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International school teachers' beliefs about intercultural understanding and identity

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**International school teachers' beliefs
about intercultural understanding and identity**

Volume 1 of 1

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Department of Education

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Abstract

Intercultural understanding as an educational goal exists as a discrete domain or an embedded aspect of other types of intercultural education. In the context of international schools, teachers are often expected to contribute to students' development of intercultural understanding. However, differing definitions of the concept exist and teachers often enter the field without specific training in this area, relying on their personal experiences and beliefs to guide their practice.

This study explores experienced international school teachers' beliefs about the relationship between the development of intercultural understanding and identity. Learning about one's own culture as well as other cultures is a central aspect of the cognitive dimension of intercultural understanding, focusing the individual on cultural group affiliations, belonging and questions of 'who one is'. However, research into how experienced teachers' understand intercultural understanding as it relates to the concept of identity is limited. Using a social identity lens, with a particular focus on self-categorisation theory to explore how individuals view themselves in relation to the groups to which they belong, the paper reports on a qualitative study that investigates the beliefs of seven experienced secondary teachers working in international schools.

The findings, emerging from the coding, analysis and synthesis of semi-structured interviews, as well as related teacher guidance documentation, suggest that embedded tensions exist between teacher beliefs and definitions in some of the documentation. Analysis shows that the development of intercultural understanding is seen as a process that increases awareness and appreciation for diversity through attitudes of open-mindedness and curiosity. Shifts in 'belonging' include feelings of loss, distancing from dominant groups and the forging of new groups, based on choice and 'being more like the new me'. However, the extent to which the concept of multiple (cultural) identities is relevant to teachers appears limited, as does the success of international schools in tackling the 'difficult knowledge' inherent in developing intercultural understanding.

List of Abbreviations

CIS: Council of International Schools

ECIS: Educational Collaboration for International Schools

IB: International Baccalaureate

IB DP: International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme

IB LP: International Baccalaureate Learner Profile

IB MYP: International Baccalaureate Middle Years' Programme

IGCSE: International General Certificate of Secondary Education

IMYC: International Middle Years Curriculum

IPC: International Primary Curriculum

OECD: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

PISA: Program for International Student Assessment

UNESCO: United National Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Introduction to the Research Enquiry

Having worked as a secondary school teacher, principal, teacher trainer and director in international school settings over the past two decades, I have become increasingly aware of the challenges that schools and teachers, institutions and professionals, face when charged with the responsibility of developing intercultural understanding in students. I have worked in schools offering the International Baccalaureate programmes, which support the IB's mission to 'create a more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect' (IBO, 2005). I have participated in and led accreditation processes where evidence of a school's commitment to the development of 'internationalism/interculturalism' (NEASC, 2014, p.3) must be provided to accrediting bodies such as the New England Association of Schools and Colleges or the Council of International Schools (CIS, 2018). During that time, I have witnessed well-intentioned teachers struggle to understand just what is being asked of them in these contexts, and how they are to achieve it. Others sidestep the topic, assuming it will happen spontaneously by virtue of the existence of multiple nationalities on the school roster. Others delegate the task of developing intercultural understanding to the foreign language department or the guidance counsellor. I have worked on committees, participated in workshops, included questions of culture and intercultural understanding in personal research projects, and, within those contexts, reviewed an array of support material produced to help schools and teachers as they work with students to develop the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes considered important for developing intercultural understanding.

In these contexts, the question of which attitudes we wished students to develop, and how we thought we could achieve that, were a logical focus. However, while discussing lessons, projects and activities related to developing intercultural understanding, we rarely explicitly engaged with these questions in terms of the potential impact of intercultural understanding on identity or identity formation. Nor did many discussions arise about whether students developing the knowledge and skills on which we were focusing were, or would become, individuals with multiple identities. However, depending on the teacher resource material under consideration, the concepts of identity, multiple (cultural) identities, collective identity, levelled identity or self-identity were sometimes presented as an integral and complex aspect of the field. Further reflection on this embedded tension between teachers' perspectives and professional documentation led me to pursue this research enquiry. My motivation to carry out this enquiry was to enhance our understanding of teachers' beliefs about the topic of intercultural understanding development and its relationship to identity within educational settings similar to mine and beyond, as well as to research in related fields.

1.2. Rationale for the Study

Learning that is intended to lead to intercultural understanding has emerged over the past few decades as an increasingly prevalent area of focus in national and international **school** educational settings, as well as in areas related to business management, health care and work experiences abroad. In the area of education, many national and international curricula, standards, learning continua or frameworks include, or have included, some aspect of intercultural understanding by describing or defining learning objectives or performance standards related to, for example, intercultural competence (Byram, 1997; Deardorff, 2006a), intercultural education (UNESCO, 2006); intercultural capability (Victoria Curriculum and Assessment Authority, 2018), intercultural learning

(Council of Europe, 2009) intercultural understanding (in the English National Curriculum for Modern Foreign Languages, QCA, 2007), ethnic and cultural diversity (National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, 2008), global competence (OECD, 2018), global citizenship (CIS, 2018; UNESCO, 2015; OXFAM, 2015), international education and global awareness (Ontario Public Services, 2015) or international-mindedness (IBO, 2005), to list a few.

The teacher's role in ensuring that students meet learning objectives or standards is central. As Kelly (1977) has explored in relation to curricular activities, teachers have a 'make or break' role when it comes to implementation, and must understand, and accept, the principles that underlie the goals related to what they are expected to teach (p. 15). It follows that what teachers believe about a given topic impacts what teachers teach and how they teach it (Fang, 1996). Research shows that teachers' abilities to meet the challenges of culturally, ethnically, linguistically and socially diverse classrooms are related to their own beliefs and skills (Gay and Howard, 2000; Tudball, 2005; Sercu, 2006), but also shows that teachers do not always exhibit high levels of intercultural understanding themselves (Mahon, 2006; Cushner, 2008, 2012; Yuen, 2010). This is important when exploring the relationship between learning for intercultural understanding and its relationship to, and potential impact on, identity, because the constructs that teachers employ to understand their students 'will reflect the implicit model of identity which underlies the kind of pedagogy being used' (Pearce, 2013, p.61) by the teacher.

Teachers in international schools are being asked to teach content and skills to develop attributes related to intercultural understanding. A rich array of tools, descriptions, curricular frameworks and programme standards have been designed to support this work. Differing definitions in the field may have both conceptual and operational consequences for teachers and their students.

There is a lack of consensus regarding which term best denotes the learning that is required in a complex, multicultural and connected world. For example, while intercultural understanding may be considered a stand-alone concept, it also exists as a sub-component of other concepts, such as international mindedness. The body of literature including the concept of intercultural understanding is as 'convoluted and complex' (Yemini, 2017, p. 87) as another conceptual cousin, global citizenship education, which Yemini, and similarly Marshall (2007) explain is due to the intertwining of concepts such as global education, cosmopolitanism, cosmopolitan citizenship, transnational citizenship and global mindedness. The International Primary Curriculum, for example, refers to 'international mindedness' in relation to approaches to learning (WCL), and Hill (2012) uses the same word as an inclusive term to describe efforts in a wide variety of educational contexts with an international focus. Heyward (2002) refers to 'intercultural literacy' to describe a related set of attributes, skills and knowledge. Byram (1997) describes 'intercultural competence' in terms of different types of 'savoirs' and develops the concept of 'intercultural citizenship' (2008). 'Global mindedness' has been used as a concept in discussions of the impact of study abroad programs (Kehl and Morris, 2008; Golay, 2006) when assessing the extent to which an individual considers world community connectedness as central to their view of self and the world. The concept of 'global citizenship' (Marshall, 2009), has been elaborated, for example, by UNESCO in its 'Global Citizenship Education: Topics and Learning Objectives', and international understanding is one area of focus in this framework (UNESCO, 2015, p. 3). A 'global and intercultural' outlook is referred to in the introduction to the OECD PISA global competence framework (OECD, 2018). The issue is not solely a question of semantics.

Parallels exist amongst these conceptual constructs, alongside differences in terms of purpose and emphasis. Different terminology emerges from different areas of study, such as, but not limited to, multicultural education (Banks and McGee Banks, 1995; Banks, 2008), foreign language education (Kramsch, 1993; 1998; Byram and Feng, 2004), cultural studies (Hall, 1991; 1996), cosmopolitanism (Gunesch, 2004), or international **schools** education (Hill, 2007; Hayden and Thompson, 2013; Thomas, 2015), and it is not surprising that definitions remain unfixed and the focus of continued exploration (Williams-Gualandi, 2017). However, this increases the likelihood that learning for intercultural understanding becomes, in Nespors's (1987) words, an 'entangled domain', where connections and concepts are not clear or complete, and teachers rely more on beliefs and belief structures as a mode of functioning, because defined knowledge and informed strategies for understanding may be unavailable or underdeveloped (Pajares, 1992).

Frameworks and definitions in the field of intercultural education often refer to learning in relation to knowledge, skills and attitudes. A subset include reference to the relationship between intercultural education and an individual's identity. Similarly, how an individual's construal of her identity may influence the goal of increased intercultural understanding is not always explicitly addressed, although some view the question of identity formation as an integral consequence of increased intercultural understanding (Marginson and Sawir, 2012; Heyward, 2002), and in some fields, such as intercultural communication, the concept of identity has a long history of conceptual engagement (*inter alia*, Kottthoff and Spencer-Oatey, 2007; Ting Toomey, 2005). The different place given to the concept of identity may relate to differences in beliefs, implicit or explicit, about the nature of identity itself. The concept of identity is therefore another area in the field of intercultural education that merits further problematising (Williams-Gualandi, 2017).

Textbook introductions to the field of identity studies often cite the multiple directions, splits and turns that the field has taken. The concept of identity is linked to other related, and equally complex concepts, such as the concept of the self (Harre, 1998; Kashima et al., 2002; Yardley and Honess, 1987) or personality (Pervin and John, 1999). The limits and challenges of this enquiry require some circumscribing of both the conceptual area of learning for intercultural understanding *and* the concept of identity. Given the existence of references to 'identity' in a number of learning continua and frameworks from a variety of fields related to intercultural understanding, this enquiry's exploration focuses on the way the concept of *identity* is presented and understood. In this enquiry, the term identity is employed, with attention being given to the notions of social identity and personal identity. However, it lies beyond the scope of this enquiry to examine developed theoretical consideration of the relationships between identity, self and personality, while acknowledging the interest of these relationships.

The term identity is contested and consideration must be given to a variety of perspectives regarding its meaning. One well-known view, for example, is that social interactions provide the means by which identity is negotiated and construed over time (Mead, 1934; Geertz, 1973), while another related view is that the individual is a myriad of different formulations of self (Goffman, 1990), where environmental context determines which one of these formulations is used. Social identity theorists posit that social identities are activated depending on social context and group orientation (Tajfel et al., 1971; Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel and Turner, 1986).

The organising principle of the group and group identity has been profitably used in research into multicultural and intercultural education, and underpins the thinking in professional documentation such as the Council of Europe's (2016) framework of 'Competences for Democratic Culture',

which emphasises cultural groups, multiple cultural group affiliations and the related processes at work in intercultural situations. Research using Allport's intergroup contact hypothesis (1954), which states that under certain conditions intergroup contact can reduce prejudice, demonstrates the importance of culturally reflexive processes in understanding others (Walton et al. 2015; White and Abu-Rayya, 2012; Molina et al, 2003). Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis of studies of intergroup contact aimed at reducing prejudice in school settings showed that group contact can negatively impact group relations if Allport's ideal conditions are not met. Jackson (2015) argues that students may even emerge from intercultural experiences as more ethnocentric and less willing to engage with those from diverse cultural or linguistic backgrounds. Walton et al.'s (2013) review of intercultural and multicultural education research literature focusing on developing students' intercultural understanding found that continued intergroup contact was a significant factor in ensuring that intercultural understanding moved beyond mere cultural awareness, or, indeed, intercultural 'misunderstanding' (James, 2005, p. 322). Primarily based in national school settings, Walton et al.'s review is pertinent as it reveals both the importance of providing students with 'a conceptual framework to think through what they see and hear', without which students tend to hold on to attitudes related to their own cultural groups (ibid., p. 186), and of giving teachers the 'professional capacity building to develop their personal [intercultural understanding]' (ibid., p. 190).

At the base of any conceptual framework for learning for intercultural understanding lies the idea of the cultural group. From within the domain of social psychology, the social identity approach provides a useful lens of inquiry for exploring how members of different cultural groups understand each other and interact. In addition, self-categorisation theory (Turner et al., 1987), from within the social identity approach, provides a means to explore the way the individual understands her identity in relation to the groups to which she belongs.

1.3 Research Gap

In the context of learning in schools, the impact of developing intercultural understanding needs to include a robust conception of identity. If the term identity is construed in what Gleason (1983, p. 912) calls 'the vernacular manner', we run the risk of superficial engagement with a concept that has emerged as fundamental to discussions of, for example, social justice (Farnsworth, 2010, Boylan and Woolsey, 2015) and stereotyping (Sayer and Meadows, 2012). We also risk maintaining a blindspot when it comes to the internal struggles that students may face when challenges to their own understanding of their identities take place within the walls of the classroom, creating potential dissonance in home, religious or other spheres of life (e.g. Frangie, 2017 on Qatari sixth graders attending an international school). As Pearce (2013) argues, generally teachers in international schools education teach according to the national models where they were trained, often based on 'outdated models of identity' (p. 62). Because teachers' beliefs about the possible relationship between developing intercultural understanding and identity may guide their practice, a clearer understanding of teachers' beliefs about identity within the field of teaching and learning for intercultural understanding is needed.

1.4. Research Aims

The aim of this research enquiry is to explore experienced international schools teachers' beliefs about the development of intercultural understanding and its relation to identity, as seen through the eyes of international schools teachers themselves. A separate but related aim of this research enquiry is to explore the extent to which the lens of social identity theory and self-categorisation theo-

ry allows for a relevant and useful conceptual framework to investigate the intersection between identity and the development of intercultural understanding.

1.5. Research Questions

The research question of this enquiry asks what international school teachers believe about their **personal** development of intercultural understanding and its relation to **their own identities**. As this study progressed, it became clear that the proposed theoretical view of social identity needed to be operationalised in the course of designing the data collection tool of the semi-structured interview. Further **subsidiary** research questions were more clearly defined in relation to the research aim of exploring the usefulness of a social identity/self-categorisation lens of enquiry to investigate teacher beliefs: (RQ1a) **To what extent is** the concept of multiple cultural identities a useful construct for thinking about the development of intercultural understanding? (RQ1b) **To what extent does** the development of intercultural understanding include changes in the significance afforded cultural groups and/or changes in group affiliation? (RQ1c) **To what extent does** the development of intercultural understanding include feelings of unease?

The theoretical literature review portion of the enquiry explores some aspects of the international teacher and presents the importance of teacher beliefs. It then introduces the concept of intercultural understanding and related concepts in the field from a variety of angles, and briefly introduces a number of theoretical approaches to identity before explaining why a social identity approach offers potentially interesting areas of insight in relation to the task of problematising and framing the concept of identity in the context of intercultural understanding development in international schools.

The exploratory study that follows derives from the outcomes of semi-structured interviews with a small group of experienced international school teachers. The themes of becoming, belonging and choice, which emerge from the analysis of the interview data, are also examined in light of an analysis of a body of current teacher support documentation that includes learning for intercultural understanding in some way.

It is intended that this research enquiry contribute to the field of study in a number of ways. First, by examining a sample of teacher beliefs in relation to intercultural understanding development and identity, the enquiry identifies potential areas of conceptual agreement and disagreement amongst these teachers. Disagreement is a site for further clarification. It may therefore contribute to a clearer view of how teachers' beliefs can potentially shape their approaches to the development of intercultural understanding with their students and in their schools. The enquiry may also contribute to further development and improvement of curricular and teaching materials, as well as professional development decision-making on the part of teachers and school leaders. The enquiry also contributes to the existing literature regarding the degree to which a social identity approach can be confirmed as a fruitful theoretical base for a framework on which to continue to examine best practice in developing intercultural understanding in a variety of educational settings.

1.6. Outline of Enquiry Content

This contextualising introduction is followed by Chapter 2, which provides a review of literature pertaining to the fields of international **school** teachers and teacher beliefs, intercultural understanding, and social identity theory. Chapter 3 presents the methodology of the exploratory study of the enquiry. Chapter 4 presents an analysis of the results of the data collected from semi-structured in-

interviews with seven experienced international school teachers, as well as data collected from teacher resource documentation. Chapter 5 discusses the implications and limitations of the findings in relation to the theoretical exploration and concludes the enquiry with recommendations for further research directions.

1.7. International Education

The term international education is used to describe a wide variety of situations and contributing factors in international schools (*inter alia*, Hayden and Thompson, 1995, 2000; Thompson, 1998; Cambridge and Thompson, 2004; Bunnell, 2008; Roberts, 2012; Cambridge, 2012), with Pearce (2013) asking whether the ‘incessant drive’ to find a definition is possibly ‘an attempt to claim a distinctive practice where in fact there is nothing distinctive but location’ (p. 61). The term internationalisation of education may be used to refer to the inclusion of an international, global or intercultural dimension in the objectives and functioning of schools (Yemini, 2017, p.3), emphasising a change of focus over time, rather than a final end product. In their review of the field of international education, Dolby and Rahman (2008) identify six different research approaches, including comparative and international education, internationalisation of higher education, international research on teacher education, internationalisation of primary and secondary education, globalisation of education and international schools. Within the field of educational research, the term ‘international’ has been used with different emphasis in the areas of comparative education, multicultural education and global education. In the United States, for example, the definition of international education has at times been limited to formal education that takes place ‘abroad’ (Bleszynska, 2008). As Thompson (2002, p. 5) has observed, ‘the term has such wide usage that almost any statement relating to International Education offers ample ambiguity in interpretation’. Although all of the above areas include consideration of the development of an international focus at some level, and while recognising that broader definitions of international education exist (e.g. Casto et al., 2015), this enquiry delimits international education to the education offered in international schools, recognising the multiplicity of variables within this initial definition. This does not mean that the continued importance awarded to an ‘international’ or ‘global’ dimension in national curricula is not recognised as significant and adding to the richness of the discussion of what international education means.

1.8. International Schools

Mackenzie (2010) states that, despite the wide variety found in international schools ‘in terms of governance, curriculum, size, ethos, affiliation, accreditation, mission and reputation,’ one unifying aspect of international schools is that they do not deliver the normative education of the state schools of a given country (p. 109). In other words, if international education is what international schools offer, it is education ‘other than the national’. Hayden and Thompson (2013) identify three main subgroups of international schools, (a) schools originally designed for mobile expatriate families (b) ‘ideological’ schools set up to promote ideals of world peace and global understanding (c) ‘non-traditional’ schools for the economically advantaged elite of the host country who are looking for an education considered of a higher quality than that offered locally (p. 5). Some, like Cambridge (2002), Brown and Lauder (2006), and Weenink (2008), agree with the latter definition of international schools, and see them as potential sites of elitism, where parents choose to invest in their children’s future access to a ‘transnational’ culture (Burbules and Torres, 2000) or cosmopolitan class. Instead, Sylvester’s (1998) typology distinguishes between ‘encapsulated’ and ‘inclusive’ international school missions, with the former aiming to offer a ‘national experience outside the

boundaries of a home country' (p. 186), while the latter 'expect[s] diversity and accept[s] student diversity as an enriching act' (p. 187).

Hayden et al. (2000) identify a number of factors that high school students and teachers in international school settings consider to be contributing factors in 'being international'. Significant importance is given to characteristics related to 'attitudes of mind', such as open-mindedness, flexibility, being interested in other people, respect and considering other cultures as equal to one's own (p. 120). The study also sought to determine the extent to which student and teacher groups agreed on which factors were significant. The results of this comparison showed strong similarities between the two groups. While Bunnell (2014) has argued that the present changing nature of the 'landscape' of international schooling continues to make the definition of international schools complex, Hayden (2006) has posited that 'international education as a concept is inclusive, with many interpretations within different contexts. Within schools, international education has a number of facets including, though not exclusively, the formal curriculum' (p. 7).

1.9. International Curricula

As Carder (2007) notes, international schools are not a cohesive group, following a single curriculum. A number of curricula are used in schools that state they offer an international education. The International Baccalaureate Organisation has developed a range of age-specific curricula that allow students to move between schools offering International Baccalaureate (IB) programmes, and to access post-secondary education in different parts of the world. Developed in the late 1960s as a response to the needs of internationally mobile families whose children required an education that would permit them to return to their home countries for university, the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme was originally designed for 16 - 19 year olds, and has since expanded to include the Middle Years and Primary Years Programmes (Hill, 2007). The place of intercultural understanding in the IB is made explicit in their mission statement, and their development of the idea of international-mindedness. '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' (IBO, 2005).

The International Primary Curriculum (WCL), created by Fieldwork Education, provides a curriculum for children aged 4 - 12, with 'internationally minded approaches to learning' and has been increasingly adopted in the UK and in international schools outside the UK since its inception in 2000 (Skelton et al., 2002). An International Middle Years Curriculum was added in 2011.

Other organisations have adopted an international element to already existing curricula designed initially at a national level. One such curriculum specifically designed with an international focus is the Cambridge International General Certificate of Secondary Education. The IGCSE was created to provide a more international version of the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) and is offered in schools throughout the world. Since first examinations in 1988, it has added a Cambridge Primary and Cambridge Secondary set of programmes (UCLES, 2018). The 'Cambridge Learner Attributes' were developed in 2011, including a 'Global Perspectives' interdisciplinary programme. Similarly, the United States College Board introduced the Advanced Placement (AP) International Diploma in 1995 (College Board, 2017) for US students attending schools outside the US, or students applying to post-secondary schools outside the US, while an international version of the French Baccalaureat, the 'Option Internationale' is offered (CIEP, 2018) to French secondary students choosing this route.

In keeping with Bunnell et al. (2017), this enquiry views legitimacy in international schools as stemming from the provision of an international curriculum. While it is agreed that learning for intercultural understanding can potentially take place in a variety of educational settings, international schools are a primary area of focus because of their overt commitment to international curricula, which in turn frequently include intercultural understanding at some level of priority in their conceptualisation of education. As Bartlett (1998) states, the knowledge, skills and attitudes promoted in an international curriculum ‘are fostered by exposure to a knowledge base that represents the common ground of human experiences and explores that common ground from a multiplicity of cultural perspectives’ (p. 90). Criticism of international curricula exists. Tarc (2013, p. 11), for example, views the International Baccalaureate as shifting away from its original focus on a liberal humanist education of the whole person and promotion of international understanding, towards an academically advanced program for competitive university placement. Tate (2012), on the other hand, articulates some of the pitfalls that international schools need to be aware of when delivering an international curriculum such as the IB, to ensure that idealistic goals, such as working towards a better world, can be successfully met without falling prey to unattainable beliefs in utopianism, or to Western domination.

As mentioned above, it is clear that one can argue that international education is not limited to schools that call themselves international (Hill, 2000), as a growing number of national schools offer an international education (Bunnell, 2010; Hayden, 2013). National curricular responses to the need for intercultural understanding exist, and will be considered in this enquiry when appropriate to the exploration of the concept of intercultural understanding and its relation to identity. For example, the response in Australia to the complexities of public education provision in a culturally diverse society can be seen in the Australian Curriculum, which supports the aim of students learning ‘to value their own cultures, languages and beliefs, and those of others’ in order to ‘understand how personal, group and national identities are shaped, and the variable and changing nature of culture’ (ACARA, 2010). Furthermore, non-governmental organisations have also developed educational frameworks to support learning about global affairs and promote understanding between nations, ethnicities, cultures and individuals. UNESCO (2015) and OXFAM (2015), for example, offer learning continua for any school, anywhere in the world, that wishes to include a significant international and intercultural component in their educational offering.

1.10. Intercultural Education

The concept of intercultural education, as distinguished from international education, has its roots in national educational systems grappling with the reality of multiple cultural backgrounds in a single classroom. As Byram noted in an article on the evolution of the intercultural dimension in foreign language teaching, thirty years ago intercultural education meant the education of migrant children (2014, p. 210). Bleszynska (2008) outlines four main paradigms regarding the implementation of intercultural education as it has been understood from within different national educational and political systems. The national approach, associated with Poland or Germany, is assimilationist, aiming to integrate the culturally diverse into a dominant culture that wishes to preserve a historically shaped national identity. The racial compensatory paradigm forefronts a politicised view of race in its approach to intercultural education, and Bleszynska uses the United States as an example. The civic paradigm places civil society as the dominant structure, whereby questions of cultural difference or race are relegated to the private sphere in an effort to sustain what are viewed as shared social values. Here, the author cites France as an example. Instead, the cultural borders paradigm, evi-

denced in places such as Australia, the United Kingdom or Canada, is characterised by a dynamic approach and includes concepts such as ‘social change’, ‘identity’ and ‘dialogue’. In this paradigm, intercultural education aims to shape and transform notions of cultural identity (p. 541).

Bleszynska’s categorisation is descriptive, as she does not attempt to critique the assumptions behind, or relative success of, any of these paradigms. However, the categorisation is of interest to this enquiry, as the view of intercultural education in international schools taken in this paper, and much of the literature reviewed here, relies on the cultural borders paradigm. This paradigm is articulated, for example, by UNESCO, ‘intercultural education provides all learners with the cultural knowledge, attitudes and skills that enable them to contribute to respect, understanding and solidarity among nations’ (UNESCO, 2006, p. 37).

Intercultural education is often described in contrast to multicultural education, which generally refers to education in a setting of ‘group differences within a nation’ (Cushner, 2011, p. 606). While multicultural education in the USA, Canada and Australia in the 1970s had as its main educational aim acknowledgement and respect for cultural diversity (Banks and McGee Banks, 1995), it underwent criticism in the 1980s for two main reasons, as outlined by Coulby (2006): the first, rooted in a nationalist argument that education should reflect and reproduce the values and culture of the state, and the second, a critical stance that multicultural education did not do enough to combat racism and provided only stereotyped or superficial images of non-dominant cultures. Whether a multicultural approach is accepted over an assimilationist approach to informing people’s ideological beliefs, either approach provides a contextual backdrop to the way in which groups and relations between groups are assessed and evaluated (Verkuyten, 2005, p.122).

Portera (2008) points out that national or state responses to multicultural education in Europe in the 1970s were based on the premise of difference as risk, rather than richness. This position evolved to a new understanding of the ‘intercultural dimension’, based on the idea of reciprocity, in the 1980s. Portera sees this ‘change in the pedagogical paradigm’ (ibid., p. 484) as a move away from a static and stereotypical image of identity, cultures and cultural differences, towards a dynamic and productive view. Gundara (2000), who views education as strongly rooted in a political and geographical ‘present’, writes that intercultural education ‘has the complex function of developing dynamic local cultures which lead to confederal links with other localities and identities’(viii). Gundara’s reference to confederal links suggests multiple, viable and equally valued connections across a multiplicity of borders. Similarities can be drawn to Appadurai’s (1996) discussion of the local in the global and multiple cultural bonds existing within, and parallel to, broader connective relationships. Writing from an international rather than national school perspective, James (2005) argues for a shift from the term ‘international’ to ‘intercultural’ education, based on the fact that ‘none of the aims or values of [...] international education are exclusively internationalist’ and might be ‘more accurately described as “interculturalist”’ (p.326).

Cushner posits that the term intercultural, in contrast to ‘multicultural’ or ‘cross-cultural’, is ‘dynamic, focusing on the penetration and interaction of an individual from one culture into another’ and argues that the term provides ‘the most relevant concepts to consider in the preparation of educators in an increasingly culturally-diverse and interdependent global society’ (2011, p. 606). Cushner’s definition emphasises the active and lived aspect of ‘intercultural’, in contrast to the mere ‘juxtaposition of knowledge about particular groups’ without focusing on their interconnectedness. The concept of ‘intercultural’ as presented by the Council of Europe, takes a step further, as it relies on the idea that each individual ‘participates in multiple cultures, but we each participate in a

unique constellation of cultures', meaning that 'every interpersonal situation is potentially an intercultural situation' (Council of Europe, 2016, p. 20). While recognising the potentially liberating power that such a broad definition of intercultural has to shift our conceptualisation of difference, this enquiry uses Cushner's more restricted definition of the adjective, as it aligns more with the conceptualisation emerging from the much of the literature.

For clarity, a distinction between the adjective 'intercultural', and the term 'intercultural understanding' is made here, as the latter has accrued conceptual meaning in the field of intercultural education research. The concept of intercultural understanding, and its relation to other concepts within the field of intercultural education, are examined in the literature review.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

The research question that drives this enquiry includes three core areas of focus: international school teachers and teacher beliefs, intercultural understanding and identity. The literature review begins with a brief account of some traits associated with international **school** teachers and their role in international schools, and then introduces the problematic but important question of accessing teacher beliefs. The review continues by focussing on the concept of intercultural understanding, positioning it in relation to other related concepts in the field, and introducing some of the learning continua, frameworks and attribute descriptions associated with developing intercultural understanding in schools. The review then moves to the field of identity studies, providing a summary description of a few approaches to identity, before expanding on social identity and self-categorisation theory, in relation to the development of intercultural understanding.

2.2. International Teachers

This section presents research findings concerning the nature of the group of teachers identified as ‘international’, defined here as teachers who have chosen to teach outside of their home country or place of teacher training to teach in international schools. It then presents research related to professional preparation for teaching in international settings, concerns about the role of international **school** teachers in contributing to differing educational missions and the construct of teacher beliefs in relation to this enquiry.

2.2.1. The International Teacher

Brummitt and Keeling (2013) identify a steep increase in the number of staff employed in international schools from 2000 to 2013, estimating totals moving from 90,000 to 300,000, the majority of whom are qualified, experienced English-speaking teachers. This number is expected to grow as more schools are established throughout the world. This could be viewed as an opportunity for qualified, expatriate English-speaking teachers to reap the benefits of demand over supply, though Bunnell (2016) identifies the precarious nature of some international school’s labor conditions. The fact that Western, English language native speakers dominate faculty rosters may be fuelled in part by the fact that most international schools use English as the medium of instruction (Hayden, 2011), and in part by the prestige effect afforded by Anglophone recruits, those classified as coming from the ‘inner-circle countries’ (Pennycook, 1994) of English language speaking, in the eyes of some parents (MacKenzie et al., 2003). However, Hayden and Thompson (2013) also note that the ratio amongst local host country hires, local expatriate hires and expatriate hires (Garton, 2000), appears to be changing. The assumption that only expatriate hires possess the specific experience necessary to teach in international programs, such as the IB or IGCSE, may no longer be the case, as host country teachers gain opportunities to have the same teaching experiences through local expansion in the international school sector or through their own emigration through international recruitment (Appleton et al., 2006).

In considering international **school** teachers’ perspectives on their experiences in international school settings, Hayden and Thompson (1998) focus on international school teachers’ views of what it means for students to experience international **school** education. Factors such as learning about different countries, learning to speak two or more languages and learning about the local culture are

considered important by teachers, as is learning to be tolerant of other cultures and different perspectives. Attendance by students of many cultures and from many countries at the school is also considered an important element for students in international schools by teachers. Hayden (2002) considers the place of the international ‘teacher as role model’ for demonstrating attributes related to international understanding, alongside the ‘teacher as technician’ role for more subject specific knowledge (p.101), but cites the fact that little professional development exists to support the former. Savva (2013) identifies the importance of travel in teachers’ initial decisions to seek work in international schools, as well as the value ascribed to change and/or risk. Hrycak (2015) identified travel or experiencing new cultures, as well as financial incentives, as primary reasons given by UK teachers who chose to work abroad. Whatever the initial motives that prompt teachers to choose an international teaching career, Cummins (2007) cites the continuing debate about what it means to be an educator in an international school, emphasising the fact that ‘identity options are opened up (or closed off) for students, depending on instructional decisions made by teachers’ (p. ix).

2.2.2. International School Teachers’ Preparedness

Pearce (2013) emphasises that international educators are mainly trained in the norms and practices of their home country where they were qualified and cites the self-selecting nature of teachers who choose to work in international schools. While this suggests that teachers who choose international schools as their places of work do so based on personal beliefs about themselves and the nature of the experiences they will encounter while working in international settings, teachers may only realise that pedagogy is not ‘culture-free’ when they embark on their first expatriate experience (Haliocioglu, 2015). In any case, Joslin (2002) emphasises that a teacher who has encountered a multicultural classroom cannot be assumed to be an ‘international person’ or to ‘possess an international mindset’ (p.41) and suggests that flexibility to redefine fields of reference and adaptability according to cultural context are qualities that teachers moving to international schools should possess. While Hirsch (2017) acknowledges that students perform best academically when the teachers teaching them possess high levels of intercultural competence, she points to the lack of information on how these understandings are developed in international school teachers, with Salter and Maxwell (2018) acknowledging that the expectation that teachers develop intercultural understanding in their students relies on ‘intense intellectual work for teachers; those who are left to actually enact intercultural education in the classroom’ (p. 15).

While exploring teacher preparedness for teaching in culturally diverse classes in an international school, Deveney (2007) found consensus among teachers that developing cultural responsiveness to culturally diverse students is done ‘on the job’ (p. 325). She cites Ginsburg and Wlodkowski’s (2000) research that shows that teachers often attempt to manage diversity independently, using intuition, based on personal experiences and beliefs, agreeing with Peiser and Jones (2014) that in the absence of specific guidelines, teachers’ ‘attention to the cultural dimension appears to be intuitive and individualised’ (p.376). As Koh (2014) has found, sometimes teacher beliefs include the idea that what is done ‘at home’ i.e. one’s country of origin, is best, which leads to resistance to change rather than professional or personal growth. Roskell (2013) identifies feelings of loss related to newly-relocated international school teachers’ lack of anticipation of difficulties based on the multicultural nature of the school population, and at the base of some international school teachers’ reluctance to change prior work practices. Shatz (2000) shows that some cultural differences, which could inhibit student understanding on a number of levels, are discovered by teachers only accidentally. This concurs with Gay’s (2015) findings that teachers’ limited experience with diversity may be a factor in explaining why they focus on ‘safer’ topics rather than tackling difficult ones, like op-

pression or injustice. While one can agree with Duckworth et al. (2005) who cite reflection as important, as teachers should ‘continuously reflect on the influence of their own cultural values and beliefs on classroom biases (covert or overt, intentional or unintentional)’ (p. 285), it is also clear from the above that teachers respond to classroom situations with intuition, invention and emotion as well.

Saava’s (2013) research into the effect of working in international schools for the first time on North American teachers found that adaptation in a new cultural environment challenged teachers’ social constructs, and required flexibility and open-mindedness, ‘deeply chang[ing] the way teachers view themselves and others in the global world’ (p.222). Bailey (2015) reports teachers’ initial feelings of being ‘de-skilled’ at the start of their international school experience, followed by a period of new skill development. Tran and Nguyen (2015) identify the emergence of ‘an intercultural learner sub-identity’ in teachers who become reciprocal intercultural learners in the context of international education.

The above suggests that while opinions and advice regarding what international school teachers should know and should do to prepare themselves for the international school setting exist, evidence also shows that international school teachers, while possibly demonstrating the attributes of curiosity and risk-taking, do not always initially possess the knowledge and understandings deemed necessary. However, in addition to the evidence for successful adaptation cited above, a number of specific pre-service and in-service training programs for international teachers exist, including, but not limited to, the FAST TRAIN professional development programme offered at George Mason University (CEHD, 2018), the International Teacher Education for Primary Schools programme (ITEPS, 2018), the ECIS International Teacher Certification (ECIS, 2018), the International Education and Globalisation M.A. at the University of Bath (University of Bath, 2018), International Baccalaureate course specific training (IBO, 2005), and the Principals Training Center (PTC, 2018).

Research into pre-service programs for international teachers shows their impact on defining and developing certain attributes related to intercultural understanding. Mesker et al. (2018) investigate the outcomes of pre-service teachers’ international teaching internships and emphasise the significance of experiences of discontinuity in creating opportunities for new learning and modes of practice, in particular ‘raising awareness of existing, often taken-for-granted, personal and professional beliefs’ (p. 54). In a related study, Pence and Macgillivray (2008) cite evidence of increased respect for differences of others and other cultures and the importance of reflection in professional and personal growth. Duckworth et al. (2005) found that participants in the FAST TRAIN program generally agreed that flexibility, tolerance, respect for all cultures and experience in different cultural settings would be required of the type of teacher who would be able to develop international-mindedness in their students.

Research therefore shows that international school teachers may develop, either through pre-service learning or direct teaching experiences, beliefs about their own cultural awareness at different stages of their international experiences. Evidence also shows that they may develop responsiveness to the cultural context of a given school and to their students, and that reflexive practices as well as the attributes of open-mindedness and curiosity can be correlated to positive personal and professional outcomes. However, evidence also shows that some teachers’ responses to an international school environment are inadequate, as they are rooted in a priori beliefs, which may have a negative impact on students’ learning. Additionally, as Salter (2014) shows, teachers ‘need to critically reflect on how they “see” (p.223) other cultural traditions before they engage with changing what

and how they teach. There is limited research into the experiences of seasoned international school teachers, while there is a greater focus on beginning international teachers.

2.2.3. International School Teachers - Internationalists or Globalists?

Cambridge and Thompson (2004) suggest two views of education in international schools, which would allow for different construals of the international school teacher. The ‘internationalist’ perspective relies on an ideological premise that education aims to contribute to improving relations between people, cultures, and nations for the cause of peace. This is reflected in a commitment to the moral growth of the student and to developing an understanding of the inter-relatedness of the individual and others. The ‘globalising’ perspective translates into a focus on education as a valued commodity that allows for social mobility or maintenance of privilege through access to the global marketplace. These are points on a continuum, or ‘a spectrum, with the ideological at one end and the market-driven at the other’ (Hayden, 2006, p. 17), that serve when considering the range of pressures and challenges within schools and on teachers, as well as the distinctive feature of diversity that characterises international schools, ‘diversity of backgrounds - of students, parents, teachers, administrators, and governing body members - giv[ing] rise to a multitude of different experiences, knowledge, academic and professional skills’ (Blyth, 2017, p. 72).

Cambridge (2002) argues that the logic of globalisation ‘require[s] a shift in the institutional culture-ideology of schools away from exclusively pedagogical issues and towards the espousal of market-oriented values’ (p. 230). Burke (2017) examines the possibility that expatriate teachers - Western teachers in non-Western settings - inadvertently act as agents of globalisation, involved in the ‘processes of worldwide knowledge mobilisation’ despite concerted efforts to teach in ‘culturally responsive and inclusive’ ways (p. 214). She calls attention to the complexity of being an expatriate teacher in a country of low economic status, and to the potential of ethnicity being interpreted as an indicator of unearned, and un-problematised, privilege. Hatch (2018) asks whether international school teachers can be defined as ‘artificers of a global elite driven by a western, globalist agenda’, while Simandiraki (2006) explores the extent to which the pursuit of international-mindedness promoted by education in international schools is, in fact, an ‘affluence bound construction of today’s world’ (p. 37), delivered by teachers who can be construed as ‘facilitators of intercultural understanding’ (Bunnell et al., 2017a, p.17), working in increasingly institutionalised international schools.

From an internationalist perspective, teachers are engaged in work that is premised on an ideal of social good. Within this frame of reference, research into teacher beliefs in relation to social justice education provides some points of comparison with education for intercultural understanding. Cochran Smith (2003), for example, defines social justice as including recognition and respect for social and cultural difference. In reference to teacher preparation, promoters of teachers as forces for social justice also frequently emphasise the importance of bringing issues of power and identity to the fore in teacher training. In her conceptual framework for teacher education in a multicultural society, Cochran Smith notes that the answer to the ‘ideology question’, which asks what the role of schooling is in maintaining or changing economic and social structures of society, is often unstated in teacher preparation programs. In their investigation into beginning teachers’ beliefs about social justice in the UK, Boylan and Woolsey (2015) conclude that philosophical concerns in relation to social justice should be made explicit in teacher education curricula and note that teachers are ‘struggling with the gap between espoused and enacted beliefs’ (p. 70). One of the primary concerns of social justice education, shared by those interested in international teacher preparation, is that

teachers deconstruct their own beliefs about culture and cultural groups, with a particular emphasis on ensuring that unexamined thought systems do not negatively perpetuate discriminatory practices (Sleeter, 1992; Bartolome, 2008) or essentialist thinking (Holliday, 2011).

2.2.4. Teachers' Beliefs

In his review of the field of teachers' beliefs and educational research, Pajares (1992) argues that 'the difficulty in studying teachers' beliefs has been caused by definitional problems, poor conceptualisations, and differing understandings of beliefs and belief structures' (p. 307). To add to the challenge, Pajares cites Rokeach's (1968) warning that understanding beliefs 'requires making inferences about individuals' underlying states, inferences fraught with difficulty because individuals are often unable or unwilling, for many reasons, to accurately represent their beliefs' (p. 314). In addition, research into teacher beliefs reveals contradictory evidence. Although Borg (2006) cites the increase in research in the field of teacher cognition as evidence of the recognition that 'teachers are active, thinking decision-makers who play a central role in shaping classroom events' (p. 1) and 'past experiences, even experiences outside of teaching [shape] how teachers think about their work' (Calderhead, 1996, p. 772), Buehl and Beck (2014) find incongruence in the results of research designed to determine the nature of the relationship between beliefs and practice.

Some research suggests that beliefs about a given topic will impact teachers' practice. Research indicates that teachers' beliefs affect their interpretation and implementation of curricular objectives depending on the extent to which their values differ from those of the curriculum (Roberts, 1982), that interpretation of curricula is dependent on the fit between teachers' priorities and those presented by the curriculum (Clark and Elmore, 1981), and that contexts and beliefs influence classroom practices in the teaching of specific subject matter (Cronin-Jones, 1991; Borg, 2003; Garrity et al., 2018). Research also suggests that teacher beliefs are impacted by their experiences, or that the relationship between beliefs and action is 'reciprocal and complex' (Buehl and Beck, 2014, p.70) and 'interactive' (Richardson, 1996, p.107), with life experiences contributing in part to the formation of 'an individual's beliefs that, in turn, affect learning to teach and teaching' (Ibid., p.108). The potential for a reciprocal and dynamic relationship between beliefs and professional experiences therefore appears to exist.

