Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): Well they speak Spanish in Argentina and Swedish in Sweden.

Maurice Carder: So they have enough language for that?

Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): Because I've always spoken Swedish to them and my husband Spanish, but you now have reached a stage where all their schooling has been in English and they have the one mother-tongue once a week. Swedish they've had no formal training, so it is what, it's an oral language, but it's not difficult. If you want to learn Swedish really well, if you have German and English it's not a complicated language, and that's why. What I find interesting is here, like, who chooses, which students do choose mother-tongue A1? Are these the students that come in quite new to the school? Or are these the students that have been through this system since primary, or pre-primary? I think that would be quite interesting.

184-Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): My husband and I always spoke in English.

Maurice Carder: So it's the family language?

Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): But the children, I still spoke my language with the children, and as they're getting older they're answering more and more in English, so when I'm on my own with them I will just speak Swedish, I will speak to them in Swedish, but when we're sitting round the dinner table sometimes it's a mixture. Sometimes one speaks Spanish, one speaks Swedish, and we all speak English!

Maurice Carder: OK.

Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): You know, it's getting more tricky to keep their 2 languages going, Spanish and Swedish.

Maurice Carder: If you're back in those countries maybe? If you're back in Sweden? With family?

Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): Then I insist that they *only* speak Swedish, and they get by, they manage, because before from when they were small I only spoke in Swedish, and then there was Spanish – they did have 3 years in Mexico when they were small, and they were completely fluent in Spanish ...

Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): I think they just take it for granted, that they have different languages. A lot of their friends also have 2 or 3 languages, so, and, I mean they were more or less brought up in Vienna ...

Maurice Carder: Well, in your case, yeah.

Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): In my case, yes. But I think they see it as normal.

Maurice Carder: Yeah- in this school.

Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): Yeah, well in their life. Their life has been around this school – the whole thing is, I think, unfortunately they get a bit isolated from the rest of the society, so their world is really, it is the school and the friends they make at school – sometimes they branch out a bit, but not so much.

Maurice Carder: Not too much, true. I think children in this school live in an international space.

Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): Exactly.

Maurice Carder: They don't live in Austria, or Spain, or wherever: they live in the world of international students. Their sports fixtures are against other international schools, and even

when they leave the school, my children, they've kept up contacts with children who were at this school, who are still floating around the world and it's a different, it really gives meaning, I think, to the word 'international community', that's the way it works ...

Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): But this is the thing with identity, I mean these identities with the international community, it's not necessarily the home country, or their mother-tongue, so it's a different concept, isn't it?

Maurice Carder: It is.

Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): And sometimes I think it's harder for them, sometimes I think it's more difficult and other times I think not ...

Comment

There is a wealth of information here which I believe characterises many international families. The mother is a Swedish speaker, the father a Spanish speaker. The children have been mostly at English-speaking international schools. The mother has kept up spoken Swedish with her children, so they can communicate with extended family members in Sweden. Spanish has remained stronger as for three years the family lived in Mexico, and the children were taking mother-tongue lessons in Spanish at the UIS. However, the mother has noticed that English plays an increasingly stronger role in the family as the children get older; in addition, German, the host-country language, is also a strong language for the children, one of them choosing English as language A1 and German as language A2 for the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma. Additionally she comments about the children's circle of friends, saying that it consists mostly of people from the school: this confirms the concept of the 'international space' that UIS students live in. This extract represents the UIS 'community of practice' (Wenger, 1998), Sharp's (1973) 'each bilingual community is unique', and also again shows students' 'translanguaging' tendencies (Jonietz, 1994) of changing abilities in languages as they move around the world. It also recalls Coetzee-Van Rooy's, 2006:441, comment that 'with the *proper attitudinal orientation* and motivation one can become bilingual without losing one's identity.'

4.2.1.5 A discipline of different languages on different days

185-Mrs.Berndtdottir(Icelandic): The consistency of a parent to speak only their language to a child, even though they answer them in another language, then keep up the structure, and they're easier to get back to. It's tricky, the family language, when you have a ...

Maurice Carder: Are you in the same situation?

Mrs.Berndtdottir(Icelandic): No, I have had this experience with France, and I once worked with a Finnish woman in Iceland who was married to an Icelander. They had lived in Finland, in

Sweden, in the States, and they had a rule: today we speak Finnish, tomorrow English, and the day after that Swedish, etc.

Maurice Carder: They kept to that?

Mrs.Berndtdottir(Icelandic): They kept to that. I listened to her talk to her kids on the phone: today was Finnish ...

Maurice Carder: Well, that's discipline.

Mrs.Berndtdottir(Icelandic): I admired her: that's discipline.

Maurice Carder: For a certain age, but I wonder if you got, say the kids were 10 or 11 or 12: 'Oh, what day is it today? What language? Is my mother going to get angry if I speak Finnish?'

Mrs.Berndtdottir(Icelandic): No, but I think it's a good example.

Maurice Carder: It is.

Mrs.Berndtdottir(Icelandic): You can handle these things, and when they grew up they knew all these languages. They had gone to school in Iceland, then the States, then Sweden.

Maurice Carder: In the end it can only be an advantage.

Mrs.Berndtdottir(Icelandic): I think so, yes ...

Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): I think you said they'd gone to school in all these countries; I mean, this is the key. If they want to do well in school, I think they really get it, but if you just do it at home ...

Maurice Carder: Yeah, it's having the literacy, it's what it's all about, it's the reading and writing; the speaking is one thing, but the reading and writing is much deeper, more demanding level, which is ...

Comment

This parent recounts an interesting story of a friend. It shows how certain cultures can, with determination, produce a multilingual result for their children. The Swedish parent's comment that 'everything is possible through schooling in the languages' also points to the role that schools can play. These children had attended schools in Iceland, the USA and Sweden which would have developed their literacy in Icelandic, English and Swedish. The parent does not mention whether they went to school in Finland, though had said that they lived there. Parental determination and involvement plays a large factor in this case, and there is no mention of whether both parents were working, which could be a determining factor for many families. Edwards, V. (2004:87) comments that 'this policy [of adopting a one-person – one language policy] seems to work best when parents use their 'designated' language consistently with their children and when other relatives, neighbours and friends support the parents' efforts.'

4.2.2 Bilingualism and schooling

4.2.2.1 Mother tongue provision, and biliteracy developed through schooling

174-Mrs.Larsson(Swedish): In the regular school in Sweden you have right to have Mother-tongue.

172-Mrs.Berndtdottir(Icelandic): Well, we have had that problem because our son is... Bilingue, in French and Icelandic, then, for example, tomorrow he's supposed to take exams in both languages, so...

Maurice Carder: Timetable clash.

Mrs.Berndtdottir(Icelandic): He has a timetable clash, because he takes French and Icelandic as a Mother-tongue for his IB, so, that would be a clash as well, when you have examples like Icelandic and French together, so ...

Maurice Carder: It's going to be tricky.

Mrs.Berndtdottir(Icelandic): But the good thing is, I'm so happy to have this programme and that's one of the reasons...

Maurice Carder: Which programme?

Mrs.Berndtdottir(Icelandic): This IB programme with Mother-tongue languages, because it gives him the possibility to take this in IB, and he didn't have that in the French school, we changed him from the Lycée Française ...

Maurice Carder: He was here at the Lycée Française? [In Vienna].

Mrs.Berndtdottir(Icelandic): Yeah, he's been through all the French school system, but one of the main reasons we changed to UIS ...

Maurice Carder: Was for the Mother-tongue programme.

Comment

The comment by the Swedish parent reveals the expectations of some parents. In Sweden all children are entitled to mother-tongue provision. For Sweden the statement by V. Edwards (2004:220) that 'the second half of the twentieth century saw a paradigm change from assimilation to multiculturalism' really grew to fruition and children's language entitlement was put into law. Thus parents from certain countries arrive at the UIS with an awareness of mother-tongue issues that is not necessarily widespread.

The Icelandic parent describes how her son has Icelandic as his mother-tongue, but has developed French as his primary language of literacy after being at a school in Brussels. The parents first placed their child at the Lycée Française in Vienna, but when it came to making decisions about which subjects to take for grades 11 and 12, he wanted to take his mother-tongue, Icelandic, which was not possible at the Lycée Française; his

parents therefore decided to transfer him to the UIS. This would mean that his English must have been at a level to take other subjects in English, though the mother does not comment on this. This is an example of a student who is bilingual to a biliterate degree in three languages.

The above sessions reveal immediately the complexities of a multilingual community which is transient for much of its life. They also again demonstrate the differences between national and international schools. The Icelandic parent has a son who has acquired French as his best working language since he was at school in Belgium; he has had to change his 'language of literacy' to English since being at the UIS. I recall a student some years ago who had to transfer to a school in east Asia, and her comment that she could not believe that that school did not have a mother-tongue programme, as if it was common sense that any international school should of course have such a programme. These examples also reveal that 'mother-tongue' is not a clear-cut term or issue. As families move around, the parents with or without the consent of their children make decisions about which languages the children will develop, and to what extent they will develop each language: the mother-tongue of one parent may be retained only as an oral language for family use, while the host-country language may be seen as essentially promoting the potential for social contact. English is central for families which move a lot as they realise that English, with its role as 'the' international language, will always be an advantage, and a prerequisite for study in other international schools. Families relatively new to international transfer are keener for their children to maintain literacy in their mother-tongue. This is revealed most strongly with the Hungarian mother who tells of how she and her husband teach the whole Hungarian curriculum to their son as they consider it essential. This brings to mind Fishman's (2004:435) comment about the importance of parental involvement, and shows how international children are under great pressure to work in various languages.

4.2.2.2 The difficulties of enabling a true bilingual programme

191-Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): Is there a difficulty because if you're going to keep up your mother-tongue you have to do what you (nodding to Mrs Bohancz) are doing, you have to teach subjects at home, because there's no way that could be incorporated in the school, is there?

Maurice Carder: Not with so many languages.

Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): It couldn't, could it? Because it'd be nice: they could have biology in Spanish sometimes, geography ...

Maurice Carder: We can't. It has been suggested some years back that at least we had a bilingual English-German programme, but how many native German speakers do we have? What about the kids who come as English beginners who are also German beginners and have another mother-tongue? It's very, very complex. [Note: about 27% of UIS students can be described as fluent speakers of German].

Mrs.Pohornik(Slovenian): They do this at the European School in Brussels.

Comment

In a bilingual programme usually some subjects are taught in one language, other subjects in the other language (Thomas and Collier, 1997). This cannot be done at the UIS as there are so many languages. European schools, subsidised by the European Union, often teach in a maximum of six languages, thus even in these schools not all the languages of the EU are included. The fact that these schools are totally subsidised by the EU is a major difference between them and the UIS (see Section 2.4.5 above). The matter of having a bilingual programme with subjects taught through German and English was proposed by some staff members at the UIS several years ago, but was not accepted by the management. Such a programme would have presented difficulties for those not fluent in English, a large proportion of the students, and would have created considerable timetabling and classroom allocation problems. Cost factors also played a large part in the proposal not being accepted.

4.2.3 The mother-tongue programme and the family

4.2.3.1 This mother-tongue programme increases the intellectual level of my daughter

239-Mr.Boraglu(parent Turkish): As a parent who has had this programme already I can say that this mother-tongue programme *has* increased, actually, the intellectual level of my daughter in some real cases when she refers back to the books. The Turkish classics that she has read with the teacher, and studied, and spent some time, and she has understand the way of thinking, the intellectuality, etc. I am really proud of my daughter that when she goes back and says: 'You know, I read this book, uh-huh, this is the same case, you know.' And I find it really useful, that's why I support my second daughter, she's now in grade 6, with all my heart, and additionally I would like to, let's say, give her other books and support at home, so ...

Comment

This parent focuses on an issue which is in fact one that researchers into bilingualism touch on when they discuss the benefits of bilingualism, i.e. the metalinguistic and

cognitive advantages that accrue to bilinguals. Though they do not generally mention specifically the intellectual levels likely to occur, it is notable to see here that a parent is deeply impressed by his daughter's interest in her own culture, and how it has benefited her involvement with the literature of her country. This student arrived at the UIS with no knowledge of English in grade 8. The parent is clearly convinced by the benefits of maintaining his children's mother-tongue at a literate level and is therefore supporting his second daughter in her studies in that direction. This reflects the findings of many researchers on the benefits of bilingualism, and bears out Cummins' 'interdependence hypothesis,' and especially his 'threshold theory,' whereby there are two thresholds, the first which needs to be passed so that there will not be any negative consequences of bilingualism, and the second threshold so that a student can experience the positive benefits (Cummins, 1976).

4.2.3.2 Mother-tongue projects for regular school work

191-Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): Something my daughter did: she was writing something she researched in Swedish – she read a Swedish book because she had to so as long as she was able to read it, and understand it.

Comment

This parent comments on how at times some subject teachers do incorporate students' mother-tongues in regular classes. The mother makes this comment as she has earlier revealed that she only talks and does not read in Swedish with her children, nor do they have classes in Swedish. This aspect of including children's mother-tongues in the classroom is one that has been gaining acceptance by UIS teachers but needs to become a primary focus in international education. Edwards (2009) discusses the concept of 'funds of knowledge' coming from the work of Moll (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005) whereby teachers identify the funds of knowledge of different families and encourage students to do research on them. As Edwards reports (op.cit:93):

Among the reading and writing activities the students undertook were short essays in either English or Spanish explaining their research, ideas and conclusions and a follow-up project requiring additional research which was written up in English and Spanish with the assistance of peer-editing groups.

The latter task would prove difficult in an international school where there are many students all with different languages.

4.2.4 Issues of status and procedure

4.2.4.1 'Also on timing, but also on the status of [mother-tongue classes]' – Spanish parent.

159-Mr.Gonzalez(Spanish): I have two kids, one, a daughter, who is 18 years old, she is in 11th grade ; but she's having problems having Spanish not in the schedule of school, because Mondays she have school till 4.30, she have to wait until 5.30 or 6.0 to have two hours classes, so that would be great, if that would be part of the regular programme.

Mrs.Hernandez(Spanish): Also on timing, but also on the status of ... Mother-tongue; in a sense Mother-tongue is additional hours, and that sends a clear message to the children and to us and to everybody that this is kind of second-class, and I think in terms of motivation it's the fact of including it in the regular day ... I don't know whether that is possible or how that could work, but the consideration of giving the Mother-tongue on a similar status to other subjects and also in terms of some commonality among all the students that are learning the same language, let's say.

Mrs.Berndtdottir(Icelandic): He has a timetable clash, because he takes French and Icelandic as a Mother-tongue for his IB, so, that would be a clash as well, when you have examples like Icelandic and French together, so ...

Mr.Lezitski(Polish): They're tired. [i.e. after school].

Maurice Carder: So it's the physical thing as well as, they're tired.

Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): The problem is that sometimes they couldn't choose the sports activity because of the mother-tongue.

Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): Really very early Wednesday morning, because that's the only time ...

Maurice Carder: French is 8 o'clock in the morning, yes.

Mrs.Berndtdottir(Icelandic): It's 8 o'clock in the morning, so that's one of the possibilities.

Maurice Carder: Well, would that, do you think your children would prefer 8 o'clock in the morning? To 3.30 in the afternoon?

Mrs.Berndtdottir(Icelandic): Not mine.

Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): Or mine.

Maurice Carder: No, and then how many mother-tongue teachers would be able or willing to come at 8 o'clock in the morning?

Mrs.Frederiksson(Swedish): They have some real – one is always bringing croissant as well, so it's a nice thing to do it like that. It would be a positive thing.

Mrs.Hernandez(Spanish): Take the right question: timing of lessons, and allocation of classes, for grade 11 and 12 who have those free periods, maybe it would be an element, or interesting to know what is possible during the school day.

Maurice Carder: Yeah. Many teachers teach during the school day, but mother-tongue teachers don't only teach in this school, they teach at many places around Vienna, so they might not be free during the school day.

Mrs.Hernandez(Spanish): If they were free during the school day what can the school offer, the classes or ...

Maurice Carder: Very little. The school is very, very full and many of them take classes in the library or in free spaces.

Mrs.Hernandez(Spanish): It basically stays only after school?

Maurice Carder: Classrooms. Classrooms are mostly available after school, yes. Occasionally during the school day, but we're very full.

Comment

The question of when to have the mother-tongue lessons is important to parents, and they believe it is intertwined with the status of the programme: by being after school it places the classes in a bracket of being supplementary, second class, not as important as other school subjects. They suggest alternatives, but are not able to agree. I comment that: 160- 'sometimes you can have an official school class with three children in it, you have a classroom like this and a Mother-tongue class of five students sitting in a corridor. You know I think that's something we could look into as well.' This is a point that has been raised with the school management, which responds that the mother-tongue programme is extra-curricular and out-sourced. In fact there are various official foreign language (French or Spanish) International-Baccalaureate-Diploma-Programme classes which have smaller numbers of students than, for example, mother-tongue Spanish or Russian classes. The former are taught in classrooms; the latter, depending on availability, may be taught in a classroom, but are often taught in 'spaces' in corridors, which is sending a message to the students and teachers that such classes are low in status. These are matters written about by Cummins (2000) concerning power relations as they affect second-language learners. Fishman (1966, in Edwards, V. 2004:121) 'comments that the only reason for reference to heritage language schools in official documents is when they have been cited for lack of bathrooms, windows or fire escapes.' As regards status, Edwards, V. (2004:124) notes that in the UK:

There was, until recently, no initial teacher-training in community languages, thus perpetuating the underdog status of this group of teachers and, by extension, their languages.

4.2.4.2 Choosing the issues to take to the management

162-Woman(unidentified): Maybe, I think, like, about the Matura, about the Ministry of Austria, it's difficult, it's not in our hands. But about the school day, after school, we can talk about that to management.

Maurice Carder: So, the timing.

Woman(unidentified): Yeah, and also about the payment, we can do something about that, but others, it depends on the Ministry, it's difficult to...

Comment

Parents agree that matters such as payment and timing can be taken to the management as there may be a chance of changing them. They appear to believe that a matter such as giving recognition to the status of mother-tongues in the Middle-Years-Programme on a par with that of mother-tongues in the Diploma Programme would be 'too difficult,' which reveals their unwillingness to really deal seriously with important issues. I have made efforts to have the programme made a part of the regular curriculum, and much of it is to do with perception, both on the part of the school management and of parents, for the latter an unwillingness, as I perceive it, to be activists for a cause. The students who want to play football are understandably irked when, after being in the classroom all day they have to spend another two hours learning while their peers are outside on the field, or doing other activities. The issue of the Middle-Years-Programme is important from a motivational point of view. There is no doubt that the main reason that many students take their language in the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma-Programme is so that they can get certification. If there was similar certification in the Middle-Years-Programme, this would be a major benefit and would surely increase the numbers of students taking mother-tongue classes.

4.2.4.3 Equity of rewards

188-Mr.Lezitski(Polish): Points for CAA [*Community-Action-Awareness in the IBMYP*], I think it's good proposal from your side, because the time is taken from the kids.

Woman(unidentified): If you get it for other, like sports...

Mrs.Bohancz(Hungarian): For example the middle school, mother-tongue. How to help children more, should it be part of the curriculum or not, or after-school activities, or something like CAA, that's a good example, just to be a first step, to be acknowledged, because these children work hard, it's an extra work.

Comment

This is a reasonable proposal: students who do after-school activities gain points for the community-service requirement for the Middle-Years-Programme whereas students doing mother-tongue classes after school on a weekly basis, year after year, are not allowed to gain points. The students who gain points do so for such activities as sports of all kinds, once a week. Students studying their mother tongue are giving up time after school for more academic work which is tiring, especially for younger ones; in addition their parents are paying for these classes. They are thus disadvantaged in two respects: the programme is not part of the core programme, but neither is it acknowledged as being *Community-Action-Awareness*. This is demotivating for students, and is seen as unfair; many of them would rather be playing football anyway, and this is another factor impacting on motivation. The issue has been raised repeatedly with management without success, as discussed in chapter 5.

4.2.5 Possible modes of action: the dilemma – between ‘desirable’ and ‘feasible.’

4.2.5.1 A Polish parent suggests a petition

171-Mr.Lezitski(Polish): Excuse me, this is my proposal: we should focus certain areas where we can affect, we can change, not those areas, for example, that you mentioned, how can we do to change that the Education Ministry change... that’s going to be the difficult one.

Woman(unidentified): Maybe, I think, like, about the Matura, about the Ministry of Austria, it’s difficult, it’s not in our hands. But about the school day, after school, we can talk about that to management.

Maurice Carder: So, the timing.

Woman(unidentified): Yeah, and also about the payment, we can do something about that, but others, it depends on the Ministry, it’s difficult to...

Other woman(unidentified): We’re saying that these things are important and present it, those are the things that should be, long-term programme, for the meeting that we have today, if we focus on the issues of teachers, the quality of teaching system, system, information, you know, payments, how this can be organised through the institutions for our agenda.

...

164-Mr.Lezitski (Polish): But it amounting to thousands of Euros [for the mother-tongue classes in grades 11 & 12]. So, it’s not logical from our point of view because we are releasing man-power at school by one subject, we would really expect at least a reduction of school fees, this is not my idea, my colleagues they say they even mentioned to management, five years ago, six years ago, but nothing happened.

Maurice Carder: Well, since you touch on that, about five or six years ago a group of parents got together a petition on this issue and there were about, I recall the number of 76 signatures. I handed the whole thing in to the director and this was at the time when we had what I call the revolving door of directors, and the next year I went and asked for these things and they'd disappeared .

Mr.Lezitski(Polish): Shall I draft this petition for the fees and send you? And then we can sign and let's see, maybe we'll be lucky.

Maurice Carder: If you want to circulate it with other colleagues as well, but it's got to come from you ...

Comment

These comments show the frustrations of parents about the matters to be discussed in the meetings. They realise that there are many issues, but would like to focus on something concrete that will show results. However, it becomes evident that the sole agenda of the Polish parent is to bring forward his own agenda of discussing the issue of fees. After my reminder that in the past some parents wrote a petition to a previous director on the matter, he suggests a new petition is gathered. Other parents mention that such matters as 'the Matura, the Austrian Ministry,' is difficult, and 'not in our hands;' this suggests a blind obedience to authority and unwillingness to take on a matter that, whatever perceived obstacles may lie ahead, are reminiscent of Bourdieu's (1984) insights in 'Distinction' that in fact those in privileged classes are unwilling to challenge the authority of the dominant power. In fact there was a distinct possibility that if parents made a concerted effort, they could have pressed the issue of Austrian Matura recognition successfully, as enquiries on my part had shown these would have been well received. In the event one determined parent follows through with a petition about fees for mother-tongue classes, which is responded to in a public forum (see below, section 4.4). It might have been more productive to have set up a committee of parents to bring the matter up with the school management. Such procedures, however, are time-consuming and demanding, and professional parents are busy enough.

4.3 TEACHERS

4.3.1 The multilingual nature of the student body

4.3.1.1 The multicultural/multilingual student body

217-Maurice Carder: We have a student doing Russian who is a very good example. She was born in Ukraine, her parents spoke Russian at home but sometimes she heard Ukrainian. She never went to school in the Russian language, because when she was 6 her parents moved to Moldova, and in Moldova the language is Romanian. But she went to school in Romanian from

the age of 6 until 14, and still she liked to read books in Russian. She was studying in Romanian but reading at home in Russian. She came here, she was in an ESL class, a very good student. She went to private school in German and learnt German – was a good student. Now she's doing A1 Russian and is 6 [= grade 6, out of a maximum of 7] and she has never been to school in Russian. This is super.

Mrs.Vodolski(Russian): Not easy (laughs).

Maurice Carder: It wasn't easy! She's doing A2 English, after 4 years A2 English is good. And Romanian, nothing, but she's also doing German B higher, and so what's also – I mean, Russian has a different script, OK, it's Cyrillic, so she's got all these languages and for me it's a good sign that the more languages you learn, the more you're ...

Mrs.Wagner(Portuguese): [This student only spoke Russian as a child?]

Maurice Carder: [Only at home with ...]

Mrs.Wagner(Portuguese): [So never in school?]

Maurice Carder: [Never in school, and now she's doing A1 higher; that's really something special. So we should always be optimistic, yes?]

Comment

The first extract is to 'set the scene.' The student mentioned is one of those studied in my Institution-Focused-Study (2008b), and is a reminder of the potential that students have at the UIS, and also the differences between students in national and international systems, and therefore the types of pedagogical offerings that best suit them. The student is particularly remarkable as she is taking her language A1 in Russian, a language which she had never studied at school. When she arrived at the UIS in grade 9 she had no knowledge of English, yet she was accepted by the English department in grade 11 to take English A2, and by the German department to take German language B Higher level, both exceptional achievements.

4.3.1.2 The poly-languages cultures brings much to the UIS

218-Mrs.Vodolski (Russian): Last 2 weeks Italian teacher said it's impossible to reach so high as Matura level. Of course, we reach this level what we see, and what we give to our student. If you prepare our student for B standard, our student reach this level. When we say that, OK, you have to do this, and if student really have this interest, we can make it. Because this three languages, this situation – multi-culture, poly-languages culture – it bring really a lot, for us also.

Comment

The Russian teacher focuses on how much multilingual students add to the school culture. Edwards, V. (2004:222) enlarges on this aspect when she writes that

the coexistence of different languages and cultures leads to the cross-fertilization of ideas in all kinds of artistic expression. Bilingual, bicultural individuals, able to mediate between minority and majority populations, are the potential cornerstone for a more harmonious society.

There is disagreement between the Russian and the Italian teacher: the Russian teacher points out that it is important that any goal can be reached with determination, the Italian teacher had said that his students did not get enough exposure to their language so could never make sufficient progress to do well in the IB exam.

4.3.1.3 A teacher's view of the value of the mother-tongue

220-Mrs.Boravic(Serbian/Bosnian): [If they can't have a perfect ability in their mother-tongue, it's all for nothing.]

Comment

This is a clear statement of the value this teacher gives to the importance of keeping up fluency in the mother-tongue: this teacher did not enlarge on the statement – she did not speak English and was uncomfortable with that in the setting – but it shows a profound belief in the value for each student of maintaining their own language: without it, there is no point in doing anything else. The majority of the mother tongue teachers have the same view, held very strongly by some of them.

4.3.2 The advantages of the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma-Programme for mother-tongue students

4.3.2.1 The benefits of studying the mother-tongue at International Baccalaureate Diploma level

228-Mrs.Wagner(Portuguese): [Just one example: we met Maria. She was always a good student, in all subjects I believe, and she studies now in the best private university in Sao Paulo, in Brazil, and first she studied in the state university which is also a very good one, but it was too easy for her and she wanted to do better; but she's brilliant – everything she does is very good. Then she had a test at the state university for which she studied at home for a whole year, and among other things she had to do a test in Portuguese literature, and they asked her, in the IB did you have any idea about Portuguese literature? And then she said: 'You know, I learnt everything about Portuguese literature at the UIS, but the books of literature I read with my teacher were so good that once I read the test questions [for the university] I knew all about the books and I could do well'. I thought: 'Wow, that is so interesting'.]

Comment

Many parents have reported back to me that the IB Diploma course is at least at the level of the first year of university in their countries. The anecdote reported by this

teacher reveals the high level the student had attained in Portuguese literature, and how much the IB course had benefited her. It also shows a lack of awareness of the nature of the IB by the university.

4.3.2.2 The International-Baccalaureate-Diploma-Programme as of value in mother-tongues

228-Mrs.Vodolski(Russian): [It's a very, very good programme. That's a very good programme.]

Mrs.Van Geerd(Dutch): It's interesting to see that in Holland they take part of the IB programme in the mother-tongue Dutch in the normal schools.

Maurice Carder: In the normal schools? Really.

Mrs.Van Geerd(Dutch): Very slowly developing, IB, yes.

Comment

This is another piece of information that shows the accepted value of IB mother tongue language A1 courses by national systems. The fact that the International Baccalaureate mother-tongue Dutch Diploma programme is being adopted by a national system in Europe adds to its value for the teachers. The Dutch teacher is always concise in her comments, but they carry much weight with her.

4.3.3 Advantages and disadvantages for students of taking mother tongue classes

4.3.3.1 Transferring skills across languages

210-Mrs.Vodolski(Russian): Also we tend to forget, for example, how we are together, we have to work together and I see how easy, for example, student who are going to visit English classes or German classes, they understand the literature. Not like Russian literature, they are working together and all, for example Commentary, or Comparative Essay, it's the same rules, it's the same mechanics, and I see how it's easy to show to students that it works the same in German, in English, only it's really who is interested in this subject, they can make a lot.

Comment

The Russian teacher here points to the benefits students can reap if they transfer skills gained in literary criticism across languages: they have been learning how to do a commentary in the UIS-taught English and German classes, and can see how they can use these skills for Russian. There have been efforts to better monitor this area of skills teaching, but the size of the school, the number of students, the complications of the timetable, the 'outsourced' nature of the mother-tongue teachers, and the high workload of staff, have impeded any progress.

4.3.3.2 Student insights to transferring skills across languages

229-Mrs.Vodolski(Russian): my student in grade 8. I asked why; what our goal, our motivation to learn Russian? Why we learn our mother-tongue! And they were really very, very good, and one girl, they're in grade 8, they said for me the most important is to formulate my idea because I, in Russian language, when I can formulate in Russian I can say also in English.

Maurice Carder: But that's exactly what all the research says, if you can formulate things in one language – and that's one of the advantages, that they can ...

Mrs.Vodolski(Russian): I haven't imagined that my student, that they're able! So we have to respect most of our ...

Comment

The teacher is excited that her grade 8 student had the insight to articulate what research shows about transferring skills from one language to another: it was rewarding to see her enthusiasm, and reflects Cummins' (1979a) developmental interdependence hypothesis, i.e. that the more developed the first language, the easier it will be to develop the second language, even though in this case the student is transferring skills from the second language to the first.

4.3.3.3 Students are isolated from their language outside their country

208-Mr.Donatello(Italian): With the IB, mainly in Italian, is that even if you got good pupils and you work with them quite often, you cannot possibly reach the Matura level in their own country. It is not possible for people living abroad to accept the same very level as the people living in the country.

Maurice Carder: You mean just literature? Or in all subjects?

Mr.Donatello(Italian): I mean just in the competence of the language. And literature as well.

Maurice Carder: But we have students who do it every year.

Mrs.Vodolski(Russian): No, I am not agree.

Mrs.Csarda(Hungarian): [OK, I just don't believe that at all because the IB level is very high and it is equally high in Hungary: that's my example. I don't know how it is in other languages, but it is a very high level and it is worth just as much as in Hungary.]

Maurice Carder: [So what do you mean: that this level can be achieved?]

Mrs.Csarda(Hungarian): [Yes].

Mr.Donatello(Italian): [That means that it's people who live in Austria a long time, and have been coming to this school for 5, 6, or 7 years ...]

Mrs.Vodolski(Russian): But I can say that it's possible to prepare student for this exams. Today my student who will for ten years coming in Austria, they wrote Paper 1 yesterday.

Mrs.Zimprich(Portuguese): It's not for everybody, but for some we can reach this level.

Comment

This is the discussion already mentioned, where the Italian teacher believes it is difficult for his students to reach the level required by the IB because the students do not have regular contact with their language as they would if they were living in their own country: the Russian teacher disagrees, and so does the Portuguese teacher, who elaborates in the next extract.

4.3.3.4 The linguistic and bureaucratic obstacles facing students

210-Mrs.Zimprich(Portuguese): And even the Diploma of the IB is also not accepted in Portugal. They need to make an exam of culture and language Portuguese that went to university. Because they have here German around them, they have English, so there is not so much of the language, so they can never read to the point. They are here with us twice a week or three times a week, but there they have 7 days a week with the language around them.

Comment

The teacher makes two points here: that in some countries, e.g. Portugal, the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma is not accepted for university entrance, so students have to do further exams; and also that students at the UIS do not have the benefit of living in daily contact with their language, reducing their chances of developing literacy. This comment reflects the view given by the Italian teacher that there is not enough contact with the mother-tongue for students. The IB continues to make efforts worldwide to encourage universities to accept the IB Diploma for entrance.

4.3.4 The caring aspect of mother-tongue teachers

4.3.4.1 Mother-tongue teachers as parent substitutes

239-Mrs.Zimprich(Portuguese): I would like to say something. Well, I've been teaching in this school since more than 22 years, and I have every year 2 kids making the IB, sometimes 3, and I find that this was something good for them. First of all they write after years to me; I receive invitations for weddings in Australia, in Canada where my pupils nowadays are. So, it is true that they remember what we have been doing together, this is a sign. And some of them they come together with the pupils, I can say sometimes more than the parents. We spend so many hours together, not only the hours of the programme ... For instance I teach literature, just a small example... and then by some interpretation of a text, poetry, where there is a man speaking about a woman and he's in love and then ... 'it already happened to you?' 'Yeah.' 'Is she here in the school?' 'Yeah.' And sometimes they tell us some details, I mean some small story that even they do not say to the parents because they have no time to talk about this because the parents are very busy, because sometimes they even do not see the father, specially, weeks and weeks, and sometimes they come to us and sometimes they cry. I should say in German, is like a *Seelsorge* [caring for the soul], it is not only the language, the culture, is

also the understanding of people and this is the relations between us, the children, become grown-ups, and also their parents. This is what I wanted to say.

Comment

This statement was made at the final meeting, in front of parents, and shows the depth of the commitment of the mother-tongue teachers: they are more than teachers, providing a link to the home country, and also a substitute for the emotional support of parents whose lives have perhaps been taken over by their careers. It is frequently heard that one parent is away ‘on mission,’ not always necessarily the father, and children can feel quite alone. Cummins (2000, p.40) quotes a study by Poplin and Weeres (1992, p.19) which states:

Students, over and over again, raised the issue of care. What they liked best about school was when people, particularly teachers, cared about them or did special things for them.

However, not all teachers have the same approach: some parents have told me they are ‘not happy with teachers, who do not have a positive attitude, enthusiasm, a good feeling, or enjoy their work. My kids aren't motivated for mother-tongue at all.’ Once again, though, since the teachers are not employed by the school there is little I can do other than offer advice. As a generalisation it is possible to say that teachers from northern Europe state that their job is to teach to the exam, and they have no responsibilities beyond that area; others, such as the Portuguese teacher, believe more in supporting the whole child.

4.3.5 The status and value of the mother-tongue programme

4.3.5.1 Integration and respect for the mother-tongue programme

196-Mrs.Vodolski(Russian): The most important is integration, mother-tongue programme, and respect, mother-tongue programme, because only 11th and 12th grades really thinks, came to this idea that it's important. But it's very late.

Comment

The Russian teacher sums up the views of the teachers: she believes that only when the programme is integrated into the full UIS programme will it gain the recognition which will enable it to develop in the middle years; at present parents only consider it vital in grades 11 and 12 for the purposes of exams for the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma.

4.3.5.2 Education, not support

197-Mrs.Vodolski(Russian): Also one parent said ‘Oh, you give here, you can help our children’. I said ‘Excuse me, I'm not here to help children, I'm here to give classes here’.

Comment

The point was made forcefully by the Russian teacher, and agreed by others, that many parents saw mother-tongue teachers as being there to ‘help out.’ The teachers consider that they are there as professionals and should be treated as such. Although Mrs Zimprich, the Portuguese teacher, had emphasised her point (in 4.3.4.1) that she was ‘caring for the soul,’ I believe that this can be seen as being in addition to, rather than conflicting with the Russian teacher’s view that they are at the school to give classes. Ultimately, both statements can be seen as cries for recognition.

4.3.5.3 ‘We are seen as support teachers and that’s not my job: I want to teach the children.’

204-Mr.Kagan(Turkish): [I teach Turkish here. I have worked for 10 years in a state school in Vienna as a mother-tongue teacher and it’s exactly the same for me as for you. In general, what happens with you as regards English happens to me with German. We are seen as support teachers, as translators, just to help the children, and that’s not my job. When I’m in the classroom I want to teach the children their mother-tongue and tell them about their culture. That’s very important for their identity. And also when they register it’s even harder because the parents want them to do the same as here with English; it makes them proud when their child can speak good English and also speaks English at home. They don’t know how bad it is later for the child, and for relationships in their country, and here with their family, and later it will cause great problems. They don’t realize that and they say ‘No, we don’t want to register our child for mother-tongue classes’ and thus speak Turkish at home. I tell them the Germans speak German at home, and learn German at school for five hours a week.]

Comment

This is interesting as it shows that the Turkish teacher encounters the same attitude from parents in Austrian state schools: the parents see him as ‘support,’ not a serious teacher. In addition he encounters the attitude that ‘German is more important,’ just as at the UIS some parents see English as being the important language to learn, at the expense of the mother-tongue. The attitude of the parents is judged as being an obstacle to the children’s maintenance and development of their mother-tongues. This brings to mind the issue of ESL’s loss of academic status and curriculum value in England recounted by Leung and Franson (2001:164).

Sennett (2006:190) says that

Status is perhaps the most elusive word in the sociologist’s lexicon. ... its deeper value has to do with legitimacy. You have status when institutions confer

legitimacy upon you. Being useful falls within this framework; more than doing good privately, it is a way of being publicly recognized.

4.3.5.4 Teacher qualifications

206-Mr.Kagan(Turkish): There's something else: people are also saying that the Vienna Education Authority has placed many teachers as mother-tongue teachers in schools who are not qualified but can speak the language. For example just practise it. Teachers who have fled Turkey or Balkan countries and have come along as teachers ...]

Mrs.Vodolski(Russian): It's the same with Russian.

Comment

This is further evidence for the willingness of authorities to give credibility to unqualified teachers. The Vienna authorities have done this, and there is always pressure from certain groups at the UIS to do the same, as confirmed by the following extract from the final meeting where a group of French parents were pressuring to find their own teachers and not go through the school:

238-Mrs.Frivole (English/French): Well, what's the advantage of the mother-tongue programme? As opposed to tutoring our kids on the side, for instance?

This whole area is also discussed by Sennett under the heading of 'craftsmanship.' He writes (op.cit., p.194-5) that

The educational system ... favors facility at the expense of digging deep. ... Craftsmanship has a cardinal virtue missing in the new cultures' idealized worker, student or citizen. It is commitment.

However, (op.cit., p.196)

Commitment poses a more profound question about the self-as-process. Commitment entails closure, forgoing possibilities for the sake of concentrating on one thing. You might miss out. The emerging culture puts enormous pressure on individuals not to miss out.

Mother-tongue teachers are committed professionals working in a situation that isolates them and leaves them vulnerable to a culture of superficiality, with no serious commitment from the school other than a comment about 'market forces' from the director (see below, 4.4.1.3).

4.4 ADMINISTRATION

4.4.1 The administration's impression of the value of the mother-tongue programme

4.4.1.1 The UIS mother-tongue programme as 'a success?'

251-Mr.Watford(UIS Director): Unonia International School is unique, I believe, quite unique in offering a programme of such variety and such size here in the school. Many IB schools simply say to students: *'You sort that out. You arrange your own tutors. You do that out of school. You do that privately. We don't want to know.'* OK? Unonia International School has taken a very different approach, and I believe a very, very successful approach and we measure that success by the benefit to the students; by the number of bilingual diplomas; by the success rate in the diploma programme and by the fantastic success rate in getting those young people to the universities of their choice, and believe me, this school leads the world in this respect.

Comment

The director here comments that the UIS has taken a different approach from many IB schools that leave it entirely to the parents to find tutors for mother-tongue lessons. He then eulogises the UIS mother-tongue programme, pointing out the high number of bilingual diplomas, the overall success rate in the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma-Programme, and the success rate in students going to universities. This is taking a purely quantitative view of the matter, and ignores all the issues raised by parents and teachers in the discussions which have been on-going for many years, and seem no nearer to be being addressed. The final comment about 'leading the world' would require statistical conformation.

4.4.1.2 Length of time as a yardstick for success?

234-Mr.Watford(UIS Director-British): The ESL and mother-tongue programme has been in existence at this school for a long, long time.

Comment

This comment is presented as a positive factor, but in fact it has been a constant struggle to maintain the department in the face of management efforts to reduce staffing; there have also been attempts to close the department completely, and to charge fees for ESL. Requests for a broadening of the programme to include more subjects having parallel content taught by ESL teachers have been rejected. These were for an extension of the ESL-History classes run in grades 9 and 10 to be expanded to grades 6, 7 and 8. The requests were supported by both the ESL and History staff and heads of department, and were submitted annually for some 5 years: perhaps the regular turnover of management added to the causes of the rejection. Also, as shown, none of the requests to have the mother-tongue programme included within the mainstream UIS structure have been addressed.

4.4.1.3 The market as a yardstick for success

242-Mr.Watford(UIS Director): It's always interesting to hear parents' views about the cost of any particular service which the school provides. What I will say is that the market, generally, finds its own level, its correct level, and what we've discovered here is that over time this programme has evolved in such a way that the take-up from the parent community for the services of the tutors which Mr. Carder has found over the years ... the take-up has been very strong, and again, to the best of my knowledge the degree of satisfaction with the quality of that service has been very, very high. Now, as Mr. Carder said, of course there is no compulsion for any parent to participate in the mother-tongue programme; of course you are at liberty to seek your own privately employed teacher for mother-tongue teaching with the students, but if you want to be part of our programme with all the benefits which Mr. Carder has described, we believe that the rates which are being charged are fair and appropriate to the programme at this time.

Comment

This extract is revealing: it substantiates the view that the director is ultimately basing his choices for programme development on financial success. He judges that since the 'take-up' from the community has been strong, the programme must therefore be successful. One statement he makes is in fact brutal, considering that it comes from an educational leader: he says 'there is no compulsion for any parent to participate in the mother-tongue programme.' This is in contradiction to the efforts of the department, where the message sent out is always 'every student should continue with lessons in their mother-tongue.' The director's focus is on the market, on the financial aspects, and 'success' is gauged by the pass rates of those who take their mother-tongue for the IB, with no consideration for the many who could have but did not for a variety of reasons.

