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IB World Schools – genuinely promoting multilingual education?

Bachelor's thesis
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
Intercultural Teacher Education
2020

Oulun yliopisto

Kasvatustieteiden tiedekunta

IB koulut – aidosti edistämässä monikielistä opetusta? (Hanna Juusola)

Kandidaatin tutkielma, 37 sivua

Elokuu 2020

International Baccalaureate (IB) -kouluissa kulttuurillisesti ja kielellisesti moninainen oppilasjoukko on enemmän sääntö kuin poikkeus. IB-ohjelmissa painottuu international mindedness -näkökulma, joka käsittää monikielisyyden sekä äidinkielen, kohdemaan kielen ja muiden kielten oppimisen. Kieli, etenkin äidinkielen kehitys, vaikuttaa vahvasti identiteettiin ja koulumenestykseen ja on sidoksissa tasapuolisiin opetuksellisiin mahdollisuuksiin. Koska kieli liittyy olennaisesti oikeuksiin, kulttuuriin ja vaikutusvaltaan, kielen oppiminen on olennaisimpia tekijöitä monimuotoisessa koulutuksellisessa kontekstissa, jossa interkulttuuriset ja monikieliset kompetenssit ovat keskiössä.

Tämä kirjallisuuskatsaus pyrkii kattavaan yleiskatsaukseen kielen oppimisesta IB-kouluissa. Tutkimuskysymykset liittyvät kielen opetusta ohjaaviin linjauksiin ja periaatteisiin sekä kielenopetuksen erilaisista käytännön järjestelyistä mahdollisesti aiheutuviin hyötyihin ja haittoihin moninaisten oppilaiden näkökulmasta. Tutkielmassa korostuu erityisesti englannin kielen asema kansainvälisenä opetuskielenä, jota käsitellään laajasti IB-kontekstissa toteutetuissa tutkimuksissa.

Kirjallisuuskatsauksessa käy ilmi ristiriita linjausten ja käytännön tasolla IB-koulujen kielen opetuksessa. Vaikka IB-linjaukset osoittavat vahvaa ideologista sitoutumista monikielisyyteen, käytännön toteutukset kuitenkin asettavat englannin kielen oppijat sekä muita kieliä puhuvat heikkoon asemaan. Jotta kielen oppiminen olisi käytännössä mahdollista IB standardien asettamien tavoitteiden mukaisesti, IB-kouluissa tarvitaan reflektiovia käytänteitä ja kriittistä kielitietoisuutta. Kaikkien oppilaiden monikielisyyden edistämiseksi on välttämätöntä arvioida ja tarkastella, että koulun ilmapiiri, periaatteet ja käytännön kielen opetusjärjestelyt ovat kielellisesti ja kulttuurillisesti inkluusivisia.

Avainsanat: International Baccalaureate, kielen oppiminen, kielilinjaukset, kielellinen moninaisuus, kansainvälinen opetus, monikielisuus, monikielinen opetus

University of Oulu

Faculty of Education

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August 2020

Culturally and linguistically diverse student bodies are the norm in International Baccalaureate (IB) World Schools. The IB programmes place great emphasis on the development of international mindedness, which is understood to include multilingualism and language learning of mother tongue, host country language and other languages. Language, particularly the development of mother tongue, has great influence on identity and academic achievement. Moreover, it connects to the ethical matter of providing equal access to educational opportunities. As language closely ties to issues of rights, culture and power, language learning is a central concern in diverse educational settings that seek to enhance intercultural and multilingual competencies.

This literature review aims to establish a comprehensive overview of language learning in IB World Schools. The research questions are concerned with the policies and principles that guide the language education of IB World Schools and the potential benefits and challenges that different practical implementations of language learning entail for the diverse student body. Of particular interest is the dominance of English as the international language and language of instruction that is widely discussed in prior research conducted in the IB context.

Based on the literature review, there is an evident dissonance between rhetoric and reality of language learning in IB World Schools. The IB policy framework demonstrates strong ideological commitment to multilingualism, but many practical implementations in fact place English language learners and speakers of other languages in a marginalized position. It is suggested that to meet the IB standards of language learning, reflective practices and critical language awareness are needed in schools implementing the programmes. To promote multilingualism of all students equally, it is essential to evaluate whether the school's ethos, principles and practical implementations of language learning are truly linguistically and culturally inclusive.

Keywords: International Baccalaureate, language learning, language policy, linguistic diversity, international education, multilingualism, multilingual education

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1 Introduction

”No Japanese, only English in this classroom” states a classroom teacher to a first grader who asked for a clarification of an unfamiliar term from a classmate in Japanese during a mathematics lesson. The incident took place during my teaching practice in an international school in Japan classified as an IB (International Baccalaureate) World School where English was solely used as the language of instruction throughout the school. The staff followed the school’s language policy consistently and insisted that no other languages were spoken in the classrooms (with the exception of foreign language lessons), despite the diverse linguistic backgrounds of various stakeholders and the school endorsing its education as multilingual.

While the language education model of the described school that heavily emphasizes English is very common in international schools (Carder, 2006; Hayden, 2006), other language learning solutions can be found, ranging from monolingual to multilingual in their nature. I also had brief experience in another IB school that had similarly adapted English as the main language of instruction, but a degree of multilingualism was displayed by frequent use of the host country language and occasional integration of other languages spoken by the students. The two schools bear similarities in some aspects, including linguistically diverse student bodies, implementation of several IB programmes and being based in a non-English speaking country. However, they differed fundamentally in school organisation, as the former was an independently operating private school with predominantly Anglo-American expatriate teaching staff and the latter a public school following a national curriculum alongside the IB standards with a fairly balanced mix of local and expatriate staff.

The contrast between these two international schools, that both follow IB programmes and thus subscribe to similar values of promoting intercultural understanding and fostering international mindedness (International Baccalaureate Organization [IBO], 2014d), awakened my interest towards the wide variety of language learning contexts in international schools. The role of language, in particular the dominance of English as the international language and the main language of instruction, raises concerns of linguistic elitism, equity and exclusion (Solano-Campos, 2017). Hence, language education is a crucial concept to consider in diverse educational settings that seek to enhance intercultural and multilingual competencies. Critical awareness of the implications language and the way it is taught can play an essential role in shaping international schools to be truly linguistically and culturally inclusive, especially taking into

account that neither language or international schools are neutral or value-free but always include an ideological facet (Grimshaw, 2007; Solano-Campos, 2017; Tate, 2013).

Maintenance and development of mother tongue are an educational right of each and every child (UNICEF, 1989), and equal access to education should not be hindered based on students' linguistic backgrounds. As many students in international schools have complex multilingual backgrounds (IBO, 2008), it could be considered an ethical responsibility of educators to ensure equity by taking steps towards language education that would benefit all students. Furthermore, language and its development tie into various interdependent cognitive, affective and social factors (Corson, 1999), and the influence of language development on issues such as identity and academic achievement has been widely recognized in research (e.g. Cummins, 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Pollock & Van Reken, 2009). Based on these considerations, the students and their diverse educational needs should hold a central position in the discussions of language learning that takes place in IB schools.