This enquiry views beliefs as including affective and evaluative elements (Nespor, 1987), meaning that teachers will engage with given educational content in light of the values they hold about that content. In keeping with Green (1971), beliefs are considered to be true by the person who holds the belief. Beliefs are drawn in part from episodic memory, which shapes understanding and interpretation of future events, and beliefs do not require general consensus or internal consistency (Nespor, 1987). Individuals can hold beliefs at varying levels of conviction (Thomson, 1992) and because a dialectical relationship exists between teaching experiences and beliefs, beliefs can change over time. Positing that teachers can reflect on their beliefs, and change them based on new knowledge or experiences rests on a view of teachers as active agents. This accords with Biesta's view that agency is 'something that people do' not 'something that people can have', and that it is influenced by past experiences which form the basis of beliefs (2015, p. 628).

Pajares (1992) encourages researchers of teacher beliefs to hone in on 'beliefs about' a given subject area, and to make a distinction between broader general beliefs and educational beliefs. He admonishes that considering educational beliefs as 'detached from and unconnected to broader beliefs systems is ill-advised and probably unproductive' (p. 326). In this context, this enquiry aims to fo-

cus on ‘beliefs about’ intercultural understanding and identity that derive from teachers’ own experiences, as it is held that these beliefs are part of the ‘broader belief systems’ cited by Pajares, and that these belief systems will shape educational beliefs. In addition, Fives and Buehl (2012) posit that beliefs have different functions, including filtering information, framing a problem or providing guidelines for action. The research undertaken in the context of this enquiry focuses primarily on the way beliefs ‘frame a problem’, the problem being the extent to which intercultural understanding development impacts identity, and in what way. This does not exclude the other two functions, but does shape the research design.

Qualitative research into teacher beliefs may, for example, assess the congruence of teacher beliefs and practice (Buel and Beck, 2014) or examine changes in teacher beliefs due to professional experiences (Richardson, 1996), or pre-service learning experiences, as cited above. This enquiry examines experienced teachers’ beliefs about intercultural understanding development in light of teacher documentation in the field of intercultural education to determine the extent to which teacher beliefs are aligned with the conceptual field, as it is represented in teacher guidance material. This approach has methodological implications, which will be developed in Chapter 3.

2.2.5. Summary Points

International school teachers often work in settings where commitment to helping students develop intercultural understanding is a professional expectation, whether this commitment stems from a belief in its importance for the growth of the individual and the improvement of society or from a skills based, pragmatic belief that intercultural understanding is an asset in the global marketplace (e.g. Bush and Ingram, 2001). Although specific training in the area of intercultural understanding and the particular challenges of the international school setting exists for teachers, many teachers begin, and may continue, their international teaching career with no training and limited awareness of what learning for intercultural understanding implies for themselves as teachers, or for their students. This lack of awareness may result in the reinforcement of cultural assumptions and stereotypes in the classroom, even by well-meaning teachers. It may also result in a negation of the significance of the role of culture in how individuals assess themselves, others and the world, a ‘culture-blind’ stance of supposed neutrality, as opposed to the recognition, acknowledgement and work with cultural dissonance located in the ‘cultural borderlands’ (Allan, 2002, p.66) and ‘crossing of frontiers’ (Hayden and Thompson, 1996, p. 51) that are advocated as sites for meaningful intercultural interactions.

On the other hand, teachers’ experiences in international settings can lead them to heightened sensitivity to the problems inherent in transferring content knowledge in a different (multi) cultural context, as well as the challenges involved in encountering cultural differences that call into question deep-seated beliefs. Although I acknowledge that the development of intercultural understanding can take place in environments beyond the classroom (Grimshaw and Sears, 2008) and that many factors contribute to its development in international schools (Hayden and Thompson, 1998), I take from the literature reviewed in this section the centrality of the role of the teacher who is tasked with supporting this learning in schools that ascribe to the goal of increasing intercultural understanding, and I posit for the purposes of this enquiry that the teacher is informed by his or her own beliefs about what this type of learning involves, and how it takes place.

2.3. Intercultural Understanding

This review of the concept of intercultural understanding begins with some considerations of the concept of culture and its relation to ideas about the ‘Other’, as well as the notion of agency. Intercultural understanding is then presented as a discrete concept and in relation to similar concepts, illustrating similarities and differences. While the scope of this enquiry does not allow for presentation of all related areas, such as the rich field of research into intercultural assessment tools (e.g. Hammer, Bennett and Wiseman, 2003), or cosmopolitanism (Gunesch, 2004; Weenink, 2008), the relationship between intercultural understanding and these areas is recognised. This review focuses on concepts that pertain to teachers and schools in secondary level educational settings in particular.

2.3.1. Culture

An exploration of intercultural understanding must rely on some conceptualisation of culture. Bennett (2009), for example, draws on Berger and Luckmann’s (1967) distinction between objective and subjective culture, the former referring to that ‘set of institutional, political and historical circumstances that have emerged from and are maintained by a group of interacting people’ (p. s3), the latter comprising an individual’s unique ‘worldview’ while interacting in a specific context, deciding ‘how to organise and coordinate communication, and how to assign goodness and badness to ways of being’ (p. s3). In this view, culture provides a context for an individual’s own understanding and actions, a set of ‘patterns’ with which one can understand the behaviour of other members of a group.

The idea of culture being a pattern finds its source in anthropologist Geertz’ definition, ‘an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic form by means of which men [sic] communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life’ (1973, p. 89). This definition of culture within the symbolic interactionist tradition is based on the view that individuals construct rules and identities through social interaction. Boas (1940) set the scene for a conceptualisation of culture as plural, not a monolithic Western inheritance, but a part of every human’s experience, contributing to, for example, the definition of culture proposed by UNESCO as ‘a set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of a society or social group’, which goes on to state that ‘one culture comes into clearest focus when compared to another culture’. The focus then shifts from cultures to individuals and cultural groups, ‘for cultures have no existence apart from the people who construct and animate them. Thus *members of cultural groups* more adequately serve as the focus of attention’ (emphasis mine, UNESCO, 2015, p.10).

Appadurai (1996) views the substantive use of the word as referring to a ‘mental substance’ harkening back to an idea of ‘sharing, agreeing and bounding’ that opposes the adjectival sense of culture, which ‘moves one into the realm of differences, contrasts and comparisons’, at once ‘situated and embodied’ (pp. 12 -13). This definition of culture immediately focuses on demarcation of the dissimilar and Appadurai proposes that only those differences that support the mobilisation of group identities should be described as cultural. He specifies that these differences may have a ‘purely identity-oriented instrumentality’ for ‘identities in the making’ (p. 15), beyond the boundaries of the nation-state. This notion of culture as ‘an arena for conscious choice’ (p. 44) differs from Hall’s (1997) description of culture as helping to create conceptual maps for interpreting the world. It differs even more radically with heuristic approaches, such as those conceptualised by Hofstede (1984, 1991) or Trompenaars and Turner (1997), which have been criticised as viewing culture as ‘tightly measurable’ (Holliday, 2011, p.7), durable or static (Hunsinger, 2006).

Hofstede (1984) states that patterns of thinking are learned and assimilated early in one's life, and become a type of 'mental software', which he refers to as culture, a 'collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another' (p. 4). Hofstede's research focuses on cultural differences based on nationality, focusing on distinguishing traits such as uncertainty avoidance, collectivism, individualism, femininity, masculinity and power distance. While he cautions that using the nation as the defining characteristic of a group may be less useful in certain circumstances than using ethnic, linguistic or religious groupings, he argues that using nationality as a means for discussing and defining culture will contribute to promoting cooperation among nations (p. 12). Gunesch (2004), instead, views the focus on nations as limiting, as it 'by definition centres around national (meaning nation-state) categories which triggers several logical, geographical, political and cultural limitations' (p. 267). Hughes (2009) also argues that using the nation state as a primary construct in international school education is limiting, because it 'does little to cater for multiple - as opposed to national - identities' (p. 124), while Tate (2012) defends the national in education in international schools, as long as it can move beyond its literal meaning to also include more complex notions of citizenship and multiple identities.

In her exploration of the relationship between cultural heritage and international education, Simandiraki (2006) proposes two paradigms to consider the ways in which cultural heritage contributes to nationalistic purposes. The centripetal paradigm sees cultural heritage as contributing to a sense of a homogenous central community and peripheral 'corrupting' forces are excluded in a cultural narrative of the 'glorious past'. This contrasts with the conglomerate paradigm, where the existence of heterogeneous communities within the nation results in resistance to internal challenges to a dominant image of cultural cohesion (p. 44). This distinction relates to coherence-oriented versus dynamic approaches to culture, the former concerned with culture as a unifying concept regardless of variations within a group, and the latter 'accentuat[ing] differentiation within a specific (possibly national) culture and embrac[ing] the fundamental contradictions present within' (Rathje, 2007, pp. 260-261). The latter idea relates to Chandra and Mahajan's (2007) exploration of the possibilities of a 'composite' culture, which they define as a product made up of contributions from each cultural group of a society.

In their exploration of conceptualisations of culture and social psychology, DiMaggio and Markus (2010) argue that views of culture in psychology and sociology have converged over the past three decades, moving away from a concept of culture as an 'entity' towards an understanding that culture 'entails dynamic interactions between mind and environment', the mind determining which aspects of the environment are important, and the environment reinforcing certain mental representations (p. 347). A shift of emphasis can be seen whereby investigating 'culture' no longer means studying content but instead exploring the way cognitive and social processes contribute to how 'cultural elements are acquired, rendered salient, linked to broader patterns of meaning, and displaced' (p. 348).

This brief consideration of the concept of 'culture' points out that definitions of what culture *is* are related to what culture *does* when it is invoked. Street (1993) refers to the semantic, psychological, social and political workings of culture when he writes, 'There is not much point in trying to say what culture is. What can be done, however, is to say what culture does. For what culture does is precisely the work of defining words, ideas, things and groups' (p.25). **Taking Street's recommendation forward, this enquiry is specifically informed by my view that culture 'does', and, fundamentally, if culture does anything at all, it does it through people.**

2.3.2. Learning from the 'Other'

The concept of intercultural understanding, and the entire field of intercultural education, relies on the assumption that it is possible to learn about others through contact with people, histories, literature or observations of cultural difference. Stables' (2005) comment that 'much multicultural education involves learning about 'other' cultural practices, on the un-problematized assumption that these practices offer a clear view into the lived experiences of others' (p. 194) can be applied to intercultural education as well.

The capitalised 'Other' represents a discourse of difference rooted in historical instances of oppression, colonisation and distancing. It is based on an idea of identity creation through negation. Stables promotes a positive redefining of the concept of Other when he posits that 'an attempt to reach out to the Other is at the heart of most, if not all formulations of moral education. Indeed, it might well be claimed that duty towards the Other is the sine qua non of both moral and multicultural education' (Stables, 2005, p. 193). Some consideration of the concerns and questions arising from the broad area of 'othering' are significant when looking at questions of recognising cultural identities in the development of intercultural understanding.

In his seminal text *Orientalism*, Said (1985) illustrates how literary and artistic representations of people from the Orient – a geographical term of distancing that corresponded to the non-European areas of North Africa, the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent, as well as an imaginary place of exotic difference – underscored and legitimised difference in a hierarchical world of the rational versus irrational, the civilised versus uncivilised, the Westerner versus the Other. Post-colonial theorists in the field of intercultural education and citizenship (*inter alia*, Gorski, 2008; Andreotti, 2011; Pashby, 2011) warn of the possibility that learning about other cultures may become an exercise in essentialism, where the dominant culture circumscribes or dismisses the Other through stereotypes or negation of significance, what Spivak (1988) calls 'the danger of appropriating the Other by assimilation' (p. 308). Tripathi and Mishra (2012) posit that the process of 'othering' can be seen in Buber's terms (1958) as a moving away from the 'I and thou' construct of human relationships towards an 'I and it' relationship, whereby the other becomes an object. A comparable self-other distinction can be identified in Tajfel's theory of in-group differentiation.

In his promotion of transformative citizenship education based on a multicultural approach, Banks (2008) critiques liberal assimilationist conceptions of citizenship because they assume individuals must give up their home and community cultures to attain inclusion and participate effectively in national civic culture. Aman's (2014) analysis of EU documents related to intercultural dialogue as well as other sources from the Council of Europe posits that Europeans are represented as having 'an a priori historical existence, while those excluded from the notion are invoked to demonstrate their difference in comparison to the European subject' (p. 70). As Aman also asks, in a post-colonial world, when the well-intentioned goal of learning from others becomes a striving to understand *them*, do *they* become an object, something to learn about, rather than offering the possibility of understanding *from*? Developing Said's (1978) statement that 'the development and maintenance of every culture requires the existence of another and competing alter ego' (p. 333), Hall (1996, p. 4) remarks:

above all, and directly contrary to the form in which they are constantly invoked, identities are constructed through, not outside, difference. This entails the radically disturbing recognition that it is only through the relation to the Other, the relation to what it is not, to

precisely what it lacks, to what has been called its constitutive outside that the “positive” meaning of any term – and thus its “identity” – can be constructed.

Popkewitz and Lindblad (2004) argue along similar lines that schools (in the U.S. and in Europe) have historically served to develop reason as a foundation for citizenship, but also to establish rules and standards about whom the reasonable individual is. Embodied within these rules is the notion that some peoples do not, or can not, abide by them, hence creating a distinction between the reasoned citizen and the other – frequently seen as the immigrant or minority who does not fit (p. 233). Hence, the construct of the reasonable individual becomes a category that creates its opposite and the child becomes the site for intervention meant to create ‘the lifelong learner who acts as the global citizen’ (Popkewitz, 2013, p.112).

Popkewitz’s critical argument allows for reflection on assumptions that may exist in relation to the development of intercultural understanding. The presence of certain attitudes within the student is often at the centre of discussions about what intercultural education is trying to do, as presented in the IB’s Learner Profile (IBO, 2013) or the Cambridge Learner Attributes (UCLES, 2017a). For example, the attitude of open-mindedness, as defined in the IB Learner Profile, entails a critical appreciation of ‘our own cultures and personal histories, as well as the values and traditions of others’ and a ‘willingness to grow from the experience’ of seeking and evaluating ‘a range of points of view’. This attitude is presented as a foundation on which further knowledge or skills are built. If open-mindedness is not present, classroom activities or modelling might attempt to introduce a seed of what has not already started to grow.

Summarising the argument developed above as the assertion that defining leads to *division*, the international school teacher needs to be aware of latent assumptions about ‘right’ and ‘wrong’. For example, possessing an attitude of open-mindedness is considered the ‘right’ way to approach learning about others. Not possessing open-mindedness would then be considered the ‘wrong’ way. However, as Kashima et al. (2017) posit in their study of personality variables that may influence positive intercultural experiences, individuals with a high need for cognitive closure in situations of psychological adjustment are found to be more close-minded in cross-cultural situations. In this example, ‘wrong’ would be an unhelpful construct vis-a-vis an individual in need of certainty in a moment of adjustment. While this does not negate the place of open-mindedness as an appropriate goal, it calls attention to the challenges facing the international teacher. In addition, Pearce (2013), writing from within the context of international schools, notes that learning ‘involves conscious or unconscious self-comparison with a real or imaginary exemplar [...] [and w]e can expect that the acceptance of items will be greatly affected by the relationship between teacher and student’ (p. 76), suggesting again the importance of the teachers’ sensitivity to the student’s experience.

The inward facing nature of encountering difference in an educational setting has been theorised as ‘difficult knowledge’ by Britzman (1998) and Pitt and Britzman (2003). When knowledge is presented that may conflict with personal or cultural truths, the extent to which the individual is able to bear difference and ‘learn across’ it must be considered alongside the ‘traditional focus of international education on the knowledge, skills and attitudes that learners are to develop’ (Tarc, 2013, p. 107). The concept of difficult knowledge and its effect on the learner can be usefully brought to bear on consideration of the relationship between the development of intercultural understanding and identity.

Difficult knowledge may emerge from intercultural encounters, as defined by Holmes et al. (2015) as interactions where individuals may perceive each other to have different backgrounds, be they cultural, linguistic or other, and ‘where these differences are salient and affect the nature of the interaction’ (p.17). Bauman (2004) points to the intercultural encounter as a site for reflection which allows the individual to call into question stereotypes and essentialist views that may be held in relation to oneself and others, and which deny the possibility of multi-faceted and fluid identities. Intercultural learning can be viewed as relying on what Tarc (2013, p. 107) calls a double moment: ‘(1) one’s already existing capacity to engage in and interpret intercultural encounters and (2) practices that correspond to a normative belief that this capacity can be deepened by further intercultural engagement and educational intervention’. The former implies that the capacity to respond positively to ‘difficult knowledge’ is necessary before further development of intercultural understanding can take place. **Based on the above review, I therefore suggest that it is** important to consider what determines an individual’s capacity to respond to knowledge or experiences that contrast or conflict with their current beliefs, before assuming that intercultural encounters will necessarily lead to intercultural understanding.

2.3.3. Agency

As Holliday (2004) has argued, the underlying descriptions of culture assumed in different models of education determine where on the agency-structure continuum individual intercultural development lies. Like Hughes, cited above, Holliday (2011) criticises some cultural descriptions in intercultural communication studies, for example, because of their assumed reliance on national culture as the main factor in describing culture in general. Viewing culture as an expression or extension of the nation may exclude the possibility for a positive definition of multiple cultural identities, or identity transformation within a multicultural setting, as diversity could be viewed as the potentially disruptive exception rather than the norm.

The national culture approach can be associated with a structural-functionalist theory of society, as originally posited by Durkheim (2013/1893), which is based on a view of society as functioning through the balanced workings of its multiple parts. Aman (2014) reflects this view when he writes, ‘given the significance of historical factors in forming ethnic, racial and cultural relations, what must be taken into consideration are the structural as well as the wider social, political and economic forces at work in all cultural relations’ (p. 8). Holliday (2011) argues that this view becomes problematic in the field of intercultural education because national cultures are treated as identifiable and definable entities, and the behaviour of the individual can be attributed to some aspect of the national culture.

In contrast to functionalism, Weber’s social action theory (1978/1922), which does not seek to describe behaviour through an organic system, but focuses instead on the way culture, ideology, social structure and religion may be in dialogue, offers the possibility of creating new actions, including new cultural behaviours. Archer’s (1988) argument for an analytical framework that would account for the mechanisms through which culture influences structure and structure influences culture (p. 284) explores the existing tension between conservative views of culture, where cultural identities are seen as passed on or inherited, and progressive views of culture, where identities are considered created. This leads to continued consideration of the question: ‘how much freedom do individuals have to fashion their own identities [...] and how far are an individual’s thoughts, values and identities determined and constrained by the values of social structures, economic realities and mass media of their cultural milieu?’ (Holliday, 2004, p.74).

In relation to this enquiry, it is evident that developmental models of learning rely on some conception of agency through time, as the individual is seen to be an entity who can progress towards a future state of increased understanding by applying reason through reflection on new cultural knowledge and experiences. However, I also take from this portion of the literature review the position that focusing on the relationship between the individual and the group in the development of intercultural understanding also allows for consideration of the influence of structural social factors.

Marginson and Sawir (2012) present a strong agentic view of the individual in their research into the relationship between self formation and a ‘cosmopolitan intercultural education’. The authors view international education as a site for ‘a mature process of conscious self-making’, and intercultural relationships as not only involving two separately identifiable cultural sets, but necessarily including the potential for mutual transformation, ‘openness and reciprocity’ (p. 17). The authors argue that identities are dynamic and that people use more than one identity to understand and interpret themselves and their actions. Specifically, international students ‘become a mixture of two different people: the person they were when they arrived in the country of education and the person they are becoming’ (p. 138).

However, this model of progression based on reason and individual agency is complicated by consideration of the role of emotion in learning. Damasio (1994) demonstrates how individuals ‘mark’ items in memory with either ‘promote’ or ‘inhibit’ signals from the somatovisceral nervous system. These serve to guide reactions and decisions. From this perspective, what one knows becomes who one is, because uses of knowledge about, for example, right and wrong or good and bad, ‘become the stable elements for the self to recognise and perform itself as a certain kind or person or personality’ (Tarc, 2013 p. 33). Pearce (2013) further explores the implications of the existence of these markers for students in international schools. Recalling the concept of ‘difficult knowledge’ (Britzman, 1998; Pitt and Britzman, 2003) introduced earlier, when learning introduces new knowledge that conflicts with what one knows, and potentially with whom one thinks one is, cultural dissonance may be experienced. Teachers:

need to differentiate [their] teaching, especially of items of known emotional salience, according to [their] understanding of the value system of the student. If not, cultural dissonance may block the acceptance of the new value into the student’s value system (Pearce, 2013, p. 77).

2.3.4. Intercultural Understanding

Hill’s (2006) presentation of the cognitive and affective aspects of intercultural understanding provides a conceptual starting point. Hill states that intercultural understanding is understanding ‘the human condition at the local as well as the international level’ (Hill, 2012, p. 259). When considering the types of outcomes that a curriculum dedicated to developing intercultural understanding would develop, Hill (2007) specifies areas of knowledge, skills and attitudes. Knowledge includes knowledge about world issues, social justice, equity and cultural diversity as well as knowledge about one’s own culture, other cultures, and the similarities and differences between cultures. However, knowledge on its own does not comprise intercultural understanding. Skills encompass critical reflection, problem solving, inquiry, and cultural literacy. Attitudes of empathy, respect and open-mindedness are essential to move from a state of initial awareness to a position of understanding about other cultures. Attitudes, which are defined as the combination of knowledge and skills which

shape values, include commitment to peace, social justice and equity and respect for other cultures in Hill's description. Within their review of the concepts of intercultural education, intercultural competence and intercultural understanding, Perry and Southwell (2011) concur with the findings that intercultural understanding involves knowledge, cultural awareness and attitudes such as 'empathy, curiosity and respect' (p.454), which support appropriate interactions with others. However, despite the title of the review, 'Developing intercultural understanding and skills: models and approaches', scant attention is given to 'intercultural understanding' per se, while the concept of 'intercultural competence' (see below) is more fully developed and investigated. This reflects both a difference in the depth of the conceptual history of the two terms, as well as a tendency in the literature to blur the lines between concepts.

Hill points to the need for an active teaching approach in relation to the development of intercultural understanding in the school setting, as cultural diversity 'needs to be set in the context of the school's formal curriculum where teachers draw attention to the fact that points of view may differ for cultural reasons' (2000, p. 34). That mere contact with cultural diversity will not necessarily lead to intercultural understanding is argued by Jackson (2005), 'attendance at an international school does not automatically result in the development of intercultural understanding' (p. 194). This is supported by Vickers, McCarthy and Zammitt (2017), who find instead that intercultural understanding increases with an emphasis on creating 'meaningful, transactional relationships among culturally diverse students within a supportive academic environment' (p. 208), and by Tinkler, McGam and Tinkler (2017) and Wright and Lee (2014), who discuss students' reports of increased intercultural understanding in relation to service learning experiences. This supports Walton et al.'s (2013) findings that developing intercultural understanding beyond cultural awareness 'requires students and teachers to take a critical approach toward cultural diversity, as well as the opportunity for ongoing intercultural and intergroup contact' (p. 181).

The Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA, 2010), for example, embeds the concept of intercultural understanding throughout the Australian curriculum as a discrete and definable aspect of learning, one of seven General Capabilities. Descriptions of types of knowledge that lead to cultural awareness, skills for interacting across cultural groups and resolving conflict, attitudes such as empathy, openness, respect and reflexivity are included. Intercultural understanding is seen as contributing to developing a sense of personal and cultural identity with an emphasis on self-reflection through 'recognis[ing] commonalities and differences, creat[ing] connections with others and cultivat[ing] mutual respect' (ACARA, 2010). This presentation of intercultural understanding relies on a definition of culture as a set of 'shared beliefs, attitudes, and practices that are learnt and passed on among a population of people' (Ibid.).

Rader (2018, p. 20) presents a framework for developing intercultural understanding which includes the areas of knowledge and understanding, transformative beliefs, values and attitudes, essential intercultural, interpersonal and life skills and engagement in positive action. Particular emphasis is placed on the concept of disposition, described as a mindset or orientation, and competence, which includes knowledge, understanding and skills (p. 9). Rader points out that intercultural understanding is included, explicitly or implicitly, in descriptions of related concepts. This enquiry's focus on intercultural understanding reflects this observation, and allows for exploration of the concept with teachers without necessarily being restricted by other concepts that are more closely bound to given curricula (e.g. international mindedness and the IB) or organisationally driven missions (e.g. UNESCO, OECD, OXFAM, Council of Europe). This is in keeping with Hill (2006), Walker (2011) and James (2005), the latter observing that use of the term 'intercultural understanding' reflects a

growing recognition that the general aims of international school education are, in fact, ‘predominantly intercultural’ (p. 324), reflecting Liddicoat’s (2005) distinction, from within the field of language learning, between a ‘cultural’ perspective, which ‘emphasises the culture of the other and leaves that culture external to the learner’, and an ‘intercultural’ perspective, emphasising ‘the learner’s own cultures as a fundamental part of engaging with a new culture’ (cited in Liddicoat and Scarino, 2013, p. 29).

2.3.5. Intercultural Competence

The concept of intercultural competence originates in part from the field of foreign language learning and relates to another complex concept, intercultural communication, as well. Intercultural competence provides some parallels with intercultural understanding in areas related to the ability to understand and interact with culturally and linguistically diverse people, as well as the process of becoming aware of one’s culturally specific perspective, ‘what seems to the learner to be the natural language of their own identities, and the realisation that these are cultural, and socially constructed’ (Byram, 1997, p. 22). Deardorff (2006) provides a pyramid model to represent the development of intercultural competence, with attitudes at the base, upon which knowledge, self-awareness and a number of skills are constructed. According to Byram’s definition of intercultural communication competence, self-awareness ideally leads to critical cultural awareness, ‘the ability to evaluate, critically and on the basis of explicit criteria, perspectives, practices and products in one’s own and other cultures and countries’ (p. 7). Collier (1989) locates this type of critical evaluation as starting from knowledge about the self, which is based upon ‘comparisons and information from others in discourse’ (p. 298), while Kramsch (2011) considers intercultural exchanges as involving past and present subjective experiences in addition to the social conventions that contribute to understanding others. Spitzberg and Changnon (2009) note that intercultural competence is positive ‘interaction between people who, to some degree or another, represent different or divergent affective, cognitive, and behavioural orientations to the world’. They add, ‘the extent to which individuals manifest aspects of, or are influenced by, their group or cultural affiliations and characteristics is what makes an interaction an intercultural process’ (p.9).

Byram (2008) extends the notion of critical cultural awareness into the concept of intercultural citizenship, which recognises the shared cognitive elements of learning about others and the affective elements of developing positive attitudes from the fields of foreign language learning and citizenship education. Intercultural citizenship bridges the gap between these two fields by incorporating the need for positive action (from citizenship education) with linguistic competence and critical thought (from the field of foreign language education) (Porto and Byram, 2015).

The place of language learning as a means to developing intercultural understanding is given slightly different emphasis. The IB, for example, embeds the learning of other languages into its programmes. ‘Multilingual and multimodal (the ability to communicate in a variety of modes in more than one language), communication is considered essential knowledge for the development of intercultural understanding’ in the IB (Singh and Qi, p. 19). This conception of language learning relates to the view expressed by Norton (2010), who notes that language can be theorised as a linguistic system, as well as ‘a social practice in which experiences are organised and identities negotiated’ (p. 350). Language can become the site for potential new identity options, a perspective at the heart of discussions of language learning in the field of intercultural competence, where learning another language is construed as learning another culture and the site of potential cultural politics and use of power (Kramsch, 1993; Guilherme, 2002).

In a multicultural setting such as Australia, the emphasis on language is seen to be more on the ability to use it as a means to communicate appropriately with a variety of people in a variety of contexts, not necessarily through the medium of another language, and to recognise and respect cultural and linguistic diversity. Students are expected to be able to identify how both culture and language shape group and national identities. While knowledge of languages is clearly central to intercultural communication competence, and can contribute to intercultural understanding, Thompson's (1998) discussion of features that support education in international schools does not explicitly refer to the requirement of language learning, but includes a curriculum with 'an international perspective' and emphasises the importance of cultural diversity in and outside the school (pp. 284-5). These varying points of view contribute to the discussion about whether one can 'know' a culture without knowing its language.

When Kramsch (2011) states that 'our culture is now subjectivity and historicity, and is constructed and upheld by the stories we tell and the various discourses that give meaning to our lives' (p. 356), she concurs with Hall's (1997) post-structuralist focus on the constructed nature of culture and the inextricable relationship between language, representation and culture, what Giddens (1991) calls the 'ongoing story about the self' (p. 54).

That learning about cultures can take place without learning languages is presented as a possibility by Risager (2006) and Root and Ngampornchai (2013), and is assumed in definitions of intercultural understanding that do not include language learning as a necessary aspect of learning about cultures. However, that learning languages includes learning about cultures is clear, as emphasised by Byram (1997) 'the acquisition of a foreign language is the acquisition of the cultural practices and beliefs it embodies for particular social groups' (p. 22).

2.3.6. International Mindedness

The concept of international mindedness is frequently discussed within the context of the IB programmes and schools offering the IB (Barratt Hacking et al., 2018). Research often focuses on its definition (Hill, 2012; Saava and Stanfield, 2018), factors that may influence its development and assessment (Wilkinson and Hayden, 2010; Wells, 2011; Wasner, 2016; Belal, 2017) or the extent to which the concept is limited by Western assumptions (Simandiraki, 2006; Van Oord, 2007; Tamatea, 2008). In a recently published document (IB, 2017), international mindedness was presented by the IB as, 'a multi-faceted and complex concept that captures a way of thinking, being and acting that is characterised by an openness to the world and a recognition of our deep interconnectedness to others [...] students reflect on their own perspective, culture and identities, and then on those of others [...]' (IB, 2017, p.2).

In their research into how schools that offer the IB programmes understand and assess international mindedness in an IB commissioned study, Barratt Hacking et al. (2018) find that definitional lack of clarity is not viewed negatively, but allows for a process of contextual development. The 'importance of the teacher and the teacher's mind-set in how the curriculum is interpreted and enacted' (Ibid., p.11) is significant. In addition, the authors cite exploration of one's own identity, exploring assumptions, the risk of stereotyping and the primacy of connecting with others over knowledge of cultural differences as important areas of consideration. Saava and Stanfield (2018) identify two elements that distinguish international mindedness from the concepts of interculturalism and multiculturalism, specifically 'its *origins* and *who* it was created for' (italics original, p. 185), defined as primarily privileged children around the globe. The authors also point to the impor-

tance of schools creating contextually specific definitions of international mindedness, as well as ensuring that school leaders and teachers are ‘culturally competent’ (p.189). Vanvooren and Lindsey (2012) locate international mindedness in the IB’s ‘constructivist approach’ and see the concept ‘taking into consideration humanistic values, shifting demographics and twenty-first century skills, all issues confronting today’s school leaders’ (p. 25), while Roberts (2013) counters the idea that contextual, school specific definitions are necessarily positive, criticising the fact that the ‘IB’s articulation of its key concept of international mindedness is sketchy, leaving a great deal to interpretation within the organisation and in schools’ (p. 125). Because the term is based on weak conceptualisation, its implementation in schools is unclear and accountability in schools is lacking, Roberts argues that ‘international mindedness’ should be abandoned by the IB for a conceptually and structurally focused consideration of ‘education for a better world’.

Haywood (2007) construes international mindedness in terms of educational outcomes and presents a typology that describes various ways in which international mindedness can be seen as impacting different spheres of life, also accepting that international mindedness is not clearly understood and that implementation is challenging (Haywood, 2015). However, he argues that ‘the concept has earned a degree of acceptance and credibility in the international education community that no other term has been able to achieve’ (p. 57). For Haywood, who draws a parallel with Gardner’s (1983) idea of predispositions and views international mindedness as a ‘predisposition towards’ a way of looking at diverse aspects of life (2007, p. 81), essential components of international mindedness include an understanding of the scientific basis that identifies the earth’s environment of common value to all and a recognition of the interconnectedness of human affairs. He also points to attitudes that include curiosity and interest in the world around us, openness towards other ways of life and a predisposition to tolerance as regards other cultures and their belief systems.

The IPC and IMC offer a curriculum for primary and middle school aged children, which includes international mindedness within their International Learning Goals, described as supporting ‘the move towards an increasingly sophisticated national and international, global and intercultural perspective [...] to help develop a sense of “international mindedness”’ (WCL). Roberts (2013) notes that the 2013 definition of the IPC’s ‘international perspective’ appears to function as a synonym of international mindedness (p. 122). Recently, Hill (2015) has used the terms international education and international mindedness interchangeably because, as he writes, an underlying assumption for him is that ‘the product of international education is international mindedness’ (p. 28).

In relation to intercultural understanding, the IB presents it as one of three conceptual elements of international mindedness, along with global engagement and multilingualism. In their analysis of the IB’s evolving definition of international mindedness across the three IB programmes in an IB commissioned paper, Singh and Qi (2013) state, ‘intercultural understanding centres on developing students’ critical appreciation and reflection on similarities and differences across human communities, their diversity and interconnections’ (p. 20). The authors draw the conclusion that intercultural understanding constitutes the ‘core element’ of international mindedness (p. 16) and identify increasingly nuanced learning outcomes supported by developmental strategies in their review of IB documentation, concurring with Hill (2012) who writes that ““international” [...] also comprises *intercultural* understanding when it is related to education’ (italics original, p. 247). In another IB commissioned paper, Casto et al. (2015) find that IB documents reflect a view of culture as connected to individual identity and community identity, and that multilingualism also relates to issues of identity (p. 191). However, the authors also find that intercultural understanding is not seen to be directly related to expectations for direct interactions with others. This distinguishes the concept

from intercultural competence, for example, which gives importance to ‘real time’ interactions (Byram, 1997; Deardorff, 2006).

The IB has also developed a fundamental document called the Learner Profile, defined as ‘the IB mission statement translated into a set of learning outcomes for the twenty-first century’ (IB, 2014) or ‘international mindedness in action’ (Plotkin, 2013, p. 3). The Learner Profile describes the attributes and related outcomes of education for international mindedness, listing ‘ten characteristics [...] that distinguish the internationally-minded person (Walker, 2011, p. 8), and is found to ‘provide a strong theoretical appreciation of the norms and values of other cultures’ (Wright and Lee, 2014, p. 149). Wells (2011), however, criticises the lack of explicit theoretical justification regarding the choice of values on which the Learner Profile is premised.

2.3.7. Intercultural Literacy

Heyward (2002) provides a developmental model of intercultural literacy, which is defined as ‘the competencies, understandings, attitudes, language proficiencies, participation and identities necessary for effective cross-cultural engagement’ (p. 10). He too argues for a conceptualisation of international education as intercultural education. For Heyward, the concept of intercultural literacy encompasses some of the knowledge and attitudes included in Hill’s definition of intercultural understanding, with an additional explicit focus on attributes related to potential internal shifts in the individual, including the ability to take on the perspective of another, to shift voluntarily between cultural identities and to experience personal change in the process. He identifies the fluid nature of identity and the impact of encountering new cultural experiences on identity-building. Heyward’s definition stems from his review of similar and related terms in the field, and his purposeful emphasis on ‘intercultural’ as a reciprocal positive engagement between cultures. He views ‘literacy’ as the related and *interdependent* dimensions of competencies, attitudes and identities, which he views as ‘frequently treated independently’ in definitions of similar terms (Heyward, 2002, p. 19).

For Heyward, the most advanced level of intercultural literacy is defined as including knowledge that shows an ‘awareness of how culture(s) feel and operate from the standpoint of the insider’ and ‘bilingual or multilingual’ language proficiencies. Attitudes include ‘mindfulness, empathy, perspective-taking, tolerance, and communication’. They are ‘differentiated, dynamic and realistic’ and demonstrate ‘overall respect for integrity of culture(s)’. Heyward includes an active element of participating in ‘well established cross-cultural/transcultural friendships and/or working relationships’ as an indication of advanced intercultural literacy. Identity is referred to as bicultural, transcultural, or global, while individuals can ‘consciously shift between multiple cultural identities’ (p. 16 – 17).

2.3.8. Global Citizenship Education

Marshall (2009) outlines the history of global citizenship education as beginning with the broadly defined concept of ‘global education’, an over-arching term that includes development education, human rights education, education for sustainable development or peace and conflict resolution education, for example. The author identifies the emergence of a more impactful notion of global citizenship education with the appearance of broader global concerns in various educational, but also political, settings, in the 1990s. Davies (2008) notes that the insertion of ‘citizenship’ into global education is not limited to more informed local citizenship, but a significant shift towards concerns of social justice, ‘rather than the more minimalist interpretations of global education’ which the au-

thor associates with definitions such as Lim's (2008, p.1073), which focuses on "international awareness" or being a more well-rounded person'.

Although no single or definitive framework for global citizenship education can exist, both UNESCO and OXFAM have developed developmental learning continua which provide more detailed descriptions of the types of knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that might be involved in developing students to be global citizens. As an example, UNESCO (2015) defines global citizenship as a 'sense of belonging to a broader community and common humanity. It emphasises political, economic, social and cultural interdependency and interconnectedness between the local, the national and the global'. Cognitive, socio-emotional and behavioural dimensions are core areas on which teaching and learning are based, with a focus, for example, on 'learners shar[ing] values and responsibilities based on human rights' and 'develop[ing] attitudes of empathy, solidarity and respect for differences and diversity', the latter outcome including some of the elements involved in intercultural understanding as presented above. OXFAM (2015) presents the global citizen as someone who 'is aware of the wider world and has a sense of their own role as a world citizen, respects and values diversity and has an understanding of how the world works, and is passionately committed to social justice'. Overlap with intercultural understanding exists, for example, in the area of knowledge about identity and diversity, with a focus on 'diversity of cultures and societies' and 'the tendencies of dominant cultures to promote certain ways of seeing', and in developing the skill of 'adapting behaviour to new cultural environments' and addressing the 'challenges of intercultural communication'.

Marshall (2009) notes that discussions of citizenship education concerned with national identity may be conceived of as rights based, as opposed to post-national citizenship education, which acknowledges the complexity of cultural identity and the multiple and multi-levelled identities of young people. She critiques models of post-national citizenship that assume that identities are separate in some way, 'sequenced by local, regional, national, international and global' concerns. This applies, for example, to UNESCO's presentation of identity as 'levelled' in its global citizenship learning continuum, involving personal, multiple group and collective identities (UNESCO, 2015). Marshall (2009) argues that this way of thinking about identity concerns may help to understand how young people learn to negotiate different levels of citizenship, but it does not adequately address the question of hybrid identities (p.18). Davies (2008) asks whether multiple identities are something that people have 'naturally', whether these identities are acquired or something that people try to have (p. 1). Similarly, Banks (2008) views any kind of citizenship education as needing to lead to cosmopolitan perspectives and a view of identities as 'overlapping'. He criticises the assimilationist views of citizenship for viewing difference as problematic, because this 'narrow conception of citizenship education [...] is not consistent with the racial, ethnic, and cultural realities [and] [...] complicated, contextual and overlapping identities' which are 'evolving and continually reconstructed' (p. 134). Banks' view is reflected, for example, in the Council of Europe's (2016) model for 'Competences for Democratic Culture' which relies on the notion that 'all people inhabit multiple cultures that interact in complex ways' (p.10).

Tate (2012) and Godfrey (2014) question the advisability of discouraging the development of a child's national identity in favour of a more global allegiance which they locate in global citizenship education. He (2005) writes that 'global citizenship is premised on the notion of a floating or transcendent cultural identity that is not situated in or related to any specific form of national identity' (p.155). This criticism may be aimed at the appeal to a 'common humanity' or 'omniculturalism' (Moghaddam, 2009; 2012) which emerges in, for example, OXFAM's learning continuum

(OXFAM, 2015) or the PISA global competence framework (OECD, 2018), as one form of cultural identity.

2.3.9. Summary Points

Intercultural understanding in its wider conceptualisation is presented as one of the general aims of international **school** education. More specifically, it is construed as a combination of knowledge, skills and attitudes that lead to awareness of, and respect for, diversity based on differing cultural affiliations, **the latter being a fundamental part of the definition that I take forward in this enquiry**. It may be present in school settings as a discrete set of learning objectives, or as an embedded dimension of another concept, such as global citizenship or international mindedness. Within conceptualisations of intercultural understanding, differences of emphasis exist around language learning as a fundamental or aspirational aspect, which is related, but not limited to, the level of expectation regarding whether interpersonal and intergroup contact takes place. As an embedded concept, intercultural understanding can be seen as creating the base on which further learning objectives related to internationally or globally minded actions can be built. Awareness of cultural identity is significant, and sometimes explicitly presented as constructed, multiple or dynamic.

2.4. Identity

This section provides an overview of three influential approaches to conceptualising identity processes: the psychoanalytical approach, identity theory rooted in the social interactionist perspective and social identity theory. It then explains the choice of social identity theory as the approach that underpins this enquiry. A more developed presentation of social identity theory and an exploration of how it potentially provides insight into the development of intercultural understanding follows.

Pearce (2013, p.72) describes identity as a ‘portmanteau category’, used to refer to both self identity and social identity. The aspect of continuity over time emerges as one aspect of identity that is viewed differently in presentations of self identity and social identity. A psychoanalytical approach, here focusing primarily on Erikson, and a sociological approach differ in their construal of continuity. In the former, interiority and continuity are fundamental aspects of identity, while in the latter, identity can be considered more of a process, defined from without, according to different social situations (Gleason, 1983, p. 918).

Gleason (1983) argues that the term ‘identity’ came into popular use in the social sciences in the mid-twentieth century. However, Western tradition may harken back to Locke’s statement of the problem of personal identity as an issue of ‘sameness of a self over time’ (Jafari and Amini, 2012, p. 48) when the philosopher wrote, in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) ‘Identity [...] consists in nothing but a participation of the same continued Life, by constantly fleeting Particles of Matter, in succession vitally united to the same organised Body.’ Locke presents a psychological explanation of personal identity grounded in conscious memory (Klein and Nichols, 2012).