4.4.1.4 Compensation for 'One subject less'

246-Mrs.Zoric(Croatian): I wanted to give my feedback on Mr. Watford's reply specially regarding a student having one subject less, and paying the same fee as another student having the full programme

243-Mr.Lezitski(Polish): More, more. Because on top of standard, we are paying more. I think before holidays we wrote petition to you regarding the future costs for mother-tongue, in particular that when the kid is taking his IB subject, the school is providing one subject less, so what is the status of this petition? Could you explain or elaborate?

Maurice Carder: Just to clarify: In the first meeting, and then briefly in the second meeting with parents, that children who're doing their mother-tongue which is not English or German are therefore doing one subject less in the IB, so the argument was that there's a certain percentage less of the programme, so could there be some sort of refund.

Mr.Lezitski(Polish): What's the status? Because it was in writing.

Mr. Watford (UIS Director): Thank you. Now I understand your point. When I raised that question about the 'one language less' issue with the senior staff of secondary school their answer was: 'Well, we don't charge fees at this school piece-meal according to the number of subjects offered.' The fees are there to cover the whole programme, the holistic programme, with all the support, and counselling, information and advice for students in- and outside the classroom, and all the other activities which support the activities in the classroom. So we don't subdivide the fee charges. Doing so, I think, would probably be impossible for us.

We regard this as a whole programme, and the International-Baccalaureate-Organisation requires that the students complete all the elements of the programme, so when we offer this service to parents, and when we charge these fees, it's for a 2-year programme, and we don't fragment so that parents can treat the offering like a supermarket where you simply take this tin of beans or this tin of peas. It isn't like that.

And we make it clear at the beginning, so what I suppose I'm saying is while I can understand why parents might be concerned about the cost of the service here, and the courses, and the programme, believe me: when you compare what is offered here, and when you compare the results achieved here, I believe – and this is all a matter of opinion – I believe that parents at Unonia International School are receiving *fantastic* value for money.

Comment

The parent who drew up the petition – quite a brave act in the context of the UIS, and for him as a senior professional in the United Nations – asks for clarification about his petition, particularly the 'one subject less' issue. To explain: for the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma students have to take one subject from each of six groups (see appendix 2). Some 65% of students choose in group 1 to do English or German as language A1, the only languages taught in the official UIS programme. Students who opt to take their privately paid and taught mother-tongue in group 1, about 35% of students every year, are therefore not doing English or German, and are thereby 'saving' the UIS the costs for these classes. The parent is pointing this out, and suggesting compensation.

The director states that he had discussed the matter with the senior staff of the secondary school. By announcing the decision at an open meeting with parents I was powerless: I could not engage in a controversial discussion with my employer in front of parents and teachers. These issues once again reflect the arguments presented by Sennett on how 'control becomes more centralized as volume increases' (2006:172), which in the UIS context might be interpreted as 'The mother-tongue programme at the school is running successfully from the director's point of view, with a large take-up, so the director can make decisions as he wishes.'

The one concrete proposal that parents raised and followed through on concerning the mother-tongue programme is dismissed by the director, whose argument is that parents accept the ‘package’ of education they sign up for. There is no retaliation from parents to this rebuttal. Parents have two approaches to finances: some, like the French parents at the final meeting, want to get cheaper teachers without interference from the school; others are having a genuinely difficult time finding the money to pay for classes. In retrospect the Polish parent seems to have been out-manoeuvred by the director.

4.4.1.5 A United Nations problem?

252-Mr.Boshov(Russian): But it would be beyond the ... the education grant, because all the ...

Maurice Carder: Grade 10?

Mr.Boshov(Russian): Grade 10, yeah.

Mr.Carder: Well, this is where parents need to go to the UN and say: ‘Excuse me, raise the limit.’(Author’s comment: I am implying that the UN should raise the top limit for education grants).

Mr.Boshov(Russian): But the UN doesn’t listen to us.

Maurice Carder: Well, the school, you know, sorry, it’s not the school’s problem, it’s the UN’s problem, so you need to get a big lobby and go to the UN.

Mr.Boshov(Russian): This is something we should raise at the UN staff council.

Comment

At the end of the final meeting the Russian parent, who works at a United Nations agency asked me about classes and payment. He said that the UN does not listen to their concerns about having to pay extra for mother-tongue classes, and he would therefore have to take it to the UN staff council in order to argue his case. This would place a senior professional in a difficult position: he would first have to go to the staff council – ‘the union’ – and then make representations about a financial matter. Such staff are already well paid, have tax-free salaries, and a newly arrived parent may feel uncomfortable about pursuing the matter. Senior UN personnel to the IAEA – International Atomic Energy Agency – are often nuclear scientists in demanding jobs, working in an organisation which has a high public profile, especially since the events leading up to the invasion of Iraq. Professional UN staff receive an education grant which covers 80% of school fees, but in the last two years of schooling the upper limit is reached, just when mother-tongue classes cost more. This series of events – the petition to the director, the arguments of parents for choosing certain matters for discussion over others, and the UN parent’s concerns about the fees, perhaps convey some idea of the social and political tensions of the UIS, where conflicting groups come into contact.

CHAPTER 5

5.1 Discussion of findings as they relate to the research question

The data as reviewed in chapter 4 will now be discussed with reference to each of the constituent groups in the research question, and against the agenda items presented for the discussion groups.

5.2 PARENTS

5.2.1 Perceptions of the mother-tongue programme

I believe some strands in the data attest to a picture of general agreement. Parents understand the merits of their children continuing education in their mother-tongue; some of them are not sure to what level they should take this education. Some are more interested in the issue of qualifications, namely the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma. Some want their children to study the whole curriculum in their mother-tongue.

Those involved in the discussions recorded in the data for this study do not so much discuss 'bilingualism' as aspects of the programme which they believe impact on its potential: 'status' is frequently mentioned in the data.

Parents have mixed attitudes to bilingualism: they appear at times to think more in terms of their family situation and how their children will need to maintain their mother-tongue in the future. The actual term 'bilingualism' is little mentioned by parents, and attempts by me to deliver a short lecture on the advantages of bilingualism are accepted, only tacitly; ensuing discussion reverted largely to individual matters concerning their own children, how they would proceed with exams in their mother-tongue, and how to arrange the timetable and related matters so that the mother-tongue programme could be more accessible. Parents acknowledge that their children have multiple language identities, and look for ways of nurturing them both at home and in school.

There seems to be little doubt that parents see placing their children in a 'prestigious' school, with the chance for their children to become fluent in the world's current 'lingua franca', English, as a desirable goal. However, it is possible that some parents do not fully comprehend, or perhaps choose to ignore, the nature of the task that their children are undertaking by being placed in an international school. Some parents are

so focused on English that they believe that this should be the only language their children function in, to the exclusion of the mother-tongue. Krashen (2006) writes about this phenomenon in his book 'English Fever.' Other parents become more involved in the educational process, understand the issues involved, and pay extra for mother-tongue lessons willingly. That finances are a major issue in the provision of mother-tongue classes becomes evident in the data, and it is interesting that such a situation exists in a school set up for the children of United Nations personnel from all around the world with many different languages, in the 'Street of Human Rights' (Strasse der Menschenrechte).

From the participants interviewed, a small cross-section of the community, it is evident that every family has a very different combination of languages in the family, and that continuation of each language can take different paths. But the fact that the Icelandic parents were prepared to transfer from one school to another in order for their son to be able to take his mother-tongue for the IB Diploma sends a strong message about the value they give to literacy in the mother-tongue, and also to the value of the programme for the school.

It is perhaps true that the small number of parents attending the meetings makes this an atypical group. However, it should also be remembered that every year some 35% - about 40 students - of each graduating year take their mother-tongue in grade 12 as language A1; also that overall there are about 200 students in the secondary school who take lessons in their mother-tongue every year. Parents thus appear to value the effectiveness of the programme - they pay extra for these classes, and their children attend them every week; they also appear to understand certain aspects of the effectiveness of the programme, and their children on the whole gain good results in the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma exam. However, perceptions are that various matters raised point to areas that could be remedied, principally the status of the programme, which affects the timing, scheduling and location of classes; the matter of including the programme in the core programme, giving points for after-school classes and resolving the issue of putting teachers' names on reports instead of my name; and arranging equity between recognition of mother-tongues taken for the IB-Middle-Years-Programme and the Diploma-Programme. Payment is also of primary importance.

5.2.2 Family language backgrounds

The configurations of the way the languages have developed in each family are interesting as they present a microcosm of what is taking place in international schools – it is not simply a question of ‘one family – one language.’ The Swedish mother has a Spanish husband; she speaks Swedish to the children, who are orally fluent, but have never studied the language, and the mother is content with that: they can speak to their grandparents when at home in Sweden. One child was at school for a time in Mexico, and Spanish has a stronger role as regards the written language. As the family has moved around English has become increasingly the family language as all schooling was in English in various international schools; German will also now be a language of literacy.

The Icelandic family has a different configuration due to the son’s schooling in Belgium in French. At first they put him in the French Lycée in Vienna, but then moved him to the UIS specifically for International-Baccalaureate-Diploma Icelandic. He will therefore presumably be literate in Icelandic, French and English – and possibly German.

The Polish family has been at the UIS from the early years and the parents did what they could to keep up Polish by sending their children to the Polish school, until the pressure of schooling at the UIS became too much in grades 9 and 10. It was then a shock for the parents to find their daughter’s English was not considered good enough for her to do it as language A1 in the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma, though the son will do English, but not Polish. They both take German as language A2 or B (see appendix 2 for the IB overview). The Hungarian parents are taking on the massive task of themselves teaching the whole Hungarian curriculum to their son, who was in grade 6 at the time of the interview. To continue this through to grade 10 will become increasingly demanding.

However, all the parents attending the interviews demonstrate some knowledge of the importance of language and languages in their children’s education. I believe they understand and value the programme offered at the UIS as they do indeed perceive its effectiveness, though for the Hungarian parents it presumably does not go far enough – there is a Hungarian teacher but she teaches only language and literature, not the whole curriculum.

It is apparent that many of the participants have made determined efforts to do the best for their children as regards guiding their children towards appropriate language choices: the Polish parent with the Polish school, the Swedish parent with the various languages in the family, used in different settings, the Icelandic parent who mentions her Finnish friend who kept to a regime of different languages on different days. This highlights the complex issues at stake: families are involved in their own emotional progressions, each one is different, and with the addition of past cultural and mobility influences on top of the language factors, combined with the career strivings of ambitious parents, often both of them, it is clear that achieving a satisfactory outcome for each child's language choices is immensely complex. I believe this makes even more important having someone available to discuss, professionally, the best language paths to choose, and which languages to develop further literacy in. Parents are difficult to reach, as Baker (2003:101) points out, but some of them are receptive to discussion, and perhaps relieved.

5.2.3 The 'translanguaging' community

The Swedish parent perhaps best summed up the shifting allegiances to languages of the students: 'I mean these identities with the international community, it's not necessarily the home country, or their mother-tongue, so it's a different concept, isn't it?' This is a description of 'the translanguage learner,' a term which defines students who move around international schools in different parts of the world and gain or lose competence in certain languages in the process. For many of them it may mean that they lose written competence in their mother-tongue as their English takes over as the literary language. This is certainly the case for children at schools with no mother-tongue programme. However, at the UIS there are often parents who are eager for the chance to 'repair' the gaps in their children's mother-tongue by enrolling them in classes. Some children may learn a particular host-country language for some years, then not develop that language further as it is not available for study at the next school: most international schools offer only French or Spanish for study as a foreign language, and the great majority have English as the language-of-instruction. The parents at the meetings show their concern about the language development of their children: they largely support the trajectories each child is following, and show understanding of the needs of each individual.

5.2.4 Status and delivery of the programme

The status of the programme is a subject which underlies much of the discussion. The question of the timing of the classes, finding classrooms, conflict with other after-school activities, the failure to award points for mother-tongues in the International-Baccalaureate-Middle-Years-Programme Community-Action-Awareness component, the lower status accorded to mother-tongues compared with foreign languages, the fact that they are outsourced and cost more – a considerable amount at International-Baccalaureate-Diploma level - and the fact that they are not recognised for the ‘third language requirement’ for Austrian-Matura-Equivalence in the International-Baccalaureate-Middle-Years-Programme, all add to the general perception that students’ mother-tongues are not given high importance, but placed on the periphery. Some parents focus determinedly on the cost factor, which the director dismisses succinctly in the final meeting, and is not challenged.

Some parents focus on deficiencies, especially on the matter of payment, though the timing of classes is also discussed critically. Some of those at the final meeting have not taken the time to consult published information, and the director makes a conciliatory comment about ‘having to try even harder to get information out to parents.’ This, of course, is the unending struggle of education: to show people the way, and to inform the community of what is considered to be best practice.

It is clear from the contributions of the parents who attended the meeting that they are aware of much of what it means to be involved in an international way of life, where their children are moving around the world, with changes of schools and thus languages. Their understanding of the effectiveness of the mother-tongue programme offered is considerable, and some parents are positive about the fact that it exists at all and that their children are able to benefit; the extent to which they value the effectiveness of the programme is equally impressive, although there are criticisms in various areas. These coincide in the way in which they perceive the effectiveness of the programme: they mention the status of the programme, a matter brought up by the teachers, discussed in the next section. The parents see that matters such as the timing of the classes, the lack of rewards in common with other activities, the lack of recognition in the Middle Years as compared with mother-tongues in the Diploma programme, may contribute to a lack of motivation for their children.

5.3 TEACHERS

5.3.1 The mother-tongue as fundamentally necessary

For mother-tongue teachers the status of the programme is the over-arching issue which underlies all others. It encompasses payment, the timing of classes, classrooms, reporting, points for the International-Baccalaureate-Middle-Years-Programme Community-Action-Awareness component, and above all having respect from the parents and the community, which they consider lacking at present. It is important to note that the majority of mother-tongue teachers do not have one-to-one classes with students, but rather small groups. The size of the group will vary, but for example the Arabic, Spanish and Russian teachers regularly have classes of up to ten students. Others will have anything from 3-6. As the Serbian and Brazilian teachers stated, they often combine students across grades.

The mother-tongue teachers are convinced of the benefits accrued by students by maintaining and developing fluency and literacy in their mother-tongue: this appears as a 'given,' unsurprisingly as it is their profession to teach the students that language. They refer frequently to obstacles that prevent them from providing better quality instruction, among which are the attitudes of parents, in addition to frustrations of finances, timing of classes, and related matters. They show great insights into the lives of their students, and are closely involved with their education; not only in the academic matters of language and literature, but also related social and cultural processes occurring in everyday life, and individual students' emotional responses to school, such as self-esteem, anxiety or other affective factors. The teachers believe strongly that they are there to teach the students and provide a high quality programme of pedagogical instruction; they resent being seen as 'support' or 'help,' terms which they find demeaning. They articulate their beliefs clearly, showing that they cannot understand how a student can learn without having a strong foundation in their mother-tongue.

Teachers feel strongly that the programme they are involved in brings much value to the school in the way of multi-culture, multi-languages and the holistic development of each child, and that if children do not keep up their mother-tongue they are going to suffer negative consequences. They are closely involved with the details of the importance of maintaining literacy, and how quickly it can be lost.

The point that is hardest to communicate to all sections of the community, administration and parents, is the factor that being at the UIS leads many to a false sense of security, where the social language is English, which of course has high prestige, and parents assume that their children's future will be assured: they do not take into account that their children's mother tongue needs to be maintained and developed. When students return to their home countries English will only be one half, or less, of the equation, and many may struggle with issues of identity for a great part of their lives, confirmed to me by at least one former international school student who related this to me at the age of 32.

Teachers largely praise the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma-Programme for its programme in the various languages. The teachers perceive the programme as being fundamentally necessary for as many children as possible, and it is effective for them when they are in class teaching their students. They certainly understand its effectiveness, and above all value it. However, it is at the perception level where there is room for improvement, centring on status and the issues surrounding this central concept. Teachers feel like outsiders, with poor teaching conditions, where their programme is not included in many regular school routines. Many of these are long-standing issues, and teachers see no improvement.

5.3.2 The status of the programme as paramount

The mother-tongue teachers make their point plainly: it is to do with a lack of understanding by many parents, who are not aware of the importance of maintaining literacy, not only oral proficiency, in the mother-tongue, and are obsessed with English. They also believe that place, time and payment underlie the issues of status, matters for the administration to address.

Payment is an emotive subject for both teachers and parents. Teachers do not like to be thought of providing instruction 'just for the money;' they want to be understood as professionals, and not to be in competition with 'people off the street who speak the language.' The issue has been resolved as far as possible by getting the director's consent for a 'Form of Agreement' between teachers and parents, which contains a fee schedule. The director indicated that 'the market' had set the terms for payment: this, however, misses the fundamental educational arguments for including mother-tongue lessons in the UIS fee schedule: teachers feel that, to a certain extent, they have to 'sell'

their services, which they find demeaning; they believe firmly that they are professionals who are involved in a section of education for the international community which is essential for the overall growth of the children they teach. Many parents value this contribution, but it remains 'outsourced.'

It is outsourced as regards finances, where teachers are paid directly by the parents, which may be contentious as regards the amount charged; which may be late in being paid, which means recourse to letters to parents to remind them of their obligations; as regards attempts by some parents to find alternative, less expensive teachers who are not qualified, which is demeaning to professionals. The reasons for this are that the management will not consider an alternative method of financing the mother-tongue programme: over the years various initiatives have been undertaken, including at one time arranging a meeting between the teachers, the UIS union representative and also a spokesperson from the Austrian union who came with legal advice. This information was all written up and submitted to the management but with no effect.

The programme is undervalued as regards timing of classes: mother-tongue teachers are put largely in the after-school category, when children are tired; when there are alternative activities such as sports which children may prefer to additional study – which in turn places their mother-tongue in the position of being a 'boring' subject. At one time it was possible to have mother-tongue classes instead of the foreign language in grades 6-10 by agreement with the parents. However, this was reversed by an incoming head of school, full of zeal to make changes. I argued that it was an inappropriate decision, but to no avail. May (2007:388), writing about the obstacles to effecting change in secondary schools, comments that

Secondary schools ... are the least changed of any schooling structure since the advent of mass education, with the industrial management model (and its accompanying bureaucracy) adopted for secondary schools at the time a still prominent feature.

May and Wright (2007:372) discuss the difficulties facing teachers attempting to establish language policies in schools, and writes

The enthusiasm for these kinds of cross-curricular initiatives has also withered worldwide in the face of the (re-)emergence of high-stakes testing, and the preoccupation in many countries with a narrow, technicist view of literacy, alongside an increasingly rigid compartmentalisation of curricula and the related

de-skilling of the teaching profession. These are difficult times indeed for holistic, whole-school, cross-curricular literacy policies.

This does not refer directly to mother-tongue classes but gives a picture of the climate in secondary schools where matters relating to language, and also to the teaching profession, are fraught with difficulty.

Mother-tongue teachers are undervalued as regards allocation of facilities for classes - they often have to teach in open corridor spaces when official UIS foreign language classes with smaller groups are allocated a classroom; or in the media centre, where others often complain about the noise the instruction creates. These matters have been raised repeatedly over the years, but any progress made is soon reversed by the newest incoming manager, when the issue has to be resubmitted and argued.

Mother-tongue teachers are undervalued as regards recognition: in the International-Baccalaureate-Middle-Years-Programme mother-tongue classes are not given status in reporting, for community service points, or for the Austrian-Matura-Equivalence – the latter leading to a situation where students are forced to continue study of the language in the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma-Programme for another two years, where it is recognised – at extra cost to the parents. This is a matter I have raised repeatedly both in the school and with the IB, the latter also suffering from rapid turnover in staff who no longer recognise the matters under discussion.

That the teachers who attended the discussions recorded in the data said: 196: ‘The most important is integration, mother-tongue programme, and respect, mother-tongue programme,’ encapsulates much of what was discussed throughout the meetings.

The mother-tongue teachers present a portrait of a group with a deeply involved, professional ethos; they have concerns for the academic improvement of their students, for their development in literacy, but above all for their all-round development as human beings who have a cognitive and affective centre which needs to be nurtured. They understand and value the effectiveness of the mother-tongue programme as it is, but perceive its effectiveness as flawed because of basic structural deficiencies, and their status as outsiders shows no signs of being remedied in spite of repeated and sustained efforts on my part.

5.4 ADMINISTRATION

5.4.1 A conflicting view of the mother-tongue programme

The administration is represented largely by the school director in the data collected. From his statements he makes it clear that the mother-tongue programme is valued, particularly as it impacts on positive examination results. However, the rhetoric does not match the reality as attempts to improve issues that mother-tongue teachers have raised with me such as integration with the regular staff, timing and allocation of classes, have not been addressed.

The school administration takes a conflicting stand, praising the programme for its results while not in fact being willing to adjust any aspects of it. The perception of the effectiveness and value of the mother-tongue programme is high as reflected in the comments of the director, who is pleased that it enhances the school's reputation, delivers good results, and helps to place students in universities. This in itself is considered sufficient, and criticisms or requests for any changes in status are dismissed. How much the administration understands the effectiveness of the programme is hard to ascertain. I believe that the 'novelty' of the programme to mainly monolingual English administrators covertly denies any chance of improvement. Since it is producing good results, enhancing the reputation of the school, and changes would involve complex financial manipulations; negotiations with the International-Baccalaureate; discussions with the Council-of-International-Schools; negotiations with the Austrian government; internal timetable changes – then it is easier to leave it as it is. Possibly the knowledge that I would be leaving the school (June 2009), and maybe even the director being aware that he would be leaving soon (June 2010), made it simpler to dismiss requests for improvement. They certainly value the effectiveness of the programme, though are unwilling to invest more effort in improvement. It is also possible that the management had not considered the effect that long-term stability, i.e. my 28 years running the programme and applying 'craftsmanship' in Sennett's (2006) terms, had on maintaining the programme; this took place against the hectic 'mobility' of senior staff. The director's phrase 'there is no compulsion for any parent to participate in the programme,' is perhaps key to the whole argument: on one hand parents are encouraged to take part in the programme, but the director finds it convenient to dissuade parents from participating in order to avoid difficult discussions about payment and conditions.

It is also interesting that he had discussed the 'one language less' issue with the senior staff of secondary school, and that they had responded with: 'Well, we don't charge fees at this school piece-meal according to the number of subjects offered.' Thus though the administration can be said to perceive the effectiveness of the programme, and value the results, their understanding of the educational benefits of the programme is weak, and willingness to contemplate any changes are out of the question. This will leave teachers continually undermined concerning their status, and many parents in financial difficulties, while the achievements of potential numbers of students who could be involved in a fundamentally enriching pedagogical programme will remain unrealised.

5.5 Points of convergence between the parties

Areas of agreement on the various issues fluctuate: on continuing education in the children's mother-tongue(s), parents are supportive – this is why they are at the meetings. The teachers are wholly in favour of the programme, seeing it as a pedagogical necessity, and they also have a vested interest as it provides income and professional rewards. The administration appears to value the programme more as a marketing feature; it focuses on examination results and their usefulness for the future, while not being willing to engage in any of the issues that may improve the programme. Parents are largely unaware of the meaning of 'Bilingual Education in Majority Languages' as given in Baker (2006:252) which implies being taught the whole curriculum in two languages, and is only carried out by one Hungarian family, at great personal expense to them. Most families are involved in 'dual unilingualism,' where two languages are taught and learnt in separate contexts, mentioned above in section 2.3.2. However even this is not always the case, as shown by the Icelandic boy who started his schooling in Icelandic, went on to learn in French, and finally changed to English at the UIS. This complexity is recognised by parents and teachers but not focused on by administration, except inasmuch as it reflects well on the school for publicity purposes. An understanding of bilingualism as an 'autonomous discipline,' with the related advantages of 'additive bilingualism,' does not seem to be high among any of the parties. The teachers respond positively to it, and parents accept it without comment; for the administration it is not possible to evaluate it. It is worth recalling that the advantages of additive bilingualism bring considerable benefits relating to the academic and social aspects of each student's life, including better performance in the second-language, and as Cummins (1986:25) pointed out

Educators who see their role as adding a second language and cultural affiliation to their students' repertoire are likely to empower students more than those who see their role as replacing or subtracting students' primary language and culture.

As regards the status of the programme, the teachers are the strongest advocates of changes in this area, considering that integration for the programme, and making changes in issues such as payment, timetabling and equity, which would bring more respect for the mother-tongue teachers, are fundamental to any improvement in the programme. Parents also mention the status of the programme, focusing more on the timing of classes, but also on including it more in the mainstream, especially as regards payment. The administration does not address these matters, and setting up a committee to investigate the situation and draw up proposals would be a useful step forward.

CHAPTER 6

6.1 Summary and conclusions

The research question revisited

The question devised to frame this thesis was: *How do the various parties involved with the UIS mother-tongue programme – parents, mother-tongue teachers and school administration – perceive, understand and value the effectiveness of the programme offered?*

I believe the question was devised in a way that gave scope to a productive investigation of how students in an international context – the Unonia International School – were being offered an education that best built on and enriched their multilingual repertoires. The discussions with the various constituent bodies produced material which gave insights to the wealth of variety that exists, and also the considerable understanding by the parents involved of what is at stake. The teachers also showed their commitment to maintaining and developing the students' multilingual skills. The administration, however, preferred to remain with the status quo, and ways of putting pressure on that body through outside educational agencies were perceived as being a potential route towards improving the programme.

6.1.1 English as a tool, together with the mother-tongue as the base, producing enriched bilingual students

From the study of students in the Institution-Focused-Study (2008b), and the material in the present study on bilingualism as a discipline, on the views of parents, teachers and administration, and the stand of the International-Baccalaureate, the Council-of-International-Schools and the European-Council-of-International-Schools, the reader will have gained a broad picture of the issues at stake. In today's world there is a community of professionals from most of its 193 countries who are internationally mobile and who look for good quality education for their children. The network of international schools that grew up after the Second World War was primarily nation-based, especially USA and UK, and was aimed at English-speakers from those countries: 65 years later the world has changed. Air travel is universal, and the internet has changed the way we communicate: we live in a globalised world. English belongs to those who speak it, and there is no need to be integrated with any target culture of native

speakers. Students will keep their own cultural and linguistic identities by maintaining fluency in their mother-tongues. Moreover, in the academic context of the UIS, where nearly all students take the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma-Programme exams, high levels of literacy in two languages, students' mother-tongues and English, will lead to the benefits of additive bilingualism.

6.2 Implications for future planning and development

6.2.1 Parents

Although the parents who attended the discussions which constitute the larger part of the data were supportive of the mother-tongue programme, they had reservations; and from the contributions of some parents at the final meeting it became clear that certain matters relating to the programme needed clarifying. This points to the need for greater efforts in communicating the perhaps complex issues at stake, which would involve a fundamental commitment from the school administration and the outside agencies involved to support such efforts. Since it can be argued that the majority of UIS students will have multilingual identities, then literature on this aspect could appear highlighted at the beginning of all school literature about the UIS - websites, prospectuses, booklets, school bulletins – until the matters involved have become a routine issue for all involved with the school. The fundamental theme of 'bilingualism' as a separate discipline, integrated into all school activities and subjects, could also be a focus. This would require in the first place a major focus on training for all staff. May and Wright (2007:370) have laid out the obstacles that often prevent such initiatives bearing fruit, primary among which is the 'traditional organisation' found in secondary schools. In their paper they discuss implementing school language policies which should identify 'areas within school organisation, curriculum, pedagogy and assessment where specific language needs exist.' A radical rethink about the bilingual nature of the student body could be initiated with contributions from parents: in this way there might be a greater willingness on the part of all parents to consider ways in which funding for the mother-tongue programme could be subsidised from the school fees of all parents. Alongside this group there could be a process of discussions among all staff with a view to implementing language policies which included in-service incorporating literacy-across-the-curriculum training focusing on the multilingual competencies of the students and how to develop their multilingual literacies. Edwards (2009) devotes a chapter to this

issue (pp. 115-126) which could serve as a viable starting point, suggesting that professional development needs to be driven by a clear idea of the goals to be achieved, and above all that it needs to be seen as an on-going process, not simply a few days a year. Carder (2007a) also devotes a chapter (chapter three) to the question of in-service training on matters relating to multilingual students. The International Baccalaureate is making progress on this front by offering increasing numbers of mother tongues for examination, and also by providing papers on language matters, such as 'Learning in a language other than mother tongue in IB programmes,' and 'Guidelines for developing a language policy.' The UIS could seize the initiative by using these documents to start their own process.

6.2.2 Teachers

For the professionals who are responsible for the mother-tongue education of the students at the UIS, measures to improve 'integration and respect,' i.e. the status of the programme, would not only raise the morale of the teachers but would probably change the way the programme was viewed in all sections of the community. Ways of including the mother-tongue teachers in the basic framework of the school, such as pay, classes and equity of reward for students' achievement, could be considered. Consideration could be given to finding at least a subsidy towards classes, so that teachers were paid, for example, half from school fees and half by parents. The timetabling of mother-tongue classes in the regular school timetable, backed against French/Spanish, could be reconsidered, as well as some reward in the International-Baccalaureate-Middle-Years-Programme for points for Community-Action-Awareness. Discussions could be started with the Austrian Ministry about equity of recognition for languages taken in the International-Baccalaureate-Middle-Years-Programme to those taken in the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma-Programme: a positive response to this issue was indicated by sources close to the Ministry.

6.2.3 Administration

As a private school, any procedures involving change or reconsideration have to go through channels leading to approval by the director of the UIS, who has to take many matters to the Board of Governors. Matters involving finances particularly would have to be systematically presented and argued. With frequent changes in director and head of secondary school time is required to build up a case. As already discussed, the

monolingual ethos of management, and the drive for English by ambitious parents, combined with the complex issues associated with bilingualism, does not simplify the task: 'one page of A4' is often the request from management for any proposal. The task would be made immeasurably simpler if the agencies responsible for recruiting, accreditation and curriculum recognised and supported the changing linguistic character in the global student population of international schools.

6.3 Bodies impacting on the administration

6.3.1 The International Baccalaureate

The international schools movement which provided the impetus for the creation of the International-Baccalaureate-Diploma-Programme now represents only 12% of its clientele, (Matthews, 2009), and percentage-wise is steadily shrinking. The fact that over 50 % of IB schools are now in North America with a perception that a business ethos is motivating the organisation, mentioned above in section 1.7, makes it harder for the IB to adapt specifically for multilingual international school students. Although there is much focus on languages A1, and many mother-tongues are available at this level, the majority of international schools do not offer inclusive programmes of instruction for these languages, so it is unlikely that there would be any pressure on the UIS to change its way of providing them. My perception is that management will only act to change such issues if they are obliged to by clear stipulations from organisations responsible for providing curriculum services.

In the International-Baccalaureate-Middle-Years-Programme the issues that most affect students are related to recognition by the Austrian authorities: if taught mother-tongue classes were given such recognition, in line with the practice afforded to languages in the Diploma programme, there would be greatly increased motivation to study them. This would require negotiations on the part of the in-coming director with a Ministry that is reportedly interested in helping.

6.3.2 The Council-of-International-Schools

This is the organisation responsible for accrediting schools, and is valued by international schools as accreditation is required in order to confirm the professional status of the school when students apply to universities. However, as discussed already they have relegated ESL to a support role in their accreditation guide, and have not yet

accorded mother-tongues a role. Thus the UIS management is under no pressure to adapt the current programme, which is praised by the CIS, albeit briefly. Nonetheless the ECIS ESL-and-mother-tongue committee is organising a conference for March 2011 at which the theme is 'Promoting Linguistic Human Rights in International Schools: from Theory to the Classroom'. This will be a focus for activism on the part of committee members, and guest speakers Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson are supportive of the aims of the committee to provide more equitable programmes linguistically for students.

6.3.3 Parents' employers

Some agencies give a percentage refund for school fees and mother-tongue classes: these include certain United Nations agencies such as the International-Atomic-Energy-Agency, the United-Nations-Industrial-Development-Organisation, and others. Some embassies and private businesses also give percentage refunds. However, as pointed out by the Polish parent, the expense in grades 11 and 12 for mother-tongue classes at International-Baccalaureate-Diploma-Programme level is considerable, and parents have already reached the 'ceiling' of their allowance in paying regular school fees. This is a real disincentive for parents to seek classes for their children, and there are increasing numbers of students who do not take their mother-tongue at IB Diploma level because of this. This means that they have to either take English as their language A1, implying that their mother-tongue falls into disuse, and also means that they may do poorly in English at A1 level, or that they will not take the Diploma exam at all. Both of these outcomes will result in students having poorer chances of gaining admittance to university, and thus this is a de facto covert form of discrimination to those who do not have English as a fluent language – in addition to the implications concerning equity, effects on students' identity, emotional development and life chances.

6.4 Closing comments

My aim in this thesis, building on the work in the Institution-Focused-Study (2008b), has been to substantiate that students at the UIS, and by extension at other international schools, have great potential to develop literacy in their mother-tongue(s) and English, and that this would benefit them in several ways. It is possible to develop an appropriate programme of study for them, and parents are largely supportive. However, there are obstacles in the shape of: a management which seems focused on exam results rather

than on processes for improvement; and ‘extensions’ of management - an examination body, the International Baccalaureate, which is growing into a corporate organisation with a focus on expanding in national systems, in which international schools represent but a small part of the clientele; and the accrediting agency, the Council-of-International-Schools, which derives from a monolingual English ethos, relegating programmes for non-English speakers to sub-sections of the accreditation process.

The fundamental recognition that international students are in a different situation from national students appears to be lacking, as does an acceptance of bilingualism as a body of knowledge which could be fruitfully investigated and applied to this group of students. There is still a focus on ‘borrowing’ monolingual national methods of ‘dealing with the problem’ of second-language learners.

The reasons for this are complex, as I have attempted to substantiate. At the UIS, acknowledged worldwide as a ‘highly political school,’ with a rapid turnover of senior management, my aim has been to follow the precepts of Goodson and Hargreaves (1996), who set seven standards of postmodern professionalism for teachers, the sixth of which summarises my path over the years:

A self-directed search and struggle for continuous learning related to one’s own expertise and standards of practice, rather than compliance with the enervating obligations of endless change demanded by others (often under the guise of continuous learning or improvement) (op.cit., p.21).

Reasons for the marginalisation of our professional input can be found in the writings of Sennett (2006), who writes that: ‘the dominant society discriminates against subordinate groups’ (op.cit., p. 111); ‘large amounts of raw data create a political fact: control becomes more centralized as volume increases’ (op.cit., p.172); and ‘commitment is in increasingly scarce supply in the new capitalism, in terms of institutional loyalty. The sentiment would be irrational – how can you commit to an institution which is not committed to you?’ (op.cit., p.196). The CIS, ECIS and the IB have expanded rapidly, the latter hugely in recent years, and the need to listen to the voices of dedicated professionals is greater than ever. Language activists in Wales in the 1980s took radical action including painting out English road signs (Edwards, 2009:13), which eventually led to a Welsh language television channel being set up: the scattered nature of international schools, and the professional class make-up of the clientele makes similar concerted action unlikely.

The UIS administration focuses on results, under the perception that they are the ultimate yardstick for success. Sennett (2006:196) has an insight on this area, saying that 'ability is focused on operational technique, as in SAT, an exercise in problem solving rather than problem finding.' He adds (op.cit., p.194) 'The political reformer, imitating the cutting-edge culture in private institutions, behaves more like a consumer ever in search of the new than like a craftsman proud and possessive of what he has made.' Sennett points primarily to the superficiality at work in today's institutions, including schools, linked to the emerging culture that 'puts enormous pressure on individuals not to miss out' (op.cit., p.196). Tied to the comments made by May (2007) about the weaknesses of secondary school administrations, it is not hard to see why the UIS administration takes its current stance. Sennett does, however, offer hope: he concludes by writing that 'the triumph of superficiality at work ... in schools ... seems to me fragile. Perhaps, indeed, revolt against this enfeebled culture will constitute our next fresh page' (op.cit., p.197).

Within schools, teachers are also constrained not to follow their consciences. As Hedges points out (2009) 'The neglect of the humanities has allowed elites to organize education and society around predetermined answers to predetermined questions... They do not have the capacity for critical reflection' (op.cit., pp.102-103).

The international community would be well-served by having a comprehensive, diverse programme of instruction that would take into account and develop the children's language repertoires, but individual teachers in schools will need the committed backing of all the parties relevant to such an undertaking.

Matthews (2009) writes that some of the schools responsible for the creation and development of the IB are considering pulling out, and creating a new, 'non-IB Diploma,' with new beginnings, especially in the middle years. If such a construct should take place, then a programme centred around and including second-language learners' needs, and the acceptance of bilingualism as a relevant body of knowledge applicable to such students, would be a welcome development. International schools, and the UIS in particular, offer an ideal setting for the development of bilingualism in the students to high levels of biliteracy: it is my fervent hope that the present study may play its part in promoting such an educational aim.

6.5 Implications for future developments

6.5.1 Further studies

Thomas and Collier make the point (1997:71-76) that more research is needed on second-language learners in schools, and that such research should necessarily be in the nature of long-term studies to be of use. For teachers in international schools this is particularly problematical. In many schools teachers do not stay for more than three years; and students themselves move around a lot – to make a valid long-term study students would have to be tracked around the world.

6.5.2 Improvements if the study were repeated

A larger study, over a longer time-frame could perhaps have gained more data from more participants. Discussions with many more individual parents would reveal more of the understanding that parents have about the situation of their children. Discussions with members of the Board of Governors would have been interesting, but it is questionable whether they would have given their consent to material being used. The body is largely secretive and withdrawn and insists on any matters relating to the school going through the director. Discussions with mainstream staff on their involvement with and understanding of the language repertoires of the students would be relevant. Discussions with more mother-tongue teachers would perhaps bring out different insights, but for them to find the time would be the major issue.

6.5.3 Reflections on this study

It has been immensely gratifying to have carried out this study. It has helped me focus on my entire professional life, and to delve into the underlying reasons for the programme I was instinctively trying to develop, and why I was continually meeting obstacles. These insights have helped me in my current role which is as an ‘advisor’ in various contexts. I aim to continue in that role as widely as possible, in order to focus on the benefits of bilingualism for the international community.

A professionally researched study about the tensions and difficulties connected with mother-tongue programmes may give them a more secure foundation: at present many administrators do not understand such programmes and do not give them funding or status within schools. The results of the analysis of the data have yielded up

information that will be of interest to a wide audience of all those involved in the field of international education: teachers, parents, school administrators, board members, those responsible for curriculum in the agencies already referred to, and possibly national education systems, given the increasing numbers of mobile families and thus bilinguals.

I have regular contact, through email, with professionals in the world of international education. Information is shared on conference themes, recommended speakers, and related issues. This is a dynamic process: we are mostly practising teachers, and the possibility I have of access to research writings is warmly welcomed by colleagues with whom I am in contact. I have been asked by schools to give workshops where I can discuss my findings and pass on what I believe to be useful good practice. I intend to share the findings of this study with selected individuals in the professional sphere.

It is important to put things in perspective: when I arrived at the UIS in 1981 there was a minimal programme for second language learners, and only Arabic was taught as a mother tongue (apart from English and German). By becoming involved in committee work with the ECIS and the IB, and applying my Applied Linguistics knowledge, I was fortunate in being able to ensure that second-language learners were provided with more appropriate instruction in both their second language and have access to more mother tongues for exam purposes: such access also spread more widely through the international school network as information was relayed through conference presentations, round table discussions, publications and changes in assessment. Attendance at ECIS ESL-and-mother-tongue conferences is said to be among the highest of all such subject conferences, and the IB is currently undertaking large scale reviews of 'language B' in the Middle-Years-Programme, with input on second language matters, thereby admitting that the 'case is not yet closed.' I shall be attending meetings at the IB in November 2010 to join the discussion and there is thus opportunity to outline ideas for improvement in provision of curricula and assessment in second-language and mother-tongue areas. I hope that by continuing to write about such matters I will also influence school leaders and practitioners. Bilingualism is steadily becoming, at the very least, a word with which people are more generally familiar: it is to be hoped that the academic discipline relating to it, and the pedagogic responses it requires, will also gain credence and be applied to the world of international schools.

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THESIS TRANSCRIPTS

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Transcription conventions:

Transcriptions are verbatim, with pauses and interruptions.

Where languages other than English are used, I have put a translation (mine) into English in square brackets, and the non-English in italics. Thus for easy reading the reader should skip the sections in italics. For example:

Mr Kagan(Turkish teacher): *Es gibt noch was, es wird hier umgesprochen auch,*
 [There's something else: people are also saying that,]

All names have been replaced by pseudonyms. Nationalities of contributors are given in brackets.

A Transcript of the first meeting with parents at the Unonia International School, 15-5-2008. 18.15-19.15.

A letter had been sent to all parents of 160 students in grades 6-11 who were currently taking mother tongue lessons at the school. The letter stated:

Mother tongue instruction in the Unonia International School.

As you know, at present many students take lessons in their mother tongue; these lessons are usually after school, and have to be paid for privately. Every year approximately one third of graduating students take Language A1 in their mother tongue.

I would like to have a series of meetings – probably two or three – to discuss the many aspects of this programme. Some are listed below, and I would hope to receive more input from you. There is no ‘hidden agenda’ – this will be open discussion about educational benefits, issues of equity, status of languages and access to programmes, and any other matters. As a start I have listed some items below, but this should not be considered in any way a ‘final’ list.

