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INTERNATIONAL ONLINE JOURNAL OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

International Online Journal Of Primary Education

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Message from the Editor

I am very pleased to publish first issue in 2019. As an editor of International Online Journal of Primary Education (IOJPE), this issue is the success of there viewers, editorial board and the researchers. In this respect, I would like to thank to all reviewers, researchers and the editorial board. The articles should be original, unpublished, and not in consideration for publication elsewhere at the time of submission to International Online Journal of Primary Education (IOJPE), For any suggestions and comments on IOJPE, please do not hesitate to send mail.

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 Research Articles

THE ROLE OF CRITICAL THINKING IN ACADEMIC WRITING: AN INVESTIGATION OF EFL STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS AND WRITING EXPERIENCES

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Abstract

It is generally considered that evidence of critical thinking, as expressed through argumentation, is central to successful academic writing at Western universities. However, the concept of critical thinking is complex: its nature is difficult to define and students, especially those coming from 'non-Western' backgrounds, are perceived to have difficulty in implementing a critical dimension in their writing. The present study, based on the use of in-depth interviews with three postgraduate students, presents findings on the students' interpretations of critical thinking, the factors which they perceive to affect the implementation of critical thinking, and the perceptions of their development as critical thinkers. The findings show that the students, despite coming from different traditions of discourse, have a fairly comprehensive understanding of critical thinking and willingly engage with it. The findings also reveal that although cultural background plays a role in influencing their writing styles, the students have the capacity to learn and master a new discourse. The problems they encountered were due to uncertainty in demonstrating an argument, insufficient subject knowledge, and problematic issues surrounding the essay genre, such as authorial voice and assessment demands. Implications for university departments and tutors are that they should review their writing instruction and guidelines so as to make the requirements of argument more explicit and easily understandable, and in the long term, to reevaluate the norms of the traditional essay form to accommodate a wider spectrum of expression.

Keywords: Critical Thinking, Academic Writing, EFL Students

1. Introduction

Critical thinking is arguably one of the central requirements and desired outcomes in 'Western' universities. The international student population is expected to adopt the established Western academic discourse in order to meet the requirements of successful writing at university and to be able to claim membership in that community. This means that they are required to show evidence of critical thinking in their academic essays in the form an argument, and by demonstrating related skills such as evaluation and analysis. However, students are either unaware of the importance of argumentation in writing or lack understanding of what is meant by the concept of argument, evaluation and analysis (Jones 2007, Wingate 2011). In a study on the experiences of a group of 'non-traditional' students in higher education, Lillis and Turner (2001) found that a recurring theme is that of student confusion about what is expected from them in terms of academic writing. As Andrews (2003, p. 120) points out, "When there is a mismatch between tutors' and students' expectations, trouble can ensue". The reason for the "trouble" - ie. students' inability to write in the ways the academy requires - has been the focus of much scholarly research and debate. Sections of the literature have focused on the background of international students viewing certain cultures, especially Confucius-heritage cultures, as a barrier to the acquisition of critical and analytical

skills (Ramanathan and Kaplan 1996b, Atkinson 1997, Ramanathan and Atkinson 1999). Others, such as Elander et al. (2006) and Jones (2007) have argued that international students may fail to demonstrate critical thinking due to the university not explaining and teaching its discourse practices and conventions explicitly enough.

The above discussions can offer valuable perspectives on the nature and practice of critical thinking in higher education, and will be discussed in more detail in the review of the literature. However, in order to gain a fuller understanding of the issues and complexities surrounding critical thinking, we need to obtain an 'insider's', or emic perspective. Given the importance of demonstrating a critical approach in writing, it is surprising, as Wingate (2011) points out, that there has not been more research on students' perceptions and experiences of the challenges in implementing critical thinking in academic writing. Through conducting a small-scale qualitative research project I aim to capture significant understandings, concerns and issues of a small group of participants in the context of a postgraduate degree programme at a British university.

The focus of the investigation is on student perceptions and experiences rather than assessing or analyzing their critical thinking skills, or evaluating the success of university instruction of critical thinking. My role as both researcher and fellow student gives me an advantageous 'insider's' vantage point from which to foreground my fellow students' voices which might not otherwise be heard. The aim of the study is to glean some insights into the learning experiences and challenges that international students meet as they adapt to a new academic discourse. By highlighting these particular complexities, I hope to raise awareness amongst the academic staff and offer some suggestions as to better facilitate the students' expression and development of critical thinking in academic writing.

In order to establish a background and a frame of reference for the study, I will review a range of research and theorising about the nature and significance of critical thinking, and the perceived difficulties in implementing it in writing. After discussing the methodological approaches which underline the study, I will present the findings of a small-scale research project. The findings will be examined with reference to their correspondence with those of the existing literature, and will be organised and discussed under key themes which emerged during the data analysis. There then follows a discussion synthesising the main findings, issues and concerns in answer to the questions the research set out to explore. Finally, the conclusion will bring together the most pertinent insights which emerged from the research and outline some implications for academic departments.

2. Literature Review
Research on academic composition has increasingly questioned the nature and value of critical thinking in anglophone academic practices, much of it focussing on the challenges which international students face in developing and implementing a critical dimension in their writing (see Zamel 1993, 1995, Fox 1994, Casanave 2004).

In order to provide a relevant context to examine these challenges, I will first explore some of the complexities in understanding the concept of critical thinking and discuss its role in anglophone academic discourse. Next, I will provide an overview of the two main bodies of theory underpinning critical thinking. In the final section, I will review the main difficulties associated with expressing criticality in writing.

2.1. The nature of critical thinking

Even though the words 'critical thinking' convey a general idea of what it entails, it remains a concept over which there is much uncertainty and contention about what it encompasses and how it is manifested. This is evident by the numerous ways it is defined.

In broad terms critical thinking is viewed as a cognitive skill related to rational judgement, defined as "the educational cognate of rationality" Siegel (1988 in Jones 2005), "reflexive skepticism" (McPeck 1981) and "critical self-reflection" (Barnett 1997 in Tapper 2004, p. 201).

Toulmin, Rieke and Janik (1984 in Andrews 2000, p.5) associate critical thinking with reasoning, used for "the central activity of presenting reasons in support of a claim." This type of logical argumentation can be taught through syllogisms (Davies 2008), but as Wingate (2011) points out, syllogisms are mostly suitable for single claims, rather than for the large-scale structure of the essay.

When it comes to university contexts, critical thinking is defined in terms of abilities or skills such as selection, evaluation, analysis, reflection, questioning, inference and judgement (Tapper 2004). Despite the many diverging views on the nature of critical thinking, there is consensus in the literature that critical thinking is exhibited through the students' abilities to "identify issues and assumptions, recognise important relationships, make correct inferences, evaluate evidence or authority, and deduce conclusions" (Tsui 2002, p.743).

When critical thinking is applied to writing, the above abilities are expressed through the process of argumentation, producing an argument i.e. the essay, the dissertation. Argument can be defined as a connected series of related ideas "intended to establish a position and implying response to another (or more than one) position" (Andrews 1995, p.3). Argument is regarded as the primary expression of critical thinking in higher education (Andrews 1995, Scott 2000), and the defining feature of the essay (Elander et al. 2006). As Bonnett (2001, pp.50-51) emphasizes: "Your essay is your argument, everything else makes sense because of it".

Despite the importance of presenting an argument in academic writing, students still lack an understanding of its implementation or labour under misconceptions. Elander et al. (2006) point out that in a previous study the majority of the students felt that argumentation means presenting their own original views or opinions. As Branthwaite et al. (1980) point out, the need for 'original' thought is more likely to be emphasized by students as it is by tutors, who generally do not regard 'originality' as a key criterion of successful academic writing. Another popular misconception is that argumentation is manifested solely through an adversarial stance in writing, by overtly criticising scholars' research or claims. However, as Andrews (1995) explains, an argument should be sensitive to, and engage with other points of view: evaluating, rather than criticising the sources, and incorporating those claims which are closest to their own position.

Adding to the confusion around the concept of argumentation is the tutors' own uncertainty in articulating what a well-developed argument entails. Mitchell et al. (2008) report that when interviewing university tutors, they used non-specific descriptions and vague terms such as critique, critical analysis, and opinion as terms of explanation. Furthermore, Mitchell and Riddle's study (2000 in Wingate 2011) shows that there is a general lack of clarity in feedback comments on student essays, the markers using both the singular and plural forms of the term 'argument' interchangeably, thereby not making it clear that it is the

development of an overarching position (i.e. an argument), rather than individual claims (i.e. arguments) which produces a successful essay.

What is therefore needed from a pedagogical perspective is not only a definition of critical thinking or argument, but descriptions of core characteristics of essays which demonstrate critical thinking. In this regard I turn to Wingate's (2011) three components of argumentation, a three-step description of developing an argument. It is useful in presenting a clear and easily understood set of abilities student writers need in order to write effective argumentative essays. The first component is "analysis and evaluation of content knowledge" (p.2). This relates to the ability of selecting relevant information from the literature to substantiate the writer's argument. The second component is "the writer's development of a position", i.e. argument (p.2). The writer needs to present a considered position, usually established through the writer's 'voice', or stance. The third component is "the presentation of the writer's position in a coherent manner" (p.3). This pertains to the logical arrangement of propositions at the structural level, usually presented through the default academic genre of the essay or dissertation.

The difficulties which students may experience with these three components of developing an argument will be examined further on.

As is evident from the above definitions and descriptions, critical thinking is a concept with a wide breadth, encapsulating both a social activity and a cognitive operation. It reveals itself in an essay through argumentation, the process by which a text transforms other texts, thereby not merely reproducing knowledge, but reconstructing knowledge.

2.2. The significance of critical thinking in higher education
Critical thinking is regarded as a highly valued outcome of tertiary education. Outside of university study, employers seek graduate employees who are able to transfer their critical thinking abilities to the workplace (Tapper 2004). Other scholars such as Elander et al. (2006) believe that critical thinking skills are not merely transferable to other areas of our lives, but also personally transformative, inducing individuals to develop from passive recipients of knowledge to active, participants in society.

However, one has to bear in mind that those international students who come from cultures where critical thinking is not encouraged or appreciated, might find it neither helpful nor advisable to adopt a critical thinking approach outside of their academic pursuits.

Andrews and Mitchell (2001) and Lillis (2001) maintain that argument assists in the learning process, enhancing and consolidating students' understanding of a subject. By encouraging students to argue and to question, both in spoken and written form, they are given a sense of control over their own learning, which leads to increased confidence and autonomy. Broadly, argument provides a means to circumscribe and assess the knowledge which is produced within the academy, and more specifically, a way for tutors to gage their students' understanding of the subject matter.

However, it is not enough for students to know that critical thinking is a key criterion of a high-scoring essay, they should also know why and how critical thinking is useful to their general development as a student. In this way, the student is not just blindly adopting the academic conventions of a Western university, but is consciously employing the critical thinking tools they are offered to gain most benefit from their studies.

Although there is much agreement on the significance of critical thinking, its general relevance and applicability is a question which has engendered much debate. In the following section I investigate this debate in more detail.

2.3. The theoretical constructs of critical thinking

Since Kaplan's study (1966), comparing thought patterns between different cultures, there has been some evidence in subsequent research that cultural differences in approaches to thinking and learning styles do exist. This cross-cultural comparison formed the basis of what came to be known as contrastive rhetoric (CR), a discipline which maintains that "different language communities represent different cultures and literacy practices" (Canagarajah 2002). The research identifies critical thinking as a prime distinguishing feature between Anglo-American academic models and 'non-mainstream', or Confucian-based learning systems (Cadman 2000, Egege and Kutieleh 2004). According to this finding, students from Asian countries or 'Confucian-heritage cultures (CHC) such as China, Vietnam, Korea, Singapore and Japan avoid a critical approach to academic texts and are considered to lack an awareness of what is involved in critical analysis and reflection (Biggs 1987, 1994, Ballard and Clanchy 1991). The non-criticality of these cultures has largely been attributed to their educational system based on rote-learning, and their deference to teachers and scholars, where any critique can be construed as being impolite and disrespectful (Andrews, 2007).

This cultural construct of critical thinking has engendered much debate amongst scholars as to the pedagogical implications of critical thinking: firstly, to what extent does a particular culture support or inhibit critical thinking, and secondly, whether it is possible and appropriate to teach critical thinking skills to individuals from so-called non-critical communities. The main arguments can roughly be divided into two opposing constructs: one presents critical thinking as a universally essential skill, the other views it as specific to Western culture.

The first construct conceives of critical thinking in broad terms, characterizing it as "a basic human survival mechanism", applied by all societies, some to a greater degree than others (Casanave 2004, p.206). Those who promote this construct are of the view that the ability to think critically is not only central to a good education, but also integral to engaging with the world as a reflective and active citizen (Moore 2004). This widely-held perspective is exemplified by the National Council for Excellence in Critical Thinking Instruction (2003) who states that:

In its exemplary form [critical thinking] is based on universal intellectual values that transcend subject-matter divisions; clarity accuracy, precision, consistency, relevance, sound evidence, good reasons, depth and fairness.

Critical thinking is thus conceived as a self-evidently useful skill, one which is desirable, beneficial and achievable, and most importantly, universally valued. Pertaining to its pedagogical applicability, Angelo and Cross (1993 in Egege and Kutieleh 2004, p.79), advocate that the ability to think critically is the prime goal of the liberal arts and general education, and should be applied to "virtually all methods of inquiry practiced in the academic disciplines".

The assumption that critical thinking is a neutral, universally valued skill is however, problematic. As Egege and Kutieleh (2004) observe, the cognitive capacity to reason is something which all human beings are considered to possess. Nevertheless, this does not mean that good reasoning and analytical skills are embraced by all cultures and valued in the same way. And moreover, even if one takes the view that reasoning skills are universally appreciated, the evidence of such reasoning skills is not universal. What

counts as critical thinking in the West - the techniques of analysis and evaluation, the style and linear structure of the written argument is in fact part of a Western cultural tradition originating from the ancient Greeks.

In teaching non-mainstream students, it is thus important to acknowledge that critical thinking as it is practiced in the West is not universal, but should rather be seen in the context of the historical, political and social conditions in which it is embedded.

The second construct of critical thinking is a critique on precisely this notion of a neutral, universally desired skill. In contrast, it presents critical thinking as a culturally-specific, uniquely Western concept, an ability which people develop unconsciously as they are socialized in their Anglophone cultures. The scholars who advocate this approach question whether it is appropriate to impose critical thinking pedagogies on L2 learners who come from a different culture (Atkinson and Ramanathan 1995, Ramanathan and Kaplan 1996a, 1996b, Atkinson 1997).

Atkinson's (1997) argument is based on 4 premises: firstly, he characterises critical thinking as a tacit social practice, which the individual learns intuitively, "through the pores" (p. 73), by virtue of growing up in a Western culture. It is therefore difficult to pinpoint and define, and not easy, if at all possible, to teach. Second, Atkinson argues that critical thinking is "exclusive and reductive" (p.77). Far from being a universally applicable skill, it reduces useful thinking skills to (in) formal logic, thereby excluding and marginalizing many groups, including women who may not be comfortable with its "masculinity", adversarial nature (p. 78). Third, he stresses that teaching critical thinking to people from non-Western societies may be fraught with problems, due to the fact that the related notions of individualism and self-expression are alien to non-Western writers. He concludes with his fourth assumption, namely that critical thinking skills, once taught, do not appear to be transferable to contexts outside the learning environment.

In a study undertaken by Ramanathan and Kaplan (1996b), they analyze Li composition textbooks, noting that the textbooks emphasize informal logic, and promote the use of concepts like voice, argumentation and critical thinking. They conclude that these texts are therefore not suitable for L2 student writers, stating that L2 writers would have difficulty with the critical thinking tasks which require analyses and reflection- skills which did not form part of their socialization or education:

> L2 student-writers [...] are more likely than native English speaking students to encounter difficulty when inducted into critical thinking courses in freshman composition classes. They are not "ready" for critical thinking courses in either Li or L2 writing courses (p. 232).

This would imply that Ramanathan and Kaplan view the non-mainstream culture of the L2 student writers as a barrier to the acquisition of critical and analytical skills.

The above arguments are in line with the contrastive rhetoric approach and the related studies have produced some useful findings on the differences in writing practices between non-native and Anglophone communities (see Ramanathan and Kaplan i996b). CR takes into account the students' linguistic and cultural milieu, making teachers aware and giving them an insight into the challenges which L2 students face with language and writing. This relativist approach avoids thinking of academic practices as neutral constructs to be adopted by everyone in every context. Rather, it takes the students' culture seriously and is more tolerant and understanding towards different writing conventions or rhetorical deviations (see Fox i994).

The popularity of approaches like CR points to the fact that educators pay great attention to differences in academic writing practices. However, as Casanave (2004) points out, there has also been a lot of critique in the literature against the condescending portrayal of L2 writers as "not ready" or having difficulty in thinking critically in either Li or L2 (Ramanathan and Kaplan i996b). L2 specialists have taken issue with the cultural and linguistic determinism underlying the arguments of scholars such as Atkinson, Kaplan and Ramanathan. Zamel (i997) and Canagarajah (2002a) do not agree that students' cultural and linguistic background should be viewed as making them less capable of critical thought or analysis, and preventing them from becoming successful writers in English. Instead of being bound by their languages and cultures, Canagarajah (2002b, p.101) argues that "everyone has agency to rise above their culture and social conditions to attain critical insights into their human condition". Zamel (1997) and Davidson (1998) take further issue with a perspective which cautions teachers against imposing Western analytical skills of critique and reasoning on students who come from communities which do not practice these skills. Davidson (1998) argues that it is the teacher's responsibility to prepare learners for meeting the demands of academic writing at university, and if the university expects critical thinking skills to be displayed, then they need to be made explicit and taught.