2.4.1. The Psychoanalytical Approach

Research emerging from the psychoanalytical domain describes personal development as a process of movement through sequential life stages and a hierarchy of developmental moments, with an assumption that the ‘highest’ stage is the likely and most positive endpoint.

Erikson (1963, 1968), expanding on Freud's psychosexual approach to human experience, focuses his work on personal and cultural identity and the interplay between private mental construction and the external world, over time (Niloufar and Majid, 2012). His psychodynamic account of identity development involves 'a process located *in the core of the individual* and yet also *in the core of his communal culture*' (Erikson, 1968, p. 22 emphasis original). Identity therefore appears to emerge from the interaction between interior development and recognition of social and cultural norms which are internalised. Erikson specifies that identity is not 'mere "roles" played interchangeably, mere self-conscious "appearances" or mere strenuous "postures" [nor is it] self-conception, self-imagery, or self-esteem' (Erikson, 1968, p. 23), but much deeper work within the psychic structure of the individual, with an emphasis on the need for identity achievement.

Erikson describes chronological stages of development, starting in infancy and moving forward until old age, each stage defined by different main psychological concerns, such as intimacy versus isolation or generativity versus stagnation. He posits that the movement from adolescence to adulthood is specifically characterised by progressive developmental identity shifts (Waterman, 1982). The adolescent concern involves identity formation and role confusion, whereby the ego synthesises earlier identifications into a new and unique sense of self. Erikson is concerned with how identity functions as a sense of personal coherence and manifests itself as an authentic and stable self over time. This involves finding a balance between personal ideals, how one understands oneself and the views of others (Wetherell and Mohanty, 2010), which involves a continuous life process driven by internal drives as well as external cultural conditions. Pearce (2013) views this type of description as an 'epigenetic task of a broadly constructivist nature, to be performed actively by the subject through a series of alternating crises and resolutions' (p. 73).

Frosh (2010) explores the extent to which Erikson's identity concept is more psychosocial than psychoanalytical, that is, describing primarily conscious material and emphasising the importance of the social world. When Frosh (ibid., p.31) quotes Erikson (1956) writing that identity 'will appear to refer to a conscious sense of individual identity; at another moment to an unconscious striving for a continuity of personal character; and finally, as a maintenance of an inner solidarity with a group's ideals and identity', he points to complex unconscious and conscious elements of identity formation, as well as the personal and the social in identity development.

Marcia (1966, Marcia et al., 1993) elaborates specifically on Erikson's view of identity formation as an adolescent struggle between identity resolution and identity confusion, developing the identity status model to describe distinct exploration and commitment phases in the identity formation process. Using this model, Waterman (1993) and Meeus et al. (1999) show through empirical studies that identity exploration leads to commitment after differing levels of exploration.

2.4.2. Identity Theory

Identity theory, initially presented by Stryker (Stryker, 1980; 2008), emerges from within the sociological tradition of symbolic interactionism, inspired by Cooley (1902) and Mead (1934), who view self as the product of social interactions. As Blumer (1969, p. 2) outlines, individuals' actions are based on the meaning that 'things' hold for them, not the actual 'things' themselves. Interpretative processes that underpin meaning-making rely on cultural knowledge, which aids the individual in understanding the array of objects or occurrences encountered daily. Meanings emerge through social interactions and meanings change as we interpret these social interactions, described by Geertz (1973) as being 'cultural forms find[ing] articulation' (p.17). Weinreich and Saunderson (2003) crit-

icise what they consider ‘too great an emphasis [...] on the disembodied situational self which suggests a chameleon-like ephemeral view of identity’ (p. 45) within the symbolic interactionist perspective.

Identity theory responds in part to this critique by positing that society has an effect on social behaviours because of the way it impacts the self and that social structures contain relatively stable patterns of social relationships, because, while society is complex, it is still organised (Stryker and Serpe, 1982). Identity theory attempts to explain individual’s behaviours in terms of the roles they perform in a given social environment. The individual is viewed as ‘a multi-faceted and organised construct’ (Hogg et al., 1995, p. 256) that emerges from the composite of these different roles. According to Stryker (2008), the social environment provides various opportunities for role choice, whereby an individual meets the expectations of a role to the extent to which commitment to that role influences a given relationship with others. Identity is constructed through the social interactions that these roles designate and people are seen to have multiple identities, ‘as many identities as there are organised systems of role relationships in which they participate’ (p. 20).

2.4.3. Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) stems from work originally carried out in the 1970s in the field of psychology to explain relations between groups (Reid and Hogg, 2005) to account for the bases for differentiation and discrimination of disadvantaged groups, as well as the nature and use of strategies open to these groups (Spears, 2011). Tajfel (1982) and Tajfel and Turner (1986) argue for a distinction between personal identity, which emerges in interpersonal situations, is based primarily on personal variables and can be considered unique, and the social identity, which pertains to group situations and is rooted in category-based processes. This view posits an interpersonal/intergroup continuum to identify the contextual salience of social identity. Tajfel defines social identity as an ‘individual’s knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership’ (Tajfel, 1972, p. 292). As Meyer et al. (2006) state, despite the fact that social identities have been defined in many ways, ‘the common element in these definitions is inclusion of group membership as part of one’s self concept’ (p. 666), group memberships providing an individual with a definition of who he/she is in terms of the defining characteristics of the group (Hogg et al, 1995). Identification of attributes within a category of people results in the recognition of an in-group, a group to which one belongs, as distinguished from the out-group. The basis of social identity relies on a level of uniformity of perceptions or actions amongst group members (Stets and Burke, 2000) and is made up of cognitive, evaluative and emotional aspects (Van Dick, 2001) .

Social identity theory therefore looks at the social basis of identity through the lens of the group. It attempts to describe the processes by which social categorisation into groups takes place, and how individuals who identify as members of a given group carry out social comparison, a process called social identification (Spears, 2011). Intergroup differentiation emerges as a significant aspect of social identity theory. Tajfel and Turner (1986) identify three variables that may influence intergroup differentiation:

- the way and extent to which individuals are subjectively identified as belonging to a group;
- the extent to which a situation permits intergroup evaluative comparisons;

- the extent to which the out-group is comparable with the in-group so that distinctiveness increases through comparison.

Intergroup differentiation is considered important because it leads to favourable in-group bias, which may in turn lead to heightened self-esteem for members of the group. Social identity theory established the significance of the processes involved when an individual categorises others by looking at the question of ‘the collective phenomena that emerge from individual cognitions’ (Brown, 2000, p. 745).

Before moving on to a more developed consideration of the social identity approach and self-categorisation theory, which developed from within this approach, a justification of the choice of the social identity lens over other conceptualisations of identity in the context of intercultural understanding development is presented.

It is acknowledged that the psychoanalytical approach to identity formation, which focuses on internal processes of personal identity construction through moments of crisis, brings to the fore an aspect of experience that is not often explored in the context of developing intercultural understanding: the relationship between identity exploration and psychological well-being. If intercultural understanding is viewed as including an aspect of identity formation, Marcia’s model of different identity states provides potential insight into phases of learning and could cue teachers in to potential sites for resistance to, or acceptance of, challenges to personal identity formulations. This is an area that merits further research. As a theoretical lens, it is less suited for the purposes of this enquiry because of its focus on individual psychological crisis as a catalyst for identity formation, particularly during adolescence. This enquiry aims to explore beliefs about how intercultural understanding development may impact identity by placing the notion of the cultural group at the fore, and seeks to investigate teachers’ views. These goals aligns more with an approach that is grounded in the social aspect of identity formation.

Identity theory and social identity theory share a conception of the self as a reflexive entity in relation to social categories. As Stets and Burke (2000) posit in their exploration of a general theory of self based on an analysis of the commonalities between identity theory and social identity theory, both theories identify a process of classification of the self in relation to the encountered world. Social categories are viewed to exist a priori in society, which leads to the idea that ‘once in society, people derive their identities [...] from the social categories to which they belong’ (Stets and Burke, 2000, p. 225). The process of classification is referred to as *identification* in identity theory and *self-categorisation* from a social identity lens. However, identity theory places greater emphasis on roles and the expected behaviours associated with those roles, while social identity theory focuses more on one’s sense of being similar to, and different from, others in given groups.

Because of the centrality of the group from the social identity perspective, and the activation of the concept of the cultural group at the root of the concept of intercultural understanding, social identity theory is considered a useful framework to continue to explore the cultural group category as a source of meaning-making. Stated more radically, Spears (2011) states that ‘[social identity theory] is a theory of social change with an implicit agenda of equality and liberation’ (p. 208), clearly included in the broader objectives of intercultural education as well. In agreement with Tajfel and Turner (1986), this enquiry draws a distinction between personal identity, where individual behaviour is seen to stem from variables in personality, and group identity, which is based on categories and group memberships. Traditionally, social identity theory was rooted in the assumption

that intergroup relationships are problematic, as they are at the root of discrimination, negative collective behaviour and competition. The broader explanatory potential of this approach has been demonstrated in different areas within social psychology and education (*inter alia*, Johnson, 1970; Harris and Rosenthal, 1985; Badad, 2009; Gonzalez, Manzi and Noor, 2011; Saguy and Halperin, 2014; Wilken and Roseth, 2015). It is presented as a potentially useful means to shed light on experienced teachers' beliefs about the intersection between the development of intercultural understanding and identity.

2.4.3.i Cultural Groups as Social Categories

A preliminary and basic question that deserves attention is how the cultural group, in the context of intercultural understanding, is presented as a group as understood from within the social identity perspective. While it is clear that cultures are considered types of groups within social identity theory (e.g. Psaltis and Cakal; 2016 on Cyprus; Gallagher, 1989; and Ferguson and McKeown, 2016 on Northern Ireland), as are sub-groups within cultures (e.g. Moss, 2016 on Rwanda), and ethnicities (e.g. Lapwoch and Amone-P'Olak, 2016 on Ugandan ethnicities), the extent to which cultures are conceptually presented as groups from within the domain of intercultural understanding development needs to be established as a starting point.

This enquiry posits that the social identity conceptualisation of groups can be applied to the concept of cultural groups, as they are presented in teacher support documentation available for schools and teachers, because cultural groups contain the same basic elements of the social group or social category. A social category is understood as a set of attributes, including 'perceptions, attitudes, feelings and behaviours' that distinguish one social category from another. A category both describes who one is and prescribes how one should act, as well as indicating what one should expect from others in that category (Reid and Hogg, 2005, p. 805).

Cultural groups are explicitly defined as social groups in a number of documents. The UNESCO Global Citizenship Education documentation (2015), for example, provides an example of a curricular framework that uses the term social group explicitly. The framework employs the term to denote a number of different types of groups. The learning objective of 'illustrat[ing] differences and connections between different social groups' includes as a key theme, 'similarities and differences within and between cultures and societies'. The learning objective 'debat[ing] on the benefits and challenges of difference and diversity' lists as a key theme 'how diverse identities (ethnic, cultural, religious, linguistic, gender, age) and other factors influence our ability to live together'. The learning objective of critically examining 'ways in which different levels of identity interact and live peacefully with different social groups' includes as a key theme 'complex and diverse perspectives and notions of civic identities and membership, on global issues or events, through cultural, economic and political examples' (pp. 35 - 37). One of the Council of Europe's publications for teachers on intercultural learning (Sandu and Lyamouri-Bajja, 2018) is underpinned by the statement 'multiple belonging is perceived as the possibility for everyone, either individually or in a group, to feel simultaneous or successive affiliation with a set of values or cultural references shared by several groups or communities of beliefs or interests' (p.17).

Less explicit presentations of the notion that cultural affiliations constitute social groups exist. OXFAM's Curriculum for Global Citizenship (2015) includes 'identity and diversity' as a theme in the 'knowledge and understanding' portion of their guide for schools. Within this theme, one area of focus is 'the importance of language, beliefs and values in cultural identities' (p.16). In the theme 'value diversity', the objectives of 'appreciat[ing] that people can learn much from others' diverse

backgrounds and perspectives’ and ‘deepen[ing] understanding and interaction with different cultures both locally and globally’ (p. 20) are presented together as areas of focus for 14 - 18 year olds. These examples illustrate that in this document, cultural groups can be both local and global, and cultures are defined by the way one uses language and the beliefs and values one holds. The cultural group can therefore be considered a social category, as the cultural group is recognised, for example, by a set of attitudes and behaviours related to beliefs and values, as well as a set of common attributes (e.g. language use).

The definition of a culture that is used in the Australian Curriculum is ‘shared beliefs, attitudes, and practices that are learnt and passed on among a population of people’ (ACARA, 2010). This conception of culture posits the existence of a group possessing a set of attitudes and behaviours that distinguish that group from another. These examples illustrate that cultures as they are presented in a sample of teacher resources can be considered groups from a social identity approach. However, more importantly, it also makes apparent the potential for essentialist views of culture to emerge. A tension exists between the notion of culture as an ‘entity’ and culture as a frame for interpreting oneself and one’s interactions in situated contexts.

2.4.3.ii Self-categorisation

One premise of social identity theory is that a given social category, a group, offers a set of defining characteristics that help an individual determine who she is, what Pearce (2013, p. 73) describes as a type of self-examination by means of self-comparison with external entities. Self-categorisation theory (Turner et al., 1987) emerges from within the social identity approach as a way to describe an individual’s process of identification of herself, others and the groups to which she belongs. Spears (2011) argues that self-categorisation theory ‘can be seen as a more general theory of the self, of *intragroup* as well as *intergroup* processes’ (p. 208).

Categorisation is a cognitive process that involves comparison between oneself and others which Tajfel (1982) argues is not merely an example of information processing, but specifically based in a social context of interpreting intergroup relations and prompting behaviours towards out-group members. It relies on an individual’s recognition of attributes in herself and in others within a given category. Self-categorisation allows for a number of group selves, each related to a different comparative context (Turner et al., 1987). Spears (2011, p. 208) remarks that self-categorisation theory considers personal and group identities as ‘different levels of self-categorisation’.

A given social categorisation becomes psychologically salient when it aids an individual in making sense of the other people’s behaviour (Stetts and Burke, 2000; Hogg and Terry, 2001; Hogg, 2016), which makes it highly sensitive to the social context, and easily changeable as contexts change. According to Westerman et al. (2007) and Ellemers et al. (2002), individuals will use contextual cues to determine which social category provides the best guidance for behaviours and understanding. This is the concept of identity salience, which refers to how a particular identity is relevant in a given situation. Oakes (1987) refers to salience as combining both accessibility, which is the extent to which a specific social identity is ready to be activated in an individual, and fit, which is the match between the categories of the identity and the individual’s perception of a given situation. ‘Comparative fit’ emerges from perceived contextual differences, while ‘normative fit’ derives from meaning that is associated with a given social category, based on prior knowledge, assumptions or expectations (Spears, 2011, p. 209).

In relation to the development of intercultural understanding, one area for consideration that arises is the extent to which increased awareness of cultural groups, one's own and others, may be related to, or lead to, self-categorisation and with what potential outcomes regarding the goals of intercultural understanding development.

Understanding of one's own culture is presented as a significant aspect of intercultural understanding. The International Primary Curriculum, for example, aims to develop knowledge of 'one's national culture and understanding of the independence of and interdependence between peoples and countries, as well as the essential similarities between peoples and countries of the world' (WCL). Knowledge of their own and others' cultures is meant to aid students in their ability to move between 'their own worlds and the worlds of others, recognising the attitudes and structures that shape their personal identities and narratives', according to the Australian Curriculum (ACARA, 2010).

Increasing knowledge about one's own culture focuses on activating a particular cultural identity by increasing the significance of cultural group membership. From a social identity perspective, increasing knowledge about one's own culture may lead to stronger self-categorisation and identification with the in-group of 'those of my culture'. According to Hogg, as comparisons take place, the individual is 'concerned to ensure that their own group is positively distinctive - clearly differentiated from and more favourably evaluated than relevant out-groups' (Hogg, 2016, p.7). From this standpoint, other cultures would be viewed as out-groups, and the process of defining cultures through difference would promote stronger feelings of in-group distinction and preference. More significantly, Brewer (1996) and later, Hogg (2016) report 'the robust finding' of 45 years of experiments in the field that reveals that 'the mere fact of being categorised as a group member produces ethnocentrism and competitive intergroup behaviour' (p. 6). As Hahn (2013) illustrates in his analysis of one US based program aimed to reduce intergroup conflict, 'people normally relate to one another through the entry points of the social groups to which they belong, sometimes regardless of whether other individuals actually identify with these groups' (p. 418). The latter suggests that an environment that increases the significance of the cultural group as a social category increases the activation of culture as the means by which individuals relate to one another, and the importance of the cultural group in the individual's self-appraisal of the various groups with which they identify.

This poses some challenges to the premise that exploration of other cultures, which is presented within the cognitive dimension of intercultural understanding, will increase respect and tolerance of those diverse cultures. As Tarc (2013) has written, intercultural understanding development is premised on the assumption that the ability to positively understand intercultural encounters increases with further engagement and educational intervention. However, research in the field of social identity and group behaviour shows that recognising differences between groups can enhance one's in-group favouritism and potentially increase negative assessment of the out-group (Greenwald and Pettigrew, 2014). Efferson, Lalive and Fehr (2008), for example, identify people's tendency towards in-group favouritism based on an examination of symbolic markers that delineate cultural groups.

On the other hand, guided by Allport's contact hypothesis (1954, p. 281), which maintains that contact between groups in optimal conditions (i.e. participants of (1) equal status in an (2) authorising social environment engaging in (3) cooperative activities that work toward a common goal and (4) recognising a common humanity) should reduce intergroup bias, the results of a meta-analysis show that increased intergroup contact, including in school environments, is associated with lower levels of prejudice, in the field and during experimental research (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006). The contact hypothesis posits that reduction of bias can occur in certain conditions, elucidating what condi-

tions are necessary, or optimal, to ensure a positive outcome in the activation of culture as a group identity.

In relation to understanding other cultures through knowledge about them, Pearce (2011) argues that the majority of cultures support similar general values, including justice, human rights and truth. He suggests, however, that misunderstandings (or worse) take place when the prioritisation of these values appears to differ between cultures. This suggests that knowledge about other cultures needs to include a deep appreciation of the potential value dissonance between cultures. This challenge is recognised, for example, in the IB's developmental approach to intercultural understanding. Older students move towards a 'more nuanced understanding and appreciation of the tensions entailed' in understanding difference (IB, 2005). The guide to developing the Cambridge Learner Attributes reads 'students learn to appreciate alternative perspectives on global issues where ideas and interests compete and there are no easy answers' (UCLES, 2017). Under 'knowledge and critical understanding', the model for 'Competences for Democratic Culture' proposed by the Council of Europe (2016) includes, 'knowledge and understanding of the specific beliefs, values, norms, practices, discourses and products that may be used by people who have particular cultural affiliations, especially those used by people with whom one interacts and communicates and who are perceived to have different cultural affiliations from oneself' (p. 52).

A question that therefore emerges from the potentially problematic activation of culture as a group-based categorisation of oneself is how to move beyond initial bias to positive opportunities for increased intercultural understanding. The learning objectives of developing an understanding of the 'interdependence' between groups, or supporting students' ability to move between their 'own worlds and the worlds of others' posits that knowledge of, and therefore positive identification with, one's own culture is not an end in itself, but a means by which other understandings can be developed. For example, learning objectives related to knowledge about one's own culture, and other individuals' cultures, to promote understanding of the interdependence between cultures, is reflected in Hill's (2007) inclusion of world issues and social issues in his description of the types of knowledge that are included in intercultural understanding development. It also comes to the fore in OXFAM's (2015) learning objectives about globalisation and interdependence, and human rights, as well as UNESCO's (2015) focus on learning about links between local, national and global levels. In these examples, knowledge about, and a positive appraisal of the potential benefits of interactions between groups is presented as necessary to achieving understanding and promoting certain behaviours. This clearly requires moving beyond the binary in-group/out-group categorisation. It may be that some of Allport's 'optimal conditions' are implicitly suggested in statements countering assumptions that intercultural understanding will take place through knowledge alone, or through multiple cultures on the school roster.

2.4.3.iii Multiple Categorisation

From a social identity perspective, the possibility of creating *positive* relationships between different groups has been theorised in a number of ways. Some research results show that categorisation that includes more than the dichotomous in- and out-group dimensions can reduce negative judgement. Supporting or developing a subjective belief structure that allows for multiple categorisation, where people are viewed from multiple dimensions at the same time, has been found to decrease discrimination (Vanbeselaere, 1987; Crisp et al., 2001; Albarello and Rubini, 2012). The possibility of 'multiple categorisation' is posited as one potentially positive approach to intergroup relations, whereby 'people acquire a more textured and less identity-threatening representation of in-group-out-group relations' (Hogg, 2016, p.8).

Recognition of multiple dimensions in the evaluation of an individual works against categorisation based on one dimension, i.e. cultural group, ethnic group, demographic group. For example, one may be identified as sharing the attributes of the cultural group Spanish, and also the groups 'teenager' and 'musician' because consideration of other attributes allows for multiple categories of affiliation. It is less clear as to whether multiple categorisation can account for an individual being categorised into multiple groups of the same kind. Hall and Crisp (2005) find evidence to suggest that while increasing categorical complexity does reduce bias, *unrelated* categorisation was needed. This would mean that categorising an individual into two different *national* categories, for example, Japanese and Dutch, might not achieve the positive results posited by multi-dimensional categorisation. If a broader definition of 'cultural group' is activated, multiple dimensions can be integrated more easily.

The above consideration relates to the categorisation of others. When considering multiple categorisation for oneself, social identity theory posits that assessment of the immediate context will cue an individual into selecting the group attributes that will be situationally appropriate at any given moment (Ellemers et al., 2000). An individual who self-categorises himself into a number of cultural groups would recognise which settings activate a given cultural identity. Belonging to a number of culturally distinct groups may also positively affect the individual's view of out-groups, as the individual is capable of experiencing positive in-group bias with a number of different groups, lessening the in-group/out-group dichotomy. Therefore, the concept of multiple categorisation sheds some light on potentially positive results in relation to the objectives of learning for intercultural understanding.

2.4.3.iv. Re-categorisation

Another approach to increasing positive intergroup interactions is re-categorisation, which entails a shift in an individual's subjective belief structure to include a superordinate group which an individual can identify into. This thereby allows for extension of positive appraisals to former out-group members (Gaertner et al., 1996; Dovidio, Gaertner and Kafati, 2000). Guerra et al. (2010) find that re-categorisation into a superordinate common in-group amongst younger children from different ethnic backgrounds decreases prejudice. When testing the effects of contact with out-group members and perceptions of conflict between in and out-groups amongst Jewish and Arab Israelis, Gaunt (2009) finds reduction of prejudice when contact was higher, as well as lower perceptions of conflict, and the superordinate group of a common nation was activated.

One superordinate group that has been trialled to reduce prejudice is the 'human' or 'common humanity' categorisation, emphasising commonalities and rights that exist for all humans. The degree of success in activating the superordinate group is seen to depend in part on whether human nature is perceived as negative and whether collective action is a desired outcome for social change for a specific group (Greenaway, Quinn and Louis, 2011; Morton and Postmes, 2011). Crisp, Turner and Hewstone (2010) find positive outcomes when adding a common in-group, but only when participants in the research project belonged to a group with a lower social status in relation to other groups. Hogg (2016) criticises arguments that cooperation between groups can be achieved by integrating groups into one superordinate group as this positive intra-group behaviour is considered difficult to maintain and because strong attachments to social category memberships intensify resistance to it (p.8).

The guidance for teachers regarding intercultural understanding makes reference to the notion of common humanity or universal values. For example, UNESCO's Framework refers to 'the international community', 'the wider world', the existence of a 'collective identity, shared values and implications for creating a global civic culture' (pp.35 - 37). The International Baccalaureate's mission aims 'to create a better and more peaceful world' for all (IB, 2005). Appeal to the superordinate group therefore potentially exists as one strategy for improving intergroup relations in the context of intercultural understanding development.

2.4.3.v. Multicultural Framing

In contrast to re-categorisation, multicultural framing in self-categorisation provides a different approach to the question of how to positively shape intergroup relations. While re-categorisation relies on a redefinition of self in relation to a superordinate group, multicultural framing emphasises difference. What makes a group distinctive is viewed as a positive attribute that is valued in a society that promotes diversity, and emphasising difference as positive is considered an effective strategy in improving group relations.

Guidance for teachers also refers to the value of diversity, with references to 'complex and diverse perspectives', the 'challenges of living in diverse societies and cultures' and 'learning to appreciate and respect diversity,' for example (UNESCO, p. 35 - 37). The Cambridge Standards for School Evaluation ask for evidence of promoting intercultural understanding and celebrating diversity (UCLES, 2017, p. 49). The International Baccalaureate hopes to develop 'lifelong learners who understand that other people, with their differences, can also be right' (IBO, 2005)

The multiculturalism hypothesis states that positive affirmation of one's own cultural identity leads to both a positive view of one's identity and higher levels of acceptance of cultural out-groups. However, evidence exists that shows that multicultural framing is viewed differently depending on the status of one's group in relation to other groups. The dominant position of majority groups is challenged by the multicultural frame, and identification may lessen because the validity of in-group bias is questioned by members of the majority group. On the other hand, evidence suggests that the minority group may feel stronger in-group identification as a result of valuing diversity (Verkuyten, 2005; Vorauer and Quesnel, 2017). One can posit, in agreement with Allan (2002), that the learning objective of enhancing understanding and appreciation of diversity may therefore have different consequences for different groups in the same classroom or school.

2.4.3.vi. Multiple Identities

Dovidio et al. (2015) state that one of the most significant developments in social psychology over the past three decades has been the 'recognition that individuals have many different self-concepts and identities, which are rooted in personal experiences and aspirations and in the social groups to which they belong' (p. 232). Social identity theory posits that an individual will belong to multiple groups, and therefore may have a 'combination of representations of the self', within groups that could potentially possess conflicting values or behaviours (Meyer et al., 2006). Group memberships can serve a variety of identity functions, including self-insight, collective self-esteem or social interaction opportunities (Deaux et al., 1999). Identities are also considered to be organised in a 'hierarchy of inclusiveness' (Stetts and Burke, p. 231), for example, 'Portuguese', 'European', 'human'.

This view is reflected, for example, by Heyward (2002) who argues that individuals with advanced levels of intercultural literacy can 'consciously shift between multiple cultural identities' (p.17),

while, for example, the PISA Framework (2018) refers to identity as complex, warning against ‘perpetuat[ing] the “single story” identity’ (p. 46) in favour of multiple identities and UNESCO (2015) refers to different ‘levels of identity’ associated with cultural, linguistic, religious, gendered and age groups.

2.4.3.vii. Motivation and Affection Consequences

Group membership helps an individual determine how to think, feel and behave by providing an array of characteristics that guide one’s definition of who one is (Turner et al., 1979). The values of the groups to which one belongs are internalised by the individual. Reid and Hogg (2005) investigate the role of two factors in explaining people’s motives for identifying with groups: uncertainty reduction and self-enhancement. Uncertainty reduction involves the need to understand one’s self and the social world, while self-enhancement is considered a motive to maintain or increase a positive sense of who one is, or to decrease a negative sense of who one is. Both of these motives are related to pursuing a sense of well being. Reid and Hogg (2005) cite evidence that the more uncertain a person is, the more likely she is to identify with a more homogenous group and view it as more self-relevant (p. 806).

Greenaway et al. (2015) consider how, according to research based on social identity theory and self-categorisation theory, belonging to a social group has an impact on well-being. They argue that the benefit of belonging to social groups stems in part from the group’s capacity to make individuals feel positively about themselves because they feel in control of their lives (p. 54). This perceived control relates to motivation and self-regulation.

When applied to the process of developing intercultural understanding, uncertainty reduction and self-enhancement in motivating cultural group memberships suggests that individuals would gain on an affective level from identification with a given cultural group. In addition, the individual with the least certain sense of cultural identity would be the most likely to seek identification with a clearly defined cultural group. This leads to a potential internal paradox, as the cultural group distinctiveness that has been presented as a fundamental aspect of defining learning through cultural groups from a social identity perspective would appear to lead individuals to identify more strongly with a cultural group to attain psychological well-being, and by doing so, value his group over other groups. However, intercultural understanding has also been framed as developing an awareness of multiple cultural identities, attitudes of open-mindedness and focusing on intergroup cooperation and consensus building. It appears important to understand how cultural groups are mobilised in intercultural situations and international school settings, and what, if any, impact this might have on psychological well-being, in order to ensure that focusing on culture does not lead to a decrease in appreciation for out-groups, on the one hand, or a destabilising state of uncertainty on the other.

It can be argued that learning for intercultural understanding may lead to cognitive dissonance, what Festinger (1957) theorised as feeling psychologically uncomfortable because various pieces of knowledge that an individual possesses are not consistent with each other. Individuals will attempt to reduce feelings of dissonance by avoiding situations or information that could contribute to increasing the feeling. Intercultural understanding brings cultural groups to the fore and catalyses a process of self-categorisation based on identifying attributes in one’s self and in one’s cultural group(s). It is possible that in the context of the study of one’s own cultural group(s) and that of others, contradictions in values may emerge or attributes deemed problematic by one group may be called into question in relation to another group. If this process results in self-questioning, and a

lessening of group identification ensues, an individual may feel increased uncertainty, or may find that knowledge statements or beliefs are inconsistent with each other, an example of intercultural education possibly beginning where difficult learning starts (e.g. Allan, 2002).

2.5. Conclusion

In relation to this enquiry's research question, I posit that a social identity approach, with a focus on self-categorisation theory, provides a framework for investigating the place of the group in teachers' beliefs about developing intercultural understanding. The concepts of categorisation and multicultural framing are seen to relate to a number of learning objectives included in documents for teachers and schools concerned with learning related to intercultural understanding.

Based on the above theoretical consideration of how a social identity approach to intercultural understanding might elucidate various aspects of the relationship between intercultural understanding development and identity, the following areas emerge for further investigation:

- (1) the degree to which development of intercultural understanding would result in increased significance of the cultural group(s) in an individual's construal of his/her identity/ies.
- (2) the extent to which intercultural understanding would lead to multiple self-categorisations, corresponding to multiple cultural identities, or to other positive outcomes (i.e. re-categorisation into a superordinate group, positive multicultural framing).
- (3) the degree to which changes in self-categorisation in the course of intercultural understanding development would include feelings of dissonance.

The above areas emerging from the literature review support this enquiry's research question: what do experienced international school teachers believe about their personal development of intercultural understanding and its relationship to their own identities. How teachers talk about the meanings they give to membership in cultural groups, how they understand cultural groups, and whether they view memberships as having changed over time in relation to intercultural experiences allows for reflection on lived experiences and the relationship between group identities and intercultural understanding development. The concepts of multiple self-categorisation, re-categorisation or positive multicultural framing, as well as dissonance and its emotional impact, provide a conceptual framework from within which identity construals in relation to groups may be more clearly understood. This allows for the development of an analytical approach to support this enquiry's second aim of exploring the extent to which the lens of social identity and self-categorisation theory leads to fruitful investigation of the intersection between identity and the development of intercultural understanding.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1. Introduction

The literature review in Chapter 2 of this enquiry focuses on three conceptual areas: international **school** teachers and teacher beliefs, intercultural understanding and a social identity approach to the concept of identity. Researching teacher beliefs when exploring a concept such as intercultural understanding, which remains broadly defined and often dependent on local contexts, leads to specific choices of methodology. The literature shows that while the concept of identity is included in the field of intercultural understanding, it is referred to in a number of different ways or remains implicit. This chapter presents the theoretical framework at the base of the research design and the ensuing methodology employed to investigate the question of experienced international **school** teachers' beliefs about the relationship between intercultural understanding and identity, with a focus on three areas emerging from the literature review (1) the significance of cultural group identities (2) evolving group affiliation and (3) emotional response.

3.2. Restatement of Research Aims and Research Questions

The aims of this research enquiry are to explore experienced international school teachers' beliefs about the development of intercultural understanding and its relation to identity and to investigate the extent to which social identity and self-categorisation theory provide a useful framework for understanding the intersection between identity and the development of intercultural understanding.

The research question (RQ1) '**what do international school teachers believe about their personal development of intercultural understanding and its relation to their own identities**' is therefore informed by the theoretical lens of self-categorisation theory from within a social identity approach, which leads to three **subsidiary** research questions:

(RQ1a) **To what extent is** the concept of multiple cultural identities a useful construct for thinking about intercultural development?

(RQ1b) **To what extent does** identity formation in the context of intercultural development include changes in group affiliation?

(RQ1c) **To what extent does** identity formation in the context of intercultural development include feelings of unease?

3.3. Assumptions and Theoretical Approach

This enquiry rests on the supposition that reality is constructed from within our individual understandings of the value and meaning of human experience. This constructivist view implies an ontological stance that multiple socially constructed realities exist and that individuals perceive the world differently from one another. Perceptions can change over time in response to social interaction and personal elaboration of the meaning of these interactions. This implies that the researcher acknowledges that what an individual says about his/her beliefs or experiences is rooted in their perceptions of reality, 'what they perceive it to be' (Creswell and Miller, 2000, p. 125). Therefore, the epistemological stance of this enquiry is that the researcher and the research participant are involved in a mutual construction of meaning, where both bring their respective perspectives, values

and views to the area of research. Guba and Lincoln (1982) draw the distinction between the rationalistic paradigm and a constructivist 'naturalistic' paradigm, arguing that the latter better serves the social sciences for its contextual relevance, richness and sensitivity to process (p. 236).

The axioms of the naturalistic paradigm as presented by Lincoln and Guba include a view of reality as multiple and intangible, where the rationalistic ends of prediction and control are improbable. Research instead contributes to varied levels of understanding. The purpose of research is presented by the authors as building idiographic knowledge, which is context and time specific, although transferability of findings can occur in situations of identifiable contextual similarity. It is assumed that a 'mutual interaction' between the researcher and research participant exists, requiring that specific precautions are taken in relation to data collection. It is also recognised that research is 'value-bound' at all levels, including the framing of the research area, the research paradigm, the theories, methods, tools, analysis and interpretation of data (Guba and Lincoln, 1982, pp. 237 - 238).

Consideration of each of these axioms allowed me as researcher to explore, early in the design process, the extent of alignment between the naturalistic paradigm and the general design for this enquiry, because this enquiry's focus is on teachers' beliefs, which reflect highly contextualised experiences and perceptions. The axioms are presented here with my initial understanding of their implications for this study. My responses and implemented strategies in relation to these axioms are developed further in the methodology section of this chapter.

Axiom 1: The Nature of Reality - In a naturalistic paradigm, realities are considered to be multiple and constructed, and must be understood in relation to their contexts. Therefore, I gave importance to the way data were collected (where, when and how) and the way language is construed as a means to structure world views and beliefs, including beliefs about how the individual wishes to present herself to the researcher or to herself, and to relay experiences from the past and ideas about the future.

Axiom 2 - The Inquirer-Object Relationship - Interviews are considered shared meaning-making opportunities, where questions are authentic sites of building understanding over time. Asking participants questions about their own experiences and beliefs is viewed as sensitive, and subject to re-telling and re-consideration. This required a process of information giving before the interview, during the interview and after the interview, as well as opportunities for participants to ask me questions and contribute to the enquiry over time if they wished. It also required sensitive question asking and the creation of a supportive non-judgemental environment during the interviews.

Axiom 3: The Nature of Truth Statements - The first concern is to develop an 'adequate ideographic statement' about the situation in question before making statements about transferability. This implies a research design that allows for layers of meaning-making from different perspectives. As outlined below, my data collection strategies were decided upon to allow for complexity in sources of information, while physical limitations and time constraints meant I had to find solutions that were feasible for me as researcher, excluding, for example, a longer term ethnographic study.

Creation and use of a concept framework for data analysis allowed for the emergence of some potential 'working constructs', to account for teachers' descriptions of their experiences. Transferability is supported where enough similarity between varied contexts can be identified, therefore details related to professional and personal changes of location, years of experience, types of schools, professional development, for example, of each participant's experiences are important.

Axiom 4: Attribution/Explanation of Action - The naturalistic paradigm posits that ‘an action may be explainable in terms of multiple interaction factors, events, and processes that shape it and are part of it’. Any conclusions drawn are plausible inferences about ‘patterns and webs of such shaping’. This contributed to a data analysis process where looking for patterns was a significant focus.

Axiom 5: The Role of Values in Inquiry - As nothing is value-free, values need to be made as clear and transparent as possible in terms of my role as researcher, through reflexivity and explicit statements regarding where these values may have influenced aspects of the enquiry.

The strategy I developed in this enquiry was therefore to conduct a series of semi-structured interviews with a small group of experienced international school teachers who could draw on their own experiences in a number of international settings to discuss their beliefs about the development of intercultural understanding and its relationship to identity. Interviews appear well-suited for the aims of this enquiry as they allow for deep and detailed engagement, offer a site for meaning-making as the interview takes place and in subsequent contact during review sessions, allow for consideration of the interplay between multiple contexts and multiple experiences and are based on building a rapport of trust and careful listening and questioning. My experiences in a previous research project involving teacher interviews, as well as my professional experience with various types of interviews, provided me with opportunities to apply my interviewing skills and further develop them in the research context. The particular challenges and honing of skills in relation to the semi-structured research interview are discussed below. In addition, relying on my professional experience, focused conversations with professionals in the field, a review of the literature and information collected from a participant background information form, I identified and analysed a set of teacher guidance documents to determine the extent to which teachers’ beliefs could be aligned with the presentation of concepts in the documents.

3.4. Validity

The need for and means by which qualitative research can respond to conceptual criteria for quality has been explored in a variety of ways (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Sykes, 1991; Cresswell and Miller, 2000; Stenbacka, 2001; Golafshani, 2003). Lincoln and Guba (1985) describe the importance of establishing confidence in an enquiry’s findings and propose the concepts of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability to verify and establish validity in a naturalistic paradigm. Sandelowski and Barroso (2002) have gone so far as to criticise the use of pre-determined criteria in qualitative research and cite the extreme variability of qualitative approaches as rendering ‘the report itself’ (p. 8) the only possible means of establishing validity, while Davies and Dodd (2002) extend the notion of validity beyond Lincoln and Guba’s to include demonstration of a number of attitudes on the part of the researcher, including attentiveness, empathy, carefulness, sensitivity and respect. As Cresswell and Miller (2000) state, validity here refers to inferences from the data, not the data itself (p.125).

This enquiry employs Lincoln and Guba’s criterion of credibility to guide strategies such as member checking, prolonged contact and debriefing with peers. Transferability is supported by purposive sampling and informative accounts of the participants to provide information about the extent to which the findings can be applied to other situations. Dependability requires a clearly reported process, including the resources used to demonstrate confirmability. As outlined below, these include logs during different phases of the enquiry, the creation of the data analysis product used,

process notes related to various steps of the data gathering, evidence of member checking (Halpern, 1983) and triangulation through examination of teacher guidance documentation.

This enquiry's purpose of 'generating understanding' relies on exploring other people's presentation of their realities based on a specific problem area (Stenbacka, 2001). This enquiry is also informed by Gummesson's (1991) concept of pre-understanding, which is employed to frame and define the problem area. Pre-understanding involves rendering explicit insights and experiences that accompany the researcher in the process of research. First-hand pre-understanding is included in sections of this enquiry's introduction and contextual description (Chapter 1), while the literature review is an example of second-hand pre-understanding. This can be compared, in part, to Lincoln and Guba's (1985) stress on providing sufficient detail of the context of the research, which also determines the extent to which the findings can be deemed transferable to another situation. Stenbacka (2001) emphasises the importance of a systematic, careful and thorough description of the process of data collection and analysis within the enquiry, including pre-understanding statements, which allows for the researcher's presence to be made explicit and provides insight into the iterative process of reflection and analysis.

3.5. Methodology

Semi-structured interviews of international school teachers in the field were chosen as a fit for purpose method to explore beliefs about intercultural understanding development and its impact on identity. The qualitative interview offers depth of information and provides the researcher with the opportunity to explore meanings and perceptions (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006), specifically providing an opportunity for teachers to express their beliefs, to draw on memory and life experiences that may have shaped those beliefs, to reflect on how beliefs may have changed over time and how beliefs shape interpretation of experiences and direct intentions (Nespor, 1987). Alternative approaches to collecting data for this enquiry were considered. The in-depth case study was rejected in favour of a set of semi-structured interviews, as I wished to investigate the beliefs of a number of experienced teachers who had diverse international school experiences in terms of location to determine whether any commonalities could be identified in spite of experiences in different countries, cultures, languages and schools, and to leave open the possibility that certain types of experiences could be linked to certain types of locations, professional development, or other factors. Questionnaires were also considered as a source of data, but rejected as the aim of this enquiry is to focus on beliefs and experiences as they are expressed by teachers in their own words, allowing for unexpected or unpredictable responses. Time and resource constraints also contributed to the decision not to carry out observations of the interviewed teachers in classroom settings. Document analysis of a set of teacher guidance documents allowed for exploration of the extent to which teachers' beliefs align with conceptualisations of intercultural understanding development, identity and the place of the group.

3.5.1. Semi-structured Interviews

Importance was given to 'beliefs about' (Pajares, 1992) in the areas of intercultural understanding and identity, multiple cultural identities and affective responses to experiences related to intercultural understanding development. Interviews focused on teachers' beliefs in relation to their own experiences.

The four main semi-structured interview question prompts emerged from the literature study, review and discussion with professional volunteer peers, and an interview pilot phase. Theoretical propositions were in place before the data collection phase of the background information form and interviews as a result of the literature review, as reported in Chapter 2.

The data gathering pilot phase included trialing both the background information form and the interview questions with two volunteer professional peers. The choice of the volunteers was based on the same criteria for the choice of the interview participants (see below), i.e. number of years of teaching in a number of different international schools, teaching at secondary level, identifying themselves as possessing high levels of intercultural understanding. The same ethical and confidentiality guidelines were applied throughout the pilot, and the volunteer peers were not part of the participant group. Volunteer 1 was asked to review (and agree to) the consent letter, to review the senior administrator participant letter, the background information form and the pilot semi-structured interview prompts. The volunteer was sent written copies of all documents and gave spoken critical feedback. Volunteer 2 was asked to complete the consent form, the background information form and take part in an interview, with the aim of providing constructive critical feedback after the process.