Due to the uniqueness of each IB school's language profile, a single one-size fits all solution for language education is unlikely to exist. Moreover, while the environment of international schools is often multilingual by nature (Burr, 2018), due to increased global mobility (Graddol, 2006), linguistically complex educational settings are also increasing in other educational sectors, contributing to the blurring boundaries between national and international schools (Hill, 2006). As a future teacher myself who is likely to end up teaching in these increasingly multilingual educational environments, I also seek to enhance my professional capabilities through building a more coherent understanding of language learning that promotes, preserves and honours multilingualism.

The aim of this thesis is to establish a coherent overview of language learning in IB World Schools by examining the policies and principles setting the frames for language education and its practical implementations. The variables shaping the linguistic environment of IB World Schools are to be taken into account in the discussion and the potential benefits and challenges of various language learning approaches are deliberated from the viewpoint of the linguistically diverse student body.

The research questions of the thesis are the following:

- 1) What policies and principles guide the language learning in IB World Schools?

- 2) What are the potential benefits and challenges of different practical implementations of language learning in IB World School?

The research questions and the related issues of language learning in diverse, multilingual context are strongly intertwined and are hence discussed concurrently throughout this literature review. The following chapter will briefly set the context by exploring the definition and development of IB World Schools within the wider scope of international education, as well as the different policies and principles guiding the practicalities of language education in said schools, aiming to answer the first research question. Furthermore, types of students, language learning processes and terminology are elaborated on. This discourse will provide foundation for examining different practical implementations of language learning in the third chapter. The third chapter intends to address the second research question by contemplating the possible benefits and challenges from the perspective of different types of students identified in section 2.3. The fourth and final chapter further discusses the findings and their implications, as well as the limitations and possible further research.

This thesis is a literature review. This research method was chosen as the aim is to construct an adequate overview of the research topic by examining existing research and to further contribute to it by including a critical perspective. In accordance to generic features of descriptive literature review, the research questions are open ended and there is a high level of flexibility in terms of the selection of literature due to few methodological restrictions (Salminen, 2011, p.3-6). The articles of reference have been published in international peer-reviewed journals and are predominantly in English. The thesis topic is situated at the cross-roads of research in international education and applied linguistics, particularly language learning, while the scope of the study is defined by a specific school type, the IB World Schools. Accordingly, the sources of information are focused on studies conducted on IB programmes in schools of diverse linguistic and cultural settings. While research on IB is given heavier emphasis, also studies situated in similar, applicable contexts of multilingual or international education are included for a broader perspective.

2 Language learning policies and processes in IB World Schools

2.1 IB World Schools in the realm of international education

While as a term international education has been continuously used since the 1860s (Sylvester, 2002), the international school movement gained significant momentum much later, as demonstrated by the formation of several associations in the mid-twentieth century that brought together international schools and their stakeholders (Hill, 2007). One of these organizations, the International Schools Association (ISA), played a significant role in the early stages of the International Baccalaureate (IB) curriculum development which the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO) took over and still maintains today (Carder, 2007). Initially international schools were primarily catered to internationally mobile families and provision of international education was seen to be dependent on the multinational environment created by the diverse student body (Hill, 2007). Later developments moved beyond this conception and instead adopted a more multidimensional understanding of international education as curriculum, school philosophy, educational values, the surrounding community and management practices were considered contributing components in fostering international mindedness (Hill, 2007; Carder 2007).

Even though nowadays the amount of K-12 international schools worldwide has been estimated to exceed 11,000 (ISC Research, 2020), defining what makes a school international remains vague. As pointed out by Hayden (2006) there is no central organization or widely accepted standards for granting the title of an international school and the reasons for schools to endorse themselves as international vary greatly. These may include the offered curriculum, school ethos, diverse student body or prestigious image leading to higher marketability in comparison to other local schools. Considering that international schools can thus bear more differences than similarities, one-to-one correspondence between international schools and international education, that is understood as a broader concept linked with other disciplines, ceases to exist. In practice, some schools claiming to be international do not necessarily provide international education while conversely schools not holding the title might (Hayden, 2006).

IB World Schools, however, are in a unique position in comparison to other international schools. Each school must complete an authorization process to be considered an IB World School (IBO, 2020) and hence certain level of consistency can be expected. In order to be authorized, the schools must display commitment to the IB mission statement, learner profile and

the programme standards and practices. These include aspects such as developing international mindedness, fostering intercultural understanding and respect as well as promoting multilingualism (IBO, 2014b). The term 'IB World School' refers to an authorized school that provides one or more of the four IB programmes: Primary Years Programme (PYP), Middle Years Programme (MYP), Diploma Programme (DP) and Career-related Programme (CP) (IBO, 2020). This thesis is focused on examining the language learning in the former two: PYP and MYP. In 2013 (as cited in Singh & Qi, p.1) there were 984 schools authorized to teach PYP in 97 countries and nearly thousand schools in 91 countries providing the MYP programme, making up a significant proportion of IB World Schools.

Even though IB World Schools indeed promote similar values of international education through implementation of internationally minded programme(s), the extent, nature and effectiveness of intercultural learning may vary depending on the nature of the school. According to Hill (2006), school types can be considered to range along a continuum from national to international. In addition to the nature of educational programme, the variations of school types in the continuum are characterized by the external cultural context in which the school is located and the degree of cultural diversity of the student body. A purely national type of school rarely exists outside of geographically isolated societies, as student bodies are hardly ever entirely homogenous. Additionally, many national schools are choosing to supplement national programmes with international programmes or include an international perspective by implementing both simultaneously. In the case of IB World Schools as well, already in 2006 more than half were reported to be tuition-free state schools (Hill, 2007), which showcases a strong trend in the internationalization of national governmental education systems. Around quarter of the IB World Schools are international schools (Hill, 2007), that Hill (2006) characterizes through their high degree of cultural diversity in students (of which the majority are often internationally mobile) and emphasis on international education programmes.

Except for a purely national school, IB World Schools can be found to exist on varying points of Hill's (2006) suggested continuum, as they represent a wide range of cultural diversity, school organisation (e.g. public vs. private, tuition-free vs. fee-paying) and curricular variations. However, due to the nature of the IB curriculum and the common commitment to promoting international mindedness that follows, it could be argued that all IB schools are, to an extent, ideologically-driven, despite some of them displaying qualities of market-driven international schools as well (Hayden, 2006).

2.2 Policies and principles guiding the language learning in IB World Schools

This section identifies and discusses the central framework guiding the implementation of language learning in IB World Schools. Both direct regulations and standards of the IB and other relevant bodies (e.g. universal rights and country-specific regulations) as well as implications of indirect influences (e.g. stakeholder expectations) are touched upon. The differences between PYP and MYP are addressed in order to explore the continuity of language learning in the two programmes.