Another criticism against this approach is its static and homogenous perception of culture in general, and the L2 writer in particular. Canagarajah (2002a, p.35) argues that one should not overlook "the considerable hybridity and heterogeneity evident in each community". He goes on to explain that globalization has resulted in spreading Anglo-American values and institutions to other communities. In addition, people are moving between different communities and have multiple memberships, and thus it is impossible to pinpoint their diverse cultural and linguistic traits to one immutable set of values. Therefore the cultures of different communities cannot be treated as separate and uniform.

The same conclusion is reached with regards to writing practices, specifically focusing on Chinese rhetoric. Current studies have suggested that modern Chinese academic writing is not monolithic or diametrically opposed to Western writing, but in fact shows some similarities in structure to that of Western texts (Kirkpatrick 1997, Jones 2005). This suggests that there is notable interchange between Western and Chinese academic practices. Canagarajah (2002b, p.64) makes a particularly salient point when he observes that even though students may prefer certain practices of text construction based on their own traditions, they can still "creatively negotiate" the dominant Western practices they are introduced to.

In review of this debate, it is important to make clear that neither approach suggests that there are no differences between Anglophone and non-Western cultures as pertains to academic practices. There is general consensus that students will face and even resist unfamiliar writing norms in new educational contexts (Zamel 1997). Canagarajah (2002b, p. 68) draws attention to the proposition that "The more important consideration in critical writing is not difference per se but the attitudes we adopt toward difference". We need to avoid treating the rhetorical differences of international students as a deficit in a Western academic environment.

That brings me to the next section in which I address some of the factors which have been identified in the literature as potentially being problematic for both mainstream and international students in implementing a critical dimension in their writing.

2.4. Difficulties in expressing criticality in academic writing

There is little controversy about the importance of academic writing in higher education. It is regarded as the means for students to explore and consolidate their understanding of the subject knowledge, as well as a way for tutors to gage their students' understanding and engagement with the subject. However, as Lillis (2001) remarks, student writing is increasingly serving the purpose of gate keeping. Students, especially at postgraduate level, are in most cases assessed solely on their writing, either passing or failing courses according to how they respond to the writing tasks.

This holds serious implications for both Li and L2 writers, but especially for L2 international students who may well not be familiar with the criteria of Western academic discourses.

Since the presentation of an argument is a key criterion of successful writing at higher education, I will look at the three components of developing an argument as identified in chapter 2.1, and the difficulties associated with implementing each component.

Firstly, I examine the problem of insufficient subject knowledge, since it directly affects the ability of students to analyze and evaluate content knowledge (the first component of argumentation). Next I discuss the difficulties which students have with manifesting their presence, or authoritative 'voice' in writing, essential in establishing a position (the second component). I go on to look at the complexities of developing and presenting an argument (the third component), within the structure of the essay form. I critically examine the essay genre, looking at the challenges this textual form presents to students and to what extent it supports or inhibits the expression of an argument.

2.4.1. Subject knowledge

Sufficient subject knowledge has been regarded as an essential requirement for the development of critical thinking skills. It can be seen as the fertile soil on which the seed of critical thinking can take root and grow. As Garside (1996, p.215) points out, "Since it is impossible to think critically about something of which one knows nothing, critical thinking is dependent on a sufficient base of knowledge".

In discussing the challenges which both Li and L2 writers face, some scholars have identified lack of subject knowledge as one of the key impediments to developing an argument in writing (Andrews 1995, Wingate 2011). In the Confucian-heritage tradition, students first need to acquire sufficient subject knowledge before they can attempt to develop their own position within their field (Andrews 2007). Acquiring subject knowledge is therefore the crucial initial step in developing a critical dimension in their writing.

McPeck (1990) states that the critical thinking skills such as analyzing the literature, identifying relevant information, and evaluating claims, is only possible if the person has sufficient knowledge of the particular subject area in question. According to McPeck, critical thinking is contingent on "substantive knowledge", not the general knowledge of formal and informal logic. Leading on from that view, is the commonly held premise that critical thinking skills are more effectively developed when integrated with subject knowledge, than when taught generically through separate study skills programs, solely focusing on critical thinking (McPeck 1990, Garside 1996, Moore 2004). This view is supported by findings from various studies conducted on the promotion of critical thinking in education. In one qualitative evaluation of nursing education, it was found that significantly more gains were obtained by incorporating critical thinking into the students' clinical practice and academic learning, than by the study skills programme (Girot 1995 in Elander et al. 2006).

Since argumentation in the essay genre is highly discipline-specific (Mitchell and Riddle 2000), informed critical thinking should therefore form part of every academic subject and practice. In such a way, the student's subject knowledge and critical thinking skills can develop symbiotically.

2.4.2. Authorial voice

'Voice' as is manifested in writing can be summarized as the writer's distinctive presence, "the strength with which the writer comes over as the author of the text" (Ivanic 2005, p.400). The manifestation of an authorial 'voice' is regarded as a significant component of successful English academic writing but is rarely made explicit to students (Street 2009, Wingate 2011).

There remains a common perception among both Li and L2 students that academic writing is an impersonal discourse devoid of the author's presence. This belief could be due to the writing guides and textbooks, as well as teachers, who commonly advise students against explicitly presenting themselves in their writing, and to avoid the use of the first person pronoun (Hyland 2002b). In contrast to this view, Hyland's study (2002a) clearly demonstrates that disciplines such as humanities and social sciences do not require a construct of impersonality. In fact, several scholars have encouraged the use of the first person pronoun in academic writing as a powerful rhetorical option, assisting writers to commit to their claims (lvanic 1998).

The difficulties related to establishing an authorial voice in academic writing has been widely discussed in the literature (Ivanic 1998, Lillis 2001, Hyland 2002a). Groom (2000) identifies three common patterns of difficulty. The first, called 'solipsistic voice' refers to statements which present the writer's own views without making reference to the sources. The reason for this, Groom suggests, might be that the writer is not aware of the requirement of using sources to back up his/her claims. The second, the 'unversed voice', refers to students who rephrase various authors' views without asserting their own position. This could be due to a lack of confidence in positioning their view in relation to established authors. The third pattern, namely the 'unattributed voice', pertains to the situation where the writer presents ideas as if it were their own, when in fact it is from another source.

Another factor to take into consideration, is that students who are new to Western academic literacy may have substantial difficulty in constructing a "workable balance" (Groom 2000, p.65) between the student writer's own voice and the voices of other, more established authors. Such students, especially those from Confucian-heritage cultures may be prone to adopt the unversed voice, in so doing, demonstrating deference to the author and his/her views — a practice which is valued in their own writing tradition. Furthermore, international students may refrain from using "I" due to its association with an assertive, individual identity, when their own writing culture prefers a suggestive and collective identity.

As with the concept of critical thinking, I think it is important for educators to explicitly inform students about the importance of an authorial voice in their writing, to explain the different stylistic devices associated with presenting a voice, and to explain how a balance can be achieved between expressing their own voice and that of other authors, Importantly, students should be made aware that these academic conventions are part of a specific, not universal culture, and that they are not immutable, but open to negotiation.

2.4.3. The essay genre

In higher education, students need to do more than acquire and reproduce knowledge; they need to transform, to recreate knowledge, by using the rhetorical tool of argument. This 'transformed knowledge'

or 'argument' should then be organized into a structured whole, linking the different components in a logical manner (Elander et al. 2006). The structured argument is displayed through the medium of the essay, which together with the thesis or dissertation, are the default genres of post-graduate study in the arts, humanities and social sciences (Andrews 2007).

The essay form is the main rhetorical form which students encounter, and thus I would like to explore it in more detail. It is bound by the conventions of Western rhetoric, by a rigid, canonical structure, and by assessment demands. The normative nature of the essay genre, dictating how students should express themselves, can be frustrating for the student (Andrews and Mitchell 2001). Moreover, despite its central status in academic disciplines, the essay is not a clearly defined genre (Lillis 2001). Andrews (2003) suggests that the prominence of the essay in the academy might be a subtle form of 'gate keeping' in that the requirements of a successful essay are not sufficiently spelt out. Even where there are guidelines on 'what makes a good essay', there can be a preoccupation with surface form, or unclear terms employed, such as evaluate, discuss, or structure without a specific explanation of what each entails. This uncertainty as to what educators mean by 'essay', and what students understand by it, can result in students' writing not fulfilling the requirements of the genre.

The key requirement for a successful essay is that it demonstrates argumentation as opposed to mere description (Andrews and Mitchell 2001). When students fail to produce an argued essay, it is not necessarily due to cultural interference, but as Andrews (2007) argues, because they did not fully understand the framework of the essay genre which they have to operate within. It is therefore imperative that the purpose and rhetorical conventions of the essay-genre are made clear to students.

One should however, not discount the factor that some students coming from a Confusion heritage culture may find it challenging and even inappropriate to critically evaluate scholars' arguments in an explicit way. As Wu and Rubin (1999) explain, the Confusion—heritage tradition largely prefers compromise to argument and values a display of deference to traditional scholars and their views. Granting that culture can be an influence on writing styles, it should however, not be seen as a barrier to developing an argument in writing.

Another challenge of the essay form is the difficulty of bringing together multiple points of view from different sources and presenting them in a single voice, in accordance with the monologic form of the essay (Andrews 2007). This can lead students to enumerating different viewpoints in an explicatory manner, instead of presenting their own unified position in an adversarial structure. Such a position requires a certain sense of power and control over the text, as Andrews (2007, p.11) states: "To be critical is to take on a powerful position". Many international students might feel they lack this power to be able to develop a position, or an authoritative 'voice' in a foreign critical discourse at university. This concept of an individualized voice will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

Focusing on students' perceptions of the essay and its embedded argument, Woods (2000) observes that students do not perceive of the essay as conducive to discursive exploration:

> They do not regard an essay as a site that enables the writer to walk the
> fine line between the subjective and objective, between the personal and
> the public, and, in a dialogic and often playful manner, to reveal his/her
> thinking for the reader's pleasure if not instruction (p.98).

In addressing this issue, Andrews (2003) proposes some possible alternatives to the conventional essay format. He holds up four essays, chosen from the work of his own students, as examples: first, the Socratic dialogue, using the device of question and answer between the author and an implied interlocutor. Andrews points out that the use of two or more voices in such a dialogic form is more explicit and better suited for expressing critical thinking than in an essay where the voices are distilled into a single authorial voice.

Second, Andrews presents the reflective critical autobiography. This entails a combination of personal reflection and critical exploration of an idea. Andrews mentions the essays of Francis Bacon and Michel de Montaigne to illustrate this genre's traditional roots, and current publications such as the London Review of Books, and The Spectator where this type of personal, authoritative essay is common.

The third example is the essay written in the metaphorical mode. Andrews describes a student's essay which was not only well-structured and argued, but also used the device of a gardening metaphor weaved within the essay to give extra dimension to the topic of multilingualism.

Finally he discusses a doctoral thesis, which although it was bound in the conventional way, did not look like a thesis. This experimental "Tristram Shandylike work" (p.125) consisted of a collection of poetry, sections of narrative, highly figurative writing, in addition to more conventional argumentative text.

Andrews provides these examples of counter texts as a way to invite and encourage students to experiment with the form and style in which they present their argument.

In this way, the cultural capital of academic writing can be made available to a wider spectrum of students, allowing both international and mainstream student writers to find the appropriate form of expression for their argument, without being restricted unnecessarily by the prescriptions of a dominant culture's discourse practices.

From this overview of the literature, it can be seen that critical thinking is a complex concept which features prominently in educational debates. In terms of its theoretical constructs it is characterized as either a universally essential skill or a social practice specific to Western culture. As regards its manifestation in writing, the literature review has identified a range of difficulties experienced by student writers, especially international students. The focus of my research will thus be on international students, and what follows is an explanation of the methodology which underpins my study into their perceptions and experiences of critical thinking in academic discourse.

3. Methodology

Broadly speaking my research was guided by the following questions:

1) What perceptions do international students hold of academic writing in general and critical thinking in particular?

2) Which problems do international students encounter with expressing criticality in English academic essays? How does their cultural background influence their writing?

3) How do international students perceive their development in academic writing and critical thinking skills during their year of post-graduate study?

3.1. Rationale for research methods used

Through this study I hope to develop insights into the writing experiences of postgraduate international students studying at a UK university, specifically examining how they understand and engage with the

concept of critical thinking. This type of emic perspective on international students' experiences is best achieved through the use of a qualitative research method involving in-depth, semi-structured interviews.

As Briggs (1986) states, interviews are arguably the most commonly used instrument in qualitative research. Interviews are used in order to access the feelings, thoughts and intentions of others, their 'inner-world', that which cannot be directly observed or measured.

The advantage of interviews is that they provide detailed, rich insights, which surveys, observations or most casual conversations cannot capture to the same in depth level (Forsey 2012). Unlike highly-structured survey interviews, the interviewee in a semi-structured interview is more "a participant in meaning making than a conduit from which information is retrieved" (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006, p314). Taking into regard my position as a peer, this 'participatory approach' was an important determinant for me when deciding on my research methods.

Another consideration was whether to use focus group interviews or one-to-one interviews. Although group interviews provide researchers access to a wider range of experience (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree 2006), I decided against using such a method, as the public nature of the process could inhibit and discomfit some interviewees. Given the potential sensitivities in discussing one's own writing, it could potentially cause students to lose 'face' in front of others. Furthermore, interviews enable the use of open-ended questions and probing, methods which encourage the interviewees "to find and speak in their own 'voices' Mishler (1986 p.118) and which enable the researcher to explore the interviewees initial answer. This probing technique is essential in investigating the complicated concept of critical thinking and argument and to unpack the interviewees understanding of it.

3.2. Participants

The participants consisted of three female students enrolled in the MA English language teaching and Applied Linguistics at King's College in London, UK. Rui and An are both from China and Harika is from Turkey. All three came across as confident students in class, frequently voicing their views and asking questions. Of the three Rui was the 'weaker' student. She sometimes struggled to make herself understood in class, mainly due to her strong Chinese accent affecting intelligibility, as well as inaccuracies in grammar structures and word choice. She also had the most difficulty with writing and did not have any prior experience of writing academic essays in English. After failing her first essay, she's shown steady improvement and her subsequent essays have all received a grade C.

An, although also Chinese, differed in many respects to Rui. A very confident and proficient speaker of English, An also had experience in writing English academic essays in China before coming to the UK. Her essay marks reflected her competence in academic writing, generally receiving grade B or B+. Harika, from Turkey was a very confident and expressive student in class, not shy to voice her opinion or show if she did not agree with a particular point. Her essay marks ranged between grade C and B+; this vacillation was a source of frustration for her.

3.3. Recruitment of participants and ethical issues

The participants of the study were selected from among students enrolled on the MA ELT and Applied Linguistics full-time programme at King's College London (KCL). Information about the study was disseminated through emails in May 2012, and a final selection was made one month later. The parameters for selection included no previous experience of an Anglophone university and coming from a non-English speaking country. Since critical thinking is seen as a cultural construct associated with

Western, Anglophone academia, I seeked participants from outside that cultural milieu, so as to investigate how they engaged with and adapted to writing conventions at a British university.

In adherence to KCL's research ethics guidelines, approval to conduct research was applied for and granted by the Humanities Research Ethics Panel, prior to collecting the data. The study followed the guidelines as set out by KCL's Research Ethics Guidelines and inline with BAAL. In accordance with Confidentiality and Anonymity, the names of the participants are fictional. All participants were sent an information sheet describing the nature, purpose and procedures of the research. They signed a consent form informing them of their rights, including their right to withdraw from the study at any time until August 3, 2012 without giving a reason. They were also offered the opportunity to review transcripts of their interviews. The recordings, transcripts and participants' essays were stored securely and recordings were destroyed after data was transcribed and analyzed.

3.4. Data collection and analysis
3.4.1. The interview process
The participants were interviewed individually using a semi-structured protocol. The interviews were conducted during July 2012, after the end of the academic year, meaning that the students had written and received back 5 assignments to reflect on. The interviews were scheduled in advance, lasted approximately 30 minutes each and all were recorded and transcribed verbatim. An and Harika were interviewed once, and Rui was interviewed twice, both interviews lasting approximately 30minutes. I felt the need for a second interview as the first one could be seen as a 'test run'. After listening to the first interview, I realised that I needed to give more time to the interviewee to talk uninterrupted and let her bring up the issues she wanted to talk about, instead of my research goals steering the interview. I retained the first interview as data as it included some noteworthy findings.

The interviews were organized around a topic guide (see Appendix), providing a framework of orientation and making possible comparisons of interviews easier.
The questions were structured to cover the general to the specific. Starting from a general background discussion about prior writing experience and general perceptions of academic writing, the interview progressed to a more practical focus on interviewees' current writing and any difficulties involved with presenting an argument. I was interested if the writing conventions from their own culture (especially Confusion-heritage culture) had any impact on the expression of criticality in English academic writing, as was debated in the literature. I therefore included questions inviting them to reflect on this issue. I ended the interview by asking if they had any suggestions to improve the instruction of academic writing in general and criticality in particular.