Our objectives will be to come up with a series of recommendations which I can take to the UIS management for consideration. I should also like to use the data gathered for input to research I am doing at the Institute of Education, University of London; this should make our meetings as ‘objective’ as possible. I have informed the Director, Mr Watford, and the Head of Secondary, Ms Karulaitis, about the meetings.

1. Bilingualism: educational benefits?
2. Mother tongue in the IB MYP: recognition for Austrian Matura Equivalence?
3. Timing of classes: after school/during the school day.
4. Allocation of classrooms.
5. Reporting: inclusion in ‘Core’ programme, with name of language and teacher.
6. Payment.
7. Points for CAA.
8. Content of mother tongue curriculum; ‘language and literature’ – or more?

Timing of meetings is always a difficult matter to agree on; I have already been asked to arrange meetings after school, and during the school day. If you could tell me which you prefer, and if you have any preferred day, then I will announce the date of the first meeting.

Maurice Carder

For the first meeting 11 parents attended.

Participants gave their agreement to being recorded, and to the data being used for this paper.

TRANSCRIPT

Maurice Carder: OK: I sent the letter out to the families of everybody who has a child in a MT class. So, shall we start off with brief introductions? If you don't want to give your name, just give your language at least, I'd be very happy to hear, and maybe just say anything you want to say about your language? Shall we just go around? Shall we start with the ladies?

Mrs Hernandez, (Spanish): I have three children in school; they're going to Spanish MT, and, grades 7 and 9.

Maurice Carder: OK, thank you.

Mrs Berndtdottir, (Icelandic): I'm Icelandic, I belong to the Icelandic minority here. They're two Icelandic boys and they're taking MT lessons in Icelandic in Vienna.

Maurice Carder: Er, you're not the mother of Johan.

Mrs Berndtdottir, (Icelandic): No, Per.

Maurice Carder: Because I had Johan, he was my first Icelandic student ever, and it was interesting that he was not only Icelandic but his mother is actually from the Faroe Islands, so he's bilingual Icelandic and Faroese, which is very interesting, if I could just say something about that. At the school we have children speaking over 76 languages and one of the things we talk about is, can we get more languages included in the school curriculum, like, Spanish usually comes up first, followed by French, which in fact is a minority. Arabic and Russian are quite big groups, but then I feel, well, why shouldn't a boy like Johan also have it included so you have, you know, we're in danger of getting a hierarchy of languages and that's not quite right, I think, in a school like this. Anyway.

Mrs Berndtdottir, (Icelandic): Well, Per is a bilingual in Belgium so he has Icelandic and French.

Maurice Carder: OK, thank you.

Mrs Jutner (Mandarin Chinese): ... Mandarin.

Maurice Carder: Mandarin? OK.

Mrs Dubinda, (Amharic): I think, this is not the meeting...

Maurice Carder: Which meeting did you come for?

Mrs Dubinda, (Amharic): I don't know.

Maurice Carder: Well, are you interested? What languages do your children have – English?

Mrs Dubinda, (Amharic): English.

Maurice Carder: No other languages?

Mrs Dubinda, (Amharic): No. He's in sixth grade.

Maurice Carder: But do you have any other family language?

Mrs Dubinda, (Amharic): yes, we do have.

Maurice Carder: Which language is that?

Mrs Dubinda, (Amharic): Amharic.

Maurice Carder: Amharic! Ah, Ok, is it, yeah. Is this ...

Mrs Dubinda, (Amharic): But I'm not taking Amharic here.

Maurice Carder: No, there're two...

Mrs Dubinda, (Amharic): Grade 6.

Maurice Carder: Not in grade 11, no? There're two Amharic speakers in grade 11.

Mrs Dubinda, (Amharic)...

Maurice Carder: Ah, OK. I've met your husband. Ok, right, so, right, do you want to .

Mrs Dubinda, (Amharic): Can I...?

Maurice Carder: Stay, fine, yeah.

Mrs Dubinda, (Amharic): I don't know whether it's considered a Mother Tongue.

Maurice Carder: Well, the terminology thing – I was talking to Mrs Hernandez about this – it gets incredibly complicated.

Hallo, good evening, welcome, please have a seat. I should tell you I'm recording this so... I have to say that – data protection.

Erm, yeah, the terminology thing, you know, we talk about English as a second language, Mother Tongue, bilingualism; we live in a world, and especially in a school, where children...

Good evening, we're recording this, so...

We live in a world where many people are moving around and gaining and dropping languages at a remarkable pace and one person came up with the term 'translanguage learners', which is quite useful in our school, I think. Somebody will feel that you're very stable and you only have one other language at home – Spanish or something – but already we've heard about Icelandic and French which is quite unusual, and in my years of experience here I've seen children with five languages; they gain them and lose them, so when I say Mother Tongue it's a term that doesn't necessarily mean 'this is my only other language'. English we know about, English has become the lingua franca of the world, because it's the language of the, well, the world's superpower, it was the old colonial language, but it's become, it's taking on a life of its own and more people now speak it well as a second language than as a Mother Tongue, but there're lots of interesting developments with English. I think it's a pity in a way that we don't have something like Esperanto so, because that gives everybody, it's called the 'linguistic handshake' so everybody has to meet in the middle, but we don't so we've got to make the best of it. Erm, so...

Mrs Frederiksson, (Swedish): I have two children, one in grade 10 and grade 7, and I have a Spanish husband.

Maurice Carder: Ok, thank you.

Mrs Larsson, (Swedish): I have two sons, Mother Tongue Swedish, one in grade 1 and one in grade 6, and I think the experience with the Mother Tongue is very different between the two boys. With one of them who is now in grade 6, he learnt Swedish already in Sweden and I think it helped him to be strong in his Mother Tongue, then he started learning English here, in primary. But with the other one, he's grown up here, we've been a bit reluctant to stress the Swedish because he has both German, English and Swedish, and so...

Maurice Carder: OK, thank you.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): I have twins in grade 11. One of them is taking Polish as a Mother Tongue for the IB Matura, but both will study in grade, will continue. Thank you.

Maurice Carder: Thank you.

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): I have a boy and a girl. The boy is now taking IB and the girl is grade 9. So we come from Serbia, and we are having these Mother Tongue lessons.

Maurice Carder: OK, thank you.

Mrs Pogled (Slovak): I have a son in grade 11. We have Mother Tongue Slovak.

Maurice Carder: Thank you.

Mr Gonzalez(Spanish): I am from Caracas, Venezuela. I have two kids, one, a daughter, who is 18 years old, she is in 11th grade – and a son who is in grade 9; but she's having problems having Spanish not in the schedule of school, because Mondays she have all day here, she have school till 4.30, she have to wait until 5.30 or 6.0 to have, you know, two hours classes, so that would be great, if that would be part of the regular programme. But I think it's a great thing that this school encourages to keep the Mother Tongue.

Maurice Carder: Ok, thank you. Well, that's a very interesting section, cross-section of languages there. The first thing I think I'll say is that this school has a Mother Tongue programme. Not many international schools have it. I remember a student who moved, grade 10, they'd been in this school, they wanted to go to another international school in Asia somewhere, they didn't have a Mother Tongue programme, the student said 'how can an international school *not* have a Mother Tongue programme?' and I agree with that, but many don't. We're getting... it's expanding, OK, it's growing, erm, so that's the good news.

Now, the list of points I've got here, the letter I sent you, I've got about ten bullet points here, let me just go through those and then we'll see, maybe we can agree on what we're going to talk about first, points of common interest, yeah?

So the first one I have: **Bilingualism – educational benefits**. Well, I can talk about that for long time. I think it's... keep up your Mother Tongue, and learning English at the same time, there are proved benefits, there is no doubt in my mind about that. There's lots of stuff which comes up in the USA which is very political, but I know about that and it's basically, it's the media and politicians focusing on the negative and so that can be discounted.

Mother Tongue in the IB Middle Years Programme (MYP): I would very much like to have it. Now that we've joined the MYP again, which I've always been for at this school – I was very disappointed when we left it – I would hope, many children here, over 60%, take the Austrian Matura Equivalence, a lot of them as a sort of insurance policy; they're not sure if they're going to go to university in another country so they think, maybe I'll go to university in Vienna, so they have to have the Matura Equivalence. At the moment, doing the Mother Tongue doesn't count for that, which makes me quite angry actually, so I would hope to be able to take a vote of confidence that the... I think probably the Austrian Ministry would accept the fact that it's an IB

programme, that if they've done, if they do a language A in their Mother Tongue that would count for Matura Equivalence.

Timing of classes, after school, during the school day. We've just heard from Mr Rodriguez, this is for me one of the big issues. At the end of school day, to sit in a classroom with two or three people, I think is not exactly motivating, to put it mildly. We used to have a system where – OK, in grades 11 and 12, for the Diploma, it can be during the school day if the students have what they call free periods, what we call study periods; that can happen, depending on the teacher. You see, the teachers teach in many other schools, that's right, they have to earn a living, they're moving around, it's not always so easy, but we used to be able to offer Mother Tongue classes in grades 6 through 10 instead of French or Spanish if the parents agreed, and I would like to see us come up with something on that.

Allocation of classrooms: this is just the, an organizational matter, but again, sometimes you can have an official school class with three children in it, you have a classroom like this and a Mother Tongue class of five students sitting in a corridor. You know I think that's something we could look into as well.

Reporting: at the moment I'm really unhappy that my name goes home as the Mother Tongue teacher. Believe me, I don't want to see it there. When you get the report it says: Mother Tongue; teacher – Mr Carder; and it gives the grade, and sometimes I think the language is maybe put separately, but I would like to see that changed.

Payment: finances. This is obviously an issue that concerns everybody. Basically, I think in an international school in the 'Street of Human Rights', you know, that's closely associated with the United Nations, if we could come up with some way of having a balance, not that everything is paid for, but if there's some sort of compromise so that somehow there's a way to encourage people to take their Mother Tongue. I think it would make a lot of sense. Because as somebody pointed out to me about five years ago, the last time we had a lot of meetings like this, if you're doing, in the, you might be interested in the statistics, statistics are always useful. This year 31 children in grade 12 are doing their Mother Tongue for the IB Diploma, so if they didn't do that they wouldn't get their IB Diploma. Now the fact that they're doing their Mother Tongue means that they're doing one language less in the school curriculum, so you could argue, 'please give me a refund for that, and I can, sort of, use that for the Mother Tongue. In fact in grade 11 there are 40 children doing their Mother Tongue for the IB Diploma, which I'm really happy about – 42 – so there's that side of it.

Points for CAA: this is, CAA is the, you know in the Diploma they have to do 250 hours of service, and in the MYP they also have to do various things – Creative, aesthetic, and things, and at the moment they don't get points for doing their Mother Tongue classes, but neither is their Mother Tongue included in the Core programme, so they lose out on both counts; that's an issue of fairness.

The final one is a pedagogical issue which is very complex: **Content of Mother Tongue curriculum.** All the research shows that the Mother Tongue teachers should not only teach the language and literature but should also be teaching the science and the maths and the history and the geography, and everything through the Mother Tongue. Well, I can't find teachers to do that but that's what we should be aiming for.

So, which point shall we start with, or would you like to say anything else anybody? Anybody like to, let's have a bit of discussion on one of these points, is that OK? Is that the way to proceed?

Mrs Larsson, (Swedish): Having all the other subjects?

Maurice Carder: So, the Swedish teacher, theoretically, if we were trying to really produce good bilingual children and give them all the benefits of bilingual education, then if the Swedish teacher could not only be teaching language and literature but could also be teaching maths through Swedish, and science through Swedish, and history and geography through Swedish. Obviously...

Mrs Larsson, (Swedish): Teaching parallel with the English.

Maurice Carder: Yes, yeah. This is an idea... we won't reach it, but this is, this is... yeah?

Mr Lezitski(Polish): I would like to make a proposal. I mean why don't we start by the points, so we can change, if we can change something. I mean to discuss here all night just to discuss, you know, we don't have...

Maurice Carder: No, no... I'm happy to have a series of meetings, I don't, shall we have a limit – when shall we stop the meeting? I thought an hour and a half – 7.30? Is that...

Mrs Frederiksson, (Swedish): I have to be...

Man (unidentified): Maybe too...

Maurice Carder: Too late? Sooner?

Man (unidentified): 7.0

Mrs Frederiksson, (Swedish): Quarter past seven?

Mr Lezitski(Polish): We focus on certain points.

Maurice Carder: So, 7.0? 7.15?

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Excuse me, this is my proposal: we should focus certain areas where we can affect, we can change, not those areas, for example, that you mentioned, how can we do to change that the Education Ministry change... that's going to be the difficult one.

Maurice Carder: Noooo – everything is possible.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): No, I know everything is possible, but there are other things that can be closer to our hands, that we can do, this is a proposal, that we can vote.

Maurice Carder: OK, what's your proposal?

Mr Lezitski(Polish): I mean to, can you prioritise areas according to where we, those areas that we can influence? That we can have an impact, that we can change?

Maurice Carder: Well, let's have some suggestions.

Woman (unidentified): There are two points.

Maurice Carder: Mr Lezitski, did you have your hand up?

Mr Lezitski(Polish): No, no, I can start with one of the, let's say...

Woman (unidentified): maybe, I think, like, about the Matura, about the Ministry of Austria, it's difficult, it's not in our hands. But about the school day, after school, we can talk about that to management.

Maurice Carder: So, the timing.

Woman (unidentified): Yeah, and also about the payment, we can do something about that, but others, it depends on the Ministry, it's difficult to...

Other woman (unidentified): We're saying that these things are important, these things are well organised, and present it, those are the things that should be, long-term programme, for the meeting that we have today, in one hour, left is half an hour, whatever, if we focus on the issues of teachers, the quality of teaching system, system, information, you know, payments, how this can be organised through the institutions, I mean that sort of thing, for our agenda.

Maurice Carder: OK, yeah. Anybody else want to say anything?

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Timing of classes, otherwise we... I may start. My daughter she's taking lessons, after school sometimes, during school day, as you mentioned, Mr Carder, that in grade 11 it is possible but the basic limitation is the time of the teacher so really I don't know how to help in this subject. More teachers authorised...

Maurice Carder: More teachers?

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Let's say, in grades of Polish there are two teachers which school recognises for Mother Tongue lessons. You have more choice.

Maurice Carder: Yeah, OK. Anything else on the timing?

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): I think if one has a choice, in grade 11 and 12, get it within the school hours and then one has to take it from there. Of course it would be better but I think it's a very complicated business to get it all in grades 6 up to 9 or 10; but maybe at least 11 and 12. It would be good.

Woman (unidentified): But I thought grades 11 and 12, the IB students, already have it during the day.

Maurice Carder: Not always, no, it depends on the teacher. Some teachers can't come during the day; they just can't come. More comments on timing?

Mrs Hernandez (Spanish): Also on timing, but also on the status of ... Mother Tongue; in a sense Mother Tongue is additional hours, and that sends a very, a clear message to the children and to us and to everybody that this is kind of second-class, and I think in terms of motivation it's the fact of including it in the regular day but also in some way being in a ... I don't know whether that is possible or how that could work, but the consideration of having, giving the Mother Tongue on a similar status to other subjects and also in terms of some commonality among all the students that are learning the same language, let's say.

Maurice Carder: Yep, good point. Anything else on timing? Ok. Classrooms, somebody mentioned. It's the same sort of area, basically, so having similar status really. But here, this is difficult; depending on the size of the classes, if you've got two students... over to you, you do the talking.

Mrs Berndtdottir, (Icelandic): Our, I've two boys, they're leaving school, and they're seeing the teacher in the centre of Vienna.

Maurice Carder: He's a university teacher, isn't he?

Mrs Berndtdottir, (Icelandic): He's a university teacher, they're coming over to him.

Maurice Carder: After school.

Mrs Berndtdottir, (Icelandic): In between.

Maurice Carder: In between, I see, so they go...

Mrs Berndtdottir, (Icelandic): So they go, and they eat their lunch on the way, they come back, but they're quite happy with that, it's a strange thing, because it gives them a break away from school, so that might be a possibility, a teacher, like meeting the teacher, on a little way.

Maurice Carder: Yep, that'll depend on the teachers, of course.

Mrs Berndtdottir, (Icelandic): Well,

Maurice Carder: We have about, probably one third of the teachers are university teachers, I think. OK, any other ideas on classrooms? OK, well, let's hit payment. Just a reminder that at the moment we have this form which has been, I last met with the director and the business manager last May and went through it again and they approved it, so it's approved by the management, and the idea is that it gives a fair deal for the teacher, and the parents have some sort of contract, a way of... apparently under Austrian law it counts as some sort of contract. But again to come to the issues of fairness you could argue quite easily that there's nothing more important than your Mother Tongue. OK, when you come to an institution you accept the rules and you go along with what it says. There is a school, the International School of London has managed to include Mother Tongue classes within the payment. Any ideas on this anybody? You probably have more financial ideas.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): In my opinion and other parents, because some institutions help in the refund, but it's clear in grades 11 and 12 it's coming all from our pocket. I've just calculated that the school increased but the limit is stable, and even it goes to minus.

Maurice Carder: Can I ask which organisation this is?

Mr Lezitski(Polish): IAEA.

Maurice Carder: The Agency, yeah?

Mr Lezitski(Polish): The Agency. I just double-checked with one administrative officer.

Maurice Carder: That's very interesting.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): So if you add food and school fee which is 14,600 but the limit is 11,399 which clearly you are not getting – you get zero to subsidise Mother Tongue lessons, and the same will be for...

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): That was our experience.

Maurice Carder: Really?

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): Then you have less lessons.

Maurice Carder: This is new this year, is it?

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): Well, I think from already, grade 10, 11, 12, and then you get practically nothing.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Certainly when you reach grade 11, that's for sure.

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): Grade 11.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): So may I ask, what do you spend on, the basis?

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Yeah, if you have, in my case it's, we have to make 150 hours for Standard Level Language A, or 200 something...

Maurice Carder: For Higher Level it's 240, for Standard Level it's 150.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): That's 75, and you know the prices, so it's coming to thousands of Euros.

Maurice Carder: Oh yeah. You pay more for the Mother Tongue teacher than you pay for the school fees, but I have to say on that, this is the IB *recommended* hours and I always make it clear to the teachers and the parents when they ask me that we try to, I do everything I can to be flexible on that, so you don't have to do 150, especially...

Mr Lezitski(Polish): They, I mean, in my case the teacher is quite honest and the programme distributed over, coming to about 150.

Maurice Carder: You can't, well, you could make it less, I would have thought. OK.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): But they have also, they claim they have to stick to...

Maurice Carder: Well, no, I think the financial issue there is a, I had a, I think it was a Danish parent about ten years ago, spoke to me about this whole issue and actually told me that she was, I don't know, she wasn't getting any refund at all and she was doing Higher Level, it was 240 hours, and she was paying more for the Mother Tongue teacher than for the school fees and I said, sorry, this is ridiculous, and I spoke to the teacher and got the number of hours reduced, so please be aware of that and tell other parents as well; it's not the IB says you must do this, it's a recommended and I am very flexible on it, and the IB Coordinator, we work on that understanding, yeah? Because...

Mr Lezitski(Polish): But it amounting to thousands of Euros. So, it's not logical from our point of view because we are releasing man-power at school by one subject, we would really expect at least a reduction of school fees, this is not my idea, my colleagues they say they even mentioned to management, five years ago, six years ago, but nothing happened.

Maurice Carder: Well, since you touch on that, about five or six years ago a group of parents got together a petition on this issue and there were about, I recall the number of 76 signatures. I handed the whole thing in to the director and this was at the time when we had what I call the revolving door of directors, and the next year I went and asked for these things and they'd disappeared. I was pretty angry about that, so I'm sorry about that, but...

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Could we write a petition?

Maurice Carder: Well, if you would like to organise it, it's much better, it's for the parents to organise, I think, and I would like to do it, sort of, amicably and in a forum like this, this is why I've called this forum because I wanted to see, you know, I suspected payment would come to the front, obviously, it's very important, but if we could include in these meetings the whole area of this and make it look professional and educational, I think it would be better, and I think it's the way to do it. So...

Mrs Dubinda (Amharic): ... but unfortunately we couldn't find a teacher, a formal class for two children to take IB Amharic, and we have two children for the same rate, we are looking for teachers at home, for teachers who conform with the IB,...

Maurice Carder: OK. First, would anybody else like to say anything about payment, please? So nobody else is so enthusiastic about this issue?

Woman (unidentified): Actually, my children will not take the IB for Mother Tongue but I think it's really unfair for the children, they're taking the IB, they have to pay what this gentleman said, others are just sitting there for languages which the school offer,...

Maurice Carder: Well, it's all sorts of things, it's, first of all they're doing one less school language, so the school is saving, theoretically, I mean, 40 children are not doing English,; there would probably be two more English IB classes, you could argue, in each of grade 12 and grade 11, so there's that side of it; the business manager could do a quick calculation to see, and maybe we could have some subsidy towards it. This is what happened in the International School of London; they came to a compromise situation and the parents had to pay a fixed amount. I think all Mother Tongue parents pay the same amount; however, people, of their own children are having a class and it was a much lower amount, and I think this might be something we could work towards.

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): But the school has organised this? The school has organised this?

Maurice Carder: The school, that school organised it, yeah.

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): Because the situation here is a bit different because we didn't have chance that we could find a teacher; we found a teacher ourselves and then we asked the school if the teacher qualification are OK for the IB Diploma and everything, who agreed, but the teacher was, I don't know, we made agreement about the prices which are quite normal for the Austrian school, for the teacher, but then the school started doing increase, they sent them to advise all teachers to charge us more, so I mean then this was again the problem, that we had to pay much more than was agreed, and I have nothing against if the school finds a teacher for you, but this is not correct if you find a teacher and then the school is advising your teacher how much they should charge you.

Maurice Carder: I'm a bit mystified by that, because we have this, you know the yellow form.

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): Yes!

Maurice Carder: And that's what teachers *have* to stick to.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Yeah, but what he's saying was, let's say, 20 on the market, and here it's 40, 42, depending on the level.

Maurice Carder: Oh I see, you're saying that the school's rate is more than what, uh-huh.

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): It's much higher.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): It's quite expensive.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Yeah, 45, it's...

Maurice Carder: So you would like to renegotiate this down.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): Well, I mean if you have 10 children they're €100 an hour, or so.

Maurice Carder: OK.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Because it's, for the case, it's €45, yeah, and I know the price for other languages if you call, is €20, you know this, yeah? Individual lessons.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): In town – or 30.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): And this was the figure for teacher because he's trying to stick to this.

Maurice Carder: Yeah.

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): Because you're finding teacher in Austrian school does not do anything about it, and you expect to be paid like they're paid, I mean higher than...

Maurice Carder: We're not a national school we're a private school, so it's different, it's, this is . .

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): yeah, but you're not hiring those teachers, we're finding our teachers ourselves. I mean somehow then you should have an option for us to choose a teacher that's already approved, I mean that you recognise as a teacher in a certain language.

Maurice Carder: The IB makes rules; they say that any teacher teaching an IB language must be approved by the school. That's the IB rules, so that's why we've come up with that form.

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): Yes, but say...

Maurice Carder: Am I missing something?

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): You don't have approved teachers for every language, you have approved teachers for every – how many did you mention – 76 languages?

Maurice Carder: No, no, because a lot of that, the IB doesn't offer all the languages that... they're working, I was at a meeting with the IB in January; many languages don't have a literature, so to speak. The IB, I think there are about, in the world, 6,000 languages; they estimate about 180 will probably qualify as languages that could be taken as an IB subject. In this school we have 76 languages. I've got about 45 teachers of different languages, erm - where am I going with this?

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): I mean, it took us one year to find appropriate teacher.

Maurice Carder: It took you one...

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): One year.

Maurice Carder: yeah.

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): To find appropriate teacher that could be accepted by the school.

Maurice Carder: Why?

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): It's not easy to find a teacher acceptable by school.

Maurice Carder: Why, was I responsible for saying no or something? I don't remember anything.

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): No no no. Is just saying, you have to find a teacher yourself, we are not sure that the teacher will be recognised by the school.

Maurice Carder: OK, let me try to put this... the way it works for the teacher, is I don't have a teacher for a language, what I do, the first thing I do is go to the family, because the family is in the community and they're the people who are more likely to find the teacher, sometimes it's very difficult, sometimes it's very easy. For example, shall I? Yeah, I can give you this for an example: we had a student from Lithuania; he was the first one this year, he's the only one in the school and within a day of him coming we had a teacher as well because it just happened there was a lady who'd been Head of a Secondary school in Lithuania; her husband was at the UN; she didn't have anything to do. She was really glad to have something to do, and she came in straightaway. She was very innovative and this, if I can sidetrack a bit on the IT side, because she'd been a Head of a school but not into literature so much, she immediately got onto her

computer, used Skype, you know Skype for telephoning, and got a literature teacher back in Lithuania and used that very much to teach the child. That was very successful. I can't remember the circumstances of this particular teacher, but I find it a bit strange that that's what happened.

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): No no... the teacher, if the teacher is not familiar with the programme...

Maurice Carder: The trouble with the IB, it takes a long time.

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): Takes time, for a teacher to learn, and to prepare, and then you are in position, if you're having just, if you're the only one have child, then teacher can, has reason to say simply, I have to work much more.

Maurice Carder: yeah. These are sensitive issues, but they need to be talked about. I mean this is what we're here for, we've got to go through, I think, to find out how we can improve these things.

Mrs Berndtdottir, (Icelandic): I thought it was necessary for the approved teacher to have a...

Maurice Carder: A teaching certificate.

Mrs Berndtdottir, (Icelandic): In IB, to have courses or something.

Maurice Carder: No. As I said, I've got a lot of teachers here, teachers come and go; if I need a teacher for a new language then the first thing I do is go to the family, and in about 80% of cases everything works out and we find a teacher. What's happening, as the programme's expanding, you see if this initiative works out and we take it further, we could be in a situation where parents are going to demand a teacher, and that could be very difficult, because I can't find teachers of every language, and I remember having a teacher for Turkish, for example, and the only person I could find was in fact a teacher of chemistry, but she was a teacher, and she did lots of homework, and I sat down with her for a long, long time with her and she ended up being, when she was back in her own country she did a lot of work there on literature and she taught students and they did very well, luckily, but there are parents who are not too satisfied with the teacher, they talk to me about it and I do what I can either to find another teacher or talk to the teacher and try to get them to improve.

Mrs Larsson, (Swedish): But then anyone who has some sort of certificate in teaching Swedish, for example, could teach Swedish here on an IB level. It's not that you have to have a certain...

Maurice Carder: There is no...

Mrs Larsson, (Swedish): I know there are some courses at IB that you can take – this is not necessary then.

Maurice Carder: There is not really any such thing as an IB teachers' certificate...

Mrs Larsson, (Swedish): No?

Maurice Carder: At the moment. They're working on it at the moment. And again, that would make our situation more difficult.

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): If the teacher comes to you, do you give the teacher the whole programme that he has to do?

Maurice Carder: I sit down with them and talk them through it. We have a language problem though, as you know. I can speak bits of various languages and do my best in

them but speaking a language and talking about an IB programme in a foreign language are two different things. The IB official languages are English, French and Spanish, and they produce the 'Guide', the Guide for Language A1 is about that thick (indicates), it's got about 80 pages, it's very, very complex and I have written to the IB, I have talked to the IB, I've had articles published about it saying 'Please, the best way to spend a lot of your money would be to produce Guides in a lot of other languages', but I'm not winning, but I've really, really tried, so if I have a teacher – at least to have a Guide in German. I had a Russian teacher about ten years ago, really enthusiastic, an excellent teacher, and she actually spent a lot of time with a friend getting the, translating the whole Guide into Russian, and then the next year the IB changed the Guide, they brought out a new Guide. I wrote to the IB about this, I've really done everything I can and there's not much more I can do about it. I don't want to, I don't know if you know about this, but I actually spent a lot of my evenings and holidays writing this (shows book), OK, so, and there's a lot of stuff in there about it.

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): I just want to say for the future, for children who are very small, not to face the same problem as our teacher who was teaching our child according to the programme in Serbia, which has nothing to do with the IB programme, so we...

Maurice Carder: But that's OK.

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): We wasted like 4, 5, years, it's somehow it's OK because you get the broader view, yeah, but still there are big differences, because our approach is different, our school is different, so then you don't...

Maurice Carder: Every national system is different.

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): Yeah, but you know, when you are used to one system for 5, 6, years it happens in year 11 that you realise that you have to prepare yourself for something else, we don't have, say, in our school these oral presentations or something like this, it is more to write something, and then you come out that your child is not used to this kind...

Maurice Carder: Not prepared, yeah.

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): Not prepared for this, but I mean, just to say that you really have to be sure that the teacher knows the IB programme.

Maurice Carder: Well, can I make a comment on that...

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): If your child will go...

Maurice Carder: Yeah, because, talking to Mother Tongue teachers, a lot of them use materials from their national curriculum, from about 15 years ago I had a Chinese teacher, they brought the whole Chinese curriculum and put it in the library here, which I was really happy about because I could say to the students, look, go to the library, if you're having trouble in science classes you can go to the library and, in your own language you can see about science. Of course it's different, and also, OK, we're a bit unusual here, many students stay at this school a long time, but many students do go back to their own country and so it's good to have had a teacher who's been teaching their own national curriculum, and it's, you know...

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): Yeah, but no; you have different approach. Say in Serbia we pay more attention on classical writers, say, whereas here we found out some writers that,

they're, I don't know how you choose them but they're not so popular and they're not considered so, of such a value that we should discuss about them in schools.

Maurice Carder: Then if you want to you can write a letter.

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): They're too modern, maybe, they made some books 2, 3, years ago, something like this, but why we pay more attention from our literature, I mean not only our literature, but world literature and everything. My son find out that this is completely different literature, he just know now that is completely different approach.

Maurice Carder: OK, yeah. Well, the way that books are chosen on the Diploma language lists is that there is a Chief Examiner for every language and these chief examiners are chosen by the IB, and usually resident in the capital of the country of the language. OK, places like Spanish is more varied, but a place like Serbia there's one capital so the Chief Examiner will probably be in Belgrade. For Polish there'll probably be a Chief Examiner in Warsaw, and if you want to have input into that then by all means write a letter, which I'll give to the IB Coordinator. He will send it off to the IB, but the IB, they do their best and you know, I have problems with the IB, I write to them, but they're dealing with the whole world and there's nobody else who offers anything like this, they really do try. They send out repeated enquiries, they have reforms, they have an on-going – every five years they do this reform, which is what upsets me because they produce new Guides, so we have to revise them all the time, but I understand what you're saying, completely, you have...

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): Why have you got such books read now, because if all the changes didn't pay too much attention with politics, or you're choosing from what was valuable from our literature, but now...

Maurice Carder: The political situation...

Mr Vuketic(Serbian): The political situation is also, bring them to choose some writers which are politically acceptable at this moment, so and then, and that's why, so when I've seen the choice I was a little bit surprised.

Maurice Carder: Then please write a letter and I'll make sure it gets sent on to the IB, that's the only way, you know, in a democratic world, the only way to keep, is to get involved and respond to things, but I mean that's another thing; we live in a highly volatile world which is politically pretty unstable and very changing, and the IB has to respond to this. With the big changes in 1989, nobody could foresee it, the IB has to keep up with, they try to keep up with it, they're doing their best.

Mrs Pogled (Slovak): I would like to ask you this information: my son...

Maurice Carder: He's in grade 11, yep.

Mrs Pogled (Slovak): Yes.

Maurice Carder: Yeah, and he's doing Slovak.

Mrs Pogled (Slovak): Yes, so naturally a teacher from his school, but now the question is whether will he prepare for his IB course? They're trying their best, is it possible somehow to test whether he's prepared for that, because you have already mentioned that national and international goes slightly differently.

Maurice Carder: The only thing I can say on that is that your son drops by my office quite regularly, he's very good about that, and when he has a query I always deal with it and the teacher, the son is, the teacher is actually in Slovakia, OK, so he goes, or does

he do it by email? It's very close, and all the information has been sent to the teacher and he's chosen his book list, he's got the instructions, and so I have to assume the teacher, who is a well-qualified teacher, knows as a professional what he has to do.

Mrs Pogled (Slovak): Yeah, but still, you know, at least I would prefer that he do some kind of pre-exam to be sure that everything...

Maurice Carder: Well, he has an exam now in grade 11 which he's getting tomorrow actually; the grade 11 Mother Tongue exam is tomorrow, and that will be corrected by the teacher. The only thing that I can suggest is that the teacher comes to the school to speak to me, and I can deal with that. There was a girl, by the way, about three years ago from Slovakia, who did exactly the same thing; she ended up getting a 7, if that helps you. Obviously, she had a different teacher, but I mean, I have great confidence in teachers' professionalism, and in 90% of cases I'm not let down. Teachers are, if they're working in, and in a lot of your countries you have gymnasium, which have a high standard, and I think teachers who teach there live up to this standard, they're very good.

Mrs Pogled (Slovak): OK. Regarding this yellow paper, then maybe it's better to leave it blank regarding this payment, then you don't need to suggest that it's €45 per hour.

Maurice Carder: Ok, well I'll put that to the teachers next week, because I'm having a meeting with the teachers next week, and we'll see what they say.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): It should be free, the price should be, let's say, market price.

Maurice Carder: Free market?

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Market economy and...

Maurice Carder: Should it be the same for the school fees, should they be open as well? You know, this is... I better not say anything, or I might say something I might regret.

Mrs Larsson, (Swedish): At the same time we hear also that it's difficult to find teachers.

Maurice Carder: Yes.

Mrs Larsson, (Swedish)... in many languages, I don't know if it's good to lower the price too much or we might not...

Maurice Carder: Yeah, thank you for that.

Mrs Larsson, (Swedish): Especially not in Swedish. We've been searching for many years for a teacher in the primary school.

Maurice Carder: I think I have to say something about that. Teachers are professionals and I think to treat them as if they're cleaning staff or something is not exactly the way we should do things. I think, and also I have to have this yellow form as a form of contract because the IB insists that we have control over, you know, that the parents have a responsibility to make sure their children are doing the work at the right time. I understand, it's difficult for me because I want you to be, to have classes for your children, but obviously if you're not getting financial support it's not good. If we can think of a way to compromise, to get school support, I think, is a way to go. I think the fact that the children are getting one less lesson might be a way of somehow getting the school to subsidise them a bit. I think that's the, that'd be a better way forward.

Mrs Hernandez (Spanish): For me, particularly for IB, it's clear, in the middle years it's a different..., there's no substitution...

Woman (unidentified): I think IB should, the school should...

Mrs Hernandez (Spanish): One idea that I, I don't know, but some type of collaboration with the respective embassies would be a possibility, like the Spanish Embassy has classes for Spanish children, language and culture, covered by the Spanish cultural institute, so I don't know whether this is something that, some type of collaboration could be explored, and whether other embassies do the same thing.

Maurice Carder: Some do, some don't. A lot of, there are some Saturday schools, quite a lot of them. Swedish I know, Arabic, there are Korean, Chinese, Japanese, Bulgarian, you know, different schools have...

Mrs Hernandez (Spanish): The advantage of being here, that my children go to the Spanish classes, but it's advantage to be in school, it's much easier and it's more motivating to be here, with his or her friends and in the same environment, it's just different from your experience, because we've tried the other thing too, and then going from here to there, after school it's very tiring, so it makes it easier if it's here, and I think that's also a point that was raised at this continuity to the IB, if the IB programme for the Mother Tongue is very specific the Middle Years Programme could prepare them for this, and if they do it outside it's not likely to happen.

Maurice Carder: Yeah. I actually remember, I think, I heard a story, this is second hand so I don't know about the truth of it, from children who went to the Instituto Cervantes, and in fact they discovered they learnt less than they did with the Mother Tongue teacher, but that's just hearsay, it might just be gossip, so, yeah.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): My children, they were going to school organised by Embassy of Polish government for six years.

Maurice Carder: Here in Vienna.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Here in Vienna, from grade 1-6, but later there was really time, there was more and more work in grade 9, 10, it was impossible simply to help them. It was nice, it was very, very helpful, getting friends, getting different...

Maurice Carder: Well, that's what they, they really keep in touch with the culture.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Exactly, but later forget it, it's impossible.

Maurice Carder: Yeah, well, the typical example of that is the Russian school. There aren't, it's a pity there's not a Russian parent here, but a lot of Russian students kept going to the Russian school, but almost sort of fulltime. They were going after school about three days and on Saturdays; the kids were just exhausted, they were really, really tired, and, it was good for them because it was a totally different system, they were living this sort of parallel world, but, and they could finish their whole Russian education in grade 11, so they could get their Russian Matura Equivalence at the end of grade 11 and so they could concentrate on grade 12, but only the brighter students could handle it, some of the slower students, they were just exhausted and I think it had a detrimental effect.

How are we doing?

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Points for CAA, I think it's good proposal from your side, because the time is taken from the kids.

Woman (unidentified): If you get it for other, like sports...

Maurice Carder: We actually couldn't believe it in our department with my colleagues, we just, you know, what is this, they're doing all this work and they're not getting points for it, why not? And then also, I had a bit of a discussion with the Middle School Director of Studies, because he said: 'Oh, Mother Tongue is not part of the Core programme', and I have a problem with that as well- it should be.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Can they start to play?

Mrs Frederiksson, (Swedish): The best thing would be to integrate the Mother Tongue.

Maurice Carder: How, in what way?

Mrs Frederiksson, (Swedish): Like, just having it as an option, in school.

Maurice Carder: As an option, during the Foreign Language time, so, you see the timetable, it's got to be somewhere, so instead of French or Spanish? Would you...

Mrs Frederiksson, (Swedish): I don't exactly want to...

Maurice Carder: Where does it go? Where do you put the Mother Tongue during the school day? It's got to come somewhere, and not everybody does it, so, what are other students doing when it's the Mother Tongue option?

Woman (unidentified): I think it's tricky.

Maurice Carder: it's all tricky.

Mrs Frederiksson, (Swedish): I think experiences in any international school...

Maurice Carder: Well, in this school until about four years ago students could do Mother Tongue instead of French or Spanish, but then they missed out on French or Spanish. The International School of London, again I know because I've visited it, they, on Wednesday afternoon they made Wednesday afternoon a different time and students could do their Mother Tongue programme and everybody else did, I suppose, either English or German. How does, shall I propose that?

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Yeah.

Mrs Hernandez (Spanish): Why not?

Maurice Carder: Wednesday afternoon, OK?

Mrs Frederiksson, (Swedish): Mother Tongue instead of the third language if you took IB.

Maurice Carder: Well...

Mrs Berndtdottir, (Icelandic): Well, we have had that problem because our son is...

Maurice Carder: Bilingual; don't worry about...

Mrs Berndtdottir, (Icelandic): Bilingue, in French and Icelandic, then, for example, tomorrow he's supposed to take exams in both languages, so...

Maurice Carder: Timetable clash, yeah yeah.

Mrs Berndtdottir, (Icelandic): He has a timetable clash, because he takes French and Icelandic as a Mother Tongue for his IB, so, that would be a clash as well, when you have examples like Icelandic and French together, so ...

Maurice Carder: It's going to be tricky.

Mrs Berndtdottir, (Icelandic): Yeah, but ...

Maurice Carder: We can look for solutions.

Mrs Berndtdottir, (Icelandic): But the good thing is, I haven't been able to say yet, I'm so happy to have this programme and that's one of the reasons...

Maurice Carder: Which programme?

Mrs Berndtdottir, (Icelandic): This IB programme with Mother Tongue languages, because it gives him the possibility to take this in IB, and he didn't have that in the French school, we changed him from the French, Lycée Francaise ...

Maurice Carder: He was here at the Lycée Francaise?

Mrs Berndtdottir, (Icelandic): Yeah, he's been through all the French school system, but one of the main reasons we changed to UIS ...

Maurice Carder: Was for the Mother Tongue programme.

Mrs Berndtdottir, (Icelandic): Yeah.

Maurice Carder: Well, thank you, something ...

(All laugh).

Mrs Berndtdottir, (Icelandic): Something positive!

Maurice Carder: Basically, we can't do everything, you can see it's very complex. First, it's a complex world; it's getting more complex, people are travelling more, you have political changes, you have different perceptions. Yes, Mr Gonzalez?

Mr Gonzalez(Spanish): No, it's OK.

Maurice Carder: I thought you had a hand up.

Mr Gonzalez(Spanish): Just stretching out, thank you.

Maurice Carder: Well, shall we pull it to a close here? Can we, who would like to have another meeting? Or ...

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): Educational benefits, find out ...

Maurice Carder: Yeah, I would like something on the educational side, because I like talking about it; I can talk for hours.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): It would be very interesting.

Maurice Carder: I have a meeting with the teachers next Wednesday; they got exactly the same paper, by the way; it says 'Dear Teachers' at the top instead of 'Dear Parents'. I shall be discreet, of course, and diplomatic. I'll just mention some of the things that have come up here, but in a very sort of vague way, because they've got to accept that they're, the teachers are responsible for it, could be very interesting, and I wonder if payment will loom large in their lives as it does here as well. I try to, of course it's going to be a big issue because we all have to meet our financial commitments, but I would like to have another meeting not too far away to keep the initiative going. Where are we, 15th May. If we aim for a meeting on the 29th May, for anybody who's interested?

Mrs Frederiksson, (Swedish): Is it a Wednesday also?

Maurice Carder: What's today?

Mrs Frederiksson, (Swedish): Today's Thursday.

Maurice Carder: Do you prefer Wednesday or Thursday, does it make any difference?

Mrs Frederiksson, (Swedish): For me it doesn't matter.

Maurice Carder: Well, the 5th June?

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Personally not.