The IB mission statement (IBO, 2020) that encapsulates the IB philosophy states the following:

“The International Baccalaureate® aims to develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect.

To this end the organization works with schools, governments and international organizations to develop challenging programmes of international education and rigorous assessment.

These programmes encourage students across the world to become active, compassionate and lifelong learners who understand that other people, with their differences, can also be right.”

The mission statement shows strong correspondence with the widely acknowledged educational and linguistic rights outlined in the United Nations (UN) Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNICEF, 1989). The adherence to these principles has been deemed essential in defining international education (e.g. Ramirez, Suarez & Meyer, 2007; Tate, 2013) and they are further reflected in the IB learner profile in its aim to develop principled learners that respect the dignity and rights of people everywhere (IBO, 2013). In terms of language learning particularly notable rights-based issues could be considered the following: equal rights to education; preservation and development of cultural and linguistic identity; and access to diverse information. Moreover, children belonging to ethnic or linguistic minorities are given a specific mention, as no discrimination based on these grounds is allowed and they should be able to pursue equal educational opportunities.

A key component of the IB philosophy that is at the heart of its educational framework is the development and promotion of international mindedness (IM) (IBO, 2020). In a report conceptualizing international mindedness in the IB context, Singh and Qi (2013) conclude that IM consists of values, attitudes, knowledge, understanding and skills relating to three key strands:

multilingualism, intercultural understanding and global engagement. While all three dimensions are interconnected and integral to IM, this thesis is primarily concerned with the first. IB considers multilingualism to play an essential role in the development of critical language awareness and it is realized through learning language, learning through language and learning about language (IBO, 2011). The objective of balanced bilingualism, if not multilingualism (IBO, 2020), is embedded in the IB learner profile (IBO, 2013), which states that learners should strive to be competent communicators in more than one language.

The IB document on programme standards and practices (IBO, 2014d) contains the general requisites for successful implementation of the IB programmes. The outlined standards and practices apply to all programmes, while the requirements are programme specific. In addition to underlining the importance of the IB mission and the educational philosophy that implicitly relate to multilingualism, the document includes four standards explicitly concerned with language learning and development. These standards, found in sections A (Philosophy) and C (Curriculum), are concerned with placing importance on language learning (including mother tongue, host country language and other languages); acknowledging the diversity of linguistic needs; planning and reflection taking into account the language development; and teaching and learning demonstrating that all teachers are responsible for language development.

The standards related to language learning are further discussed in the IB language policy (IBO, 2014b) that outlines the options for implementing the IB programmes in different languages. The document draws a distinction between working languages and access languages. The former is a language in which all services and materials needed for the implementation of one or more IB programmes are available (currently three: English, French and Spanish), while the latter are languages identified as being strategically important to enhance the accessibility and inclusiveness of the IB programme, thus, limited support in these languages is available. Access languages currently include Arabic, Chinese, German, Japanese, Turkish and Indonesian (IBO, 2014a). The language of instruction, however, is flexible as both PYP and MYP may be offered in any language, given that certain conditions that secure the full implementation of the programmes are met. The variety and range of languages offered in each school is dependent on their unique context and should take into consideration the language and learning needs of the students. Each school is required to develop its own language policy accordingly (IBO, 2011).

According to the IB language policy (2014b), PYP may be taught in any language. There are six principles relating to language learning, of which principle B2/15 is unique to PYP and

which requires for all students to be introduced to an additional language by the age of seven (IBO, 2014d). The only exceptions are schools with two languages of instruction, as they are considered to fulfil this demand automatically (IBO, 2011). While the principles set some parameters to language learning in PYP, it is left up to each individual school to develop and maintain a language policy that adheres to them, leading to fragmented practical implementations (Carder, 2006; Lebreton, 2014). The conception of language learning highlights the importance of meaningful learning contexts and the role of language in the construction of meaning and as a tool of inquiry. However, in a study by Lochmiller, Lucero and Lester (2016) conducted in a bilingual PYP setting, balancing the inquiry-based approach with the teaching of basic language skills was precisely identified as a challenge by the teachers, who expressed need for guidance in combining learning of content and language in a way that aligns with the PYP philosophy.

Similar to PYP, MYP has no restrictions on the choice of language of instruction. The language learning of MYP is meant to build upon the student's preceding experiences in PYP and language is considered to tie into all three fundamental concepts of MYP: holistic learning, intercultural awareness and communication. The language learning requirement specific to MYP is the learning of at least two languages that are in the curriculum model offered as either language A (preferably the best language of the student) or language B. It is preferable that one of the two languages is the mother tongue of the student and that students, if possible, strive to reach the language A objectives in both. (IBO, 2011.) Technically there is high flexibility in the possible options for the provided languages, but in international schools, language A is most frequently English, and French or Spanish are often offered as language B (Carder, 2006). Although ideal, due to lack of resources, it is not always possible to provide all mother tongues of the students as language A. This leaves students whose strongest language is not an available option in a vulnerable position as both language A and B are required to gain full MYP certification (Carder, 2006).

While all of the IB World Schools follow the IB curriculum and standards, the regulations and laws they must operate under vary greatly depending on the country the school is situated in. The influence of the external context differs depending on the school's and its students' links and interaction with the local community (Carder, 2007; Hill, 2006). While many IB Schools operate fairly independently as private or international schools, around half of them are state institutions (Hill, 2007) and thus may implement the national curriculum alongside the IB one(s). Navigating the examination requirements, subject content and learning objectives of

both curricula is not always simple, as while they are certainly not often incompatible, the emphasis of the educational philosophies may not always be in complete harmony (Lochmiller et al., 2016; Solano-Campos, 2017). Alongside possible curricular challenges, governmental language goals and national language policies add yet another variable to the possible implementations. For example in Hong Kong (Li & Lee, 2004), both English and Chinese have been outlined as strategically significant, as reflected in the governmental goals of biliteracy (written Chinese and English) and trilingualism (Cantonese, English and Putonghua). Schools are striving to reach these goals through a variety of bilingual education models, but a gap seems to exist between rhetoric and reality. Often the status of the languages is not equal and depending on the language of instruction, one might be under-represented, as demonstrated by Fryer's (2009) study in an international Hong Kong school implementing MYP in English.

Research on host country families in international schools has suggested that worldwide, English-medium instruction, alongside better access to higher education it is perceived to provide, is often an essential factor in parental school choice (Bailey, 2015; Hacking, Blackmore, Bullcock, Bunnell, Donnelly & Martin, 2018; Hayden, 2006). Parental reasons for enrolment shape the expectations of language education in IB schools, especially in cases where the schools are privatized, as this might lead to parents viewing the school as a service and themselves as customers with consumer needs that should be taken into account in the operations of the school (Harrington, 2007). Furthermore, parents are not the only stakeholders whose expectations affect the language learning, as research by Bailey (2015) demonstrated a vast gap between local students and expatriate teachers in their understanding of the nature of international education and the role of language. For instance, while teachers were worried about the lack of other languages in classrooms in terms of preservation of cultural identity, students themselves prioritized the cultural capital that they could access through proficiency in English. Ultimately, even though the school wide policies, based on national or programme specific objectives, set certain frames for the language learning, teachers may enact policy in different ways based on their personal language ideology or pedagogy, leading to variety of implementations on the classroom level (Zuniga, Henderson & Palmer, 2018).