In order to mitigate the effects of "social desirability bias", I adopted an "empathetic" approach during the study (Dornyei 2007), encouraging participants to share their views openly. This approach came naturally since I was a fellow student, enrolled in the same programme, and therefore I had established a very good rapport with the group of students including the three participants.

3.4.2. The transcription process
In accordance with qualitative research methods, analytic induction (Goetz and LeCompte 1984) was used to analyze the transcripts of the interviews. As prescribed by this approach, I read and reread the transcripts, searching for salient or recurring themes. In the next stage, I grouped the themes under headings which emerged from the data. Some of these headings were similar to those of the topic guide. In this way the load of data is managed, permitting categories to be analyzed and compared. I selected

extracts from the transcripts for inclusion in the 'Findings and Discussion' section on the basis that they best demonstrated an identified theme. The participants' perceptions I wished to foreground were chosen not so much on the basis of their recurring frequency but rather on their poignant expression of ideas and understandings.

3.5. Research design: strengths and limitations
It could be argued that my role as both researcher and fellow student compromised my capacity to remain objective. However, it could also be argued, as Oakley (1981 in Forsey 2012, p.366) does, that

> "...in most cases the goal of finding out about people through interviewing is best achieved when the relationship of interviewer and interviewee is non- hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship"

Therefore being on familiar terms with the participants was perhaps more an advantageous than a detrimental factor, alleviating some of the awkwardness and contributing to a more natural environment. Thus, my in-group status might also have played a role in overcoming the predicament known as the 'observer's paradox'[1] (Labov 1972).

When conducting qualitative research the question of internal and external validity needs to be addressed (Campbell and Stanley 1963 in Dornyei 2007). Given the small scale nature of this study, the extent to which the findings can be compared and generalised is questionable, thereby decreasing its external validity.

The decision to interview the students individually and adopt an empathetic interview style enhanced the internal validity of the study, in that it acknowledged the sensitivities involved in talking about academic related difficulties.

4. Findings and discussion
This study was designed to investigate the perceptions and insights into the writing experiences of post-graduate international students studying at a UK university, specifically examining how they understand and engage with the concept of critical thinking. Extracts of the interviews with three postgraduate students are presented below under themes which emerged during data analysis. These themes are also loosely structured around the three core questions which underpin this study.

4.1 Academic writing: participants' interpretations of requirements
I was interested in finding out whether the participants would mention critical thinking or argument without being prompted, and thus I asked a generic question about their thoughts on the key components of a good assignment. What is striking about their answers is not only what was mentioned, but the way in which it was mentioned.

Rai (from China) had a very pragmatic approach and systematically listed off the academic writing requirements and their function like listing the ingredients and instructions to a recipe. While doing so, she took a pen and paper and wrote and numbered each feature as she spoke, further emphasizing this 'listing'

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[1] A term referring to the dilemma where the researcher's presence undermines the natural milieu they seek to research.

approach. The requirements she mentioned are similar to those that Lea and Street (1998) identify in their study investigating student and staff perceptions of academic writing in higher education.

Structure was number one on her list of key components: "If your structure is very clear, your reader, the tutor, is very easy for them to understand what I'm writing". Argument was mentioned next (I will discuss her perceptions of argument in more detail under the next theme) and lastly writing style, by which she meant using formal, academic language.

In listing and explaining the components of academic writing, Rai spoke in an instructional mode, without hesitation or expressing uncertainty:

> In your assignment, first thing you will do...
> After you read [...] you will make a decision [...]
> Then you will make the question [...]
> You should choose academic words.

I was interested to know her feelings or thoughts on the requirements of academic writing, and after probing more, she divulged that at the beginning she found it difficult to structure her paper and organize her thoughts. Subsequently, however, presenting an argument became the "most important and hardest". The fact that Rai highlights argument as being both a significant and challenging concept to implement should be noted, and will be discussed below.

An, like Rai, is Chinese, but unlike Rai has had previous experience in English academic writing whilst she was an undergraduate student in China. An has a more neutral, detached approach than Rai when talking about the requirements of academic writing. She talks about the requirements as an external set of norms, imparted by the lecturers ('they') to be carried out by the students ('we'):

> I remember one of our lecturers mentioned [...] we should bear our
> audience in mind and the priority for us should be to show the audience,
> or show our lecturer, our supervisor that we have a clear idea of the topic
> we're writing about.

Furthermore, she explains, lecturers also expect students to show "criticism" and their "own thinking" as part of effective academic writing. An uses the word "criticism" when referring to critical thinking, and this will be explored in more detail below.

Harika, the Turkish student, takes yet another approach in talking about academic writing, in that she problematizes the requirements.

When asked what she thinks are the key components of a good essay, she remarked that she was still not sure, even at the end of the academic year. She explained that what constitutes a good essay all depends on the person who evaluates it. When probed for more detail, she singled out structure as being important 'forthem':

> Most of the time I realise rather than focusing on the content of the paper,
> for them structure is more important.

To illustrate that the structure, "the appearance of a paper", is more important than the content, she used an interesting metaphor, that of a woman who is judged on her clothes, her appearance, rather than her personality or what she thinks.

As can be noted from the quotation above, like An, she also refers to the features of successful writing as norms coming from 'them' i.e. her lecturers, not from her personal conviction.

Looking at their answers, both the similarities and differences are revealing. Focussing on the similarities, it is notable that all three participants mention that they view their lecturer/supervisor/tutor! "the person who evaluates" (Harika), as the reader they have in mind while writing their essay. This means they are writing for someone who is either an expert on the field, or who will evaluate their writing, rather than their fellow classmates, colleagues or the interested public. Harika goes as far as to imply that the criteria of what constitutes a good essay depends on "the person who evaluates" it, implying that each marker has their own idea of what a good essay entails.

As already pointed out, both An and Harika talk about academic writing in terms which imply that they are norms promoted by their lecturers, to be implemented by the students. It remains unclear whether they wholeheartedly agree with and embrace the features they mentioned as constituting good writing practice. Rai, in contrast, seems to have fully assimilated, if not mastered, the requirements of Western academic writing, expressing no ambivalence as she lists them off, but instead seems empowered by her knowledge of a new academic discourse.

The above findings could lend support to Cadman's (2000) study of a group of international postgraduate students at an Australian university. In the study the students are all aware what was expected of them with regards to adapting or changing their approach to academic writing, some valuing and appropriating the different academic conventions more than others. Lastly, it is evident that all three participants emphasised the importance of argument and critical thinking in academic writing. Rai and An listed it as one of their key components of a good essay, and Harika mentioned it subsequently in talking about what she thought was expected from her when writing her first essay.

4.2. Critical thinking: complexities and difficulties in implementation
As mentioned above, it is apparent that the participants had a clear sense of the need to show evidence of critical thinking in their academic writing. However, when asked specifically on their understanding of critical thinking and its implementation, the participants revealed their uncertainty about what it entails and imparted the complexities involved in attempting to express their critical voice.

4.2.1. Lack of certainty in understanding critical thinking
An:

> *Actually at the beginning I had a little confusion, and I still don't know if! understand this term correctly, even now. Because even if the lecturers have told us what critical should be, but I still don't feel I'm confident I can show critical thinking in my own assignments. Like I mentioned, 'critical', 'criticise', we tend to believe that if students want to be critical, they should oppose those famous writers' views. But, in fact it's not the case, right? We can also show our agreement with these authors and emphasise the points we are interested in, and also what has the same kind of implication in our contexts. Right?*

Harika:

> *[...] you should be critical, but I don't know exactly what critical was. Probably what I thought was they were expecting us to critically analyse the theories and find positive and negative parts of it, and also add your own comments. But! still of course don't know, is this what they expect of me. And the feedback also didn't show me any direction. What I do is what! think.., but whether my interpretation is right or wrong I still don't know and I'm still doing it in my own way.*

From these responses it is apparent that Rai and Harika were aware of the perceived requirement to be critical, but were uncertain about how this was achieved and if they had achieved this successfully in their assignment. This is a common sentiment amongst not only international students but also native speakers, and reported in various studies as mentioned in the literature (see Lea and Street 1998, Elander et al 2006).

Both participants mention confusion and lack of certainty in understanding critical thinking. As An remarks, the uncertainty is not due to the lecturers not informing students about implementing argument in their writing, but could be as Wingate (2011) argues, that they are not explicitly shown what this concept means and looks like in a real text. This lack of certainty can lead to a lack of confidence, as revealed by An. An also brings up the popular misconception, as was mentioned earlier in this paper, that the related words of "critical" and "criticise" could make students think that they have to "oppose" established authors.

Despite both participants giving an accurate interpretation of what criticality in writing entails, they still express doubt whether they have interpreted or implemented it correctly. An's uncertainty comes through in the interview as she seems to seek reassurance that she has the correct understanding, by adding the question tag "right?" at the end of her statements. Harika expresses that she simply follows her "own way" in the absence of specific benchmarks and lack of clear guidance from feedback comments.

4.2.2. Lack of sufficient subject knowledge

In terms of implementing a critical stance or argument in their writing, it is significant that all three participants stressed the importance of subject knowledge. Let us look firstly at Rai's comments:

> *I didn't show my creative thinking or argument because I'm not confidence in this area. This is main problem. I think if you have got a lot of knowledge of this area, it's very easy 1...] you can say this way or another way, two way, from different way. So when you are not confidence in this area you may try easily trust big men's voice and forget your own voice.*

Rai identifies lack of knowledge as being the reason for her lack of confidence in expressing her voice in her writing, i.e. an argument. She points out that the requirement to present different viewpoints in an essay is also contingent on subject knowledge. Ironically it could be this very emphasis on acquiring sufficient information or knowledge that was a barrier in developing her voice in the first place. As Andrews (2007) argues, Confucius-heritage cultures place great importance on knowledge, and novice writers avoid presenting their own position before having mastered their field. When preparing for her first essay, Rai's response was to rely on her previous experience as a student in China by reading a lot of books and consulting various authors on the subject area. However, she acknowledges that by doing so "you may try easily trust big men's voice and forget your own voice". The difference in expectations between Chinese and UK academic communities is conveyed in the following comment, as she reflects back on the time when she found out she had failed her first essay:

> *After I get this feedback I am very, you know disappointed, because I think I read a lot. But at the end of this essay, I didn't show my argument.*

As Rai continues to explain, this first assignment proved to be a turning point for her. She realised that in order to succeed and meet the expectations of academic writing at a British university she could not merely rely on books and "big men's voice" but needed to establish her own voice, "my argument" in her next essay.

In talking about the role of knowledge acquisition in developing critical thinking, An, in line with Ramanathan and Atkinson (1999), emphasised the value that Confusion-heritage cultures place on respect for authority and scholarship:

> *[...]from an early age, we are not encouraged to challenge the authority. And what Chinese students do most of the time... as one of them... is kind of absorbing the thinking or ideas of the famous teachers and writers. In this way, we are hoping that we can be more knowledgeable and we can get what we want; we can have a better understanding of the area, or even life.*

It is notable that in describing the Chinese academic practices, An does so with the neutral voice of an outside observer, yet she indicates her membership to this discoursal community, by including herself in the process: "as one of them". Rather than portraying the Chinese practices as in some way deficient, inferior or in opposition to Western practices, she simply explains the reasons why Chinese students do what they do, and as such explains the conventions of her tradition.

Harika, on the other hand, does not mention her Turkish background as an influencing factor, merely stating the correlation between lack of knowledge and lack of criticality:
Sometimes, you know, if you do not know the subject really very well, you're afraid to criticise. Maybe you do not dare to do it.

The recognition that sufficient subject knowledge is a crucial factor in establishing a position in academic writing reflects the research of Wingate (2011) and Andrews (1995) as discussed earlier.

4.2.3. Problems in using the passive, impersonal voice

One of the most visible and significant ways a writer can establish their presence and commit to their claims is through the use of first person pronouns (Hyland 2002a, Ivanic 1998). It is apparent from the interview data collected in this study that the participants still believe that the use of first person pronouns in academic writing is not appropriate. Both An and Rai explain they avoid using personal pronouns, as in China "the teachers want the paper to be impersonal" (An). An remarks that she would rather use 'we' than 'I', and half-jokingly adds "That's the collective culture!" An's irony-tinged remark referring to her "collective culture" conveys a mature awareness of her culture, simultaneously expressing be'onging and detached observation.

She recalls one of her assignments in which she referred to herself as the 'author' and put the sentence in brackets. She received the following feedback comment:
"Why do you refer to yourself as the author and in brackets? You are required to develop your voice!"

She reveals that she would like to "learn this kind of skill", referring to implementing a more active voice "because famous authors do this too". Contrary to CR research (Ramanathan and Atkinson 1999) it is not undue deference to authors that prevents An from using 'I', it is merely that she needs time to develop a 'workable balance' (Groom 2000) between her own voice and the voices of authors:

> *Its not like I would definitely not use I, but it's a change for me to go through, and I think I will get there, but now I'm not so confident about combining these two kind of styles naturally, so I avoid it.*

The "two kinds of style" which An refers to is the personal and impersonal voice, or active and passive structures. It is the combining of these two different voices in writing that is problematic and confusing to the students, leading to a lack of confidence in expressing their authorial voice.

Harika recounts how she always used the passive voice in her essays, as she considered this to be the norm. However, she reveals that by doing so she was misunderstood by the marker:

> *And because / used passive voices, somehow it was misinterpreted and it was understood as if! didn't add my own voice. It was my own voice but in passive structures.*

She goes on to explain:

> *Of course it affected the way the person perceived it. Because it is different:*
> *'I argue that', and 'it can be said that' or 'it is said that'. Actually it was me who argues it but because I know that it won't be formal to use 'I', I prefer to use 'one might say that'. But it is me!*

As can be seen from the above quotations, the participants, especially Rai and An, express uncertainty and confusion around the issue of when and how to reveal their personal voice through the use of first person pronouns. Promoted in the literature, the personal pronoun is a powerful rhetorical feature by which the writer can explicitly reveal their identity and position (Ivanic 1998). By not using it, and instead using passive structures to position themselves in a text, students can inadvertently 'hide' their voice, resulting in the misunderstanding which Harika described above.

4.2.4. A tale of two discourses: the relationship between vernacular and academic discourse.

Canagarajah (2002a p.31) asks a very salient question with regard to how international students construct the relationship between their own vernacular discourse and that of the target academic community: "How do students relate the discourses and cultural practices of their vernacular community to those of academic communities?" The three excerpts below illustrate three very different approaches.

> *Rai: Until now it's not easy to give my voice because of my disadvantage about my thoughts.*
> *An: [...J they (referring to the UK academic community) have a different view of academic writing or doing research. But in China, we also write essays, you know, but not in the sense that our lecturers here require us to do.*
> *Harika: (Addressing the Western academic community) Because when you say voice, what do you mean? This is voice! I'm a bilingual speaker, so I have two languages that I speak, so I just want to add these languages, I just want to add my Turkish, this is my richness.*

From the quotation, it would seem to me that Rai sees the Chinese tradition in deficit terms, as a "disadvantage", perceiving her 'Chinese thoughts' as an impediment to expressing her ('Western' academic) voice. It is striking that Rai, when referring to her own community, uses 'they':

> *In China, they always easy to trust knowledge from the book, they think if the knowledge is written in the book, it is true knowledge.*

It would therefore seem that Rai, in her efforts to adapt to a new Western discourse and assimilate its rhetorical conventions, is in the process giving up her Chinese discoursal tradition or 'thoughts', i.e. way of thinking.

An's responses, on the other hand, seem to suggest that she sees the two discourses on a more balanced and equal footing but distinctly separate from each other. She views the relationship between the Chinese and UK academic traditions in terms of difference, not deficit.

Harika's response is very interesting, and is one I would like to unpack and explore in more detail. For Harika, the voice she presents in her writing is significantly tied up with her Turkish background and identity. In answer to Canagarajah's question, she would like to take the discourses of her vernacular community with her as she participates in the UK academic community. Unlike Rai, she does not want to

suppress her vernacular voice in order to assimilate into the dominant discourse. She also does not want to keep the two discourse systems separate and shuttle between the two as An does. Instead, she would like to have the freedom to 11add my Turkish" to the conventions valued by the academy, in so doing creating a fusion of the two discourses.

In the following excerpt she goes on to recount how she tried to bring in some linguistic resources which she enjoyed from Turkish into her previous essay, but resulting in a discouraging outcome.

> *Harika: Sometimes I've been even using some Turkish metaphors, and translating it into English [...]. Yeah, sometimes just carrying my background,[...] to carry some linguistic features into English, and try to make it rich, and... Just let me show you the comment that I got about it. Can I read the comment?*
>
> *Michelle: Yeah, yeah.*
>
> *Harika: This is the last comment that I got: "You should also be careful with idioms. If you are not sure whether you can vary a particular idiom, do not - you can end up in a very different idiom". So, if you do not know how to properly use this idiom or metaphor, then do not. Because as a second language learner you do not have the right to play with this language. You're not the owner of this language. So, you can't be creative, you have limits.*
>
> *Like 'You women, know your limits'. So, 'Second language speakers know your limits'.*

Harika wants to present her voice in her essay by bringing to her academic communication, her "background", some "linguistic features" or resources from her Turkish discourse in order to enhance and enrich her writing. However, as she points out, these creative attempts are not appreciated by the marker, the academic community, who treats these as deviations from the academic conventions and therefore as unproficiency and failure. Harika is notably frustrated by the "limits" that she feels are placed on her creative expression in academic writing at a British university. She feels that as a second language speaker she is denied the rights to "play" with English with the same freedom and sense of ownership as native speakers do. Her last point is very poignant as she likens the linguistic limitations placed by the academy on second language learners with the limitations placed by society on women.