Maurice Carder: Not the 5th June. 28th May? Wednesday.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): Can I ask one question; the International School of London – how many different languages do they have?

Maurice Carder: Just a sec; 28th May, same time, same place.

How many different languages? I can't actually remember. Not as many as here, but what I liked about it also was, I mean there are all sorts of things concerning integration. I'd like to see Mother Tongue teachers more integrated with the teaching staff here. At the moment in the staffroom they sort of sit separately, a lot of the regular teachers don't really talk to them. This is an international school, United Nations, etc etc etc, and I think we really should be level playing field and, yeah. How many teachers did they have? Probably about 12, I think, so it was very different.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): So we'd need to get 75.

Maurice Carder: Oh, I wouldn't expect to get, no I wouldn't ...

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): If you do it on Wednesdays ...

Maurice Carder: No, I wouldn't be able to find teachers for all the languages, so what do you do about those languages where you can't find a teacher? You've got to put them, you've got to have something credible, and positive, for the children of those languages.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): What do you do with the native English speakers?

Maurice Carder: You could have a native English class. Well, when we, talking about native English, it's becoming more and more unusual. Have you heard this statement? 'Monolingualism is a curable disease'. I come from a country, England, which is, well, the USA is actually worse, but England, they're really not good at speaking languages. I've always been interested in languages and spent a lot of my life outside the country and speak a few, but in England, if you follow the press, it's just awful, it really is. They've actually come up, recently the government has said you don't have to do languages any more after the age of 12 or something. The reason is 'because languages are too difficult'. This is pathetic, absolutely pathetic. I mean what can you say? In countries like Holland, Holland is my ideal – there are no Dutch speakers here, are there? – because everybody has to do three languages and they're really fluent in so many languages, it's ... Scandinavia's pretty good as well, isn't it.

Mrs Larsson, (Swedish): In the regular school in Sweden you have right to have Mother Tongue.

Maurice Carder: Well, the Austrian government's actually getting better, they're working on it, they're getting there slowly, but we'd have to come up with some ideas on that. Anyway, look, thank you very much everybody. So, 28th May. I won't send you a letter, OK? Can you write it in your diary?

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Shall I draft this petition for the fees and send you?

Maurice Carder: Please do.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): If everybody agrees, yeah?

Maurice Carder: Bring it next time.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Can I send you by email?

Maurice Carder: Yeah. I would be very happy if you want to contact – you know my email address, mcarder, because it's much easier to do everything by email, letters are sort of complicated. Please feel free to email me at any time.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): And then we can sign and let's see, maybe we'll be lucky.

Maurice Carder: If you want to circulate it with other colleagues as well, but it's got to come from you, it can't come from me, so ...

Mr Lezitski(Polish): I think it's important for us, and you just say if it's correct formula.

Maurice Carder: Thank you very much.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): We address to Director.

Maurice Carder: Ok, yes, yes, to the Director, Mr Watford, Unonia International School.
OK, thank you very much indeed.

B Transcript of the second meeting with parents at the Unonia International School, 28-5-2008. 18.15-19.15.

For the second meeting, 7 parents attended.

Participants gave their agreement to being recorded, and to the data being used for this paper.

TRANSCRIPT

Maurice Carder: OK. So, first of all thank you very much for coming. I know what it's like, at the end of the day, and the weather and everything, so thank you. Last time ... I sent out notes very briefly, which gives you an idea.

We talked about the timing of classes: during the school day would be better.

About the status of classes: having them during the school day, again, would give them better status and make the kids more interested.

It should be seen as a Core subject.

Payment came up because of this issue of the ceiling of educational grants – back to that in a minute.

CAA in the Middle School: parents felt it would be appropriate to have points for that.

Scheduling: I said I would look into something I'd heard about the international school of London. What they did was once a week they suspended the whole timetable on a Wednesday afternoon and only had mother tongue classes. I've written to the previous director who was there when I was there. She's now in China – which is the world of international education – and she hasn't answered yet, but I'm sure she will, so when she answers I'll let you know.

And the meeting today: we said the agenda would be to talk first of all about the petition drawn up by Mr Lezitski.

And then I'll do a presentation about educational benefits, and I've got a paper you can take home with you, so first of all I don't know if anybody else- Mr Lezitski's contains some signatures on that – if I leave it, if anybody wants to sign it, I'll leave it for you to pass around and give back at the end of the lesson – 'end of the lesson' – you can see I'm a teacher – end of the presentation – habit, habit, habit.

Well, first of all, any comment, shall we have a few introductions because there are some different faces, OK. I'll start with myself, sorry, but it's probably best. My name is Maurice Carder, I've been in the school a long time, my whole aim has been to have the two sides of the bilingual coin: English as a second language; and improve English for those who really need it before passing on to the English department, and also keeping up children's own language because there are many benefits which we're going to talk about tonight. OK, so, Mrs Pohornik.

Mrs Pohornik(Slovenian): We are coming from Slovenia. I have daughter in grade 10 and she will learn mother tongue language for IB, as A1.

Mrs Bohancz(Hungarian): I'm from Hungary. I have a son in grade 6 and we do double schooling.

Maurice Carder: Meaning?

Mrs Bohancz(Hungarian): Meaning that he's a private student at his home school.

Maurice Carder: In Hungarian?

Mrs Bohancz(Hungarian): Yeah, and he's a private student, so that means he has to take all the exams every term.

Maurice Carder: Where does, how does he learn for that?

Mrs Bohancz(Hungarian): Erm, my husband teaches him in mathematics, and all the other subjects are from me; I teach him five subjects this year.

Maurice Carder: And he's in grade 6.

Mrs Bohancz(Hungarian): He's in grade 6.

Maurice Carder: Does he get very tired?

Mrs Bohancz(Hungarian): Yes, he is, yes he is.

Maurice Carder: It's tough. But it's very good, it's excellent, it's ...

Mrs Bohancz(Hungarian): I hesitated last year whether to go or not, because primary is primary, and secondary is secondary, but now I'm more concerned that there's no other way.

Maurice Carder: Well,

Mrs Bohancz(Hungarian): Because we'll return home one day.

Maurice Carder: Exactly – that's what it's about.

Mrs Bohancz(Hungarian): Yes.

Maurice Carder: Yep, this is where international schools are different from national systems, completely.

Mrs Bohancz(Hungarian): He *has* to go back, back to his national system.

Maurice Carder: Yes. Which is my argument that programmes like this should be included in the regular school timetable, especially in 'The Street of Human Rights'. Yep. OK, thank you.

Mrs Berndtdottir (Icelandic): I have a son in 11th grade; he's taking A1 mother tongue in IB, an extra IB language because he's taking French as well.

Maurice Carder: OK, thank you.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): I have two children, in grade 7 and grade 10. The mother tongue they have been taking is Spanish, although I speak to them in Swedish, though the father speaks Spanish, and they won't take IB Spanish.

Maurice Carder: They won't?

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): No.

Maurice Carder: Do you want to say anything about that? Or not?

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): The reason being that their Spanish is not so strong, their dominant language is actually English, so I think it wouldn't be fair to put them through ... They've done mother tongue since grade 1 and they've had it every week, but to do it as an IB language would be ... My daughter is choosing English and German as A in the two languages, because this is what happens, I think, when you have lived away from, when you haven't lived in the country where you have the mother tongue or father tongue, er, if it's not the dominant language; it's very difficult to keep it up, particularly as they've done all their studying in English, they have been through ... my son has been here since primary, our daughter's just grad ... They lived in Mexico for 3

years, they do speak Spanish, but their English and I would say probably their German is stronger as well, yeah.

Maurice Carder: It's what happens. This is difficult for me. I don't want to, you know, we're here just to talk about things and I have a friend who's always telling me not to be too didactic, especially with parents, or I'll be in trouble, but ... what happens with grandparents and things like that?

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): Well they speak Spanish in Argentina and Swedish in Sweden.

Maurice Carder: So they have enough language for that?

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): Yes, because ...

Maurice Carder: So ...

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): Because I've always spoken Swedish to them and my husband Spanish, but you now have reached a stage where all their schooling has been in English and they have the one mother tongue once a week. Swedish they've had no formal training, so it is what, it's an oral language, but it's not difficult. If you want to learn Swedish really well, if you have German and English it's not a complicated language, and that's why. What I find interesting is here, like, who chooses, which students do choose mother tongue A1? Are these the students that come in quite new to the school? Or are these the students that have been through this system since primary, or pre-primary? I think that would be quite interesting.

Maurice Carder: That's a very good question, yeah. I can actually – I've got the list here, I can flick up the list of students. Is that interfering with data protection? I get very confused these days about what we're allowed to do publicly and what we're not. There are, of course, many students who've only, if they've just come to the school in grade 9, then definitely they will do their own language. I can remember only one student, there was a Russian girl about ten years ago, no, about 12 years ago, and she was – it was actually very difficult because it was within the family, there was a split with the father and the mother. The father wanted the girl to do Russian and the mother was supporting the girl in wanting to do English A1, and it was just after 1989 and the girl had strongly rejected the whole background of the whole Soviet thing; she thought America was the perfect answer and so English was the answer to all her problems and in fact she, against our advice, she did English A1 and she got a 5. She was a very hard-working student and sort of strongly motivated because of her English-only goal, but that's very unusual, and, you know, that was because of the political 'Zeitgeist'.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): And yet one of those Spanish-speaker families where the daughter has been through all of primary and she will take Spanish as A1, so I don't know how it goes. Maybe it depends on what's the language you have at home.

Maurice Carder: It depends on all sorts of things, all sorts of things. It's a very complex community here – it's very, very complex. So, well, let's pass on to you to hear your input, because ...

Mrs Pogled (Slovak): We are coming from Slovakia. My son is in grade 11 and mother tongue will be one of subjects of IB.

Maurice Carder: He came to the school last year? Was that his first year? Or the year before?

Mrs Pogled (Slovak): Yes, in February.

Maurice Carder: In February, so he came in grade, so I think that's, for him to take English A1 would be ... hard? I'm not quite sure how proficient he is. No, he would be OK.

Mrs Pogled (Slovak): He has learnt English ...

Maurice Carder: In his own school, OK.

Mrs Pogled (Slovak): For a high level in school in Slovakia.

Maurice Carder: OK, but he preferred to take Slovak A1 because – he's going back to Slovakia? Or ... you don't know?

Mrs Pogled (Slovak): We are not sure.

Maurice Carder: You don't know.

Mrs Pogled (Slovak): We are not sure, but anyway he wants to visit university in England, at first, or maybe ...

Maurice Carder: OK, thank you.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): I got two twins in grade 11. One of them is taking Polish mother tongue as IB A1, the second one is not taking Polish, so that's the answer to your question maybe. (Many laughs). Actually the second, boy, could take both, the daughter was actually not recommended by teachers so she's taking English as B Higher because when came to subject selection as mathematics ...

Maurice Carder: Very much so ...

Mr Lezitski(Polish): So she took basically B as she was not recommended even though she's from primary school here.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): This is difficult, isn't it, you can't base on the pattern.

Maurice Carder: Let's have a look, I'll show you quickly the list of students in the mother tongue programme. Do we want to have a closing time for this meeting? 7 o'clock?

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Personally I have to leave in 15 minutes – some arrangement I have.

Maurice Carder: OK. Grade 6 this year (shows data on the screen, projected by a beamer from computer) – we have very students – I don't know what happened. The average for the whole middle school is about 20 kids. You see grade 7, we've got 20 children. Here's the language, here's the name.

(Cleaning lady comes into room). *Grúss Gott; entschuldigen aber ... Morgen, danke.*

[Hallo; sorry but ... Tomorrow, thank you.]

That's the ... OK, so you've got 22 students doing their mother tongue in grade 7. Grade 8, 22 again, that's the sort of average, grade 9, 24. I usually see it as getting close to IB it increases, because people begin to real ... to understand, and this, from my knowledge, very typical – grade 10, 31. What've we got there?: Arabic, Bosnian, Chinese, Danish, Dutch, Finnish, French, Hungarian, Korean, Lithuanian – our first student – Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Sinhalese, Spanish and Swedish. And then grade 11, at the moment it's a record number: we've got 43 students doing their own language, not all A1, which is interesting. See A1 standard, A1 higher. Some are doing A2, some are doing B, which in this school I argue that the whole term 'mother tongue' – terminology is a bit complicated – 'mother tongue' isn't sufficient. Here's a boy, you

know from your own experience, you might have been to international schools around the world. Some people have lost their mother tongue to a certain degree. They come here and they realise 'oh, it's important to keep up the language'. We have some examples of that. So, and then grade 12, this year we had 31, yeah. The languages are very much the languages that we all recognise. Out of the 6,000 languages in the world the IB offers about 100. So, I suppose what I could do, I could go through all those and see – well, those two, yeah. Most of them have come fairly recently, I think it's fair to say, but not all, OK? So, I said I would do a presentation, so I'll get through it – what I'll do, I've just prepared something here, and I'm happy to stop on each slide and discuss it, I think the best way to do it.

(Power point begins). So L1 is the first language, mother tongue, yeah. It's now been confirmed that a key variable in our succeeding studies on the 'how long?' question – Thomas and Collier, I happen to know them both. Virginia Collier, Wayne Thomas, are both researchers at George Mason University in the USA. They've both been here to help us out and talk about things. They did a study on 700,000 students, they left the computers running and collected all this data, and it's, for me it's – I can give references if anybody wants it; I didn't put references here, I didn't want to interrupt the flow. But they really say the main variable on how much kids achieve in English is how good they are, how literate they are, in their mother tongue, and this is the whole difference between spoken English and literate English. OK, so they found that students being schooled – OK, the USA, I know, is a particular situation and we're different from that, but there hasn't been so much research done on international schools, and the USA, a lot of it is the whole Spanish-English thing. If you talk about bilingualism in the USA it's usually Spanish-English. But they find that students who are only schooled in English improve very quickly at first, but then dropped off later if they weren't keeping up their mother tongue. It's the long-term studies that are important. The short-term studies are really irrelevant. So, as they progress through the school, as the work gets more complex, obviously, especially in the middle and high school years – it's round about grade 9 and 10, it's the complexity of the language, it really gets more difficult, and that's when their progress really got less if they were not keeping up their mother tongue, and there's this whole thing about if you keep up your mother tongue then you transfer the literacy. You've got the knowledge; it's just finding the code. It's common sense, basically. That's the result of actually being at this school (reads from screen): 'when the demographics of a school population include a multilingual student group' – which is exactly what we are with 76 languages – 'then mother tongue literacy development for each language group, combined with English as a second language, taught through academic content, may be the best choice for support of non-English speakers' needs', which is for me is exactly what our programme is. We don't, we have no alternative. I can't see a better way of doing it, what we do here. We can't have bilingual education because we have too many languages: we can't have half English and half Polish, or half English and half Slovenian, blah blah blah blah, so the only thing we can do is have mother tongue lessons or – home-schooling, wow! More parents like that would be quite something – it must be very demanding.

So, this is their 'prism' model (shown on screen). They say it should be imagined as a literally as a prism – not a prison, a prism. In the centre are the social and cultural processes – this is what kids are going through, living in school, doing what kids do. Round the edge for all of these things, for first language *and* second language development, so the language development should be first and second language, the academic development should be first and second language, and cognitive development first and second language, OK?

(Shows new slide) This is a couple of charts that shows the difference – the dotted line, OK, the dotted line is spoken language – no, sorry, wrong chart – this is the progress of a monolingual child and this is the second language learner, OK, so the length of time is here. The monolingual child is making progress this way, the second language learner up here. And this is how long it takes; this is about a couple of years to learn oral English, so this is the language of the classroom, the language used at home, which is what a lot of children do. But for a second language learner, this is how long the second language learner takes to catch up with the monolingual child in the literate language, OK, the language of school, the academic language, and it's 5-8 years in a *good* programme. Now in this school, I've been here for a long time and I see it as quicker, especially when children come here in about grades 7 or 8. When they've got literacy exactly as your son, Mrs Pogled, yeah? He's got his literacy in Slovak, and he can just transfer it, OK?

Now, (new slide), this is a researcher whose work I'm very interested in: David Graddol. 'Good English will be like literature yesterday or computer skills ...', in other words English has got such status in the world today that having good English is going to become routine, OK? There won't be lots of people from England or the USA who can only speak English and not other languages; they're going to be gradually losing out in the market against people who have second language, English as a second language *and* their own language. There's lots of research been done on this.

(New slide) These are some of the 4 good points. This is taken from an IB document, so:

Bilingual students avoid language loss; and the result of negative effects, for example subtractive bilingualism. They perform at least as well and often better as monolingual students. There's been research done on this – but not necessarily. They perform at least as well as second language students who don't maintain their mother tongue and are schooled wholly in the second language. They maintain a positive attitude towards their mother tongue and cultural background when the school shows acceptance of the mother tongue language, accounting for increased self-esteem and its resulting benefits. There are, would you believe it, still international schools where students are told only to speak English, and they're not allowed to speak their own language. They're penalized, I mean this is sort of 100 years ago as far as I'm concerned, but there are still schools like that. In this school children are in groups everywhere, speaking their own languages; it's what they should be doing.

(New slide) And this is what we should be aiming for; there's this term 'additive bilingualism', and it's the 4 areas: it's academic, cognitive, linguistic and social – and it's really important to keep that balance, of these four.

(Door opens) 'Hallo, welcome, come in. Please have a seat'.

(New slide) This is the potential dangers of not keeping up. It's called 'subtractive bilingualism'. Especially this one – students who are told not to use their language, or aren't being educated in it. I don't know – you know, you've probably talked to your children. Has anybody got any feedback on having classes after school? Have they said – nothing you can put your finger on really, but maybe just a feeling that they're, why is it after school, why is it different.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): They're tired.

Maurice Carder: They're tired, OK. So it's the physical thing as well as, they're tired.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): The problem is that sometimes they couldn't choose the sports activity because of the mother tongue.

Maurice Carder: OK – conflict of timetable, yeah. Very important, OK. (New slide) Well, this is a big one – this is – maybe it's a bit heavy. So, this is all saying the same thing, they're highly respected researchers. Number 2 interests me; I don't know if anybody wants to speak about that – it's a sensitive issue. I've got this on a paper which you take home. 'Grades will improve' – should've put 'grades may improve' – bit dangerous that, I think. This has been around for about 15 years: 'Monolingualism is a dangerous disease'. These are discussion points. (New slide) This is a student about ten years ago. What interests me – she's actually commented after only 2 years she noticed this. She was a grade 9 student – it doesn't take long. (The slide was about a student who had noticed that, after a visit to her home country, she was already 'missing' words).

Mrs Bohancz(Hungarian): My daughter, the same.

Maurice Carder: Yes, because, OK, at home you're talking your home language, but ...

Mrs Bohancz(Hungarian): That's common language.

Maurice Carder: Yeah, the actual, if you think back, if she was back in school in her country, in every subject she's learning new vocabulary, and she's not learning that here, she's learning it in English. OK, if she went back to her country she'd pick it up very quickly, but this is why you're doing the right thing with Hungarian because you're doing all the subjects. That's interesting. It took her a shock to get going. But I mean if you can help me, I can, I actually lose sleep about this, I think 'how can I get to these parents before they come here, and tell them what they're getting into, but of course I can't. I can't reach you before you come here. Does anybody tell you these things? How do you feel about it? What else can we do here?

Mrs Pohornik(Slovenian): Just an idea: we have this weekly bulletin, secondary and primary, so this, I, well, our ideas or our proposals, or our problems, just raising the problems or questions that could be involved, I think ...

Maurice Carder: OK.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Like this discussion, yeah.

Mrs Pohornik(Slovenian): Maybe an invitation for the next meeting.

Maurice Carder: Yeah, I should have done that through the PTA, I realised, it's important.

(New slide) This is from something – 'guilt-ridden' – is that too strong? If you don't lie in bed, awake at night. A lot of this is repetitive.

By the way, I had a meeting last week with the teachers; very interesting, focusing very much on pedagogical – we actually drew up together – I said, it's up to you to decide the agenda, and they've drawn up about 6 points. We spent a whole meeting drawing up points for an agenda, which we're then going to discuss, week by week. We've got another meeting next week and I want to keep it going in the autumn. I think we'll make this one the last one this year; it's getting too near the end, but if we can start again in the autumn, and then maybe have a couple of meetings together, teachers and parents. If you want it? I thought it might be a good exchange. But I'd like to, with some aims, with positive outcomes within the school.

(New slide) OK – some stuff. This is from Professor Baker: he actually, yeah. Racism is something we don't have in this school. I've said this to people and they don't believe it, but, we don't have it. If you hear it, have you heard of racism in this school, do you hear anything anybody? I don't think we do. My argument is, I think there are so many races here, they wouldn't know where to start the fight.

(New slide) This is, this one, by the way – 'equal employment benefits' – I've done some background ... Most employees, I think, this tends to be 8-10% higher income if you're truly bilingual. It depends obviously on organisations, that's probably an average. But I think from that it's going to become not only a benefit, but it will be the case, soon, that if you're not bilingual you won't even get the job. I'm a bit disappointed to hear – Mrs Hernandez – she sent her apologies by the way – she's on a trip; but I don't know if you can confirm this, that some UN organisations, if you're a monolingual English speaker that's OK, but if you're not then you have to have at least English as well. Now I see that as very unfair. Is that still the case? If you're American or British or Australian you don't have to know any other languages in UN organisations or other organisations? Or does it depend?

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): It used to be that you had to have 2 languages.

Maurice Carder: 2 languages, yes, OK.

Mrs Vuketic (Serbian): More languages are an advantage.

Maurice Carder: More languages are an advantage; I would hope so.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Is an advantage, in job description, advertisement, it's written, English and other languages. When they select people of course they take with 2 or 3 languages.

Maurice Carder: I would hope so.

Mr Lezitski(Polish): Plus G staff, general, is paid if they pass an exam for the second language.

Maurice Carder: I see, OK. (New slide - Cummins) OK, this is the content of the handout which I was going to give you. The 5 points, OK:

1. Bilingualism has positive effects, which we've seen.
2. The level of development of children's mother tongue is a strong predictor of their second language development, so that's very important.
3. Mother tongue promotion in the school helps develop not only the mother tongue but also children' abilities in English.

4. Spending instructional time through a minority language – mother tongue in the school – does not hurt children’s academic development in English. At the very least you’re not doing any harm, we know that much.

5. Children’s mother tongues are fragile and easily lost in the early years of school. This is where we need to get at the early years especially: early childhood, primary. And negotiation of identity is a crucial factor. He talked about some children being told to leave, where they’re not allowed to speak other languages except for English. They’re told to leave their identity at the school door, which, if you’re only allowed to speak English then you leave your own identity at home.

(Mr Lezitski(Polish): leaves) Thank you for coming. I’ll follow that up (the parents’ petition for a reduction in fees for mother tongue lessons). So maybe again in the autumn. OK, we’ll be in touch, thank you.

So, would you like – how shall we take this now? Shall we start going through these one by one, or any ideas? How would you like to proceed? I’ve been talking too much. Take these one by one, yeah? OK. So:

Bilingualism has positive effects on children’s linguistic and educational development. Well you’ve seen bits of evidence there, and it’s very much about keeping up the mother tongue from the early years. Now that, at first, I think most parents can only welcome the fact, because over the years having seen parents, I got into this myself because I was a bit confused with parents asking me questions; it’s a huge responsibility to say ‘Oh, you know, what should I do? What’s right and what’s wrong?’ So I started reading about it. I’m a secondary teacher, completely. I’ve never taught anybody less than in grade 6, so I started reading up about it like mad and finding out everything I could, and there’s absolutely no doubt in my mind that the most important thing any parents can do is to keep speaking and using their own language. OK, there’s clear research on that. Now, what do you do when you have two languages at home? That’s up to you. I think you’re the only person here in that situation, Mrs Frederiksson, everybody else has just got one language at home, is that right? Yeah, and Icelandic as well, yes (plus French).

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): My husband and I always spoke in English.

Maurice Carder: So it’s the family language?

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): But the children, I still spoke my language with the children, and as they’re getting older they’re answering more and more in English, so when I’m on my own with them I will just speak Swedish, I will speak to them in Swedish, but when we’re sitting round the dinner table sometimes it’s a mixture. Sometimes one speaks Spanish, one speaks Swedish, and we all speak English!

Maurice Carder: OK.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): You know, it’s getting more tricky to keep their 2 languages going, Spanish and Swedish.

Maurice Carder: If you’re back in those countries maybe? If you’re back in Sweden? With family?

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): Then I insist that they *only* speak Swedish, and they get by, they manage, because before from when they were small I only spoke in Swedish,

and then there was Spanish – they did have 3 years in Mexico when they were small, and they were completely fluent in Spanish, but of course that's ...

Maurice Carder: Yeah, if you don't keep it up. Use it or lose it!

Mrs Berndtdottir (Icelandic): Exactly! Now, that's the most important thing, I think, because the consistency of a parent to speak only their language to a child, even though they answer them in another language, then keep up the structure, and they're easier to get back to. It's tricky, the family language, when you have a ...

Maurice Carder: Are you in the same situation?

Mrs Berndtdottir (Icelandic): No, I have had this experience with France, and I once worked with a Finnish woman in Iceland who was married to an Icelander. They had lived in Finland, in Sweden, in the States, and they had a rule: today we speak Finnish, tomorrow English, and the day after that Swedish, etc, etc.

Maurice Carder: They kept to that?

Mrs Berndtdottir (Icelandic): They kept to that. I listened to her talk to her kids on the phone: today was Finnish ...

Maurice Carder: Wow! Well, that's discipline, that's discipline.

Mrs Berndtdottir (Icelandic): I admired her: that's discipline. I think, in the long run, that's discipline.

Maurice Carder: For a certain age, but I wonder if you got, say the kids were 10 or 11 or 12: 'Oh, what day is it today? What language? Is my mother going to get angry if I speak Finnish?'

Mrs Berndtdottir (Icelandic): No, but I think it's a good example.

Maurice Carder: No, it is.

Mrs Berndtdottir (Icelandic): You can handle these things, and when they grew up they knew all these languages. They had gone to school in Iceland, then the States, then Sweden.

Maurice Carder: In the end it can only be an advantage.

Mrs Berndtdottir (Icelandic): I think so, yes, so ...

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): I think you said they'd gone to school in all these countries; I mean, this is the key. If they want to do well in school, I think they really get it, but if you just do it at home ...

Maurice Carder: Yeah, it's having the literacy, it's what it's all about, it's the reading and writing; the speaking is one thing, but the reading and writing is much deeper, more demanding level, which is ...

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): We have done the Spanish, then, writing and reading, under duress.

Maurice Carder: But this is OK, it's under duress, so how motivated are they, at the end of the day?

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): I think they do, they have to go to their classes and read what they have to read for classes, so if they choose the books ...

Maurice Carder: Because the other thing we shouldn't forget is they are in a demanding programme anyway, especially by the time they get to the IB, and to read anything at all is difficult, and number 2, 3 and 4: it's the age of the computer, and internet and everything, and games. Getting children to sit down and read is getting difficult to a

certain extent because they want to do anything except read, so there are more diversions. I remember this discussion with a Russian student, saying 'Ah, Russia, the country of reading, fantastic', and they said 'Uh uh, not now', because it's just sort of gone with computers and everything else. It's sad.

Mrs Vuketic (Serbian): They're reading a lot, but they read on the internet.

Maurice Carder: On the internet.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): In Russia?

Maurice Carder: OK, that's the good side. One thing I'll say about the computer: I think it's better than television, because you can interact with it. From a pedagogical point of view I think teachers would rather have kids on the computer, where at least they can communicate with friends maybe in their own language, than just sitting watching TV. I remember again, 20 years ago, I had a young Mexican kid, and he just lived with his mother, single parent, way out somewhere in Austria. Didn't have any friends out there, he came here as a beginner in English, his mother – she was busy working – when he got home she just plugged him into TV. He was watching TV in German, which he didn't understand, and he just, after a couple of years he looked completely, sort of, cut off, didn't have mother tongue Spanish lessons. We tried our best but ... There's something I read this morning over breakfast about bilingualism, this Colin Baker, professor of languages in Wales, it summed up everything for me. It said: 'Parents are sometimes difficult to reach. Nor are they easy to influence'. And for me this was really good. You know, I would happily sit and talk to all the parents once a week, but they don't want to come, why should they, you know ... And to influence them it can be very dangerous, you know, well, I should listen to this? What's the teacher, telling me what to do! It's very difficult, a very sensitive area. So if you have any ideas of how I should proceed I'm very happy. But basically, all the evidence, and my experience here, shows that keeping up their literacy in their mother tongue and English is the way to do it. Now, you're proving me wrong in a way by saying haven't kept up literacy in Swedish and your students are doing very well, but in a way it's a different circumstance, and in a way international schools *are* different, especially if children have been here a long time, because English has become such a dominant language in the world, and if it's become the family language, then that is a different situation, so, but that is, in a way everything depends on family circumstances, I think that's the bottom line. Every family is different; it depends when you come into the school, what your future plans are. It also depends on where you are geographically. Everybody here except for Iceland and Sweden are neighbouring countries more or less, aren't you? You go home quite often, and that makes a difference as well. How often you go back to your own family, and how many people there are around in Vienna who speak your language, so an international school is, the UIS especially, is unique, and you have to cater for every single parent's situation.

Mrs Pohornik(Slovenian): I noticed one really huge damage to the language, and that is this communication, internet communication or by SMS. That is such a – that is not a language, it's an awful thing: you cannot read, you cannot understand.

Maurice Carder: Well, SMS especially, SMS.

Mrs Pohornik(Slovenian): SMS or that 'quick messenger'.

Maurice Carder: Yeah. We had a student here who gave the graduation speech in 2005: Niki. Yeah, he gave the graduation speech and I emailed him a couple of weeks ago, because I remembered his speech. He made a comment about UIS language and he gave an example. I should have brought it with me. It's mostly based on German and some of it *I* didn't understand. Then I asked the kids: they all understood it straight away. Er, what was it: 'Ait chilly, gemma chick, dann macky, dann NB bio'. Does that make any sense to you at all? OK: 'Ait chilly'. 'Ait' is alright. I didn't know that, it means alright. 'Ait chilly' is stay cool – alright chilly. 'Gemma chick' – let's go and have a cigarette – that's Viennese dialect. 'Dann macky' – there's a Macdonald's, have a Macdonald's. 'NB bio': NB is the National Bibliothek where a lot of IB students go to revise because it's much quieter; and 'bio' is biology. And all the grade 12 students understood this – this was the graduation speech, you know, three years ago. I sat there, I've been here for years, I didn't understand hardly a word, but the kids all understood it, and every school ... Language develops, it has its own momentum, language finds its own way, and in this school we get our own idiolect. My kids were here, they went to university in Britain and when they got there ... my daughter speaks just like me, to hear her. She got to university there, so people thought she'd grown up in England, Scotland, wherever, and she found she had a few words that nobody understood and there were a few words in Britain that she didn't understand, because of ... young people make their own language. So there's that going on as well, and for second language students it can be very confusing, I think. When I first came here I've sort of ... grammar, English grammar, got to get it right, and some battles I just haven't won. There are some battles I just haven't won. There are some usages of language in this school that you just won't change. In written English they get it, but spoken English, they're not interested. They've got their own language and you can't change it, so I've given up on that, totally, because it's not a problem. Just as in your own country you have a slang language which young people use, here we also have a slang language which young people use, but it's a mixture of German and English and their own language and whatever else, yeah.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): What is your stand on the use of 'I' or 'me'? My husband and I, we met, but me and my husband, me and my friends went somewhere?

Maurice Carder: Well, I, because I was brought up traditionally I say 'my wife and I', but getting that across to kids ...

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): But children don't say that. I mean I've always ...

Maurice Carder: Well then we come down to standard forms of language, of what is correct, and that's a huge argument which we won't get into here because it's also a very big argument, but it's fascinating, but it's another, it's another area, it's, erm, what's the standard form of the language? Weinreich said: 'A dialect is a language with an army', do you know that one? A dialect is a language with an army, because, I mean, Parisian French? Paris happened to be the capital, and they spoke a dialect, but then – this is 600 years ago – why wasn't Provence, Provençal or something, because the ... because that's where the power was, and the power, that's where the capital was, and they made the rules and the laws, and that became the main language, and it's that

simple. It's the same with British English, it's southern English and not northern English. In most countries, you know, madrileño, castellano ...

Anyway, point number one, any other comments anybody? Do you agree with it, basically?

Mrs Bohancz(Hungarian): Yeah, of course I do that, but my question is that how the school, well, other teachers will value your opinion, the other teachers', director's view on it – do they want to change or not, or if yes in what ways?

Maurice Carder: Do they want to change what?

Mrs Bohancz(Hungarian): Erm, for example the middle school, er, mother tongue. How to help children more, how to ... should it be part of the curriculum or not, or after-school activities, or something like CAA, that's a good example, just to be a first step, to be acknowledged, because these children work hard, it's an extra work.

Maurice Carder: Well, my view on this is very clear, and this is recording so I'm very glad to say this, is that I've, I really believe in this, very strongly. I've been fighting for it more or less since I realised what the implications were, but I mean as I said last week, it's incredibly complex. Now, let's say I go to the director and say: 'Look, Mr Watford, I think all mother tongues should be included in the school fees, during the school day, blah blah blah blah blah, this is the situation'. OK, first of all, well let's start with the school fees because that's the easiest to discuss, OK? He can say: 'Well, let's see, how many teachers have you got? We've got 46 teachers of different mother tongues here, they're going to have to go on the school payroll, blah blah blah blah, this will increase the school fees by X%. I've got to go to the Annual General Assembly, parents have got to vote on it'. What do you think's going to happen, really? Realistically?

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): Most are going to vote against it. They don't want to pay the increase.

Maurice Carder: Yeah, yeah. OK, bye-bye, we'll be in touch (someone leaves the meeting).

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): Because if there're only 40 students taking IB, and that's the thing ...

Maurice Carder: Yep, it's, this is the trouble with the way the school is run in a way. If it was totally subsidised by the UN or whatever it might possibly get it through, but I don't know about that. But what then if the, if Mr Lezitski's petition which is lying here, his argument that in grades 11 and 12, students doing their mother tongue as language A, we spoke about this last meeting, OK, they are getting one less language in the school curriculum, so you could argue, let's have a hypothetical argument: OK, all the parents are going on strike. They're not going to have their mother tongue anymore; they're going to insist the school produces a much better English language programme, which I'm against because of the reasons I'm giving here. So, OK, so we've got 40 students in every year, in grade 11 and grade 12, who will need more English classes. Well, that's at least 2 more teachers, 2 more classes, 7 times a week. That's two thirds of a teacher – how much will that cost? It would probably cost less than paying all the mother tongue teachers. Finances: this is the world of the market, and finances are going to be a very big issue in it, so you have to be ready for that. Educational arguments, as

far as I'm concerned, are 100% there, I'm completely behind them, but the finances obviously come into it, so take that into account.

Now if we leave that out of it, let's look at the school day issue: in grade 11 and 12 it's possible because students have one less subject, because they're not doing English, then if the teacher can come during the school day then that's possible, to be during the school day. Grades 6, 7, 8, 9, 10: at the moment it's not possible. How shall we approach that? When should we have mother tongue classes? Can you give me, let's hear ideas. Let's do some brainstorming, or ...

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): Well I mean you have a core programme already and there's not time to put it in. Really very early Wednesday morning, because that's the only time ...

Maurice Carder: French is 8 o'clock in the morning, yes.

Mrs Berndtdottir (Icelandic): It's 8 o'clock in the morning, so that's one of the possibilities.

Maurice Carder: Well, would that, do you think your children would prefer 8 o'clock in the morning? To 3.30 in the afternoon?

Mrs Berndtdottir (Icelandic): Not mine.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): Or mine.

Maurice Carder: No, and then how many mother tongue teachers would be able or willing to come at 8 o'clock in the morning? I would be, because I'm a morning person, I would prefer to teach from 6 o'clock in the morning to 1 o'clock.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): They have some real – one is always bringing croissant as well, so it's a nice thing to do it like that. It would be a positive thing.

Mrs Bohancz(Hungarian): And they have to start a third language: the first is English, the second is German, from grade 6.

Maurice Carder: French or Spanish.

Mrs Bohancz(Hungarian): Either, yeah.

Maurice Carder: Let me say something on that. Again, it's scheduling. I get quite emotional about this because I'm responsible for English as a second language and that is timetabled against French and Spanish, and I'm very unhappy about the situation of the ESL timetable; I have been for years. I protest every year, and I understand the difficulties of timetabling – I would find it impossible – but I have to make my point, because I have about 70 ESL students in grades 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and they are not able to do French or Spanish and if they leave ESL in, say, grade 8, when they go into grade 9 to begin French or Spanish there's not a beginners group – it's very complex, it's very difficult. But you don't have to do a third language. I would like to see it, but children who want to do the Austrian Matura Equivalence *need* three languages, that's why some children do Latin as well, which is nice: we have 60 children doing Latin, which I think is wonderful. We're the only international school in the world, maybe, that does that. I'm very happy about it.

Mrs Pohornik(Slovenian): Sorry: instead of French or Spanish?

Maurice Carder: No, that's after school, it's like the mother tongue programme, it's the same thing. And I – these children, can you imagine? After school, doing an hour and a half of Latin! I mean, it's really good, I'm really impressed by it.

Mrs Bohancz(Hungarian): Could it possibly be done, in some cases, instead of this third language, Spanish or French, the mother tongue?

Maurice Carder: Optional.

Mrs Bohancz(Hungarian): Optional, yes, an option.

Maurice Carder: I would support that, I really do, and it was like that until about 3 years ago when they suddenly changed it. We had a new administration which said: 'We're going to do this!' So, but these things have to come from parents, I think, so this is why it's very important for me to have this discussion group, because we're talking about education and the educational needs of your children are uppermost, and I think there is nothing more important than your child's mother tongue, especially in certain circumstances. Not always, but for many parents, I think it's really, really important, and I like to see this school as setting an example educationally in many areas, so I would be happy to support anything that comes up on that point. Primary school: I don't quite know when they would schedule that because they don't do French and Spanish there, and in primary school it's even more important, I think. They have a much smaller programme in the primary school, for mother tongues, I'm not sure why. Something else that worries ... They don't have so many, not nearly so many children, even percentage-wise.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): I think quite a few go to, like, the Chinese school, Greek

...

Maurice Carder: OK, you're quite right, yes, the Saturday schools, I forget about that, the Saturday schools, yeah, exactly ... Arabic, there's Persian, Bulgarian, Polish ...

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): If you go on Saturdays, in primary they don't have so much homework, so ...

Maurice Carder: So, yeah? But what about, these two statements are staring us in the face, let's ... What about another possibility, recommended by a lot of researchers. They say, OK, if you can't have mother tongue classes, then at least have very strong promotion among all the teaching staff of the importance of keeping up the mother tongue, and this is something I'm very keen on. We have a majority English-speaking monolingual staff, but at least have promotion amongst them that, look, bring into your classes children's mother tongues, and this can be done. There are lots of good ways of doing this, and I would like to see some sort of initiative of training for teachers, or recruitment, when the administration are recruiting new teachers, just have these questions at least: 'what are your views about teaching multilingual children?' I don't know what, maybe they ask these things anyway, I don't know. How much do you bring children's languages, especially in the primary school – there's a lot of work been done showing how, for example, a teacher can ask for a particular student to write something in English and then write it again in their own language, and they produce beautiful stuff, and it makes the student feel so good, and the researchers have said, you know, they've actually seen children sort of open up, so I think that's really important to at least do that if the children can't have mother tongue classes, at least to have their skills recognised. And it's not only in primary: it can be done in things like grade 11 science. You know, they can be asked for 'who were famous scientists from your

country?’ I don’t know – get somebody to research something in their own language; getting it corrected is difficult.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): Something my daughter did: she was writing something she researched in Swedish – she read a Swedish book because she had to so as long as she was able to read it, and understand it, so it must be there somewhere although she doesn’t read ... but it is there.

Maurice Carder: yeah, OK.

Number 4 is really important: at least emphasizing – this was again in the USA – there was so much politics about it, in the USA it was all the negative news that got into the press, because newspapers – newspapers are sensationalist, just ‘Ah, new war! There’s a new war! We’re bombing so-and-so!’ Everybody reads about it – it’s very depressing, but ‘bad news is good news’ we say. People like bad news. And a lot of even people like CNN and BBC – well BBC I’ve heard regularly saying ‘we like to make our news programmes entertaining’. It’s pretty bad, but it’s true. It’s, uh, ‘50,000 people died in an earthquake! Ah, wow!’ It’s, that’s where we are now, so in, this is really important that we do know at least that spending instructional time through the mother tongue in school doesn’t hurt their academic development in English. We know that much – it doesn’t make any difference, and a lot of these American schools, well, parents were saying ‘just English, English, English’ and they’ve actually showed that more time being actually educated through English does not improve English. And I think that’s a point to make to parents here as well: by keeping up your education in your mother tongue it doesn’t, it’s not going to affect the English at all. OK, that’s really important to know, OK?

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): Is there a difficulty because if you’re going to keep up your mother tongue you have to do what you (nodding to Mrs Garanyi) are doing, you have to teach subjects at home, because there’s no way that could be incorporated in the school, is there?

Maurice Carder: Not with so many languages.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): It couldn’t, could it? Because it’d be nice: they could have biology in Spanish sometimes, geography ...

Maurice Carder: We can’t. It has been suggested some years back that at least we had a bilingual English-German programme, but how many native German speakers do we have? What about the kids who come as English beginners who are also German beginners and have another mother tongue? It’s very, very complex.

Mrs Pohornik(Slovenian): They do this at the European School in Brussels.