2.3 Types of students and language learning processes in IB World Schools

In addition to the school type and the policy framework guiding the implementation of the IB programmes, the cultural and linguistic composition of the student body also affects the possible language learning contexts. Although often the term international school leads to expectation of a fairly distributed spread of nationalities with no one nationality dominating over others, the “balance” of the mixture is dependent on several variables, e.g. whether the school has fees or not, possible restrictions on local student intake and language standards (Bailey, 2015; Hayden, 2006; Hill, 2006). Besides, cultural origins may vary greatly even within students of the same nationality (Hill, 2006), so lack of heterogeneity in student nationalities does not automatically indicate cultural or linguistic homogeneity.

Hill (2006) draws a distinction between three types of students: national, immigrant (including refugees) and internationally mobile. National student attends school in their country of origin and their awareness and exposure to other cultures varies. As increasing numbers of local parents find schools implementing an international programme an attractive option, locally born are a growing segment of student body also in international schools alongside national ones (Bailey, 2015). In the case of private international schools, they are often economic elite (Hayden, 2006). Immigrant students have left their country of origin to permanently settle in another country and usually experience long-term integration. While also making up a proportion of the student body in international schools, immigrant children more commonly attend inexpensive state schools (Hayden, 2006), of which some implement IB programmes (Hill, 2007). In comparison to immigrants, internationally mobile students are moving to a country on a more temporary basis. The last category includes third culture kids (TCKs), children of expatriates and transmigrants, who have spent a significant amount of their formative years living in a culture other than that of their parent(s) (Pollock and Van Reken, 2009). If they are expected to stay in the country for longer time, they may enrol in national schools but are nevertheless more likely to attend international schools (Hill, 2007).

The described student types are not necessarily fixed but rather flexible (Hill, 2006). For example, internationally mobile students might have attended a national school in their home country before moving abroad and if returning to their country of origin, can again be considered a national student. Moreover, while students of the same type have some similar qualities, they are not a homogenous group. According to Hill (2006), the linguistic, cultural, and socio-economic backgrounds vary greatly not only between the types, but also within the same type. Each

of these student types contribute to a culturally and linguistically enriching educational environment.

Bilingualism and multilingualism are commonly used to refer to the use of more than one language, in which the proficiency may vary. As language proficiency is not static but rather a dynamic concept, Paradis, Genesee and Crago (2011) suggest that it could be seen as a continuum. This further aligns with Carder's (2007) observation of language skills being prone to fluctuation over time. In order to build a comprehensive understanding of one's linguistic capabilities, in addition to discussing the level of proficiency in different languages, fluctuation of fluency in different domains of language (e.g. receptive vs. productive or oral vs. written) must be noted (Carder, 2007). A conceptualization of language skills in different domains by Cummins (2000) draws a fundamental distinction between basic interpersonal communicative skills (BCIS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP). The former focuses on competencies required for social interactions and the latter enables discourse in more decontextualized settings. While emphasizing that one type of proficiency is in no way inferior to the other, this conceptualization aims to highlight that acquisition of both enables students to be efficient communicators in variety of contexts. For instance, CALP may provide wider access to particular language registers used in educational contexts and can thus be a useful tool in meeting the typical academic demands of education.

O'Laoire and Aronin (2006) present the following definition (also included in IBO, 2011) of multilinguality: "multilinguality is an individual store of languages at any level of proficiency, including partial competence and incomplete fluency, as well as metalinguistic awareness, learning strategies and opinions, preferences and passive or active knowledge on languages, language use and language learning" (pp.17-18). Based on this definition that also recognizes varying levels of fluency as multilingualism, all PYP and MYP students, who according to the requirements of the programmes (IBO, 2014d) are learning minimum of two languages, could be considered multilingual. However, because the IB sets aims to develop "balanced bilinguals highly proficient in two or more languages" (IBO, 2020), it is worth examining whether the language learning contexts in IB schools enable all language learners in PYP and MYP programmes to equally reach this goal and thus, be considered bilingual by the IB standards.

The IB (IBO, 2014d) adopts a broad definition of language learning that, depending on the context, may or may not involve ideas of language development and acquisition. A similar adaptive conception of language learning underlines the discussions to follow. Three distinct

language learning processes have been identified to take place in IB schools in Tosi (as cited in Carder, 2006) and the participation of students in them depends on the language of instruction as well as the language profile of the student. The first consists of mother tongue being learned as the language of instruction and through curriculum. In IB context this is the case for English speakers in English-medium schools and if host country language is used as a language of instruction, also for the host country nationals whose mother tongue coincides with the national language. The second language learning process is any student learning a foreign language as a school subject (e.g. English speakers learning French or Spanish as language B in MYP). The third learning process consists of learning second language as the language of instruction and through the curriculum. Depending on the language of instruction, this may in fact involve all of the language learners in IB schools, but as most IB World Schools are of English-medium, it primarily concerns non-English speakers.

As both the linguistic profile of the students and the language learning processes are versatile and complex, a certain sensitivity in the used terminology is required. This is most evident with the term mother tongue, as while it is commonly used in educational discourse concerned with mother tongue instruction and maintenance, it can be understood in different ways. Mother tongue can, depending on the context, refer to language learned first, the language the speaker identifies the most with, the most proficient language or the most used language (UNESCO, 2003). The mother tongue of a student may be a majority language (the most widely spoken language of the external cultural or national context) or a minority language which often might not hold the same status in national contexts (UNESCO, 2003). The IB refers to mother tongue as language(s) used at home or outside the classroom environment and it is understood to include both the language learned first and the language identified with (IBO, 2014d). A similar inclusive use of the term is adopted in this thesis.

As implicated by the lack of cohesiveness of the term in the field, determining the mother tongue of a student is not always straightforward. Some students in IB world schools can have several home languages that both could be considered the mother tongue. One of these languages may be more dominant than the other, meanwhile others can have no dominant language at all. Moreover, correspondence between formal version of the language used in educational context and the version of the language the student usually uses or identifies with might be weak, leading to further dissonance (UNESCO, 2003). Similar issues apply in defining students' first and second language, or language A and language B in MYP context. For this reason, second language as a term is avoided all together in PYP documents and instead additional

language is used (Singh & Qi, 2013). While second language is commonly used in many of the documents concerning MYP, leading to slight inconsistencies in terminology, newer IB MYP publications (such as the MYP Language acquisition guide, 2014d) have similarly transferred to referring to additional language. For the sake of clarity, further discussion will opt for the use of additional language, understood as any language that is not the mother tongue of the student.