Harika's emotional response is a reaction to the one-sided approach she feels the academic community has towards the acculturation of international students. On one hand, the UK academic community requires that students present their voice, an argument, in their writing. But it is not good enough that students do so in their own voices, displaying the stylistic features of their vernacular and culture. To claim membership to the UK academic community, international students have to take on the voice that the academy wants them to use and to express that voice within the constraints of the essay genre with its canonical structure and rhetorical conventions. Significantly, these findings confirm the research conducted by Woods (2000) and Andrews (2003), in which they found that students do not perceive the essay as a site which enables the writer to display his/her thinking in a "dialogic" and "playful manner" (Woods 2000 p.98) and furthermore, as Andrews (ibid) argues, it does not encourage experimentation with style and form in which to present an argument.

4.3. The development of participants' academic writing and critical thinking skills

In discussing the process of learning to write in a new discourse, An commented that she found the tutors' feedback on assignments useful in guiding her writing, describing the writing-feedback procedure as: "[...] exposure, and then comments, and then modification or progress".

She also mentioned that she attended cross-disciplinary, in-sessional workshops, some focusing particularly on critical thinking. However, she found the ELT and Applied Linguistics department's workshops more helpful:

> *"To be honest, I think the in-sessional lessons are a little bit like what we have in China, like writing clinics, writing workshops, things like that. I think I learned more from our own lecturers. And workshops".*

This view would support the findings from various studies (Elander et al. 2006, Mitchell and Riddle 2000) which show that argumentation is highly discipline- specific and is thus better promoted when integrated with the students' academic learning or in workshops related to the department.

An has a clear and conscious approach as she reflects back on her progress as a writer.

> *I think now I'm more confident with writing an essay because I know what lecturers expect and I've got the feedback and I know what they value. And I think the problem, or the difficulties right now, is only from myself, actually.*
> *How well I can get the gist of author's articles, books, and then howl can synthesise those ideas.*

Although she concedes that there are still "difficulties", they are not factors that are beyond her control or understanding, but are located within herself where she can work at them in her own time.

As regards to Harika's experience of academic writing, she felt she was not as successful as she would like to be in expressing herself in the new academic discourse, and this left her feeling frustrated and excluded.
Harika also raised the issue of writing for assessment, which she found to be dispiriting.

> *[...] during the year, we just wrote to get grades [...]. I believe that this also has negative influence on students. So, for us writing means evaluation. Writing means getting grades. I believe that at the beginning of this program there were students who actually liked writing but now... because of this criticism they got, they do not.*

Harika explains that the grade she will get is of main concern to her, and the thought of assessment instills "a kind offear" in her. Due to this fear of assessment, she has suppressed her expression of ideas:

> *I just want to think..., as a person, as Harika, what would you really like to write? But I can't dare to ask it to myself.*

Harika suggests a possible way to address this problem. She proposes that at the beginning of the year the students are given one or two short assignments to complete, solely for the purpose of receiving feedback and guidance, not for assessment. In this way the students can at least have one or two opportunities to practice their academic writing skills before being formally assessed. This suggestion echoes Leki's (1995) study in which he mentions that students were given short, relatively easy essays early in the term before tackling the more complicated, assessed essays.

Responding to a question about her development as a writer, particularly her critical voice, she reflects on her current strategies for writing the dissertation:
I've been taking risks actually when I write my dissertation [...]. I wi//just write it on my own way. Because so far! couldn't dare to do it.

Harika's approach of doing it "my own way" reflects her increased confidence and determination to express her voice and her Turkish influenced discourse in her dissertation, in so doing empowering herself.

Rai, in reflecting on her progress during the year, revealed the significant transformation which had taken place as a result of engaging with a new academic discourse community.

As mentioned before, she failed her first essay, due to an over-dependence on the unaverred and unattributed voice (Groom 2000), to the expense of her own authorial voice. However, this proved to be a very important learning experience for her: "I feel very gratef u/for me failed the first one". She realised that change was required in her approach to academic thinking and writing, and subsequently joined the in-session academic writing support programme at King's College. Rai repeatedly mentioned how much she appreciated this support, as it taught her the basics of UK academic writing and how to develop an argument in her writing.

At the end of the last interview Rai revealed a very poignant realisation:

> *During the year of MA course I think the know/edge of English language teaching theory is very important, I learned some of them. But the most important thing I learned is different thinking way.*

Rai explained that this "different thinking way" means looking at a situation or a theory from different angles, and "you should criticise, to doubt it". When asked if she could use critical thinking in other areas of her life, she replied: "I think this new thinking way will influence my life". Rai's disclosure seems to affirm the findings of Egege and Kutieleh (2004) who report that the students felt that critical thinking had relevance outside study. These findings are thus in contrast to Atkinson (1997) who questions the applicability of critical thinking beyond the educational context. For Rai, adopting a critical thinking approach has had social and personal implications for her life as a whole, its influence and application extending well beyond the context of her studies.

5. Synthesising the findings: issues and implications

The excerpts discussed above underline the unique perspective on academic writing and critical thinking which international postgraduate students can bring to the Western academic context. In this section I will synthesize the findings by using the research questions as set out in the previous chapter as a rough framework. However, my principle purpose is to extract some issues and concerns which were brought up during the interviews, and discuss the pedagogical implications in the light of a critical approach towards disciplinary discourse.

5.1. What perceptions do international students hold of academic writing in general and critical thinking in particular?

In investigating the participants' experience of academic writing, a recurring theme of confusion (An), uncertainty (Harika) and lack of confidence (Rai) emerged. With regards to academic writing requirements, their responses showed they all knew they were expected to show evidence of structure, argument and appropriate register. Similarly when asked about their interpretation of critical thinking and argument, they conveyed a good understanding of what it entailed, using explicatory phrases like "critically analyze" (Harika), "give your evidence" (Rai), and evaluate its "implication in our contexts" (An). However, they seemed to express great uncertainty whether they have interpreted these expectations

correctly. From these comments it is clear that what is needed is a more direct, explicit approach in the instruction of critical thinking in writing.

In discussing critical thinking and related issues, what emerged from the interviews was the students' willingness to adapt to a new discourse and engage in critical thinking. Although some sources in the literature (Ramanathan and Kaplan 1996b, Rarnanathan and Atkinson 1999) have suggested that students coming from Confusion heritage cultures, in particular, are passive and "not ready" for critical thinking (Ramanathan and Kaplan 1996b, p. 232), this is clearly not so in the case of Rai and An. Despite emphasising the contrasts between their own background and the UK academic context, regarding different textual conventions, these two international students clearly had the "agency to rise above their culture" (Canagarajah 2002b, p.101). Hence, although cultural factors do influence writing practices and therefore cannot be ignored, they should not necessarily be seen in terms of deficit. The results from this study support Zamel (1997) and Canagarajah's (2002a) claims that students' cultural and linguistic background do not prevent them from producing successful writing in English, demonstrating evidence of critical thought and analysis.

5.2. Which problems do international students encounter with expressing criticality in English academic essays? How does their cultural background influence their writing?

A further area of investigation was identifying some of the problems students experienced in expressing critical thinking in their writing. The findings of the interviews generally support the literature which identified the following problematic areas: insufficient subject knowledge, lack of authorial 'voice' and lastly, the restrictive conventions and canonical structure of the essay genre which can inhibit and limit the student writers' expression. The participants' background played a role in the way they approached academic writing and expressed their voice in the text.

The students associated a lack of subject knowledge with a lack in confidence (Rai) thereby affecting their ability to present their own argument (Harika). Both An and Rai's responses illustrate the great importance their Confucius-heritage culture places on the acquisition of knowledge through "absorbing the thinking or ideas of the famous teachers and authors" (An). This can have a detrimental effect on establishing the writer's voice or argument, as in the case of Rai who failed her first essay as she reflected the views of other authors and not her own. Insufficient subject knowledge, as well as cultural differences in constructs of knowledge, are both factors which can hinder the expression of criticality, but these are hindrances which can be transcended as students acquire more expertise in their field and learn the practices of the target discourse.

The concept of the writer's presence or 'voice' and its linguistic manifestation through the use of first person pronouns is a feature of academic writing which seems to pose some problems for the three students. On one hand higher education still seems to be wedded to the belief that academic writing should employ the impersonal voice (Andrews 2003). Various writing guides advice students to avoid using the first person pronoun, advocating that passive structures are more appropriate. This attitude is reflected in the participants' disclosure that they believe 'I' is not appropriate for formal academic essays, except for signposting or when reflecting back on personal experience. On the other hand, they need to present a strong argument, develop their own 'voice', show agreement or disagreement towards authors and theories and commit to their claims. However, they do so without using 'I think' or 'I (dis)agree with' but instead, believe they need to employ an impersonal voice manifested through passive structures or distancing devices. Not only does it place an extra linguistic burden on 12 writers, but more significantly, it risks hiding their emerging voices and obstructing their endeavors to position themselves in the text. This was

precisely the case with Harika as she acknowledged that a passive voice in her essay "was understood as if! didn't add my own voice" and with An, who used the impersonal third person "the author" to refer to herself, but in so doing received a feedback comment stressing that she is required to develop her voice.

This problematic situation is further complicated by the ambivalent guidance given to the students in the programme handbook:

> "Some tutors prefer an impersonal style making use of passives and
> avoiding the use of 'I', although nowadays this preference tends to be
> more associated with natural sciences than with the humanities and social
> sciences".

The only conclusion that students can glean from this information is to rather stick to passives and avoid using 'I' lest they engender the disapproval of "some tutors".

In the absence of clear guidelines and what can seem like conflicting expectations, it is understandable that the students are hesitant in adopting an explicit authorial presence in their writing. It would therefore be beneficial to the students if writing guidance and instruction were more transparent and clarified the particular stylistic conventions of the discipline or the requisites of the genre. In general, tutors and academic departments need to review the support that they provide students so as to assure that the expectations are made as explicit as possible. This is especially essential in the light of the growing internationalization of universities which need to make their practices clear in order to facilitate the linguistic and cultural transition of the students to a foreign academic discourse.

The issue of voice has a broader implication than linguistic or rhetorical features as expressed through a personal/impersonal style or the use of first person pronouns. It is also bound up with the writer's identity, and is concerned with "the broader issues of a speaking subject's perspective, conceptual horizon, intention and world view" (Bhaktin 1986 in Stapleton 2002, p178).

In terms of an academic context, Canagarajah (2002a) asserts that students should be able to take their identities, values and background with them as they engage with the academic community. I would like to add to this and argue that international students should be able to bring their own discursive practices and histories into their writing in order to develop a deep and genuine sense of critical thinking and demonstrate effective argumentation. In such a way, students are empowered, not confused, afraid or stripped of confidence, as was revealed by An, Harika and Rai respectively.

In this regard I would like to highlight Harika's experience of engaging with a new academic discourse, and the findings which suggest that she felt her voice to be excluded and constrained by the rigid norms of academic writing:

> "As a second language learner you do not have the right to play with this
> language [...] so, you can't be creative, you have limits".

Harika's account is indicative of the present situation where globalisation and the spread of English academic cultures bring different discourses and cultural practices in contact and frequently, in conflict. With the ever-increasing internationalisation of universities, the challenge for academic departments is to re-evaluate the norms of the traditional essay form and widen the parameters of what is possible and permissible in university essays. In this respect I would like to recall the 'countertexts' put forward by Andrews (2003) as possible variations of the essay genre to accommodate a wider spectrum of expression:

The challenge for departments in higher education is to debate such variation and work out a common policy and practice so that students are neither disadvantaged nor confused; and so that students can find the appropriate form of expression for what they want to say in assignments (p. 125).

With regards Harika, she creatively tried to mix her vernacular discourse with the textual conventions of the dominant English academic discourse, but it was treated as a sign of incompetence. She was therefore not allowed to "find the appropriate form of expression" for her voice, for her bilingual identity. Yet, she is required by the discipline to develop her individual voice, in particular through the demonstration of critical thinking in writing.

The question which needs to be asked is: How can the academic community require students to develop their critical voice, and at the same time expect them to submit to the ideological practices and values of Western academic discourse? It seems that educational institutes require students to develop a critical approach in academic writing, but disapprove of a critical approach towards academic writing.

As higher education is undergoing a period of transformation I agree with Canagarajah (2002b) that it is crucial for the dominant Western academic communities to respect and appreciate the discursive and cultural peculiarities which international students may display, rather than suppressing them. This means that academic communities should be tolerant towards the ways in which academic texts will be "creatively modified according to the strengths brought by the students" (p. 14). Importantly, academic communities should have a bilateral approach, in that not only should students be expected to acculturate to the academic discourse, but the academic community should also accommodate alternative discourses. In such a way a space can be created where students can develop their critical thinking skills in a manner that is "neither assimilationist nor working from a deficit model" (Jones 2005).

5.3. How do international students perceive their development in academic writing and critical thinking skills?
Although the findings underlined the challenges and complexities involved in learning to engage with a new discourse, it also revealed the students' development and progress during the year as academic writers and critical thinkers.

The study highlights the adaptability of the participants to a different educational context and discourse. They revealed that although their linguistic and cultural background influenced their approach to academic writing, they learned to critically analyze texts, identify and evaluate multiple interpretations, integrate their argument in a structured text, and take risks in experimenting with the essay genre. In short, they displayed a solid understanding and implementation of Wingate's (2011) three components of argumentation, and more.

On the whole, each participant looked back at the year and described the trials and errors, the successes and the learning experiences as they engaged with a new discourse.

An mentioned her increased confidence due to the fact that she now knows what is expected of her. She identified some remaining difficulties related to a critical academic approach and located these firmly within herself. This self-confident judgment can be seen as a key to successful postgraduate study, putting the onus on herself to improve her writing practice. Harika expressed confusion and frustration with writing in a new discourse, but in the end decided that the only way to regain her confidence in writing is

to assert her own particular "multivocal" voice (Canagarajah 1997), blending the voices of her experience, culture, values and vernacular in a creative reinterpretation of the academic writing genre.

Of the three students, Rai revealed the most transformation in her development as a writer. During her year as a post-graduate student, she not only learned a new way of writing, but more significantly, a "new way of thinking". For Rai, engaging with critical thinking allowed her "to engage with the world in a new way" (Crème 1999). And that is the true, lasting gift of a good education.

6. Concluding remarks

The research findings offer some interesting insights into the experiences of international students learning the conventions of a new academic discourse with reference to acquiring and demonstrating critical thinking skills in their writing. Despite the dual challenges of language and adapting to new academic requirements, the international students interviewed seemed to have effectively acculturated to the changed context, either by assimilating, appropriating or transforming the academic textual conventions. Although they mentioned frustrations and difficulties, they all were willing, and even enthusiastic to engage in critical thinking.

The findings also raised some pertinent questions about the role of the students' background and culture in influencing the way they express themselves (critically or otherwise) in their essays. It emerged through their responses that cultural influences should not be ignored, and the participants often contrasted their own discourse practices with that of the target discourse. Nevertheless, this does not presume that their writing or way of thinking can be neatly categorized into distinctive styles, to be uniformly encouraged, or 'remediated' in EAP classes. On the contrary, their approach to writing and their writing styles were shown to be as divergent and complex as their distinct personalities and life experiences.

As regards the difficulties experienced in adopting a critical approach, students mentioned a lack of confidence and subject knowledge as obstacles, but not as barriers to critical thinking. An aspect which they found to be more problematic was that of the rhetorical conventions and rigid norms of the essay genre. The concept of the impersonal voice proved to be particularly cumbersome to the students, in that it has the tendency to hide or neutralize the student writers' views. Furthermore, one of the participants in particular felt that her voice was restricted by the essay genre in that she couldn't infuse the discourse features from her own community into her essay. It could be inferred that there is a gap between what she wanted to say in her essay and what she understands she is permitted to say.

As the student population is increasingly diversifying, departments in higher education should accordingly broaden the parameters of what is possible in written assignments so as to create more varied and conducive channels for critical thinking and academic expression in general. The type of reconceptualisation of academic literacy that this calls for, will however not take place overnight. In the meantime, international students want to succeed in meeting the requirements of the Western academic discourse. Merely critiquing the dominant discourse, as Wrigley (2010) points out, might not serve the interests of the students who attempt to enter it. In conclusion I would therefore like to review some recommendations to facilitate the expression of critical thinking, which have emerged from the findings of this study.

Firstly, students need clear and direct guidelines and instruction in terms of what is involved in adopting a critical thinking approach in their writing. This can be in the form of workshops in which both local and international students participate and where they are taught how to recognize, evaluate and construct

arguments within a Western critical thinking approach. As Egege and Kutieleh (2004) explain, the concept of critical thinking should be presented in an explicit manner, familiarising students with its historical roots, its role and criteria. Besides writing workshops, I would suggest a simple 'Question and Answer' session between the students and a lecturer to clear up any misconceptions or confusion, not only before writing an essay, but also afterwards, giving the opportunity to clarify any questions about feedback or assessment criteria.