Maurice Carder: European schools: they’re diff – they’re wonderful, but they’re very much European schools and they don’t do all the 27 or whatever languages of the community, they do between 6 and 9 and children have to choose, and they’re totally subsidised by the EU, we have to say, which is ... I think, off the record, or on the record, the UN made a historical mistake by not putting this sort of school on the UN payroll. I think it would’ve ...

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): It was a long time ago, wasn’t it?

Maurice Carder: It was a long time ago, I think it would’ve been a good idea. I heard, this is a rumour, that the school in New York, UNIS, actually had that situation at one

time; the teachers were all paid through the UN, however that worked, so they were like UN personnel, didn't pay taxes, but something went wrong, somebody complained or whatever, so they stopped it, and the UN said 'never again will we have anything to do with paying education for teachers, whatever, I don't know, don't know the facts. So, that's that one. I've got an eye on the clock here. Yeah, we talked about that, the 'early years' especially, so that's where we've got to get involved with the PTA maybe, get some groups going to talk about that.

And also this issue of identity. I don't know – do you ever talk to your children about how they feel about their schooling, or the fact that they've got a different language, how do they feel about it, or ...?

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): I think they just take it for granted, that they have different languages. A lot of their friends also have 2 or 3 languages, so, and, I mean they were more or less brought up in Vienna ...

Maurice Carder: Well, in your case, yeah.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): In my case, yes. But I think they see it as normal.

Maurice Carder: Yeah- in this school.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): Yeah, well in their life. Their life has been around this school – the whole thing is, I think, unfortunately they get a bit isolated from the rest of the society, so their world is really, it is the school and the friends they make at school – sometimes they branch out a bit, but not so much.

Maurice Carder: Not too much, true. I've used, I've come up with this term of 'an international space', I think children in this school live in an international space.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): Exactly.

Maurice Carder: They don't live in Austria, or Spain, or wherever: they live in the world of international students. Their sports fixtures are against other international schools, and even when they leave the school, my children, they've kept up contacts with children who were at this school, who are still floating around the world and it's a different, it really gives meaning, I think, to the word 'international community', that's the way it works, but not everybody's in that situation, I think, so ...

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): But this is the thing with identity, I mean these identities with the international community, it's not necessarily the home country, or their mother tongue, so it's a different concept, isn't it?

Maurice Carder: It is.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): And sometimes I think it's harder for them, sometimes I think it's more difficult and other times I think not ...

Maurice Carder: I think it's – in English we say 'swings and roundabouts'; it's so-so, advantages and disadvantages.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): Yeah.

Maurice Carder: Yeah, but I know, keeping friends, keeping up friends, but in a way once anybody leaves their own country you've taken that jump and a lot of it depends on socio-economic status. There's a Czech writer, Milan Kundera, - have I said, have I pronounced that properly?

Mrs Pogled (Slovak): Kundera – Kundera.

Maurice Carder: He wrote a book 'The incredible lightness of being', - OK, he's in exile, he lives in Paris, but he's got one sentence, paragraph, I remember reading, it was about – I can't remember the story well enough, but this woman who's living in another country said, she talks about, it's like living on a tightrope, high above the ground, and you're sort of taking so many risks because you don't speak the language properly, so there are so many things that you can't, that don't come naturally. If you're – we're very fortunate in a way because we have this community, but I remember when I first came to Austria and was dealing with Austrian bureaucracy; my German wasn't so good. Wow, is that – '*Meldezettel!*' [registration form]. The first thing that hit me is 'where was my *Abmeldezettel* [deregistration form] from my previous country?' Well, I'd been living in Mexico and in Mexico, you know! I just started laughing, which they didn't like at all, because in Mexico the bureaucracy is, you know ... 'Abmeldezettel? What are you talking about?' So, it's very, very complex.

Look, is it OK if we stop there? Wind up there? I would really like to keep going in the autumn. Shall I put a notice, shall I do it through the PTA?

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): That's Lili's job (Mrs Pohornik), but I think it's a good idea.

Maurice Carder: It's Lili's job. Shall I put a notice in the PTA newsletter, and contact everybody here, because I've got your email addresses, at least.

Mrs Pohornik(Slovenian): There's a board in the cafeteria, in the dining-room.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): Yeah, but very few people come in, you know.

Mrs Vuketic (Serbian): When your children are over 12. The Friday bulletin?

Mrs Pohornik(Slovenian): Yeah, what about the Friday bulletin, I would put it in the Friday bulletin.

Maurice Carder: Which Friday bulletin is that?

Mrs Pohornik(Slovenian): The secondary bulletin.

Maurice Carder: The secondary, OK, secondary. Secondary or primary?

Mrs Pohornik(Slovenian): Oh, I think both because some, we have children ...

Maurice Carder: What sort of date? We come back on the, school starts on the 25th of August, 25th. It's late this year for some reason, I don't know why. The first Wednesday – how long? Shall we give it a few weeks? How about 17th September?

All: Yeah, sounds good, sounds good.

Maurice Carder: I'm provisional, I can always change it. OK – and advertise through the PTA and Friday bulletins, primary and secondary. Just the final – ah, I didn't show you that one (new slide). What do you think: shall we get the PTA to issue T-shirts like this? (with the words 'blessed with bilingual brains'). Would that be good? In lots of languages? A good idea.

Mrs Frederiksson (Swedish): It's very 'in' to have T-shirts ... I like it! It's good.

Maurice Carder: OK, thank you.

C Transcript of the first meeting with Mother Tongue teachers at the Unonia International School, 21-5-2008. 18.15-19.15.

A letter had been sent to all Mother Tongue teachers of students in grades 6-12 who were currently taking mother tongue lessons at the school. The letter stated:

Mother tongue instruction in the Unonia International School.

As you know, at present many students take lessons in their mother tongue; these lessons are usually after school, and have to be paid for privately. Every year approximately one third of graduating students take Language A1 in their mother tongue.

I would like to have a series of meetings – probably two or three – to discuss the many aspects of this programme. Some are listed below, and I would hope to receive more input from you. There is no ‘hidden agenda’ – this will be open discussion about educational benefits, issues of equity, status of languages and access to programmes, and any other matters. As a start I have listed some items below, but this should not be considered in any way a ‘final’ list.

Our objectives will be to come up with a series of recommendations which I can take to the UIS management for consideration. I should also like to use the data gathered for input to research I am doing at the Institute of Education, University of London; this should make our meetings as ‘objective’ as possible. I have informed the Director, Mr Watford, and the Head of Secondary, Ms Karulaitis, about the meetings.

1. Bilingualism: educational benefits?
2. Mother tongue in the IB MYP: recognition for Austrian Matura Equivalence?
3. Timing of classes: after school/during the school day.
4. Allocation of classrooms.
5. Reporting: inclusion in ‘Core’ programme, with name of language and teacher.
6. Payment.
7. Points for CAA.
8. Content of mother tongue curriculum; ‘language and literature’ – or more?

Timing of meetings is always a difficult matter to agree on; I have already been asked to arrange meetings after school, and during the school day. If you could tell me which you prefer, and if you have any preferred day, then I will announce the date of the first meeting.

Maurice Carder:

For the first meeting, 7 teachers attended: Mrs Vodolski– Russian; Mrs Csarda– Hungarian; Mrs Finnarosa– Portuguese; Mrs Zimprich– Portuguese; Mrs Wagner– Portuguese; Mr Donatello– Italian; Mr Kagan– Turkish.

Participants gave their agreement to being recorded, and to the data being used for this paper.

TRANSCRIPT:

Maurice Carder: OK, we're off. Now, first, language, *Sprache, lingua*. Ok, I'll start on the machine. Thank you for coming everybody. I know you're all very busy; I really appreciate the fact that you gave up the time, OK. *So, herzlich willkommen, vielen Dank das, Sie ... Wie sollten wir weiter gehen? Soll ich Portugiesisch, oder Russisch, oder Italienisch – das ich ...* [A sincere welcome, many thanks for ... How should we proceed? Should I speak in Portuguese, or Russian, or Italian – so that ...]. Can I speak in English, and if people have problems, can you sit next to somebody who can translate, and I'll stop, and if you really have problems, please put up a hand and I'll try to explain again. *Sie verstehen, oder?* [You understand, yes?]. OK.

Mr Kagan(Turkish teacher): *Kontext, verstehe ich alle*. [In context I understand everything].

Maurice Carder: No, but I understand German very well, but to speak it, you would start laughing, or leave the room.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): No, never.

Mrs Wagner(Portuguese teacher): I don't think so.

Maurice Carder: Why are we here? Because we haven't had a meeting of mother tongue teachers for five years, I think, quite a long time. A lot of it is because it's very, very difficult for you to come, but of 45 mother tongue teachers, here we have six people. Some people told me they're too busy, it's really hard. But I want to do this because I think there are some things we can look at to make the programme better. I've told the Director about these meetings; I've told the Head of the Secondary School. OK. Last week in this room I had a meeting of parents. I sent a letter.

Ah, *Grüss Gott Hr ..., Vielen Dank*. [Ah, hello Mr ..., Many thanks]. OK. I was just starting introductions. I'm doing it in English. You're OK with that?

OK, yes, I sent a letter to the parents of all the children taking mother tongue lessons in grades 6-11, that's 160 children. 11 parents came, so it's the same situation, you know, well, I understand, it's difficult. It was an interesting meeting. It lasted one hour fifteen minutes. I also recorded it, and in the summer holiday I'm going to listen to everything, and write it all up. Next week there will be another meeting with parents and in two weeks there will be another meeting with mother tongue teachers, on a Thursday, that time on a Thursday. I sent you this letter with the points we can talk about, and I thought the first thing to do, can we together make an agenda, OK, of things that are interesting for you to talk about, and then we'll take the points one by one, yeah? OK so far? Questions? No? *Alles klar!* [OK].

So, to give you some ideas: last week with the parents, the parents got the same letter, with the same points, and it was very interesting.

Like in the *Staatsoper!* [Opera house]. (A mobile phone is ringing).

OK, because within about, well, I asked everybody to give ideas, and different parents have different ideas, and for me it's really interesting to hear, and of course the issue of money came up. I knew it would, it's bound to, and it's quite a big thing, and I think for teachers here it's an issue too, it's – I would to – I'll say something now about that. I went to an international school in London where they had a system where some classes were paid by the school, and I think it might be good for this school to do the same. I don't know, maybe you don't want that. It's possible for – I would like to really get the mother tongue classes more integrated into the school, because at the moment it's this after-school ... Anyway, that's just to give you some ideas. So, shall I start with ladies? What – modern technology! (I use the chalkboard). Olga, I'll start with you: what things are important for you?

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): The most important is integration, mother tongue programme, and respect, mother tongue programme, because only 11th and 12th grades really thinks, came to this idea that it's important. But it's very late.

Maurice Carder: It's too late.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): It's too late, because we start, some of us start, in primary, but it's the last subject, it's really for student it's more than for parents. It's really *etwas*, something not necessary, and then in 11, or last in grade 10, when they have to choose subject, IB, 'Oh, mother tongue very important', and then they would like to have A1 Higher level without resources. It's number one, it's really we have to bring, in primary also I tried to make some programme, and I tried to make clear that it's not game, it's not some ...

Maurice Carder: It's not like a hobby.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): Yes, it's not hobby; really, step by step we are going to our goal.

Maurice Carder: By integration you mean during the school day, and classes ...

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): Yeah, yeah ...

Maurice Carder: So the children feel that it's the same status – it's interesting, this was the main point from the parents as well. They talked about the status of the programme. Because at the moment by putting it at the end of the day what are you saying about the language?

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): Yeah, yeah, and from this all what comes ...

Maurice Carder: You mean everything else will follow, yeah.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): The place, the time, all our problems concentrate this.

Maurice Carder: So (writes on board), yeah. Place, time, programme.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): Programme, yeah.

Maurice Carder: Uh-huh – the cleaning lady (who has just looked in the door). She would probably have an interesting mother tongue.

I've written a letter to the, I still know the person who used to be the director of the International School of London. She's now in China, but email is wonderful, because

there, what they did, they had on a Wednesday afternoon, so from after lunch on Wednesday they had mother tongue lessons only. How does that sound for an idea?

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): Maybe this works if in the primary so they have one class a week, but those ...

Maurice Carder: Friday, I'm talking more about grades 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, at least as a beginning, from 1.30 to 3.15, yeah? That's what they did in London: they stopped the whole programme, and everybody had their own language.

Mr Donatello(Italian teacher): The children at that time are quite tired. You know, at the end of the morning.

Maurice Carder: So it's also, so your ideal would be?

Mr Donatello(Italian teacher): Well, if they do not have a break, a conspicuous break, then it's quite difficult, you know, just to work, it is easier in the early afternoon, I make always this.

Maurice Carder: Early afternoon? That's what I said: 1.30.

Mr Donatello(Italian teacher): But after the break.

Maurice Carder: After lunch.

Mr Donatello(Italian teacher): OK, then it's alright. OK.

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): But in this case, how do we manage to have several classes, if you have grade 6 or grade 7 or grade 10, then you have always at 1, at 2, at 3, at 4, and you are here until 7 in the evening.

Maurice Carder: Yeah.

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): You are a teacher, or you are ...

Maurice Carder: The logistics are a big enemy of the programme, I think, the organisation, but there's no reason we shouldn't try to find solutions. 'Finding solutions', we'll call it. OK, so Magister Csarda?

Mrs Csarda(Hungarian teacher): I think we've got the main point, but another thing could be to reach the parents, because you said that they didn't come to the meeting and I think they really don't know about, it is Hungarian, they don't know about mother tongue programme, they ignore it.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): Also one parents said 'Oh, you give here, you can help our children'. I said 'Excuse me, I'm not here to help children, I'm here to give classes here'.

Maurice Carder: This is, OK, very good point. I get very angry about this within the second language, as if language is something like watching football, yeah. (Writes on board). OK, that's a good point. But parents – I have to say – every single parent gets an introduction from me when they first come to the school, because in August I get to speak to all the new parents in the theatre, and then every week through the year I'm the first person to meet the parents and I speak to them about it, and I have a booklet which I give to them, you know my booklet, it's about bilingualism, so if they say they know nothing about it, well maybe they don't listen or ...

Mrs Csarda(Hungarian teacher): Maybe they don't, but just ignore it some.

Maurice Carder: Well, if, OK, well, this is our agenda, so we'll take each one of these when it comes (indicates board). Thank you. *Senhora; pode falar em Portugues.* [Madam; you can talk in Portuguese].

Mrs Finnarosa(Portuguese teacher): *Eu acho que...* [I think that ...]

Maurice Carder: *Mais um idea?* [Another idea?]

Mrs Finnarosa(Portuguese teacher): ... *na IB*. [... in the IB]

Maurice Carder: Rosa Carlota, would you like to translate that for everybody?

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): She is saying that you have to start with these classes, because the parents only take notice of it when they plan to start the IB, then they are very concerned.

(Maurice Carder: writes on board).

Mrs Finnarosa(Portuguese teacher): *Por razões culturais ...* [For cultural reasons].

Maurice Carder: Yeah, that's very good, I have examples all the time, but I had an example yesterday that the boy, who'd been in the school for a long time and he's in grade 9, but the parents are beginning to understand, 'Oh, IB, what am I going to do?' He wants to do A1 Standard, the teacher is going to test him, he wants to do A1 Higher, the teacher is going to give him a test to see if he's ready. But I think it's not only – well, what do you think? Is it just that parents don't know about this, or is it to do with the money? Or is it both?

Mrs Wagner(Portuguese teacher): *Ich spreche auf Deutsch. Ich habe vor einige Jahre, ich habe viele Schule gehabt, und Anfang des Jahres habe ich die Mutter eingeladen, und dann ich habe das so begonnen: ich stelle euch vor, dass ihr seid in Brasil, und ihr Freund fragt: „warum lernt dein Kind Portuguesisch in Viena weil es ist dort die Gelegenheit habe fremde Sprache zu lernen.“ Ich wollte das jede Mutter sagte – „warum eigentlich?“ – und dass war sehr lustig. Einige waren ganz bewusst, und gesagt, ja, dass ist wirklich weil das ist Muttersprache und so weiter, mein Kinder lernt Portuguesisch weil dein Kinder lernt und sind befreut, dann muss meine auch, aber sie war so überzeugt dass so es ist. Vielleicht sie haben eine falsche Interpretation, aber meine Meinung hat ein Druck, dass ich spreche besonders von Brasil, OK, dass ist mehr oder wenige eine Status, meine Kinder gehen nicht in einer Brasilianisch Schule, sie sind in eine internationaler Schule, ist gut, und so und so, und sie können schon so gut Englisch, und auch Deutsch, und so weiter, wir haben ...*

[I'll speak in German. A few years ago I had many students and at the beginning of the year I invited the mothers and I began as follows: I'd like to put it to you that you're in Brazil and your friend asks "Why does your child learn Portuguese in Vienna when you have the opportunity there to learn foreign languages?" I wanted every mother to ask, "yes, why?" And it was very funny. Some were quite aware and said, yes, it's because it's the mother tongue and so on, my children learn Portuguese because your children learn it and are very happy, so mine must too, but they were so surprised that it's like that. Perhaps they got the wrong idea, but in my view I have the impression my children don't go to the Brazilian school, they're in an international school, that's good and so on, and they can already speak English so well, and German too, and so on, we have ...]

Maurice Carder: *Das ist Status, ja?*[It's status, yes?]

Mrs Wagner(Portuguese teacher): *Ja, und da habe ich obwohl immer das Gefühl, mein Kind lernt Portuguesisch weil das könne ich in unsere Gemeinschaft, sage ich mein Kind will so weit, und das ist meine Meinung nach, Hauptgruppe, warum sie so teuer weil sie schatze das nicht so. Wenn die Schule sagt, ja, wir machen Camping irgendwo,*

ich weiss nicht wieviel kostet; ja, of course, meine Kinder muss... [Yes, and I still have the feeling that my child learns Portuguese because I can do that in our community; I say my child wants to go that far, and that's my opinion, peer group, they're so expensive because they don't value it in that way. If the school says, yes, we're going camping somewhere, I don't know how much it costs; yes, of course, my children must ...]

Maurice Carder: *Ja, ja.* [Yes, yes.]

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese teacher): *Wir haben eine Gruppe und ich glaube, dieser Mentalität. Natürlich, ich will nicht Pauschal verlieren, aber das ist mein Gefühl, derzeit habe ich nur ein Schülerin in der Secondary School, und bei mir ist 100%. Ich merke das die schätzen die nicht aber es ist zu mindest ...* [We have a group and I think, this mentality. Naturally I don't want to lose the deposit, but I have the feeling that at present I have only one girl student in the Secondary School, and for me it's 100%. I realise that they don't value it but at least it's ...].

Mrs Vodolski (Russian teacher): So, I think, yeah, so just to make ...

Mrs Zimprich (Portuguese teacher): Just to make ... but it also has to depend on ... I generally have the big ones that preparing for the IB. Those debates, nowadays I have not, so they're preparing for the IB, they know that is very important, but you have also to speak directly with the parents, not only you, Maurice, is what I think, also don't speak only you to the parents about the importance of the mother tongue in the school, let come 2 or 3 of the teachers and they speak in their own language, I already suggest this to, she says it's very important, it's very useful to, parents sometimes, especially the mothers, they do not speak English, so should come someone ...

Maurice Carder: But when, do you mean to a meeting?

Mrs Zimprich (Portuguese teacher): At the beginning ...

Maurice Carder: At the beginning of the year ...

Mrs Zimprich (Portuguese teacher): When you speak in the theatre, then we can tell them exactly we, all the voice we have, not only a polite English gentleman, that is very useful, you need to have, with all the temperament, take the Russian temperament, take all these, and speak to the parents, openly, because it's ... the mothers do not understand.

Maurice Carder: Ok, can I ...

Mrs Vodolski (Russian teacher): Ten percent from parents, 10%, understand you.

Maurice Carder: Only 10%?

Mrs Vodolski (Russian teacher): Of course.

Maurice Carder: OK, I understand everything you're saying, and I'll take the message to the management, and ... it's really hard. I have to fight to get my ten minutes at the beginning of the year. They wanted to, because they wanted only the senior management on the stage. I had to really fight, and say, this is really important, please let me speak to parents. You know, it's just ... it's crazy.

Mrs Zimprich (Portuguese teacher): I'm sure that's a very forward step if you do this, because it's useless that you speak in the assembly, a very correct one, but you don't go correctly until there inside, you stand in front of the door, you don't enter! You have to show to them how important it is, their own folklore, the culture, the cities, our

colleague for Italian speak to them in his Italian voice, it has much more effect, than when you speak in English.

Maurice Carder: They heard you, the management heard you! (Writes on board). This is really good, that you're saying this, because I'm going to put all this down, and write it; it won't happen immediately, if it happens ...

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): Of course!

Maurice Carder: But, you know, we'll do it properly, (writes on board).

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): Because our parents, they're not teachers, they're not really used to work in linguistics area, and they are not understand, they, some of them think that mother tongue make more complicated situation than foreign language, they are not respect mother tongue as basic, for all other languages.

Maurice Carder: You mean the parents?

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): Parents, yeah.

Maurice Carder: You mean they don't respect their own language.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): They don't respect, of course, they are sure it have to be all in English.

Maurice Carder: English, English, English!

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): Yeah, English, English, English!

Maurice Carder: I know, and learn French or Spanish, I know.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): And then for all, OK, but not with mother tongue, and already not with English, because student are not able think in mother tongue, they're not able to think and make phrases, absolutely.

Maurice Carder: There is a man, there's a very good professor called Stephen Krashen – have you heard of Krashen anybody? He's written a lot about linguistics, and I've been recently – *Guten Abend!* [Good evening.] (Teacher arrives) – to conferences where he's spoken. He's quite old, he must be 70, but he's written a book called 'English Fever' and it's a small book, but he spent some time, I think, in Taiwan and in South Korea, and there – it's a pity the Korean teacher is not here – there people are obsessed, they're crazy for English, they will do anything and some of the stories he writes: there is a surgeon, a doctor who offers operations, he offers to cut the bottom of your tongue, he says if I do this you'll speak better English, and parents are paying a lot of money for this. It's, they're really, and in Taiwan the rubbish collection, yeah, every 20 seconds, they have big loudspeakers, they have an expression, in English: 'Good morning everybody! How are you?' all over, you, know, everybody, this is to teach them, people are just crazy for English, so this is the, this is what's happening with English in the world, because it's got this 'super status' and everybody sort of wants to get on it. It's, it happens throughout history, there's a wonderful book called 'Empires of the Word'.

Empire: can you translate that into Russian? What's empire *Reich, Reich?*

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): *Imperia, imperia.*

Mr Donatello(Italian teacher): *Reich.*

Maurice Carder: *Reiche des Wortes*, yeah? And it gives the history of empires, through the Persian Empire, the Ottoman Empire, British Empire, and following the languages – the Portuguese Empire, Spanish Empire – and it shows that when you have an empire, the language of the empire, everybody wants to learn it, of course. But it can change

very quickly. But English is in a special position because of the internet and suddenly it's gone 'whoosh!' you know, and people are just crazy to learn English, really crazy, it's true what you say. How do you tell parents: Look, English is fine, but also, I think, not only the emotional importance of the mother tongue, but the intellectual, the cognitive importance, because of the evidence we know, that if you keep up your mother tongue it's easier to learn English, and this is what we have to, how do we do that? You can't do that in ten minutes even in your own – yeah.

Mrs Wagner(Portuguese teacher): *Ich weiss nicht wenn Sie, nur zehn Minuten in diese, was willst du wenn die Eltern sagen, dass an einer bestimmte Tag, wir werden Sie und die Muttersprache Lehrer zu verfugen, damit Sie in ihrer Sprache mit den ...* [I don't know if you, only ten minutes in this, what is your aim when the parents say that on a certain day we will meet you and the mother tongue teachers, so that you, in your language, with the ...]

Maurice Carder: *Ich kann das sagen, aber schauen Sie, letzte Woche, ich habe 160 Eltern eingeladen, und 11 ...* [I can say that, but look, last week I invited 160 parents and 11 ...]

Mrs Wagner(Portuguese teacher): *Ja, zumindest 'Ah, ich habe das nicht', weil damals wir hier in der Schule gekommen sind, und Englisch habe ich nicht verstanden, und jetzt ist zu spät, weiss ich ...* [Yes, at least, 'Oh, I don't have that' because then we came here to the school, and I didn't understand the English, and now it's too late, I know ...]

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): Yeah, it's Portuguese yeah, and if you give them the possibility to hear them, the possibility to hear and to say their own opinion in their mother tongue language, you cannot have the 40 teachers, of course, you are right, but

...

Maurice Carder: So do you think have different evenings for different languages, would that work?

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): No, one year, because I meant, yeah, this would be the best thing, no?

Maurice Carder: So you have a Portuguese evening, say at this time?

Mrs Wagner(Portuguese teacher): No, at the same day, every mother tongue, in different class.

Maurice Carder: In different classes, yeah, OK.

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): In different class, yeah.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): Also, it's very important because I think also a programme with Russian students, a lot of Russian students have private tutors at home, and parents are sure that it's the same, and then when they come to me or in our embassy,

Maurice Carder: Oh yeah, the Russian school.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): They had Russian in this school, they come to me only because they need A1 Higher and then they say 'Tamara, it's really very interesting to learn literature, it's very interesting'. Excuse me, you make this class, Russian school eight years, it was terrible, and the same or, it's very typical for us: Everybody can give Russian classes. For example, I said, I think, it's very easy, but everybody who is coming from Soviet Union and hasn't a job ...

Mrs Wagner(Portuguese teacher): Same in Portuguese.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): Can give classes.

Maurice Carder: Yeah, yeah, yeah.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): There one parents call me from Donia International School; 'Olga, can you give classes because our 'Logopäd', this is a doctor who make

...

Maurice Carder: Ah, *Logopäd*,

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): She's says she's from Russia, she can make Russian classes, and they do ...

Maurice Carder: Well, that's the same kind ...

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): And just they do, in this family, three years, three years, she, they done classes, Russian classes, and they are not able to understand that in school they're really teachers who have Diplom, who has to work in this programme, who has to work for results and not just for money. They're sure we do it for money! No, no, they're look for results.

Maurice Carder: This is the problem of the age we live in, which is that neo-liberal free-market, where the only thing that matters is money, and teachers have very low status, and what I don't understand is that the parents, it's in their interest for, it's their children, but they don't seem to value their own children. Something's gone completely, it's really strange.

Mrs Finnarosa(Portuguese teacher): *Acho que sé, o programa de mother tongue, si foi dentro do programa, si foi dentro do horario ...*[I think I know, the mother tongue programme, if it was a part of the programme, if it was part of the timetable ...]

Maurice Carder: *Sim* [yes].

Mrs Finnarosa(Portuguese teacher): *Acho que se foisse tambem ...*[I think that if it was also ...]

Maurice Carder: *Esto primeiro, sim.* [That first, yes].

Mrs Wagner(Portuguese teacher): *Si foi integrado seria tambem o pagamento, seria feito pela escola, outra parte ...* [If it was integrated the payment would be too, it would be done by the school, another part ...]

Maurice Carder: OK, I better translate. What they're – do you speak Portuguese? You understand? The most important thing is the integration of the programme. But then, is the integration of the programme paid for by the school? So, this is the big, key, issue to focus on. Anyway, let's go on going round. Leticia, are you, or you've said enough already? Do you want to say?

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): Yeah, I can say many things.

Maurice Carder: One important point?

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): Yeah, I tell you, this is something, because in the 1,000 pupils in the school and all the people living here, working here inside, we have a special feeling, I have a special feeling. I like the children with whom I speak in the same language I spoke with my parents, a special '*carinho*' or tenderness, these children, I know them and speak of their families, many things, this is because we have the same language, and the same background somehow, I come back to the same: you have to have the mother tongue to speak, the parents, the fathers, generally they speak

English more or less, the mothers not so much, then we hear in their own language how important it is to know the past, and the role of the Indians in the Brazilian culture, and all those things like this, their own language.

Maurice Carder: (writes on board) I agree.

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): May I tell you some story which is the truth? I knew a Brazilian doctor who was here and was a *Psychologe*, and then he was living for some years, he was a doctor, and there was a Brazilian lady also with an Austrian but things were going wrong, and then she went to this *Therapeute*, and then the doctor told her: 'now tell me, what is your problem?', and then she started some few words and started crying and crying, trying three or four times. He thought to himself, 'how will I manage to resolve this problem?' Then he told her: 'can you speak any other language? English? Then tell me the same in English.' She said everything without a tear, so, the things are much more, you feel them much more if they are closer to you, if you have to say the things in your own language.

Maurice Carder: That's very interesting.

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): This is a fact, this is a case, I knew it very well.

Maurice Carder: That's really interesting.

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): And then the man could help, he said so or so, I don't know if it ended in a divorce or not, I just know that after she spoke in English, they could speak together, but this is a fact, you have to have parents hearing their own language and explanations in their own language. What they do, the group of World Literature, some they find it strange, and why, why the books here, and the comparison, why the books here, all these things; how the programme is done now; how the list of the IB is done.

Maurice Carder: Good – that's a very good story. OK. Edelweiss, *noch etwas?* [anything else?]

Mrs Wagner(Portuguese teacher): *Das habe ich schon.* [I've said everything].

Maurice Carder: Gentlemen: *etwas besonders? Oder haben wir schon alles?* [Anything special? Or have we covered everything?]

Mr Kagan(Turkish teacher): *Also, wie ich mitgekommen habe, geht das organisatorisch hier im Haus über Muttersprachen Unterricht, und wir arbeiten in den Klassen mit den anderen Lehrern.* [OK, as I said, it's about the way the Mother Tongue programme is organized here in the school, and we work in the classes with other teachers].

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): You also teach a language?

Mr Kagan(Turkish teacher): *Also ich? Ich unterrichte hier Türkisch. Ich habe mich mit den Kindern, ich arbeite seit 10 Jahren in eine öffentliche Schule, in Wien, also Muttersprache Lehrer, und es geht mir genau so wie euch, also general, was in Englisch bei euch jetzt gemacht wird, wird bei mir in Deutsch gemacht. Wir werden als Hilfslehrer gesehen, als Übersetzer, oder dem Kind helfen, und meiner Arbeit ist dass nicht. Ich bin dort wenn ich in den Klasse bin, möchte ich den Kinder ihrer Muttersprache beibringen, und sein Kultur vermitteln, das ist sehr wichtig für die Identität, und als Freiwahl, wenn sie sich anmelden dann geht das noch schwerer, dann die Eltern die möchten dass ihrer Kinder so wie hier Englisch lernen, das macht sie stolz damit, wenn das Kind sehr gut Englisch kann, und zuhause auch Englisch spricht.*

Sie wissen nicht wie schlecht dass ist später für das Kind, und die Kontakt im Land und hier unter Familien, dass später grosse Probleme macht, dass wissen sie nicht, und sie sagen, 'Nein, wir möchten nicht das unser Kind sich bei Muttersprache Unterricht anmelden' und deshalb sprechen sie zuhause Türkisch. Ich sage ihnen, die Deutschen sprechen zuhause Deutsch, und lernen in der Schule fünf Stunden Deutsch. [Who me? I teach Turkish here. I have also with children, I have worked for 10 years in a state school in Vienna as a mother tongue teacher and it's exactly the same for me as for you. In general, what happens with you as regards English happens to me with German. We are seen as support teachers, as translators, just to help the children, and that's not my job. When I'm in the classroom I want to teach the children their mother tongue and tell them about their culture. That's very important for their identity. And also when they register it's even harder because the parents want them to do the same as here with English; it makes them proud when their child can speak good English and also speaks English at home. They don't know how bad it is later for the child, and for relationships in their country, and here with their family, and later it will cause great problems. They don't realize that and they say 'No, we don't want to register our child for mother tongue classes', and thus speak Turkish at home. I tell them the Germans speak German at home, and learn German at school for five hours a week.]

Maurice Carder: *Die Unterschied zwischen schreiben und ...* [The difference between writing and ...]

Mr Kagan(Turkish teacher): *Ja, ich sage, OK, wie viele Wörter verwenden Sie täglich eigentlich Zuhause? Sie sagen ,genug'. Ich sage, 300 Wörter, 300 ist zu wenig, Sie müssen mindestens, wenn das Kind mit den Zeit ausgebildet wird, sie musst täglich 3,000 Wört vielleicht beherrschen können, mehr zu denken. Das verstehen sie nicht. Man muss, in dieser Schule es ist so schwer, also, die Eltern kommen aus, die sind Diplomaten Kinder, sie haben Ausbildung in der Türkei gemacht, aber wo ich arbeite in der Staatsschulrat, kommen vielen Türkischen Familien von Land, sie können nicht mal schreiben, oder lesen, Grundausbildung haben sie sehr wenig, und denn kann ich nicht richtig sagen, klarmachen, aber hier verstehen sie das schon die Eltern. [Yes, I say, OK, how many words do you actually use every day at home? They say 'enough'. I say 300 words – 300 is too few. You should probably master at least 3,000 words for the child to be educated over time. They don't understand that. We have to, in this school it's so difficult, OK, the parents come along, they are 'diplomat's children', they've been brought up in Turkey, but where I work in the public sector many Turkish families are country people and they can't read or write. They have very little basic education, so I can't get it across to them, but here at least the parents understand.]*

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): *Nein.* [No.]

Mr Kagan(Turkish teacher): *In dieser ... bei mir – ich habe wenig Kinder, aber das Problem ist bei mir in dieser Schule, dass die Eltern wissen nicht viel, dass hier Türkisch Muttersprache Lehrer gibt. Ich rufe nicht gerne an. [In this ... for me – I have few students but the problem for me in this school is that not many parents know that there is a Turkish teacher here. I don't like phoning them.]*

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): *Das ist auch mit mir ...* [It's the same for me ...]

Mr Kagan(Turkish teacher): *‘Ich bin Muttersprache Lehrer, ich arbeite Privat’, und sagen nein, ich will Geld von sie haben.* [‘I’m the mother tongue teacher, I work privately’ and they say no, I just want their money.]

Chorus: *Ja, ja.* [Yes, yes].

Mr Kagan(Turkish teacher): *Ich fühle mich beleidigt, also Geld ist zweite Plan, ich brauche Geld, zweite Plan, ja, es ist, ich möchte was beibringen, den Kind, und ich habe 2, 3 Erlebnisse gehabt und dafür rufe ich nicht wenn herum gesprochen mit Familien, denn kommen sie hier, Mr Carder leitet weiter, aber es ist wichtig, glaube ich, wenn die Schülern, -innen, mit den Eltern mit Brief meldet, dass so ein, oder beim Anmeldung oder in einer Besprechung, ihnen mitteilt dass in verschieden Sprachen ... Telefon oder auch es so gibt, dass in dieser Schule das angeboten wird.* [I feel insulted; OK, money is important, I need money, it’s important, yes, it is, I want to achieve something with the child, and I’ve had 2 or 3 experiences, so I don’t phone if it’s being talked about by the families, then they come here, Mr Carder goes on running the department, but I think it’s important when the school children register through the parents by letter so that, or when they register or in a consultation they are informed that for various languages ... by telephone or however, that in this school it is offered].

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): *Aber* [But] you make this.

Maurice Carder: Yes, I do; *das mache ich schon.* [I do that already].

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): *Muttersprache, aber besser auch – OK, wir machen, ich mache, ich habe gemacht in Primary School.* [Mother tongue, but also better – OK, we do, I do, I’ve done in Primary School].

Maurice Carder: Yeah?

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): *Ich habe geschrieben, weil ich habe keine Studenten in Primary School und schon, und dann ich habe gesehen dass es geht schon so in Privat Unterricht, und jemand kommt und sagt ,Oh, meine Mutter hat gefunden Privat, OK’, dass ist, und dann ich habe geschrieben Brief, OK, dass ist eine Seite nur, nicht viel, dass wir arbeiten hier nicht als Hobby, wir machen unser Program und unser Ziel ist IB, und dass ist wirklich, und es arbeitet egal bei, also etwas anders, und, aber in Muttersprache, in Muttersprache, weil sie kriegen so viel Papier in Englische Sprache, sie, OK, ...* [I have written, because I don’t have any students in Primary School, and then I saw that that’s the way it is in private teaching, and someone comes along and says ‘Oh, my mother’s found a private teacher, OK,’ and that is, and then I wrote a letter, OK, just one page, not much, that we do not work here as a hobby, we design our programme and our objective is the IB, and that’s really, and it works the same for, ok something else, and, but in mother tongue, in mother tongue, because they fight through so much paper in the English language, they, OK, ...]

Maurice Carder: We had one director 5 to 6 years ago who put up, you know, we have a few signs in about 5 languages.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): Yeah, I have done Russian.

Maurice Carder: Yeah, and that’s the only thing we have for other languages.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): Yeah, it’s only. It was for 8 years!

Maurice Carder: And that was a director who was not British or American – he was Austrian. This is – and the other thing I want to say is, please keep it in this room, but

last week with the parents, some of the parents, they said, we pay so much, why can't we just have free market like, we should have a free market, we should get any teacher we want. It's what you said about the Russians: 'I speak Russian ...'

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): Of course!

Maurice Carder: So we have a big problem with the parents' mentality.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): Yeah, yeah. And they're not respect and also I understand you why you don't very glad this form, because it looks like somebody call to sell something, sell myself. Excuse me, not.

Mr Kagan(Turkish teacher): *Es gibt noch was, es wird hier umgesprachen auch, die Stadtschulrat Wien hat sehr viele Lehrer als muttersprachige Lehrer eingestellt in der Schulen, die nicht Profi die Sprache beherrschen, zum Beispiel ein Leibeübung. Lehrer, gefluchtet von Turkei, oder von Balkanen hier, und hat sich beim Lehrer, ja, wir brauchen muttersprachigen Lehrer, kommen Sie, aber es sind so viele ...*[There's something else: people are also saying that the Vienna Education Authority has placed many teachers as mother tongue teachers in schools who are not qualified but can speak the language. For example just practise it. Teachers who have fled Turkey or Balkan countries and have as teachers, yes, we need mother tongue teachers, come along, but there are so many ...]

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): It's the same with Russian.

Mrs Wagner(Portuguese teacher): *Ohne Ausbildung.* [Without training].

Mr Kagan(Turkish teacher): *Ich bin der erste Lehrer in Wien, wir haben versucht 2001 Muttersprache einzu, ins Lehrplan von Ministerium rein zu bekommen, Türkisch als lebende Fremdsprache, und es gibt kein Ausbildung für türkisch Lehrer in Wien, und ich habe versucht in andere Akademie Nostrifikation abzuschliessen, und ich bin der erste Lehrer der dass gemacht hat. Offiziell, der türkisch Lehrrat Prüfung anerkannt wurde, ohne Pädagogische Akademie Ausbildung, und solche Lehrer, die müssen noch mehr Stellen haben diese Leute, dass Profis arbeiten und eine gute Umgebung, eine gute Ruf bringt. Die Eltern glauben keine Ausbildung, Qualification, und es ist egal wenn wir nicht Unterricht nehmen: ,mein Kind wird so wie so nichts lernen'. Dass kann auch sein, dass die Abstand halt.* [I am the first teacher in Vienna, we tried in 2001 to get the mother tongue into the teaching programme of the Education Ministry, Turkish as a modern language, but there is no training for Turkish teachers in Vienna, so I tried to get my qualifications officially 'nostrified' in another institution, and I'm the first teacher who has done that. Officially the Turkish teaching certificate is recognised without pedagogical training and these teachers, they have even more posts, the professionals work in good surroundings, and they bring professionalism. Parents think that no education or qualifications, and it's the same to them when we don't give classes: 'my child won't learn anyway'. That's also possible, that they keep distance.]

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): And here, school has to say that we have specialist, and we work ten years here. I work nine years in this school, yeah.

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): Here? I work 22 years.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): You 22 years prepared. Of course we have also some

...

Maurice Carder: That's interesting. Leticia, you've been here 22 years, you're the most senior colleague; do you think, what do you think about the mother tongue programme: has it improved? Or got worse? Or stayed the same?

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): I have generally, I have to repeat, I have nowadays, I have those big ones, where they already have a preparation from her, or from, from the back, how would ..., so I don't need so much to make these speech for them, but it is indeed much better, and you, I must tell you, this is the truth, that it is improved very much since, I am also many years here but it is much better than it was before, much better. Well organised, the many papers we get, maybe many papers ...

Maurice Carder: Emails ...

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): Maybe too many papers, I don't know, but many papers we get, but everything is very well explained. You keep the contact with the parents and with the teachers, you are always in the office and a person can always ask something to you so this has helped very much.

Maurice Carder: Fine, well fine, that's very kind of you, Leticia, but what I meant ...

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): Really, during this nine years I also, I see how students respect your, what you say.

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): Your opinion, yeah, your opinion.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): Your opinion, because somebody comes, 'Mr Carder said I have to come to you'.

Maurice Carder: Well, I do a lot of work in the corridors. When the classes I teach, I tell them, and they have friends, and they come, and the word, so a lot of it's done like that.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): For example with grade 8, I met a mother from this pupil for 5 years and I say, excuse me, why your daughter don't come to Russian class: 'Ho, she won't attend Russian!'. Now, this girl, she's coming to me and say, 'Please, teach me, because all student and Mr Carder say it's very important'.

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): That's the reason, Mr Carder, yes.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): Really, and now mother was coming to me, she said, my daughter learn, want to, 8 grade. I say, excuse me, for 5 years I haven't spoken with you, we will see if it's so interesting.

Maurice Carder: OK, thank you. *So, wir fangen an nächstes Mal mit diese erste ... die nächste Treffung wird in zwei Wochen aber am Donnerstag.* [OK, we'll begin next time with this first ... the next meeting will be in two weeks but on Thursday.]