The pilot phase feedback led me to (1) explicitly name the enquiry topic in the consent form (2) explicitly invite questions from participants about the research topic or interview format (3) delete one question that was too broad and time-consuming and instead integrate that question into the information gathering tool ('the background information form') (4) provide participants with a written copy of the final four question prompts before the interview. The pilot phase also led to adjustments to the semi-structured interview question prompts to make them clearer and less closed in some instances (Appendix 1). The pilot also allowed me to reflect on my skills as interviewer in a research context, including repeating/rephrasing what a participant had said in order to ask for development or clarification, allowing time for reconsideration of the interview questions if participants wished to add detail or provide further examples, becoming more aware of the place of flexible responsiveness in follow-up questions, and avoiding leading participants in a particular direction. During the interview process, I kept the idea of 'disconfirming evidence' (Miles and Huberman, 1994) in mind, whereby data that disconfirms a category is accounted for (i.e. intercultural development [does not equal] impact on identity) rather than being ignored or set aside during the interview. The interview questions were asked as exploratory prompts, ensuring that the teacher understood that they could distance themselves from the content of the question, disagree, or express an inconclusive response. This was important to ensure that my bias, based on my prior knowledge and experiences - my first and second hand pre-understandings - did not influence teachers.

Coded transcripts and initial findings were shared with participants and the results of further feedback and clarification were integrated (an example is provided in Appendix 2). This contributes to strategies for creating and demonstrating credibility and confirmability through member checking.

Interview transcriptions are included in Appendix 12. However, two transcriptions have been omitted due to the possibility that the anonymity of the two participants could be compromised by their inclusion.

3.5.2. Purposive Sampling - Semi Structured Interview Participants

Stenbacka (2001) argues that understanding of a given phenomenon can be considered valid if the informants involved in the research are (1) part of the problem area and (2) are provided with the

opportunity to ‘speak freely according to their own knowledge structures’ (p. 552). For this enquiry, this meant strategically choosing teachers who have been involved in the area of international school education and have developed intercultural understanding, according to the teachers themselves.

The semi-structured interview allows for the type of free-speaking required to obtain validity in accordance with Stenbacka. The empirical material resulting from the interviews was then lifted to a level of ‘analytical generalisation’, as distinct from statistical generalisation. The extent to which this allows for generalisation with the population is determined by, and limited by, the strategic choice of participants, as well as the limits of a naturalistic paradigm.

Critical similarities within the group were defined in relation to the research questions and based on the literature review. Criteria for choosing teachers to take part in semi-structured interviews were based on ‘experience in international schools’. Teachers with less than two years teaching experience in international schools were excluded as potential participants. The number of distinct international teaching experiences was also a criterion in choosing participants, as more than one international teaching experience provides a comparative, process-based source of reflection for the individual to draw on when speaking about beliefs. The decision to exclude new or newly trained teachers was in part to focus on a group that has seen less research interest in this domain, and to define more specifically the potential areas for generalisation of the enquiry’s findings. The focus on secondary school teachers stems from the evidence emerging from the document review and analysis, where topics that qualify as ‘difficult knowledge’, defined in the literature review as requiring engagement with complexity and more sophisticated levels of critical thinking, are evidenced in learning outcomes designed for the secondary student level. Therefore, teacher beliefs about issues pertaining to their own ‘difficult knowledge’ experiences are more readily drawn upon in their statements related to their teaching roles at the secondary level in international schools. Additionally, Skelton et al. (2002) point out that teachers tend to define concepts such as international mindedness in adult terms, which are more aligned with learning outcomes related to high school aged students.

Senior administration in a number of international schools identified through professional networks I belong to (Association of International School Heads, Mediterranean Association of International Schools, Association of IB World Schools in Italy) were asked to indicate potential teacher participants according to the above selection criteria (Appendix 3). Potential teacher participants were contacted by email with an explanation of the research enquiry in a consent form (Appendix 4) and an invitation to fill out a preliminary background information form (Appendix 5) if interested in participating in the initial phase of the enquiry. The results of the informational form were used to identify seven teacher participants based on the two selection criteria and to include a wider geographical range of international school experiences and as much variety as possible into the group. Interviews took place over eight months in 2018, either in person or via Skype. Three teachers responded to the initial email and either declined or were not available within my set time-frame. Seven interviews were recorded, anonymised, and externally transcribed by a professional service that maintains confidentiality and security. Transcriptions were reviewed by me with the original audio recordings for accuracy.

It is acknowledged that interviews are a site of contextualised meaning construction, in that the researcher and participant are engaged in producing ‘talk-in-interaction’ (Firth and Kitzinger, 1998). A constructivist premise highlights the fact that meaning is created through language, and that in-

interpreting what is said must take into account the fact that interaction between two people is a social function, where roles exist, a sense of self is being constructed in the present and neutrality is not possible. Rather, the researcher must take part in a reflexive process and consider her social role and that of the participant, acknowledging implicit or explicit power relations and attempting to create rapport, defined as the degree of trust and respect for the participant and the extent to which a safe and comfortable environment can be created to allow the participant to share their personal experiences and beliefs (DiChicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006).

I am aware that levels of bias exist in the selection process. Senior administrators may indicate teachers who they consider 'good' practitioners, and potential teacher participants may feel influenced if they know a senior administrator has indicated them as potentially interested. In addition, my role as researcher cannot be entirely divorced from my professional activities as teacher, teacher-educator and currently as administrator as this information exists in the public domain. Although I situate myself as researcher, these other areas of activity may influence the way participants position themselves, or me. I attempted to address this by sharing information with participants and providing multiple opportunities for participants to ask me questions at different moments in the process and by focusing on my role as researcher in my interactions with participants.

The participant group is also limited, as teachers all have Western backgrounds. All teachers but one were native English speakers. In addition, the teachers interviewed belong to the 'dominant' group in international school teachers, that is English-speaking Westerners. This limits the transferability of the findings, although it is helpful in as far as it may provide insight into this particular teacher group, representative of Western English speaking international school teachers. Appendix 6 summarises the profiles of the group based on the background information form.

3.5.3. Model-building and Model-testing

The place of theory in research can be viewed on a continuum, with a rationalist view positing that a priori theory provides the basis on which research is constructed and hypotheses tested and grounded theory, at its extreme, positing that each research enquiry establishes its own theory. This enquiry sees semi-structured interviews as providing opportunities for both model-building and model-testing, that is, providing information that may serve both theory construction and theory verification (Wengraf, 2001, p. 2). The interview questions were created based on the literature review and the exploratory areas identified after consideration of a social identity approach to the development of intercultural understanding. This reflects the theory-testing direction behind the collection and analysis of interview data, an aspect of the underpinnings 'which the interpreter makes about what is important and what is worth paying attention to' in the data (Willig, 2014, p. 3). However, the semi-structured interview seen as a mutual meaning-making, situated activity, intrinsically allows for, and encourages, unforeseen responses, the potential theory-building direction of the collection and analysis of interview data. This involves a move towards Ricoeur's (1965) 'empathic' stance towards the interpretation process, paying special attention, noticing patterns and relationships, stepping in and stepping back from another person's view of things.

Tacit knowledge is translated into propositional knowledge early on in the literature review process, and explained through my positioning of myself in the introduction and context sections of the enquiry. This also involves bracketing (Holliday, 2011) of my own intentions and my beliefs, given the 'identity congruence' (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002, p. 77) between the teachers interviewed and

myself. Member checking, engagement with disconfirming evidence and reflexivity are employed to render this process of bracketing explicit.

3.5.4. Interview Data Analysis - Emergent Themes and Coding

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data emerging from the semi-structured interviews. The process of theme identification allows for data reduction while maintaining focus on the research questions, and offers the possibility to pay attention to new, convergent, divergent or deeper meanings emerging from the interview data. As Nowell et al. (2017) point out, ‘there are few discussions in the literature about how to conduct a rigorous and a relevant thematic analysis’ (p. 2). For this reason, I trialed a few approaches before finalising my method, and I highlight the process below to explicate my approach from data collection to research outcomes (Appendix 7), how it responds to Lincoln and Guba’s criteria, and how it rests on this enquiry’s theoretical and epistemological premises. I am aware that the flexibility that I welcomed, and that this method affords, can also lead to claims that it is inconsistent and lacks coherency (Holloway and Todres, 2003).

On completion of the first two interviews and after verification of the transcripts with the recorded interviews, I began a repetitive reading cycle, underlining words and phrases in both transcripts after reading through the complete transcript a number of times. I also noted questions to myself that responses elicited, in a coding journal. At this point, I trialed qualitative content analysis as a method for creating a coding frame. My previous data analysis experience with coding involved using Gee’s critical discourse method, which I did not find appropriate for the aims of this research enquiry. In this pilot phase, I used Schreier’s (2013) steps in qualitative content analysis, selecting responses from two participants about the same topic, following the recommendation that building the frame in multiple steps based on smaller amounts of data is preferable and more manageable.

Using responses about the same topic (i.e. based on the same question) meant that I was aware that my conceptual framework for exploration of the topic of intercultural understanding and identity was shaping the way I looked at the data, as the interview questions were formulated based on the areas emerging from the literature review. Main categories are defined as ‘those aspects of the material about which the researcher would like more information’ and subcategories ‘specify what is said in the material with respect to these main categories’ (ibid., p.8). A pilot qualitative analysis coding frame was generated with main categories generated by the interview questions and initial subcategories emerging from the two first interviews. However, the requirement that the coding framework be complete and unmodifiable after the pilot stage (ibid., p. 15) appeared to work against my objective of maintaining a degree of flexibility and responsiveness to data as the enquiry unfolded, as well as the premise that each interview is contextually specific, requiring the researcher to enter into the participant’s view of the world.

During another iteration of the qualitative content analysis coding trial, in response to the interview question ‘to what extent has the development of intercultural understanding led you to change the groups you affiliate with or identify with’, responses were initially categorised into two categories: *Group Affiliations* and *Self-categorisation*. The definitions of these categories were found to be inadequately differentiated, as interview segments could be interchanged. The requirement of mutual exclusiveness in the coding frames means that a single segment of material cannot be coded in two subcategories under the same main category (ibid., p.8). While this was of importance in deepening my understanding of the generation and application of clear and identifiable code definitions, the mutual exclusiveness requirement did not adequately reflect the premise inherent in this enquiry

that language as a vehicle for meaning-making can carry multiple levels of meaning in the same instance. The qualitative content analysis approach to coding was abandoned at this point.

I then looked to a hybrid process of inductive and deductive thematic analysis to interpret data, using both data-driven codes and theory-driven ones, such as the one presented by Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006). I developed a preliminary a priori template of codes based on the social identity theory framework that underpinned the enquiry's research questions, following Crabtree and Miller (1999) who describe a process for creating this type of data management tool to support the interpretation of related texts. Eleven broad code categories were trialed in the initial coding manual, which were reduced to eight, as three were better defined as subcategories. These codes were trialled with two interview transcripts and random segments from a number of interview transcripts before being applied to all documents. **A sample of a complete coded transcription is included in Appendix 13.**

Throughout the process of defining coding categories and subcategories, my concern was to ensure a balance between my ability to demonstrate the credibility of the data analysis, also considering my novice status in thematic analysis, and to avoid confining my coding, analysis and interpretation by a priori categories that might bias the process unduly and erode the interest of the interview as a method, which lies in part in its ability to reflect multiplicity and unexpected perspectives. This required repetition of the coding process for the same interviews over time.

Nowell et al. (2017, p.4) explicate a six-phase method of thematic analysis based on Braun and Clarke (2006), highlighting its trustworthiness through Lincoln and Guba's (1985) widely accepted criteria. They also use a hybrid process, creating higher order codes from a conceptual framework, and sometimes matching an interview question. Other codes emerge inductively in a process similar to the one I definitively decided to follow, and outline below.

Phase 1: Familiarising yourself with the data

While conducting the interviews, I took notes in a journal on my initial thoughts and questions arising from the interview. This allowed me to be alert to potential themes, similarities and differences in relation to the interview responses during the data collection process. I stored files in a secure network location and created a naming system for the files based on a participant code, dating the file according to its creation, the date of transcription and the date of transcription checking, all of which is recorded on a single spreadsheet (Appendix 8). Unlike the pilot phase of the qualitative content analysis, where only a sample of the data was read, I read and reread all the transcripts as they were transcribed, searching for patterns cumulatively, adding notes to my journal (excerpts included in Appendix 9).

Phase 2: Generating initial codes

Initial codes were created for categories after the repeated reading sessions by identifying segments of text and linking a category name and code to them. I worked through the first set of interviews entirely, reading until I met a relevant concept or idea. If it appeared to be a new concept, I created a category name for that segment. Segments that did not readily fit into a code were maintained in a 'miscellaneous' code category, as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006) to ensure that these segments of text were not set aside in later analytical phases. This occurred through an iterative process

of returning to the texts. In this manner, each concept was coded and a list of different coded categories was developed.

Phase 3: Searching for themes

With the list of categories and subcategories, the next step involved sorting the different coded categories into themes by identifying patterns and webs of meaning. This involved a process of linking codes into recurrent over-arching ideas. At the end of the process, three overarching themes emerged by identifying meanings in sub-categories that related to the ideas of 'becoming', 'belonging' and 'choice' (see Appendix 7).

Phase 4: Review

Recoding from the data, identifying inappropriate or inadequate categories after the initial coding and unearthing a concept or idea that was not recognised as such during the first coding requires repetitive review phases. This involves reviewing the data segments, the coding and the logic of the themes. For example, as mentioned, during an early review phase, I was not satisfied with the clarity of the coded segments related to 'Group Affiliation' and 'Self-categorisation', as interview segments could arguably be placed in both or either category. I therefore trialled and adopted a modified version of the coding manual, with sub-categories created within the category 'Group Identification'. These changes eliminated the ambiguity of the previous coding categories mentioned. A later review phase led, for example, to the separation of the coding category 'International Education' into additional sub-categories in reference to teachers, students and parents, and to the introduction of a sub-category under 'Identity' called 'aspirational', as this emerged from the document analysis more clearly. An example of the final version of the coding manual with collated segments is included in Appendix 7.

Phase 5: Defining and naming themes

At this point, theme names need to be reconsidered, to encapsulate what is interesting and communicate clearly to the reader what the theme means. This ensures that the researcher is able to describe the scope of each theme, and its content in a concise manner. I decided to re-name an initial theme called 'positioning' with the name 'choice', as a review of the segments, as well as the desire to distance my analysis from 'positioning theory', revealed more clearly a conscious, positive response to life events and constructive critical searching for professional solutions that were better reflected in the word 'choice'.

Phase 6: Producing the report

This phase involves transforming the process and results of the process into a narrative that is clear, and logical. I have chosen to quote participants in the report, embedding some of their responses in the text and providing an Appendix to illustrate how the analysis is supported by the data. The report is organised by theme, and within each theme, data from the interviews is presented with data from the document analysis, and summarised in a table. This contributes to organising a large amount of data concisely and clearly. Discrepancies and contradictions are an important and fruitful aspect of the report and findings, and are highlighted throughout.

3.5.5. Document Analysis - Teacher Guidance Documentation

The first methodological step in the document analysis entailed linking theoretical understanding of intercultural understanding to other related concepts of intercultural education which emerged from a review of the literature in the field. The conceptualisation of intercultural understanding as related to similar or broader concepts of intercultural education informed the search for teacher guidance documentation in order to examine different aspects of intercultural understanding and potential related conceptualisations of identity. Teacher guidance documentation was defined as documentation that is available to secondary school international teachers, intended for teachers, serves to inform teacher understanding of intercultural understanding as a discrete concept or contributing to a related concept, is produced by a recognised organisation and is not subject specific, meaning it is available to, and written for, teachers of any subject area at the secondary level. Teaching resources for classroom activities were not the focus of this enquiry.

The literature review involved a selection process of teacher support documents destined for use in schools and by schools to guide learning, prescribe performance standards, or describe student attributes related to the development of intercultural understanding as a discrete concept or an embedded concept. Concepts presented in these documents were explored and problematised in the literature review, and were the subject of data analysis using the coding framework generated for the interview results.

3.5.6. Document Sampling

Teacher support documents were initially identified in the following way:

- My previous work carried out during earlier EdD modules at the University of Bath
- My professional experience in a number of international schools
- Suggestions from peers, including senior administrators of international schools
- Searches for the expression ‘intercultural understanding’ or ‘international mindedness’ or ‘global citizenship’ or ‘intercultural competence’ or ‘multicultural education’ and ‘framework’ or ‘curriculum’ (databases such as Google Scholar/JStor/ERIC) in the context of the literature review for this enquiry.

The limits of this search include limitations of the language used, English. Also, identification of documents with the above search means that there was less scope for examination of the listed concepts as embedded in other ways in teaching documents and resources.

The documents examined in the data analysis portion of this enquiry were chosen according to the below set of criteria, the most important being the first - feedback from teacher participants’ background information forms. The criteria for choice were generated in light of the research question for this enquiry, which asks what teachers believe about their **personal** development of intercultural understanding and its relation to **their own** identities. Prior to being interviewed, teachers were asked to indicate which documents in the field they were familiar with, based on the premise that professional documentation is one *potential* source from which a teacher will derive meaning and beliefs about the concept of intercultural understanding. This **crit**erion also allows for reflection on whether it is possible to identify congruence between teacher beliefs and their self-reported related professional resource knowledge. Examination of a selection of professional documentation familiar to this set of experienced international school teachers also contributes to the second research

aim of this enquiry regarding the usefulness of a social identity theory approach to conceptualisations of intercultural understanding and identity. The criteria were:

- Feedback from teacher participants' information forms
- Teachers as the intended target group of the document
- Plurality of perspectives (national, international, NGOs, intergovernmental organisations)
- Age group focus (including secondary school)
- Framing teaching and learning in general (not subject specific)

3.5.7. Document Data Analysis

The documents identified differ in nature, two being attribute descriptions, three being learning objective continuums. Each document is presented according to a common table including summary information on a number of dimensions, including the publication of the document, author and nature of the producing entity, the stated document audience, and a brief description (Appendix 10).

The documents were coded according to the same coding framework used for the interviews. Results were systematically compared to the results from the teacher interviews.

3.6. Ethical Considerations

BERA (British Educational Research Association, 2011; 2018) provides ethical guidelines to ensure that researchers conduct research 'within an ethic of respect for any persons - including themselves - involved in or touched by the research they are undertaking' (BERA, 2018, p. 6). This enquiry was conducted according to the BERA principles and guidelines in relation to my responsibilities to research participants and the community of educational researchers in terms of ethical practices, publication and dissemination of research and my own well-being as researcher.

This research is based on interviews with teachers who are currently working in schools. Interviews were conducted with strict attention to confidentiality and in a spirit of respect for each individual's personal and professional commitment to their work. The consent form, provided at the start of the study, makes clear the potential risks, as well as benefits, of taking part in the research project, and emphasises that participation is entirely voluntary and can be interrupted at any time without any reason. Participants were informed of why their participation was sought, that they would be asked to take part in an interview and fill out an information background form, and how the information would be used and reported. I took care to keep in mind the length of the interviews and I limited contact with participants after the interview in an effort to limit their burden in terms of time and effort.

Given that a professional relationship continues to exist (beyond present employment at a given school) between senior administrators who suggest a participant for a research project and those participants, I contacted the participants directly and did not provide administrators with any further information regarding the acceptance/non-acceptance of the proposal to take part in an interview, or any other details. As an administrator myself, I also made my researcher role very explicit throughout the process. However, I cannot avoid the possibility of meeting these participants again in our respective roles in the relatively small world of international school education and will continue to apply the ethical standards of this enquiry in that eventuality.

Prior to the beginning of the recording of all interviews, each participant was asked whether they had any questions or concerns about the topic, the nature of the interview, the purpose of the research and the handling of their information. Participants were reminded that they could discontinue the interview at any time, or withdraw from the enquiry.

All notes, recordings and transcriptions were anonymised, confidential and stored solely by me on a locked, password protected, personal computer and cloud based storage. Participants were informed about which information would be stored, for how long, and for what uses, in accordance with the GDPR Act, effective in 2018. Given the potential for participants to be identified by their current or former colleagues or administrators, references to personal situations or contexts that could reveal their identities were not included in the write up of the enquiry or appendices. Participants were sent the complete transcript of their interviews, the coding manual summary and themes, and asked whether they had any concerns, or would like to add anything to their responses, make suggestions or disagree with interpretations, for transparency purposes. They were also given the opportunity to withdraw from the research again.

The documents that were analysed in this enquiry were produced expressly for public use and in the public domain and attribution of all text and data used for this enquiry is provided. This research was not sponsored or funded by a third party or external stakeholder. It is my intention to make the results public for the benefit of other educational professionals in a spirit of critical reflection.

Chapter 4: Presentation and Analysis of Data

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the data collected from the semi-structured teacher interviews and aims to demonstrate the extent to which the interview responses provide insight into what experienced international school teachers believe regarding the development of intercultural understanding and its relation to identity. The results of the document data collection and analysis are also presented here in light of the interview analysis to illustrate congruence and divergence. The question of the extent to which intercultural understanding development leads to differing types of self-categorisation, to dissonance or to well-being is integrated into the analysis, which is organised around the themes of **becoming**, **belonging** and **choice**. These themes emerged as meaningful structuring principles during the repeated process of coding, categorising and analysis. The theme of ‘becoming’ has been used with different emphases in two doctoral theses identified during the writing up phase of this enquiry (Hatch, 2018), and use of this term, and the term ‘belonging’ (Poonosamy, 2014), to organise this emergent data is purely coincidental. Examples of supporting proof emerging from both sets of data are integrated through illustrative quotes, referenced in Appendix 11.

4.1.1. Semi-structured Interview Participant Information

Self-reported background information for each participant is listed in Appendix 6, including years of teaching in national and international school settings, locations of schools, language proficiencies, self-reported professional development experiences related to intercultural understanding, and familiarity with teaching documents related to intercultural education. Participants also all reported on their own level of intercultural understanding. The data reveal (1) the scarcity of pre or in-service training in relation to intercultural understanding (2) the presence of intercultural understanding as an aspect of some of the international schools’ ethos or mission where these teachers worked, reported as both explicit or ‘implied’ (3) the extensive professional teaching experience of the sample group in terms of time spent working in international schools and variety of geographical location and (4) the belief on the part of all teachers interviewed that they possess a level of intercultural understanding.

The information emerging from the background information forms suggests that a number of international school teachers enter the international school stage with little or no knowledge about how to develop intercultural understanding in their students, despite it being a significant part of many schools’ missions or stated ethos. It also suggests that the intercultural understanding that these teachers believe they possess was developed in ways other than formal training related to their professional roles. In addition, teachers reported awareness of differing combinations of the related teacher guidance documentation available for professionals and schools and did not cite examples of documentation that informed their practice other than those documents identified on the information gathering form. Of note is the fact that these international school teachers were all familiar with IB documentation, differing combinations of OXFAM, UNESCO, Australian and Cambridge documentation, and were not familiar with documentation related to intercultural learning or ‘Competences for Democratic Culture’ published by the Council of Europe, nor with the new ‘Global Competence Framework’ presented in 2018 by the OECD for future PISA testing. Some teachers took part in cultural induction programs in countries where they would be working (Thailand, UAE), presented as information programs for foreigners.

4.1.2. Teacher Guidance Documentation

A summary of the teacher guidance documentation included in this enquiry is provided in Appendix 10, including the author, date of publication, nature of the producing entity, target audience, and a brief description. The (re)publication dates reveal a recent flurry of activity in publication of new or updated documents, in particular with the publication of the UNESCO document and re-publication of the OXFAM document in 2015, and the re-publication and update of the Cambridge Learner Attributes in the document ‘Developing the Cambridge Learner Attributes’ in 2017.

The OXFAM and UNESCO documents make specific reference to a vision of education as ‘transformative’. While these documents posit a vision of education as ‘internationalist’, contributing for example to a ‘more just, secure and sustainable global future’ or promoting ‘peace, well-being, prosperity and sustainability’, working towards a ‘better and more peaceful world’, they also include a ‘globalist’ pragmatism, presenting education as simultaneously helping students ‘participate fully in a globalised society and economy’ or understand ‘political, economic, social and cultural interdependency and interconnectedness’.

The evidence suggests that recognition of the importance of developing intercultural as well as global outlooks continues to grow, with a variety of international entities offering definitions and guidance for school implementation. It also demonstrates the applicability of a conceptual continuum, or ‘spectrum’ (Hayden. 2006) such as the one suggested by Cambridge and Thompson’s identification of internationalist and globalising educational perspectives (2004), ranging from a social justice based value system to a global marketplace agenda, with a number of documents including references to both perspectives.

4.2. Beliefs about Becoming

Developing intercultural understanding involves change on a number of levels, which is presented here under the theme *becoming*. When asked to reflect on the extent to which developing intercultural understanding had an impact on their own identities, teachers referred to this development as a challenging process of emerging awareness, specifically identifying assumptions, beliefs and emotions that were brought to light through encounters with difference.

4.2.1. Process

Teachers responses reflect perceptions of a process, referred to as ‘**becoming**’ over time on a number of levels. One participant spoke of ‘**a massive shift**’, another a ‘**moving away**’ from one definition of self to another, while another referred to ‘**an organic process**’ that involved an exploration of the effects of intercultural understanding on her identity as parent and teacher. Another participant referred to a process of realisation and discovery. While a process of change was identified, it was not always planned or expected (See Appendix 13 for original interview transcriptions, i.e. I.2 = Interview transcription #2. See also Appendix 11 for further coding manual references.)

While one teacher’s response revealed intentionality in relation to moving out of a home culture, for example, ‘**It was a very conscious choice to choose this country for the culture and the art and the language**’ [I.7.50], the impact of encountering cultural differences and its relationship to identity development was reported as an unexpected or unintentional outcome by other participants. One participant reported that incorporating elements of other cultures into her behaviour was not done

‘purposefully’, while another stated that, while the development of intercultural understanding had impacted her identity significantly, it hadn’t been ‘**a specific goal to explore my own identity as an intercultural person**’ [I.5.1a]. One participant referred to early life experiences of moving from one country to another as an adolescent as prompting an exploration of identity, which the notion of intercultural understanding that he later encountered in international school settings framed for him more explicitly.

It was also evident that the act of reflection, which took place in part during the actual interviews, was another type of meaning-making process, and while some participants had previously reflected on the interplay between questions of identity and intercultural encounters leading to understanding, others were actively drawing conclusions and asking themselves the question for the first time during the interview. For example, one participant said, ‘**I can’t even quite put my finger on what it is. I’ve not properly thought about it before**’ [I.2.47] to a question about changed group affiliations, while another pointed to the continued construction of a response during the interview with, ‘**I’m trying to come back**’ [I.7.61] to a clearer explanation of how different cultures combine in one person. This is significant in as far as (1) reflexivity about the development of intercultural understanding and its impact cannot be taken for granted (2) articulation of responses can lead to meaning-making through connecting experiences to internal states, memories and emotions (3) the methodological approach of interviews prompted the formulation of belief statements in some cases. The data therefore suggest that the possibility exists for an experienced international teacher, who is familiar with teacher documentation related to learning for intercultural understanding, and who self-identified as having developed intercultural understanding, not to have considered its impact on identity, or framed its development in terms of identity, until asked to reflect on the question.

4.2.2. Awareness

Teachers highlighted their belief that a relationship existed between the development of intercultural understanding and a state of increased awareness in relation to a number of domains. Participants spoke of increased awareness of their own identity, their own culture, the subjectivity of their beliefs, as well as relationships of power and dominance.

Three participants highlighted the fact that moving away from a home culture represented a significant change in awareness of group significance. For example, increased group significance is evident in one teacher’s statement that she became aware that others perceived her as a member of her cultural group, which she identified as ‘American’. ‘**When I lived in the States, I didn’t feel overly American. And the first time I moved abroad, I was so aware of my American-ness and so I became hyper-aware of my identity and what it meant because I was looking at it through a different lens**’ [I.3.7]. Despite the fact that this participant had lived in what she termed a ‘melting pot’ city, her experiences outside her home country, and home city, led her to become aware of the attributes that contributed to her identification of herself as an American, and those attributes that others attributed to all Americans, which she did not exhibit: ‘**I was expected to have certain attributes that I didn’t have**’ [I.3.15]. The fact of interacting with groups that used national group categories to frame expectations about characteristics and behaviours prompted this teacher to become aware of her own construal of her national identity, and to distance herself from the other group’s definitions of these identities. The evidence does not allow for comment on whether the fact of being placed in an out-group by others had an effect on this participant’s appraisal of that group, i.e. negative out-group appraisal, more positive in-group appraisal. It does, however, suggest, that

she gained an understanding about herself and the extent of her own in-group identification because of the activation of group identity categories in that particular situation. Another participant voiced a similar belief: **‘the longer you’re away from your own culture, the more aware you are of your own background. And the more aware you are of the different cultures surrounding you’** [I.7.1-2]. For this participant, gaining awareness of cultural identity was framed as a dynamic process involving accentuated in-group and out-group identifications, defined as an individual showing knowledge of belonging to a group and some emotional and value significance attached to that knowledge (Tajfel, 1972). In addition, a confluence between national and cultural identity can be noted.

Responses made reference to awareness of an out-group’s identification of one’s in-group based on national or regional groups: **‘we must be defined by what other people tell us is Irish or British or Canadian or American’** [I.4.55]. However, while stereotyping was met with expressions of frustration (see below), it was also mobilised as an identity marker, referred to as **‘shorthand to describing my identity’** [I.3.42], for example. Self-stereotyping of this type may indicate a positive in-group identification in this case, as this participant actively distanced herself from others’ stereotyping of her as an American, but re-defined herself as a New Yorker, **‘or a representative of that’** [I.3.40]. This evolving group affiliation was the result of initial raised awareness caused by moving into a culturally and nationally diverse setting, followed by disassociation from an externally imposed group identity, and self-categorisation into a more personally meaningful group identity.

The process of developing intercultural understanding also led to the belief that awareness increases regarding the cultural rootedness of one’s own value system: **‘you become more globally aware and don’t automatically condemn something that you don’t understand the culture behind’ because ‘you start to question whether what you were taught, as a cultural norm, is acceptable or not acceptable, whether that should be imparted on other people,’** [I.2.17, I.2.4] stated one participant, providing evidence of the self as a reflexive entity in relation to social categories based on cultural value systems. The idea that there is no such thing as ‘normal’ raised concern in one participant who argued that cultural relativism may lead to nihilistic thinking. Participants more frequently referred to an attitude of open-mindedness or a reflective attitude to express what they believed to be the result of increased awareness of cultural difference, identifying the socio-affective base on which multi-cultural framing of cultural group relations may be constructed.

Raised awareness of power dynamics, and specifically Western dominance and English-language dominance was expressed by some participants in the context of discussing their development of intercultural understanding. While one participant, for example, stated that he was aware of issues related to cultural dominance before working in international schools due to his work with minority populations, another participant became aware of the privilege afforded **‘White’** and **‘British’** in non-Western locations because of her experiences in international schools. This teacher cited negative feelings related to her increased awareness of **‘Westernism’** or **‘colonialism’** in her own thinking and interpretation of events, which caused discomfort when looking back at her own past judgments of situations or discussions of culturally sensitive topics.

Raised awareness of Western assumptions about teacher-student relationships emerged in a number of participants’ responses, with references to discovering differences in assessment practices between Canadian and US teaching systems, expectations of the ‘Sensei’ role and its impact on using questioning in the classroom, the impact of voice volume and physical proximity in addressing students individually, and the realisation that asking questions of the teacher may be considered inap-

appropriate. These responses suggest that contextual cues were being used by teachers to determine which aspects of students' cultural identities required adjustments to their own teaching practice. Although it can be argued that teachers may adjust their teaching strategies in light of a wide range of contextual cues, not exclusively cultural traits, teacher participants pointed to national or cultural groups in the context of the interview. Responses also indicated an awareness that speakers of the English language are privileged, and the belief that parents sending their children to international schools were primarily interested in language acquisition for university and employment positioning.

4.2.3. Challenge

Teachers' responses revealed the belief that developing awareness in relation to intercultural understanding involves differing levels and types of challenge, resulting in a range of emotional responses. For example, one participant acknowledged that despite her efforts not to bring a judgemental attitude to situations that she did not understand, it was a struggle not to want to change behaviours or norms in other cultures she encountered. Another teacher cited a desire to address the fact that she felt external to the assumptions that others made about her because of her cultural identity: **'I'm not the person that you think I am'** [1.3.82]. Similarly, another participant stated that intercultural understanding comes with a price, which is **'the imposition that other people put on you of who you are'** [1.5.75]. Changes associated with intercultural experiences and increased intercultural awareness led to undesired judgements on the part of people from the original home culture in this participant's view. In both instances, negative feelings were expressed in relation to group identifications, in the former because the individual did not identify with the social identity that was being posited, and in the latter because members of the in-group were identifying attributes that distanced the individual from their definition of full membership in the original in-group.

Intercultural understanding included an awareness that situations emerge during intercultural encounters when one should not intervene or disagree. This was reflected in the statement: **"Oh, okay. So that's the way it is here now. Okay, I'll just shut up then." Because you might not agree with, but the funny thing is you know it's going to be a losing battle. There are things you can't change, and you just have to go with it'** [1.2.115]. Participants cited feelings of frustration, confusion and shock while becoming aware of difference. One participant felt embarrassment when other members of her culture did not show what she considered appropriate levels of respect in an intercultural setting.

4.2.4. Document Congruence

The teacher guidance document analysis reveals congruence in a number of areas referred to by the teacher participants.

4.2.4.i. Process

Learning continua refer to learners developing over time in terms of attitudes and skills, as well as the types of students they become, with explicit reference to transformative education by OXFAM and by UNESCO, which specifies that development applies to **'learners of all ages and backgrounds'**. Continua use age groupings and increasingly complex learning outcomes, which rely on the implicit assumption that learning for intercultural understanding develops over time, while the attribute profiles describe the ideal results of this development in terms of attained attitudes and

skills. The IB Learner Profile also explicitly states that the goal of the IB programmes is **‘to develop internationally-minded people’** who are **‘willing to grow’**.

The process of individual reflection on the personal effects of intercultural experience is explicitly cited in the Australian document as a learning objective, with a focus on how attitudes and beliefs are impacted because of intercultural experiences, and in the OXFAM document under the heading ‘self awareness and reflection’ and specifically, to **‘analyse how our minds are conditioned by social, cultural and historical contexts and how this affects our thinking about issues’**. Reflection is a characteristic of IB Learners, who **‘give thoughtful consideration to their own learning and experience’** and Cambridge Learners who **‘are concerned with the processes [...] of their learning’**. The potential for identities to change is included in the learning outcome, **‘explain ways that cultural groups and identities change over time and in different contexts’**.

4.2.4.ii Awareness

Awareness of the existence of cultural groups and cultural identities is referred to in the learning continua with slightly differing emphasis. OXFAM refers to exploring issues of identity and diversity by considering similarities and differences between peoples, places, cultures and languages. The UNESCO document refers to **‘similarities and differences within and between cultures and societies’** while the Australian document also includes recognition that cultural differences **‘may affect understanding between people’**. The IBLP makes reference to ‘other’ values and traditions.

4.2.4.iii. Attitudes

Documents refer to attitudes or dispositions that support engagement with difference. The IB Learner Profile lists the attitude of open-mindedness, which includes appreciating one’s own cultures and the values and traditions of others. In the area of ‘critical and creative thinking’, OXFAM refers to keeping an open-mind and **‘reflective action’**. According to the Australian document, intercultural understanding **‘cultivates [...] dispositions such as curiosity, care, empathy, reciprocity, respect and responsibility, open-mindedness and critical awareness’**. The UNESCO document does not specify which attitudes, but includes **‘develop[ing] attitudes to appreciate and respect differences and diversity’** and **‘to manage and engage with diverse groups and perspectives’** as learning objectives, while the Cambridge Attributes include **‘reflective’**.

4.2.4.iv. Stereotypes

Stereotypes are specifically addressed in the Australian curriculum with the learning outcome, **‘identify and challenge stereotypes and prejudices in the representation of group, national and regional identities’**. They are to be challenged as they can lead to discrimination. Stereotypes are recognised as a source of conflict and their existence works against accepting different perspectives, in the UNESCO document. More implicitly, the existence of stereotypes is acknowledged in learning outcomes that promote building **‘awareness of own prejudice and biases and a willingness to challenge prejudiced views’** as well as challenging **‘viewpoints which perpetuate inequality and injustice’** in the OXFAM document, while the media is seen to perpetuate stereotypes.

4.2.4.v. Power, Western bias, English hegemony

OXFAM specifically includes exploration of the impact of **‘Western’** ways of seeing the world and the hegemony of the English language in terms of how people and places are represented. In addition, the tendencies of **‘dominant cultures to promote certain ways of seeing and understanding the world and to subordinate others’** is acknowledged. UNESCO frames issues of dominance in the topic, ‘underlying assumptions and power dynamics’, and in the learning outcome, **‘critically assess the ways in which power dynamics affect voice, influence, access to resources decision-making and governance’**. There is attention to the topic of inequalities between national states and their implications for exercising rights and obligation in global governance.

4.2.4.vi. Challenge

Documentation makes reference to complexity of belief systems, **‘the complex relationship between diversity and commonality’**, and the challenges that living and working in culturally diverse societies creates. These challenges are met through cultural mediation, which requires identifying factors contributing to understanding in intercultural communication and strategies for avoiding misunderstanding and using a range of strategies to resolve or manage conflict. Thus, conflict is acknowledged through reference to the need to adapt behaviour to new cultural environments and to show sensitivity to diverse perspectives and cultural norms when managing it. It is recognised that **‘cultural differences may affect understanding between people’**. Documentation makes reference to showing ‘awareness of cultural lenses through which one views the world’, ‘recognis[ing] the limitations of own perspectives’ and **‘analys[ing] how our minds are conditioned by social, cultural and historical contexts and how this affects our thinking about issues’**.

4.2.5. Synthesis

The data regarding ‘beliefs about becoming’ is summarised in Table 1, which highlights overlap, and areas of discontinuity, between the interview data and the document data in relation to the areas that emerged from the interviews, namely, process, awareness, attitudes, stereotypes, power and challenge. Document specific extracts are included when a more nuanced or emphatic focus on an area exists.

TABLE 1: Beliefs about becoming

	Teachers	Documents

<p>Process - the impact of intercultural understanding on identity is part of a process of change</p>	<p>Becoming Movement Discovery Realisation Choice Unexpected Unplanned Unspoken</p>	<p>Development of skills and attitudes over time (1,3,4,5) Development of type of person (2) Development of awareness and strategies (6) Life long process/learners (2,4,5,6) 'Give thoughtful consideration to their own learning and experience' (1) 'Reflect critically on the effect of intercultural experiences on their own attitudes and beliefs' (5) 'Explain ways cultural groups and identities change over time' (5)</p>
<p>Awareness</p>	<p>Of heightened in-group/out-group distinction Prompted by 'moving away' Of changing group affiliations Of cultural rootedness of value systems Of teaching practice assumptions</p>	<p>Of existence of cultural groups (1) and cultural identities (4) Of similarities and differences between peoples, places, cultures, languages and societies (3) Differences 'may affect understanding between people' (5)</p>
<p>Attitudes</p>	<p>Open-mindedness Reflective Withholding judgement</p>	<p>Open-mindedness (1,3,5) Reflective (1,5,6) Take reflective action (3) Attitudes 'to manage and engage with diverse groups and perspectives' (4)</p>
<p>Stereotypes</p>	<p>How others define us</p>	<p>Build awareness of, identify and challenge stereotypes/ prejudices (5,3) As source of conflict (4) 'Existence works against accepting different perspectives' (4)</p>
<p>Power</p>	<p>Western privilege English speaking</p>	<p>Power dynamics (4) 'Western' ways of seeing the world (3) 'Hegemony of English language' (3)</p>

Challenge	Struggle against own and others' judgmental attitudes Staying quiet despite disagreement Frustration Confusion Shock Embarrassment	Complexity (3,4,5) Challenges (3,4,5) Cultural mediation (5) 'Strategies for avoiding misunderstanding' (5) 'Strategies to resolve or manage conflict' (3) 'Analyse how our minds are conditioned by social, cultural, historical contexts and how this affects our thinking about issues' (3)
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(1)IB Learner Profile (2) IB Mission Statement (3) OXFAM document (4) UNESCO document (5) ACARA document (6) Cambridge Learner Attributes

4.3. Beliefs about Belonging

Participants' responses reflect the importance of feelings of belonging. This was expressed in relation to a number of areas, including national identity awareness, distancing and changing significance of cultural group identity, as well as the impact of multicultural viewpoints.

4.3.1. Identity and Belonging

Participants categorised themselves in relation to their national identity as their primary cultural identity. Self-identification into larger, regional groups was also evident, with participants identifying themselves as European or Western, for example: **'but I'd say probably more European, continental'** [I.4.46]. Participants also made reference to sub-groups created from their original cultural identity, adding dimensions based on life experiences, for example, **'I'm much more comfortable seeing myself as a displaced Irish person'** [I.4.47] or **'I'm an American living abroad'** [I.3.19]. One participant re-categorised herself based on a smaller, though arguably more internally diverse, regional group, people from New York, while another viewed language as the basis for cultural group affiliation, **'I think your language is your culture'** [I.5.85], thereby identifying herself as belonging to four cultures associated with the four languages she spoke fluently. For one participant, the possibility of having to give up her passport in order to marry led to the realisation that she was deeply attached to her British identity, without fully understanding what it meant for her, **'What was my British identity then that made it impossible to lose so brutally like that?'** [I.6.34].

In addition to expressing voluntary changes in self-categorisation into groups that participants perceived as coinciding more easily with evolving perceptions of self, participants noted a process of incorporating new cultural aspects into their identities. This was expressed as shifts, changes, a process of embedding, different factors 'making' up identity, picking up new traits, cultures becoming 'part of' self or habits 'taking over'. Participants commented on a new awareness of the extent to which the media impact identity or perpetuate stereotypes.