Secondly, to help students understand the expectations of the academic community, I agree with Lillis (2001) in stressing the importance of on-going dialogue between supervisor and student.

Furthermore, students studying in the humanities and social sciences should be made aware that they do not need to use the impersonal voice in their writing and that first person pronouns are accepted and even encouraged.

Finally, as one of the participants suggested, it would be helpful if students had the opportunity to write at least one piece of academic writing without being assessed. In such a way the students can feel more confident and prepared when tackling their first graded essay.

These are all fairly straightforward and practical implementations which could serve to directly benefit students in developing a critical approach, and thus help them to communicate effectively and confidently in the academic community.

The findings from this small-scale study of just three students in one particular context cannot be compared or generalized. The findings do however raise questions for further research, on a larger scale. First, how heterogeneous are the views and experiences of the students? Would students in different disciplines have the same understandings of critical thinking? A second question relates to the selection of students. If Li students from an Anglophone background were also interviewed, which differences or similarities compared with international students would emerge? Finally, how is critical thinking understood and developed in the context of other disciplines? To get a fuller picture of this key concept, studying specific academic contexts can begin to address how students in different disciplines conceptualize and develop their critical thinking abilities.

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Appendix: semi-structured interview guide
1. Previous experience of academic writing in English.
2. Understanding of criteria of academic writing in English. Different from your Li writing?
3. Understanding of critical thinking/argument in academic writing.
4. Difficulties with: academic writing in general.
                     presenting an argument.
5. Developing critical thinking skills through the year
             Personal strategies: From 1st essay to most recent.
             Tutor support: Feedback and lectures. Helpful?
             Institutional support: writing workshops. Helpful?
6. Suggestions/ anything else?

INCORPORATING ENGLISH AS A PRIMARY LANGUAGE INTO THE ANDORRAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to propose how to incorporate English as a main language into the Andorran educational system starting in primary school, using a combination of Content and Language Integrated Learning and traditional language classes, in order to address the increasing need for Andorran students to be proficient in English as a result of the global spread of the English language and Andorra´s situation within Europe. Although English is taught as a foreign language within the Andorran educational system, students are not graduating with a sufficient level of proficiency in English to meet today´s demands. The primary method of data collection was acquired through the review of literature concerning language education, plurilingualism and the role of the English language in globalization. We also conducted a semi-structured interview with the director of the Andorran school system as well as with a local primary school principal in order to gather relevant data regarding the reality within the country. As a conclusion, we will demonstrate that students´ linguistic proficiency will improve, not only in children at a high socioeconomic level, but also in students that cannot afford to study English outside of school.

Keywords: Global English, Multilingual Education, CLIL, Language Education

INTRODUCTION

As a result of a highly globalizing world in which human mobility and international relationships between different nations and countries have greatly increased, there have been significant changes in the political, social, labor and educational demands around the world. It is our responsibility to adapt to the changes in society and prepare the new generation by giving them the tools and skills, which they will need to succeed in an international world. These changes have considerably impacted European nations as they seek effective ways to work together in order to ensure the future of their economies and citizens. One of the ways that European nations are striving to meet the new global demands is through increased and improved language education. As Vez (2009) points out, ¨the European dimension in language education, it is generally believed, is not what is was. Globalisation, European Union (EU) policies, migrant movements and Global English are changing the languages and cultures of European nations in some ways¨ (p.8). Andorra, which is a small, independent microstate on the border of France and Spain, has not been left untouched by the effects of globalization. While in the 1950s, Andorra was still a small mountain country, primarily occupied with farming, it is now an international country with tourists and immigrants coming from around the world to enjoy its ski resorts, shopping centers and beautiful nature (Micó, 2006). Being a co-principality with vital ties to both France and Spain, Andorra has a long history of multilingualism. Andorra is unique in that it offers its citizens three educational systems: 1- the public French school overseen by the French government, where instruction is done in French accompanied by Catalan classes as Catalan is the official language of the country; 2- Spanish public schools, where the majority of instruction is done in Spanish along with Catalan classes as in the French schools; Private Spanish catholic schools where the instruction is done mostly in Catalan accompanied by some Spanish and 3- the Andorran educational system where instruction is done primarily in Catalan, French and at times in Spanish (Marquet, 1997). In this paper we will be dealing strictly with the Andorra educational system, as it is the national educational system of the country. While it must be recognized that Andorra has excelled in introducing three languages into their national educational system, unlike many European countries, Andorra has failed to place major importance on acquiring a sufficient level of English. As of now, English is still introduced as a foreign language where students

learn basic English in a dedicated English class and graduate with an inadequate level.   The ability to speak more than one language is essential nowadays, more than ever, and as a result of the global spread of the English language, many nations have introduced English in primary schools in order to give students the skills that they will need to compete in a global workforce (Hamid and Honan, 2012). Companies are globalizing and, in order to communicate effectively, many have chosen to use English as the official ¨enterprise language¨. Andorra is also experiencing the effects of the global spread of English as the majority of the population works in commerce, hospitality, tourism and restaurants (Micó, 2006). Many of the tourists who come to Andorra use English as their means of communication. Andorra, now finds itself in a situation where the majority of the population of Andorra needs to be able to effectively communicate in English in order to conduct business. While there have been articles published stating that the Andorran Ministry of Education has the intention of one day using English as a vehicular language, they have yet to publicize or discuss the way in which they would do this or any details regarding their intentions. Our comprehensive proposal here focuses on the need to introduce English as a principal language starting in primary education in order to address the growing need of English fluency among Andorran residents. The reason we chose primary school as the starting point is due to the fact that students are already introduced to French in kindergarten and school is not obligatory until children reach six years of age. It is important to re-assess the language policy and language programs in response to the changes occurring in a globalizing world. The proposal here is not to introduce English at the expense of regional languages, but to introduce it as a necessary language for international communication and intercultural understanding. Unfortunately, English is now becoming a dividing factor as ¨much of the recent attention to the spread of English deals precisely with this point: that English is not only helpful but is becoming increasingly necessary for success in the working world, leaving those who do not speak it behind¨ (Johnson, 2009, p.135). The aim of this paper is to design and propose a way to incorporate English into the Andorran educational system in order for its students to graduate with a sufficient dominance of the English language to be competitive in today´s global market and address the ever more present prerequisite of English proficiency in order to pursue higher education.

METHODOLOGY

In order to propose an efficient method to tackle the issue of insufficient English proficiency amongst the students graduating from school in Andorra, we have made use of several different sources as a way of gathering more information about the current linguistic situation throughout Europe and specifically in Andorra and the current educational situation within the country. We first reviewed what role the English language is playing throughout the world, focusing in on Europe and Andorra in order to reinforce the justification for our proposal. Then, in order to propose an effective way to incorporate English as a primary language within the Andorran educational system, we have reviewed several documents and works done concerning the realities of European plurilingualism, which includes various existing methods of multilingual language education, the Common European Framework of Reference for Foreign Languages, NESET´s analytical report prepared for the European Commission about Multilingual Education in the Light of Diversity, as well as other literature focused on multilingual policies and multilingual education. We also conducted interviews with the director of the Andorran Educational system, Ester Vilarrubla, and one of the current Head of Studies of an Andorran primary school, David Barbosa, as a way to acquire a genuine and up-close view of the realities of the current situation within the system and of the students and assure that the proposal would fit in with the current educational system in the country. These interviews added to information gathered from having reviewed articles on the sociolinguistic realities of Andorra. Based on the research done on the present language educational method used in Andorran language education, various language education models and personal experience within the Andorran school system, we chose to further analyze research done on Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) as the smoothest and most effective way to incorporate English as a primary language within the existing

educational structure. We then examined the connections between the CLIL method and plurilingualism in order to combine the two to offer a well-rounded English language education proposal best suited to the country. Following our proposal including how to incorporate English as a main language throughout primary school and secondary school, we will summarize our conclusions.

ENGLISH AS THE NEW GLOBAL LANGUAGE

Many might wonder why we are proposing to introduce English as a principal language into the Andorran educational system when students are already exposed to three different languages during their schooling and graduate being tri-lingual. The truth is whether we like it or not, English has blossomed into becoming the lingua franca of European communications and dealings. While being plurilingual continues to be extremely valuable and key to creating real, true and deep cultural awareness and relationships, the truth is that the ability to speak English has now become a necessity. Johnson (2009) pointed out that The Economist now considers English to be ¨a basic skill of modern life comparable with the ability to drive a car or use a personal computer¨ (p. 133). The English language has become very powerful as it is now used by businesses and organizations all over the world and many people have either consciously or unconsciously accepted it as the global language. The effects of this new ¨Global English¨ can now be seen not only in businesses, universities and international organizations, but also in window shops and on the radio. The English language´s association with being popular and hip has resulted in English being used across the world in advertisements and logos. As you walk the streets of Andorra, you can look in window shops and see shirts with English sayings such as the newly popular expression ¨Keep Calm¨. As you peruse the classifieds, you see the majority of jobs asking for candidates with English speaking ability. This does not only affect the upper middle class citizens who wish to attain management positions, it also affects blue-collar workers as you can see job offers for shop attendants, Information Technology technicians, receptionists and waiters requiring English proficiency as well.   While, English is taught in the Andorran school system as a foreign language, students do not graduate with a sufficient level. As part of our research regarding the current status of English language instruction within the Andorran primary schools, we conducted an interview with the Director of Studies of the primary school in Escaldes, David Barbosa. According to M. Barbosa, most students finish primary school with an elementary (A2) level in English comprehension and a beginner (A1) level in English expression. However, as he stated, this varies quite a bit amongst students depending on whether or not they also study English outside of school. A great number of students in Andorra go to after-school language academies in order to learn English. This is what originally brought my attention to the issue of a lack of English proficiency amongst Andorran students and the increasing need and demand for English in Andorra. During the research done for this proposal, we also interviewed Ester Vilarrubla, the director of the Andorran school system who agreed that the current level of English proficiency is not up to par. She also established during her interview that English proficiency is no longer optional in today´s world, but has instead become a requirement. Unfortunately, there is no set consensus on the current level of English proficiency among students as many students who are children of privileged families have the advantage of going to English classes after school from the time they are very young. Then on top of it, some also have the opportunity of studying abroad in an English-speaking country for a year or more during their high school years with some of them spending all or part of their summer vacation in English speaking countries. However, as confirmed during our interviews with Barbosa and Vilarrubla, we have observed that this is not an option for a great number of middle class families living in Andorra. As a consequence, students graduate with varying levels of English proficiency with the students who belong to wealthier families who can afford extra private English classes or immersion abroad generally graduating with a higher level. Unfortunately, this still leaves a great number of students whose families do not have the means to supplement their English language education at a great disadvantage as they finish their schooling with an insufficient level of English proficiency. English proficiency is now becoming a dividing factor within Andorra. While the official

language of Andorra is Catalan, the reality is that Andorra is a country largely comprised of immigrants with an economy that is essentially reliant upon tourism. As confirmed by Farràs (2003), who studied the sociolinguistic reality of Andorra, Andorra´s linguistic actuality is quite complex due to the fact that it is a landlocked microstate bordered by France and Spain and that its economy is largely dependent on the European Union and its member states. Furthermore, as a European country, Andorra has not been exempt from the effects of the new Global English reality. Andorran politics has already publicly demonstrated their acknowledgment of these effects when the previous Minister of Education, Roser Suñé, professed her opinion regarding the need to increase the level of English proficiency among Andorrans in 2013 and supported the future possibility of adapting the educational system as a way to adapt to a new reality in Andorra in response to the spread of English and its use. While some may argue that English will not remain the lingua franca for long, according to Johnson (2009), ¨no other language in recorded history has ever been spoken as widely as English¨ (p.143). English is seen by many as the ideal global language as it has a history of borrowing words from other languages and has demonstrated its ability to be a flexible language, not only due to the presence of its variants including American English, British English and Australian English, but also to its ability to create, accept, and put into use new words that have come along with the introduction of widespread technology. Unlike traditional languages, such as Latin or Greek, English has demonstrated its ability to adapt and spread across all of the continents. English is now the most commonly studied foreign language in Europe.

¨Some 380 million speak it as their first language and perhaps two-thirds as many again as their second. A billion are learning it, about a third of the world´s population are in some sense exposed to it and by 2050, it is predicted, half of the world will be more or less proficient in it. It is the language of globalization – of international business, politics and diplomacy¨ (Johnson, 2009, p.131).

As confirmed by Barbosa, English has now become the lingua franca in Europe, the majority of information available on the internet is in English, and in a world as globalized as today´s, English proficiency has become a necessity. ¨Today English enjoys a great popularity in Europe. According to the 2004 Eurobarometer survey, 75 percent of Europeans agree that English is the most useful language to learn and 69 percent believe that everyone in the EU should speak English¨ (Johnson, 2009, p.153). Many European countries, within and outside of the European Union, use it as a neutral language for communication while about 85 percent of international organizations use it as their official language. Unfortunately, those who do not obtain a sufficient level of English proficiency are at a disadvantage. While it may be unfair to require everyone to be proficient in English, it is the current reality here in Europe, and in Andorra. Students here in Andorra may actually be even more affected by the globalization of the English language than other students living in other parts of Europe since most students have to go outside of the country to attend university or have a wider variety of job opportunities (Barbosa, personal communication, 2017). Andorran students venturing out into France, Spain, or other European nations to continue their studies are going to encounter greater difficulties if they do not have a sufficient level of English proficiency. Many universities are now demanding English proficiency as a requirement to complete studies at their universities or to participate in the evergrowing Erasmus programs. Depending on the university program students choose, they might actually be required to pass the Cambridge First Certificate Exam in order to pursue their studies. This requirement for English proficiency does not only affect those who wish to go to university, but is also having an effect on the job market as ¨without a doubt, the playing field in Europe is tipped in favor of those who speak English. Salaries of non-English-speaking workers can lag as much as 25%-35% behind their English-speaking counterparts¨ (Johnson, 2009, p.155). Furthermore, the Andorran educational system plans to offer the International Baccalaureate (IB) Career Related Program (CP) and Diploma Program (DP) starting in 2018 and 2019 respectively, which will put additional pressure on students to have a decent command of the English language. The IB Diploma Program requires students to take English courses in which accuracy, clarity and fluency

are necessary, as students will need to be able to communicate and create a variety of text types in class.

The reality is that all students living in Andorra deserve to have the same opportunity to attain sufficient level of English proficiency regardless of their economic status if they wish to succeed in their future endeavors, whether it be university studies or entering the workforce. As proposed by Vez (2009), it is now necessary for states to consider that ¨… proficiency in English as a possible and reliable interlingua mediator and the equality of people´s linguistic identities will have to play equal parts in any multilingual education policy¨ and

¨Any policy which treats multilingualism as an ´either-or´ decision runs the risk of creating social exclusion either through cultural or political exclusion. To put the same thought in a positive way: sustainable cultural and political inclusion, which can lead to opportunities of participation in a multilingual Europe, requires a holistic language education policy inclusive of English and linguistic diversity¨ (p.21).

The Council of Europe correspondingly emphasizes that it is now vital for states to take into account national language requirements needed for economic and market purposes of the country. English has become a common means for communication and a necessary language to succeed in a state largely dependent on tourism and international relations with other countries. While it is admirable that Andorra has defended and supported their national language along with French and Spanish, it is now time to adjust to a rapidly globalizing world where technology and mobility no longer respect national borders. Just as Andorra adapted consciously and subconsciously to the wave of Spanish and French immigrants a few decades ago, Andorra will now have to do the same with English if the country wishes to continue to educate students who will continue to flourish in a rapidly changing world. Our proposal is not to introduce English into the Andorran education system and society as the language of identification of the people, just as it was not with French, but instead to introduce it as a language necessary for communication and intercultural awareness. Our goal is to create a plurilingual educational system that represents the reality of the presence of a new Global English in addition to the present linguistic diversity existing in the country.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

European Plurilingualism

First of all, we will deal with distinguishing between multilingual and plurilingual since many authors and articles use the two terms interchangeably. In this article, we will use the definitions of the terms proposed by the Council of Europe. The Council of Europe states that

¨plurilingualism is the ability to use more than one language- and accordingly sees languages from the standpoint of speakers and learners. Multilingualism on the other hand, refers to the presence of several languages in a given geographical area, regardless of those who speak them¨ (Beacco et al., 2016, p.20).

So, while we might talk about multilingual environments or educational systems, the preferred goal would be to support the development of plurilingual individuals since ¨plurilingual competence is defined as the ability to use a plural repertoire of linguistic and cultural resources to meet communication needs or interact with people from other backgrounds and contexts, and enrich that repertoire while doing so¨ (Beacco et al., p.20). Plurilingualism is not the sum of several monolingualisms in which each language is perfectly spoken, but completely separate. Plurilingualism is the ability to speak several languages and use your plurilingual repertoire in order to successfully

make use of cognitive strategies to make connections between languages in order to communicate effectively in more than one language and can allow individuals to have access to more knowledge and act as mediators within a multilingual and multicultural world.