3 Benefits and challenges of language learning implementations in IB World Schools

UNESCO's understanding of multilingual education (2003) is characterized by use of at least three languages (international language, the mother tongue and national language) and suggests that teaching and learning in all three is fundamental to meet the needs of all students in culturally and linguistically diverse educational settings. To avoid oversimplifying the complex language profiles and variety of language learning processes in the IB world schools, the following categorization is adopted in this thesis: language of instruction (predominantly English, an international language), host country language (the national language spoken in the national and local context) and other languages (languages other than English or the host country language, predominantly minority languages). This categorization is in line with UNESCO's understanding of multilingual education, as in addition to covering international language and national language, each category could be a mother tongue of a student depending on their linguistic background. This chapter will discuss implementations of language learning in accordance to this organization of languages with particular attention to the perspectives of each respective student type, exploring the benefits and challenges entailed.

3.1 Language of instruction

The language of instruction refers to the language used to deliver the basic curriculum in school context. The choice of language of instruction and use of specific languages in the classroom is closely tied with questions of identity, nationhood and power (UNESCO, 2003). This choice includes sensitive balancing of providing access to global languages of communication while simultaneously enabling the learning and development of mother tongue required by universal rights and shown central by research (e.g. Cummins, 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004) in terms of positive self-esteem, strengthening cultural and social identity as well as academic achievement.

In state schools the language of instruction usually aligns with the official language used in governmental institutions, but IB guidelines allow for high flexibility in determining the language of instruction (IBO, 2014b). Still, it must be noted that while it is possible to have other or even several languages of instruction, nevertheless majority of IB schools around the world have chosen to opt for teaching exclusively through the English-medium (Solano-Campos, 2017). International schools in particular are predominantly monolingual in their language of

instruction, as around 90% are reported to be of English-medium (Carder, 2007). This is in alignment with parental expectations, as the central role of English language is often included in the main reasons for enrolment in international schools (Bailey, 2015; Hacking et al., 2018; Hayden, 2006).

For internationally mobile students with English as their mother tongue and national students in English speaking countries, English-medium schools create a language learning process where their mother tongue is learned as the language of instruction through curriculum. Therefore, the language of instruction also fulfils the provision of mother tongue programme for these students. However, national students, immigrant students and internationally mobile students whose mother tongue does not coincide with the language of instruction are learning English as an additional language through curriculum (Carder, 2006). Despite the wide range of cultural and linguistic backgrounds as well as differing proficiencies, these students can be grouped together as English language learners (ELL).

In terms of language development, English as a language of instruction has the potential to lead to bilingualism for students who are speakers of other languages. The IB documents refer to “balanced bilingualism” (IBO, 2020), but a comparable, more widely used concept is additive bilingualism. Additive bilingualism is understood as an expansion of linguistic capabilities by learning of another language in addition to one’s mother tongue, bringing various cognitive and metalinguistic advantages (Carder, 2007). In addition to reaping the benefits of additive bilingualism, English as the predominant language in schools can lead to a smoother educational process for TCK (Rydenvald, 2015). Internationally mobile students are frequently transitioning from country to another, so unchanging language of instruction in the attended schools may bring stability in moving between educational systems.

For many students in schools of English-medium, the objective of becoming bilingual is tied into the pursuit of enhanced career or social opportunities and is a matter of free choice rather than an absolute necessity. This type of bilingualism is considered elite bilingualism and as suggested by Sears (2012), is most prominent in students from advantageous socio-economic backgrounds (typically internationally mobile students or the local elite). For these students IB World Schools offer a pragmatic choice providing access to transnational lifestyle and institutionalised cultural capital (Bailey, 2015; Grimshaw & Sears, 2008).

As a language of instruction, English operates as the common shared language, lingua franca, in many IB schools (IBO, 2011). English often occupies this position in other global contexts

(Graddol, 2006), partly explaining its central role in IB World Schools as well. Furthermore, as discussed in relation to elite bilingualism and effectively summarized by Sears (2012), “English is the language that is perceived to carry essential linguistic capital” (p.117). Fluency in English provides wider access to resources and global knowledge, leading to more equal opportunities to participate in several global domains, e.g. economic processes or higher education (Graddol, 2006; Kubota, 2005), and hence is an asset that should be made available to everyone equally in accordance with the universal linguistic rights (UNICEF, 1989).

Furthermore, English increasingly functions as *lingua franca* in interactions between speakers of other languages, who have developed their own, distinct ways of communicative English language use, referred to as English as International Language (EIL) (Kubota, 2005). Moreover, the concept of Global English (Graddol, 2006) also recognizes various forms and dialects of English (for example a local, vernacular variety of English) that do not correspond with the “standard” English, most often associated with either American or British native speakers and that is also commonly used in educational contexts. Despite the heterogeneity of the English language, the status of the varieties is not equal, as indicated by terms standard and non-standard, of which the former is regularly considered the only correct variety (Edwards, 2005). Only acquisition of this specific form of English is seen as a gateway to empowered social, educational and employment positions (Sears, 2012), and accents may still be interpreted as a sign of poor competence and treated undesirably (Graddol, 2006; Kubota, 2005), leaving ELL and other speakers of non-standard varieties of English in a vulnerable position. Instead of expecting all students to solely assimilate into the standard variety, including aspects of EIL in language learning and teaching could enable speakers of all varieties to expand their conception of English language and gain skills to participate in a wider variety of interactions (Kubota, 2005).

Even though English-medium schools may successfully create additive bilinguals, English language learners have been identified to be in danger of subtractive bilingualism (Carder, 2007; Murphy, 2003; Solano-Campos, 2017). In contrast to additive bilingualism, which is a process characterized by linguistic enrichment, in subtractive bilingualism another language is learned at the expense of the mother tongue (Cummins, 2000). Considering the intertwined nature of language, culture and identity, subtractive bilingualism and consequent deterioration of mother tongue might lead to issues of cultural deprivation and distorted identity alongside range of potential negative consequences on verbal cognitive development (Cummins, 2000).

In order to avoid the negative implications of subtractive bilingualism (Cummins, 2000), different English language learning models and their influence on English language learners' language development must be carefully considered. An example of a widely used English language learning method is the pull-out ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) programme, in which ELL are educated separately from the mainstream classes, often in intensive immersion style. While the intention of the described model is to enhance the development of English proficiency, it is in fact often counter-productive and inefficient, as both learning of content and language, are limited (Burr, 2018; Solano-Campos, 2017). Since the students' mother tongue is neglected in favour of acquisition of English, it becomes impossible for them to develop into additive bilinguals and the model instead supports monolingualism (Kubota, 2005). Furthermore, isolation of English language learners from the mother tongue speakers can be considered problematic, as it creates division among students of differing linguistic backgrounds and hence, certainly does not honour multilingualism as aspired by the IB (IBO, 2011). While ELL students are denied the opportunity to interact with more proficient speakers that is shown key to effective language learning (Lochmiller et al., 2016), the separation is neither beneficial for mother tongue speakers of English, as they are deprived of linguistic and cultural enrichment that ELL students bring to the classrooms. Moreover, children in multilingual classrooms employ variety of peer teaching and learning strategies to co-construct language and content (Angelova, Gunawardena & Volk, 2006), so both groups are ultimately missing out on valuable learning opportunities.