Participants expressed differing opinions about whether these changes could be defined as additional cultural identities. Three agreed that multiple cultural identities exist, with two specifically rooting this in linguistic identities as well. One viewed the existence of multiple cultural identities as an ideal result of intercultural understanding development. Two participants emphasised their belief

that only one identity exists, but it **‘occupies multiple spaces’** or has different **‘aspects’**, or different facets which **‘merge into one person’**, who maintains unity over time.

References to ‘not belonging’ to a cultural group emerged in different ways amongst participants. Feelings of exclusion were cited, expressed by one teacher as not belonging anywhere, or feeling unaligned with an identity one thought one shared with a group, **‘I was left behind [...] what new Ireland was and what I was were actually out of whack’** [I.4.73]. Reasons for feelings of not belonging included lacking shared memory, customs, accent, and contextual knowledge. However, one participant emphasised that she didn’t necessarily want **‘to fit in’** and another reported that the out-group recognised him as a member, while he did not identify himself with the group. This experience was described as being **‘a foreigner in camouflage — because sometimes I look like I belong, for example, in Canada. I look on the outside like I belong and probably I sound somewhat like I belong, but of course on the inside not necessarily’** [I.4.8]. Participants referred to feelings of ‘entrapment’, ‘frustration’, and anger in relation to not belonging.

Recognising difference and out-group status also led to appreciation and respect for difference, expressed in terms of values. For example, **‘different cultures react to different things in different ways, and it doesn’t necessarily mean that your way of responding to issues is right or wrong, or their way is right or wrong. It’s just different’** [I.2.6]. Difference was also expressed by describing group characteristics, for example, **‘I was very struck by the resilience of those people with so little. How hospitable and warm they were. Giving you even what little they had or wanting to give what little they had out of hospitality’** [I.6.8]. The intercultural experience leading to this realisation was cited as contributing to this participant’s subsequent community and political engagement. Participants also referred to negative out-group appraisals in relation to behaviours related to the organisation of time, definitions of beauty, indirect communication or lack of sensitivity to other cultures, when asked to comment on difficulties encountered during the development of intercultural understanding. The evidence was not sufficient to draw conclusions about the extent to which these negative out-group appraisals could be said to be grounded in different prioritisation of values, as suggested by Pearce (2013).

The evidence suggests that teachers’ awareness of similarities and differences between themselves and given groups resulted in shifts in self-categorisation as well as positive out-group appraisal in terms of appreciating diversity. Negative feelings appeared to emerge in situations of not belonging, which may imply a transition moment between one positive in-group self-identification and another. It may be that belonging impacts well-being differently depending on the extent to which distance is perceived as non-threatening to a given self-categorisation, a supposition that is also supported in part by the evidence emerging from comments made about ‘home’.

4.3.2. Home

Participants frequently made reference to the concept of ‘home’, and how their views of home evolved, both positively and negatively, as a result of intercultural experiences and encounters. One participant stated that returning to her home country made her feel less and less affiliated with her home culture. Another participant remarked that when she went home, she noted differences between herself and her life, in relation to the people living there, another feeling a sense of psychological separation from relatives. It was by coming home that she also became aware of the extent to which media shapes people’s identity, and how her identity in relation to her home culture friends had changed, as she **‘wasn’t particularly a questioner [her]self before’** [I.2.108]. Another partici-

participant cited her intercultural experiences as shaping her political views in relation to her own culture and her politically and socially related activities in her home community.

Two participants clearly referred to negative feelings when coming home, one clarifying that his Ireland, which was his home **‘at an emotional level’**, was stuck in the past, and that he and the **‘new Ireland’** were different. The other participant stated that she would **‘be trapped after two weeks at home because the different cultural influences in [her] life would not be present’** [I.5.90] and **‘people realise they don’t understand a whole lot about you’** [I.5.72]. This teacher also identified her current place of residence as a place to come home to ‘psychologically’, **‘a place where I have many international roots’**. She distinguished this type of ‘home-coming’ as being with **‘a like-minded group of teachers’**, and this idea of home as ‘a state of mind’. Another participant also spoke of feeling ‘at home in another country’ because she identified shared characteristics between herself and other cultural groups she identified there.

‘Home’ appears to encompass a number of meanings, including a past version of self and a recognition that a given group no longer serves its purpose, as defined in social identity theory, of describing who one is, how one should act or what one should expect from others in that category. It may also represent an ideal state of well-being as well.

4.3.3. Document Congruence

4.3.3.i. Identity

Both personal and social identity are referred to in the learning continuum documentation as a whole. In terms of social identity, group affiliation is presented as the basis on which social identity is to be understood. For example, the UNESCO document makes explicit reference to the various types of groups with which an individual may identify. Identities are situated within groups, such as the family, friends, school, the local community and one’s country, and affiliation occurs through relationships with these groups. Multiple identities also exist in relation to culture, language, religion, gender and common humanity according to the UNESCO document, positing an implicit group relationship around a shared culture, a shared language, a shared religion, etc. The Australian document refers explicitly to group, national, regional, and international identities as well as cultural identities, which are to be investigated and explored. The OXFAM document makes reference to cultural identity, which is defined as including language, beliefs, values and is shaped by historical processes. Implicit is the fact that groups identify themselves around these shared dimensions of culture.

The learning continua make further distinctions between group identities and individual identity. The OXFAM document refers to self-identity and personal identity, while the UNESCO document refers to different levels of identity, distinguishing between personal and collective identities. The Australian continuum refers to personal, group, cultural and national identities. These various classifications of identity reflect what is defined as its **‘multi-faceted and flexible nature’** by OXFAM. Multiple identities are to be appreciated, cultivated, managed, critically examined and influence our ability to live together.

Additionally, documents refer to superordinate groups such as a ‘common humanity’, being members of ‘global communities’, participants in ‘a global society’, which are based on similarities and shared, human, characteristics, positing a ‘human’ identity. The Australian document posits that **‘in-**

tercultural understanding assists young people to become responsible local and global citizens'. The UNESCO document defines global citizenship in terms of **'a sense of belonging to a broader community and common humanity'** and also refers to 'civic identity' as well as a 'collective identity', based on shared values and at the base of the creation of a 'global civic culture'.

4.3.3.ii. Belonging

The concept of belonging appears in the UNESCO document and is presented along with 'identities' and 'relationships' as both a knowledge area, **'understanding of identities, relationships and belonging'**, as well as a lived experience, where **'a sense of belonging to a common humanity'** is felt through learning about issues of global citizenship, promoting a 'feeling of belongingness'. Belonging implies 'sharing values and responsibilities based on human rights' as well as relationships with 'self, family, friends, community, region, country'. In the OXFAM document, belonging is an issue to be 'explored' along with diversity and identity, and belonging is also an aspect of understanding what 'contributes to self-identity'.

The related concept of 'membership' is included in the UNESCO and Australian documents, whereby individuals' identities are shaped by memberships in 'local, regional, national and international groups' or **'personal identities and memberships in local, national, regional and global contexts'** are considered through 'multiple lenses'.

4.3.3.iii. Diversity

Documents make reference to appreciating diversity in a number of ways. The IB Learner Profile includes respect for the dignity and rights of people in the attribute of being 'principled', while showing respect is included in the attribute of 'caring', which entails showing empathy, compassion and respect. The IB Mission also cites 'intercultural understanding and respect' as necessary to meeting the goal of creating a better world. The OXFAM document includes the attitude of **'respect for the rights of all to have a point of view'**. The UNESCO document supports the development of attitudes of empathy and respect for difference to appreciate difference and diversity. The Australian document emphasises the importance of mutual respect in promoting cultural exchange and collaboration, and defines respect as one of the critical dispositions for the development of intercultural understanding. The Cambridge Learner Attribute document makes reference to learners who are 'keen to explore ideas', but does not mention attitudes towards diverse groups specifically.

4.3.3.iv. Social Engagement

Each document links the development of knowledge, skills and attitudes to behaviour and actions. The IB Learner Profile describes students who are **'committed to service'** to meet the IB Mission of creating **'a better and more peaceful world'** while the Cambridge document describes students who are **'equipped to participate constructively in society and the economy'**. The OXFAM document states that 'learning, thinking and actions are integral to the achievement of **a more just, secure and sustainable global future'** while the UNESCO document supports the development of **'ethically responsible and engaged'** individuals who 'engage in civic action'. The Australian document refers to challenging stereotypes, reconciling differing cultural values and recognising the 'challenges and benefits of living and working in a culturally diverse society'.

4.3.3.v. Media

References to the place of the media focus on representation of cultural groups and global communication. Media literacy is included in the dimension ‘examining issues of local, global and cultural significance’ and defined as the **‘ability to access, analyse and critically evaluate media messages as well as to create new media content’**.

4.3.4. Synthesis

Table 2 summarises interview and document data in relation to the ‘beliefs about belonging’. Document references to ‘taking action’ and ‘the media’ are included.

TABLE 2: Beliefs about belonging

	Teacher Participants	Documents
Identity: Social Identity	National, cultural, linguistic, regional, added dimensions Role of media in formation ‘Home’	Cultural (3,4,5), group (4,5), local (5), professional (4), national (5), regional (4,5), international (5), global (4) identities Levels of identity (4) Collective identity (4) ‘Identities situated within multiple relationships’ (4) ‘Media representations of cultural groups’ (5)
Identity: Multiple or Singular	Multiple cultural identities Multiple linguistic and cultural identities One identity with multiple aspects or facets One identity occupying multiple spaces	Multiple identities: cultural (3,4), linguistic (4), religious (4), gendered (4), age (4)
Identity: Common Humanity		Common humanity (4) Members of global society (3), of global communities (3) Global citizens (5) Global civic identity (4) Collective identity (4) Collective well-being (4)
Belonging	Not belonging anywhere Not belonging anymore Exclusion Entrapment Foreigner in camouflage	Feeling of belongingness (4) Sense of belonging (3,5) Membership and identities (4) Understanding identities, relationships and belonging (3) Contributes to self identity (3,4,5)

Diversity	Positive out-group appraisal Negative out-group appraisal	Respect for dignity and rights of people (4) Value and respect diversity (3,5) Understand and appreciate (2) Open to others (1)
Social engagement	Intercultural encounter leading to community and political engagement	Committed to service (1) Equipped to participate constructively (6) Action to achieve a more just future (3) Engaged in civic action (4) Challenging stereotypes, reconciling values (5)

(1)IB Learner Profile (2) IB Mission Statement (3) OXFAM document (4) UNESCO document (5) ACARA document (6) Cambridge Learner Attributes

4.4. Beliefs about Choice

Teachers' responses indicated that increased awareness of group affiliation in relation to intercultural encounters could lead to active and creative decision-making regarding self-categorisation, as well as shifting understandings in relation to professional roles. Personal identity was referred to in relation to the propensity to engage with intercultural difference in a positive manner. When referring to the impact of intercultural understanding on their role as teachers, participants referred to professional evolution, distancing from current interpretations of international education, as well as the challenges of engaging with difficult knowledge.

4.4.1. Self-categorisation

Participants' responses reflected conscious decision-making regarding the adoption of new cultural attributes as well as definitions of self. Two participants referred to **'picking and choosing'** or **'stealing'** elements of cultures that one likes while discarding what one doesn't like of one's original culture. Similarly, participants made reference to more specifically defined group memberships that corresponded to their perceptions of themselves or **'ploughing your own furrow'** in the context of deciding how much of a home culture to accept to take on.

Participants described new affiliations with like-minded people as a result of increased intercultural awareness. Participants referred to friendship groups now including people from a variety of different cultures, changes in friendship circles and **'naturally gravitating'** towards people who exhibited attributes the participant associated with intercultural understanding. One participant stated that she would **'more actively seek out those that were more internationally-minded'** [1.5.60] while another referred to belonging to a group of **'international traveling people'** who **'recognise that quite often there isn't a right or a wrong'** which she described as being **'a little more grey'** [1.2.60]. These responses suggest that it may be possible to posit the emergence of a new group based on the recognition of shared attributes of intercultural understanding.

This self-categorisation into a group defined by shared characteristics or shared experiences, including shared linguistic experiences, was sometimes accompanied by negative statements. These can be categorised as negative out-group appraisals in relation to the ‘new’ in-group, which could be termed ‘interculturally developed people’. For example, one participant felt critical of people who **‘allow themselves to fall within perhaps national boundaries’** [I.5.62], while another referred to excluding individuals who lack the attitudes associated with intercultural understanding, **‘one is very quick in any conversation with new groups of people or a new person to see where they are not like that [exhibiting attributes associated with intercultural understanding] and then to, as it were, almost subconsciously make a note that this isn’t going to go very far’** [I.6.94]. Another participant commented that **‘we’re a bit conceited, we think because we’ve left and we’ve gone out [...] we’re a little bit better than the people who stayed behind’** [I.4.132].

4.4.2. Personal Identity

Participants’ responses regarding attitudes that led to intercultural understanding showed mixed views about the degree to which curiosity or open-mindedness, for example, are innate characteristics of the individual or can be developed. While some comments reflect the belief that personal identity is a factor in developing intercultural understanding, **‘a matter of personality and disposition’, ‘character’,** or dependent **‘on the kind of person you are’,** and attitudes such as curiosity are inherent in who they were as individuals, participants also cited examples of their own development of open-mindedness and critical reflection.

The concept of personal identity also emerged in one participant’s comments about self definition and the evolving nature of self, determining one’s own path or writing one’s own story, **‘ideally [one’s] own narrative, that they will draw upon all these different spectrums and create one story for themselves’** [I.4.70].

4.4.3. Professional Practice

Participants cited the impact that intercultural understanding had on their practice as teachers. After a moment of realisation regarding the existence of their own assumptions about teaching and learning or the roles of student and teacher, recognition of cultural differences led teachers to purposefully change their practice in terms of enacting the role of informed expert, adapting different strategies when interacting with students and carefully creating the classroom conditions for sensitive discussions. Teachers made reference to increased ability to connect with students through shared intercultural experiences, referring to understanding identity confusion, being aware of potential conflict areas and including specific teaching content to explore and express experiences and tensions related to intercultural situations, as well as increased sensitivity to biased or non-inclusive resources and self-questioning about the types of debates and topics that should be raised in classroom settings.

International schools as work settings were referred to as **‘worlds’** or **‘cultures’** of their own, where **‘processes are pretty much alike’** and teachers found personal resonance in terms of shared interest in diversity, intercultural experiences and resultant feelings about those experiences. Some teachers were critical of the extent to which international schools were successfully fulfilling their stated commitment to developing intercultural understanding. Responses included references to teachers who don’t appropriately guide discussion and reflection in relation to learning for intercultural understanding, lack of critical reflection on the meaning of intercultural understanding, **‘lip**

service’ being paid to intercultural understanding without authentic embedding, and lack of understanding about what is meant by the terms ‘internationally-minded school’ or ‘international school’, for example, **‘I’ve seen schools that embrace the local culture very well and try and blend it with an English speaking, Western culture. As for truly international, no, not seen it’** [I.2.94]. One participant asked whether **‘it’s a just a national system that’s been exported to a foreign situation’** which was viewed as **‘completely different than a school striving to be international and embrace intercultural competencies’** [I.4.25] and another stated that **‘it would be great if it was something that was integrated into education systems’** [I.8.60], suggesting that it was not, in that teacher’s experience. Participants also referred to general avoidance of ‘difficult knowledge’:

‘spirituality we don’t talk about at all [...] how can you have an international school that doesn’t talk about religion? Because if you look at the world today you need to be at least religiously literate [...] These are real challenges and I don’t know if we’re-- actually I do know, I don’t think we’re preparing international school kids properly for that’. [I.4.107; I.4.109]

Another teacher asked, **‘I think that’s the piece that we miss. We say what values a culture might have, but we never kind of go in it any more depth into it And it’s probably not encouraged, so the questions aren’t asked. Why is that?’** [I.2.98; I.2.99]

4.4.4. Document Congruence

4.4.4.i. Self-categorisation

The teacher guidance documents make reference to the **‘flexible nature of identity’** and being willing to grow from experiences and explore new roles, as well as the life-long learning perspective which continues into adulthood. The Australian continuum specifies that **‘cultural groups and identities change over time and in different contexts’**. These references reflect that identity and group affiliations can change into adulthood.

4.4.4.ii. Personal Identity

The attribute documents refer to **‘natural’** curiosity which students are **‘alive with’**. The learning continua state that attitudes can be developed, promoted and cultivated in the process of learning, with the Australian continuum specifying that ‘intercultural understanding’ cultivates related dispositions. A sense of belonging contributes to self identity and personal identity according to the OXFAM, UNESCO and Australian documents.

4.4.iii. Professional Practice

Teachers are referred to as having been involved in the creation or review of the Australian, OXFAM, and UNESCO documents. Teachers are presented as reflective practitioners who will use the learning continua to ‘improve their understanding of global citizenship education’, and **‘develop [their] school curriculum in inspiring ways’**. Teachers share and model the attributes that they aim to develop in their students.

The teacher guidance documents are aspirational, as the attribute profiles define a composite of ideal dispositions that students are meant to work towards, or **‘strive to be’**. Similarly, the learning

continua and global competence framework provide descriptions of learning outcomes and objectives that are designed to promote values associated with peace, justice and collective well-being.

4.4.5. Synthesis

Table 3 summarises the ‘beliefs about choice’, highlighting some lack of congruence in this area in terms of the extent to which international schools and international school teachers are meeting the goals set out in the teacher guidance documentation.

TABLE 3: Beliefs about choice

	Teachers	Documents
Self-categorisation	Conscious choice Like minded people An emerging ‘interculturally developed’ group?	Flexible nature of identity (3) Growing from experience(1) Life-long learning (4) Cultural groups and identities change over time and in different contexts (5)
Personal Identity	Attributes inherent Personality Creating own story	Self identity (3,4) Personal identity (4,5)
Teachers as professionals	Recognising assumptions Adapting practices International schools as ‘worlds of their own’	Reflective practitioners (3,4) Modelling attributes (1,6)
Aspirations	Critical of definitions and success of school missions Limited engagement with ‘difficult knowledge’	Striving to be (1,6) Promoting values of peace, justice and well-being for all (2,3,4,5)

(1)IB Learner Profile (2) IB Mission Statement (3) OXFAM document (4) UNESCO document (5) ACARA document (6) Cambridge Learner Attributes

4.5. Summary

The analysis of the data collected from the interviews and the teacher guidance documentation shows significant overlap in a number of areas:

- (a) teacher beliefs about the development of intercultural understanding as a process that leads to heightened awareness and coincides with attitudes of open-mindedness, critical reflection and appreciation for diversity are mirrored in the documentation,
- (b) the significance of belonging is reflected in interview responses and the documentation, with a stronger focus on the negative effects of ‘not belonging’ emerging from teacher responses,
- (c) self-identification into different groups, and the potential for identifications to change over time in terms of strength and nature of affiliation is exemplified in teacher responses and reflected in document references,
- (d) teachers express beliefs that reflected professional adaptation and growth because of their own developing understandings about the impact of culture on their professional practice.

Some degree of divergence exists between teacher responses and documentation in a number of areas:

- (e) the aspirational nature of the development of intercultural understanding as presented in the documentation is acknowledged by teachers; however, some express reservations about whether teachers and schools are successful in supporting its development, pointing to lack of engagement with ‘difficult knowledge’ in some instances,
- (e) a number of documents make reference to a life-long process of learning and development of skills and attitudes, as well as critical reflection on cultural contexts and attitudes and beliefs. While teachers’ responses show agreement with these points, they also express the unexpected, unplanned and sometimes unrevealed nature of personal change that they attribute to intercultural experiences,
- (f) teachers’ beliefs about the effects of stereotyping are based on personal experiences that had emotional impact, and evidence of negative out-group appraisal based on cultural or national groups on the part of participants is evident as well. Conflict, if mentioned, is mainly expressed as internal, reflecting a negative emotion related to being told by others who one is,
- (g) discomfort regarding increased awareness of privilege afforded by their own membership in the dominant Western or English-speaking social groups is apparent in teacher responses,
- (h) the place of civic action or social engagement is rarely mentioned,
- (i) differing views about identity as multiple, including multiple cultural identities, or singular, with multiple facets, exist and views on the role of personal identity attributes in developing intercultural understanding are mixed,
- (j) while participants place emphasis on choice and flexibility in group affiliation and cultural traits, some evidence of an emerging group based on ‘possessing the traits of developed intercultural understanding’ is identifiable, as is the possibility that international schools can be considered cultural worlds of their own. The latter two points can be seen as contrasting with the aspirational goal of appealing to a superordinate category of ‘common humanity’ as presented in the documentation.

A dichotomy of negative/positive emotional response emerges as a useful frame of analysis *across* the themes of becoming, belonging and choice. The coding category of dissonance reveals negative emotions in terms of ‘becoming’ when teachers recognise that earlier beliefs or behaviours were based on lack of awareness or limited knowledge. In contrast, positive emotions emerging from attitudes of curiosity and open-mindedness are seen in response to discovering new cultures, new ways of being and new friendships. Being excluded from groups or erroneously identified with groups is also described in terms of negative feelings under the theme of ‘belonging’, but these feelings of dissonance prompt participants to engage actively with positive, new definitions of self, new practices and actively critical stances regarding the way their schools implement teaching for intercultural understanding, evident in the presentation of the theme of ‘choice’.

The negative/positive emotional response dichotomy also relates to the idea of change, which emerges across the three themes as well. The theme of ‘becoming’ is defined as change through emerging awareness based on encounters with difference. This is change that is recognised through reflection, whereby an individual looks back and realises that they have moved from a state of ‘not knowing’, of ‘taking for granted’, of ‘being unaware’, to a new state of increased knowledge or understanding. This differs from change that is presented under the theme ‘choice’, which is forward looking, conscious and creative. The theme of ‘belonging’ contains elements of looking back and looking forward, as change, as it is reflected through teacher responses, is both imposed from the outside, with others determining whether the individual belongs to a group or not, and emerges

from the inside, with individuals actively deciding whether they belong to former groups or identify themselves with new groups.

Change is therefore seen to be prompted by both negative and positive external factors in the form of group identification (e.g. family groups, friendship groups, professional groups, cultural groups, national groups), negative and positive internal factors (feelings of discomfort/unease or feelings of empowerment) and cognitive processes involving critical reflection of past events and experiences and creative imagining of new potentials, a looking back and a looking forward.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1. Introduction

This research enquiry set out to investigate a small sample group of experienced international school teachers' beliefs about the development of intercultural understanding and its relation to identity. This chapter aims to return to the initial research questions in light of the analysed data emerging from the teacher interviews and the teacher guidance documentation. The data presentation and analysis in the preceding chapter is organised around three themes, each of which accrued meaning during the coding and categorising process. In this chapter, these themes - becoming, belonging and choice - have been synthesised in relation to the enquiry research questions and are integrated into the presentation of the findings. The findings are also considered from within the broader research domains. Limitations of the enquiry, potential implications and recommendations for further research and professional practice and my final personal reflection are also presented.

5.2. The Relationship between Intercultural Understanding and Identity

Interview results show that, for the teachers interviewed for this enquiry, the development of intercultural understanding **involved** a process **of change**. This process can be considered an exploration of one's own sense of identity to the extent that teachers referred to past conceptions of themselves from the standpoint of the present, and were able to identify cognitive, affective and behavioural changes, which they attributed to the development of intercultural understanding [see 4.2.1.P.1]. The results accord in a number of areas with recent findings by Barratt Hacking et al. (2018) into how international mindedness is conceptualised in schools offering the IB programmes. Their study identifies the need for 'reaching in and exploring our own sense of identity, challenging ourselves to grow as individuals' (p. 13) as well as 'the importance of the teacher and the teacher's mind-set' (p. 11).

The results only partially reinforced Saava's (2013) findings that intercultural experiences challenge the way teachers see themselves, as there was disagreement among the participants about the extent to which changes in awareness were surprising, or, on the contrary, an expected continuation of a personal process of growth [see 4.2.1.P.2&3].

Cognitive changes were expressed in terms of heightened awareness of one's own cultural affiliations, concurring with Holliday's (2011) findings that awareness of culture grows out of experiences of diversity, particularly 'in juxtaposition with a majority Other' (p.126), corroborated by Merryfield (2000) in her study of the impact of working outside the home country for middle class white teacher educators. This was the case, for example, for the teacher who experienced her 'Americanness' for the first time when she was a minority in another culture [see 4.2.2.P.2]. Teachers' cultural group awareness was related to increased awareness of the subjectivity of beliefs and value systems, as well as an evolving identification with the cultural groups to which they had previously, though not always consciously, been affiliated. Therefore, in relation to the research question focusing on **the extent to which** intercultural understanding development leads to changes in the significance of the cultural group for the individual, the responses from this group of teachers suggest that its significance increases in a number of ways.

In terms of the **perceived relationship between** intercultural understanding development **and** the affective and behavioural dimensions of learning, teachers cited increased open-mindedness and reflexivity [See 4.3.2.P.1] as significant factors. Critical reflection was seen at times to support mean-

ing-making in the course of talking about intercultural understanding development and identity, and can be assumed to lie behind conscious changes to professional practice referred to by teachers, such as the need to diversify resources, to adapt behaviours to different students and to accept culturally generated expectations about the role of the teacher, in keeping with Pearce's (2014) observation that 'the student needs to be helped to attain a situation in which he/she recognises the teacher positively' (p. 396).

Coupled with the information that the teacher participants reported that they had received no or very little pre or in-service professional development on the topic of intercultural understanding development, it can be posited that teachers were relying on what Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1999) call the 'knowledge-in-practice' conception of teacher learning (p.263), wise action emerging from lived experiences, also conceptualised as teaching as a 'craft' or 'experience married to deliberate inquiry and reflection' (p.265). Teachers showed sensitivity to the implications of cultural diversity in their practice, citing concerns about cultural hegemony, as well as the potential for emotionally stressing incidents of cultural conflict being played out in the classroom. As cited by one teacher, 'when you've got an internationally diverse student population, those cultural norms can sometimes cause conflict'. However, finding 'on the job' (Devaney, 2007, p. 325) solutions to conflict can be potentially 'psychologically uncomfortable' for the teacher, as exemplified by one participant who 'avoided certain conversations with certain groups of students'. Festinger (1957) argues that psychological discomfort will prompt individuals to avoid such situations (p. 3) if they cause internal dissonance. This challenges the practicality of Allen's (2002) observation that 'intercultural learning happens at the borders between cultures, the friction or frontier skirmishes of cultural dissonance being the medium through which the learning takes place' (p.64). From this perspective, the activation of group identities, present in recognition of cultural similarities and differences, is a fruitful experience for intercultural understanding *when* dissonance emerges. This tension between moving *towards* conflict versus moving *away* from conflict needs to be addressed from the teacher perspective so that we can ensure that students move *through* conflict towards desired, positive, learning outcomes. The avoidance of 'difficult knowledge', as evidenced in some teachers' responses, needs to be addressed, so that teachers feel equipped to engage with the topics, and conflicts, that are arguably at the core of authentic intercultural understanding.

5.3. Group Affiliation

Within the context of eliciting beliefs held by teachers about intercultural understanding development, this enquiry also aimed to determine the extent to which a social identity theory approach was an appropriate and useful lens to interpret teachers' accounts of their individual experiences. As Tajfel (1981, p. 255) emphasises, 'social identity is *that part* of the individual's self-concept that derives from their membership in certain social groups, some of which may become more or less salient, depending on changing social situations' (emphasis mine). The results indicate that national, cultural and regional groups became salient in situations where differences between cultural groups were more accentuated, e.g. moving to a new location, interacting with individuals from a number of different national or cultural backgrounds, on a personal or professional level [See 4.2.2.P.2&3]. This reflects Appadurai's (1996) suggestion that culture can be defined as 'those differences that either express, or set the groundwork for, the mobilisation of group identities' (p. 36). From this point of view, mobilising difference is the other side of the 'belonging' coin.

It is noteworthy that the teachers interviewed frequently referred to national identity (i.e. British, Canadian, Slovak, German, Algerian, Japanese) when responding to questions about cultural identity [See 4.3.1.P.1], concurring with Jokikokko (2009) that internationally experienced teachers fre-

quently classify identities by nationality, which Pearce (2014) acknowledges is a useful typology in international schools, as it often coincides with common language groups or an identifiable cultural discourse, despite the ‘Foucauldian criticism that this amounts to coercive assignments of individuals to groups for [...] administrative convenience’ (p.390). Additionally, categories such as European, Western, New Yorker, displaced Irishman, were referred to. Classification by nation may be located in the problematic assumption that intercultural equals international, which Gunesch (2004) argues relies on the nation-state as a frame of reference, thereby limiting definitions about what ‘cultural’ may be. However, re-classification demonstrates the potential for individuals to define themselves within a variety of cultural constructs. That experienced international school teachers use the nation-state signifier may mean that we have not entirely moved beyond the ‘western (developed) world talking to itself’ (Quist, 2005, p. 5) about international school education in as far as the nation-state remains a go-to, seemingly natural frame of reference. However, re-classification demonstrates an awareness of identity complexity, dynamism and the willingness and ability to re-assess and redefine oneself on the part of these teachers.

This heightened awareness of group identity is one of the goals of intercultural understanding as reflected in a sample of the teacher guidance documentation, whether intercultural understanding is conceived of as a stand alone concept as in the Australian Curriculum, or included as one dimension of international-mindedness as presented by the IB, or embedded in the learning outcomes of global citizenship learning continua or frameworks. Learning about one’s own culture and other cultures is a common objective, and is linked to developing respect for diversity, expressed by teacher participants as being more open-minded, less judgemental and acknowledging that values can be context-based [See 4.3.1.P.5]. However, while the results show that teachers believe intercultural understanding led to changes in teaching approaches and to respect for diversity, increased saliency of group identity also led to frustration in the face of stereotyping and unresolved discomfort in relation to dominant group membership.

Teachers’ responses reflected an emerging awareness that others viewed them as belonging to a dominant group (i.e. participants were ‘American’, ‘white British’, ‘Western’) [See 4.2.2.P.3&5]. This developing awareness may constitute the site for movement beyond what Hoskins and Sallah (2011) consider a ‘simplistic’ view of culture, which ‘hides unequal power relations [...] structural inequalities and the possibilities of multiple identities’ (p. 114) and towards the type of awareness encouraged by Burke (2017) when she writes ‘although the teacher is not expected to compensate for the colonial history that serves as the root of globalisation, an understanding and awareness of how various endeavours have shaped and continue to shape the contemporary education context is fundamentally important’ (p. 217). Pearce (2011) also acknowledges a level of simplicity in the approach that assumes that children should be treated as ‘culturally uniform but differing merely in personality’ (p.170). The risk is that the teacher’s own values will be presented as the universal norm, while ‘children with remote value-systems, or even with dissonance in a few basic or process values, will need to make uncomfortable adjustments in order to align themselves with the teacher’s aims’ (ibid.).

In his consideration of power and group identity, Deschamps (1982) argues that dominant group members are not aware of their group identity as they see themselves as ‘individualised human beings who are singular, “subjects”, voluntary actors, free and autonomous’ (p.90), positioned ‘at the centre of the social system’, where ‘the achievement of the construction for oneself of full individuality is the privilege of social power’ (Tajfel, 1982, p. 5). Teachers’ responses reflected an awareness that, as objects of another’s gaze, they either represented for that other a flattened, stereotypical pro-

prototype of a group, or held a position of (unearned) power, or both. This aspect of ‘belonging’ is potentially problematic. The teachers interviewed view themselves as actively participating in an educational project of modelling and building intercultural respect. Some are also simultaneously aware that the international school setting is viewed as providing access to a privilege, constructed around the educational and professional opportunities afforded by English language fluency [See 4.4.3.P.2], what Gardner-McTaggart (2018) calls the ‘advantage of Englishness’ (p.109) for the global middle class attending international schools, arguably a logical extension of the ‘non-coercive hegemony’ (p.73) of English linguistic imperialism defined by Phillipson (1992).

5.4. Values

Turner (1982) refers to identification through recognition of a common set of values shared by the group. For some participants, critical reflection in the context of intercultural understanding led to the view that values are contextual [See 4.2.2.P.4], sometimes shaped by sources such as the ‘dominant discourses’ carried in the media. (Keesing, 1994, p. 42). However, the question of whether ‘core’ values can, should, or must be defined, arose, with one participant arguing that core values are necessary for a healthy sense of self. In her well-known essay arguing for a cosmopolitan approach to education, Nussbaum (1994) writes, ‘by looking at ourselves in the lens of the other, we come to see what in our practices is local and non-necessary, what more broadly or deeply shared’ (p. 4). The existence of a set of shared values was also seen to be a fundamental aspect of the learning continua, on which the existence of a superordinate identity such as ‘common humanity’ rests.

Pearce (2011) addresses the question of values in his research into how mobile international students acquire them, and finds that ‘commonality’, based on a blended value system emerging from a shared international experience, as posited by Schaetti (1993), is not an accurate description of these students’ experience. Pearce argues that acquisition of values is more accurately described as a ‘mosaic’, a composite of values coming from strongly-modelled groups, such as parents, and some coming from local situations (p. 170). Pearce’s finding aligns with the notion of core values existing alongside an attitude of open-mindedness, what one participant phrased as ‘a strong ethical centre or strong set of values that you believe to be true’ together with an attitude of ‘open-mindedness’. Meyer et al.’s (2006) distinction between deep structure identity and situated identity offers a further potentially useful way of considering how the individual identifies with the group in terms of value resonance, as the author posits that deep structure identity ‘involves the alteration of one’s self-concept to incorporate characteristics of the collective’ and is more enduring (p. 667), while situated identity arises when a situation provides cues that allow an individual to identify with a collective and is maintained in relation to the cue.

Helping individuals define and critically assess from where their ‘core’ values derive, in a process of ‘defamiliarisation’ (Bauman, 1990), would appear to be one way to frame the discussions of diversity promoted in the learning continua. Discussions of this type may allow for definition of overlap between different cultural group values and values shared by the superordinate group ‘common humanity’, as promoted by the teacher guidance documentation and Pearce’s (2011) observation that the prioritisation of values is often at the base of cultural differences, rather than the values themselves. Using the distinction between situated and deep structure identity in intercultural situations may allow individuals to determine which values have been cued in by a particular situation and are ‘local and non-necessary’, to use Nussbaum’s phrasing, potentially providing a way to move *through* conflict, as suggested above.

5.5. Identity: Multiple Identities or a Multi-faceted Whole?

As Dovidio et al. (2005) state, social psychology posits the existence of multiple self concepts and identities. From within the debate about whether the self-concept has unity or is multidimensional, whether it is consistent from situation to situation or situation-specific, Turner (1982) argues that a distinction exists between the cognitive structure of the self concept, and its practical functioning, 'it [the self-concept] has overall coherence and organisation, which produces a sense of unity and consistency and yet structurally and functionally its parts are highly differentiated' (p. 18 -19). The findings from teacher interviews in part support this view, as identity is expressed as being singular, but multifaceted, with participants referring to 'adding on' options in a repertoire of potential responses to different cultural settings or interactions, but retaining a sense of 'being the same person' [See 4.4.1.P.1]. However, some teachers expressed the view that multiple cultural identities can exist, referring in particular to linguistic identities carrying cultural identities [See 4.3.1.P.1]. In this case, Heyward's (2002) idea of 'consciously shifting between multiple cultural identities' is evidenced, as is Spears (2011) concept of fit, whereby assessment of a situation leads to activation of certain, available social identities.

Regarding the research question of **the extent to which** the notion of multiple cultural identities is a useful frame of reference for investigating the development of intercultural understanding, the results of the enquiry suggest that it is a concept with limited applicability. The slightly broader concept of multiple identities was corroborated in the teacher support documentation included in the analysis, but not all teacher participants voiced the belief that they possessed multiple identities, with some more emphatically stating that they had one identity, with multiple facets or aspects [See 4.3.1.P.3]. It is worth contrasting this evidence with the view presented by the Council of Europe (2016) that every individual has multiple cultural affiliations, and that 'all people belong simultaneously to and identify with many different groups and their associated cultures' (p.19). This view rests on a definition of cultural affiliation as fluid and dynamic, 'fluctuating as individuals move from one situation to another, with different affiliations - or different clusters of intersecting affiliation - being highlighted depending on the particular social context encountered' (p. 20). While this view of affiliation aligns with a social identity perspective, and arguably leads to the most fruitful opportunities for intercultural understanding, as it both defines cultural groups broadly and individual identity as a 'unique constellation' of affiliations, the evidence from the interviews suggests that this definition of culture and identity is not one currently activated by the teachers interviewed. The international school teachers interviewed were also not familiar with the Council of Europe (2016) document 'Competences for Democratic Culture', suggesting that an unfortunate gap may exist between the documentation more frequently referred to in international schools, and documentation existing in the European setting.

As outlined in the literature review, Tajfel (1981) specifies that 'social identity' is a deliberately limited concept that 'does not enable us to make any statements about the "self" in general or about social behaviour in contexts [other than those pertinent to intergroup relations]' (p.3). Turner (1982) posits that group membership is a psychological 'subjective sense of togetherness' (p.16) with an abstract social category that is internalised as an aspect of self-concept. This 'subjective sense of togetherness' is comparable to 'belonging', as evinced by the interview and document analysis. Turner describes personal identity, on the other hand, as including more 'specific attributes of the individual' (p.16), such as feelings about oneself, psychological characteristics, intellectual interests or preferences. Tajfel and Turner (1979) posit that a cognitive shift from personal to social identity lies beneath different behaviours. 'Social identity' seems to be "switched on" by certain situations.

This suggests that outside of those situations that cue group identity categorisation, an individual may rely more on personal identity.

Attitudes have been defined as being linked to both personal self-concept (Converse, 1964) as well as social behaviour (Krosnick and Petty, 1995). Some of the teachers interviewed referred to attitudes, such as curiosity and open-mindedness, as aspects of their personality, individually held, rather than deriving from a group identity. Some teachers identified their attitudes as ‘inherent’ in who they were, some stating that they had always had these attitudes, some stating that these attitudes were instrumental in their entering into intercultural encounters in the first place [See 4.4.2.P.1].

The evidence suggests that there is some ambiguity regarding the extent to which teachers believe attitudes can be developed if they are not already present in an individual, in contrast to the teacher support documents and the literature related to intercultural pre-service training, which rest on the premise that attitudes can be developed in educational settings. While open-mindedness is identified in teacher responses, the teacher support documentation, and the literature (e.g. Alyusuf, 2015; Kashima et al., 2017) as a central attitude in the development of intercultural understanding, there appears to be difference of opinion regarding the extent to which it precedes intercultural understanding, is developed along the way, or is a result of having attained intercultural understanding, or a combination of all of the above. It is important for teachers to believe that all students can potentially achieve some increased level of open-mindedness as a result of school experiences, as teacher beliefs contribute to the hidden curriculum, ‘the concealed moral, social, cultural or political meanings that teachers tacitly channel to students’ (Hotam and Hadar, 2013, p. 390) and teacher expectations can have an effect on teacher behaviours and student understandings (Denessen and Douglas, 2015).

The evidence of individual re-categorisation into different groups, or additional groups, as a result of intercultural understanding can be considered an example of social identity being ‘switched on’. However, while re-categorisation was presented in the literature as a means to extend positive intergroup appraisal by positing the existence of a superordinate group, teacher responses did not refer to a superordinate group. Rather, situations that led to distancing from the original cultural group, whether because of decreased identification of the individual into the group or because of the group’s distancing of the individual, resulted in re-categorisation into broader (European, Western), or more narrowly defined (New Yorker, displaced Irishman) groups [See 4.3.1.P.1], in some cases corroborating Stets and Burke’s ‘hierarchy of inclusiveness’ and Meyer et al’s (2006) findings that an individual can belong to groups that have conflicting values. In these instances, evidence was not found to support Hogg’s (2016) findings that categorisation results in ethnocentrism and competitive group behaviour. This may be attributed to loose affiliation to begin with, which results in ease of re-categorising (Dovidio et al., 2005), or a changing self-definition whereby some group characteristics previously ascribed by the group to the individual, or by the individual to herself, no longer apply (Ellemers, 1993). Re-categorisation into multiple groups supports Linville’s (1985) proposal that a ‘complex identity’ provides greater stability to the individual, as it offers a variety of frames for the acceptance of dissonant experiences.

The findings show that despite the fact that teacher support documentation refers to the superordinate group ‘common humanity’ with some consistency, teachers focused on their personal experience of changing group affiliation in terms of distancing and no longer belonging, which led to new group affiliations of the order ‘those like me now’, rather than ‘common humanity’. A tentative ex-

planation for this could be located in the research into the emotional impact of belonging to groups and its relationship to well-being (Reid and Hogg, 2005), whereby questions of positive self image and uncertainty reduction motivate group affiliation, in part because people ‘feel in control of their lives’ (Greenaway et al, 2015, p. 54). Belonging to the group ‘common humanity’ may not provide enough of a sense of well-being compared to a newly defined, tangible group such as the ones identified by teachers as ‘people like me’, or ‘internationally minded people’, or, as Bunnell (2010) has posited, the troubling prospect of an IB oriented group, a ‘class-for-itself’ (p. 358).

5.6. Intercultural Understanding: ‘The Cost’

Teacher responses show that intercultural understanding as it relates to identity is at times difficult and comes with ‘a cost’, accompanied by negative feelings of not belonging, exclusion or loneliness. Boylan and Woolsey (2015) identify this as the ‘uncomfortable and challenging’ nature of work involved in changing identity (p.63), while Roskell (2013) uses the perspective of loss from within theories of culture shock in her study of international **school** teachers’ experiences of relocation, focusing on the ‘need to acknowledge endings’ as well as new meanings (p.168). Bridges (1991) draws a distinction between change, which is situational, and transition, which is psychological, and proposes a three phase model of change made up of (1) ending, (2) the neutral zone, (3) the new beginning. Some evidence exists to suggest that teachers experienced a ‘neutral zone’, accompanied by feelings of exclusion, including anxiety and frustration, which Austin (2007) identifies as a possible result of lack of effective communication in a new environment.