As we can read in the Guide for the Development and Implementation of Curricula for Plurilingual and Intercultural Education, published by the Council of Europe in 2016, the ability to speak more than one language derived from plurilingual education provides many benefits to students growing up in a globalized world –

¨The characteristics of a plurilingual and intercultural curriculum derive from the values and principles on which this vision of education is based. Such curricula will enable every learner to maintain, recognise the value of and expand his or her language repertoire. This applies as much to learners who become plurilingual through schooling as to those who have other languages in their repertoire through their family background. Learners will gain by having the opportunity to utilise the resources of their initial repertoire, whatever it may be, to build the other language competences necessary for community living: in the first instance, the language of schooling, foreign languages and, in the case of learners who are plurilingual by origin, if they and/or their parents so wish, their first language (language of the home), whether it is a dialect, a regional or minority language or a migration language. Learners will derive benefit from being enabled to perceive the creative potential of every language, making it possible for them to create new linguistic forms and giving access to the world of the imagination. Lastly, they will be given the opportunity to acquire the resources needed for access to the specific textual genres – associated with social practices and other matters – which are essential to their academic success¨ (Beacco et al., 2016, p.16).

An educational system supporting plurilingualism will help produce students who will be prepared to participate more actively while giving them equal opportunities to thrive.　In order to foster the development of effective and successful plurilingualism, multilingual and plurilingual educational systems need to ensure that they are laying down the correct foundations for second language learning. The analytical report on multilingual education prepared for the European Commission by Herzog-Punzenberger, LePichon-Vorstman and Siarova in 2017 outlines seven separate points that are essential to second or additional language learning –　¨ >Conversational language proficiency is fundamentally different from academic language proficiency.　>Pupils must have access to comprehensible input that is just beyond their content　level of competence.　>Pupils must have opportunities to produce output for meaningful purposes. >Social interaction in which language learners actively participate fosters the development of conversational and academic language proficiency. >Second (additional) language learners with strong native language skills are more likely to achieve parity with monolingual peers than are those with weak first language skills. >A safe, welcoming classroom environment that minimises anxiety about performing in the school language is essential to learn. >Explicit attention to linguistic forms and function is crucial to academic language learning¨ (p. 54).

If the Andorra educational system wishes to continue to support a plurilingual education, then it should take the above points into consideration. The European Union has also touted its support of the importance and value of speaking more than one language as a way to boost communicative development and encourage intercultural dialogue (Herzog et al., 2017).　Another important point that should be taken into consideration regarding second or additional language learning is the matter of continuity. Anyone who has learned a second language has heard that if you do not use the language, you lose it. In order to successfully acquire and maintain a second language, it is essential to remain in contact with that language and continue to use it interactively and usefully. Everyone has also heard that the earlier you learn a language, the better. Most European countries, such as Finland and Sweden, introduce a foreign language between the ages of six and nine years old with 73 percent of primary

students learning English in 2009 (Delvin, 2015). Starting students off early with additional language learning is essential if we wish to encourage long-term successful second language proficiency in English and other languages as well. For our study, it is important to consider what competences the common European considers essential for students to develop and work on in order to become knowledgeable citizens of the world.

Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

The Common European Framework of reference for Languages (CEFRL) was put together by the Council of Europe as a guideline to be used for teaching, learning and assessing foreign languages throughout Europe and the world. The CEFRL is divided into six different reference levels ranging from beginner (A1) to mastery (C2). It is widely used throughout Europe in public institutions as well as private ones. The CEFRL is a comprehensive guide providing clear objectives with extensive descriptions in order to promote international cooperation and mobility. For this reason countries should take this guideline into consideration when developing language education programs. It is a flexible and easily understood way to organize language education into different internationally recognized levels and provides examples of real life tasks. The CEFRL can also be used as a tool for educational systems wishing to support multilingual/plurilingual education. The CEFRL provides those teaching additional languages with a common reference for evaluating the level and achievement of students learning foreign languages. While CEFRL descriptors provide a common set of terms and uniformity and can be used to establish goals, create assessments and monitor progress, they should be used flexibly to determine students´ overall language abilities since the majority of students listening comprehension, reading comprehension, writing skills and speaking skills vary from one to the other.

Content and Language Integrated Learning

For our research and ultimate educational proposal, it is important to take into consideration the advantages of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) as a valuable approach to language education. Considering the Council of Europe´s guidelines for successful plurilingual and additional language learning, CLIL is a practical and sustainable option for educational systems wishing to implement plurilingual/multilingual education. The CLIL methodology helps fulfill key competences set forth in the new European Framework such as the ability to communicate in a Foreign Language, develop Social and Civic Competence including preparing students for the workforce and intercultural realities, as well as helping students develop Cultural Awareness and Expression. CLIL is an educational methodology that calls for the integration of language teaching and content teaching in which teachers use a second (or third or fourth) language to teach content in order to bring language learning to new levels and cognitively challenge students. The CLIL method is used in many countries and is the most widespread language education method in Spain. ¨Global English¨ tends to dominate among CLIL programs although it has also been used to implement additional language learning of other languages. Students are required to use language in a natural way and cognitive development is promoted by allowing students to employ code-switching and translanguaging if necessary as effective communication is the goal. CLIL aims to not only help students learn an additional language, but also to learn content through different perspectives as each language provides its own perspectives. This approach to language learning allows students to develop strong fluency and expression skills while increasing their motivation and using language in a natural way. The CLIL method can actually be linked to the Natural Approach to language learning developed by Tracy Terrel and Stephen Krashen in 1977. The Natural Approach calls for the use of a variety of sources in order to provide comprehensible input and stresses the fact that mistakes are a natural part of learning. The CLIL method allows for both of these to take place in the classroom, as the focus is not on grammatical correctness, but instead on fluency, comprehension and production. Correspondingly, this methodology also takes many ideas from the Communicative Approach to language learning since

students are using language in the real world from day one seeing as they are using it to learn. Furthermore, CLIL´s focus on using language to understanding content share Vygotsky´s belief that meaning emerges from context. Students are associating language with the development of authentic learning. As pointed out by Vez (2009), in CLIL ¨it is not so much what we know but how we use it which is so important when we consider effective language learning and communication¨ (p.16). CLIL builds students confidence while developing a positive attitude towards languages particularly in young students who gain confidence as a result of being able to produce in a second language. The CLIL approach to language learning allows for students to cultivate a variety of language related skills. Students greatly improve their receptive skills as their listening skills greatly increase as a result of consistent exposure in the classroom. Students also learn to take risks in order to communicate without the fear of making mistakes, as they learn it is a natural occurrence and part of the learning process. Furthermore, this approach greatly increases students´ fluency since they are constantly having the need to express themselves orally in order to communicate with the teacher and classmates in class. The CLIL methodology does not only encourage the development of language skills, it also enhances problem solving skills as students become creative in finding ways to communicate when they do not know specific words that they are trying to use, which in turn also helps them to lose language inhibition and encourages them to express themselves freely. CLIL supports the use of authentic materials as well as a myriad of other resources available online in order to provide language support and help students construct meaning.

Making Connections

Contrary to traditional rigid immersion programs where students are just expected to ¨pick up¨ all aspects of the additional language; the CLIL method can be used as a complement to traditional language instruction in order to help students make connections across different subject areas. The expectation would be for subject area teachers and language teachers to cooperate and work together in order for students to learn more about pragmatic and linguistic conventions in their language class that would help them to assimilate all of the language structures that they are exposed to in their CLIL classes employing second languages. Marsh and Frigols Martín (2012) point out that ¨CLIL is a form of language learning, but it is rarely a form of language teaching. Language teaching definitely plays a role, but it has to be done in conjunction with authentic teaching and learning¨ (p.4). This fusion of content learning through a second language and more traditional language can truly bring language learning to new levels. In this way, assimilation of language as well as content are both stimulated using various techniques and resources.   This type of teaching combines the communicative and natural approach with a concept-based approach that involves metalinguistic reflection and helps students learn both meaning and form. The Guide published by the Council of Europe confirms the significance of promoting trans-disciplinary connections when it states that ¨the central element in plurilingual and intercultural education is, on the one hand, establishing cross-cutting links between language taught as subjects and, on the other, establishing these links between the teaching of these languages and that of other subjects¨ (Beacco et al., 2016, p.93). Combining the CLIL methodology of using a secondary language to teach different subject areas with the support of traditional language classes not only ensures that students will gain a higher proficiency in the language, but will also be cognitively challenged as it also supports competence based learning and academic development.

CURRENT ANDORRAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

As mentioned earlier, there are three different national systems that are available to Andorran citizens; however, here we will be focusing on the Andorran national educational system. The Andorran educational system is quite unique as it includes three languages as vehicular languages.

Andorra´s official language is Catalan; however, due to the fact that it is a co-principality with one of the co-princes being the Bishop of Urgell from Spain and the other the President of France, Spanish and French are widely spoken and recognized. After studying the sociolinguistic reality of Andorra, Farràs (2003) concluded that ¨la societat andorrana té alhora un grau molt elevat de plurilingüisme a la llar, escola, carrer, comerç, mitjans de comunicació, a la vida social i actius de socialització¨ (p.7) translated as ¨Andorran society currently has a high degree of plurilingualism in the home, school, street, commerce, modes of communication, within the social life and active socialization¨. As a result of this plurilingual reality, the Andorran school system decided to place an important focus on the development of students´ linguistic abilities focusing on Catalan, French and Spanish.   In the Andorran school system, primary school focuses mainly on Catalan and French. In every primary classroom, there are two teachers present, one who speaks in Catalan and the other in French. In this way, students are exposed to both languages from the beginning of their mandatory schooling. The reason that they chose to focus on French and Catalan is because most students are widely exposed to Spanish outside of school as forty percent of immigrant residents come from Spain (Govern d´Andorra, 2015). The Spanish language is widespread in social situations and media as the majority of films shown at the movie theater are aired in Spanish (Marquet, 1997). Most students are exposed to Spanish either at home, with friends, at the movies, on television, or in the street. As students are pretty much guaranteed to being exposed to the Spanish language in some way outside of school, primary education focuses on providing students with a solid foundation in Catalan and French. Spanish is introduced as a separate subject class between the ages of ten and twelve in order to reinforce their knowledge and use of the language.   Students are not introduced to the English language until they are in the second cycle of primary school (ages eight to ten) when they begin to receive two sessions of approximately thirty to forty minutes per week focusing on using the English language to partake in oral activities (Marquet, 1997). Starting in secondary school, students begin to attend dedicated English classes, but the focus remains more basic compared to what they encounter in French, Spanish or Catalan classes.   Beginning in secondary school, different subjects are taught in different languages. The two main languages used for vehicular purposes are French and Catalan; however, some subjects can also be taught in Spanish depending on varying factors. Students also attend dedicated language classes for all three languages, French, Catalan and Spanish in order to learn how to appropriately use the language in academic situations and refine their knowledge of the three languages. Furthermore, students are also required to take English classes although English is not a vehicular language; students are introduced to English as a foreign language where the focus is primarily on learning English for daily situations (Marquet, 1997). Currently, students graduating from the Andorran school system graduate with very different levels of English proficiency (Vilarrubla, personal communication, 2017). This inconsistency comes as a result of an unequal amount of exposure amongst the students. Many children in Andorra attend afterschool English classes in order to improve their level; however, this is not something that is accessible to everyone. Furthermore, as mentioned above, it is also quite common for children of wealthier families to study abroad in an English speaking country for one year in order to also further their English knowledge and fluency. As a result, there is a wide disparity in the level of English proficiency among Andorran students. Due to the inequity in exposure among the four languages, the majority of students wind up with a strong foundation in the three Latin languages of the country, but with a weaker foundation of the English language.   Despite the Minister of Education in 2013, Roser Suñé, publicly stating that Andorra as a country needed to improve the level of English proficiency and confirming our argument that it is a language that is not present in the country, we can see how the current Minister of Education, Eric Jover, still refers to English as a secondary language in comparison to French, Spanish and Catalan (¨Educació Aposta per l´Anglès¨ 2013 and Consell General d´Andorra, 2017). Back in 2013, Suñé announced that she supported introducing English as a vehicular language as a way to improve the level of English proficiency in the country, and Eric Jover also supported that idea; however, despite the ministry declaring that they were looking into the English level of actual personnel and considering what type of training would need to be done, they have had yet to discuss any concrete

plans as to how, when or if they would actually implement the idea. The ministry has passed the last couple of years focusing on implementing and adapting to its new methodology, PERMSEA, which we will discuss further on, and on its project to incorporate the IB DP starting in 2019, and seems to have placed planning how to implement the idea of English as a vehicular language on the backburner. The Andorran educational system currently employs the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFRL) in order to assess language proficiency. While Barbosa, the head of studies at one of the primary schools in Andorra, believes that most students finish primary school with a level of English proficiency between the A1 and A2 levels (according to the CEFRL), he does believe that it would be beneficial to students for them to graduate school with a higher level of English proficiency as English has not only become the lingua franca, but also, most students need to leave Andorra to pursue higher education or career opportunities where they are faced with the increasing need of being fluent in English. While students are required to have a B1 level in Catalan, Spanish and French in order to attend batxillerat, optional high school for students aged 16 to 18 years old, they are only required to have an A2 level in English, which is still considered as only basic knowledge of daily English (Govern d´Andorra Website). Vilarrubla, the director of the Andorran school, also agrees that the level of English instruction and proficiency among Andorran students is not up to par as of now. The Ministry of Education seems to be open and aware of the new reality regarding the ever-growing need for English and is inclined to find a way in the nearby future to put more emphasis on students learning the English language. While students are graduating as proficient trilinguals in Catalan, French and Spanish, unfortunately, a great number of students are still graduating secondary school with an insufficient level of English proficiency.

INNOVATION PROPOSAL

English as A Primary Language

In order to address the current issue regarding the necessity of increased English proficiency among students living and studying in Andorra, the proposal is to include English as a principal vehicular language starting in primary school. Introducing the English language in this way would not only ensure that students improve their English level, but would also help students learn to recognize the value of languages while establishing links between languages as school subjects with their active use in learning content matter. In this proposal, students would continue to attend English language classes to reinforce pragmatic and linguistic conventions and rules that are different from the other languages of schooling while at the same time being required to actively use the language in other subjects. This also helps to support the need of students to have a balance between guided learning and autonomous learning in order to fully assimilate concepts. This is in line with the method that the Andorran educational system is currently using regarding French, Spanish and Catalan language education. Students would begin their significant exposure to the English language starting immediately in primary school because language exposure and experience for young children is optimal. It is important to consider students´ age and developmental stages when contemplating language instruction and introduction. Beacco et al. explain that ¨language education, at the stage when writing and reading abilities are developing, is decisive for subsequent schooling¨ (2016, p.83). Regular use and demonstration of students´ syntax, lexical and discourse abilities outside of the traditional language class reinforce the rules and norms of the language. The earlier students are exposed to a language in an authentic setting and are required to use it, the better they assimilate the ins and outs of the language. This type of education using the language as a vehicular language such as is done in CLIL along with traditional language classes promotes assimilation of a language using various techniques and resources, which is not the situation regarding English language education in Andorra at the moment.   As is observable by the current level of English proficiency among Andorran students and the information gathered in the interview with the director of the Andorran school, the current system of English language education where students simply attend traditional English language

classes is not sufficient if we wish for students to graduate from the system with sufficient fluency in English in order to pursue higher education opportunities or careers where English is now a prerequisite. If we want a different outcome, we need to change the current way of teaching English in the Andorran schools. Many students easily get bored in traditional language classrooms reading about the traditional made-up situations in the airport, at the restaurant or in the supermarket. This proposal of teaching English through a combination of CLIL with the support of a traditional English class would allow students to learn the structures and conventions necessary to properly express oneself while motivating the student to use the language in an authentic and motivating setting. In this way, students´ need for a higher level of English proficiency would be addressed while supporting a focus on competence based learning allowing for much richer learning across the board. Continuity in language learning and education is essential starting from a young age if we wish for our students to develop fluency and confidence in the language. Language education is not only about learning a language; it is about using it and maintaining it as well.

Primary School

Introduction of a foreign language as a principal vehicular language starting in primary school requires that some adjustments be made to the traditional way of teaching. Children will be acquiring competence in more than one language through exploration and learning. It is important to consider that during children´s primary school years, teachers who are instructing in a non-native language, in this case English, need to learn to accept silence from students as this is one of the ways that young learners first respond to information being given in a foreign language. Teachers will need to use a variety of resources in order to address students´ needs at this age and stage of language development. It is vital for teachers to introduce a great amount of visuals, body gestures and role-play activities. Teachers are encouraged to use a wide variety of multimedia resources and to encourage learning and participation through play and immersion (Beacco et al., 2016). By doing this with all of the languages of instruction, students will start to develop the ability to receive and give information in more than one language. The primary school years will be the years when students will discover the different functions of a language. Students should learn the importance of listening attentively as this will help understanding and later production of the language. Through listening, students will also learn the different sounds associated with the different languages while also developing the ability to use different metalinguistic knowledge, tools and resources. In order for students to develop these linguistic abilities, it is vital that teachers help them learn the value of keeping records – writing down new vocabulary, new phrases etc. In this way, students also learn how to make comparisons between languages and make use of their multilingual repertoire. Through the use of various scaffolding strategies such as, flashcards, highlighted texts and nonverbal language, students begin to acquire the language and subsequently become comfortable enough to use it in the subject classroom in an authentic way. This consistent and authentic exposure and use of the language throughout primary school successfully sets students up to be able to effectively use the language to communicate and learn. However, at this stage students are just beginning the process of becoming proficient users of the language. It is important to continue the process throughout their schooling beyond primary school. In the case of the Andorran school system, they are already using this strategy with the French language by placing two teachers in the classroom at all times, one using the Catalan language, and the other, French. They could adapt the current situation by incorporating a system where the second teacher who instructs in French switches to English in the afternoons. In this way, students would continue to receive exposure to the French language, but would also now be receiving authentic and valuable exposure to the English language starting at an early age when they are most receptive and engaging in active discovery of new language expression.
Secondary School

In Secondary school, it is essential to set students up for their professional and educational future. As subject autonomy increases, continuity in language teaching is fundamental in order for students to maintain their language comprehension and production abilities as well as to build upon them in order to increase their proficiency. During secondary school years, students will acquire more specific vocabulary and higher-level metalinguistic skills as a result of content rich material within their CLIL classes. According to Beacco et al.,

¨Preparation for activities involving mediation, interpretation and evaluation of texts and documents of various kinds is the most important thing that experiential curricula should cover at these stages in schooling. These activities are focused on school and ´academic´ genres, but are also socially relevant in the outside world. Reflexive, metalinguistic activities also increase at this point, as does- above all in certain streams – exposure to textual genres connected with technical and pre-vocational practices¨ (2016, p.85).