In addition to being faced with the threat of subtractive bilingualism, ELL students are also potentially disadvantaged in lacking access to curriculum content due to having to navigate a dual task of simultaneous language and content learning in a language other than their mother tongue (Murphy, 2003; Salili & Tsui, 2005). This is contradictory to PYP and MYP requirements alike (2014d) which describe them as inclusive programmes that encourage participation of all students. Linguistic inclusiveness is also challenged by the social exclusion of ELL. Due to limited language proficiency, ELL may be unable to fully engage in social interactions with proficient English speakers, especially in communicative situations involving rapid or humorous talk (Sears, 2012). The lack of contextualized communicative ability and limited self-expression can have a negative impact on the students' self-image (Grimshaw & Sears, 2008).

Another issue relating to ELL's limited linguistic expression is their over-presentation in learning disabilities programme (Cummins, 2000; Murphy, 2003). Discouragingly this misleading

correspondence is endorsed even in the Second Language Acquisition and Mother Tongue Development guide of IB (IBO, 2004), as the second language speakers of English and those with learning disabilities are discussed simultaneously. If appropriate language learning support programmes are at place, there is no reason why the amount of ELL in the special needs programme should be any higher than other segments of the student body (Carder, 2007). What's more, denouncing ELL as ineffective learners places them in marginalized identity positions, as was the case in Sears' (2012) study in a linguistically diverse English-medium school, in which Japanese students were singled out as having inherent linguistic deficiencies by other students. However, it was noted that negotiation of identity is a dynamic process in which the students are active participants, as they deliberately constructed coping strategies that opened up more favourable identity positions by e.g. drawing from the wider context and their privilege as globalized and bilingual elite.

To conclude, English as the language of instruction in itself is not problematic and might indeed hold several benefits, including those of additive bilingualism, for all types of students. Issues (of e.g. subtractive bilingualism, mother tongue deprivation and lack of linguistic representation) only arise if the school is strictly monolingual and proficiency in English, more precisely the standard variety, is valued over competences in other languages. Discouraging the use of other languages or dialects, regardless of whether it is explicit or implicit, may eventually lead to linguistic subordination, manifested as reluctance to speak one's own language (Solano-Campos, 2017) and bring upon the various negative consequences of subtractive bilingualism.

3.2 Host country language learning

The host country language refers to the language spoken in the national or local context. Host country language learning is given emphasis as a standard that directs all of the IB programmes (IBO, 2014d), and hence, it is not unfair to assume that it should be present in some form in every IB World School. In English speaking countries, English-medium instruction (alongside appropriate support for additional language learners) usually serves a dual-purpose of providing language education in both the national language and international language (as defined in UNESCO, 2003). In other linguistic contexts, host country language learning may situate several different positions in the language education of an IB school.

As the choice of language of instruction in both programmes is ultimately left to the individual schools (IBO, 2014b), host country language may be the language of instruction on its own or

alongside English. This might be in response to the legislation of the country requiring for the national language to be used as medium of instruction or to meet the standards of language education of the national curriculum implemented alongside the IB programme. Bilingual-medium of instruction, in practice a two-way bilingual programme, has shown positive student outcomes in cases where all content instruction is done through two languages in a balanced matter (Lindholm-Leary & Ferrante, 2005). However, as a majority of IB World Schools indeed are strictly English-medium (Solano-Campos, 2017), other implementations, such as a mother tongue programme or a compulsory foreign language subject, occur more commonly. An example of the latter is a Hong Kong secondary school implementing MYP that describes their education as dual-lingual (Fryer, 2009). While perhaps reaching its dual-language goals in paper, Mandarin (the national language), that was provided as compulsory foreign language subject, was unable to reach equal status with English which was heavily emphasized as the language of instruction, leading to practical domination of English language and Anglo-American culture (Fryer, 2009). This case study aligns with the wider concern of international education promoting English at the expense of other languages and cultures (Tate, 2013).

Depending on the language profile of the student, host country language may either be their mother tongue or an additional language. For national students, host country language learning in its various implementations enables maintenance and development of mother tongue (as required in IB standards, 2014d) and if combined with balanced learning of additional language (e.g. English as the language of instruction) can bring forth the positive outcomes of additive bilingualism (Cummins, 2000). As pointed out by Hill (2006), host country language learning holds particular relevance to immigrant students, as language proficiency provides access to essential cultural and linguistic capital of the host country and can be the determining factor that empowers them to function effectively in the surrounding society. Lack of fluency in host country language may lead to feelings of frustration and exclusion, especially if it affects the formation of meaningful interpersonal relationships with locals (Hill, 2006). While internationally mobile students, who could be moving to another location at any time, might not share the same personal motivation as immigrants to learn the host country language based on the pursue of integration or long-lasting friendships (Hill, 2006), learning of the host country language may lead to heightened appreciation and insight of the local culture. This can further support the development of international mindedness that is primarily understood as an attitude of openness and curiosity towards the world and its different cultures, to which multilingualism fundamentally contributes to (Singh & Qi, 2013).

Generally, the extent and nature of the host country language's presence in the IB World Schools can affect the links with local community (Hayden, 2006), which, despite international schools underlining the importance of IM and intercultural understanding, are often relatively few (Bunnell, 2005). School-wide commitment to host country language learning can be considered a tool in developing positive attitudes towards the host culture and involving local perspective. By engaging and connecting with the local schools and community, international schools can consequently bridge the cultural distance and alleviate the negative image of elitism partly caused by their separateness (Bunnell, 2005; Hill, 2006, p.25; Hacking et al., 2018). Furthermore, engagement with the surrounding society enables IB schools to utilize the resources and expertise of the community in accordance to IB programme standards and practices (IBO, 2014d), adding yet another layer to the diversity of learning contexts and making the learning more culturally enriching.

Another variable affecting the provision of the host country language is the perceived status of said language. If the host country language is seen as a valuable asset by stakeholders, the students appear more motivated to learn the language (Carter, 2007; Lebreton, 2014) and consequently if the local language is not associated with affluence, lack of interest in host country language learning is demonstrated by students and educators alike (Tanu, 2014). The implementation of host country language learning might also come down to limited resources. Hiring practices in schools of English-medium have been shown to favour native English speakers (Kubota, 2005), as was the case in the Hong Kong school described in Fryer (2009). The balanced dual-lingual aims were practically unattainable as only strikingly small portion of the staff was competent to teach in the host country language. Moreover, emphasizing the learning of host country language conveys a message to the local students, staff members and community alike that their culture and language are valued and can positively affect the relationships not only beyond the school environment, but also within it (Hayden, 2006).