The evidence emerging from the interviews suggests that this zone is not neutral, but a moment of active redefinition, including at times assessment of which groups the individual continues to identify with, distances herself from, or comes to see as more closely aligned with a sense of who she is [See 4.4.1.P.2]. In relation to the question of whether developing intercultural understanding results in feelings of unease, teachers’ responses reflected some levels of unease, which can be attributed in part to realisations related to changes in group belonging. Teachers’ awareness of the emotional impact of increased intercultural understanding is important, as Cushner (2007) highlights when reporting that teachers who had undergone a personal intercultural experience of growth felt better prepared to support students who might find themselves living through challenges similar to those the teachers had faced.

At the same time, teacher beliefs about their ability to control the way new cultural information can be integrated into their thinking and behaviour, as well as the place of choice in their life trajectories in terms of professional location and relationships [See 4.4.1.P.1], reflect a belief in individual agency, where individuals can ‘fashion’ their own identities (Holliday, 2004) in a process of ‘conscious self-making’ (Marginson and Sawir, 2012, p. 17). The distancing from original groups when teachers returned to familiar groups after having experienced change due to intercultural development [See 4.3.2.P.2] can also be seen as an example of ‘the little ways in which we resist the pull’ of the wider social unit (Goffman, 1990, p. 228). Van Oord and Corn (2013) use Sen’s (2006, p. 114) concept of ‘cultural liberty’ to describe the ability of individuals to live and ‘be what they choose’ (p. 30), arguing that cultural diversity is only valuable if it results from individual cultural choices.

5.7. Recommendations Emerging from the Enquiry

The findings related to this exploration into experienced international **school** teachers’ beliefs about the relationship between intercultural understanding and identity lead to a number of points for con-

sideration and recommendations. By exploring teacher beliefs about intercultural understanding and identity from a social identity lens, this enquiry sought in part to determine whether group identification was accentuated in the course of intercultural understanding development and how teachers experienced this accentuation if it occurred. Because in-group identification can increase negative appraisal of out-group members, if it occurs in the course of developing intercultural understanding, it is important to investigate how to move beyond a negative state into one of acceptance and respect. The recommendations presented here are offered in light of the results of the enquiry, and in an effort to more specifically identify further elements that could support the development of intercultural understanding:

- (1) Engaging with issues related to intercultural understanding may lead to discomfort on a number of levels, as illustrated in the data related to stereotyping, feelings of not belonging and realising that teaching strategies are inadequate for a given context, as well as references to other types of ‘difficult knowledge’. Teachers need to feel confident in their classroom management abilities to deal with the tensions involved in moving *towards* conflict and *through* it. Otherwise, they may choose to move *away* from conflict, thereby avoiding precisely those situations that can potentially lead to positive student (and teacher) development.

Specific professional development, professional modelling and continued development of resources ought to contribute positively in this area, and recent developments in just the last few months illustrate continued responses to this perceived need (e.g. OXFAM’s recently published ‘Teaching Controversial Issues; a guide for teachers’, OXFAM, 2018; the Council of International Schools 2018 launch of a new online course ‘Leading Schools Interculturally’). However, the fact that teachers with decades of international school experience state that they have not taken part in focused professional development in this area reveals a gap between what is offered and what is actually happening ‘on the ground’. **It is recommended that, in addition to the existing induction programmes and pre-service learning opportunities that currently exist, continued professional development for experienced teachers specifically in the area of planning, guiding and managing classroom activities that engage with ‘difficult knowledge’ be a focus. Combining the professional resources of teachers, school counsellors, school psychologists, as well as including students in the planning and review of activities is also recommended as a means to increase teachers’ confidence and skill-base in this area.**

- (2) Similarly, the ‘cost’ of developing intercultural understanding, including feelings of loss, frustration or loneliness, as described in section 5.5, needs to be more robustly integrated into definitions of the concept and its development in specific contexts, including acknowledging the range of possible interpretations of experiences, as lived by students and teachers representing the home culture, dominant culture or minority culture, in a given school setting. **It is recommended that future review of the curricular documentation include engagement with the concepts of ‘loss’ or ‘cost’ in this area.**
- (3) Discussions about cultural groups that involve articulation and examination of values - where values differ and where they are similar - could be usefully framed through consideration of ‘core’ values and ‘situated’ values, potentially leading to an understanding of what the superordinate group ‘common humanity’ shares. While limited, the data relating to values (Section 4.3.1) suggest that understanding, appreciation and respect for difference may start with an understanding of where values derive from. **The field of values education, and in its focus on contextualising the historical and ideological evolution of values to inform understanding and allow**

for reflection on how values influence social and personal goals as well as an individual's views on different issues, provides a potential blueprint for integrating stronger engagement with the question of what values individuals hold in the context of promoting intercultural understanding.

- (4) The discrepancy regarding beliefs about the nature of identity, identified in this enquiry amongst teachers and within the teacher support documentation, suggests that identity as a concept in intercultural understanding, and the nature of identity, should not be taken for granted. Engagement with the question of *whether* teachers and students think multiple identities exist, why, and what that means for the individual and his interactions in different arenas of life is encouraged as a classroom starting point. Beginning with the question of what identity is allows for a more nuanced approach to the question of how different cultural affiliations may contribute to one's identity at any given time. Proposing a more flexible and situated concept of cultural group belonging, presented as potentially multiple, and one amongst many types of belonging may avoid the tendency to rely on national frames of reference as a starting point in discussions about 'who one is'. Additionally, considering what one 'does' with culture, rather than what cultures 'are', may allow for consideration of both the creative and inclusive nature of cultural affiliation, as well discussion regarding how culture can be misused when it is seen as a source of domination.

5.8. Limitations of the Enquiry

This enquiry is bound by a number of limitations. The participant group of secondary teachers represents a limited number of points of view, and the extent to which the findings of this enquiry can be extended to other contexts will be bound by the Western-dominated, English speaking nature of the group, as well as the relatively small cohort. The group represents experienced teachers whose initial teacher education or certification took place in their home country, limiting the cross-cultural value of the enquiry (Sigler and Perry, 1990). In addition, the focus on international schools, and therefore documents pertaining primarily to international school settings, limited the sources of document information.

The scope of the enquiry did not allow for consideration of effective practices in the area of learning for intercultural understanding, or for practices currently in place in related areas, such as the more developed field of teaching for intercultural competencies through foreign language teaching. More cross-fertilisation is needed between fields.

Limits of time due to my professional obligations and to resources also meant that classroom observations of practice or interviews with students were not part of the research design, meaning that teacher beliefs are not held to the light of students beliefs, or to observations of actual teaching practices to exemplify what teachers do. In addition, as Hayden and Thompson (1995a) indicate, the formal curriculum is considered less important than other factors in developing international mind-sets, meaning that teacher guidance documentation has potentially limited impact.

5.9. Future Research Directions

This enquiry focused on what impact the purposeful activation of the cultural group as an organising mental construct for shaping intercultural encounters, whether face to face or through resources about different cultural groups, had on experienced teachers, according to those teachers them-

selves. Further questions that emerge from the enquiry for future research include exploring how students' beliefs compare to teachers' beliefs. In particular, students who have recently completed their secondary education in international school settings are an interesting population. Unlike their teachers, they have often not chosen to live outside of their 'home' country. Indeed, the notion of 'home' country may not carry meaning for some of them, and they may therefore have differing notions of how group identities are formed and change, what that means for their understanding of identity, and what impact their experiences in international schools had on them in this respect. Student voices today are also the voices of digital-natives, potentially offering perspectives that their experienced teachers would not share.

Another area that has emerged from this research is the question of the formation of values over time, and what factors contribute to either the rejection or the transformation of values based on new ideas, particularly where dissonance between school and home, or new home, is likely to exist. Additionally, the meaning of 'open-mindedness', and exploration of how this attitude can be assessed and what factors contribute to its development remains a question to be explored, given its importance in setting the foundation for approaches to difference. Further study of school experiences that students and teachers view as contributing to successful growth in the area of intercultural understanding would add to the small but growing literature, which has already identified service learning, digital exchanges and student exchange as positive contributors, for example.

The relationship between professional documentation and school practice is another area that warrants investigation. For example, whether the recent inclusion of a global competence element in PISA impacts national school curricula in any way offers one possible research path. Finally, the implications of the creation of a new, possibly elitist sub-group emerging from the 'world' of international schools merits further study to ensure that the internationalist agenda is not lost beneath more pragmatic ends.

5.10. Personal Reflection

There have been a number of junctures in my life when the tensions involved in 'working in the field' versus 'researching the field' have come to the fore, and influenced professional and personal choices that I have made. The decision to embark on the journey of pursuing a doctoral degree after decades 'in the field' was borne out of a desire to engage with concerns I had about the way we were framing problems and searching for solutions to some of the big questions that schools today need to respond to - in particular how education can, and must, lead to increased dialogue, respect and peace. Schools are busy and inspiring places, but the daily pushes and pulls of work don't allow for much quiet, reflective space. Committing to this research enquiry was my way of creating a structure where deep reflection had its 'place' in my personal and professional life.

Looking back, I see now that my initial approach to this research area was too broad, too ambitious for the time and words allotted. One of the biggest challenges I faced was carving out a small enough section in the overlap between identity theory and intercultural education that would be both meaningful and manageable. There is merit to reading widely, but at times I felt that I had cast my net too far. I would have liked to have spent more time gathering data to have had a broader base on which to reflect. Another challenge was how to *get to* the people who I wanted to hear from. Including experienced teachers was important to me as I was interested in hearing how time and distance contributed to their reflections, beliefs and (current) conclusions. Wordsworth's definition of poetry floated through my mind at times as I was listening to those voices - 'the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings' that 'takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquillity'. How-

ever, in addition to those teachers' words, I initially wanted to include those teachers' students' spoken words and those teachers' students' writing samples in my data collection as well, which I now realise would have required a different approach from the outset. I remained with my initial decision as it was the most important for me, experienced teachers being a less-researched group than newly qualified or pre-service teachers in this area, but the study would have also benefitted from a wider range of teachers.

The process of moving from theory to data collection to analysis to findings and recommendations involved a continual shift from close focus to stepping back, from the microscope to the distant horizon. I gained a much deeper understanding of and respect for the challenges of viewing spoken words as data and as proof, and though my skills as a student of literature from by-gone days were challenged by the nature of academic thematic analysis, I was intrigued by the process of breaking speech into parts and reconstructing it again into units of meaning. I realise now that I would have benefited from broader exposure to detailed examples of this type of analysis ahead of time, although the process of trial and error was a valuable learning opportunity.

Therefore, academically, I have understood more clearly that research is a multi-levelled and rigorous process that requires intellectual discipline and critical distance, as well as moments of creative mental meandering. I believe I have gained the ability to read into others' research more acutely, and to generate questions of a different nature now compared to before. Professionally, I have gained a very practical, broader base of knowledge regarding the wealth of quality resources available to educators and students in the area of intercultural education, as well as an understanding of teachers' views and how one might work with them to ensure they feel prepared for the challenges of the classroom in this area. I believe that until designated 'intercultural' coordinators are required in schools, our progress will be hindered. I see a need for further informed and thoughtful exchange not solely within schools and communities, but also between organisations, as we continue to work towards a future where diversity is viewed as a treasure and dialogue our only path to peace.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Pilot and Revised Semi-structured Interview Prompts Based on Volunteer Peer Feedback

	Pilot semi-structured interview prompts	Volunteer (V1 and V2) feedback	Revised semi-structured interview prompts	Researcher process notes
1.	Do you think your development of intercultural understanding has had an impact on your identity?	<p>V2: <i>[spoken feedback provided after interview]</i></p> <p>'I thought the question was too direct. Like a yes/no. It would have been easier to answer if there were gradations of possible response.'</p>	To what extent has your development of intercultural understanding had an impact on, or led you to explore, your identity, if at all?	<p><i>Revised phrasing of first question to include possibility of a negative response by adding 'to what extent', 'if at all'.</i></p> <p><i>Included wording 'intercultural understanding and identity' in forms.</i></p>
2.	Does it make sense to you to talk about multiple cultural identities in the context of intercultural understanding?	<p>V2: <i>[comments during the pilot interview]</i></p> <p>Ok. Does it make sense to you, in that context, to talk about multiple cultural identities? in this context?</p> <p>V2: I am not positive I understand that question but Ill try. Are you asking about me having multiple identities?</p> <p>D: Does the word cultural identity and the concept of having multiple cultural identities make sense to you?</p> <p>V2: I'm not sure. When you say multiple I'm still, I should still be reflecting on myself?</p>	Does it make sense to you to talk about multiple cultural identities in the context of intercultural understanding?	<p><i>Included preliminary comment during interview about 'multiple cultural identities' being a concept or phrase that exists in some of the literature on the topic.</i></p>
3.	Has the development of intercultural understanding led you to change the groups you affiliate with or identify with?	—	Has the development of intercultural understanding led you to change the groups you affiliate with or identify with?	

4.	Has the development of intercultural understanding ever caused you unease?	V1: [spoken feedback] <i>I understand the question but maybe the word unease is too specific or maybe one could interpret it in a way that you don't intend.</i>	Has the development of intercultural understanding ever caused you unease or negative emotions?	<i>Revised phrasing to allow for broader range of responses, including a negative response.</i>
5.	How have the schools you have worked in encouraged your development of intercultural understanding?	V1: [spoken feedback] <i>This is a big question. Too big.</i> V2: [spoken feedback after the interview] <i>There are so many ways to answer that question and I was only thinking of professional development when you asked but it could be other things as well I think.</i>		<i>Questions regarding PD, familiarity with professional documentation and place of intercultural understanding in school mission/ethos included in pre-interview information gathering tool</i>
6.	—		To what extent has your experience of intercultural understanding development had an effect on you as a professional/ a teacher/ in the classroom?	<i>To be used when not included as distinct question, or follow up questions if participant integrated in response to questions 1-4.</i>
General comments		V2: during the interview, volunteer spontaneously and naturally included examples from personal and professional experience. When asked whether V1 and V2 thought it would be helpful to receive the questions ahead of the interview, both agreed.		<i>Provide questions prior to interview in written format.</i> <i>Allow flexibility in moving back to questions for further comment.</i> <i>Ask whether would like to add anything at all related to any questions at close of interview.</i>

Appendix 2: Excerpt from Written Feedback from Participant 6 after Sharing Interview Transcript

'It may be significant to note that I seem to have invited the development of intercultural understanding, putting myself in the way of other cultures through independent travel and activity (cycling abroad twice in my teens, going to a French university, volunteering in [North Africa], choosing to go to the US to work [...], etc.) and through living abroad in situations that necessitated interaction with the other culture (teaching, living apart from expatriate communities).

A certain disposition of character (curious, open, risk taking, etc.) led me to want to explore other cultures, to absorb aspects of them, and to feel reasonably comfortable living away from people of my birth culture. In [...] where we could have lived in an expatriate community, we deliberately chose to live in and engage with a rural community.

I certainly think that intercultural understanding has caused me to explore my identity, but in fairness so have other encounters that challenged my unconsidered positions and beliefs. (Perhaps one might also describe these as 'cultural'). For example as I had enjoyed a rather sheltered and conservative upbringing, certain individuals at university challenged my political and social/class affiliations, and my academic interests- in fact, just about everything about who I was, and what I did. I see from diaries that I took these challenges on board. Though they led to awareness and consideration of difference, they didn't inevitably lead to personal change.

These encounters were similar to certain intercultural experiences in so far as both types jolted me into awareness-sometimes humiliatingly- of what I was not (yet), or hadn't thought about. In my gap year, when I went to a French university I was shocked to be asked what I thought about a film by a group of French students I was with. They discoursed very confidently and intellectually about it, but sadly I had come from an education and background where my opinion was not solicited and discussion was not a feature. Humiliatingly, I had nothing to say. Obviously I came to appreciate the importance of forming and articulating responses, became comfortable with this in a Francophone environment, and as a teacher, fostered these skills carefully. That in fact became central to my professional life.

This and many encounters with other systems of education, beliefs and practices extended my field of reference and affinity, and fostered evaluation and more careful judgment, as well as affecting my values and actions and sense of myself [...]

Appendix 3: Letter to Senior Administrators Regarding Research Participants

(Date)

Dear (Colleague),

As part of a research project on the topic of intercultural understanding and identity, I am writing to ask whether you might recommend any of your current or former teachers as potential participants in the project.

I am seeking experienced secondary teachers who have taught in at least three different international locations, who would be interested in (1) filling out a simple questionnaire to provide background information (2) participating in an interview of approximately 45 minutes to discuss their beliefs about intercultural understanding and identity, based on their own experiences.

Anonymity and confidentiality will be respected at all levels and in all phases of this project, and the results will be used in my doctoral thesis, which I am pursuing in Education at the University of Bath.

If you are able to provide me with the names and email addresses of any teachers who you think might be appropriate participants, I will send them an introductory email and the background questionnaire directly. Participation is entirely voluntary.

Thank you for supporting this research, and I would be more than happy to discuss any aspect of this email with you in more detail.

Kind regards,

Debra Williams Gualandi

Appendix 4: Consent Form sent to all participants and pilot volunteers

Consent Form to Participate in a Research Enquiry

International School Teachers' Views of Intercultural Understanding and Identity

Researcher: Debra Williams Gualandi

Thank you for being willing to discuss participation in this research enquiry. The information in this document is provided so that you can decide if you wish to participate in this research. I request that you read this information and ask any questions about anything you wish to know about before agreeing to the interview.

Your participation is voluntary. You may stop at any time, including during the interview.

You are being asked to take part in a research enquiry on international teachers' views of intercultural understanding and identity development for a doctoral thesis at the University of Bath, Department of Education.

You were chosen as a possible participant because of your experience in international education.

If you agree to take part in the research, you will be asked to respond to some questions about the topic of the enquiry. Your answers will be audio recorded and transcribed. The estimated time of the interview is forty five minutes.

Your anonymity will be protected, and the recordings of the interview will be stored in a protected place so that all information remains confidential. Recordings will be retained for two years from the date of the interview and then destroyed. Transcriptions may be retained beyond two years for possible future research. Recordings and transcriptions will be used solely by me.

Possible benefits of taking part in this research are learning more about the topic through self-reflection and reading the final paper. Possible risks are recalling a negative incident or memory. Participation is voluntary and you are able to withdraw at any time. Should you withdraw, any information collected will be destroyed.

The results of this research will be used in the research enquiry and be read by the commission to whom the enquiry is presented. Portions of the enquiry may be used in future publications.

Name of Participant:

1. I consent to participate in this project, the details of which have been explained to me and I have been provided with a copy of this document.
2. I understand that my participation in this project is for research purposes only.
3. I understand the possible effects of participating in this research project.

4. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw at anytime without explanation or prejudice and any unprocessed data that I have provided will be destroyed
5. I understand that the data from this research will be stored in a safe place and will be accessible to the researcher only.
6. I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be safeguarded.
7. I understand that after I sign and return this consent form, it will be kept by the researcher.

Signature:

Date:

Appendix 5: Preliminary Background Information Form sent to all participants (reformatted for inclusion in Appendix)

Background Information Form - Research Enquiry, University of Bath, Department of Education
 Doctoral Candidate D. Williams Gualandi

You are being asked to take part in a research enquiry on international teachers' views of intercultural understanding and identity development for a doctoral thesis at the University of Bath, Department of Education.

You were chosen as a possible participant because of your experience in international education. Your participation is voluntary and you are able to withdraw at any time. Should you withdraw, any information collected will be destroyed.

If you agree to take part in the research, you will be asked to respond to some questions about yourself and the topic of the enquiry. You may be asked to participate in a follow up interview.

Your anonymity will be protected, and the answers to this questionnaire will be stored in a protected place so that all information remains confidential. The questionnaire will be retained for two years from the date of the interview and then destroyed and will be used solely by me.

The results of this research will be used in the research enquiry and be read by the commission to whom the enquiry is presented. Portions of the enquiry may be used in future publications.

(1) Name:

(2) Age:

___ 25 - 35

___ 36 - 45

___ 46 - 55

___ 56 - 65

___ 65 +

(3) Country/ies of origin:

(4) Country/ies of teaching certification:

(5) Countries where you have taught:

(6) Language(s) spoken:

(7) How many years have you taught in national schools?

___ 0 - 2 years

___ 2 - 5 years

___ 5 - 10 years

___ 10 - 20 years

___ More than 20 years

(8) How many years have you taught in international schools?

___ 0 - 2 years

___ 2 - 5 years

- 5 - 10 years
- 10 - 20 years
- More than 20 years

(9) How would you describe the schools where you have taught (tick any that apply):

- National Curriculum in a State School
- International Curriculum in an International School
- National Curriculum in an International School
- International Curriculum in a State School
- Other (Please explain)

(10) Was 'intercultural understanding' included as part of the school mission, guiding principles, curriculum or ethos in any of the schools you worked in?

- YES
- NO

Please briefly explain.

(11) Did you receive any pre-service training related to intercultural/ multicultural teaching environments? If so, please briefly explain.

(12) Have you received any in-service training related to intercultural/multicultural teaching environments? If so, please briefly explain. *i.e.* workshops, induction, degrees, etc.

(13) Have you consulted any of the following documents related to intercultural understanding ? Please tick as appropriate.

- The IB Learner Profile
- Cambridge Global Perspectives
- UNESCO's Global Citizenship Education Framework
- OXFAM Education for Global Citizenship Guide
- The Australian National Curriculum for Intercultural Understanding
- The IB Mission Statement
- OECD PISA Framework for Global Competence+
- Council of Europe Competences for Democratic Culture+
- Other (Please name)
- None of the above

(13) Would you consider yourself as someone who possesses intercultural understanding?

- Strongly agree
- Agree

- Somewhat agree*
- Somewhat disagree*
- Disagree*
- Strongly disagree*

(14) *Would you be willing to take part in a 45 minute (max.) interview on the topic of your beliefs about inter-cultural understanding and identity?*

- Yes*
- No thanks.*

+ *Added; separate email to participants to verify knowledge of these two documents.*

Appendix 6: Teacher participant background information

	Origin	Certification	Geographical Areas Taught	Languages	Yrs Nat'l Schools	Yrs Int'l Schools
P.2	UK	England	Great Britain, Europe, North Africa, Asia	English	5-10	5-10
P.3	US	US	North America, Europe	English, Italian, Danish	5-10	10-20
P.4	Ireland/Canada	Canada	North America, Asia	English, Int. Japanese	10-20	10-20
P.5	UK/Ireland	UK	Great Britain, Europe, North Africa, Asia	English, French, Dutch, German	5-10	10-20
P.6	UK	N/A	North America, Africa, North Africa, Asia, Europe, Great Britain	English, French, Dutch, German	10-20	10-20
P.7	Netherlands	Netherlands and UK	Great Britain, Europe, Asia	Dutch, English, Italian, German	2-5	10-20
P.8	[African country], UK	UK	Middle East, Europe, Asia	English, Italian	0-2	10-20

	IU in schools	Professional Documentation	PD experiences
P.2	Implied but not explicit in most	IBLP; Cambridge Global Perspectives; UNESCO; Australian; IB Mission	Cultural course as government requirement in Asian country
P.3	Yes. International schools curriculum and/or mission	IBLP; UNESCO; OXFAM; IB Mission	US based cross cultural training
P.4	No. In Canada, commitment to multiculturalism and inclusive education, different to IU	IBLP; Cambridge Global Perspectives; UNESCO; Australian; IB Mission	Some via the IB subject specific courses and one in-service day on Korean students
P.5	Yes. In Mission and in IB	IBLP; OXFAM; IB Mission	No
P.6	Yes. Inspired by IB; created by me in North African country	IBLP; Australian; IB Mission	No: but have strategically developed ideas for workshops related to teaching teachers
P.7	Yes. By default in international schools; not aware of it being part of school's mission, curriculum or guiding principles	IBLP; UNESCO; IB Mission	Pre service; focus on teaching in international schools and multicultural awareness

	IU in schools	Professional Documentation	PD experiences
P.8	Not explicitly. 'Respect for others' though not necessarily practiced.	IBLP; UNESCO; IB Mission	No. UAE multicultural understanding about cultural expectations for foreigners

Appendix 7: From Data Collection to Research Outcomes

1. Following the pilot coding trials outlined in section 3.5.4, all Interview Transcripts (*I - identifies interview segment*) and Professional Documents (*D - identifies document segment*) were coded by assigning codes and colouring text, as defined in a draft of the coding manual, to segments of meaning in the data, including a ‘Miscellaneous’ code.

Each source was coded and the coding reviewed at different points in time to check for coding consistency. This step involved breaking a unified portion of text into individual parts based on segments of meaning. Segments were initially coded by the type of source (I); the number of the source (2); the minuted moment during the interview (4:02); the code (GA). A column for notes was included. The first segment in the following interview sample would therefore have been marked **[I.2.4:02.GA]** in the margin, and when collated.

Interview sample with preliminary trial codes:

[...] *if that makes sense*. [Different cultures react to different things in different ways (GA)], and [it doesn't necessarily mean that your way of responding to issues is right or wrong, or their way is right or wrong. It's just different (MF)]. *And to thinking of examples of-- and* [sometimes those cultural differences drive you completely insane (D)]. *Like, for example,* [in Italy the thing that used to drive me insane was stuff closing for lunch (IE)]. *Used to drive me nuts.* [I just can't understand (D)] *why something should close for lunch.* [Doesn't make any sense to me (D)]. [Here in Thailand, there's a whole other kind of not losing face. So even if something can't be done, they will tell you it can (IE)]. [It's because of where you have been brought up for the majority of your childhood, I think, makes a difference (GA)] [...]

GA (Blue) - Group Awareness

MF (Red) - Multicultural Framing

D (Brown) - Dissonance

IE (Purple) - Intercultural Encounter

Appendix 7 cont.

Document example with finalised codes:

	Ages 3 – 5	Ages 5 – 7	Ages 7 – 11	Ages 11 – 14	Ages 14 – 18	Ages 18 – 19			
Cooperation and conflict resolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> participate in group activities take turns and share manage disputes peacefully 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> play and work cooperatively help to ensure that everyone in own group is included begin to show tact and diplomacy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> work cooperatively to solve problems or achieve goals use strategies to manage anger, frustration and aggressive feelings use knowledge of others' viewpoints to resolve problems and compromise 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> take on different roles in group work employ effective strategies for repairing damaged relationships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> reflect on the roles played in group situations, including leadership identify win/win solutions for resolving some conflict situations show sensitivity to diverse perspectives and cultural norms when managing conflict 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> negotiate effectively in relationships with peers and adults mediate disputes use a range of strategies to resolve or manage conflict 		<p>D.3.153.D D.3.154.G.C.out.+ D.3.154.G.C.in D.3.155.G.G+</p>	<p>shows sensitivity to diverse perspectives and cultural norms when managing conflict' 'reflect on the roles played in group situations, including leadership</p>

D - Dissonance**G - Groups****G.C. - Groups (Cultural)****G.G - Groups (other than cultural)****+ - positive appraisal**

2. Coded segments were collated into the coding manual beneath each code. Grouping segments by code allowed for analysis of meaning across interviews and documents. This step involved juxtaposing segments from different sources based on shared meanings, a process of reconstruction with the aim of identifying similarities and differences among segments extracted from their original source.

Coding manual with collated segments example:

Subcategory **Dissonance.Stereotypes [D.St] - references to being stereotyped/the act of stereotyping**

- 1.3.00.26.D.St I was expected to have certain attributes that I didn't have
 1.3.00.26.D.St I had to justify sometimes why I didn't have them [characteristics that others expected in me as an American] [...]
 1.3.22.23.D.St I had to struggle to try to explain who I was, and that I wasn't a rollerblading American here for a year [...]
 1.5.15:45b.D.St that is others' perception of you [price you pay]
 1.5.15:45f.D.St so I think the price you pay is the imposition that other people put on you of who you are
 1.8.36D.St we do fall into using stereotypes. I agree, even I do myself, I think [...]
 1.8.42D.St I think that stereotyping can be a quick fall back, including myself

D.3.106.D.St provide opportunities to challenge cultural gender and racial stereotype {in sport}

D.4.52.D.St gendered roles and expectations that are harmful and/or encourage gender-based discrimination and stereotyping

D.5.50.D.St challenge stereotypes and prejudices [...]

D.5.57.3.D.St identify and challenge stereotypes and prejudices in the representation of group, national and regional identities

3. Preliminary themes were identified according to patterns of meaning emerging from sets of coded segments.

Preliminary theme examples:

Western - One participant cited negative feelings related to an increased awareness of 'Westernism' or colonialism in her own thinking and interpretation of events, which caused discomfort [2.4.19:06b; 2.4.19:06c; 2.4.19:06d] as well as negative feelings when looking back at her own past judgments of situations or topics [2.4.19:06a]. Three other participants cited examples of recognising the need to change their professional practices and beliefs in light of revealed Western assumptions they held about the teacher-student relationship [3.4.14:23a ; 4.4.4:57; 6.4.22:46].

The Meaning of International - Three participants referred to their own questioning of what international schools or international *school* education actually meant as a source of unease in their process of developing intercultural understanding. Two participants said their current schools were based on national systems (British, American) but called themselves international [2.4.19:06e; 4.4.3:03]. Both of these participants expressed concerns that parents and students were aiming for a Western university education, while possibly accepting losing connections with their culture and language of origin [2.4.19:06e; 2.4.23:57], or learning a language without learning the culture(s) related to the language (English) [4.4.26:00]. One participant referred to her own expectation that her experience in a new culture would be intercultural, while what she experienced was perceived by her as monocultural (Slovak) [3.4.17:45]

Communication Breakdowns - Three participants referred to instances of lack of understanding as a source of unease. Two referred to moments of 'frustration' due to the inability to express oneself appropriately [3.4.13:16a; 3.4.13:16b] or feeling as if one doesn't belong or can't cope [7.4.14:17; 7.4.15:10]. Another participant felt responsible for addressing communication breakdowns between other people or groups, because of her own level of intercultural understanding, which she did not see in the other people present. This was expressed as 'cultural difficulty', causing the participant embarrassment [6.4.25:07; 6.4.25:41].

Self Questioning - Two participants referred to negative feelings in relation to a process of self questioning. One referred to a sense of not recognising herself anymore and not knowing who she was [3.4.19:54], while another participant said that 'on bad days, you don't belong anywhere' [7.4.12:29]. One participant also referred to the 'struggle' to explain or prove herself, as moving to another culture meant others 'didn't know who I was' [3.4.19:54; 3.4.20:43] [...].

4. Preliminary themes were set aside, physically, and bracketed, mentally, and a second reading of all the interview transcripts took place. This phase involved returning to the sources to ensure that isolated segments were grounded in the context of the original meaning-making act, the individual's response to a question, or the author's organisational writing principles. Codes were reviewed and more grounded linking of codes to themes ensued, resulting in a less fragmented organisation of the material, with prior themes grouped together in some cases.

Appendix 7 cont.

Final Theme/Codes Derivation example - 'becoming'

Theme	Code category	Code definition	Examples of coded segments
Becoming	[<i>'cultural group, salient, in, +change'</i>]	a change in relation to a cultural group	<p>[1.3.19] I'm an American living abroad [1.4.46] But as a person? Yeah I think I moved away from being-- and I think this is the question you're asking-- but I moved away from being, identifying myself as Irish and being increasingly more European or global, but I'd say probably more European, continental [1.8.23] I think that hugely separated me, maybe not from my immediate family, because they travel as well, but definitely from my relatives</p>
	[<i>'identity, +change'</i>]	a change or the potential for identity to change	<p>[1.4.128] expansion of self literally means something that was once valuable is probably going to get shoved to the side [1.5.1] Actually, it has. Very much so [intercultural development impacted identity] but it's in a very organic process</p>

	<p><i>['international education teachers, +change']</i></p>	<p>a change in professional practice</p>	<p>[1.3.63] so I think the sort of cultural norms of whether you could teach in a similar way, you can't do that to every student [1.4.39] but I assumed every kid participated and every kid had questions. And then of course first thing I ran into was a simple thing like assessment that most of the American kids were watched-- you might assess right here, right now. [1.6.71] So, that made me rethink very quickly the way I needed to interact in the classroom</p>
	<p><i>['attitude, reflective']</i></p>	<p>attitudes that emerged and were expressed as a change from an initial state to a new state</p>	<p>[1.2.108] it's very interesting because I wasn't particularly a questioner myself before. So, yeah, I think-- it's just-- the ability to question is key [1.6.52] To avoid misunderstanding as well. To understand them better and to avoid misunderstanding between us [1.8.40] I think it makes me a little bit more careful when I make assumptions</p>

Appendix 8: Interview Data Log

Participant ID	Interview	Transcription Complete	Transcription sent to Participant
2	7 Jan. 2018	8 April 2018	10 Sept. 2018
3	21 March 2018	8 April 2018	11 Sept. 2018
4	31 March 2018	20 April 2018	12 Sept. 2018
5	24 April 2018	29 April 2018	13 Sept. 2018
6	5 May 2018	15 May 2018	14 Sept. 2018
7	20 June 2018	30 June 2018	14 Sept. 2018
8	8 October 2018	11 October 2018	12 October 2018

Appendix 9: Excerpts from Data Analysis Journal

[...] '3 July, 2018 - Trial I-We - Group Affiliations/ I-Them - Self-categorisation; Need to account for different ways of looking at Group Affiliations; Segments related to a process of awareness building and then affirmation in Interview 2 and 7. [...]

5 July, 2018 - Participant 2: 'have you found your sense of yourself changing within that (experiences leading you to question your own cultural norms)?' Response: a little yes (2:15), I have changed my viewpoint on things (2:16)' and explains that more globally aware. Not a change in group affiliation, but an awareness of a change in attitude.

Main category: Attitudes

What types of attitudes are emerging? [...]

7 July, 2018 - Considering 'intercultural encounters' instead of cultural group salience; difficult to identify a distinction between cultural group salience and group affiliation or self-categorisation because overlapping. Rare to find a comment about culture that isn't already in group affiliation of self-categorisation. Why would a participant just talk about noticing culture without saying something about it?

Trial 'Group Identification' as inclusive category with distinctions in sub-categories regarding positive/negative; change/no change; cultural groups/other types of groups. [...]

10 July, 2018 - Participant 2 and 4 - To what extent is the 'international school' another in-group? Participant 4 says discovered international schools and resonance with what some of the students had experienced. Also, Participant 3 found connections with her students and presented herself as having had a similar experience. [...]

22 July, 2018 - Participant 6 - growing awareness of what being British meant when identity threatened by having to give up passport to get married; memories emotionally impactful (related to Saava - critical incidents). Resistance to idea of 'multiple cultural identities' because was a replacement not an addition. Coding of subcategory of identity: whole vs multiple? [...]

29 July, 2018 - Participant 7 and 4 - you pick and choose what you like; identity change, but also element of self-definition and control [...]

2 August - If one way to increase positivity of a social identity is to increase the social status of the in-group upon which the social identity is based, (Tajfel and Turner 1979) does evidence suggest that we are creating an in-group in international schools that others wish to join because of status? Problematic.

15 September - Note how documents position teacher and their role, and how teachers talk about their thinking about education in (INT) code. In documents, will require some new coding- (INT)(Teacher) vs (INT)(School) vs (INT)(Student). Review interview transcriptions again [...]

Appendix 10: Teacher Guidance Document Summary

Name of Document	The IB@ Learner Profile	The Cambridge Learner Attributes/ Developing the Cambridge Learner Attributes	ACARA Intercultural Understanding Learning Continuum	OXFAM's Curriculum for Global Citizenship	UNESCO Global Citizenship Topics and Learning Objectives
Author	The International Baccalaureate	Cambridge Assessment International Education; UCLES	Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority	OXFAM GB	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
Publishing Date(s)	2013	2010/ 2017	2010	1997/2015	2015
Nature of Producing Entity	Non profit international educational foundation	Non profit international education and qualification provider	Independent authority responsible for Australian national curriculum, assessment program and data collection	Non profit independent charitable organisation	Agency of the inter-governmental organisation The United Nations
Document audience target group(s)	Explicit 'IB World Schools'	Explicit Cambridge 'schools and teachers'	Implicit includes Australian teachers, administrators, curriculum coordinators	Explicit 'a guide for schools'; 'developed within the context of formal education in the United Kingdom'; 'we make no claims for it to be definitive in this or any other context'	Explicit 'a resource for educators, curriculum developers, trainers as well as policy-makers' in 'Member States'

Brief description	Description of ten attributes of the 'IB learner'	Description of five attributes of the 'Cambridge learner'	Nine learning outcomes for each of six age levels (4-16yrs) based on three 'key elements'	Twenty-one learning outcomes for each of six age levels (3-19yrs) based on three 'key elements'	Nine 'learning objectives' for each of four age levels (5-18+) based on three 'domains of learning', three 'key learning outcomes' and three 'key learner attributes'
Sample of statements reflecting an 'internationalist' vision of education	'recognising common humanity and shared guardianship of the planet, help to create a better and more peaceful world'; 'responsible members of local, national and group communities'	'understand that their actions have impacts on others and the environment'; 'appreciate the importance of culture, context and community'	learning to live together'; 'responsible local and global citizens'	'[...] to secure a more just, secure and sustainable world than the one they have inherited'	'informed, critically literate, socially connected, ethical and engaged global citizens'; 'belonging to a broader community and common humanity'
Sample of statements reflecting a 'globalist' vision of education	Not explicit	'equipped to participate constructively in society and the economy'; 'learning habits students need to be successful in school, higher education, the workplace and life in general'	'equipped through their education for living and working together in an interconnected world'	'skills, values and attitudes that learners need both to participate fully in a globalised society and economy [...]	'emphasises political, economic, social and cultural interdependency and interconnectedness'

Organisational concepts	(Attributes defined as) Inquirers Knowledgeable Thinkers Communicators Principled Open-minded Caring Risk-takers Balanced Reflective	(Attributes defined as) Confident Responsible Reflective Innovative Engaged	Recognising culture and developing respect element Interacting and empathising with others element Reflecting on intercultural experiences and taking responsibility element'	Knowledge and Understanding Skills Values and Attitudes	Cognitive Socio-emotional Behavioural
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Appendix 11: Coding segment references for 'Chapter 4: Presentation and Analysis of Data'

Appendix 12: Interview Transcriptions

Interview Transcription: I.2.
Conducted via Skype on 7/01/18
Respondent at home

DW - The first question is about your own intercultural understanding, and the extent to which, if it all, you think your development of intercultural understanding has had an impact on, or led you to explore, your identity.

R2 - I think it has, but it depends on the cultural norms of the country that you grew up in. I think having lived for a number of years in three very different, in terms of culture, countries you begin to examine your own beliefs. And you start to question whether what you were taught, as a cultural norm, is acceptable or not acceptable, or whether that should be imparted on other people I think as you-- there's no such thing as normal.

DW - Mm-hmm. Mm-hmm.

R2 - if that makes sense. Different cultures react to different things in different ways, and it doesn't necessarily mean that your way of responding to issues is right or wrong, or their way is right or wrong. It's just different. And to thinking of examples of - and sometimes those cultural differences drive you completely insane. Like, for example, in [European country] the thing that used to drive me insane was stuff closing for lunch. Used to drive me nuts. I just can't understand why something should close for lunch. Doesn't make any sense to me. Here in [South-East Asian country], there's a whole other kind of not losing face. So even if something can't be done, they will tell you it can. It's because of where you have been brought up for the majority of your childhood, I think, makes a difference. And now with-- having [my child], one of the things that I've started to consider is what will be [their] cultural norms? So that's what I've started to think about because the first few years of [their] life have been here in [South-East Asian country]. But I imagine we will see three or four, maybe five, different countries before [they're] old enough to go to university. And the impact on [one's] understanding of the world.

DW - So when you say cultural norm, and you talk about your experiences having led you to question what your own cultural norms were, have you found your sense of yourself changing within that or not?

R2 - A little, yes. I mean, I have changed my viewpoint on things. I think it just means you become more globally aware and don't automatically condemn something that you don't understand the culture behind it. So what happens in the news, my immediate reaction is no longer to condemn the thing that's happened. It's to question why it's happening, and what has happened within that part of the world to cause that to happen. Having friends who are living in very different cultures as well, not just me being in the culture that I'm in, having friends experience things. And there's-- we have a tendency to talk about the things that have happened in a week or whenever

we have a conversation. It also helps you to kind of understand that things are very different in different countries. Sometimes different cities, within a country, have very different norms. I've got a friend who's been volunteering in [an African country] and work starts at 9 o'clock. But she can see still be sat on the steps at 12:00 waiting for the person with the key to show up for work that day, but that's okay. Now, the British person in me goes insane at the thought of that. But I think you kind of have to kind of-- but it's perfectly normal. [That country], culturally, that's fine. They took some time to get here, some stuff happened, they got delayed, all is well with the world, you know?

DW - So when you say something like, "The British person in me," finds something difficult, and then you say, "Well, no actually on reflection now, I know that there could be other circumstances," does it makes sense for you, and this goes into the second question, does it make sense for you to talk about the idea of multiple cultural identities in the context of intercultural understanding? Because this is a term that's used in some of the literature.

R2 - I do wonder if I-- I think I do, I shift where I am in the world as to what is and isn't culturally acceptable. And sometimes that shift takes time, if for instance, it's a way of thinking. And sometimes some of those things have become embedded in me. Like, for example, after living in [North African country] after the first summer I came home, and the amount of skin exposed freaked me out. I was like, "Oh my god, put some clothes on [laughter]." And I think, to a certain extent, some of that has stayed whereas before, it wouldn't have even crossed my mind. But because it was covered to the neck and down to the ankle. Kind of no shoulders, no elbows, became part of my life. I wonder if part of me has shifted.

DW - Interesting.

R2 - Yeah, but it also enables me to culturally understand students because when you've got an internationally diverse student population, those cultural norms can sometimes cause conflict. Especially when in a transient population where people are arriving and leaving with short periods of time to adapt to whatever the culture is.

DW - Yes. Yes, that's an interesting point. So time spent in a-- somewhere where things are different, or appear different, would appear to you to be a factor to developing some kind of understanding?