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): *Donnerstag kann ich nicht.* [I can't come on Thursdays].

Maurice Carder: *Das ist die acht und zwanzigsten, glaube ich. Moment, zwei Wochen nein. 5te Juni, OK. Is Wednesday better? Mittwoch? [Wednesday?] Yeah? OK. 4te.[4th.]* [That's the 28th, I think. Just a moment, two weeks, no – 5th June, OK. OK. So we'll start – I will write all this up. I haven't come to you yet Mr Lucchi. You're very patient! I'll write all this up, put it in an email, and I'll send it to you. You read my emails?

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): Yeah, of course.

Maurice Carder: 'Carder' delete! *OK, so, vielen Dank, und danke vielmals für ihrer 'input'. OK, aufwiedersehen.* (Turkish teacher leaves). [OK, thank you very much and thank you for your input. OK, goodbye]. So, Mr Donatello, any ...

Mr Donatello(Italian teacher): I think main things have just been said.

Maurice Carder: Just said, so anything else you want to add?

Mr Donatello(Italian teacher): Well, I have been teaching at the Italian schools where Giorgio Bruschio now teaches and we have just always the same problem which is there are not many Italians in Vienna, many of them just ...

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): I thought there were many Italians, how many Italian restaurants there are in Vienna ...

Mr Donatello(Italian teacher): Well, they're not all of them kept by Italians.

Maurice Carder: What Italian restaurants ...

Mr Donatello(Italian teacher): Well, really, not as much as Turkish, or ...

Maurice Carder: Chinese?

Mr Donatello(Italian teacher): Chinese – so many of the parents are just, I have the chance to meet them and they say, no, my children don't really need to come to the Italian school because they already speak Italian and they have many things to do, and they have to integrate into the Austrian society, at this school they have to integrate to school, and outside society as well, which is quite a lot of things to do. They've got many things to be done for the school and it is not easy for the pupils as well, it is quite a hard job to do. Normally they do think it is important just if the parents are teachers themselves, or have anything to do with teaching and with the mother tongue, or if they think they will take Italian, the mother tongue, for the IB, or if they are thinking of coming back to Italy, to their own country. Otherwise they don't really think they will be needing in the future, and I can understand to a certain amount, and I don't think we will be really able to reach these people, these parents, the children.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): We have to reach, because it's ...

Mr Donatello(Italian teacher): They are really convinced there is no use in learning all language – it is quite difficult. Another problem I had with the IB is that ...

Mr Donatello(Italian teacher): With the IB?

Mr Donatello(Italian teacher): With the IB, mainly in Italian, is that even if you got good pupils and you work with them quite often, you can not possibly reach the Matura level in their own country. It is not possible for people living abroad to accept the same very level as the people living in the country.

Maurice Carder: You mean just literature? Or in all subjects?

Mr Donatello(Italian teacher): I mean just in the competence of the language.

Maurice Carder: Ah-ha.

Mr Donatello(Italian teacher): And literature as well. I mean they do of course ...

Maurice Carder: But we have students who do it every year.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): No, I am not agree.

Mrs Csarda(Hungarian teacher): *Also, ich glaube das überhaupt nicht, weil das Niveau von IB ist sehr hoch und ist genau so hoch in Ungarn zu rechnen, dass ist meine Beispiel. Ich weiss nicht wie es in anderen Sprachen ist, aber es ist ein sehr hohes Niveau und ist genau so wertvoll wie in Ungarn.* [OK, I just don't believe that at all

because the IB level is very high and it is equally high in Hungary: that's my example. I don't know how it is in other languages, but it is a very high level and it is worth just as much as in Hungary.]

Maurice Carder: *So, was meinen Sie: dass kann man reichen, dieses Niveau?* [So what do you mean: that this level can be achieved?]

Mrs Csarda(Hungarian teacher): *Ja.* [Yes].

Mr Donatello(Italian teacher): *Dass heist, dass ist Leute die lang in Österreich leben, und diese Schule besuchen seit 5, 6, 7 Jahren, und sprechen jahrelang in Ausland, und die eine Stunde, zwei Stunde pro Woche ...* [That means that it's people who live in Austria a long time, and have been coming to this school for 5, 6, or 7 years, and speak for years in a foreign country, and one or two hours a week ...]

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): *Drei Stunden pro Woche* [Three hours a week] in grade 11, grade 12, we have to do 240 hours, in two years, and now I say that we have to make these classes, or we haven't to speak about A1 Higher.

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): Yeah, they cannot take A1.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): But I can say that it's possible to prepare student for this exams. What we're, today my student who will for ten years coming in Austria, they wrote Paper 1 yesterday; I hope it's gonna be OK Paper 2.

Maurice Carder: Can I ...

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): It's not for everybody, but for some we can reach this level.

Maurice Carder: Just one thing to say, it's important. The IB is having a reform of languages again. You know at the moment it's A1, A2 and B. Starting in 2011, or 12, A2 will disappear.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): I think it's better.

Maurice Carder: You think it's better, fine, and there will just be A and B, but for A, what is now A1, there will be two choices: you can either do what is now literature, or you can choose language and literature, so the way I see it is basically they're moving A2 into A1, so students can choose, so if they can choose that might help what you say, that they can't reach this level, the new one will be not so much literature.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): Also, for example, I see this tendency, with Paper 1, it's Paper 1 in Russian, for example, easier and easier ...

Maurice Carder: The commentary.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): Yeah, last nine years I see that the, when I read, it was really for university, last course in university – really. I was really, I couldn't write this commentary. I have to prepare myself to write this commentary, what we have for nine years, and now this tendency really they understand our contingency.

Maurice Carder: So they've adapted.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): They adapted this, and I, today, for example, my girls were very happy with this paper, and yesterday I was thinking maybe we can write Grossman, and today it was Grossman. So it's not so, really, it's good tendency, in programme from IB.

Mr Donatello(Italian teacher): Well, maybe it depends on the language, which is, I don't know. Well, I have the impression that people who are attending Lyceum and Gymnasium in Italy, having of course for 6, 7 lessons of Italian a day ...

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): And seeing the literature all around Italian.

Mr Donatello(Italian teacher): Many many years long can just speak about literature and not just about everything, and write, some of them better than people just living all the time in their own country.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): Also we tend to forget, for example, how we are together, we have to work together and I see how easy, for example, student who are going to visit English classes or German classes, they understand the literature. Not like Russian literature, they are working together and all, for example Commentary, or Comparative Essay, it's the same rules, it's the same mechanics, and I see how it's easy to show to students that it works the same in German, in English, only it's really who is interested in this subject, they can make a lot.

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): You are right in some point because in Italy they are in their own country, they have all of the surrounding, it's their own language. Also on the TV and many things and theatre and many things, so they have all of these, mathematics and geography and everything in their own language.

Mrs Wagner(Portuguese teacher): *Aber* [But] also in these schools more systemat there than here because ...

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): And even the Diploma of the IB is also not accepted in Portugal. They need to make an exam of culture and language Portuguese that went to university. Because they have here German around them, they have English, so there is not so much of the language, so they can never read to the point. They are here with us twice a week or three times a week, but there they have 7 days a week with the language around them.

Maurice Carder: This is why it's very important to get to parents to say at least, have them books in their own language, but there's another problem there today, is that children generally don't want to read books because they've got the internet, and in a way everything is against us, so it's a big battle.

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): I have to go, I'm sorry.

Maurice Carder: Do you want to stop there? I think one hour is fine. So, OK, I'll write all this up and I'll send it to you, and thank you very much indeed. I think, you know, this is a useful thing to do because doing the parents' thing at the same time, then taking it to administration, maybe we get something out of it.

Mrs Vodolski(Russian teacher): You are also very good at, somebody to open for us, and for the programme.

Mrs Zimprich(Portuguese teacher): To offer the ...

Maurice Carder: Yeah.

Mr Donatello(Italian teacher): Are the evenings with the parents as well?

Maurice Carder: Oh yeah, last week was parents, this week teachers, next week I've got another one with parents.

Mr Donatello(Italian teacher): For who?

Maurice Carder: Same, anybody can come, it's open, we'll see who comes, *inshallah*, and please tell your mother tongue colleagues that the next meeting will be on the fourth. Well, I'll send an email. So thank you very much.

D Transcript of the second meeting with Mother Tongue teachers at the Unonia International School, 4-6-2008. 18.15-19.15.

For the second meeting, seven teachers attended: Mrs Vodolski– Russian; Mrs Csarda– Hungarian; Mrs Zimprich– Portuguese; Mrs Wagner– Portuguese; Mrs van Geerd– Dutch; Mrs Vakolatas– Lithuanian; Mrs Borovic– Serbian.

Participants gave their agreement to being recorded, and to the data being used for this paper.

TRANSCRIPT:

Maurice Carder: OK: recording starting. Right.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): So – it’s next week?

Maurice Carder: Next Thursday, 12th June, 4 o’clock – 16.00. 16, 17, whenever possible.

So, OK, some people the same, some not. Well, thank you for coming. I’ll speak in English. I know some of you speak better German, or other things; if there’s a difficulty, tell me and maybe, if you can translate, across. Who has the best German in here?

Mrs Csarda (Hungarian): *Wenn jemand dass nicht verstehe, dann werde ich dass kurz ...* [If anyone doesn’t understand, then I can just ...]

Maurice Carder: *Aber ich schäme mich im öffentlichkeit Deutsch zu sprechen, Sie werden nur lachen!* [But I’m ashamed to speak German in public, you’ll just laugh!]

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Versuchen Sie!* [You can try!]

Mrs Boravic (Serbian and Bosnian): *Sie können dann in Kroatische Sprache ...* [You can use Croatian ...]

Maurice Carder: *Aber dass ist die selbe ... ich bin ausser ...* [But that’s the same ... I’m out of ...] (all laugh). So, first of all I’m sorry about the smell. The Latin class was here, and they were eating leeks – *Porre*.

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *Aber ich muss gerade sagen, ich werde dass nicht verstehen können, leider ...* [But I have to say straight away that I won’t be able to understand, unfortunately ...]

Maurice Carder: *Nein?* [No?]

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *Dass ist schade dass Sie ...* [It’s a pity that you ...]

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): *Nein – Zsuzsa kann übersetzen; aber Deutsch als Fremdesprache.* [No – Zsuzsa can translate; but German as a foreign language].

Maurice Carder: *Gospođa: ja ću čekati svaki tri minute ...* [Madam: I shall wait every three minutes ...]

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *Nije važno.* [It’s not important]

Maurice Carder: *Samo recite: kad nešto ne razumite, ja ću...* [Just tell me: when there’s something you don’t understand, I’ll ...]

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *Dobro, hvala.* [OK, thank you].

Maurice Carder: And if we can have a bit of Lithuanian as well ... So, yeah, first of all let me – new people: Mrs Boravic, who teaches Bosnian, Serbian, Croatian, yeah? To all levels, yeah. And Mrs – you better say your name.

Mrs Vakolatas(Lithuanian): Mrs Vakolatas.

Maurice Carder: Mrs Vakolatas, who teaches Lithuanian, our first Lithuanian student, to one student in grade 10, but preparing him for IB next year. And I had apologies from Mrs Zimprich, Mr Donatello, so I know it's difficult, so thank you. I thought, this is what we talked about last week. Shall we take the subjects one by one? Yeah? I think. Sorry, something I must mention: last Wednesday I had another meeting with the parents. I think I told you they were preparing a petition, yeah, to do with the payment for mother tongue lessons. I took the petition to the director, wondering what he would say, and he was quite positive about it, and he wants to meet the parents at the first meeting in September, and I don't want to say too much, but I actually feel that maybe something will change. Because the school now has more money, because we have 1,400 students, and they have to use the money. They can't keep the money – the school – because it's a *Verein* [Association]. They have to use it, so I think he sees this maybe as an opportunity and a good ... so maybe there is light. We'll see.

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): ...

Maurice Carder: *Nichts genau – wir wissen noch nicht, aber vielleicht gibt's a bissl Hoffnung.* [Not exactly – we don't know yet, but maybe there's some hope].

OK, so, last week we talked about – the first one we discussed, I think, didn't we? Remind me, - do you remember?

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Ah, two weeks ago. We said we are teachers, not helpers.

Maurice Carder: OK, we talked about the pedagogical ...

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): The pedagogical matters – the most important points, they are here.

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Wir haben auch gesprochen über die Möglichkeit dass die mother tongue Lehrer, teachers, treffen auch die parents in ...* [We also talked about the possibility of the mother tongue teachers meeting the parents in ...]

Maurice Carder: OK, right, we talked about all that as well. But I think we put that ...

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): And also we were spoken about that maybe we can bring our classes not after school ...

Maurice Carder: During the day, during the day, yeah. That's all here, yeah. Well, shall I, do you want me to go through these quickly? Shall we talk about them quickly and then choose one point to talk about? I think it's the best thing because not everybody was here. So the first one:

'The need to integrate the mother tongue programme as regards time, during the school day', OK?

People thought it should be during the school day. And is that difficult for many teachers? I don't know.

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Eine Frage: wäre dass vielleicht möglich ... eine andere Möglichkeit, dass nur wenn eine teacher mehr als 2 Kinder haben, weil für mich ...* [A question: would it be possible ... another possibility, that only if a teacher had more two students, because for me ...]

Maurice Carder: *Wie meinen Sie?* [What do you mean?]

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Dass ist so: dieses Jahr ist nicht der Fall, aber alle die 4 oder 5 Kinder in der secondary school haben – jeder lernt in eine andere Stufe ...* [It's like this: this year it is not the case, but all those who have 4 or 5 students – each one is in a different grade ...]

Maurice Carder: Yeah, yeah.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): *Dass ist bei uns auch.* [It's the same for us too.]

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Weil normalerweise, wenn jedes Kind nach 3 Uhr ...* [Because normally if every student after 3 o'clock ...]

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Also, it can be also during the school day. Ok, give the same

...

Maurice Carder: *Aber, wie meinen Sie genau?* [But what exactly do you mean?]

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Weil es ist so. Ich kann mich nicht vorstellen dass ich komme in der normaler Zeiten, und Kinder sind die alter der eine andere Stufe ist: einige 5te, einige 6te grade, 7, und wie können alles in einer Klasse, weil ich mache immer individuell – 2 kommen Montag, 3 Dienstag ...* [Because it's like this. I can't imagine coming at the normal times and students are of ages of different grades: some 5th, some 6th grade, 7, and we put them all in one class, because I always treat them individually: 2 come on Monday, 3 on Tuesday ...]

Maurice Carder: *Aber dann ...* [But then ...]

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *... zusammen ...* [... together ...]

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Nein, aber ich ... getrennt, weil jedes Kind ist eine andere Stufe.* [No, but I ... separate, because each student is in a different grade].

Maurice Carder: *Aber dann, ist dass genau eine Nachteil haben, weil die Curriculum für der 6te, 7te, 8te, 9te Jahr ist nicht die selbe.* [But then that's a disadvantage because the curriculum for the 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th grades is not the same].

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Genau! Dass ist ... sie getrennt ...* [Exactly! That's ... them separate ...]

Maurice Carder: *Ah, Sie sagen dass werde besse getrennt?* [Ah, you're saying it would be better separately?]

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Ja- nicht alle Kinder in einer Klasse – dass nicht.* [Yes, not all students in one class – not that]

Maurice Carder: OK, this is a very important matter because some languages have bigger groups of children, but many, many languages just have one or two, in different year groups. So what is your preferred way of teaching? From my point of view, well, no, *you* say. You prefer to have, what, separate classes?

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): Yes.

Maurice Carder: Obviously, because the curriculum in grade 7 is different from grade 8. But have you spoken to the parents about this?

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): No.

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *Darf ich etwas sagen?* [Can I say something?]

Maurice Carder: *Ja, bitte.* [Yes, sure.]

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *Ich habe in diesen Jahr einige Kinder zusammen. Ich habe ein Kind bekommen, der ist 6 Jahre alt, er kommt aus Amerika, und er besitzt*

besserer sprachlicher Kenntnis als der andere Klasse. Und dann er schreibt weniger aber er ist sprachlich gut, und ich habe diese kombinierte Klasse, muss ich sagen, dass ist sehr interessant, also er ist stolz dass er sprachlich starker ist als dieser der besser schreiben können, aber ich mache, ich bin sehr zufrieden, mit dieser Kleiner. Dass ist natürlich ... [This year I have some students together in one class. I got a student who is 6, from America, and he has better spoken language than the other class. And he writes less but he is orally good, and I have this combined class and I have to say it is very interesting. So – he is proud of the fact that he is orally stronger than the ones who can write better, but I do, I'm very happy with this class. Naturally that's ...]

Mrs Csarda (Hungarian): *Dass ist besser, ein grosserer Gruppe für jungerer Kinder.* [It's better to have a bigger group for younger students]

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Yes, and also in my primary school I have 4 students and they are from different ex-Soviet Union republics.

Maurice Carder: Uh-huh, what, Kazakhstan and ...

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Yeah, and different groups from age. They're brilliant; it's very, very interesting.

Maurice Carder: That's interesting. What I'm concerned about if – and it's a big if – the director wants to change the method of payment or whatever, and if the teachers are paid by the school, and if we can have classes during the day, will that destroy flexibility? You see ...

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Of course.

Maurice Carder: It's very complicated. Everything has advantages and disadvantages – *Vorteil/Nachteil*. So I want to make sure that if nothing changes, that we have democratic input. The director doesn't just say 'Right, we're doing this, boom!'. Because at this school ... OK. So, that's good, good point, thank you.

Place: yeah, classrooms for all languages, this is, this one, yeah. Huh, yes, we dream (all laugh). We don't even have enough classrooms for regular classes. The school is, you know ... I have a colleague who teaches by the gymnasiums, for sport, and it's terrible. Another colleague is teaching in the Music Department, so they don't even have enough classrooms for the regular classes, and of course – but also, I would like to say mother tongue classes have high priority. At the moment mother tongue classes are, sort of, there, yeah? 'Oh, mother tongue, oh!' Let me show you something, I think this is very important too. Look at this: this is from grade 11, last year, all the subjects, showing, and this is their average, mean, - mean means average – *Durchschnitt, ja? – Schau genau!* [Look closely!] mother tongue 6.4. The students – best is out of 7, out of 7 – the students.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): The same results with IB, our results?

Maurice Carder: Yep.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Our results is better than ...

Maurice Carder: This is the best from all the subjects. Oh, English A2 standard, also 6.4. German A1 higher, German ab initio. But mother tongue, that's all the mother tongues, an average of 6.4. I mean, what does this tell you?

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Very interesting results, of the grade 12, when we see. It's really what bring mother tongue ...

Maurice Carder: And I have all the grades as well, if I can just remember where I've got them. I have so much information now, I get confused. OK, this is every grade, here's mother tongue – 6.6, OK, this is grade 6. Look at all the subjects: Art ESL, English, French, Geography, etc. mother tongue 6.6: it's the highest, it's actually the highest.

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Dass ist eine starke Argumente.* [That's a strong argument.]

Maurice Carder: I think it's a very strong argument, yeah. And here's grade 7: mother tongue 6.3. Look at that! Ah, 6.5 – computer aided design. Some teachers say 'Oh, but mother tongue teachers, you don't control them, you don't know how they're getting their grades', and my answer to that is, in grade 11 and 12 ...

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): You have very good control.

Maurice Carder: There is very good control because the IB grades are marked externally, the external grade is usually the same as the teacher's predicted grade, so that gives, I don't know if you want to, do you understand? Here's grade 8: mother tongue, 6.3. Grade 9: mother tongue, 6.2. Look at, you know, it's consistent. Grade 10: mother tongue, 6.3. It's phenomenal. It's absolutely phenomenal. So, good, I remembered to show you that. OK, so that's an argument, I must remember to use ...

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Mr Carder, eine Frage. Ist normalerweise ein Kind, der sehr schlecht in die andere Stoffe sind, ist auch normalerweise in mother tongue, weil diese Unterschied wir können nicht sagen, dass eine ist so schlecht in mother tongue, aber die andere sagen sehr gut, oder in gegenteil.* [Mr Carder, one question. Is a child who is very bad in other subjects also usually bad in mother tongue, because we can't tell this difference, but others say very good, or the opposite].

Maurice Carder: *Ist dass eine Frage, oder ...* [Is that a question, or ...]

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Ja, eine Frage, weil zum Beispiel, ich habe schon Schule gehabt dass sie denken, ich könne mich nicht vorstellen dass dieses Kind nicht geht ...* [Yes, a question, because for example I've had students who think, I can't imagine that this student doesn't go ...]

Maurice Carder: Yeah, that depends on many things. If it's a new student at the school and has poor English, then obviously at first they'll be better in the mother tongue, because their English hasn't got there; if after 2 or 3 years, then that's more interesting to look to see where the mother tongue is compared with the other subjects, yeah. Why? Do you have an example of somebody who's ...

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Es ist, zum beispiel, schon Fernando ... Fernando! Er ist vor zwei Jahre. Die lange Zeit der er mein Schuler war, er hat gesagt ... und ich konnte mich nicht vorstellen dass die andere Stoffe ... Aber trotzdem hat er IB bestanden. Er ist in der Universität. Hier in der Ceremonie habe ich die Mutter betroffen; sie hat gewusst dass er so apatischeweise, hat mir gesagt. Jetzt ist eine klick, endlich! Die Mutter sagt, aber er war immer faul und so viel ... auch in die andere Stoffe. Möglich ist dass ein Kind nur in mother tongue gut oder nur in mother tongue schlecht, dass ist Wie ich gesagt, er kommt nach 3 Jahre.* [It's, for example, Fernando already ... Fernando! Two years ago. The long time when he was my student he said ... and I couldn't imagine that the other subjects ... But in spite of that he got through the IB. He's in the university. At the ceremony here I met the mother; she knew that he was apathetic, she told me. Now he's clicked, finally. His mother said he was always lazy and so ... in other subjects too.

It's possible that a student is only good in mother tongue or only bad in mother tongue, that's ... As I said, he comes after 3 years.]

Maurice Carder: I'm thinking about the student you mentioned.

Mrs Van Geerd(Dutch): Oh, she did very well.

Maurice Carder: Really!

Mrs Van Geerd(Dutch): 6.

Maurice Carder: Really! In A1 high!

Mrs Van Geerd(Dutch): No, no. 2 standard.

Maurice Carder: A2, A2 standard; but she got a 6, good. Because this was a typical thing for the mother tongue with many students in this school, that they're travelling around. For example, I have this year a student from Vietnam, in grade 11; she's new this year. She last went to school in Vietnam, I think she told me in grade 4, so English is her school language. This is typical of many international students, and I couldn't find a teacher of Vietnamese, so she's doing A1 standard self-taught. You know about that – A1 standard you can do, it's the only one you can do without a teacher. She did the mock exam – I gave it to her. I said 'Take it home, give it to your parents, and talk to them about it', and she said it's not so bad, it's quite good. But this is the whole thing – we talk about mother tongue – it's not a good term – I suppose, we should say: language of country of birth, but even then ... Natasha – we have a student doing Russian who is a very good example. She was born in Ukraine – *Ukraina* – her parents spoke Russian at home but sometimes she heard Ukrainian. She never went to school in the Russian language, never never, because when she was 6 her parents moved to Moldova, and in Moldova the language is Romanian. Well there's also Moldovan, which is a mixture of Romanian and Russian. But she went to school in Romanian from the age of 6 until 14, and still she liked to read books in Russian. At home she read books in Russian. She was studying in Romanian but reading at home in Russian. She came here, she was in an ESL class, a very good student. She went to private school in German and learnt German – was a good student. Now she's doing A1 Russian with Tamara and is – 6?

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): 6 – have to.

Maurice Carder: 6, A1 high, Russian, and she has never been to school in Russian. This is super.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Not easy (laughs).

Maurice Carder: It wasn't easy! She's doing A2 English, which is very good, after 4 years A2 English is good.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Yes, it's really.

Maurice Carder: And Romanian, nothing, but she's also doing German B higher, and so what's also – I mean, Russian has a different script, OK, it's Cyrillic, so she's got all these languages and for me it's a good sign that the more languages you learn, the more you're ...

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *Darf ich fragen, ist das Moldavisch, der Land wo sich Russisch sprechen; ist Moldavisch wahrscheinlich.* [Could I ask, that's Moldavian, the country where Russian is spoken; it's probably Moldavian].

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): *Ukrain – sie ist Ukrainisch.* [Ukraine – she's Ukrainian].

Maurice Carder: *Sie ist in Ukrain geboren, aber hat immer Russisch gesprochen mit die Eltern.* [She was born in Ukraine but she always spoke Russian with her parents].

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): Romänien ...

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): *Aber Moldavisch, dass gibt nicht jetzt Moldavische Sprache.* [But Moldavian, there's no Moldavian language now].

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Aber Russisch ...* [But Russian ...]

Maurice Carder: *Moldavisch, dass ist ...* [Moldavian, that's ...]

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): *Sie nehmen dass jetzt als Romänische Sprache.* [That is now taken as Romanian].

Maurice Carder: *Dass ist ...* [That's ...]

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): *Romänische Sprache mit Russische inverzionen.* [Romanian with Russian expressions].

Maurice Carder: *Und es gibt auch ein Dialekt, dass ist eine Mischung von Romänisch und Russisch.* [And there's a dialect which is a mixture of Romanian and Russian.]

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): *Ja, ja.* [Yes, yes].

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Diese Student hat Russisch nur gesprochen als Kind?* [This student only spoke Russian as a child?]

Maurice Carder: *Nur zuhaus mit ...* [Only at home with ...]

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Also nie in der Schule?* [So never in school?]

Maurice Carder: *Nie in der Schule, und jetzt macht sie A1 higher, dass ist wirklich etwas besonderes. So, wir müssen immer optimistisch sein, ja?* [Never in school, and now she's doing A1 higher; that's really something special. So we should always be optimistic, yes?]

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Last 2 weeks Italian teacher said it's not, it's impossible to reach so high as Matura level. Of course, we reach this level what we see, and what we give to our student. If you prepare our student for B standard, our student reach this level. When we say that, OK, you have to do this, this, this, this, this, and if student really have this interest, we can make it, we can make it. Because this three languages, this situation – multi-culture, poly-languages culture – it bring really a lot, for us also.

Maurice Carder: I think if they have the right guidance, and if the interest – it's motivation, it's very, very important to get the motivation. I don't know, this is ... I can't say the name. Do you want to say something about Lithuanian, about your student? In English, *oder Deutsch, oder?* [or German, or not?]

Mrs Vakolatas(Lithuanian): I am not very happy because he left Lithuania 2 years ago – he lost one year.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): It's typical.

Maurice Carder: He lost a – I didn't know he lost a year.

Mrs Vakolatas(Lithuanian): He lost one year mother tongue.

Maurice Carder: Why?

Mrs Vakolatas(Lithuanian): Because he didn't learn, or study.

Maurice Carder: Where was he at school?

Mrs Vakolatas(Lithuanian): He studies here only in English, in this school.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): But Maurice, it's typical for Russian also. Some student come to us later than they are coming to the school. It's also with Russian.

Mrs Vakolatas(Lithuanian): He made a break with Lithuanian language, and now he makes many mistakes ...

Maurice Carder: Just because he missed one year?

Mrs Vakolatas(Lithuanian): Yes, of English ...

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): I think it's also problem that our parents don't respect this programme – the same problem!

Maurice Carder: They don't understand.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Yeah, they don't understand and that's why we have spoken that it's very important for new students.

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *Was wurde jetzt gesagt?* [What is being discussed now?]

Maurice Carder: Uh-huh. *Er war jetzt in grade 10, und er hat, er war immer in der Schule in Lithuanien, und er hat aber, wenn er ist hier gekommen, er hat ein Jahr ohne Lithuanisch gefehlt, und er macht viel Fehler in Lithuanische Sprache – nur weil er ein Jahr gefehlt hat, und dass ist die Problem mit die Eltern. Sie sagen: ‚Er kann sehr gut diese Sprache, blah blah blah blah, ein Jahr, sie verstehen dass nicht – sie wollen dass nicht verstehen.* [He was in grade 10, and he has, he was always at school in Lithuania, but when he came here he didn't do Lithuanian for one year, and he makes many mistakes in Lithuanian – just because he missed one year, and that's the problem with parents. They say: 'He knows this language very well, blah blah blah blah, one year, they don't get it, they don't want to understand].

Mrs Vakolatas(Lithuanian): *Er kann reden aber nicht schreiben.* [He can speak but not write].

Maurice Carder: *Ja, schreiben und lesen: sprechen kann jeder, ja?* [Yes, write and read: anyone can speak, yes?]

Mrs Vakolatas(Lithuanian): *Es gibt andere probleme: er seine Englisch essay schreiben, er nicht gelernt essay schreiben, jetzt muss er essay schreiben. Es gibt sehr schwere Mangel.* [There's another problem: when he writes English essays, he hasn't learnt how to write essays. There are many deficits].

Maurice Carder: *Aber dass ist eine sehr gute Beispiel, weil es gibt oft ...* [But that's a very good example because there is often ...]

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *Jetzt ich bekomme eventuell, Mutter ist eine Kroatin, Papa ist ein Österreicher, das Kind war bei mir nur ein Jahr. Sie sagen: ‚Ich habe keine Zeit dafür‘. Jetzt will er higher level ... Jetzt werden wir sehen; er kommt an nächste Donnerstag, ich mache ein Test, ich will ihn nicht erschrecken ...* [Right now I have, the mother is Croatian, Dad's an Austrian, the child has been with me for a year. They say: 'I don't have time for this'. Now he wants higher level ... Now we'll see; he's coming next Thursday, I'll give a test, I don't want to frighten him].

Maurice Carder: *Was meinen Sie, wenn dass werde in der Schule – wie sagt man ‚fees‘ – the money? ‚fees‘ auf Deutsch?* [What do you think if that was in the school fees?]

Mrs Csarda (Hungarian): *Schulgebühren.* [School fees].

Maurice Carder: *Schulgebühren, ja. Wenn die Muttersprache Stunden sind inklusiv in die Schulgebühren, machen mehr Kinder Muttersprache?* [School fees, yes. If the

mother tongue classes were included in the school fees would more students do their mother tongue?]

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): *Russisch sicher weil jetzt sie gehen alle in Schule für Botschaft, sie hassen Russisch, dass ist Schule wirklich, lernen überhaupt nichts, und dann sie kommen zu mir in Klasse, pre-IB, und sie denken dass sie wirklich etwas kennen, Russische Sprache, aber dass ist Katastrophe. Sie kennen keine dieser Übungen; keine Erfahrung essay schreiben; keine Erfahrung in wirklich Analyse. Ich rede nicht von Kommentar – dass ist Katastrophe, Paper 1, Kommentar, weil sie können nur von Geschichte ... und dass ist typisch, und IB, pre-IB, nach Russische Botschaft Schule, in drei Jahre ... etwas ist ...* [With Russian definitely because now they all go to the Embassy school, they hate Russian, that's because of the school, they learn absolutely nothing, and they come to me in the pre-IB class and they think they really know something, about the Russian language, it's a catastrophe, Paper 1, the commentary, because they only know about history ... and that's typical, and IB, pre-IB, after the Russian Embassy school, in three years, something is ...]

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *Ich bin überzeugt wenn man dass anbietet. Wenn die Muttersprache nicht perfekt können beherrschen, es ist alles um sonst; manche möchten sparen.* [I'd be surprised if that was offered. If they can't have a perfect ability in their mother tongue, it's all for nothing; some people like to save.]

Maurice Carder: *Na, sie müssen ein grosseres Auto kaufen, leider. Es tut mir leid aber dass ist ...* [Yep, they have to buy a new car, unfortunately. Sorry, but that's ...]

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): *Aber natürlich manche verstehen nicht, und sie sagen: ‚Oh, sie machen Nachhilfe in Russische Sprache‘.* [But of course some don't understand, and they say: ‚Oh, they're having after-school help with Russian'].

Maurice Carder: This is why I don't like the term – people talk about mother tongue support – do you understand 'support'? *Unterstützen. Dass habe ich, dass kann ich nicht leiden. Dass ist nicht 'support', dass ist unterrichten. Ich habe das selbe problem mit ESL: ‚ESL support‘, und dass kampf ich immer, immer gegen. ‚Support‘ ist wie dass ist ein Spiel.* [Support. I have, I can't stand that. That is not 'support', it is teaching. I have the same problem with ESL: 'ESL support', and I always, always fight it. 'Support' makes it sound like a game].

Anyway, OK, so this is, yeah, I mean we're exactly here, yeah? (indicates). 'The pedagogical content'. They're not simply helping lessons, 'support', but serious classes in line with other UIS subjects. And also, yeah, we heard this example of parents engaging Russian teachers 'because they can speak Russian'. And also, with the parents, I'm a bit disappointed by one parent who said: 'Oh, why do I have to pay the fees that are used on the yellow form? I can find somebody else and pay them'. And this – OK – this is what we've been talking about – it's got to be continuous from, really, from grade 1. Last week I had a meeting – there is a new teacher for the primary school for mother tongues, yeah? Angela Arkler. I had a meeting with her last week; she had some very good ideas. One thing she's going to do, she wants to get secondary students to do, they have a, the primary school has a piece of paper they give to parents, they're going to get secondary students to translate the paper into many languages so that that

can be given to parents, and they're going to use the, what do you call it, you know in the secondary school they have the CAA, they have to do so many hours.

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): Community ...

Maurice Carder: Community, Action, Awareness, so the students will do that and they will get that for their hours, so it's a good idea. But I spoke to her, I said it's really important to tell parents to get it from, not only from primary school; early childhood, you know: age 3,4. Because there they don't have – the primary mother-tongue coordinator, her responsibility begins in primary 1, so I said please go to the early childhood, early learning centre and tell them that they must do it too.

So, this one: this is a worldwide problem. 'The status of English'. We talked about this.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Yeah.

Maurice Carder: Parents from many countries, they're so happy their children are here in the school. English is this, you know, it's the answer to everything.

Mrs Van Geerd(Dutch): I think they have better chances.

Maurice Carder: Well, it's true, but not so true, not so true. It is true, yeah? But then we have to explain to them the fact that their English will get better if they keep up their mother tongue.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Yeah, of course.

Maurice Carder: I think that's the argument we have to use there. By keeping up literacy – reading and writing – in their mother tongue, it makes their English better, and also what I said about – did I talk to you? Let me show you – I can't remember, did I show you this? This is what I showed the parents two weeks ago. L1 is mother tongue, yeah? The parents were interested in this. I pointed out to them that we have all this research which shows that if you only do English, your English gets better very quickly in the *early* grades, but later, teachers *and* administrators think the students are going to continue to do well, and it is not true. We know, we know that, yeah?

OK, and this (new slide) is the model we have to have, yeah? This is a prism; if you imagine a prism in 3D, that – can you see it OK?

Many: Yeah.

Maurice Carder: In the middle, social and cultural processes – this is what happens in the school: children meet people, they're talking to people – and they should have language development in first language *and* second language, OK? Mother tongue *and* English, and academic development in mother tongue and English, and cognitive development in mother tongue and English, not just in English.

Now this (new slide) is showing children – this is the English speaker here – this is the new student who comes to school. It takes 2 years to speak English OK, and a lot of parents think: 'Oh, that's fine' and a lot of administrators, a lot of school directors, they think: 'Oh, after 2 years it's easy'. But reading and writing takes 5 to 8 years – 5 to 8 years – and this is what we have to get across. I've been fighting with administration, you know, year after year; and also people are saying 'good English will be like literacy yesterday or computer skills today'. Employers see it as self-evident and necessary but not sufficient for good jobs. English is not enough; multilingualism is the future, and this we must also tell to parents – that just having English is not enough.

Erm (new slide), that's from the IB. I've got some, erm, let's get through to the, I've got some more charts; sorry, I've got some other ...

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *Hr Carder, waren die Eltern so wenig bei diesem meeting gewesen wie wir?* [Mr Carder, were the parents at the last meeting as few as us?]

Maurice Carder: *Nein, ein bissl mehr: 11, ich glaube. Aber – but I invited 160 – hundert sechszig habe ich eingeladen.* [No, a few more, But I invited 160].

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *Frau Vuketic war? Oder nicht?* [Was Mrs Vuketic there? Or not?]

Maurice Carder: *Ja: die erste Woche Hr Vuketic, die zweite Woche Frau Vuketic. Na so was!* [Yes: the first week Mr Vuketic, the second week Mrs Vuketic. No surprise!]

Let me show you – I don't want to waste time – I have some very interesting – OK, here we are. OK, here's the one (new slide): this is really important – I don't know if you can see it OK – along the middle here, 50% - this is the average English-speaking student in an English-speaking school, OK, from grade 1 up to 11, or 12. This is research done in the USA on 700,000 students: *sieben hundert tausend Studenten*, yeah? Research – *Forschung*. Now what's really interesting, we have many different models here, and you see only 2 models give success; all the other models are way down here and not only are they down, they get worse: zoom, zoom, zoom. And what is also interesting, the best model, this is a bilingual programme. In the USA it's mostly Spanish and English, so where they have half the programme, half the subjects taught through mother tongue, and half through English. Look at the beginning – the progress is not so good, OK? For the first 3, 4 years, even up to – yeah, the first 4 years they're not doing so well, so this is why the politics in the USA, they say 'bilingual programmes are no good', and all the politicians make all the noise, the English-only people, but the English-only programmes are a catastrophe because they're mostly ... This is, look at, where's the red one? The red one is, yeah, ESL pull-out, yeah, this ESL students are taken into another class and are only taught English. No academic content: history through English, or science. And look, at the beginning it's really good, OK? Up to grade 3 they're learning English quicker than people here, but look what happens to them. By the time they get to grade 11. When I saw that I understood. We have quite a lot of students who have been in the school a long time, especially Austrians, and they have big problems up here because they had bad, they had no German because ESL happened during German time, and they were getting no German, and that for me explained it. So the programme, this is where, we can't have a bilingual programme. But I think, we try to teach ESL through content, which I'm still fighting with the administration. They still think ESL is 'Oh, teaching grammar, teaching ...' you know. Drives me crazy, but with a mother tongue programme, and I think we're somewhere up here (indicates), I really do. So this is a really important chart.

OK, this is, this was also interesting for me. This is students who arrive in grade 7 or grade 8, like Z., for example. He's been in his own country always learning Lithuanian, so he's got a very good basis in his own language, and then he can transfer it, so it's different, if you come in primary where you still haven't got language, if you come with your first language already there, if you then have ESL taught through academic

content, then that's OK, you get there, but if you just have ESL, just grammar and vocabulary, it's no good, OK? So the ESL programme has to be a good programme. OK, this is the same old stuff (new slide).

This is, OK, this is wonderful (new slide). 'The economic advantage is ebbing, dying. The competitive advantage which English had historically provided its acquirers personally, organizationally, and nationally, will ebb away, will die, as English becomes a near universal basic skill'. Everybody in the world will have English, 10, 20 years. 'The need to maintain the advantage by moving beyond English will be far ...' OK? English is not enough – it's just not enough. This (new slide) is languages on the internet: English 32% in 2005, yeah? Ten years ago English on the internet was 90%; today it's only 32%. It's changing – look at this. Where's Russia?

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): I think Russian is another 20%.

Maurice Carder: Uh-huh, maybe, yeah.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Yes, Russian internet is great – it's great – the best internet in world.

Maurice Carder: Really? I'll learn Russian. This is also interesting ...

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): It's fact.

Maurice Carder: No no, I'm sure.

(New slide) 'Families become increasingly divided during periods of rapid change'. This is very difficult for some parents, especially where there are 3 or 4 children, when they've been here for a few years the children speak English to each other.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Yeah, of course.

Maurice Carder: And families, the parents can't understand it, but it's going to happen.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): They have, OK between, but both, they can't really, good English, but parents, they are sure that it's OK.

Maurice Carder: Yeah. (New slide) This is the estimate of the global economy accounted for by each language in 2010, the prediction. Look at this: English, Chinese, yeah? Parents need to see this. This is interesting: 'English for young learners.' This the EU, which is the percentage of primary pupils learning English in 2002. This surprised me – Austria – so everybody learns English in Austria, in primary schools? Holland, of course. This surprises me – surely this 90% - Holland 30%?

Mrs Van Geerd(Dutch): I think you have to define what is learning English.

Maurice Carder: So in Austrian schools they're learning more English than in Dutch schools? I find that really surprising. I think somebody got Austria wrong here. And of course England and Ireland in brown, because they only learn English. You know in England they don't even learn foreign languages now? Where's Lithuanian? 41-50%.

Mrs Vakolatas(Lithuanian): They learn French, German in primary school.

Maurice Carder: Really! 3 languages, or do you choose?

Mrs Vakolatas(Lithuanian): In one school French, in another ...

Maurice Carder: I see, so it depends on the region.

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *Auch in dieser ex-republiken neuer Staaten von ex-Jugoslavien, von dritte Klasse Hochschule, mit fremde Sprache lernt man Englisch.* [Also in the ex-republics of the new states of ex-Yugoslavia, from the third class they learn English].

Maurice Carder: *Musst man Englisch lernen?* [Do they have to learn English?]

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *Ja, ja, ja, Englisch. Früher hat man Russisch gelernt, das ist seltener geworden. Also Englisch; selten Französisch; oder Deutsch. Auch Russisch in letzter Zeit.* [Yes, yes, yes, English. Before they learnt Russian but it's become rarer. So English, occasionally French or German. Recently also Russian.]

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): *Jetzt kommt wieder.* [It's coming back].

Maurice Carder: You see, I was talking to an Italian parent last week, and she said in Italy everybody is learning Spanish. It's really strange. Because it's easier and they think it's good for tourism, but they don't have – they have something like 10% of Spanish tourists – but they don't want to learn English for some reason, so it's ...