3.3 Learning of other languages

Other languages in this context refer to any languages that are not English or the host country language. While learning of English and host country language are of importance, the fact that the mother tongue of a considerable proportion of students in IB World Schools does not coincide with these two languages needs to be addressed and taken into consideration in teaching and learning of languages (IBO, 2008). This is also noted by IB standards and practices (2014d)

that demand for appropriate support in mother tongue. Furthermore, ideological commitment to multilingualism that can be perceived to include a vast range of mother tongues is declared in the IB language policy (IBO, 2014a) followingly: “IB is equally committed to extending access to an IB education for students from a variety of cultural and linguistic backgrounds” (p.1).

Providing speakers of other languages with opportunities to maintain and develop their own languages can be considered both academical and ethical matter (Burr, 2018). Lack of first language schooling has been shown to correlate with relative academical underachievement (Cummins, 2000; Grimshaw & Sears, 2008; Murphy, 2003), while fluency in one’s own language is advantageous in learning of an additional language (Cummins, 2000). From ethical perspective, compromising the development of students’ cultural and linguistic identity would be a coarse violation of their rights. Ultimately it is also a question of equality – benefits of additive bilingualism should be accessible to all students regardless of their linguistic background.

Due to the high international mobility of TCK, nationality or mother tongue may not function as traditional points of reference for maintenance of identity, providing an interesting perspective for research on identity issues (Fail, Thompson & Walker, 2004 ; Grimshaw & Sears, 2008; Sears, 2012). TCK’s sense of belonging is noted to build upon their shared international experience (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009). A similar stance is reflected in a study concerned with TCK’s negotiations of identity (Sears, 2012), as their bilingualism and prestigious status as global citizens were central to their positive self-image. Based on the previous studies, it can be argued that creating educational conditions in which bilingualism, including the preservation and development mother tongue of the students, can be sustained would do service to TCK’s identity and development. From the viewpoint of immigrant students, while host country language learning may be viewed as a priority to smoothen integration into the new society, maintenance of home language is equally as important (Hill, 2006). In order for parents to advocate for appropriate mother tongue support, it is vital that all families have access to the school language policy and information on language’s role as a fundamental attribute of cultural identity (Carder, 2007; Solano-Campos, 2017).

While for internationally mobile students and immigrant students learning of other languages is a matter of mother tongue maintenance, national students might find learning of other languages culturally and linguistically enriching. Learning of an additional language may lead to

enhanced intercultural awareness through heightened sensitivity for the variety of language learning processes taking place around them (e.g. immigrant children who are beginner learners of the host country language) and help them to gain new perspectives on different ways of thinking or expressing themselves (Hill, 2006).

In practice, learning of other languages can, in addition to the mother tongue programme, take variety of other forms, such as subject-based foreign language learning (for example language B in MYP), enriched language education model (Carder, 2007) or translanguaging (Garcia & Wei, 2014). Translanguaging is a pedagogical approach that intentionally and systematically uses more than one language across teaching and learning, aiming to address the challenges of many other programmes that are only able to provide support in finite number of languages due to limited resources (Burr, 2018). The shortage of resources may refer to educational materials, linguistic diversity within staff or lack of appropriately trained teachers (UNESCO, 2003). Translanguaging recognizes and utilizes the students' existing language capabilities as a linguistic and pedagogic resource, as they are encouraged to use their own languages in the construction of knowledge (Garcia & Wei, 2014). Students sharing a language can support each other in the development of the mother tongue, while simultaneously advancing English skills as they are guided to learn the core content and vocabulary in both languages. In Angelova et al. (2006), it was noted that bilingual children in particular take on the role of language and social mediators in peer interactions and co-constructed learning. Moreover, the students gain better access to subject-specific knowledge, leading to more throughout learning of content and enabling development from BICS to CALP (Cummins, 2000) in both languages. This type of language learning approach that considers the mother tongue of the students as strategic advantage, rather than a deficit in learning of another language, can truly bring multilingualism to the heart of the classrooms.

As discussed, IB schools are in no way free of ideology (Tate, 2013), and classrooms practices can in fact be considered a reflection of the language hierarchies of the society (Solano-Campos, 2017). The decision of which languages make the cut to be involved in the daily school life is often linked to their perceived usefulness or status (Kubota, 2005). Languages that do not hold the same cultural capital as national or international languages are often under-represented (Garcia & Wei, 2014). Endorsing the IB education as multilingual, while still maintaining structures that reinforce linguistic inequities, creates a false image of linguistic representation, leading to marginalization of minority languages and their speakers (Solano-Campos, 2017). Es-

essentially language and culture are interconnected - if languages of the students are under-represented, so are their cultures (Fryer, 2009; Grimshaw & Sears, 2008). Incorporating the mother tongues of the students to the language profile of the school sends a clear message to students that they, their languages and cultures are valued (Hacking et al., 2018). Rather than only catering to the elite bilinguals, advocating the bilingualism of all students, regardless of the perceived prestige of their languages, needs to take place in these multilingual educational environments to challenge existing social inequities (Kubota, 2005; Solano-Campos, 2017).

4 Discussion

The aim of this literature review was to establish a comprehensive overview of language learning in IB World Schools, more precisely within the Primary Years Programme and Middle Years Programme. The first research question focused on exploring the policies and principles that guide the language learning in IB World Schools. To provide context for the research, definitions of international education and types of IB World Schools (in relation to Hill's (2006) continuum of school types) were discussed. Through examination of relevant IB documents, the following recurring themes were identified: commitment to international mindedness; the importance of language learning (including that of mother tongue, host country language and other languages); and recognition of the linguistic and cultural diversity of the student body. Furthermore, the studied literature also suggests that both the national context of the school and stakeholder expectations have a considerable impact on the language education. Overall, a strong framework for the promotion of multilingualism in the context of IB World Schools is indicated, as commitment is demonstrated in both, ideological and policy level.

The second research question aims to analyse the potential benefits and challenges that different implementations of language learning may entail for the variety of language learners in IB World Schools. The discussion draws from wide variety of prior research and case studies conducted in the IB context. Hill's (2006) distinction between three types of students (national, immigrant and internationally mobile) was utilized in the structuring of the discussion. The findings indicate that English holds a predominant position in many IB World Schools as the most widely adopted language of instruction (Carder, 2007; Solano-Campos, 2017). It is suggested that the status of English as lingua franca (Graddol 2006; Kubota, 2005), related cultural and linguistic capital (Bailey, 2015; Grimshaw & Sears, 2008; Sears, 2012), and parental school choice (Bailey, 2015; Hacking et al., 2018; Hayden 2006) are among the factors that affect the current role of English in the realm of IB. The overall consensus is that while English-medium instruction in IB schools holds several benefits such as additive bilingualism and access to institutionalised cultural capital, it alone does not fulfil the demands for multilingualism expressed in the IB policy documents and set by the versatile educational and linguistic needs of the students. ELL in particular were shown to be in a vulnerable position due to having to navigate their education in a language other than their mother tongue. Mother tongue maintenance and development, considering its central role in in the development of additive bilingualism (Cummins, 2000) as well as cultural and linguistic identity (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004;

Pollock & Van Reken, 2009), shaped to be a key issue in contemplating the relevance of learning of languages other than English in IB schools. Lack of opportunities for mother tongue maintenance was shown to be strongly contradictory with the students' linguistic and educational rights (UNESCO, 2003; UNICEF, 1989) and to put them at risk of subtractive bilingualism that negatively affects the verbal cognitive development and identity of the student (Carder, 2007; Cummins, 2000; Murphy, 2003; Solano-Campos, 2017).