R2 - Yeah, I think so. It's very difficult to develop an understanding of why things are the way they are unless you've lived in it, I think. I mean, you can empathise to a certain extent

R2 - Yeah, because I find that some of the cultural norms that my friend talked about in Africa, really difficult, really difficult to not want to change it, what I think is acceptable. And I think that's-- it's a Western trait, I think. I don't know that it is. As you were saying, you've been looking at curriculum documents. And I know that we're not talking about teaching. But one of the things that drives me insane when I'm teaching a topic, is the assumption that everything works that way that it does-- especially in

something like a GCSE in the UK. So there's an ATM machine. All ATM machines in the world work the same way. No, they don't. They just don't. All washing machines work in the same way. Nope. Because the people who've written those documents have never been, to a large extent have always lived in the one country—

DW - It's interesting what you said about getting to the point where you don't want to change the other person or culture to match what you consider to be normal. And it leads into the third question quite nicely, which is, to what extent, if at all, has your personal development of intercultural understanding led you to change the groups you identified with or felt affiliated with?

R2 - I think I've become more aware of what it means to be a white British female, I think. And that there's a certain amount of privilege that goes with that, that I haven't recognised before. And certain things that--my section of friends are now more international traveling people, and when I return to my groups in the UK, there's definitely pieces that I don't relate to with them quite as well. Because the things that they do are not the same as the things that I do anymore, and there's a definite shift to identify what that is. It's even-- day to day life is just different. And that I can't even quite put my finger what it is. I've not properly thought about it before. While I was home at Christmas-- and that these people are still my friends but I don't have a lot in common with them anymore because their life is very different than my life.

DW - Would you say that those differences, that you would now feel with people you affiliated with or you recognised as being part of that group, have given way to different sorts of affiliations that relate to who you think you are today? You mentioned, you've spent a lot of time with people who are internationally traveling, or have traveled, which is something that you are too, an international person.

R2 - Yeah, and my friends come from a variety of different cultures. They're not all from the same culture as me. Sometimes that clashes. It's interesting. I can go out in a group of friends and there'd be seven different nationalities there, all brought up in different ways, including people who have a nationality but not a country. So people who've been traveling the world because of father's jobs, mother's jobs, and then their job, their whole life. So they may well be American, but they've never lived in America for more than a year. So, yeah, I've forgotten what [laughter]—

DW - Well, the question was whether your development of intercultural understanding has led you to change the groups you identify with. And you—

R2 - Yeah.

DW - you said that you-- the first part of your answer was that you felt more aware of a certain aspect of your identity, which is white British female, but that you also feel a level of difference now with people you might have called white British female before.

R2 - Yes. Yeah, I think I don't-- I think my nature before was to gravitate towards people like me. And I think that's what we necessarily do. I just think that the people who are like me have changed.

DW - Can you identify what is it that, in the people you now go out with, with whom you said you don't necessarily share a culture or a nationality, what it is that makes them more like you?

R2 - I think an understanding that the world isn't quite so black and white. That it's a very complex place. And I sometimes think that when you are within one culture you accept the cultural and moral norms of that culture as black as white. This is right. This is wrong. There isn't any grey. I think my friends are a little more grey

DW -So—

R2 -We recognise that quite often there isn't a right or a wrong.

DW -Yes. Yeah.

R2 - That, "This is what I think," and then there's usually some kind of argument [laughter]. But it's fun and interesting to get the different cultural perspectives. Things where everybody-- in the past everybody I know would've gone, "Mm-hmm. Yep, wrong."

DW - Right. So in that experience that you've had, have you-- and this is the fourth question. Have you experienced any unease or negative feelings in this process of developing intercultural understanding?

R2 - Probably, yes. In the same way that when I was just talking about black and white, right or wrong, the realisation that I was probably wrong in saying something was wrong if that makes sense. It may be something I don't agree with, but I don't know that-- what right do I have to say what is right and what is wrong?. And as part of my cultural identity is still that British white female, there's still that part of that, "Oh, look what British colonialism did to this part of the world when we imposed this piece of British culture here." Do you know what I mean? Or this piece of-- so there's some historical stuff, and then you see a leakage of Westernism into— being in Southeast Asia at the moment, there's definitely a leakage of Westernism that makes me uncomfortable. And it's everywhere in society. And some of it I think is Westernism, and some of it I'm not sure whether it is. So I recognise that historically in the UK if you were a wealthy landowner you had pale, white skin. So I don't know whether the Asian obsession with having pale, white skin is to do with the wealth, not working on farmland, or whether it's trying to be Western. There's a piece of that that makes me uncomfortable every day when I'm trying to find a body lotion that doesn't say whitening on it. Or deodorant that doesn't say whitening on it. That I start to question, and it makes it uncomfortable about whether I am making an assumption that it's my Western cultural identity infringing on the Southeast Asian community. Or whether that would be there anyway, whether it's the same cultural norm that came

in 17th Century Britain where people wanted to be as white as possible. You know? You don't quite know. The whole eyelid thing is definitely Western culture pervading, I think, though, so—

DW -The what?

R2 -Double eyelid.

DW -Oh, yes. Yes.

R2 - Like you can walk along the street, and there's adverts for plastic surgery to get your eyelids made into double eyelids because that's more beautiful. And there's things like that make me a little bit uncomfortable. I don't know why. I start to question. I'm also uncomfortable sometimes in my school environment because I teach in a British international school, which means we impose British values on that educational system. So it runs like a British school with a bit of international thrown in. Because of that, there are things that really do bother me. We've got students who have been in the schools since they were three who will graduate this year, who do not—who are [the local nationality]— who do not have enough [national language] to be able to get a [national language] speaking job here. A good [national language] speaking job, you know like a university graduate level job. When they go off to university, they will be in a university course in England. But if they want to do a job in their native language, somehow that has gone. And it is important by some people. Makes me very uncomfortable.

DW - Do you in your school now have a program, or is there any overt effort to include the concept of international mindedness or interculturalism in the school?

R2 - Yes, I agree. I just don't-- I think lip service is paid to it rather than it being truly embedded. We've got school values, and one of the school values is internationally-minded. There are 14 school values, so we've got a quite a lot to do. And internationally-minded is in the vision of the school, as it is with any school with international in the title. One that doesn't have that in the title, there are very many that don't really understand what that means or think that they do. I don't know. We have an international day where the people bring in food from their culture and dress up. I'm not really certain that that tells me a whole heap about the cultural identity of those people. I can eat sheep from Chinese people. That doesn't make me understand the culture of China, if it does. So it would need to be a much deeper sense of learning that isn't included, I think. I think somewhere along the lines-- and I have to say I haven't been in an international school that does it really well. I haven't. I've seen one that does it well. I've seen schools that embrace the local culture very well and try and blend it with an English speaking, Western culture. As for truly international, no, not seen it. Not—

DW - Do you think that a school that did develop intercultural understanding, in a way that would be meaningful for you, would be going in the direction of something similar to multiple cultural identities, as you talked about it earlier, as kind of the shifting and the embedding that you referred to?

R2 - I would prefer it to be— in order for it to work, we kind of have to understand as why— how that particular culture came to have that particular value. And I think that's the piece that we miss. We say what values a culture might have, but we never kind of go in it any more depth into it. And it's probably not encouraged, so the questions aren't asked. Why is that? And in your own culture, you don't know. So quite often you don't know how something came to be part of your cultural identity because it is. Because that's where your life's been. And how something got there enables other people to understand better why it's part of somebody else's identity, I think.

DW - So do you feel that your experiences, as you go back at Christmas, for example, and spend time with old friends in the UK, have you gained an understanding of where some of those norms have come from?

R2 - Yes.

DW - And the second part of the question is, have you felt yourself then distancing, or letting go, or embracing more? What's the result of that been?

R2 - There's a definite-- I understand sometimes where ideas have come from, that a lot of beliefs come from lack of information or misinformation, which is quite interesting. And having lived in countries where there's censorship, you can kind of understand more why people believe particular things. What I hadn't recognised until I left was the impact of media on people's identity. And how people don't question, I think, what to do. It's very interesting because I wasn't particularly a questioner myself before. So, yeah, I think-- it's just-- the ability to question is key. Also, the ability to keep your mouth shut when somebody is spouting things based on misinformation, especially in friendship groups when you have a full-out debate or enable them to question their now firmly-held belief. It's quite important. In a situation, there's not a lot you can do.

DW - Yes. Yeah. And you don't want-- you choose not to. Yeah, I see.

R2 - So just go with that. And that's also part of the intercultural understanding is, "Oh, okay So that's the way it is here now. Okay, I'll just shut up then." Because you might not agree with, but the funny thing is you know it's going to be a losing battle. There are things you can't change, and you just have to go with it.

DW - Yeah. Well, that's it for my questions. And you've said some things that are very interesting in the way that I've been thinking about and reading around these topics. Is there anything you'd like to add in the process of talking about it that's come to mind, that you may not have included?

R2 - Only that now that I have [my child], who has like mixed ethnicity, I kind of question how cultural understanding will impact on him and his life. And I've got no more to say about that, just that it's something that I think about more-- than I have in the past [...].

DW - Yes — Okay. I'm going to stop the recording now.

Interview Transcription: I.3.
Conducted via Skype on 21/03/2018
Respondent at workplace

DW - Okay. We're recording.

R3 - Okay.

DW - So my first question is a rather broad one, and feel free to take some time to think about it if you need to. And it is, to what extent has your personal development of intercultural understanding led you to explore your own identity, if at all? If so, in what way?

R3 - Okay. Well certainly, being in an intercultural setting, you're more aware of your identity. For example, when I lived in the States, I didn't feel overly American. And the first time I moved abroad, I was so aware of my American-ness. And so I became hyper-aware of my identity and what it meant, because I was looking at it through a different lens. And I was much more aware of how people perceived me as sort of an ambassador for the place where I came from. Especially since my first experience was in [East European country] at a school that I was not the first--. And I was the first teacher there who was Western. Most of the other foreign teachers there had only been Hungarian or Czech. And so I was the first American any of the students met and that the majority of the teachers met. So I was expected to have certain attributes that I didn't have, and I had to justify sometimes why I didn't have them. And a lot more of my teaching became about talking about my culture and my identity. And I did not plan on that. It was sort of unexpected. As I continue to now live abroad for 11 years, it's sort of ingrained in what I do. I'm always considering what perspective I'm teaching from and how that changes because I am not just an American, but I'm an American living abroad. And I live with an international family. And so all of those factors come into my identity, and they come into how I present information. For example, when I'm teaching Theory of Knowledge, I have to constantly be aware of presenting too many American-centric sources.

DW - It's interesting. You talked about the fact that it was your uniqueness in that particular setting that you mentioned, that made you more aware of your cultural identity, right? But you also said that there were attributes that others thought you shouldn't have that you found you didn't have. Can you give some examples of that and how you think that came about?

R3 - For example, ESPN2 was a common channel there on the regular-- without any additional cable. And that was one of the only American or Western-based television channels. And they were always showing extreme sports. And a lot of it was surfing and rollerblading. And my students could not understand how I wasn't a rollerblader and how I had only surfed once in my life. They just thought that was what I should be doing. That was inconceivable.

DW- Yeah, yeah, yes. Interesting. And you also talked about the fact that you are more aware now, having lived a number of years abroad, that your cultural identity is a factor in how you make decisions.

R3 - Yes.

DW - Right. Okay. The next question I have is related. And again, it comes from some of the literature for teachers about how they might think about this issue of identity. And it has to do with the concept of multiple cultural identities. So the question is, does it make sense to you to talk about multiple cultural identities in the context of developing intercultural understanding? Does that resonate with you at all?

R3 - Certainly. I think I even bring that up on the first day of class. I explain to the students that I am an American who has lived in several countries, married to a [European] who had children born in [another European country]. And therefore, perhaps my background is as confusing as their backgrounds. And when you ask-- if you get confused when someone asks where you're from, how do you answer that question? And so we talk about that on the first day of class in order to build a connection, so they also can see that this person maybe is going through some things that I'm going through. However, if they're a local student, they can perhaps see that I might be able to relate to different aspects of-- look at things from different perspectives than they might, based on my experiences.

DW - Do you feel that your experiences in the different countries that you've lived in, and interacting over time with different cultures, has created a sense of you having multiple cultural identities? Or would you say, the best-- perhaps that is not the best way to describe how you feel?

R3 - Oh, definitely. No, I definitely have multiple cultural identities. Going back to what I said in the beginning, moving abroad I felt very American. But every single time I go back to the States, I feel further away from being American. So obviously that, if it's a bucket, if I have an identity bucket, it's being filled with other things. And that space has to be occupied by something. And so whether it's my increasing exposure to [one European] culture, or my time in [another European country], or [another European city]. Or these sorts of worlds that we live in in international schools where it's almost a world of itself that has a different type of culture unto itself. Those are all making up this, my identity.

DW - Can you think of a specific example of-- and it's interesting. You use metaphors to try and get at the sensation when you say the identity bucket is filled with other things. Is there something that comes to mind that you used to view as not part of who you are, and you now view as part of who you are? Anything. I know we often point to food. We often point to clothing. But anything that you could say, "I have put this in my bucket?"

R3 - I think speech might be part of it. Especially in the States. I don't have a New York accent. My [sibling] does, and so I was always sort of not categorised as a New Yorker. But moving abroad, and since I had lived in many different places in the

States, I just associate myself-- I'm a New Yorker. And compared to British English and or students speaking with a lot of different accents, I could have a New York accent compared to that. And so I'm much more of a New Yorker or a representative of that than I probably would have associated in the States.

DW - So some things become more accentuated?

R3 - Yes. And I haven't lived in New York since [19—]. But some of my adult life, I've lived in parts of [a U.S. state]. I went to college in [another U.S. state]. So New York was sort of a central point in my life and where a lot of my family was from. And it became a shorthand to describing my identity.

DW - And you mentioned the fact that you create a dialogue and a point in common with your students when you talk about the type of confusion that people can feel when they're asked, "Where are you from?" And it is more complex than, perhaps, other people's responses. That relates, to some extent, to the next question which has to do with groups that one affiliates oneself with. Or feels affiliated to. And the question is, to what extent has your personal development of intercultural understanding, if at all, led you to change the groups you identified with or felt affiliated with? So you've talked about, interestingly, feeling perhaps more affiliated with the New Yorker group, perhaps because by moving away from it you're more identified as that or perhaps because you look at it as a formative place. Can you identify any other groups, broad or narrow, that this process of intercultural understanding has brought you to feel more or less affiliated with?

R3 -I think language would certainly play a role in this. I think I have formed bonds with people from the northeast of America because of not just language, but the context behind language and not having to explain myself. And that becomes easier when you're living abroad and there's already so many complex experiences, and misunderstandings, and confusion. And you're learning languages and you're listening to people. For example, my first parent teacher conference in [European country], and I'm trying to speak my very little [national language] at that point with a Chinese mom who is speaking her very little [national language]. And so it's very hard to form a bond when you're having trouble to communicate. So I think I did sort of relate to people who got it and it was less work. So on the first it might be someone from a similar geographic location to mine. But also just English speakers in general. Especially in the beginning. After awhile, it all kind of melted.

DW - Did you ever at any time feel unease in a relationship, this whole process of developing intercultural understanding? Did you ever feel any negative emotions in relation to it? You talked about the challenge of speaking to another person whose language is minimal. That may not result in negative feelings or unease, but would you say that that would be a description of something you experienced?

R3 - I think there were certainly points of frustration where I could not necessarily express myself the way I wanted to express myself. Either because I was speaking in [one of three European languages]. I speak very little at this point. But when I'm speaking another language or speaking to someone who may not have a strong

grasp of English, I cannot necessarily express myself completely. So it's more frustration rather than unease or any negative feelings. Just there's literally a language barrier. That can be challenging.

DW - Have you ever had an experience where outside of language, cultural meetings or differences in culture have created -- some people talk about loss sometimes?

R3 - Why, not really. I mean, I did become aware of how some students I had to be physically closer to them to communicate with them. Whereas other students, distance was a problem and I should keep a little bit more distance. There are some students who would respond differently to me based on my tone of voice. And I think some that needed me to be in front of them being emphatic and others who needed me to sort of whisper in their ear. And needed very little of the people around them to hear what I was saying. So I think a lot of that was cultural. But for example, when I was in [European city] they never asked questions. It was disrespectful to ask a question because you were acknowledging that they didn't understand something. And [that was a problem. And I was aware that that could be a thing in different cultures, but I really didn't think it would be to that extent. And they didn't speak English. And I had my five minutes worth of [local language] that I was explaining and pantomiming. And I would just be like, "[Word in language]?" They were all like, "Yeah, yeah. We got it." Okay. And so I think the sort of cultural norms of whether you could teach in a similar way, you can't do that to every student. You have to really look at the individual. [Be aware of also what you're doing, too. When I moved to [European country], I had to be careful that I wasn't hugging and kissing all the students. I was very aware of that, which was like, "Oh, my goodness." Pulled my hands. And it was interesting in the beginning. Just people don't touch. And so I think just the cultural differences make me more aware of my actions, how I hold myself, and how the students can be responsive or not responsive to that.

DW - It sounds to me what you're saying in how you started that you had a developed sensitivity. You said you became hyper-aware. Not everyone becomes aware, never mind hyper-aware. Do you think that there is something innate? Or do you think it's something that you learned somewhere along the way that brought you to that awareness that there is difference and that one needs to respond to that difference, and not ignore it?

R3 - I think that's probably what drew me into applying for the Fullbright to [European country] in the first place. So whether it is something innate in general or it's something innate in me, I don't know. However, it's always been something that has been important to me. For example, living in New York is a very multicultural place. But I didn't really think of it at that point. That was just normal. When I moved to [European country], I thought I was going to have an intercultural experience. But I did not. I had a [European country] experience. It was all [European country]. And I remember writing back home for some-- "Everything here is [European country]. I know that's obvious, but everything is [European country]. I have not seen one person today who is not [European country] and I'm not used to that." I was never aware-- I knew New York is a melting pot and everything. But I wasn't where it was still filled with New Yorkers. I think I've always been interested in different cultures, and learning about them, and about identity. Especially through my artwork. My artwork has always

been related to identity. And so the two-- naturally, I think I questioned my identity. I questioned my relationship to other people. In terms of my identity, how my identity is being perceived. I even created an artwork — I have it here. Hang on one second.

R3 - I did this in [European city].

DW - Wow. It's beautiful. You have it there.

R3 - And it's me looking in the mirror. Sort of reaching out to the mirror. And it was basically trying to understand who I was at that point. And looking back on a reflection that, metaphorically, wasn't me anymore because I wasn't who I thought I was.

DW - Wow, that's really interesting. So if you go back to that moment of creating that use of art, you were exploring the idea that you were someone different from who you were. But not quite sure who that person was. And you think that was because of your move in that moment. That you were in a different environment?

R3 - Yeah. Certainly there were things in my life beforehand that probably influenced it, but I had a perception of who I was. I was educated. I was very successful in art at that point. I was in a relatively new relationship. [My partner] and I were only together for about a year. I had this idea of this person who could get things done. Who could get a Fullbright. [...] So I had a little bit of an ego. But I wouldn't have phrased it at that point. But just this confidence that who I was, who I would present. And then when I moved to another culture, they didn't know who I was. I was really addressed based on my physical appearance much more than my intellect. Of course I had experiences of that in the States, but not so much in the workplace. And not from people who-- I don't know. It was just different and it was very overt. And I was assumed to not know anything. And then that compiled with, for example, at the school I wasn't part of any faculty meetings or anything because they were all in [European language]. There was no need. So I was always confused. I didn't know what was going on. So I was somewhat-- I was the American. I was the young, pretty American who came in and whatever. We don't have to worry so much. And I had to struggle to try to explain who I was, and that I wasn't a rollerblading American here for a year. And I had to prove myself. So I went out and did a lot of work with my students [...] and organised an exhibition of my work and the students work to tour around [European country] for an entire year. And the theme of the show was all about-- it was called [name]. And it was my reflections on [European country] and it was the students reflections on how people treat other people. Racism and discrimination. And so I had to work really hard to sort of say look. I'm not this person that you think I am.

DW- Right. Interesting. Interesting. And you expressed that through your painting. Wow, that's amazing. Yeah. Okay. Well, those are all my questions for now.

R3 - Yeah. I tend to only speak in metaphors, so.

DW - Who uses visual renderings of metaphors to express that. But it's interesting. I'm going to stop the recording.

R3 - Okay.

Interview Transcription: I.5.
Conducted via Skype on 24/04/2018
Respondent at unspecified location

DW - All right. So I've started the recording. The first question I have is rather a broad question. And I'm asking you to what extent has your personal development of intercultural understanding led you to explore, if at all, your own identity?

R5 - As a teacher?

DW - As a human being.

R5 - As a human being. So repeat it one more time please just to for me.

DW - So I'm asking you-- I'm talking to you because you are a secondary school teacher who has worked in international schools. But the questions that I'm asking are really about your beliefs, your experiences, your feelings about this. So they may or may not be related to your role as a teacher. And the question is to what extent has your personal development of intercultural understanding as you understand it led you to explore your own identity, if at all?

R5 - Actually, it has. Very much so. But it's in a very organic process. So it hasn't been a specific goal to explore my own identity as an intercultural person if you like. But as an Irish person born in Ireland first generation in England, brought up in an extremely British environment, I always felt an outsider. And the first time I felt that I was coming home was when I got to a like-minded group of teachers all of whose children were bi or trilingual. And it was just normal. And to me, that was like an epiphany. It wasn't seen as something different. And I think from that moment, that homecoming so to speak, I began then to explore the effects both on me as a parent and then as I began in my career as an international educator through that as well. And that's now been over 20 years that I've been doing that. So now with 35 years' experience of teaching both in the British system and the international schools in [other European countries], I am actively including elements of recognising one's own intercultural identity. I think there's a symbiosis there. It's just not that I want to find out about me or that I want to find out about students, but I realise that in using literature, for example, to empower the students, they seem to become more rooted. There are certain students who have maybe-- they're borderline-- what's the French expression? Anomie. They don't quite know where their roots are. And almost in allowing them to see that there is this intercultural understanding, they can have a more secure understanding of who they are. And I think that that's also mirrored by myself as well. I feel very rooted in several different cultures. I feel at home in different cultures. Now, I'm not sure if I've answered your question there, but I suppose it's where my personal life does influence my teaching and vice versa. So I feel there's a very healthy balance there [...]

DW - You said that when you were-- and what you said just now when you were talking about yourself that being Irish born and having been raised in a very English environment, that you felt like an outsider. Can you explain what that meant for you, this feeling of outsider?

R5 - Yes. Actually if anything, there is a sense and also my own experience later on with teaching seems to have borne this out. If you are not part of the host culture, you are made or would feel that you do not fit in. Whether it's through accent or whether it's through customs that you do or whether it's through lacking a shared memory of certain things or even an institutional memory at times. And it's not necessarily that you want to fit in either. Now, I think that must come down to the kind of person that you are as well. Maybe it will encourage you to plough your own furrow. But it did get me to reflect on the idea that an awful lot of first generation immigrants, whether they're refugees or whether they're economic migrants carry an awful lot - particularly the eldest child - carry an awful lot of the original culture on their shoulders. They're always shovelled it more than those who are left behind in the original town. And I'm sure that just hasn't happened to me. I see it with Indian students, I see it with Korean, Chinese, Japanese students, all of whom are being made by their parents or encouraged by their parents not just to integrate into the society they've come to, but also to go to extra schooling and all the rest of it so that they don't lose their cultural heritage as well. So almost by inculcating and the weight of the original cultural heritage, the child is given a greater burden. And again, depending on who the child is, will either integrate in both cultures or will react against one or the other. So I think that's what my teaching experience has shown me observing children in similar positions over the years. So I think it depends on the kind of person you are as well. There's a story about two girls both with the same languages: French, English, and Dutch? One complaining that she'd never get perfection in any of them and the other gratitude that although she wasn't perfect, she'd improve each day in all of them. So I think there's an awful lot of-- a lot has to do with the character of the person too.

DW - Do you think that what you're talking about, this character in these two girls or perhaps with the eldest child is something that changes along the way or do you find in your thinking that that's something that one has?

R5 - I'm not an expert so I can only give you a subjective opinion. I would say that it's an innate capacity that one has to adapt or to choose not to. I think that it can be nurtured to a certain extent but my own personal experience says to me that there is an innate characteristic of adaptability so to speak.

DW - Okay. So the second question is using a phrase that appears in some of the curricular documentation that relates to the question of intercultural understanding. And so I'm asking you whether using this phrase makes sense to you. And the question is, to what extent does it make sense to you to talk about multiple cultural identities in the context of developing intercultural understanding? Does that phrase contain elements of reality or experience that resonate with you or not?

R5 - To me it makes a lot of sense. Multiple cultural identities is immediately graspable. As I understand it, multiple cultural identities could be in many ways. It could

be multiple in sense of linguistic identities, but it also could be to do with location as well I suppose. So you could have a child who's grown up in one country, but because of the languages that the child is exposed to, feels that they have multiple cultural identities. Alternatively, you could have a child who travels a great deal and maybe as a third culture, although that's a bit more specific, isn't it? But having multiple, sometimes it's more than three. That does make sense as a phrase. Although I think for further clarity it would be an idea to specify whether it's linguistically speaking or geographically speaking. Does that make sense?

DW - Yes, yes. And is there anything in your personal experience that you could point to where you might feel that talking about multiple cultural identities could be illustrated?

R5 - In my own case, yes. So, again, starting off with English, but then studying [other languages] at university, learning those languages in different locations allowed me to explore elements of my own identity which I could definitely say are multiple cultural identities. It's not that I'm a different person when I'm speaking [another language] but there's most definitely a different facet of that person that comes out. And that could be to do with the culture as well, couldn't it? So there's a sense of empowerment or freedom when I'm speaking [language] and much more logical. Much more rational. It sounds terribly cliched, but that is the case. When I speak [language] I'm a lot more [word from language]. It's kind of-- everything's nice and cozy and all the rest of it. So there are definitely aspects of the character, or of the identity, which are referenced by the multiple cultures to which one is exposed, personally speaking. [...]

DW -At the start of the interview, you mentioned having felt that you had come home in a sense when you met up with people who were like-minded and who had similar parenting experiences as you. And the next question is related to that in that I'm asking you to what extent has your personal development of intercultural understanding led you to change the groups you identified with or felt affiliated with, if there was change.

R5 - Yeah. I would. Actually, I understand that. I wouldn't say that it's change but it's definitely expansion. So you just feel more at home with people of shared experience. And for me, it's shared linguistic experience. It doesn't, funnily enough, need to be the same language. It's just the understanding as a parent that you've got your child of a different culture and there's an openness of spirit that's given to you by becoming more open to other cultures. So you're less quick to jump to conclusions or something like that. So yes, I would definitely say that it's an expansion of understanding multiple cultures. But your question again? Focus me again just in case I haven't answered.

DW - The question was did your development of intercultural understanding lead you to change the groups you identified with or felt affiliated with?

R5 - Yeah. Not change but probably more actively seek out those that were more internationally-minded. And on returning to those who were slightly more insular, was a

sense of entrapment after a short while. A sense of frustration at the willingness of people to allow themselves to fall within perhaps national boundaries or something like that. People you would not have necessarily have expected it of. And I suppose till the end of my days there'll be an enjoyment of exploring new cultures. Discovering [...] I think that the exposure to multicultural understandings and identities will change [people] to a huge extent. Maybe to the extent of changing their own philosophies, who knows? But who am I to prevent [anyone] from having the experience I've actually had? So it raises really interesting ethical dilemmas as well.

DW -And that does in a sense relate to my next question, which is the extent to which any of this can cause negative feelings or unease. [...] Is there anything that you could point to in your own experience that could be comparable in terms of negative or creating unease in this process of expansion?

R5 - There's a price I think that you pay. But I don't think that it's necessarily one you expect you're going to have to pay when you start out on it. And that is others' perception of you. So you come back to your roots or where you started and people realise they don't understand a whole lot about you. Or maybe you're speaking in another language and it depends on how they are. They might be multilingual themselves, but if they're not, there's a suspicion again of the unknown. And it could be in all sorts of different contexts. So there is this idea of, [...] And so I think the price you pay is the imposition that other people put on you of who you are. So your own identity may be very firm, very solid-- but [...] actually that raises a whole different idea about multicultural understanding as well—from the perspective of-- again, in the negative sense. But I suppose that somehow we perceive our own ability to express ourselves in different cultural ways. And I know my focus is very much on language here. But I suppose it's the whole mannerisms that go with it as well. [...]

DW - No, but that's fine because I think it's an important, and for some, interesting aspect, that the two cannot be separated.

R5 - I think your language is your culture.

DW - It's interesting. You've talked and you've used the word home frequently. And I feel that you're not talking about a geographical place at all.

R5 - No.

DW - How do you think about home? Because you started by saying that you didn't feel at home until you met a certain group of people [...] How are you defining home?

R5 - It's a state of mind. It's a state of peace, of balance where one finds oneself at ease, I would say. The cliché, it's where the heart is, but you can have your heart in many places. And that has definitely been reinforced to me now again once again having traveled to many different places and participated in many different cultures this year very actively both from a linguistic and also from visual sense from the perspective of photography. Coming back to where I've lived for the last twenty years

has physically and geographically for the first time felt like coming home as well as psychologically. To find myself in a place where I have many international roots. But the roots are international. And if I would go to England to my family, I would be trapped after two weeks because I'd be needing to hear other languages. I'd be needing to have the different cultural influences coming in there. Because that's come to be part of my life. And I would feel terribly bereft if it was just one single note or one single thread or one single language.

DW - So the way you've spoken about your process is that it's been quite additive. That you haven't felt that you've lost. You've added to who you are. So going to the UK to be with family you would feel that there was something that wasn't present.

R5 - It would be-- what would it be like? If you have something that's woven, a piece of material or a silk that's being woven and is quite intricate, and then you just go back and you take some of the decoration out of it. It would be still beautiful but it would be only one little piece of silk. And I just appreciate the warp and the weft and all the different elements that are in there too. I mean, that's a terrible analogy but that's exactly how it feels. It's actually almost a tactile feeling as well, funnily enough.

DW - Okay. Those were my questions. Thank you very much. I'm going to stop the recording.

Interview Transcription: I.6.
Conducted via Skype on 5/05/2018
Respondent at home

DW - Alright. The first question, then, is to what extent has your development of intercultural understanding had an impact on or led you to explore your identity, if indeed you believe this statement to be true.

R.6 - Yes. I mean, in the first place I would say that I probably have quite a strong feeling of identity from background, growing up in a small village in a community where a lot of members of my family were. Going to school for ten years and in that ten years you know that many of us were together through that whole time. And so, there was a very strong sense of community there as well. University is rather briefer. And then, obviously, in adult life a lot of travelling which exposed me to other things and yes. I mean, should I give you an example of where I think probably my first culture shock in a sense? Which was an interesting challenge for me after this very, let's say, secure upbringing and education in a very homogenous kind of way. I went to [North African country] just after university and did a couple of months in a refugee camp there. This was after the French had left and a lot of those places were just really forgotten. They themselves, the people there said the government has forgotten us. And there were a few organisations like the one I was working for working there as social workers and hospital workers and so on. Anyway, there I witnessed complete material deprivation and displacement of people with attendant trauma. And one felt a sense of injustice of the terrible way in which actually those people had been treated. And I'd never seen anything like that before. But I was very conscious of trying to do my job there for and with them. And interestingly, I found a letter that I'd written at this time from all those years ago raw out of a few days of being there. And I could see the kind of-- I remembered very clearly the impact it had on me. But, that letter made it even clearer. I mean, for example, I had a binary reaction. I was very struck by the resilience of those people with so little. How hospitable and warm they were. Giving you even what little they had or wanting to give what little they had out of hospitality. And being, despite the fact they had a great number of children in those desperate circumstances, I was struck by how much they loved their children and were proud of them and so on. But at the same time, I felt quite critical of the way in which their faith led them to be fatalistic about where they were and what might happen to them. And how they had no sense of urgency about their children's health and things like that. And I wrote in the letter that one had to abandon all Western squeamishness and thoughts if one was going to survive there. Anyway, so I think after that-- that had a very profound impact on me but then I think though I examined it at the time, it was more long-lasting than that. And that certainly led me to identify with the displaced and understand their situation forever after. And to, I mean in my own culture, for example, to-- certainly that affected my political views and many of the things that I would choose to do to helping a community. I mean now, working with refugees and homeless in [name of city] and those other things. So, I do feel---an affinity with the dispossessed. And it also caused me, obviously, to look differently at the west and at colonising countries. That had a very-- I wasn't a political animal, I think before I went there. But it politicised me. I don't know if that really is an answer. Whether that--

DW -You touched on this, but if you could develop it a little bit more. Do you feel that the fact that your encounter with this group of people and the fact that they were from a culture other than the culture that you identified as your own was a significant piece of this development of further aspects of what one might call your identity? Because you could imagine working with displaced people within your own culture. To what extent was the fact that you were encountering a new culture part of that?

R6 - I think it highlighted it, the difference. I mean, I refer a lot to their dress, their practices. I mean, we attended circumcisions and parties and things like that. So, I was very very aware that the whole culture was something that I hadn't encountered before, that hadn't come my way at all. I mean, one has to appreciate, I hadn't had television when I was growing up or at college. So, one didn't have that almost daily exposure to very different ways in which people lived. Perhaps I'm not answering—

DW - I think I'm teasing out of what you said the fact that distance from your home culture at that point was significant in terms of the impact that this experience had on you.

R6 - Yes, I do realise that in one sense, the cultural impact was overshadowed by or outweighed by the political and social situation. That these were people who'd been displaced from the interior of [their country] and had sort of swept down to the coast and were squatting there, really, in vast numbers. So, it was that very urgent critical situation which outweighed it. But on the other hand, I did see those cultural aspects. And, for example, I would say the generosity, the hospitality, those two qualities which are so central to the Arab culture, that was something that left a very strong impact on me.

DW - Right. So, that leads me to my second question which has to do with the terminology of some of the curricular material where the word 'multiple cultural identities' is used to describe a state that students or individuals might exist in. Do you feel that the term 'multiple cultural identities' makes sense to you in the context of intercultural understanding?

R6 - Oh, yes, yes. Yes, completely. I suppose when I-- this is your second question, isn't it? I suppose when I was thinking about this I saw that it could work in different ways. Oh yes, I did want to say something else about my identity actually, but—

DW - No, please do.

R6 --maybe, should we go back to that? I don't know if it's relevant. Shall I just flip back to the first question? Because I realised that there was another moment and I don't know whether this-- it may not be helpful. But, when I went to the States to work for the first time-- this was before I married-- I taught there for a couple of years. And at the end of that time, I had got engaged and was to marry and was to marry very soon. [...] And I was told by the Foreign Service that-- the State Department-- that I would have to relinquish my British passport and take an American passport. I never really thought about what being British meant. One didn't discuss that kind of thing back in those days. You had a pretty strong idea of what it was because when

you encountered other cultures there was definitely a sense of separateness from them. Whether that was France or wherever. But I was filled with horror. There was no way I could do that. And it seemed to be a requirement. But I felt that I had to avoid that. That I absolutely could not do that. And, as a matter of fact, I did manage to resist it in the end. The regulations were changed some years later. But I suppose that drove me to think about, well, what was it that made that so hard? What was my British identity then that made it impossible to lose so brutally like that. I don't know whether that's--

DW - Yes. What do you think-- you said that you felt horror at the idea. What do you think was at the base of that?

R6 - Well, I think that was just-- it was the symbolism of it. Giving up my British passport and taking on the American passport. I could not just like that take on an American identity. I mean, I'd lived there for a couple of years. I travelled a lot in the States. I'd been very much part of the places that I had taught in and had had very good friends there who had made me feel part of where they were in different places. And I would say now that I often feel nostalgic for the States. That is a part of me. But, I couldn't just take on a passport and presume that that meant an identity. For me, the passport suddenly became identity.

DW -That's interesting. So, at that moment of your life, the idea of adding an American identity, a US identity to who you were wasn't the way you were thinking. But going back to question two where you now say that the idea of multiple cultural identities make sense to you—

R6 -Yes, it does.

DW - Could you describe how that evolved?

R^ - Yes. Well, I think again, in terms of specific and concrete instances, for example, when we went to Japan, which was now quite some while ago but it was-- we spent over three years there. And I didn't leave Japan in that time. So, there was a sustained interaction there. [...] I also taught there. So, I had a lot of exposure to colleagues and students and so on. But what I remember, what particularly struck me about that was that Japan was such a distinct culture. It's so rich and its traditions are so distinctive in every way. The way you behaved with other people. The way you interacted with people. What you ate. How you ate. How you lived in your house and all manner of things. That was something I think we all felt that we had-- we, the Westerners-- had to learn. That we couldn't live there without, as it were, learning. This was, of course, the knowledge aspect of the intercultural. That we had to understand very often by being taught. That might be tea ceremony or that might be people simply instructing. Or there were many books at the time because it was very very difficult to live there and interact with Japanese who at that time were not international on the whole. It was quite rare to find Japanese who travelled abroad and were comfortable with other cultures. So, we had to immerse ourselves in their culture which I think-- well, at least some of us did-- with a lot of interest. But that meant that one had to-- the Japanese had very particular ways of doing all of these things.

These things were all ordered and carefully so. And there was almost a religious or a spiritual quality about doing things in those ways. So, one had to do them with great care. That was very different from drinking mint tea [...] or participating in a traditional wedding ceremony there. You see what I mean? It was a whole routine and ritual. And there was only one way to do that. So, one had to immerse one's self in that practice. There was a kind of self-abnegation and one did that willingly. I didn't feel Japanese doing that but I felt a necessity to understand their very rich and long tradition by taking the time to do those things as carefully as I could. To avoid misunderstanding as well. To understand them better and to avoid misunderstanding between us. And that was very different from living in Africa or Arabic cultures where the people themselves were rather more open and spontaneous and warm. And they had less cultural complexity than the Japanese. And less critical awareness I think. So, one could, in Africa and in North Africa, enjoy being with them and their rituals in a much less rigorous way. And I feel now when I go back to those cultures, being a different way from the Japanese. I don't know whether that is helpful or makes any sense.

DW -Yes.

R6 - I mean, would you have a question about that? I don't know if I have answered—

DW -Yes. Well, I do have a follow up question. In the way you described your interactions and your respect for the Japanese traditions and by extension, culture, you said you didn't feel Japanese while you were carrying out these actions and taking part. So, is your personal definition of multiple cultural identities, would you include that Japanese experience as a cultural identity that you feel you have? Or, is it an example of a culture that remains outside of who you are but one that you know well?

R6 - Yes, I think that's a very interesting question. I think in doing those things in, for example, participating in the tea ceremony which is very exact and rigorous-- or we participated in the rice harvest, for example, at another time. In physically doing those things, I think one participates in the culture in quite a close way that's more than simply knowing it conceptually. Would you say that was so? I suppose when I'm talking about [the African personality [...]], they-- okay. Oh well, they, yes. I was going to say, that's a more social thing that I think they are easier and more spontaneous to interact with. But that's different. Yeah, so I would say I didn't know the language well to slip into that identity. Because I had noticed with my own children, for example, and not so much in my own case that when they changed from one language to another-- when they spoke [a language] they became different. They were more assertive and critical. And they had a different personality. A more confident personality. Whereas in English, they were more reticent and differential when we were living in [a European country] that is. When they were quite little. I noticed distinct personality shifts as a result of language which they had learned from people who spoke it with certain attitudes and certain personality that they imbibed. And I didn't get that far with Japanese. But I, yeah, in participating in those and spending so much time learning and doing those things and really appreciating and understanding, I think, I could say that I had that identity. I was also thinking that-- I was thinking of a cultural clash where we were with some Chinese people in Australia and we passed through Abo-

original territory which was sacred to them. And there were notices about respecting that. The silence that the Aboriginal people would wish us to have there. And that was something that nobody could-- I understand that by reference to, let's say, sacred places, cathedrals and holy places that I'd experienced. So, it was quite natural to me to be able to understand that cultural practice. Whereas the Chinese people we were with couldn't stop talking and couldn't actually understand that notion. So, I don't know whether that's-- wasn't really a question of identity but it was a question of understanding at quite a deep level.

DW- It relates to some extent to the fourth question which asks whether in your intercultural understanding development you have experienced any emotions that you would qualify as negative or any unease. So, the example you have given of this particular incident of the Chinese in the Aboriginal natural surroundings could be an example of that. We could move to question four and explore that a little bit more. Can you identify any other moments that you would say resulted in feelings of unease or negative feelings of another sort perhaps because of your intercultural experiences?

R6 - Well, I wrote some down some of which-- I really could say that I couldn't think of many myself where I had experienced unease. It just didn't come to me except one in Japan when I began to teach there. I was teaching in a woman's college, quite a famous women's college actually, quite a prestigious one. I say that because that gives an idea of the profile of the kind of students who were there. Young women who often came from rather good families who felt that was a good place to be. And I had gone there with new ideas about teaching. I'd read a book, for example, an American book which was called *Teaching As a Subversive Activity*. And this was very interesting to me because it was based on the idea of asking more questions than you made statements, for example, in any one class. And getting the students to take much more control. So, I asked a question and the Japanese student was shocked and said, "But you're the Sensei. You shouldn't be asking me the question." And of course, by Sensei, they meant the teacher. And a lot of-- there's a lot of cultural significance attached to the whole notion of a Sensei. He or she who is an expert in their field to whom you give a lot of respect and who have an important role. So, that made me rethink very quickly the way I needed to interact in the classroom. And, I thought, yes, they're right. They regard the teacher in a certain way here and I've got to become that. I've got to become the expert who leads them on rather than somebody who's leading them out by virtue of questioning and the way I go about things. So, I had to, yes, respect that. I noticed I had some-- I was a number of times in a position where I was close to other people who were causing cultural difficulty and I had to find some way of mediating there. And I don't know if that's the kind of thing that you wanted.

DW - How were they causing cultural difficulty?