As students would acquire these higher level language and critical thinking skills during their subject classes, they would continue to learn about more intricate grammar conventions in their targeted language class.   Our proposal is to continue using the current system where certain subjects are taught in Catalan and others in French, but to alter it by changing the language of instruction to English for a few of these subjects. In this way, it would be a rather smooth transition without requiring a huge overhaul of the Andorran educational system already in place.   During their secondary school years, we need to ensure that students are acquiring the linguistic competences that they will need later on in higher education or in the job market. Students should learn how to participate in mediation activities using the language as well as increase their language repertoire. Students should also develop reading comprehension abilities across a wide variety of texts. As they become more familiar with academic use of the language at this level, they should also develop the ability to use various grammatical structures. Furthermore, in secondary school, students should be able to consciously switch between different languages and use the languages to communicate socially on an individual basis as well as to do group work in class. It is also beneficial to show and teach students how to use resources in and out of school in order to help them understand certain language aspects or vocabulary if necessary. This way we are ensuring that they will continue to grow linguistically on their own. All of these skills are meant to successfully prepare students for situations that they will encounter once they graduate. This rich and extensive English language exposure and education throughout all their years of schooling from primary school up through secondary school will help Andorran students become proficient and confident in the English language, which will in turn benefit them as they continue their studies or enter the workforce in a world where English has widely become the lingua franca throughout Europe.

Appropriateness, Benefits and Challenges of Proposal

While there are many different models of language education nowadays, the reason we chose to focus on using CLIL with a combination of traditional language subject classes is because of the ease of its implementation due to its similarities with the existing Andorran educational system and its linguistic and metacognitive benefits. The Andorran educational system recently underwent a methodological renovation by implementing a new methodology they refer to as Pla Estratègic de Renovació i Millora del Sistema Educatiu Andorrà (PERMSEA) whose focus is on developing competences. One of the competences the Andorran school aims to develop is the plurilingual communicative competence. The system ensures this by reinforcing the use and instruction of Catalan, Spanish and French in the aforementioned way by using Catalan and French as vehicular languages and providing dedicated language subject classes. However, as mentioned earlier, they fail to provide as strong an emphasis on the English language within this plurilingual communicative competence aim.   By incorporating English as a primary vehicular language starting in primary school, we would be in line with the Andorran Ministry of Education´s belief that ¨es tracta que l´alumne visqui experiències

comunicatives tan variades com sigui possible i que l´orientin en l´ús adecuat i correcte de la llengua en la diversitat de modalitats, formats i suports en què es pot presentar¨ (Ministeri d´Educació, 2015, p.20) translated as ¨ The aim is that the student lives communication experiences as varied as possible that guide him in the adequate and correct use of the language in the diversity of modalities, formats and supports in which he might face¨. Currently, students within the Andorran school system are only experiencing a limited amount of communication experiences dealing with the English language since students are only exposed to it in their dedicated English subject classes; however, our proposal would solve this issue. Furthermore, the Andorran Ministry of Education clearly states that ¨per tant, el plantejament metodològic per a l´aprenentatge de les llengües i la competència comunicativa no és contingut d´aprenentatge exclusiu de l´àrea de llengües sinó que és responsabilitat de totes les disciplines i de tots els espais d´aprenentatge, i compartit per tots el docents que hi intervenen¨ (Ministeri d´Educació, 2015) translated as ¨Therefore, the methodological approach to language learning and communicative competence is not the exclusive learning content of the area of languages, but is the responsibility of all disciplines and learning spaces, and shared by all of the teachers involved ¨. In order to truly support this belief stated by the ministry regarding their new education methodology, an adjustment such as the one proposed here needs to be made regarding the current instruction of the English language within Andorran schools. Incorporating English as a vehicular language starting in primary school using the CLIL method is an effective way to respond to the problem regarding the lack of English fluency amongst graduating students as well as achieve the goals outlined by the new Andorran educational methodological approach.   The director of the Andorran educational system, Vilarrubla, confirmed during our interview that she does not believe that it would be necessary to change the new Andorran educational curriculum in order to incorporate English as a primary language, that it would just be a matter of changing the language of instruction and materials. In this way, using our proposed method of English language incorporation would be a seamless transition. Vilarrubla did not believe that it would have a negative effect on the current system.   However, it is important to state that there are some challenges to incorporating English as a primary language of instruction in a country where many of the current teachers are not fluent in the English language. Vilarrubla stated that the ministry has been doing some research on the current level of English proficiency among present teachers and seeing that there is a need for them to learn English, the Ministry of Education is now offering teachers the possibility to take English classes. While, she did not comment on the percentage of teachers who might have the ability to teach in English, she did mention that language training would be necessary if they were to implement our proposal. Vilarrubla argued that the teachers in Andorra are already used to scaffolding since they have been dealing with teaching in more than one language; however, we still believe that because the English language comes from a different language family and background than the other three languages currently emphasized within the school, teachers instructing in English would still need to receive some linguistic training. During our interview with Barbosa, he also confirmed that he believed teachers would need to receive training to learn how to teach content through the English language. There are not as many similarities between English and the other three languages, which are all Latin languages that the students are actively exposed to in and out of school. It is natural for the students to struggle more to understand and adapt to the English language requiring more scaffolding than previously done with Spanish, French or Catalan.   Teachers would need to increase their scaffolding techniques while adding resources in order to not diminish the level of content in the different areas. It would be beneficial for educators involved in teaching subjects in English or teaching English language class to undergo training focused on the language acquisition process, the ability to transfer strategies from one language to another, grammar learning and team collaboration among content instructors and language teachers (Beacco et al., 2016). While previously teachers needed to focus on transmitting information, the incorporation of English as a primary language would force teachers to focus more on understanding and assimilation. As stated by Marsh and Frigols Martín (2012),

¨Since the objective is that the content of non-linguistic material is conveyed in a secondlanguage, the main work rests on the shoulders of teachers of non-linguistic areas, although that is not to say that teachers of linguistic areas play a secondary role given that, as well as having to achieve their own curricular objectives, they have to reinforce and consolidate the assimilation of the academic contents taught in the second language¨ (pp. 35-36).

Therefore, it is essential for team collaboration amongst all teachers involved.   There are a few different training options to ensure that the teachers affected by the incorporation of English as a primary language be prepared for the realities of the project. Teachers expected to partake in the project could attend or learn from trainings offered by different entities including the Passe-Partout project from Germany which offers different principles and references for initial and in-service training or the book by the Austrian Ministry, Framework Model For Basic Competences For Language Education For All Teaching Staff. Schools throughout the Madrid region of Spain employ the CLIL strategy using English as a vehicular language, and it would be extremely valuable if teachers new to using English as a vehicular language could visit these schools and receive training in order to see the proposal in effect. This type of training and preparation would be vital if we wish for teachers to successfully implement the proposal since

¨The greatest challenge that faces teachers of non-linguistic areas is the change in favour of a methodology that emphasizes the use of activities that promote the linguistic competence of students with a communicative end goal, and whose objective is not to teach ´things´ but to teach to understand, retain and to use¨ (Pavón Vásquez, 2010, p.37).

It is not sufficient to provide teachers with English language classes in order to improve their level of English, it is also necessary to show teachers the realities of teaching in a second language in which students are not exposed to on a regular basis outside of the school setting in order for teachers to acquire the necessary skills to become linguistically sensitive.

CONCLUSION

After having analyzed the important role the English language is playing in a modernizing global world with an increase in mobility among people across countries whose international economies are progressively more interdependent, we can see how important it is to provide students with a solid foundation in the English language if they wish to be competitive in today´s global market and have a larger range of possibilities. Andorran students with an insufficient level of English proficiency will encounter difficulties should they wish to pursue the IB DP that the Andorran educational system will be offering starting in 2019, study abroad, go to university or establish valuable networking connections in this globalizing world. As confirmed by Phillipson (2003), ¨for the majority, lack of proficiency in English closes doors¨ (p. 7). Nations need to find a way to offer educational policy and schooling that balance between providing language education in local languages as well as English in order to provide their students with a powerful linguistic tool, being the ability to speak English, which will in turn benefit them at the time of entering higher education or the business world. While some may think it is unfair that our ability to communicate in English should play a role in our educational and professional prospects, it is a reality, and therefore, we need to ensure that we provide all of our students with the same opportunities to acquire this vital skill.   Unfortunately, as we have pointed out throughout this paper, many students graduating from the Andorran educational system are not proficient in English. The ministry of education has identified the need for an increased focus on students gaining a higher level in English proficiency; however, as of now they have yet to make public any solid plans on how or when they plan to attack the problem. As an English teacher within the system, I have been able to notice first-hand the students´ lack of English language proficiency especially in comparison to the other three languages present within the school system. While the

other languages, French, Catalan and Spanish are used as vehicular languages; the English language is still introduced as a foreign language with students receiving significantly less exposure to the language in and out of school. One of the consequences of this lack of English proficiency among the population has been the increasing presence of language academies offering private English classes to students and employees of large enterprises such as Andorra Telecom or government entities such as Andorra Turisme. However, not every family can afford to send their child to private English classes, which results in a great imbalance in English language competence among the students. We believe that all students regardless of their economic status should be afforded the same opportunity to develop a sufficient level of English proficiency to be able to compete in a country where English proficiency is increasingly in demand.   After having reviewed various literature regarding multilingual education and plurilingualism and taken into account the current methodology used by the Andorran educational system, we decided to focus in on the CLIL methodology as a way to incorporate the English language into the system in an efficient manner as a way to approach the problem of the reality regarding the lack of English proficiency among Andorran school students. Our proposal presented how we propose to incorporate the English language as a principal language starting in primary school and continue its use throughout secondary school. While we also discussed the possible challenges that would accompany the change such as teacher training, including the English language as a primary language starting at an early age would provide students with opportunity to develop the English fluency they now need in order to have a wider range of opportunities when contemplating higher education or career possibilities.

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ANNEXES

Interview with Ester Vilarrubla, Director of the Andorran School System   - June 26, 2017

1. With what level of English do most students graduate? (Amb quin nivell d´anglès es graduen els estudiants de l´escola andorrana?)

Students graduate with a very mixed level. It is not uniform right now because of language academies and students whose parents can afford to send their children to go abroad to English speaking countries to study for the summer or year.

2. Do you think Andorra should take into account and adhere to the European Union´s Commission framework for multilingualism encouraging students to learn and speak more languages? (Creu que Andorra hauria de tenir en compte i adherir-se al marc de la Comissió de la Unió Europea per al multilingüisme encoratjant als estudiants a aprendre i parlar més idiomes?)

We already do. We adhere to this principle. One of the principles of the Andorran educational system is to suport and encourage multilingualism regardless of the European Union´s policy. If it meets it, then great.

3. What does the Andorran system currently refer to for assessment of languages? The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages? (Actualment el sistema andorrà quin criteri segueix per a l´avaluació de les llengües? El marc comú europeu de referència per a les llengües?)

Yes, that is the one we use.

4. What language of instruction has been chosen for the IB DP School that will be implemented? (Quina llengua oficial ha estat escollida per a l´escola IB DP que s´implementarà?)

Final decisions have not been made yet. We know that Catalan and English will not be optional. Spanish and French will be optional languages. However, we have not decided what the languages of instruction will be, but students will have to either do their final project in English or present it in English. The IB Career Related Program is set for September 2018 and the IB Diploma Program for September 2019.

5. How will teacher training be dealt with? (Com es durà a terme la formació del professorat?)

Teachers will attend IB workshops that will take place here or they will be sent abroad, perhaps to Spain to attend the workshops.

6. Where do you get/will you get resources and materials? Do you create your own?   (D'on obteniu/obtindreu recursos i materials? Creareu el vostre propi?)

Andorra creates their own materials. Once we begin the IB, we will also refer to the resources available in the IB´s online OCC website.

7. What do you think is the most effective method for successful language assimilation? CLIL? (Quin creu que és el mètode més eficaç per a l´assimilació d´idiomes amb èxit? CLIL?)

A combination of formal language teaching and content teaching. The idea would be to be able to have the possibility of having subjects taught in English in the future. Teachers from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology will come for a few weeks in January 2018 to help with certain subjects.

8. Do you agree that English has become the language of international business, tourism and politics and is required if one wants to have a competitive edge in today´s world?   (Està d'acord amb que l'anglès s´ha convertit en l'idioma dels negocis internacionals, la política i el turisme i que és necessari si volem tenir un avantatge competitiu en el món actual?)

This is obvious. English is now a requirement; it is no longer optional and the current level of English is not up to par.

9. Do you agree that it would be useful for students to graduate with a higher level of English than they have now? (Està d'acord amb que seria útil que els estudiants es graduessin amb un nivell superior d´anglès del que tenen ara?)

Absolutely, they need to.
10. Do you think that Andorra could implement a new curriculum with English as one of the primary languages starting in primary school? (Creu que Andorra podria implementar un nou currículum amb l'anglès com un dels idiomes principals que comenci a l´escola primària?)

I do not think it would be necessary to change the curriculum; we would just have to change the language of instruction and materials. The teachers are used to scaffolding since they have been teaching in various languages for years now.

11. How would this affect the school system? Teachers? Planning time? Resources? Methodology? (Com afectaria això al sistema escolar? I als mestres? I en temps de planificació? I en recursos? I en metodologia?)

The biggest thing would be training, not really in terms of planning since we do not have to change the material, only the language. We are doing research regarding the level of English among the teachers. They have to learn English and already have the possibility to take English classes.

        Interview with David Barbosa, Head of Studies of the Andorran primary school in Escaldes   - July 5, 2017

1- How long have you been the principal of the Primary Andorran school in Escaldes-Engordany? (Quant de temps ha estat com a cap d´estudis de l´escola andorrana primària d´Ecaldes-Engordany?)
 It has been 10 years and I will soon start my 11th school year. Before this, I was a French teacher for eight years.

2- What level of English would you say that most of your students have at the end of primary school? (Quin nivel d´anglès diria que la majoria dels estudiants tenen al final de primaria?)

I think they have an A2 level more or less, but there is a very big difference among students. Some of them take extra English classes outside of school. However, in general, I would say they have an A2 level in terms of comprehension and A1 in terms of expression.

3- Would you say that all of the students have the same opportunities to learn English? (Diria que tots els estudiants tenen les mateixes oportunitats per aprendre anglès?)

Inside of school, yes, but outside of school, no. Not all of the families can afford to pay for their children to do extra English classes. It depends on the student.

4- Do you think your students struggle with multiple languages or do they seem to manage it quite well? (Creu que els vostres estudiants tenen difficultats per saber i treballar amb més d´un idioma o semblen gestionar-lo bastant bé?)

Catalan and French are the two vehicular languages and based on my experience, they seem to manage it very well.

5- Do you think that it would be beneficial for students to have a better level of English before they finish secondary school? (Creu que seria beneficiós que els estudiants tinguessin un millor nivell d´anglès abans d´acabar l´escola secundària?)

It would definitely be beneficial. I think there is a demand for English proficiency and that is why we need to improve our proficiency in the language. As a country we are missing sufficient contact with English. It is the lingua franca and it is necessary. All of the business meetings are held in English, and there is no doubt that we need English.

6- Have there been any plans made to institute English as a vehicular language? (Hi ha hagut plans per establir l´anglès com a llenguatge vehicular?)

In our school, we are trying to sometimes review some concepts that students already know in English. Maybe in the future, 2018-2019, English could enter in the second cycle of primary school.

7- What obstacles do you see? (Quins obstacles veu?)

Primary school would be relatively easy because the content is easier, but later would be a bigger problem.

8- Why do students need English nowadays?

(Per què els estudiants necessiten anglès avui en dia?)

Andorra lives off of tourism and the lingua franca is English. Seventy percent of information available on the internet is in English. In such a globalized world, many students have to go outside of Andorra to find work.

9- How would this, teaching content in English, affect the teachers/staff? (Com afectaria això als professors/personal?)

In primary school, it would not be a problem because the level of English could be obtained quickly; the problem in my opinion would be secondary school. I do not think it could be achieved as quickly as many think.