When contrasting the findings of the second research question with the strong foundation set for multilingualism by the educational philosophy and principles of IB, the dissonance between policy and practice is evident. Various case studies (e.g. Bailey, 2015; Fryer, 2009; Lebreton, 2014; Sears, 2012; Solano-Campos, 2017) illustrate that the reality of language education in IB World Schools does not always live up to the rhetoric, as it is often unable to meet the requirements set by the policy framework. The provision of different languages and how they were taught was shown to have strong links to issues of equity, such as the social and academic exclusion of ELL (Salili & Tsui, 2005; Solano-Campos, 2017). Lack of representation of languages in the schools also implies that the cultures of the students are under-represented and might convey a message to the students that their languages and cultures are not valued (Fryer, 2009; Grimshaw & Sears, 2008; Hacking et al., 2018). This can consequently lead to deprivation of the linguistically and culturally rich educational environment that IB World Schools at their core are. The extent and nature of the host country language's presence also has the potential to affect the relationships not only within, but beyond the school environment in the local and national contexts (Bunnell, 2005; Hayden, 2006; Hill, 2006). Moreover, even in cases where English is the national language and the language of instruction, if only the standard variety has presence in the school, there is a risk that the speakers of other varieties, who are also part of the wider community, are marginalized along with the speakers of other languages. While the IB learner profile (2013) sets the aim of students becoming responsible members of local, national and global communities, if languages other than English are not given equal status, the global community is heavily favoured at the expense of the other two (Tate, 2013).

As predicted, indeed a one-size fits all solution for language learning that could be applied to every IB World Schools simply does not exist. Since the contextual factors (e.g. linguistic and cultural composition of student body and staff members, external cultural context the school is located in, curricular variations) of IB World Schools are extremely varied, what has been deemed effective in one context might be completely inadequate, even harmful in another. This

suggests that critical evaluation of language learning implementations that takes into consideration the unique circumstances shaping the educational and linguistic needs of the students is essential in order to create the optimal environment for celebrating and developing multilingualism. Fortunately, each school holds the liberty to apply the IB language policies in a way that best serves their unique context and language profile (IBO, 2011). While IBO provides an extensive framework setting parameters and requirements to language learning that promotes multilingualism, what remains unclear is whether schools receive enough support to successfully implement and evaluate them. Furthermore, employment of reflective practices is central to keeping the language education up to date. Due to the personal language profile and proficiencies of the students as well as the overall linguistic composition of the student body being prone to change over time, methods that could have been determined to be adequate to support the language learning of all students must be under inspection frequently.

The findings of the literature review also point to the importance of promoting critical language awareness to all stakeholders. Literature on teacher policy enactment highlights that educators are the key player in enabling or hindering the development of additive bilingualism in multilingual educational contexts (Zuniga, Henderson & Palmer, 2018). Adequate language learning policies are not enough, as ultimately the school, more precisely the educators, hold the agency to enact them in classrooms. However, administrators may either support or limit teachers' agency and the perceptions students and parents hold of learning of different languages also guides the decisions related to language learning. All in all, the whole school community being involved and aware of the language learning issues appears to be an essential factor in the pursuit of multilingual education in IB World Schools.

This thesis also includes some limitations and challenges. The first is related to the high contextuality of the studies conducted in IB World Schools. As the external contexts, composition of the student body as well as school organisation of the schools in the studies were extremely varied, it was challenging to draw generalizable conclusions that could depict the realities of the diversity of students in them. While another option could have been to limit the focus to a certain country or a specific school type (e.g. international/national), this would not have provided a comprehensive overview of the different factors that shape the language learning in IB World Schools that was aimed for. Even if many of the studies were contextual in their nature and the selection of literature was not systematic, it was possible to identify some recurring themes and phenomena, and thus, manage to capture and compile at least the surface level of

the main critical points highlighted in the existing research on language learning in IB World Schools.

Another major challenge faced during the process, primarily due to the complexity of the linguistic profiles of IB students, was with the terminology to categorize different language learning processes and languages of the students. This was especially evident with the term “mother tongue” that tied to the very central concept of mother tongue development discussed throughout the literature review. As noted, even within IB documents there is a vast variety of terms used, and the range was even wider in the academic articles. Many of the terms, e.g. first language and second language, express hierarchies or sequentiality, and embody conceptions of language learning and proficiency along them. As the conception of language and language learning in this thesis was deemed dynamic and the language profile of the student fluid (Carder, 2006), discussing different languages and their learning processes as a separate entities is to an extent artificial, especially considering that many of the challenges the respective student types faced in different language learning processes were in fact interrelated and very similar to each other.

The underlying aim of the thesis indicated in the second research question was to bring attention to the student perspectives of language learning and multilingualism in IB World Schools. At the initial planning stage of this thesis, the focus was on how to best support the language learners of IB World Schools, in which the students are a linguistically complex and diverse group of individuals. While this angle ended up being difficult to explore in the form of a literature review, leading to adoption of a different focus, it could be more appropriate in the case of a more extensive academical research, such as a master’s thesis. Even though the student perspective certainly is not neglected in the existing research of language learning in IB World Schools, due to the contextual nature of the issue, there are still gaps to fill. For example, the IB World Schools in Finland, considering their governmental nature and the country having two official languages, could provide an interesting frame to explore the student perceptions of the impact the IB experience and its components relating to language learning has. In addition to providing yet another perspective of student experiences to the field, it would be interesting to see whether the findings correlate with the variety of possible benefits and challenges the students may face that were described in this literature review. Perhaps also a more solution-oriented perspective could be adopted in further research through exploring student perceptions of appropriate language learning support and practices that enhance their language learning. In addition to bringing the focus back to my initial interest, this could provide the schools with

valuable, concrete information on language learning strategies that the students themselves deem effective.

To conclude, while many of the IB World Schools have been shown to be linguistically and culturally rich educational environments committed to promotion of multilingualism and international mindedness, this strong commitment does not necessarily translate to inclusive language learning practices that serve and benefit all students equally. It is further suggested that critical language awareness and reflective practices can be major steps in each IB World School to carefully consider whether their ethos, policies and practical implementations regarding language learning truly promote multilingual education for all students or if they fall along the excluding route of “only English in this classroom”.

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