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *Ja, Englisch wie Fremdsprache, oder Deutsch.* [Yes, English as a foreign language, or German].

Maurice Carder: (New slide) This is interesting, see: countries changing from EFL to L2 status. OK, EFL, foreign language is, when I was at school I learnt French, that was a foreign language. Second language is, the same as your own language. So these countries are changing from learning English as a foreign to having English as a second language, so all of these countries around the world will soon have English really fluently.

Ah, (new slide) this is also interesting. The year at the bottom, 2010 to 2050, and this shows where, the point at which learners of all ages are studying English from cradle to grave, from birth to death, OK? So learners of all ages are studying English. So it says the number of learners will go down as children who have studied English at primary school reach secondary and tertiary study. Hang on, let's get that clear. So, OK, this is because, this is when they're new to it, but here they're in secondary school and so there aren't any new children doing it. So it means in other words everybody will have English. It looks as if it's getting worse, but it means this is when they begin learning English, but here they already have English, so this is worldwide, so soon everybody in the world will have English. Is that good or bad? It's just life.

So (new slide), and this, a final point here. The cost of learning English for non-Anglophones keeps falling, while the cost of learning other languages for Anglophones keeps increasing. So the Anglophones, English native speakers like me, are the ones who are going to be losing. English, Americans, Australians, for them they're going to have more competition on their home labour markets because other people will have their own language *and* English. So this is something we have to say to parents, I think. So, let's get back to our agenda.

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Entschuldigen, Mr Carder. Es gibt auch eine Argumente dass Sie immer benutzen können. Dass die mother tongue ist auch ... wenn das Kinder gross ist, und in seiner professionelle Leben geht, und er kann auch sehr gut lesen und schreiben die mother tongue. Ist das Differenz gegen eine andere Kandidat, eine Job der vielleicht Englisch sehr gut und so weiter, und dieser sagt: 'Aber ich kann auch Portugiesisch, nicht nur weil ich zu Haus gesprochen habe, aber ich beherrsche die Sprache.'* [Excuse me, Mr Carder. There's also an argument that you can use. That the mother tongue is also ... when the child is an adult, and in his professional life, and he can read and write the mother tongue very well. It makes the difference against another

candidate, for a job in which English very good and so on, and he says: 'But I can speak Portuguese, not only because I spoke it at home, but I'm fluent in all areas'.]

Maurice Carder: Yes, that's an advantage.

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Weil manchmal sie sagen: 'Ah, ich werde nie mehr in Brasil arbeiten'. Ich sage: 'Was ist wenn du ein sehr gute Angebot bekommst zu arbeit weil du so gut Englisch kannst' und so weiter, und er sagt: 'Ja, Portugiesisch kann ich nicht'. Ich sage dass ist eine Argument, professional.* [Because sometimes they say: 'Well, I'm never going to work in Brazil'. I say: 'What if you get a really good job offer because you speak English so well' and so on, and he says: 'Yes, I can't speak Portuguese'. I say that this is an argument, professional'].

Maurice Carder: I think that's a very good argument, the fact that – I get really ... angry, almost, when parents come because they want their children to leave the ESL programme to study French or Spanish. They think, oh, French and Spanish, languages of whatever, and I say, look, first, English you've got to have for the whole school curriculum, but the mother tongue is more important. You already know your mother tongue. Why don't you focus more energy on your mother tongue? And there's always, there's a nice piece of literature from the USA, again. The CIA, yeah, the CIA, you know about the CIA, they have these training, language training programmes where they train people to learn Korean, for example, because Korean is a political language, but for me it would be difficult. And then they show this Korean immigrant who can keep his language and have fluent Korean, and it costs nothing. But the CIA is spending thousands of dollars to train people to learn Korean whereas they could have other children who already know their ... The whole thing with the mother tongue – parents – they have a block, some of them.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): It's er ...

Maurice Carder: It's status ...

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Also it's very bad because we haven't possibility to speak with these parents.

Maurice Carder: So that's one of the most important, so this is number 5.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): The possibility to bring our knowledge, our position to parents.

Maurice Carder: Yeah. I was reading a book last week by Colin Baker, who's written much about bilingualism, and I found this. He wrote this sentence (writes on board). I couldn't believe it because it's exactly what you say: 'It is not easy to reach parents' – in other words to get through to them – 'nor is it easy to influence them' - to influence – *Einfluss, ja?* And I thought, oh boy, and this is a man, he's Professor of Linguistics, he's written books for parents and everything, and *he* says that. I just thought, really, no chance.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): No, we have chance, but we have to be very strong, and be together.

Maurice Carder: So what ideas can we have for reaching, and influencing parents? How do we do it? Propaganda, I suppose.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Yeah, propaganda, we need propaganda.

Maurice Carder: Meetings.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Yeah, and we have to write in mother tongue some short programme. I forgot bring mine, what I prepare for primary school. We have mother tongue programme, because not, I think about, *na ja*, [well], about 40% parents can't imagine what this is, mother tongue programme. They haven't imagine, some from them they're thinking that it's possibility for some teacher to make lot of money.

Maurice Carder: Oh, yes, they do!

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Really, only one idea what they have.

Maurice Carder: But it's true. They say: 'Oh, these teachers are earning good money, easy way to earn money. No, you're quite right.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): And we have to bring ... they haven't imagine, about B high, B standard. And also for student who are not – it was Landesmann – he was coming in our school in Kindergarten. In 11th grade mother bring small daughter, and ... yeah ... Russian, please, we need Russian ...

Maurice Carder: After 10 years, yeah.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Excuse me! Strabag (a large Austrian construction firm) – Papa work in all this position, and Papa said: 'Oh, we are idiots', but now she say, and maybe she is really she say true, we haven't imagine that people can make not only A1, we haven't imagined that people can make here, our students can B high, and B high is very good, Russian, really, it's very good. They read newspapers, they understand a lot of ... OK. But, and it's programme that not everybody have imagine about our structure. And also now in grade 8, they ask me 'But maybe this curriculum, this programme very very hard for my daughter'. I think, excuse me, we have so different programme, for each student, reach this goal but the student can. I think ... it's information.

Maurice Carder: What do you think about this, if I write one page – I think it's got to be one page – and each teacher translate it into their mother tongue, and at the beginning of the year we make sure all the parents get it. Is that a good idea?

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Yeah, it's brilliant.

Maurice Carder: So I'll write one page and I'll send it to you in English and you ... so we'll send it backwards and forwards to agree on what we write and you can give me ideas, OK. I'll try and do that this week, before the end of the year, so that over the summer, maybe, you can translate it. One page is not so much.

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Was sollen wir in dieser Seite schreiben?* [What should we write on this page?]

Maurice Carder: I'll write about the mother tongue programme, about the importance for parents, about pedagogical reasons, about what happens if you stop for only 1 year, for example, that we have examples, and that the mother tongue is more important than learning other languages.

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Aber was sollen wir schreiben?* [But what should we write?]

Maurice Carder: *Ich schreibe es, in Englisch, und Sie übersetzen. Wenn Sie haben ...* [I'll write it in English and you translate. When you have ...]

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): Ah, OK.

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *Die Lehrer übersetzen oder die Schule? Ich habe verstanden dass die Schuler übersetzen.* [The teacher translates or the students? I understood that the students translate.]

Maurice Carder: *Dass ist anderes, dass ist anderes.* [That's different, that's different].

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *Dass die Schule übersetzen in Muttersprache wäre nicht schlecht weil die beherrschen die Sprache.* [For the students to translate into the mother tongue is not a bad idea as they are fluent in the language].

Maurice Carder: *Sehr gut, OK.* [Good, OK]

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *Dass sie verstehen.* [So that they understand].

Maurice Carder: *OK, ich sage die Sabrina Seiler, ja? OK.* [OK, I'll tell Angela Arkler, OK?]

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Sie wollen dass uns noch vor der Ferien schicken? Dass wir für Sie ...* [Should we do that before the holidays? So that we ...]

Maurice Carder: *Ich versuche dass diesen Wochende zum schrreiben. Dass muss man machen! Habe ich nichts anderes zum tun!* [I'll try and write it this weekend. It has to be done. I have nothing else to do!]

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): I ask my daughter translate what I know, and you can use it, OK?

Maurice Carder: Super, OK, and I can adapt it and use it. So if you have any points to send me an email – things you want me, that you think are important, just send me points, OK, and I'll put them together, and I'll try to make it one page, the parents can't read more than one page!

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *Ja, nicht zu viel. Besser wenig aber ...* [Yes, not too much. Better little but ...]

Maurice Carder: *Ja, ich weiss schon, ja. Aber konkret, ja?* [Yes, I know. But concise, OK?]

Mrs Boravic(Serbian and Bosnian): *Gehen wir darauf?* [Shall we go ahead?]

Maurice Carder: *Ich weiss nicht: ist dass ...* [I don't know. Is that ...]

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Nur eine Frage, nun ich habe jetzt gedacht. Vielleicht später könnten wir beginnen eine Art Vorschrift mit den Eltern die schon Kinder hier in der Schule in der mother tongue programme gehabt, und was haben sie für Erfahrung gemacht, dass vielleicht die Eltern ...* [Just one question, I've just thought of. Perhaps later we could begin with some sort of exchange with parents who already have children here in the school mother tongue programme, what sort of experience they have had, so that perhaps the parents ...]

Maurice Carder: *Wenn Sie Kontakte haben, wenn Sie die Möglichkeit haben, Kontakt zu nehmen, ja dass werde sehr interessant.* [If you have contacts, if you have the possibility to get in touch, yes, that would be very interesting.]

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Was ist jetzt deine Meinung nach, hat es was gebracht, oder nicht?* [What is your opinion, was it fruitful or not?]

Maurice Carder: *Ja, dass ist. Haben Sie Kontakt?* [Yes, that's it. Are you in touch?]

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Einige schon.* [With some of them].

Maurice Carder: *Wenn Sie fragen können.* [If you could ask].

Mrs Wagner (Portuguese): *Nur ein Beispiel: wir haben Maria getroffen. Sie war immer eine sehr gute Schulerin, ich glaube in alle Fächer, und sie studiert jetzt in der besten privaten Universität in São Paulo, in Brasilien, und sie hat zuerst in der Bundesuniversität der auch in São Paulo sehr gut ist, aber es war für sie zu leicht und sie wollte etwas besser machen, aber sie ist brilliant, alles was sie macht ist sehr gut, und dann hatte sie ein Probe, dieser Bundesuniversität, und ist zuhause ein Jahr lang gelernt für die Prüfung, und zwischen andere Sachen musste Sie auch in der Prüfung Portugiesische Literatur machen, und sie hat sie gefragt, in der IB, hast du schon eine Idee über die Portugiesische Literatur aber nicht an so ein Niveau. Und jetzt hat Sie gesagt: 'Weiss du, ich habe alles über die Portugiesische Literatur in der UIS gelernt, aber was für literarische Bücher, die ich gelesen habe mit der Professor, war so gut, dass eins ich die Prüfungsfrage gelesen habe, ich habe mehr an diesen Bücher gedacht und ich konnte so'. Ich dachte 'aaaah! Dass ist so interessant'.*

[Just one example: we met Maria. She was always a good student, in all subjects I believe, and she studies now in the best private university in Sao Paulo, in Brazil, and first she studied in the state university which is also a very good one, but it was too easy for her and she wanted to do better; but she's brilliant – everything she does is very good. Then she had a test at the state university for which she studied at home for a whole year, and among other things she had to do a test in Portuguese literature, and they asked her, in the IB did you have any idea about Portuguese literature, but not at this level. And then she said: 'You know, I learnt everything about Portuguese literature at the UIS, but the books of literature I read with my teacher were so good that once I read the test questions I knew all about the books and I could do well'. I thought: 'Wow, that is so interesting'.]

Maurice Carder: *Dass ist sehr interessant, ja? Weil die IB Niveau ist genau, ich glaube wie die erste Jahre in Universität.* [That's really interesting. Because the IB level, I think it's like the first year in university].

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): *Es ist ein sehr, sehr gute Programm. Dass ist sehr gute Programm.* [It's a very, very good programme. That's a very good programme.]

Mrs Van Geerd(Dutch): It's interesting to see that in Holland they take part of the IB programme in the mother tongue Dutch in the normal schools.

Maurice Carder: In the normal schools? Really.

Mrs Van Geerd(Dutch): Very slowly developing, IB, yes.

Maurice Carder: So the IB does something right. Because I'm quite critical of the IB because I have a few problems with them, but I know they have a very good side, but I still think ... What I'm really disappointed about is that (mobile phones ring) ... everybody has to go – phones are ringing, very good! They are getting rid of A2, A2 is going, yeah? And Language B, they have fewer and fewer languages, so that everything, they're putting everything into A1. They have about 80 languages in A1, but language B, fewer and fewer, but many of our students need language B, don't they? Not so many, but some students, they can't do A1.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): And why not?

Maurice Carder: This is what I asked them.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Well, I bring the last one, from my student in grade 8. I asked why; I have to prepare for our conference with Mr Carder; what our goal, our motivation to learn Russian? Because they say: 'Ah, it's so cold, we can't make our classes, please, maybe we play something'. So OK, we play something. We're right about our motivation! Why we learn our mother tongue! And they were really very, very good, and one girl, they're in grade 8, they said for me the most important is to formulate my idea because I, in Russian language, when I can formulate in Russian I can say also in English.

Maurice Carder: Of course.

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): It's student from grade 8 ...

Maurice Carder: Grade 8!

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): Grade 8! I said, my child, I write this and I translate for Mr Carder and he bring it in his book. Really – I couldn't – really!

Maurice Carder: But that's exactly what all the research says, if you can formulate things in one language – and that's one of the advantages, that they can ...

Mrs Vodolski (Russian): I haven't imagined that my student, that they're able! So we have to respect most of our ...

Maurice Carder: Anyway, I think time has come – telephones are ringing. Thank you very much. So we'll see in September how we do. I'll do that writing, OK.

E Transcript of the final meeting with parents and teachers at the Unonia International School, 17-9-2008. 18.00 -19.30.

For the final meeting there were 42 participants, including 23 parents, 15 teachers, the Director of the UIS, the Head of the Secondary School, the IB Coordinator, and a technician. The meeting took place in the Secondary Aula. It had been advertised widely in school bulletins and PTA bulletins, as follows:

SPECIAL INVITATION TO A MEETING ABOUT THE MOTHER TONGUE PROGRAMME

Dear Parents,

Following on from two meetings which were held in May and June to discuss the Secondary School Mother Tongue programme in the UIS Secondary School, we will be having another meeting on Wednesday, September 17 at 18.00, in the Secondary Aula.

Both Mother Tongue teachers and parents are invited to attend, and the UIS Director, Mr Watford, will also be present. At this meeting I will briefly summarise the previous discussions, and the Director will be open to questions.

I hope you will be able to attend,

Yours sincerely,

Maurice Carder
Head of ESL and Mother Tongue Department

The agenda was displayed on the screen, and was as follows:

Mother Tongue programme in the UIS Secondary School.

Wednesday, 17th September 2008.

1. Bilingualism: educational benefits?
2. Mother tongue in the IB MYP: recognition for Austrian Matura Equivalence?
3. Timing of classes: after school/during the school day.
4. Allocation of classrooms.
5. Reporting: inclusion in 'Core' programme, with name of language and teacher.
6. Payment.
7. Points for CAA – Community; Action; Awareness.
8. Content of mother tongue curriculum; 'language and literature' – or more?

TRANSCRIPT

Mr Watford (UIS Director - British): Well, good evening everybody, and a very warm welcome to you. We'll try to make the meeting as informal as we possibly can because we'd like to have a very nice, open discussion, OK? I'd like to introduce Mr. Maurice Carder of course who is known already to many of you, who's been at the school for – is it 50 or 100 years?

Maurice Carder: I tell my students about 650.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): 650, OK, thank you. Well, you'll be hearing more from Mr. Carder in a few moments. I'd also like to introduce Ms Blank, our IB Diploma Coordinator, who is here to join our discussion this evening and also to answer any questions from any parents or other persons here. Our Head of Secondary is here this evening, also to participate and to help with the discussion and the questions. We're not too many so I think it might be a good idea to go round and just introduce ourselves quickly and say who we are, if we have children here, or if you're a teacher; and if you're a teacher, what you teach. Just briefly, yeah, which will help to break the ice and give everybody an idea of who is present. Let's start over here, this very famous lady.

Mrs Frivole (parent English/French): First victim! I'm the mother of 3 children in the secondary, 8th, 9th and 11th grade, and previously they were in the Lycée, so they've been brought to the UIS.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Can you all hear that or shall we ... We've got microphones here.

Maurice Carder: Shall I pass the microphone round?

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Yeah.

Maurice Carder: Right.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): If anybody cannot hear at any time just tell me and we'll get the microphones into action.

Mrs Schnarrfagl (teacher Swedish): I've been an IB teacher for the last 15 years and I teach Swedish from grade 6 to grade 12, and I'm also an IB examiner for Swedish A1.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Thank you very much.

Mrs Li (teacher Chinese): *Ich bin Kinesisch Lehrer. Ich habe 15 Schuler in secondary school and 2 IB Schuler. Verschiedene Klasse: 5, 7 und andere.*

Maurice Carder: Shall I do a quick translation?

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Yes, please.

Maurice Carder: OK. So, we're very glad to have her here. Chinese teacher; I believe you teach at the university, for Chinese, and have students here from grades 7 through 12, and 15 students and IB students and I have to say – I better say this for all my teachers – gets excellent IB results.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Thank you very much, Mr. Carder.

... ..

Mr Watford (UIS Director): I think we're going to need this microphone, aren't we. Let's try and bring it into action. Thanks, we might need you, so don't go too far. Please say that again.

Mrs Finnarosa(teacher Portuguese): I'm a Portuguese teacher. I'm from Brazil and I have one son in secondary school.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Thank you very much indeed. Let's pass the microphone around.

Mrs Carrastri(teacher Italian): I am teacher for Italian and I only one student.

Mrs Kim(teacher Korean): I teach Korean, and I have 8 students in secondary.

Mrs Zimprich(teacher Portuguese): I am a Portuguese teacher. I come from Portugal. I have been teaching in this school since 22 years, from small pupils ... Nowadays I have generally big ones for the IB. I also teach in the Donia International School, and also in the Latin-American Institute.

Mrs Wagner(teacher Portuguese): I'm Brazilian also, and I teach here in the primary and the secondary school. OK.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Let's go this way for a moment, OK?

Any woman: OK. I am the mother of 2 girls, one in primary grade, the other in secondary, grade 9. I have just arrived in Vienna for the first day of the school, and we are very happy in the school.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Thank you very much; you're very kind.

Mrs Bohancz(parent Hungarian): I've got a son in grade 7.

Mrs Lemi(parent): I'm mother of 2 children, one in grade 8, and grade 12.

Mrs Van Hette(parent and Dutch teacher): I'm a parent here, 2 sons, and also a Dutch teacher.

Mrs Zoric(parent Croatian): We come from Croatia. I have 2 children in the school, in grade 6 and in grade 10.

Mrs Vakolatas(teacher Lithuanian): I am from Lithuania. I teach not so many student, only one, but I know that there are 4 children from Lithuania.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): And don't forget the ladies who've just come in. If you could give your name, please.

Mrs Dong(parent French): I'm sorry I'm late (all laugh). What were you expecting?

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Just a little ... Do you have children at the school?

Mrs Dong(parent French): Yes, of course, that's why I'm here (all laugh).

Mr Watford (UIS Director): There are teachers and parents here.

Mrs Dong(parent French): I have a daughter who is in grade 10 and she is, erm, bilingual: English-French. And perhaps other languages, but basically these two, and the reason why I'm here is for the French mother tongue.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Thank you very much. OK.

Mr Boraglu(parent Turkish): I come from Turkey. I have 2 daughters, one of them just graduated this year, and she had Turkish as mother tongue. I'm very happy with this programme, and she has really developed a lot. However, I'm not happy with the evaluation of the IB. Although she spent a lot of time and energy the result was not really as satisfactory for her, but I believe this is not her ..., the other way around: the evaluation, I was really upset with that. But overall, I believe in this programme, it's very helpful, and my other daughter is now in grade 6 and she's going to join the mother tongue.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Thank you very much. Please just say who you are and about your children ...

Any woman: And why you're late! (All laugh)

Mrs Frederiksson (parent Swedish): Sorry, I'm late, yes. I have two children in the school. One boy in grade 8 and one girl in grade 11. And, er, do you want to know what language they have for mother tongue, or ...

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Yes, please, a few details.

Mrs Frederiksson (parent Swedish): Yes, so they have done Spanish for, as mother tongue, although I'm Swedish mother tongue, so they're doing the mother tongue of their father and so far, yes, we've been happy with the programme at school and ... that's it.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): This is really good. Two more people just came in, if you can ... just give your names, please, and say a little bit about yourselves and your children.

Mrs Hernandez (parent Spanish): I have two children in the school: Spanish mother tongue, and my children are also German mother tongue, and they are in grade 10 and 8.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Thank you, super.

Mrs Csarda (teacher Hungarian): I have been teaching for 20 years Hungarian.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Now one of the interesting things is about Unonia International School: all the parents are really comfortable with the microphone, and we've noticed the same characteristic in the children. Please.

Mr Kagan (teacher Turkish): *Ich unterrichte Türkisch, und arbeite seit 5 Jahren in dieser Schule als Sprachlehrer, aber ich bin normalerweise eingeteilt in der Stadtschulrat als Sprachlehrer, und arbeite seit 10 Jahre. Ich habe hier in der Schule 5 Kinder. 2 Kinder sind in Mittelstufe und 3 sind in Oberstufe und eine davon macht der IB.*

Maurice Carder: Does anybody not understand that? OK. He's a teacher of Turkish, has been in the school for 5 years. I'm very glad to have him here because he's actually a qualified teacher in the Viennese public education system, and in fact as he told me last year was the first teacher to become 'nostrified' in that capacity. He has 5 students at the moment: 2 in the middle school, 3 in the senior school – one currently doing the IB programme.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Thank you very much.

Mrs Nabhalma (parent Nepalese): I am from Nepal. I have 2 kids. My son is attending grade 8, and daughter at grade 5.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Thank you.

Mr Nabhalma (parent Nepalese): You have heard about my kids, so ...

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Jolly good.

Mrs van Geerd (teacher Dutch): I'm mother tongue teacher Dutch. I do the IB this year; I have 4 pupils who will do the exam in May, and I have one pupil in grade 11.

Mrs Van Hette (parent and Dutch teacher): Hallo. I have 2 children here in school, one in grade 7 and one in grade 9. I am also a teacher.

Mrs Vlamme (teacher Dutch): I am also a teacher Dutch in secondary for about ten years now.

Mrs Van Hamde(teacher Dutch): I am also a Dutch teacher here. I have lived in Vienna for 2 months now and I'm very happy with this job.

Mrs Lastensen(parent Danish): I'm not a Dutch teacher (some laugh). I have 2 children here in secondary school, 7th grade and 11th grade, and my son in 11th grade has started the programme in higher level, so I'm excited about this.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Thank you.

Mrs Pohornik(parent Slovenian): Hallo everybody. We come from Slovenia and I have daughter in grade 11.

Mr Lezitski(parent Polish): I have twins, both in grade 12. One of them is taking Polish as mother tongue.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Thank you.

Mr Boshov(parent Russian): I'm Russian. I have a son in grade 10.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Thank you.

Mrs Larsen(parent Swedish): I have one daughter in 7 and one boy in 8. We are from Sweden although the kids haven't lived there at all, but I'm basically here to learn more about IB because I've started, I think I have to start to think about it.

Mrs Sibelius(parent): Hallo. I'm also from Sweden. I have 2 boys here, one in the 4th grade and one in the 6th grade. Thank you.

Mr Dragesi(parent): I am from (Czechland)? I have a son in 6th grade.

Mr Boateng(teacher Indonesian): Hallo. I come from Indonesia. I have 2 kids from Indonesian high grade. Thank you very much.

Mr Raffini(parent Italian): I have 2 girls: one is in grade 9, and one is in grade 12.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Thank you very much. We may have missed a couple of people at the back. OK? A lady over here; a lady over here.

Mrs Alberac(parent English/French) Hallo. As you can hear I'm English, but my children are French-speaking, and they're grade 9, grade 8, grade 5 and grade 3.

Mrs Agostino(parent Italian): Hallo.. I come from Italy, and I have 2 boys, one in grade 1 and another in grade 8.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Thank you very much everybody, and that was a very, very interesting way of getting to know a little bit more about all of you, and especially to get an idea of the nature of our UIS community, because the ESL and mother tongue programme has been in existence at this school for a long, long time and, er, I believe that the programme has served the community very, very well and very successfully for many years. Now this is the 5th meeting, I think, which Mr Carder has organised, and the whole purpose of this programme of meetings is to listen, to inform you about the programme, but also to listen to your views about this programme and to see in what ways it might be improved. Ms Karulaitis has brought her note-pad this evening and will keep a brief record of all the salient points of the discussion, so we're going to begin with some opening remarks and some information from Mr. Carder and then we'll throw the meeting open for questions. Mr. Carder.

Maurice Carder: Thank you. Is it easier without the microphone or is it better with the microphone?

Many people: Better!

Maurice Carder: With, with, OK. Well, thank you everybody. Mr. Watford mentioned the meetings we had. 2 meetings with the parents and 2 meetings with the teachers, and I've been working on writing up the material over the summer. It's all very, very interesting. Just a quick summary first of all of some things about the school: the school does have a reputation, I think it's fair to say around the world, for its language programme. The reason we have the ESL and mother tongue department, we say it's the two sides of the bilingual coin. Language we know is the basis of everything we do: without a language we wouldn't be able to express ourselves, and the children wouldn't be able to get anywhere in their school studies. So building up their English skills and keeping up their mother tongue: more on that in a minute. We have at the moment on average about 30 languages, I think, being taught in the school. We have over 60 in the secondary school, but about 30 being taught. We've got about 40 teachers of mother tongues actually teaching at the moment. And as things come and go it's been up to 47, I think, so it fluctuates. The tutors, I have to say, are almost entirely teachers. Some of them teach in the university. We do everything we can to make sure we have a qualified teacher. Some of you will know from certain areas that it's not always easy to agree on a teacher, but we do everything we can to find one, but I have to say I can't pull teachers out of a hat, but we really try hard. We have a record of success in languages generally at the school. IB results, I think, confirm this. The mother tongue results are overwhelmingly good – we get many, many 7s, and we get 60% of Bilingual Diplomas. It's a very, very high number. So: a couple of other things – to start off with the agenda. (Puts agenda on screen). OK, that's all I'm going to do with the IT computer tonight – keep it simple. I can do one or two other things. OK. 'Bilingualism: educational benefits'. Some of you have heard me talk about ... yes?

Any woman: Do you a handout?

Maurice Carder: I don't have a handout. 'Educational benefits'. That's the reason that we have this programme, because we really believe that children in this school, for many, many reasons, perform much better if they keep up their mother tongue. Not only that, but if they don't keep up their mother tongue they perform worse. We have 2 key expressions. Bi – sorry – 'bilingualism': does everybody understand the term? It means keeping up 2 languages – we'll stick at 2. We talk about multilingualism, which can be 3 or 4; plurilingualism ... Bilingualism can mean 2 or 3 or 4. I'm talking about bilingualism here in the school, mainly to talk about the children's mother tongue and learning English. Of course they're adding on German, and some of them have more than one language, but that's what I'm talking about fundamentally. Children who keep up their own language to an academic level *and* add English on are in a state of additive bilingualism and it has benefits which are to do with ... I mean, first and foremost for me it's their identity; it's their perception of themselves. I don't like children to come into the school – there's this expression called 'leaving your identity at the school door', yeah? If you say goodbye to your parents at the school door in your own language and then come into school and have to speak English, you're leaving half of yourself – or more than half of yourself – behind, because it's your own language, which is very deeply embedded into you: you have all your cognitive ability is sort of left behind. And this year I've got a class of beginners who know absolutely no English, and I'm really

enjoying teaching them, and I get emails from people around the world saying: ‘Mr. Carder, what do we do if there’s no Beginners class?’ and I find it really hard to answer because I can’t imagine what children without any English do without an ESL programme. It’s fundamental. If you go, if you want to do maths you don’t begin in the higher Maths class, you build up your skills, so the ESL programme here is graded, children build up their English, and they get to a stage where they’re in mainstream English and all the mainstream subjects. But equally so with the mother tongue. The classic statement here ... I had one yesterday, a girl ... I better not mention countries, it can be a sensitive issue, but she’s new in the school, she’s grade 10, and I said: ‘Are you taking lessons in your mother tongue?’ ‘No, no; I’ve just come from country X, I don’t need it’. I’ve seen this so many times and it’s ... you can’t do anything about it and ... I compare my job with that of a doctor who sees a patient who won’t give up smoking: you know smoking is bad for you, but the doctor tells you to stop smoking, you get pretty ill. Here I can’t force people to do their mother tongue, but I’ve seen so many people who’ve said: ‘Well, it’s grade 11 now and I realise when I go back to my country I can’t speak my language, can I have mother tongue classes starting now?’ My message to all parents is: keep up your mother tongue from year 1, it’s really important. Because just ... Forgive me if I sound patronising. You probably know this already, but I have to say it: if you imagine coming into grade 9 at the beginning ... OK, I had a Czech girl, this is a true story, about 10 years ago, and at the end of the grade 9 year she wasn’t taking lessons in Czech and she said she suddenly realised that just one subject, geography, back in her own country she would have learnt lots of new geographical terms and she didn’t know them in her own language, and she’d noticed this when going back to her country. Of course, children are learning so much at school – I can just about remember when I was at school – you have to learn an awful lot in your *own* language, so if you’re learning it in another language and not keeping up your own there’s a gap, yeah? Your English is going like that (moves hand upwards) and your mother tongue is staying still. Of course, speaking it at home is one thing, but social language, a lot of people, what shall I call you ... Mr Kagan: you mentioned on a daily basis children use about 300 words, I think, on a daily basis, but for academic language you’ve got to build up a vocabulary of 5,000, 10,000 words. So, talking is great, of course, but it’s got to be more than that. So, benefits of bilingualism: well: you transfer knowledge from your mother tongue to English by keeping up your mother tongue. Yeah, a whole lot of research has been done on this and the major predictor of success ... There were 2 people, 2 academics, who kept the computers running and got files, data, on 700,000 students, and they, the main predictor of success in English was whether they kept up their mother tongue or not. OK? I’ll say that again: the main predictor of success in *English* was whether they kept up their mother tongue. Those who didn’t keep up their mother tongue were not doing so well in English. There are huge numbers of studies on this, also many, many studies showing that people who say: ‘I’ve got to have more English, I’ve got to have more English’ – it doesn’t help. There’s a limit to how much you do; it just doesn’t help any more. You have to keep up your own language. And of course we know in some countries this has become a political issue but that’s exactly what it is: it’s nothing to do with education – it’s a political

issue. Politicians and journalists make capital out of this, or whatever. They make a lot of noise, but it's nothing to do with education. And subtractive bilingualism, where you're not keeping up your mother tongue: it affects your identity, your social situation; you're not able to transfer the skills you learnt in your mother tongue into English; when you go back home you can't speak to your family after some years, or if you can it gets more and more limited. And I think we have to look at children later on in life. I have met people who have been in a situation where they're, sort of, 40, 45, who were forced into a situation where they lost their mother tongue and they're not really able to express themselves, and I think being able to express yourself in a literate way is the height of achievement of education. I would be really sorry if I couldn't express myself as well as I hope I am. So, OK? Bilingual education benefits: I think there are many, many, many benefits and we do everything we can to keep up the languages. So, the rest ... there are the points that have come from both groups: from the teachers and the parents. These are the points we talked about. So, shall we go over them again, yeah? (Mutters of agreement). Let's make sure it ... cutting off every 10 minutes. Well, first of all does anyone want to say anything now?

Mrs Dong(parent French): I do. I just, er ... This is my first one, the mother tongue programme meetings and, er, I missed all the introduction at the beginning but I think if I can be a bit presumptuous there are many of us parents here who are already aware of all those things you have just told us in the last ten minutes. We really hope that your agenda for the meeting can be addressed in a more efficient and practical way. To ask parents perhaps to identify among your agenda points which ones can be addressed first, in priority, in case some parents have to leave, at least those concerns are addressed at this meeting. It's very rare to have this occasion where Mr. Watford is here, and I know that there were some meetings in the past but I didn't attend them because I think you were very, er, transparent anyway in telling us that you were trying to gather some feedback for your thesis and we acknowledge your expertise in this, but as parents we are here for the children. For this year's programme I know some parents have expressed they're very happy with them, except for certain parts about the reporting on the IB ...

Any man: But this has nothing to do with this ...

Mrs Dong(parent French): Programme ...

Any man: Another discussion ...

Mrs Dong(parent French): So, I appreciate if the agenda sort of, er, gets a kind of airing, in terms of the priority, thank you.

Maurice Carder: So: is anybody not happy with the order of the agenda? Does anybody want to change ... At the moment I just put them in this order. Does anybody want to discuss the agenda? Apart from the lady who just spoke, obviously. Shall we have discussion of the agenda? Well, let's have a quick vote, a quick show of hands, I you want to change something in the agenda, the order of the agenda, could you raise a hand?

Mrs Lastensen(parent Danish): I just want to say something. One thing I agree: we all are here because we want to participate this programme, so we can all agree it's good for the family, it's good for the children to have their mother tongue, so I think we don't

have to introduce this anymore because I'm sure everybody agrees with that. So maybe we get ...

Maurice Carder: You're sure everybody agrees it's a good programme?

Mrs Lastensen(parent Danish): No, it's good that children have their mother tongue.

Maurice Carder: That children have their mother tongue, OK.

Mrs Lastensen(parent Danish): I don't think anyone ...

Maurice Carder: OK, so more, OK, yeah. So back to the voting: against? We had ... Sorry – yes, Ms Karulaitis.

Ms Karulaitis (Head of Secondary school – Australian/USA): I'm wondering, Mr Carder, how many people have actually been to one or both of the previous meetings, and so how much of the information is a repetition.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): A show of hands on that, Maurice.

Maurice Carder: A show of hands. Parents: who's been to previous meetings, please? Show of hands.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): Look around, everybody. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 people have been to previous meetings, yeah?

Maurice Carder: At the first meeting there were 11 people; at the second meeting 7 people. Some were the same, so that's about a third to a half.

Mr Watford (UIS Director): I do see some need of some coverage of the points which you've covered at previous meetings.

Maurice Carder: OK, well just, thank you. And to get back to the vote, we had 2 people against. Those who are for the agenda? As it is, who are happy with it – could you raise a hand, if it's OK?

Mr Watford (UIS Director): I count a clear majority of staying with the agenda as it is.

Maurice Carder: OK. So shall I run through the points, give an overview, yeah.

Mrs Yvonne Richards (parent English/French): If I may, may I just ask for an overview of ... a very brief background of what the exact advantages of the mother tongue programme are as opposed to just having our students, or kids, tutored individually on our own. What does the mother tongue programme bring to us, what does it do for us, and what is its structure? Because this is the part I'm lacking ...

Maurice Carder: You want to hear about the structure of the programme?

Mrs Yvonne Richards (parent English/French): Well, I know there, I mean as far as I know there are courses organised but ... what's the advantage of the mother tongue programme? As opposed to tutoring our kids on the side, for instance?

Maurice Carder: Well ... so what are the advantages, what's the purpose of the programme? Erm, first of all, anybody who's doing their own language in the IB programme, grades 11 and 12, the IB states that tutors must be recognised by the school, and they cannot do the IB Diploma unless the tutors are part of the school programme.

Ms Blank, if you want to interrupt me on anything.

Ms Blank (IB Coordinator - Canadian): I would just like to say something. I'm a teacher, and I speak English and I wouldn't try and speak without a microphone (laughs). I'm a teacher and an English speaker but I would not like to teach my own children English because the approach to learning a language from a linguistic viewpoint is very different from just speaking at home; so the literary skills, the analysis

it involves at the IB, it absolutely has to be taught by, well, as far as possible it should be taught by a trained teacher, and I can imagine that that goes right down the line. And there are so many families that don't have the opportunity to be able to work, to develop all the language, that the programme that the school offers reminds people that they should be approaching the programme in an organised way and gives those parents the facility to have it done for them in school.

Maurice Carder: Thank you, yeah, OK. I'm not quite sure that's the thrust of your question, but I'll go on answering it.

Mrs Zimprich(teacher Portuguese): I would like to say something. Well, I've been teaching in this school since more than 22 years, I already said, and I have every year, I have 2 kids making the IB, sometimes 2, sometimes 3, it depends, and I find, I'm sure, that this was something good for them. First of all they write after years to me; I receive invitations for weddings in Australia, in Canada where my teachers nowadays, my pupils nowadays are. I have also ... so, it is true that they remember what we have been doing together, this is a sign. And *ausserdem* [in addition], except of this, some of them they really, they come together with the pupils, I can say sometimes more, I'm sorry, but more than the parents. We spend so many hours together, not only the hours of the programme, but so many hours together ... For instance I teach literature, just a small example, and ... sorry ... and then by some interpretation of a text, poetry, where there is a man speaking about a woman and he's in love and then ... 'it already happened to you?' 'Yeah.' 'Is she here in the school?' 'Yeah.' And sometimes they tell us some details, I mean some small story that even they do not say to the parents because they have no time to talk about this because the parents are very busy, because sometimes they even do not see the father, specially, weeks and weeks, and sometimes they come to us and they call us on even in the hour, and sometimes they cry. So it is not only, I should say in German, is like a *Seelsorge* [caring for the soul], it is not only the language, the culture, in the inside is history and geography, is also the understanding of people and this is the relations between us, the children, become grown-ups, and also their parents. This is what I wanted to say. Mr. Carder.

Mr Boraglu(parent Turkish): Mrs Zimprich, as a parent who has had this programme already I can say that this not, er, this mother tongue programme is not speaking the language. It increases the intellectual level of ... it *has* increased, actually, the intellectual level of my daughter in some real cases when she refers back to the books. The Turkish classics that she has read with the teacher, and studied, and spent some time, and she has understand the way of thinking, the intellectuality, etc. I am really proud of my daughter that when she goes back and says: 'You know, I read this book, uh-huh, this is the same case, you know.' And this is, you know, I find it really useful, that's why I support my second daughter, she's now in grade 6, with all my heart, and additionally I would like to, let's say, give her other books and support at home, so ...

Mrs Alberac(parent English/French) Thank you. Just to try to help to get the focus on answering the questions more efficient: to follow up on the last question from the front. I think some of us are confused about the interaction between the mother tongue programme and the languages as they're taught in the ordinary school day. I think that's certainly, for some of us it's an issue, particularly Romance languages, modern

languages, which are taught as part of the school curriculum, and therefore the question comes: 'What's the advantage to us of having the mother tongue tuition for those who obviously don't undertake normal language instruction in that language, like French and Spanish if it's offered in 6, 7, 8, because the children are beyond it. How does the mother tongue programme rather than taking any teacher that we find, help them if they're going to do languages at the IB level, as well as the general benefits we all understand of being able to read write properly, academically, in your mother tongue? Thank you.

Mrs Schnarrfagl(teacher Swedish): Well I would never dare to answer your question, it's up to Mr. Carder to do that, but I would like to add something that Ms Blank said, and my colleague from Portugal, and a parent from Turkey, erm ... It's very much about being a part of the school to have your mother tongue subject at school, maybe after school or in the free periods if it's grade 11 or 12. You feel much more it's part of school, it's not 'Oh, mother tongue again, reading all those books which you don't want to read. So it's make ... I have the feeling as I said I've been teaching the IB programme in mother tongue Swedish for 15 years, I think it's very much the feel the need of getting to the lessons not only because mum tells you, but even to have academic, it's part of school although it's not part of school the way you expressed it, with the other languages like French and Spanish.

Maurice Carder: Thank you. Does that answer your question?

Mrs Larsen(parent Swedish): Actually I'm just here for 2 questions tonight so, er, I've got to, because I'm awaiting guests. The question is, if my kids go to the IB in Swedish, for instance, or if they decided to go for Spanish or German, how many hours do I need to put, do they need to read ... Sorry ... do they need to study? And what's the cost? That's my two specific questions, only.

Maurice Carder: Sure.

Mrs Schnarrfagl(teacher Swedish): May I answer one of those questions?

Maurice Carder: OK, first I'm going to try to answer the questions about French and Romance languages because there's been quite a lot of correspondence recently about that, so apologies to everybody else – I'll try to make it as brief as possible. In the school, er, the school offers obviously everybody is educated in English; that's the language you have to be very fluent in, and we have a programme of English as a second language to bring these kids through so they can participate in the whole programme. Everybody also learns German as a foreign language, or if it's their mother tongue the German department is equipped to teach people from beginners right up to mother tongue level, from primary right through to grade 12. In the secondary school from grades 6 through to 10 children can choose to learn a foreign language, and this is specifically a foreign language, so ... and they start as beginners in grade 6 and they can choose either French or Spanish, and they go progressively through that course up to grade 10. After that, in grades 11 and 12 if they wish they can do IB language B – that's a foreign language – in French or Spanish. Children who have French or Spanish as a mother tongue can take their language within the mother tongue programme. We have many, many children doing Spanish. Very few children in the school actually have French as a mother tongue; I looked at the figures the other day – it's about 5 in the

secondary school, it's one of the lower languages – and I understand the situation of parents ... French is a language that has been a language of empire and worldwide use, but it happens to be in a situation in this school as a minority language, but we have found teachers of French, and they have been offered to the parents. So the situation is that if you have French as a mother tongue you are probably better off choosing Spanish as a foreign language in grades 6 through 10, and if you want to choose a mother tongue French teacher, then do it through the mother tongue programme. Is that clear?