R6 - Well, for example, the school where I was, had an exchange with a school in [an African country]. And I was in [the same country] on a different mission, if you like. But the school had given me a week with the rest of the group who were on this exchange in a school [...]. Quite a remote place. And so there were a few teachers from the school. I was a bit of an outsider there because I didn't really have a role. I was being given that holiday if you like, or that experience after I'd done my work

[elsewhere]. And so there were the teachers from the [one] school and teachers from the [other] school, some of whom were [from one African country]. Others were from [other African countries]. But mostly from [the one African country]. And they were wonderful people. They were not only excellent teachers but wonderful people whom I had a lot of respect for. And what happened was that the woman who was leading-- she was very, I can say, very English — who was leading the group didn't seem to feel any obligation or necessity to interact with the other African teachers and students. And at night, after they'd had their days in the school, they became two groups. She sat with the students from her school and got feedback from them and didn't even think of having a group session with the whole group. So, there was almost no cultural interchange with the [African country] teachers. And I was desperately embarrassed by this. And in the end, I did manage to engineer a talk with the whole group, a round circle in which I had encouraged them to speak up and say what they felt. Because it was supposed to be for the students, of course, a wonderful cultural opportunity. But the leadership meant that the opportunity wasn't developed in anything like the way it could have been. The students had good experiences with each other but this wasn't developed by the right kind of discussion and reflection on the part of the teachers. I mean, I could say a very great deal about that because it had a very strong impact on me. A very negative impact that I had to follow up [...]. I don't know whether—

DW - Well, it is interesting because you identified something in the other teacher who was not acting in a way that for you was supporting this intercultural-- or this potential intercultural growth. What do you think caused you to be aware of what needed to be done or what should have been done or what it was sensitive and sensible to do as opposed to your colleague who didn't appear to have this awareness?

R6 - Well, I think this is probably a matter of personality and disposition. Because-- and I was pleasantly surprised by my 21-year-old letter in [North African country] because I-- through certain statements I saw then, I realise that right from the start, I really was curious about other people and I wanted to be friendly with them and talk to them and ask them questions and do things with them and so on and so forth. Now, in this case, for example-- and I have continued with that strong desire to learn — in this case, just to give a little example, I had great respect for the [African country] teacher at the school I had been working at. He was a historian and he knew a great deal about [another African country]. And when we took the three-hour bus drive back from this remote school, he was just naturally talking about a lot of things that we were looking at and telling a great deal about the history and geography of the place and the politics and so on. And I just asked lots of questions and I was absolutely fascinated. And I wanted the students to hear that but they were on their-- they had earplugs in and so on. And my colleague-- I could never forget this-- put earplugs in her ears. Took out her [English author] book and spent the whole time just reading her novel. And her personality was a very closed one. We had difficulty with her at school [...]. But didn't seem to have any interest in-- or perhaps confidence in being friendly. Maybe it was the fact that I have spent so much time with other people of different cultures so I'm completely at ease being with them, asking them questions and so on and so forth.

DW - Yes. That relates to the third question which will be our last question. Which is about affiliations with people, with groups and whether you could identify a change, a

shift, an addition, a subtraction of affiliations with any particular groups as you've developed intercultural understanding.

R6 - I've thought about that, obviously, and I don't think there have been any dramatic changes for me. But I am aware that my friendships have grown over time where we share similar feelings about people of other cultures and an ease with other cultures and interest in learning and developing. And I met up recently with some old school friends, that goes back a long way. And afterwards, I reflected-- there were about eight of us, seven or eight of us. And some of them I've kept up with very consistently and others I hadn't seen for quite a while. And I was very struck how we were all quite international people. We all had similar interests and so on. And the friends I have kept up with from university have been very much the same. I just think in all my travels over all these many many years within any one school or within any one situation, my friendships will develop where one has that same disposition to-- the curiosity, the desire to learn and share and interchange that sort of openness and empathy really. So, I suppose that I have just naturally gravitated towards people who are like that. It just seems to happen. I suppose one is very very quick in any conversations with new groups of people or a new person to see where they are not like that and then to, as it were, almost subconsciously make a note that this isn't going to go very far. Or this isn't something that's likely to develop.

DW - It's interesting that you noted that your school friends who you met up with, the eight or so people, had quite international experiences. Would it be correct to say that you believe that that was a disposition that they held when they were young and that this is a natural consequence of it? That this disposition towards openness, empathy, natural curiosity is what led them to be more comfortable in an international setting? Would that sound like a logical thing to say to you?

R6 - I think yes, in most but perhaps not all cases. It's also the question that by marriage and jobs people have been lured abroad and they develop to a greater or lesser extent those traits.

DW - One last follow up that goes back to the very start of our conversation. You defined yourself as being someone who has come from a-- who has quite a strong identity because you grew up in a relatively small environment in a small village. Do you feel that that identity, your initial identity has changed through the course of the years? Or, do you feel that that's still who you are when you look back at that person?

R6 - Well, yes, perhaps it's slightly less the small rural community than my own family. I mean, one of the things about the community was that it was a very mixed one and we were sort of in some ways off on a limb. My father was probably the only academic in the village and my mother was a teacher. And we were, in that sense, a little bit different from a lot of other people who lived there. But there were people of quite high social standing in the big houses. We didn't have a big house. And there were a lot of labourers, farm labourers. And then quite a few people in between. So, in other words, it was a community where you actually interacted with everybody through the church, through village activities. You did not separate into social groups, or we didn't anyway. So, there was that-- I think that did make a difference because I

was very used to my parents interacting with anybody and everybody. From the gypsies who lived-- there were several gypsy encampments close by. So, from those upwards, as it were. But I should say that it was also my parents who were both geographers. And they were very avid travellers and devourers of other cultures. And my father did when I was quite small. And that was unusual I think, in those days. He did make some quite significant extended trips which everybody was very interested in. To India, to the States and to various other countries. And so, we were used to-- and we ourselves in England travelled a lot. We knew our England, our British Isles pretty well actually, as quite young children. And to the great delight, in Scotland and Ireland and Wales and so on where we travelled. So, we were outgoing in that respect. My parents were very open people and loved to meet people of other cultures. So, I think probably, they rather than the-- the village itself gave me a local rooting in a particular place where my ancestors had been. But it was my parents' attitude that must have influenced me a good deal, I would say. And also, I should say that at school-- it was a convent school-- and the nuns there were of different cultures. There were Spanish and French and Belgium nuns and so on. And so, the whole idea of foreign languages was very much in the way we were encouraged to learn languages and to speak those languages well and to go off on exchanges. And so, the school also promoted that kind of openness to other cultures.

DW - Interesting. Thank you. That is the end of the interview. I am going to stop the recording now.

Interview Transcription: I.7.
Conducted in person 20-06-18
Respondent at workplace

DW - Okay. We are recording now. And the lines indicate how loudly we're speaking, so we should be fine. So the first question I have for you is based on your personal experience. To what extent has your personal development of intercultural understanding, if at all, led you to explore your own identity?

R7 - I think it has-- the longer you're away from your own culture, the more aware you are of your own background. And the more aware you are of the different cultures surrounding you, be it an international community, or a host country, or your own country.

DW - So if you were to describe a moment that you remember when that awareness became obvious to you, do you have any memories that relate to that?

R7 - What comes to mind is that in the Netherlands, no in life you're always asked where you're from, right? I mean, that is, in the Netherlands that was never a clear story. Because I've moved around a lot with my parents. And now you move away from one country. And people always have ideas about your country. So you almost generalise from other people's point of view. And then you say, "Yeah, that is indeed the case" or it contradicts that. It also explains why I left the country and why I feel at home or not at home in another country.

DW - Can you explain that a little bit more?

R7 - Yeah. Those are examples of characteristics. And it might be general, or too general. I think, in terms of organisation, which I'm very fond of, but too much so. Or how people say I'm blunt. And I am. That is confirmed. But not too fixed, not too rigid. And that is what I like in other countries, they appreciate the beauty of what you find in another country.

DW - So when you go back to that idea that your intercultural experiences have an impact on your identity, would it be correct for me to say that the example you just gave, that another culture that you lived in appreciates beauty as a high value, has that had an impact on your identity? Is that what you mean?

R7 - Yeah. Because you're identifying with it. Because you realise what you find important and not, and the opposite.

DW - Okay. So being exposed to another culture, you realise that there are things inside of you that correspond to that culture or don't correspond to that culture.

R7 - Yeah.

DW - Okay. So in a way, you're saying that it's a process of discovery.

R7 - Also. Yeah. Because sometimes you know why you leave a country, and sometimes you discover why you have left, using hindsight or what you appreciate in the new one. If I can give the example of China, I appreciate their sense of history but their sense of chaos no.

R7 - I'm not sure if that's personal culture

DW - Well that's a good question because it's often difficult to distinguish between the two.

DW - Was there ever a moment in that process when you were surprised at what you discovered about what did or didn't resonate with you in that way? Or was it more—

R7 - Was I surprised?

DW - confirmation of, "Oh, I always knew that about myself"?

R7 - Not surprised. More a confirmation. I guess. Not that I thought, yeah. It's more that things come together, fall in place. Yeah.

DW - Okay. The second question has to do with some terminology that's used in some of the curricular documentation that talks about intercultural understanding. One sometimes finds the terminology multiple cultural identities. And what I would like to ask you is whether that terminology makes sense to you, the idea of multiple cultural identities—

R7 - In one person?

DW - In one person.

R7 - Not really. No. Because the in my thinking personality is formed using the different aspects of the cultures. Does it develop cultural understanding? Definitely.

DW - Okay. So that's an interesting idea that your personality is formed using aspects of different cultures. So you would talk about different cultural aspects, but that would be different for you than saying different cultural identities?

R7 - I think so. In one person, yes.

DW - How would you describe that difference?

R7 - Because I think according to what you find or not, you pick and choose what you like as a person. So do you strengthen your own background? Do you take over from another culture? I don't think they exist side by side. They merge into one person. But if you're aware of that process, you're also aware of the cultures you pick and choose from hence the understanding of them.

R7 - Okay. So you when you say the word merge, if you are imagining what it looks like, it's various things coming in but creating a whole, not different elements coexisting in space. Okay. Because the verb merge is interesting because it's a blend. Also, you don't do it purposefully saying, "Now I take this culture. And now I'm--" you get aware of it, right? (I) [I'm thinking habits is an example or cultural customs, they take over.

DW - Do remember the examples of those?

R7 - For me?

DW - Yes.

R7 - Time I think, the way to organise this. The directness of the Dutch person versus the talkative Italian. I noticed this in myself that you try-- that's another nice example. Because of your experience, you have both or however many you have in yourself. You are aware of them, like I said. You're still the same person, but you become aware of how you can use the different cultures at which given time. Does that make sense?

DW - Yes. So can you give me an example of how you can use the different cultures at a given time?

R7 - I think the way how you deal with a certain-- the thing you want to get done. Sometimes you have the direct approach, and sometimes you have to be more careful and have an indirect approach.

DW - So you can choose.

R7 - You get a sense of these things, of what fits where. Depending also on the other person.

DW - Okay. The third question that I have is, to what extent has your personal development of intercultural understanding, if at all, led you to change the groups that you identify with or felt affiliated with?

R7 - Yeah. I did shift. But it had more to do with language than with-- all of this comes together, right? Language comes to cultural understanding or vice versa. You can mix more easily in different cultural groups set by language. If you can communicate with the different languages.

DW - Okay. So would it be correct to say that your affiliations with different groups came about as you were able to use a different language?

R7 - Yeah.

DW - So for example, you speak Italian. And you feel that you belong to a group that speaks Italian. So language is part of that.

R7 - Very much. And also my previous school, which was an international school, then with the Dutch department like in this school, you tend to go to your mother tongue. Adults and children. And same in China. You tend to go to your-- and you feel excluded if you don't speak the language. I'm not sure if that's culturally based, because it's not done on purpose.

DW - Can you think of any other affiliations or perhaps a change of affiliation that you felt in this process of learning about different cultures, assimilating different cultures that aren't necessarily linked to language?

R7 - An example of culture or change. No, no nothing comes to mind.

DW - With your groups. So would it be correct to say that you believe that language is a fundamental part of increasing intercultural understanding?

R7 -Yeah. I do.

DW - Do you think it's possible that one may increase intercultural understanding without the language?

R7 - Yeah. There are more ways of learning about a culture. But I think the culture comes from the people. And that comes through communication. Of course, you can also learn from reading, or experiencing, or visiting. But I think it comes by communicating with people. Hence the language.

DW - And in this process in your life of encountering different cultures and in your development of intercultural understanding, have there ever been moments when you've had negative feelings or felt distressed because of the experience you were going through?

R7 - As in a practical sense or in a cultural sense?

DW - Both. Either.

R7 - Because the one I just said, the exclusion in China has very much to do with-- your background or your looks and discrimination towards Europeans. So that is also partly cultural. And practical, here it is the sense of belonging so it's the opposite. But also sometimes a sense of frustration because on good days, you have the best of both worlds. But on bad days, you don't belong anywhere. And so that is culturally involved.

DW - Yeah. And that sense of not belonging anywhere, would you say that's a result of expanding your intercultural understanding?

R7 - Yeah.

DW - Can you talk about that a little bit more?

R7 - I chose to leave a country out of curiosity, because I was curious to explore. There were more opportunities than in my country. And that's a positive. For the negative is that there is an aspect in Dutch culture. And if you can come back to the question, then you come to the next culture.

DW - And you were talking about two sides. In the best case you have it all. And on the negative side, you have nothing. And I just wanted you to expand a little bit on—

R7 - Yeah, exactly. So, yeah, you choose another country for a reason. And in my case, it was a very conscious choice to choose this country for the culture, and the art, and language, etc. When you don't belong, you can't affiliate with certain aspects of that culture. And you feel it. It's almost frustrating, the feel. So it's a sense of frustration because—?

DW - You said that a fundamental reason that you started in this process, these choices, was your curiosity. Do you think that that is an innate part of who you are? Is it something that you think people can learn? Is it—?

R7 - Yeah. It's part of my upbringing, being multicultural. It's my curiosity that I thought, I don't want to be stuck in one place with one culture. I very consciously also decided to

work at the international school already as my first school, for that reason. From a professional point of view, teaching history. I didn't want to be stuck to a national history. It made it more interesting. But also the people you are exposed to.

DW - So there was something in your upbringing that made it natural for you to be curious?

R7 - It's two-fold because on one end was a very tiny village that I thought No, no, no. This can't be everything. On the other hand, my dad remarried into [another culture]. So it was on both sides.

DW - All right. Now I wouldn't mind going back to the start just to see if in the course of the conversation, there's anything else that you'd like to add to our conversation. Because sometimes that happens if you think about it. So the first question, which is the big question. To what extent has your personal development of intercultural understanding led you to explore your own identity? You used words like 'merge' and the sense of adding to your identity. How would you describe your identity today compared to the person you were before you started this adventure?

R7 - Less rigid.

DW - So today you feel you're less rigid? So that's one way your identity has changed?

R7 -Yeah.

DW - Is there anything else that you would—?

R7 - You can adapt better as a person and to a lot of situations. Be it cultural or otherwise. Yeah. Yeah. You become more flexible. And I'm trying to come back to how that-- because you become one person. You're picking and choosing from different identities. But while using it, you can pick and choose. SO it's both sides. It comes in and you can then pick. Then it is varying, you can pick and choose, "This is this one. This is this one." Sometimes not that—

DW - So it's interesting because it sounds like you have a very developed awareness of these options that your experiences have brought you, that you hold these options in your mind and are conscious of them when you're faced with situations.

R7 - Yeah. It's a process, yeah? Yeah. It's growth too. It's not that you decide, "Now I'm going to learn from another culture," because that's the decision before that by leaving.

DW - So the idea of multiple cultural identities is something that you don't think describes ,we were saying that you didn't feel that the term multiple cultural identities describes that, but—

R7 - I also think it has to do with me choosing the different cultures. I decide when and how they come in. I'm not a child that it's-- how do you say, put on.

DW - That's interesting. So because you're an adult and have chosen these experiences to some extent, you feel you have more control over how you use them?

R7 - Yeah.

DW - And you're older.

R7 - Yeah.

DW - And how do you think it is for a child?

R7 - I think a child doesn't have as much choice in the matter, in the sense that a lot is chosen by the parents. And I can imagine having two parents from two different cultures being brought up in the third culture, talking a different language. You get this mix automatically without even consciously thinking about which is my mom, which is my dad. And so—

DW - Yeah. So you're talking about your heightened awareness because of your ability to reflect, that perhaps a child wouldn't have, right?

R7 - Yeah. Exactly.

DW - Any other thoughts or comments before we conclude?

R7 - No.

DW - Okay. Thank you very much.

R7 - You're welcome.

Appendix 13: Sample Coded Transcription

	<p><i>The first question is about your own intercultural understanding, and the extent to which, if it all, you think your development of intercultural understanding has had an impact on, or led your to explore, your identity.</i></p>
<p>2.1 I think it has 2.2 it depends on the cultural norms 2.2a of the country that you grew up in 2.3 you begin to examine your own beliefs 2.4 you start to question whether 2.4a what you were taught, as a cultural norm 2.4 cont. is acceptable or not acceptable, or whether that should be imparted on other people 2.5 there's no such thing as normal</p>	<p>[I think it has (I.+c)], but [it depends on the cultural norms (V)] of [the country that you grew up in (<u>G.C.in.-c</u>)]. I think having lived for a number of years in three very different, in terms of culture, countries [you begin to examine your own beliefs (A.R)]. And [you start to question (A.R)] whether [what you were taught, as a cultural norm (<u>G.C.in.-c</u>)], is acceptable or not acceptable, or whether that should be imparted on other people] I think as you-- [there's no such thing as normal (A.Om)].</p>

<p>2.6 Different cultures react to different things in different ways, 2.6.a and it doesn't necessarily mean that your way of responding to issues is right or wrong, or their way is right or wrong. It's just different 2.7 sometimes those cultural differences drive you completely insane 2.8 in // 2.8.a the thing that used to drive me insane was stuff closing for lunch 2.9 Used to drive me nuts. I just can't understand 2.10 Doesn't make any sense to me 2.11 Here in //, there's a whole other kind of not losing face. So even if something can't be done, they will tell you it can 2.12 It's because of where you have been brought up for the majority of your childhood, 2.12a I think, makes a difference 2.13 what will be /their/ cultural norms 2.14 the impact on /one's/ understanding of the world</p>	<p>if that makes sense. [Different cultures react to different things in different ways (G.C.out.+), and [it doesn't necessarily mean that your way of responding to issues is right or wrong, or their way is right or wrong. It's just different (A.Om)]. And to thinking of examples of-- and [sometimes those cultural differences drive you completely insane (D)]. Like, for example, [in /European country/ (G.C.out.-)][the thing that used to drive me insane was stuff closing for lunch (D)]. [Used to drive me nuts. I just can't understand (D)] why something should close for lunch. [Doesn't make any sense to me (D).] [Here in /South-East Asian country/, there's a whole other kind of not losing face. So even if something can't be done, they will tell you it can (G.C.out.-)]. [It's because of where you have been brought up for the majority of your childhood (G.C.in.-ch)], [I think, makes a difference (V)]. And now with-- having /my child/ one of the things that I've started to consider is [what will be /their/ cultural norms (G.C.in.+ch)]? So that's what I've started to think about because the first few years of /their/ life have been here in /South-East Asian country/. But I imagine we will see three or four, maybe five, different countries before /they're/ old enough to go to university. [And the impact on /one's/ understanding of the world (G.C.in.+ch)].</p>
	<p><i>So when you say cultural norm, and you talk about your experiences having led you to question what your own cultural norms were, have you found your sense of yourself changing within that or not?</i></p>

<p>2.15 A little, yes</p> <p>2.16 I have changed my viewpoint on things</p> <p>2.17 you become more globally aware and</p> <p>2.17a don't automatically condemn something that you don't understand the culture behind it</p> <p>2.18 So what happens in the news, my immediate reaction is</p> <p>2.18a no longer to condemn the thing that's happened</p> <p>2.18 cont. It's to question why it's happening, and what has happened within that part of the world to cause that to happen</p> <p>2.19 Having friends who are living in very different cultures as well, not just me being in the culture that I'm in</p> <p>2.20 we have a tendency to talk about the things that have happened in a week or whenever we have a conversation</p> <p>2.21 It also helps you to kind of understand that things are very different in different countries. Sometimes different cities, within a country, have very different norms</p> <p>2.22 I've got a friend who's been volunteering in // and work starts at 9 o'clock. But she can see still be sat on the steps at 12:00 waiting for the person with the key to show up for work that day, but that's okay.</p> <p>2.23 the British person in me</p> <p>2.24 goes insane</p> <p>2.25 at the thought of that</p> <p>2.26 but it's perfectly normal. // culturally, that's fine</p>	<p>[A little, yes (I.+ch)]. I mean, [I have changed my viewpoint on things (A.R)]. I think it just means [you become more globally aware (A.Aw) and don't automatically condemn something that you don't understand the culture behind it (A.om)]. [So what happens in the news, my immediate reaction is [no longer to condemn the thing that's happened (I.+ch). It's to question why it's happening, and what has happened within that part of the world to cause that to happen (A.Om)]. [Having friends who are living in very different cultures as well, not just me being in the culture that I'm in (G.c.out.+), having friends experience things. And there's-- [we have a tendency to talk about the things that have happened in a week or whenever we have a conversation (G.g.+)]. [It also helps you to kind of understand that things are very different in different countries. Sometimes different cities, within a country, have very different norms (G.c.out.+)]. [I've got a friend who's been volunteering in /an African country/ and work starts at 9 o'clock. But she can see still be sat on the steps at 12:00 waiting for the person with the key to show up for work that day, but that's okay (G.C.out.-)]. Now, [the British person in me (G.c.in.-ch)] [goes insane (D)] [at the thought of that (G.C.out.-)]. But I think you kind of have to kind of-- [but it's perfectly normal. /That country/, culturally, that's fine (G.C.out.-)]. They took some time to get here, some stuff happened, they got delayed, all is well with the world, you know?</p>
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	<p><i>So when you say something like, "The British person in me," finds something difficult, and then you say, "Well, no actually on reflection now, I know that there could be other circumstances." Does it makes sense for you, and this goes into the second question, does it make sense for you to talk about the idea of multiple cultural identities in the context of intercultural understanding? Because this is a term that's used in some of the literature.</i></p>
<p>2.27 I shift where I am in the world as to what is and isn't culturally acceptable 2.28 And sometimes that shift takes time, if for instance, it's a way of thinking 2.29 And sometimes some of those things 2.29a have become embedded in me 2.30 after living in //, after the first summer (I came home, and the amount of skin exposed freaked me out. I was like, "Oh my god, put some clothes on 2.31 some of that has stayed whereas before. It wouldn't have even crossed my mind 2.32 But because it was covered to the neck and down to the ankle. Kind of no shoulders, no elbows, became part of my life. 2.32a I wonder if part of me has shifted</p>	<p>I do wonder if I-- I think I do, [I shift where I am in the world as to what is and isn't culturally acceptable (G.C.in.+ch)]. [And sometimes that shift takes time, if for instance, it's a way of thinking (A.Aw)]. [And sometimes some of those things [have become embedded (I.+ch)] in me (G.C.in.+ch). Like, for example, [after living in / North African country/ after the first summer I came home, and the amount of skin exposed freaked me out. I was like, "Oh my god, put some clothes on [laughter] (G.C.in.+ch)."] And I think, to a certain extent, [some of that has stayed whereas before, it wouldn't have even crossed my mind (G.c.in.+ch)]. [But because it was covered to the neck and down to the ankle. Kind of no shoulders, no elbows, became part of my life (G.C.in.+ch). [I wonder if part of me has shifted (I.+ch)].</p>
	<p><i>Interesting.</i></p>

<p>2.33 it also enables me to culturally understand students</p> <p>2.34 when you've got an internationally diverse student population</p> <p>2.34a those cultural norms</p> <p>2.34b can sometimes cause conflict</p> <p>2.35 Especially when in a transient population where people are arriving and leaving with short periods of time to adapt to whatever the culture is</p>	<p>Yeah, but [it also enables me to culturally understand students (INT.T.) because [when you've got an internationally diverse student population (G.C.out.+), those cultural norms (V) can sometimes cause conflict (D)]. [Especially when in a transient population where people are arriving and leaving with short periods of time to adapt to whatever the culture is (G.C.out.+].</p>
	<p><i>Yeah. Yes, that's an interesting point. So time spent in a-- somewhere where things are different, or appear different, would appear to you to be a factor to developing some kind of understanding?</i></p>
<p>2.36 It's very difficult to develop an understanding of why things are the way they are unless</p> <p>2.36a you've lived in it</p> <p>2.37 you can empathize to a certain extent</p>	<p>Yeah, I think so. [It's very difficult to develop an understanding (D.c) of why things are the way they are] unless [you've lived in it (G.C.out.+)], I think. I mean, [you can empathise to a certain extent (A)]</p>

<p>2.38 I find that some of the cultural norms that my friend talked about in Africa, really difficult, really difficult to not want to change it, what I think is acceptable.</p> <p>2.39 it's a Western trait, I think. I don't know that it is</p> <p>2.40 one of the things that drives me insane when I'm teaching a topic, is</p> <p>2.40a the assumption that everything works that way that it does-- especially in something like a GCSE in the UK</p> <p>2.41 Because the people who've written those documents have never been, to a large extent have always lived in the one country--</p>	<p>Yeah, because [I find that some of the cultural norms that my friend talked about in Africa, really difficult, really difficult to not want to change it, what I think is acceptable. (D.c)] And I think that's-- [it's a Western trait, I think. I don't know that it is (G.C.in.-ch)]. As you were saying, you've been looking at curriculum documents. And I know that we're not talking about teaching. But [one of the things that drives me insane (D) when I'm teaching a topic, is the assumption that everything works that way that it does (A)— especially in something like a GCSE in the UK (G.C.in.-ch)]. So there's an ATM machine. All ATM machines in the world work the same way. No, they don't. They just don't. All washing machines work in the same way. Nope. [Because the people who've written those documents have never been, to a large extent have always lived in the one country-- (G.C.in.-ch)]</p>
	<p><i>It's interesting what you said about getting to the point where you don't want to change the other person or culture to match what you consider to be normal. And it leads into the third question quite nicely, which is, to what extent, if at all, has your personal development of intercultural understanding led you to change the groups you identified with or felt affiliated with?</i></p>

<p>2.42 I've become 2.42a more aware 2.42 cont. of what it means to be a white British female 2.43 there's a certain amount of privilege that goes with that, that 2.43a I haven't recognised before 2.44 my section of friends are now more international traveling people 2.45 when I return to my groups in the UK, there's definitely pieces that I don't relate to with them quite as well. Because the things that they do are not the same as the things that I do anymore 2.46 there's a definite shift 2.47 And that I can't even quite put my finger what it is. I've not properly thought about it before 2.48 these people are still my friends but I don't have a lot in common with them anymore because their life is very different than my life</p>	<p>I think [I've become [more aware (A.Aw) of what it means to be a white British female (G.C.in.-ch)], I think. And that [there's a certain amount of privilege that goes with that, that [I haven't recognised before (A.Aw)] (G.C.in.-ch)]. And certain things that-- [my section of friends are now more international traveling people (G.C.in.+ch)], and [when I return to my groups in the UK, there's definitely pieces that I don't relate to with them quite as well. Because the things that they do are not the same as the things that I do anymore (G.C.in.+ch)], and [there's a definite shift (G.C.in.+ch)] to identify what that is. It's even-- day to day life is just different. [And that I can't even quite put my finger what it is. I've not properly thought about it before (D)]. While I was home at Christmas-- and that [these people are still my friends but I don't have a lot in common with them anymore because their life is very different than my life (G.C.in.+ch)].</p>
	<p><i>Would you say that those differences, that you would now feel with people you affiliated with or you recognised as being part of that group, have given way to different sorts of affiliations that relate to who you think you are today? You mentioned, you've spent a lot of time with people who are internationally traveling, or have traveled, which is something that you are too, an international person.</i></p>

<p>2.49 my friends 2.49a come from a variety of different cultures. They're not all from the same culture as me 2.50 Sometimes that clashes 2.51 It's interesting. I can go out in 2.51a a group of friends 2.51 cont. and there'd be seven different nationalities there, all brought up in different ways, including people who have a nationality but not a country 2.52 So they may well be American, but they've never lived in America for more than a year</p>	<p>Yeah, and [[my friends (G.g+)] come from a variety of different cultures. They're not all from the same culture as me (G.C.out.+)]. [Sometimes that clashes (G.C.out.-)]. [It's interesting. I can go out in a group of friends (G.g+) and there'd be seven different nationalities there, all brought up in different ways, including people who have a nationality but not a country (G.C.out.+)] So people who've been traveling the world because of father's jobs, mother's jobs, and then their job, their whole life. [So they may well be American, but they've never lived in America for more than a year (G.C.out.+)]. So, yeah, I've forgotten what [laughter]—</p>
	<p><i>Well, the question was whether your development of intercultural understanding has led you to change the groups you identify with. And you —</i></p>
<p>2.53 Yeah.</p>	<p>Yeah.</p>
	<p><i>you said that you-- the first part of your answer was that you felt more aware of a certain aspect of your identity, which is white British female, but that you also feel a level of difference now with people you might have called white British female before.</i></p>
<p>2.54 my nature before was to gravitate towards people like me 2.55 I think that's what we necessarily do 2.56 I just think that the people who are like me have changed</p>	<p>Yes. Yeah, I think I don't-- I think [my nature before was to gravitate towards people like me (I.ch+)]. And [I think that's what we necessarily do (I)]. [I just think that the people who are like me have changed (G.g+)].</p>
	<p><i>Can you identify what is it that, in the people you now go out with, with whom you said you don't necessarily share a culture or a nationality, what it is that makes them more like you?</i></p>

<p>2.57 an understanding that the world isn't quite so black and white 2.58 it's a very complex place 2.59 when you are within one culture you accept the cultural and moral norms of that culture as black as white. This is right. This is wrong 2.60 I think my friends are a little more grey</p>	<p>I think [an understanding that the world isn't quite so black and white (A.R)]. That [it's a very complex place (A.R.)]. And I sometimes think that [when you are within one culture you accept the cultural and moral norms of that culture as black as white. This is right. This is wrong (V)]. There isn't any grey. [I think my friends are a little more grey (V)]</p>
	<p><i>So—</i></p>
<p>2.61 We 2.61a recognise that quite often there isn't a right or a wrong</p>	<p>[[We (G.g+)] recognise that quite often there isn't a right or a wrong (V)]</p>
	<p><i>Yes. Yeah.</i></p>
<p>2.62 "This is what I think," and then there's usually some kind of argument 2.63 But it's fun and interesting to get the different cultural perspectives 2.64 in the past everybody I know would've gone, "Mm-hmm. Yep, wrong</p>	<p><i>That, ["This is what I think," and then there's usually some kind of argument (D.c)] [laughter]. [But it's fun and interesting to get the different cultural perspectives (A.Om)]. <i>Things where everybody--</i> [in the past everybody I know would've gone, "Mm-hmm. Yep, wrong (G.C.in.+ch)].</i></p>
	<p><i>Right. So in that experience that you've had, have you-- and this is the fourth question. Have you experienced any unease or negative feelings in this process of developing intercultural understanding?</i></p>

2.65 the realization that I was probably wrong in saying something was wrong if that makes sense

2.66 It may be something I don't agree with,

but I don't know that--what right do I have

2.66a to say what is right and what is wrong?

2.67 And as part of my cultural identity is still that

2.67a British white female,

2.67 cont. there's still that part of that, "Oh, look what British colonialism did to this part of the world when we imposed this piece of British culture here."

2.68 there's some historical stuff, and then you see a leakage of Westernism

2.69 being in Southeast Asia at the moment,

2.69a there's definitely a leakage of Westernism that makes me uncomfortable

2.70 some of it I think is Westernism,

2.70a and some of it I'm not sure whether it is. So I recognise that historically in the UK if you were a wealthy landowner you had pale, white skin

2.71 So I don't know whether the Asian obsession with having pale, white skin is to do with the wealth, not working on farmland, or whether it's trying to be Western

2.72 There's a piece of that that makes me uncomfortable every day when I'm trying to find a body lotion that doesn't say whitening on it. Or deodorant that doesn't say whitening on it

2.73 it makes it uncomfortable about whether I am making an assumption

2.74 it's my Western cultural identity

2.75 infringing on the Southeast Asian community

2.76 Or whether that would be there anyway, whether it's the same cultural norm that came in 17th Century Britain where people wanted to be as white as possible.

2.76a You know? You don't quite know

2.77 The whole eyelid thing is definitely Western culture pervading

Probably, yes. In the same way that when I was just talking about black and white, right or wrong, [the realisation that I was probably wrong in saying something was wrong if that makes sense (D)]. [It may be something I don't agree with, but I don't know that-- what right do I have (A.R.) to say what is right and what is wrong? (V)]. [And as part of my cultural identity is still that [British white female (G.C.in.-ch), there's still that part of that, "Oh, look what British colonialism did to this part of the world when we imposed this piece of British culture here." (D)] Do you know what I mean? Or this piece of-- so [there's some historical stuff, and then you see a leakage of Westernism (G.C.in.-ch)] [into — being in Southeast Asia at the moment (G.C.out.+)], [there's definitely a leakage of Westernism that makes me uncomfortable (D)]. And it's everywhere in society. And [some of it I think is Westernism (G.C.in.-ch), and some of it I'm not sure whether it is. So I recognise that historically in the UK if you were a wealthy landowner you had pale, white skin (V).] [So I don't know whether the Asian obsession with having pale, white skin is to do with the wealth, not working on farmland, or whether it's trying to be Western (G.C.out.-)]. [There's a piece of that that makes me uncomfortable every day when I'm trying to find a body lotion that doesn't say whitening on it. Or deodorant that doesn't say whitening on it (D)]. That I start to question, and [it makes it uncomfortable about whether I am making an assumption (D)] that [it's my Western cultural identity (G.C.in.-ch)] [infringing on the Southeast Asian community (G.C.out.+)]. [Or whether that would be there anyway, whether it's the same cultural norm that came in 17th Century Britain where people wanted to be as white as possible (V) You know? You don't quite know (A.R.)]. [The whole eyelid thing is definitely Western culture pervading (G.C.in.-ch), I think, though, so—

<p>2.78 Like you can walk along the street, and there's adverts for plastic surgery to get your eyelids made into double eyelids 2.78a because that's more beautiful 2.79 And there's things like that make me a little bit uncomfortable. I don't know why 2.80 I start to question 2.81 I'm also uncomfortable sometimes in my school environment because 2.81a I teach in a British international school, 2.81b which means we impose British values on that educational system 2.82 So it runs like a British school with a bit of international thrown in 2.83 there are things that really do bother me. 2.83a We've got students who have been in the schools since they were three who will graduate this year, who do not-- who are //— who do not have enough // to be able to get a // speaking job here in //. A good // speaking job, you know like a university graduate level job. When they go off to university, they will be in university course in England. But if they want to do a job 2.83b in their native language, somehow that has gone 2.84 And it is important by some people. 2.84a Makes me very uncomfortable.</p>	<p>[Like you can walk along the street, and there's adverts for plastic surgery to get your eyelids made into double eyelids (G.C.out.) because that's more beautiful (V)]. [And there's things like that make me a little bit uncomfortable. I don't know why(D).] [I start to question (A.R). [I'm also uncomfortable sometimes in my school environment (D) because [I teach in a British international school (INT.Sch), which means we impose British values on that educational system (V)]. [So it runs like a British school with a bit of international thrown in (INT.Sch). Because of that, [there are things that really do bother me (D)]. [We've got students who have been in the schools since they were three who will graduate this year, who do not-- who are [the local nationality]— who do not have enough [national language] to be able to get a [national language] speaking job here. A good [national language] speaking job, you know like a university graduate level job. When they go off to university, they will be in a university course in England. But if they want to do a job (INT.S) [in their native language, somehow that has gone (L)]. [And it is important by some people (V). Makes me very uncomfortable (D)]]].</p>
	<p><i>Do you in your school now have a program, or is there any overt effort to include the concept of international mindedness or interculturalism in the school?</i></p>

<p>2.85 I think lip service is paid to it rather than it being truly embedded</p> <p>2.86 We've got school values</p> <p>2.87 one of the school values is internationally-minded. There are 14 school values</p> <p>2.88 we've got a quite a lot to do</p> <p>2.89 internationally-minded is in the vision of the school, as it is with any school with international in the title</p> <p>2.90 there are very many that don't really understand what that means or think that they do</p> <p>2.91 We have an international day where the people bring in food from their culture and dress up.</p> <p>2.91a I'm not really certain</p> <p>2.91 cont. that that tells me a whole heap about the cultural identity of those people. I can eat sheep from Chinese people. That doesn't make me understand the culture of China</p> <p>2.92 it would need to be a much deeper sense of learning that isn't included, I think</p> <p>2.93 I haven't been in an international school that does it really well. I haven't</p> <p>2.94 I've seen schools that embrace the local culture very well and try and blend it with an English speaking, Western culture. As for truly international, no, not seen it</p>	<p>Yes, I agree. I just don't-- [I think lip service is paid to it rather than it being truly embedded (INT)]. [We've got school values (V)], and [one of the school values is internationally-minded. There are 14 school values (V), so [we've got a quite a lot to do (INT.T)]. And [internationally-minded is in the vision of the school, as it is with any school with international in the title (INT.Sch)]. One that doesn't have that in the title, [there are very many that don't really understand what that means or think that they do (INT.Sch)]. I don't know. [We have an international day where the people bring in food from their culture and dress up. [I'm not really certain (A.R)] that that tells me a whole heap about the cultural identity of those people. I can eat sheep from Chinese people. That doesn't make me understand the culture of China (G.C.out)], if it does. So [it would need to be a much deeper sense of learning that isn't included, I think (V)]. I think somewhere along the lines-- and I have to say [I haven't been in an international school that does it really well. I haven't (INT)]. I've seen one that does it well. [I've seen schools that embrace the local culture very well and try and blend it with an English speaking, Western culture. As for truly international, no, not seen it (INT)].</p>
	<p><i>Do you think that a school that did develop intercultural understanding, in a way that would be meaningful for you, would be going in the direction of something similar to multiple cultural identities, as you talked about it earlier, as kind of the shifting and the embedding that you referred to?</i></p>

<p>2.95 I would prefer it to be 2.96 in order for it to work, we kind of have to understand as why 2.97 how that particular culture came to have that particular value 2.98 I think that's the piece that we miss. We say what values a culture might have, but we never kind of go in it any more depth into it 2.99 And it's probably not encouraged, so the questions aren't asked. Why is that? 2.100 And it's probably not encouraged, so the questions aren't asked. Why is that? 2.101 And in your own culture, you don't know 2.102 quite often you don't know how something came to be 2.102a part of your cultural identity 2.102 because it is. Because that's where your life's been 2.103 how something got there enables other people 2.103a to understand better 2.103 cont. why it's part of somebody else's identity</p>	<p>[I would prefer it to be (I.md)]— [in order for it to work, we kind of have to understand as why (V)]— [how that particular culture came to have that particular value (V)]. And [I think that's the piece that we miss. We say what values a culture might have, but we never kind of go in it any more depth into it (V)]. [And it's probably not encouraged, so the questions aren't asked. Why is that?(V)] [And in your own culture, you don't know (INT.Sch)]. So [quite often you don't know how something came to be [part of your cultural identity (I)] because it is. Because that's where your life's been (G.C.in.-ch)]. And [how something got there enables other people [to understand better (A.R)] why it's part of somebody else's identity, (I)] I think.</p>
	<p><i>So do you feel that your experiences, as you go back at Christmas, for example, and spend time with old friends in the UK, have you gained an understanding of where some of those norms have come from?</i></p>
2.104 Yes	Yes (G.C.in.+ch)
	<p><i>And the second part of the question is, have you felt yourself then distancing, or letting go, or embracing more? What's the result of that been?</i></p>

<p>2.105 I understand sometimes where ideas have come from, that a lot of beliefs come from lack of information or misinformation, which is quite interesting</p> <p>2.106 having lived in countries where there's censorship, you can kind of understand more why people believe particular things</p> <p>2.107 What I hadn't recognized until I left was the impact of media on people's identity.</p> <p>2.107a And how people don't question, I think, what to do.</p> <p>2.108 I wasn't particularly a questioner myself before . So, yeah, I think-- it's just-- the ability to question is key</p> <p>2.109 the ability to keep your mouth shut when somebody is spouting things based on misinformation</p> <p>2.110 especially in friendship groups when you have a full-out debate or enable them to question their now firmly-held belief</p> <p>2.111 It's quite important. In a situation</p> <p>2.112 there's not a lot you can do</p>	<p>There's a definite-- [I understand sometimes where ideas have come from, that a lot of beliefs come from lack of information or misinformation, which is quite interesting (V)]. And [having lived in countries where there's censorship, you can kind of understand more why people believe particular things (V)]. [What I hadn't recognised until I left was the impact of media on people's identity (I). And how people don't question, I think, what to do (A.R).] It's very interesting because [I wasn't particularly a questioner myself before . So, yeah, I think-- it's just-- the ability to question is key (A.R)]. Also, [the ability to keep your mouth shut when somebody is spouting things based on misinformation (A.R)], [especially in friendship groups when you have a full-out debate or enable them to question their now firmly-held belief (V)]. [It's quite important. In a situation (A.R)], [there's not a lot you can do (A.Aw)].</p>
	<p>Yeah. Yeah. And you don't want-- you choose not to. Yeah, I see.</p>
<p>2.113 So just go with that</p> <p>2.114 that's also part of the intercultural understanding is, "Oh, okay</p> <p>2.115 So that's the way it is here now. Okay, I'll just shut up then." Because you might not agree with, but the funny thing is you know it's going to be a losing battle</p> <p>2.116 There are things you can't change, and you just have to go with it</p>	<p>[So just go with that (A)]. And [that's also part of the intercultural understanding is, "Oh, okay (A)] [So that's the way it is here now. Okay, I'll just shut up then." Because you might not agree with, but the funny thing is you know it's going to be a losing battle (D.c)]. [There are things you can't change, and you just have to go with it (A.R)].</p>
	<p><i>Yeah. Well, that's it for my questions. And you've said some things that are very interesting in the way that I've been thinking about and reading around these topics. Is there anything you'd like to add in the process of talking about it that's come to mind, that you may not have included?</i></p>

<p>2.117 now that I have [my child], who has like mixed ethnicity, I kind of question how cultural understanding will impact on him and his life</p>	<p>Only that [now that I have [my child], who has like mixed ethnicity, I kind of question how cultural understanding will impact on him and his life (G.C.in)] And I've got no more to say about that, just that it's something that I think about more-- than I have in the past [...].</p>
	<p><i>Yes — Okay. I'm going to stop the recording now.</i></p>