Mrs Dong(parent French): I think the question is: What does the programme do for ... In terms of the same question the lady was asking, in terms of how many hours ...

Maurice Carder: OK,OK. I'll answer that. The mother tongue programme ... I'll start with the IB because they have very specific recommendations. If you're doing language A1, or A2, or B, in grades 11 and 12, in the IB, the IB recommends – recommends, not insists, recommends – 240 hours over 2 years. And for a standard level subject: A1, or A2, or B, it recommends 150 Hours. Now, within the school, taught languages within the school programme, we achieve that, I think, pretty much; for mother tongues, because we understand the situation of many parents – it becomes a financial issue – so we are as flexible as possible and it's basically ... Does any teacher want to talk about the mother tongue, about the number of hours you teach, and how flexible you are on that?

Mrs Schnarrfagl(teacher Swedish): Maybe only because the question was asked by a Swedish lady, a Swedish teacher will have to answer the question; not necessarily the ... Can you hear me? Good. What we do, especially if we have mother tongue classes, especially if we don't have as many students as a maths class, or a French class, or a German class or even an English class, which means that a lot of work that you have to read is not only done in class, you also do it at home. And then another issue is that I have, for example, I have now a grade 11 student and we meet twice a week, or once a week for a double period. That means that he can easily do the reading work without being totally stressed out when the school year ends, and because he does a lot of reading with me in class, but as he's alone with me, poor guy, he has to do the reading at home, so it's very difficult to say ... I can tell you, of course, how many hours you need for a book, but this is first of all very ... , and second it's also depending how big is the group. But I have experienced the hours you told us is fine, but not achieved because it's a financial issue, and especially if you have one-to-one situation you don't need as many hours because it's much more intensive than if you have 25, 30 kids in a class.

Maurice Carder: Thank you.

Mrs Dong(parent French): Sorry; your numbers of 240 hours and all that, for A or B: is it teaching hours, or reading ...

Maurice Carder: Yes. Teaching. Teaching hours. 240 for a higher level subject; 150 for a standard level subject, over 2 years.

Mrs Dong(parent French): Teaching hours.

Maurice Carder: Teaching hours.

Ms Blank (IB Coordinator): It's working hours. In many cases a lot of hours are devoted to the internal assessment, so it doesn't necessarily have to be in-class time. It's a

recommended number of hours to reach the ultimate goal passing the course, but as Barbara says, with a smaller class that many hours isn't required. So it's flexible, it's not written in stone, and I don't know if that helps the argument or not.

Mrs Larsen(parent Swedish): Yeah, but the price, what's the price?

Ms Blank (IB Coordinator): That's not ...

Mrs Larsen(parent Swedish): That's what I'm interested in.

Maurice Carder: OK. This in on our website, actually.

Mrs Larsen(parent Swedish): Is it?

Mrs Dong(parent French): It's very expensive – if it's one-to-one.

Mrs Alberac(parent English/French) Yeah, that's what I'm afraid of.

Mrs Dong(parent French): It's €45 per hour.

Mrs Frivole (parent English/French): It's a tremendous price.

Maurice Carder: The fee schedule is on the registration form, which is an official UIS document, and in grades 6 through 10 the price is €35 an hour for one student, and as the numbers of students in a group increases ... shall I go on?

Mrs Dong(parent French): Just to correct you: it was €36 last year.

Maurice Carder: No, it was 35 last year. I'm not going to argue about one ... Sorry, this is silly. 2 students is €24; 3 - €18; etc. etc. For IB students it's €45 an hour, and it goes down: 27, 22, etc. etc. One point I want to make here, because this came up in the previous meetings: meetings with the parents ... I understand finances are an issue, of course I do. We're all earning our living and paying expenses, but some comments were made about ... going for the market price, and then when I had meetings with teachers, mother tongue teachers, they said: 'Oh yes, we have parents who get refugees from the country, they can just speak the language and chat away to people, and they cost much less, and a teacher is a professional who has a lot of training, and in this school we have a well-established programme, and I think that it's reasonable to pay a good price for a good programme. I think I'll leave it at that. I don't know, Mr Watford, do you want to say anything about the prices?

Mr Watford(UIS Director): It's always interesting to hear parents' views about the cost of any particular service which the school provides. What I will say is that the market, generally, finds its own level, its correct level, and what we've discovered here is that over time this programme has evolved in such a way that the take-up from the parent community for the services of the tutors which Mr. Carder has found over the years ... the take-up has been very strong, and again, to the best of my knowledge the degree of satisfaction with the quality of that service has been very, very high. Now, as Mr. Carder said, of course there is no compulsion for any parent to participate in the mother tongue programme; of course you are at liberty to seek your own privately employed teacher for mother tongue teaching with the students, but if you want to be part of our programme with all the benefits which Mr. Carder has described, we believe that the rates which are being charged are fair and appropriate to the programme at this time. Now I have been asked by the Board of Governors to prepare a report and proposals for the coming budget, 2009-10, and I'm going to be looking at the costs and the charges of the mother tongue programme, and also the after-school activities programme, and the UISMA programme (=individual music lessons – instrument or voice) here in the

school. So I want you to know that the school is undertaking a review and an analysis of this issue, and we're going to be considering, in detail, the whole financial aspect of this programme. So it's going to be very interesting for me to have your input, and if there is a very high level of discontent with the level of charges at the moment – yes, I'd like to know about that. But at the moment the message that I'm getting generally is that most people regard the programme as very good value. At the same time I should add, when I look at the general level of fees charged by Unonia International School, although, again, the parents may consider these fees to be high and expensive, it was a great surprise to me when I first came here to discover that the fees at other local independent schools are higher than at UIS. And international companies with other schools in Europe and the United Kingdom do not put Unonia International School at the top of the fee scale: far, far from it. So those are some general observations on the issue of costs and charges.

Maurice Carder: Thank you.

Mr Lezitski(parent Polish): I think before holidays we wrote petition to you regarding the future costs for mother tongue, in particular that when the kid is taking his IB subject, the school is providing one subject less, so what is the status of this petition? Could you explain or elaborate?

Mr Watford(UIS Director): One subject less?

Mr Lezitski(parent Polish): Yeah. If the kid is taking mother tongue as a subject, school is providing one subject less.

Maurice Carder: Just to clarify: it's one of the things we've discussed in the meetings. In the first meeting, and then briefly in the second meeting with parents, that children who're doing their mother tongue which is not English or German, are therefore doing one subject less in the IB, so the argument was that was, well, there's a certain percentage less of the programme, so could there be some sort of refund. I think that was the nature of the petition.

Mr Lezitski(parent Polish): What's the status? Because it was in writing.

Mr Watford(UIS Director): Thank you. Now I understand your point, and that's a point that was made to me during the last academic session at one of my one-to-one meetings with parents at the United Nations, which by the way is another way that parents can meet with me and another way I can hear you or views. I go to the United Nations once a month and make myself available for individual interviews with parents there. When I raised that question about the 'one language less' issue with the senior staff of secondary school their answer was: 'Well, we don't charge fees at this school piecemeal according to the number of subjects offered.' The fees are there to cover the whole programme, the holistic programme, with all the support, and counselling, information and advice for students in- and outside the classroom, and all the other activities which support the activities in the classroom. So we don't subdivide the fee charges. Doing so, I think, would probably be impossible for us.

Maurice Carder: Thank you.

Mrs Dong(parent French): This is a very interesting revelation that you have brought up, and I think it calls for this kind of meetings that some of us still with grade 10 or 9 children are not fully aware, that when you come to grade 11 and 12, and having this

response from Mr. Watford, who then got it from the secondary school teachers. I wonder if you would mind to include this ... to discuss, in the sense ... of course it's not piece-meal ... let's just suppose that in your whole policy to have importance on languages at the school you might want to develop further and you have at least for some of the languages that are already offered that you do have teachers for, like Spanish and French ... erm ... is it not possible to consider that those teachers in the department could be made available for even a form of guidance or something. I mean I hadn't really realised that my daughter eventually goes to grade 11 and 12, if she's not going to offer German as a language subject, as she hadn't had enough, not helped the school to get the 40 or whatever marks in the result, she would be taking French. So does that mean that she has a free period during the time when normally other students have German? Or what? I hadn't really understood.

Maurice Carder: So you're saying if your daughter took French as an IB subject.

Mrs Dong(parent French): Yes.

Maurice Carder: Yeah, well, at which level? At language B or language A?

Mrs Dong(parent French): Well, you know we are a bit confused what is the best thing to do. I think it's next week's meeting for the 24th September for parents of grade 10.

Maurice Carder: So would you like your daughter to do French as her mother tongue language or as a foreign language?

Mrs Dong(parent French): As one of the IB languages, I don't know ...

Maurice Carder: Yes, but at which level? At mother tongue level ...

Mrs Dong(parent French): Yes, the whole reason why we got ourselves into this dilemma is we hadn't really understood all these things. We arrived, we read the state of the school, we were very happy to see there was French, so she took French, and then very quickly realised that all the other students were, had just started in grade 6, er, she was started at grade 8, and she was the only one sort of put aside in the class for self-work. So after one semester, it was sort of agreed between a French teacher that this is a waste of time, and I think I spoke to you, Mr. Carder, right from the beginning when I came. I was very excited about the fact that there is French, where there is mother tongue to reinforce, not just by itself, to reinforce what she takes during school time. Well all this turned out that now she's doing Spanish and she's doing mother tongue but without all this guidance of how many hours and ...

Maurice Carder: I think ...

Mrs Dong(parent French): And this new revelation, I still, I haven't reached that point yet, but it's very interesting that you have brought this up because ... I don't know actually how ...

Mr Lezitski(parent Polish): It's becoming very, very expensive, last 2 years, because you pay school, and then you pay in addition few thousand euros.

Mrs van Geerd(teacher Dutch): The driver's licence is also expensive.

Mr Lezitski(parent Polish): But it's not part of education.

Maurice Carder: Can I say something here. I thought money might become an issue tonight. I would like to talk about education, otherwise I feel the ...

Mrs Dong(parent French): Let's just say one thing, though. Let's list the possibility there is of the number of students and the fees going lower if we have more students in a

group, so as Mr. Watford and you pointed out, unfortunately for me and my other, er, parents here who have French, there are only 5, so we can never hope to reach the economical rate, so the more you have then it is not so expensive. But if there is only one of you, then it's expensive.

Maurice Carder: Can I just say that we have about 40 languages; we have many parents who over the years just have one student and one language and they've been very happy to do it, and they haven't made a problem about it. I think ... I've thought about this a lot and I think it's basically, it's to do with the fact that French is offered in the school ... it's the same as Spanish. Because it's offered as a foreign language, and because French and Spanish are languages of wider communication, languages that have been very important in the world, and still are in many areas, then people feel some sort of, er, frustration that 'why isn't it there?', and especially if you come from the French Lycée where French was *the* language – to find that there are only 5 people here and it's not on as mother tongue, I understand it's frustrating, but it's the same as every other language here: Dutch, or Slovenian, or ...

Mrs Lastensen(parent Danish): I'm alone with Danish.

Maurice Carder: Danish – there is one student taking Danish, and it's the same for many people.

Any woman: Yes.

Maurice Carder: And, er, we are doing everything we can to get this programme going, and, er, I can't say much more than that. Could we, could we move on?

Mrs Pohornik(parent Slovenian): Just three sentence. We had the same discussion. I come from Slovenia. I am the only one and I could not afford to pay so much, and Mr. Carder said: 'be creative,' so I called our government – there is European School, and it's school, but it's also internet connection, so for all European languages you contact your government, Ministry for Educational and they will give you further contact, it's for free twice a week, through 'Skype'. You can see your teacher, you can communicate, and the syllabus is verified.

Maurice Carder: It's verified.

Mrs Pohornik(parent Slovenian): Yeah, syllabus, so that's one possibility. I'm sure French government will help you.

Maurice Carder: Thank you very much. That of course is worth saying, that the ... this is just IB level. In grades 11 and 12 there is one level, language A1 standard, you can do self-taught, without a teacher. I do everything I can to find a teacher because I think the whole idea of a language A1 is to do it with the teacher. I think without a teacher something is definitely missing, but with Slovenian we talked a lot about it and I found it very strange that we couldn't find a Slovenian teacher, for a neighbouring country, but obviously the parents have really tried and it just hasn't been possible and so the option is A1 standard self-taught, but this, I think this is the way to go, with the internet, and I don't know if the lady from Lithuania whose name I won't dare ... Lithuanian, yeah. You do a lot of 'skyping', don't you?

Mrs Zoric(parent Croatian): I just wanted to say my opinion. This question of the fees, in a meeting situation with teachers, with parents present – maybe it's not appropriate

because there is an obvious conflict of interest. This discussion should be moved somewhere else.

Maurice Carder: I second that.

Mrs Zoric(parent Croatian): And also the discussion on, I wanted to give my feedback, my opinion on Mr. Watford's reply to the gentleman specially regarding the, a student having one subject less, and paying the same fee as another student having the full programme ...

Mr Lezitski(parent Polish): More, more. Because on top of standard, we are paying more.

Mrs Zoric(parent Croatian): So I am not aware of all those issues, that I don't have children in that grade now, but I certainly will become aware of all that. So, I am asking if my child is given one subject less, and there's no difference for a fee, could my child also be given one subject plus and there is also no difference in the fee? I mean, can my child have one subject *plus* in addition to the standard?

Maurice Carder: I think that happens. Some students take a 7th subject. That happens, that happens. Many students take a 7th subject and there's no addition to the fee.

Mrs Zoric(parent Croatian): Maybe I don't understand the whole issue as well since I don't have my children in grade 11 and 12 yet, but I assume that the fee is created according to the number of subjects, to the enrolment of the teachers, to the enrolment of the school, the costs that are connected with the curriculum.

Mr Watford(UIS Director): We, er, we don't charge the fees according to the number of subjects taken in the IB Diploma Programme, for example, most students take 6 subjects, but as Mr. Carder said, some students may take a 7th subject for which the school does not charge extra. In addition to those 6 or 7 subjects all students also take the Theory of Knowledge programme; they take the Creative-Action-Service programme; and they do the Extended Essay. So we regard this as a whole programme, and the International Baccalaureate Organisation requires that the students complete all the elements of the programme, so when we offer this service to parents, and when we charge these fees, it's for a 2-year programme, and we don't fragment so that parents can treat the offering like a supermarket where you simply take this tin of beans or this tin of peas. It isn't like that. A similar argument which I've heard relates to grade 12. In grade 12 the direct teaching of the student ends sometime in April, OK? And very often in this school, and in other schools, I've had parents say to me: 'Why can't we have a fee reduction for grade 12? The students have finished the course, they sit the exams, and they leave before the end of the academic year. Why do you charge for a whole academic year?' If you view the programme in that way it sounds very logical, but we're offering a 2-year programme as a composite, and when we charge those fees, we charge it on that basis. And we make it clear at the beginning, so, er, what I suppose I'm saying is while I can understand why parents might be concerned about the cost of the service here, and the courses, and the programme, believe me: when you compare what is offered here, and when you compare the results achieved here, I believe – and this is all a matter of opinion – I believe that parents at Unonia International School are receiving *fantastic* value for money.

Mrs Larsen(parent Swedish): Yeah, but it's not a question about that, it's just that I have to go home and save up my money, that's all that I'm asking. I'm not saying that I don't think the programme is good or anything like that; I'm not saying that I'm not going to

...

Mr Watford(UIS Director): Do you want the microphone?

Mrs Larsen(parent Swedish): I'm not trying to negotiate the teachers' salaries, I'm just here asking what the cost is and I have got the reply of my answer, of my question – and that's it. I have to go home and put my money in the piggy box or whatever it's called.

Mr Watford(UIS Director): Piggy bank

Mrs Larsen(parent Swedish): Piggy bank.

Any woman: Yeah, exactly.

Mr Boshov(parent Russian): I have a question. I have a point of order, please. We've been here over an hour and we've just managed one item on the agenda. It's my first meeting. I don't pretend to be presumptuous, but I would like to continue.

Maurice Carder: OK. If it's OK with you, I'll just go through these points and talk about them one by one. For the benefit of people, and I'll summarise them very briefly and then maybe we can prioritise, focus, anything you wish to discuss. The first point here:

'Mother tongue in the IB-MYP – recognition for Austrian Matura Equivalence.'

As you probably know, this year we are doing the Middle Years Programme in grade 6. It will extend to grade 7 next year, in following years up to grade 10. Erm, what I would really appreciate in the school, would be ... OK: Austrian Matura Equivalence – shall I explain? I better, especially for new people.

Any man: It's not a ... for me it's not a ...

Maurice Carder: Well, I think ... OK, OK. I'll explain. For those wishing to go to Austrian university, or often many students take it as a sort of insurance policy. They have ... the IB is not enough to count for Austrian Uni ... you have to have a third language, OK? There are 1 or 2 other requirements, but let's talk about the third language requirement. So by taking their mother tongue in grade 10 in the MYP, at the moment that is not allowed as a third language, so students ... if you have English and German and French, you have 3 languages. If you have your mother tongue – Indonesian – and English, and German, you have 3 languages ... I'm missing something here ... Many students, I think it's the ones who come in grade 10. If they're in ESL, English as a second language, then they need to have ... OK, they need German, they would need to have their mother tongue to get Matura Equivalence, OK? If you're an ESL student you're not doing French or Spanish, so you have ESL, our mother tongue, and German, and by the Austrian Ministry recognising the MYP and the mother tongue recognised, this would greatly benefit quite a lot of students and I think it would be a good point anyway and it ties up. I'll jump down then into this one: reporting inclusion

...

Mrs Lastensen(parent Danish): Sorry, sorry, I'm really confused now. Did you say that if you have your mother tongue, Danish, I'm confused because you said that ... if you have your mother tongue, Danish in my case, and you have German and you have English, then you are fine, or what? What did you say?

Maurice Carder: Do you want your son to do Matura Equivalence?

Mrs Lastensen(parent Danish): Yes.

Maurice Carder: Uh-huh, OK, then he's doing the IB, he's doing, he's going to have Danish, and English, and German he's done already, and he's OK. That's 3 languages. For more details you need to speak to the, I think, the IB Coordinator, or the Austrian liaison, Brunhilde Toth. To tie that in with this one, inclusion ... Most of this is what we talked about with Mrs Hernandez: it's status, it's the status of the mother tongue programme. At the moment quite a lot of people agree that it's a very good programme, but the classes are after school, the classrooms are not there, and it's actually not a part of the Core programme, and the reporting, because of a simple computer entry, as far as I can see, it's the name of the teacher always comes out as Mr. Carder, which embarrasses me because I don't, much as I would like to speak these languages, I don't speak them all, so I would like all of these things to be adjusted, so what we're saying: we'd like to have it recognised for Austrian Matura Equivalence.

'Reporting': if it could be included in the Core programme to be actually set up as a part of the Core programme. These other things are all to do with the status of the programme and are, for me, very important for the student – what I talked about coming to the school, and we don't want them to leave their identity at the front gate. Many teachers I've spoken to, and parents, say that the fact that they're sitting, maybe, in the corridor having a class, after school, it's, yeah, most of the classes are after school, in grades 6 through 10. It used to be possible to have mother tongue scheduled against French and Spanish, at the parents' wish, with a letter. This was changed about 3 years ago, so, if we could look into that again.

'Classrooms': OK, that's an issue for everybody – we're a very, very full school, we're all dealing with that as best we can.

'Payment' we'll skip.

'Points': this as well, this ties in with status. Community, Action, Awareness: at the moment you can get points for this by doing sports and various other things. Ms Karulaitis better correct me if I make a ... I'm not quite sure how you get points on this, but you can't get points for mother tongue, and students who are after school, doing all these classes; it would be wonderful if they could get points for that, I think, it would be a very nice move. So, OK, I've gone over those very quickly. Have I been clear? Yeah? So, does anybody wish to go into ...

Mrs Lastensen(parent Danish): I have to ... My reason for coming tonight is that I have a son studying in 11th grade, IB higher level, Danish, and I'm not feeling 100% comfortable that we are doing everything right because I feel that I and my son, we have more or less done the whole thing ourselves. We have chosen the books ourselves; we have made the booklist ourselves; we've done everything. But is this OK? Is it – should it be approved by you, by some board, so that we make sure this is right? We are going to be examined in 1 ½ years.

Maurice Carder: OK. Your son, well you brought this up, so, OK, it's the beginning of the year. The mother tongue programme ... it's a bit like an oil-tanker, it takes a bit of time to get it revved up; getting in touch with all the teachers, a lot of the teachers are university teachers; some of the mother tongue classes don't start until October, so I'm very happy that, you know, I've had 1 or 2 parents saying: 'Why haven't the classes

started on the first day?’ The mother tongue programme isn’t like that, it’s not so easy. The way, in grade 12, it’s fairly complex when the IB programme hits you, because just the IB Guide is 80 pages of dense literature. I sit, if I can, with all new students. Your son (to Mrs Lastensen) didn’t come to see me until a couple of days ago, when he was – I’m teaching, I’m pretty busy, I didn’t have time at that moment – and his teacher really should have sat down with him and gone through the list and said: ‘This is how you choose the books.’

Mrs Lastensen(parent Danish): I’ve done that. I’ve been ... I’ve read these 80 pages and I know exactly what I’ve chosen, but I’ve missed the connection to the school, to you, that this is OK. The teacher has told Nikolai that he should contact you and make sure that everything is correct because she doesn’t want to be responsible, so now I feel responsible.

Mrs Zimprich(teacher Portuguese): There is the list, and this list, you have to choose from this list.

Mrs Lastensen(parent Danish): Yes, I know this list, I have chosen exactly, I know. I have done that. I know that. I just feel ...

Mrs Zimprich(teacher Portuguese): So, it has not, it has to be from the list.

Mrs Lastensen(parent Danish): I have done that ...

Mrs Zimprich(teacher Portuguese): Then it’s OK.

Maurice Carder: I get your point. Then I think I should speak to the teacher, because it’s really her responsibility to ... don’t you agree, mother tongue teachers? You sit with the new students and you ... you say something to this, yeah.

Mrs Schnarrfagl(teacher Swedish): I mean I’m aware that you can’t be in school all the day. I mean I live in the library, as I teach in the library, in a quiet place, but we meet from time to time, and sometimes a teacher colleague who’s not as experienced as I am – and I also have 15 years of experience, I have to add, but now I have these 15 years experience. I know how to choose the books but I still, I’m happy to help you and I know you’ve done the thing, but the point is we help each other. When I need Leticia, I need a question, or she asks me a question, that’s the contact we have in between, and if we’re very unsure then of course I ask Mr. Carder, but that’s the cooperation we have. Mother tongue teachers in between. And I’m happy to help out ...

Mrs Lastensen(parent Danish): Do you know the Danish teacher?

Mrs Schnarrfagl(teacher Swedish): I don’t know the Danish teacher. Yes, she can contact me and ...

Mrs Lastensen(parent Danish): Yeah, OK.

Maurice Carder: Thanks. And Nikolai can come and talk to me. I can sit down with him and explain everything to him. There’s absolutely no problem.

Mrs Lastensen(parent Danish): I just want to make sure that we don’t ...

Maurice Carder: Miss anything, or, I know.

Mrs Lastensen(parent Danish): ... after 1 ½ year that this is the wrong books.

Maurice Carder: Please ask him to drop by my office – Friday’s probably a good day, but any day. I’m not always there, but he can leave a message and I’ll find him, OK? And I’ll send an email.

Mrs Dong(parent French): Is, er, does the IB not provide a language-specific list?

Maurice Carder: Yes, it does: it provides a booklist, yes, it provides a list.

Mrs Dong(parent French): Can we, I mean, with the titles, whatever.

Maurice Carder: Yeah – a whole list and you choose the titles. If your daughter drops by the office I'll give her a copy.

Mrs Dong(parent French): We've been trying to ask this question this week.

Mrs Zimprich(teacher Portuguese): With the writers, with the books, and as I teach Portuguese, which is spoken in 8 countries, I'm also obliged to choose writers from those countries like Angola and Mozambique, not only Portugal and Brazil, and all this is established and shown completely correct in these lists. I make no mistake, I follow the list.

Maurice Carder: For us it's a routine thing. This is why we have a department with a person there, which is me.

Mrs Lastensen(parent Danish): She hasn't been able to get it. I mean she's got a few of these books ...

Maurice Carder: Well she didn't ask me. If she asks me she'll get it; it's very simple.

Mrs Hernandez(parent Spanish): Take the right question: timing of lessons, and allocation of classes. And maybe after the school ... for grade 11 and 12 who have those free periods, maybe it would be an element, or interesting to know what is possible during the school day.

Maurice Carder: Yeah. Many teachers teach during the school day, but mother tongue teachers don't only teach in this school, they're not employed by the school, they teach at many places around Vienna, so they might not be free during the school day – many do.

Mrs Hernandez(parent Spanish): If they were free during the school day what can the school offer, the classes or ...

Maurice Carder: Very little.

Mrs Hernandez(parent Spanish): Very little.

Maurice Carder: Yeah. The school is very, very full and many of them take classes in the library or in free spaces.

Mrs Hernandez(parent Spanish): It basically stays only after school?

Maurice Carder: Classrooms. Classrooms are mostly available after school, yes. Occasionally during the school day, but we're very full.

Mrs Lastensen(parent Danish): No, I just want to say that we're happy to distinguish between that are very experienced teachers – there are languages which are full of students because it's big languages and there are small languages like Danish and Slovenian and with not so experienced teachers. Yeah, OK. Just my point.

Maurice Carder: Yeah. Very good point. But I'm always here to talk to teachers. I mean thank you for this and it gives me an opportunity, obviously, to sit with this teacher and go through some things. I mean, I'm open to feedback, if there, if you feel that things aren't working, but if they do ... We had new teachers for new languages last year, and they did a lot of work, and they got on top of it very quickly, so it's ... Where are we with this?

Mr Watford(UIS Director): Ladies and gentlemen, a good discussion. It's almost half past seven. I'm very conscious that some time around 7 o'clock tomorrow morning Ms

Karulaitis, Mr. Carder and myself are going to be coming back through these doors to start a new day's work, OK? So maybe we can bring this to a conclusion now by saying if any of you have any further questions or any further points that you want the school to address, please speak with Ms Karulaitis after the meeting closes. Make sure that she takes notes of your concerns, OK? Because we intend to follow up on every point raised, OK? Every point raised. I'm not saying we'll, we will be able to give you a positive answer to all your questions, but we're certainly going to answer them, and follow up on all these issues. To conclude the meeting I'd like to say a special thank you to Mr. Carder, er ... not too many people may be aware that when Mr. Carder very modestly spoke at the beginning of the meeting about the international standing, the prestigious reputation of Unonia International School and its ESL and mother tongue programme, much of the reason for that reputation is down to his work with the tutors of mother tongue over many, many, many years, and Unonia International School is unique, I believe, quite unique in offering a programme of such variety and such size here in the school. Many IB schools simply say to students: '*You* sort that out. *You* arrange your own tutors. *You* do that out of school. *You* do that privately. We don't want to know.' OK? Unonia International School has taken a very different approach, and I believe a very, very successful approach and we measure that success by the benefit to the students; by the number of bilingual diplomas; by the success rate in the diploma programme and by the fantastic success rate in getting those young people to the universities of their choice, and believe me, this school leads the world in this respect. Er, I've published the International Baccalaureate Diploma results and we make no secret of that. Many schools don't publish them. They don't wish people to see and know what their students have achieved. We don't – we take the opposite view. This school is an open book, and for any parents, especially new parents – and Mrs Pui, I think you've been here 2 years, OK – it worries me that maybe you didn't have as much information as you really needed when you arrived here, and I think that's something we can work even harder to address. We have many information evenings, we have many coffee mornings, we have lots and lots of published material, but I think we've got to work harder at getting the right information into the hands of parents when they first arrive in the school, you know, and taking questions forward. I'm going to close the meeting now, but there'll be an opportunity for you ...

Mrs Dong(parent French): Just one statement ...

Mr Watford(UIS Director): One more statement? OK – last one. Here's a microphone for you.

Mrs Dong(parent French): Some of those information that you gave us tonight, like how many hours, teaching hours, how many ... what the reading list and all those things. Couldn't you put them all together in one piece of paper, even though we join in grade 8, that we can have that as a permanent information from the mother tongue programme, and I would just say that everything that you said about the programme, unfortunately, we didn't benefit from that. We didn't have any clue, we did everything between Yvonne and myself to find the teachers. We had to ask the teachers to get an appointment to see Mr. Carder, or if Mr. Carder's not there ...

Mrs Zimprich(teacher Portuguese): So you did not try enough. I'm sorry to interrupt you. You did not try enough. He's every day in the school: I see him from 8 until half past 3, every day, so you have to try because ...

Mrs Dong(parent French): I just want to say that maybe something it was unfortunate for us, you are a teacher, we are parents. We cannot attend coffee mornings by the way, because I'm working, so if this information can be put on a piece of paper it can be circulated without having to attend coffee mornings. We would love to attend coffee mornings if we could.

Mrs Zimprich(teacher Portuguese): But this is on papers since more than 10 or 15 years. He has the paper.

Maurice Carder: We have a website: I think everything is there. If you go to the UIS site it's got everything about the IB. There's a lot of information.

Mr Watford(UIS Director): Thank you. I think a lot of the information has been published, OK, and is published, but, er, we will continue to try to ensure that it reaches everybody who needs it, OK? We will not, er ... we will not, er, relax our efforts to get the right information to the right people. Now then, sir, we're coming to the end of the meeting. Last comment, I think, yeah?

Mr Boraglu(parent Turkish): A last comment is just to give my special thanks to Mr. Carder (clapping). I'm not here to support the programme, Mr. Carder (more clapping). The first time I saw his face I had a lot of problems with the invoices and payments and I wrote him just emails and called him a couple of times and he helped me a lot. So I was able to reach him by email and I got all my help needed, and thank you very much, Mr. Carder.

Mr Watford(UIS Director): Yes.

Mr Boraglu(parent Turkish): Thank you very much, Mr. Carder. This is the first time I see you. (Loud clapping).

Mr Watford(UIS Director): Thank you all for coming everybody. We'll finish there now. Don't forget to let Ms Karulaitis know of any further comments.

(End of meeting: there follow two individual parent enquiries.)

Mr Boshov(parent Russian): Do I get in touch with my teacher and arrange her? Or the school helps?

Maurice Carder: Are you working with the UN, or ...

Mr Boshov(parent Russian): Yeah.

Maurice Carder: With the Agency? (International Atomic Energy Agency).

Mr Boshov(parent Russian): Yeah.

Maurice Carder: OK. Then what happens is, erm ...

Mr Boshov(parent Russian): But it would be beyond the ... the education grant, because all the ...

Maurice Carder: Grade 10?

Mr Boshov(parent Russian): Grade 10, yeah.

Maurice Carder: This is what's happened recently, because ... well, this is where parents need to go to the UN and say: 'Excuse me, raise the limit.'

Mr Boshov(parent Russian): But the UN doesn't listen to us.

Maurice Carder: Well, the school, you know, sorry, it's not the school's problem, it's the UN's problem, so you need to get a big lobby and go to the UN.

Mr Boshov(parent Russian): This is something we should raise at the staff council.

Maurice Carder: I think, really, that's where it's got to go. But basically ... I gave one of these to ...

Mr Boshov(parent Russian): I mean I've done the form; I've signed it.

Maurice Carder: The way it works is, erm, when it gets to the teacher, she will present the bill, I don't know if she does it before or after, but at the end of the year, round about May or June, you go to your personnel officer or someone? There's a special form from the Agency, where everything is entered: the fees, over the whole year, how much it's cost, it comes to me, erm, I sign it and stamp it.

Mr Boshov(parent Russian): Yeah, I know. But basically I pay her or him directly, up front, but I will need the forms ... er, she will ...

Maurice Carder: You can ask her straightaway.

Mr Boshov(parent Russian): OK.

Maurice Carder: Just ask her, no problem. She's very efficient.

Mr Boshov(parent Russian): I will try to, because to me, to get really good marks on IB, mother tongue is the ...

Maurice Carder: Russian literature.

Mr Boshov(parent Russian): Because English, I don't think he will be able to do A1 English.

Maurice Carder: I don't think so, unless, you know, and even if he could, would you really want him to anyway. Would he not do Russian, and where's that going to leave his Russian when he goes back to his own country?

Mr Boshov(parent Russian): Yeah.

Maurice Carder: Well, I hope it wasn't too bad – all the politics and ...

Mr Boshov(parent Russian): Thank you very much.

Maurice Carder: OK, right-o. It's a pleasure.

Mr Takada(parent Japanese): Thank you for your presentation. I was quite overwhelmed by the level of today's discussion.

Maurice Carder: So was I! Could I ask what your language is?

Mr Takada(parent Japanese): Japanese. I just wanted to know ...

Maurice Carder: Who's your child? Could you tell me?

Mr Takada(parent Japanese): Sanimi Takada, 6th grade, so, basically when Japanese lesson will be ...

Maurice Carder: Ah, then you need to speak to the Japanese teacher. No, she wasn't here tonight. So if you tell your daughter?

Mr Takada(parent Japanese): Son.

Maurice Carder: Son, sorry. What's the first name?

Mr Takada(parent Japanese): Sanimi.

Maurice Carder: Sanimi – I don't know him. OK. Let me make a note.

Mr Takada(parent Japanese): Sorry, I didn't know the nature of today's meeting.

Maurice Carder: No, it's OK. If Sanimi drops by my office, I can give him the name ... I'll give you it now. The telephone ... you can phone the teacher and make contact.

Mr Takada(parent Japanese): There will be the Japanese ...

Maurice Carder: Oh yes, she's started already.

Mr Takada(parent Japanese): She's started.

Maurice Carder: She has a desk in my office. I see her every day. Her name is Mayumi Hiroto, yeah? That's her email.

Mr Takada(parent Japanese): (Writes it down).

Maurice Carder: Do you want her Handy number? (Mobile phone).

Mr Takada(parent Japanese): (Writes it down). And it's, er, once a week, do you know?

Maurice Carder: I think so, yeah. She has some other students in grade 6; it'll be a nice group. She has groups of students, I know. Contact her, she'll be glad to hear from you.

Mr Takada(parent Japanese): Thank you very much.

APPENDIX TWO

INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE DIPLOMA PROGRAMME

Taken from the following website:

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

**THIS IMAGE HAS
BEEN REDACTED
DUE TO THIRD PARTY
RIGHTS OR OTHER
LEGAL ISSUES**

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

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

Normally:

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

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

- English
- French
- Spanish.

What are the requirements for the IB diploma and certificate?

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

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

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

Group 1: Language A1

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Language A1 Group 1—best language

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

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

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

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

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

Assessment

Higher level (HL)

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

Standard level (SL)

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

Group 2: second language

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

The aim is to promote an understanding of another culture through the study of a second language. A large range of modern languages are available plus two classical languages (Latin and classical Greek).

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

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

Language B Group 2—second language

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

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

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

Assessment

Higher level (HL)

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

Standard level (SL)

- Same assessment model as HL

Language A2 Group 2—second language

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

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

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

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

Assessment

Higher level (HL)

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

Standard level (SL)

- Same assessment model as HL

How to interpret IB grades and transcripts

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

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

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

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

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

Bilingual diplomas are awarded for:

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

APPENDIX THREE

Overview of the pedagogical model for ESL and mother tongues at the UIS

Overall aims of the department:
The department aims to bring the students' competence in English to a level which enables them to function successfully in the academic and social context of the school. The department also aims to ensure that students maintain and improve literacy in their mother tongue, and thus become bilingual, i.e. fluent speakers and writers of two languages, English plus their mother tongue.
ESL: ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE
Objectives
Before leaving the ESL programme students should be able to:
Speaking
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speak clearly with good pronunciation and intonation • Use vocabulary and expressions appropriately • Ask and answer questions spontaneously on various topics • Talk about various topics and share opinions
Writing
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Write for a variety of purposes through the appropriate use of grammatical structures, linking words, vocabulary and spelling
Listening
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understand and follow instructions in the target language • Understand spoken language at varying levels of difficulty in various contexts
Reading
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understand written language at varying levels of difficulty in various formats
ESL Beginners Class
Students who come to Unonia International School in Grade 6 to 9, with little or no English will join the ESL Beginners Class. The ESL teachers will not only rapidly help such students to understand and speak the English necessary for getting around the school, but will also act as a "cushion" for those suffering from initial "culture shock", the feeling not only of being in a new school, but also one where the language and perhaps the whole environment are quite alien. Students are soon able to understand and express their immediate needs in English, and thereafter learn to write, develop a basic knowledge of grammar, and widen their vocabulary.
By the end of the year they should be able to communicate effectively in spoken English for all the social needs of the school, and follow courses in Mathematics, Science and Geography, producing written work to be marked by the specialist subject teacher.
They are integrated into the regular programme as much as possible, depending on each individual's abilities. They will join in Physical Education, Music, creative subjects, German and Mathematics with their homeroom group. The exact programme is decided depending on the level of English, the needs of each group of students, the restrictions of the timetable and availability of staff and classrooms.
As their English improves they move into other subjects. Instruction in their mother-tongue is strongly encouraged. Students who arrive late in the academic year may have to remain at that grade level until the following August.
Regular ESL classes:
Students who are no longer 'beginners' in English, but who do not yet have an in-depth

command of the language sufficient for them to follow the full curriculum, with its requirements of reading complex texts and producing written work in fluent English, will be a part of the regular ESL programme. This consists of two tracks: ESL Literature and ESL Language. In grades 8 & 9 there is also ESL Humanities.

ESL Literature (set against English)

This class parallels the 'mainstream' English class, using simplified texts of the same or similar literature. The focus is both on the humanizing aspect of the English curriculum, and also on developing writing skills – essays, summaries, response to texts, and increased vocabulary.

ESL Language (set against French/Spanish)

This class focuses on teaching the structure of English, i.e. the grammar, vocabulary, sentence structure, and the basic mechanics of the language. There is also the opportunity for students to be assisted with English language difficulties in other subjects (History, Geography, Sciences).

At the end of the course students should be able to follow all subjects (from an English language point of view), be able to understand teachers' instructions, read and understand much of the required reading, and present written work of reasonable accuracy though still limited in breadth of expression.

The course also focuses on the more advanced writing and reading comprehension skills needed for success in the academic programme of the school.

ESL Humanities: History/Geography, Grades 9 & 10

This class runs at the same time as Humanities, and provides curriculum content that can be understood and learnt by ESL students. The ESL teachers decide on the amount of content to be followed by the students, in close liaison with the Humanities Department.

As the UIS Student and Parent Handbook states (page 42): *Rights of a Student - 1. To receive an education from the curriculum best fitted to that individual.*

MOTHER TONGUES:

Lessons arranged, according to need, have included:

Albanian, Arabic, Armenian, Bengali, Bosnian, Chinese, Croatian, Danish, Dutch, Farsi, Filipino, Finnish, French, Georgian, Greek, Hindi, Hungarian, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Lithuanian, Malay, Malayalam, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Serbian, Sinhalese, Slovak, Slovenian, Spanish, Swedish, Thai, Turkish, Ukrainian, Vietnamese, Yoruba.

Aims:

- Instruction in a student's mother-tongue will help him or her become more proficient in English.
- Many students who have been at UIS for some time can talk quite well in their mother tongue (if not English), but know nothing of their own culture, history, or literature, and have poor writing skills.
- To begin mother-tongue classes just before the IB Diploma exam is often too late; it is continuity that counts - beginning in the Primary School. Students need to prepare in advance for offering the language as one of the subjects for the International Baccalaureate Diploma or Certificates at the end of the Grade 11 and 12 courses.
- Many students who have just arrived at UIS think they do not need classes in their Mother Tongue as "they have only just left their country and are good at

<p>writing their own language". This may be true, but they will quickly lose these skills if they do not practise them, and they should also keep in touch with their own culture, history, and literature.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They may need to meet entry requirements for universities in their home country.
<p>Grades 6-7</p>
<p>-Students can read aloud texts with a good pronunciation and can synthesize what has been read</p>
<p>-Students work on written texts by reading, underlining vocabulary, writing sentences with the new words, writing a summary of the text and answering questions about the text</p>
<p>-Students working the improvement of their spelling</p>
<p>-Students are able to write detailed summaries of books, films, weekend or holiday activities</p>
<p>-They have a good knowledge of grammar and are able to do a syntactic and morphological analysis of a text</p>
<p>-Students read and analyse books in their mother tongue</p>
<p>Grades 8-9</p>
<p>-Students can analyse written texts by working on the vocabulary, main ideas, intention of the author, theme as well as on the language used</p>
<p>-Students read and analyse literary (narrative, dramatic, lyric) works in their mother tongue</p>
<p>-Students can do oral presentations about several topics related to their countries of origin (social, political, literary, cultural or artistic issues)</p>
<p>-Students can write essays using different kinds of text models</p>
<p>-Students know some basic literary terms for the commentary of literary texts (rhetorical devices, genres, etc.)</p>
<p>Grade 10</p>
<p>-Students can do a literary analysis of all kind of texts (narrative, lyric, dramatic)</p>
<p>-Students know the methodology to do commentaries of literary texts: outline, poetry "metrica", rhetorical devices, analysis of the different levels of language (morphological, phonological and semantic)</p>
<p>-Students can write all kind of texts (creative, articles, biography, etc.) and essays.</p>
<p>IB Diploma</p>
<p>In grades 11 and 12 students follow the curriculum of the IB Diploma Programme.</p>
<p>ESL students usually follow the English B curriculum;</p>
<p>Mother tongue students usually follow the Language A1 programme.</p>