10- Would it be beneficial for the students especially considering the new IB CP and DP in 2018/2019 respectively? (Seria beneficiós per als estudiants, especialment tenint en compte els nous programes de IB CP i DP al 2018/2019 respectivament?)

Yes, absolutely.

11- How would you envision it? (Com s'ho imagina?)

I could see it happening in the near future, about three years from now. We have to train teachers first about how to teach content in a foreign language since I am not sure about their ability to do it at the moment. They would need more training. There are two obstacles, the level of English among the teachers and knowing how to teach content in a foreign language.

IOJPE

GLOBALIZATION, CULTURE AND EDUCATION IN SAMOA

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Abstract
The paper focuses on the impact of globalization on postcolonial Samoa's social, culture, and education. Due to the many global social, cultural, economical and educational changes, Samoa in the postcolonial era is currently in the process of recontextualising and restructuring Samoan cultural values to coincide with its social, cultural, economical and educational global changes. This recontextualising and restructuring is part of comprehending Samoa's hybrid social, cultural and education system in the current climate of transformation permeating Pacific nations. The colonial influence has continued to linger in post-colonised Samoa. These influences are reinvigorated by globalization which contributes to the social, cultural, and educational problems of Samoans. It then directs discussion on the transformation of Samoan cultural and social values to western ways of living, which also leads to problems in the lives of former colonized individuals. The argument put forward by this paper is that there has to be a constructive post-colonial Samoa education system embracing global changes, and people to be well versed in the essence of these changes.
Keywords: globalization, post-colonisation, colonisation**.**

Introduction

Globalization is a complex term that has a variety of meanings. Globalization is perceived as the cause of the spread of westernization and rapid vicissitudes in social, cultural, education and economic situations of individuals in former colonized nations and their environments. Celik and Gomleksiz (2000) refer to globalization as a '.... fashionable expression that opens all doors dealing with both past and future times' (p. 135). In essence, the term has come to be trendy transcending the bygones to merge with current opportunities in our cosmopolitan world. It is evident in education, economics, politics, society and all facets of life influencing mankind. Further, globalisation is like magic that welcomes all changes in its own ways, whether it is good or bad. Nations have taken on the armour of globalization as an antidote when problems encountered is perceived as insurmountable. Globalization as defined by others is to do with westernisation of small island communities (Razak, 2011). Similarly, Scholte (2000) and Schrottner (2010), both interpreted globalization as internationalisation and universalisation, which paves the way for developed nations to enter small island nations and developing countries. However, Tuia (2013) has argued that globalization is a form of change, revolutionising everything for better or worse and where cultural values of heterogeneous nations change to supplement western ideologies. As such the post-colonial era has contributed to the incorporation and acceptance of different value systems, and a way of life that demonstrate elements of universality in disparate systems.   In addition, life style that was based on Samoan traditional cultural context no longer exists and is replaced by western life styles formulated on western cultural values. Therefore, globalization fragmented Samoa and former colonised nations in terms of their organizational structures and relations to their social and cultural values. In fact, previously and currently, globalization will always be the center of western influence in many non-western societies, like Samoa. In essence, global influence is the reason for many western establishments now visible in island nations and developing states around the world.

This paper views globalization as a way for small island nations to learn more about the new social, cultural, economic, education and political developments of other countries, and all depends on how

nations and individuals perceive globalization in their own developments. Apparently nations will assess globalization from their particular context as people will define systemic changes as being influenced by the more powerful forces from outside. Vulnerable and small island nations believe there is very little they can do to deflect the fast paced transformation of traditional villages to modern societies. As Wulf and Merkel (2002) stated, "….globalization processes can be characterized by sets of tensions: the global and the local, the universal and the individual, the traditional and the modern" (p. 15), such tensions creates a wider educational, economical, social and cultural gap between under developed, developing and developed nations. Subsequently, societies fall into the trap of a dependency mindset which would run counter to growth and sustainable development. It also leads to the creation of misconceptions over national and international cultural values, while westernisation of traditions is a concern for most indigenous nations like Samoa. Consequently, the most affected areas are in social, cultural, education and economic contexts of developing and underdeveloped nations. Echoing Wulf and Merkel (2002), other tensions lie in the expansion of knowledge, economic competition and the issue of equal opportunities (p. 15). These tensions expand the gap between the rich and poor, such as better the education for those that can afford higher education in former colonized nations, while the children of the poor remain deprived and uneducated in a colonized society. Significantly, the culture, social, economic and education conditions in developing nations reveal inequalities between the rich and poor. As stated by Schrottner (2010) globalization '.... differentiate social phenomena' (p. 51) of individuals and 'shapes new systems' (p. 51) that suits their living situations. In reality then, individuals and nations change their social, cultural and educational characteristics based on their '.... globalized interaction' (Schrottner, 2010, p. 51). Samoa shares with the international community concerns about globalization that centers mainly on different 'areas of life' (Razak, 2011, p. 60), such as in education, social, cultural and economic situations of heterogeneous societies. Globalization is a multifaceted and intricate phenomenon, and as Razak (2011) reminds us globalization is happening and it is an "ongoing process" (p. 60). However, as an island nation with limited resources and mounting loans from world agency and donor nations, Samoa continues to associate with developed nations in the hope that they will infuse its economy with their expertise and project funding. It is a viable option for nations that work in close partnerships to benefit from such close associations. As argued by Razak (2011), '….globalization comes from the rich and affluent countries …. and less affluent countries are skeptical as to whether they can benefit from it' (p. 60). Hence, most former colonised individuals and nations doubt the credibility of these changes, whether they are beneficial and a blessing to numerous developments, or another alternative towards re-colonisation.

However, to counter such global changes and to ensure former colonised nations benefit from such transformation intentional decision making is pertinent. Through instilling relevant, contextual educational knowledge and skills to accommodate the new global changes, the unknown - is made known, and indistinct ideas and innovative techniques explained, clarified and demonstrated. I would argue that well-cultivated and debated knowledge and skills will elevate comprehensive ideas and strategies for individuals to deliberate, question and adjust to the new global changes. In so doing, primary, secondary and University education should be well equipped with the expert knowledge and skills for global changes to be well established and functional. Consequently, the problems encountered in today's education, social and cultural situations stem from Samoa's colonial past that infiltrated socialisation, culture, education and political affairs. In fact, colonisation originally initiated the transformation of many cultural values as a result of western influence to the extent that Samoans are now puzzled with its consequences. For instance, this is evident in children's and adults behaviors and attitudes that contradict Samoan cultural values. In fact, post-colonial Samoa is an era of recontextualising and restructuring of Samoan cultural values to coincide with the current social, cultural,

economic, and educational global changes, due to the many cultures, people, and languages that Samoa embraces. Therefore, such post-colonial social, cultural and educational practices rely heavily on an appropriate integration or mixing of culture, social and education ingredients to ensure a successful survival of diverse cultures in the former colonized society.

Colonisation and Post-colonisation

The German's colonial regime concentrated more on building its empire, while its colonized nations including Samoa, was struggling to meet their economic and political demands. In terms of education, the Germans did not pay much attention on educating Samoans as they were very busy organising people to work the lands to grow cocoa and coconut in return for wealth (Meleisea, 1987). During the German colonial power the German language as well as the Samoan language were taught for everyday communication (Meleisea, 1987). When Germany left, New Zealand took over after the WWI in 1914. It was the first time Samoans were introduced to major formal educational change. During New Zealand administration, Samoa went through major social, cultural, education and political reforms regarding Samoans life styles. Samoan cultural values were mostly affected by these colonial changes and all Samoans have adapted and assimilated to accommodate colonial rules and demands in every aspect of life (Boon, Lafotanoa, Soo & Vaa, 2006). During the transformation process, Samoans were very busy trying to do well in the white man's education system. Samoan parents also mimicked their European and half-caste counterparts, adopting values such as the importance of being well educated and proficiency in the English language. In so doing, Samoan parents encouraged and motivated their children to do well as a means of getting a better future and being a blessing to the whole family (Tuia, 2013).

Education is a major colonial influence on the Samoans and many parents persevere to give their children a good education as an investment for the individual, family, the church and nation. Samoans pursuit of education is a legacy from the past and the advent of formal school, which is perceived as opening further opportunities for personal enhancement. Inadvertently, the global changes Samoa experienced meant the role of education in the western world was duplicated in the small island nation. It also marked the era where western knowledge and lifestyle were assimilated into the school system. This blend has not been without problems as cultural values and norms have been severely tested.

During colonisation and post colonisation, Samoan children in the early 60s and late 70s were untried in modern technology, such as computers, ipad, tv and readings from the library. The advents of these gadgets in homes and schools have had a huge influence on children's overall development exposing them to a whole new world out there. There is no denying children in this modern era have surpassed their parents in terms of knowledge gleaned from surfing the internet and the exposure en masse to a continuous supply of books. Further, children misbehaved in the classroom and families are somewhat associated with western values and ideas that are unfamiliar with the Samoan culture and customary way of living. Presumably, children engrossed in what is they find interesting and absorbing would not go well with parenting styles that expect them to drop everything and attend to what the elders want. In post-colonial Samoan many have adopted western lifestyles, such as children attending private schools as well as additional tutoring after schools. Allowing Samoans to re-examine its Samoan cultural values, and ways of living coincided with the introduction of western resources and materials through the 'space' or 'Other' as argued by Gayatri Spivak (2003), Bhabha (1994), Frantz Fanon (1967) and Edward Said (1978), as a 'space' for the 'Other' to speak on the rectification of cultural, social, and educational values based on the interests and needs of the country.

Post-colonisation is a period for former colonized indigenous citizens to reorganise their cultural, social, education and political values and beliefs to concur with people's interest, needs and desires. Said (2005) referred to post-colonisation as the time for former colonized nations to speak out through post-colonial discourses, by reinstating what is right and demand justice to the Orient. This can be done through readjusting and rectifying false cultural, social and education interpretations of the Orient by western colonizers. Hamadi (2014) echoed Said's argument on post-colonisation that "the powerful coloniser has imposed a language and a culture, whereas those of the Oriental peoples have been ignored or distorted" (p. 39). The Orient like Samoans have been socially, culturally and educationally marginalized and they were easily manipulated because of their military and political weaknesses, which allowed the colonizers the colonial jurisdiction over their human rights. Olsson (2010), "…. claims that post-colonial theory is always concerned with the positive and the negative effects of the mixing of peoples and cultures" (p. 4). Similar process have taken place in Pacific countries where colonizers domination over vulnerable island nations is also a subtle colonial tactic to invade their lands and strip them of their rights by raping their inner soul, such as their cultural values, which is what they live for. It is their identity, which has now been fabricated into something that may look similar to their own but is socially, culturally, educationally and politically different. Hamadi (2014) argued that "the Western fabricated image of the Orient was a preface and a reinforcement of the Western imperial rule over the Orient" (p. 41). It is in this study that the hybrid space created and defended by Bhabha (1994), advocated and utilised by Frantz Fanon (1967) and Gayatri Spivak (2003) was highly vital to that of the Orient in the academic post-colonial battle. Further, Tibile (2012) extended support to Bhabha's (1994) hybrid space as a reflection of the 'colonized people's ways to resist the power of the colonizer' (Tibile, 2012, p. 2). Therefore, this hybrid space provides the allegedly inferior and disadvantaged groups knowledge and skills to enable them to confront the colonizer. Further attempts to understand and become attune to the colonizers world require breathing space for reflection. This practice is not new and Samoans have used it to their advantage such as retreating during difficult discussions to recoup and return energized and with a clearer vision on how to move forward. For Samoans, instead of full conversion of Samoan cultural and social ways of life to traditional Samoan it was pertinent for Samoans to advocate for this hybridizing space for survival, particularly if the colonized intended to revive the essence of Samoan social, cultural and educational values. In effect, this hybrid space will assist the former colonised to refurbish their values based on their social, culture and education interests and needs. More importantly, Samoans had to acquire western knowledge and skills in different aspects of life, its post-colonial aims as a former colonized nations was for individuals to take control of their own social, cultural, education and economic organisation and practices. As Ghandi (1998) reminded "we want the English rule without the Englishman. You want the tiger's nature but not the tiger … the only way forward, accordingly, is to render the tiger undesirable" (p. 21), in fact, it is the desire for freedom and to be independent from the former colonial rule.

Hybridity is a concept used by post-colonial authors to describe and clarify the mixture of two or more cultures in a singular place. Subsequently, hybridity is more of a post-colonial response to former colonial domination and also a form of resistance in post-colonisation. Hybridity is a term coined by post-colonial writers, such as Bhabha (1994) as a way to describe the mixing of two substances, to develop a new life that inherits both characteristics, but none looks similar to any of the two substances. For Yazdiha (2010), "hybridity arose out of the culturally internalized interactions between "colonizers" and "the colonized" and the dichotomous formation of these identities" (p. 31). As argued by Bhabha, (1994) and Joseph, (1999) "hybridity has been characterized as a subversion of political and cultural domination" (cited in Kraidy, 2005, p. 2), of the coloniser. Hybridity as defined by Kraidy "refers mostly to culture but retains residual meanings related to the three interconnected realms of race, language, and ethnicity"

(Kraidy, 2005, pps. 1-2). Similarly in the situations of Samoan people, the cultural system remain in its whole structure, but its organisation and practices change to suit contemporary ideas and beliefs. Yazdiha (2010) further elaborated that, 'theories of hybridity, clarify the shifting and indefinite nature of culture and can serve as a tool' (p. 31) to strengthen former colonized nations social, culture and education contribution into the development of this hybrid culture.

In post-colonial discourses, hybrid space allows the colonized individuals to mimic their western counterparts' language of speaking, social and cultural ideas. Unfortunately, post-colonial discourses claimed that there is always a problem with mimicking the coloniser's educational, social and cultural ways of doing things by the colonised. In effect, there will always be an 'ambivalent' between the former and the latter. In fact, any 'mimicry' of the 'Other' (Westerner), will always be inconsistent (ambivalent), due to their differences in social, culture, education, language, skills and knowledge. Inadvertently, people have an inclination to emulate what is uncommon out of curiosity and interest. This takes the form of trying to impersonate what it means, feels and probably think like the other. For some it gradually becomes a way of appropriating knowledge, skills and values that they have assimilated. Becker (2009) puts forward a claim by Bhabha (1994) that "colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite" (p, 25). In former colonized nations "inferior" groups around the globe of indigenous and disadvantaged individuals attempt to improve this hybrid education system, by familiarising themselves with the language, ideas, thinking, and writing, yet not many succeed in this education system. Some are able to aspire to the colonial level, through knowledge and skills acquisition, but they are never free of such 'ambivalence' due to their differences. Rutherford (1990) further supports hybridity as an important entity that "bears the traces of those feelings and practices which inform it, just like a translation, so that hybridity puts together the traces of certain other meanings or discourses" (p. 211). However, as Rutherford postulates, hybridity provides the colonized with the opportunity to better themselves by acquiring the white man's knowledge and skills, as well as providing meanings to their everyday social, culture and education.

The mixing of the Samoan cultural values and ideas, customs, people and language, with incoming cultures problematise this hybrid culture system in Samoa. Inadvertently, Samoan culture in its flexibility and malleability has made it possible to overcome obstacles that could have ended in its demise. There is always a problem when one tries to take on a double persona, where the stronger partner takes advantage of the weaker one. It is also possible to advocate for a partnership in this hybrid space where depending on the context and the appropriate situation that calls for a clear demarcation of roles and responsibilities to ensure cultural values exist as part of western philosophies and framework. The nature of the fa'aSamoa (Samoan way) to accommodate changes while not losing its focus of cultural existence has been its stronghold. Currently, Samoan society is no longer a homogeneous society, with one culture, language and people dominating the everyday social, cultural and educational activities of society. In fact, Samoa today is cosmopolitan and includes many cultures, people and languages changing the social, culture and educational ways of doing things. This cultural transformation in Samoa is now known as the notion of hybridity, which describes the merging of two cultures, and as a result a new culture is born which looks neither one nor the other. This is the essence of the hybrid culture that now operates, coordinates and organises Samoa's post-colonial education system. Retrospectively, Samoan cultural values are no longer pure and contain outside influences that also reflect on how people deal with their cultural activities (Tuia, 2013). The merging of ethnic minority groups, western, and Samoan cultural values, ideas, customs, people, and language create hybrid Samoan way of life, currently lived and practiced by Samoans and other individuals in their everyday socialisation and cultural activities. For instance, the behaviours shown by Samoan children in the classroom is unacceptable in most Samoan

homes, and which, Samoans refer to as western behaviours where children speak out of turn or may even question someone in authority. However, post-colonial terms, such as 'Other', 'hybridity' and 'third space' are in place to clarify and reposition colonized nations' cultural, social and educational values in their rightful place in a post-colonial society, thus enabling survival in a heterogeneous world. For instance, third space represents the 'Other', that is the colonized, a space to fight, speak and write. In fact, the main focus of hybridity is to support the interests, needs and desires of the former colonized nations. Therefore, such post-colonial social, cultural and educational practices rely heavily on an appropriate integration or mixing of culture, social and education ingredients to ensure a successful survival of diverse cultures in the former colonized society.

Brief History of Samoan Culture and Education

The Samoan culture before European contact was mainly founded on its strong cultural values, beliefs and ideas. Samoan people spoke the same language; share the same values and beliefs without the interference of the outside world (Tuia, 2013., Vaa, 2006., and Malama, 1987). In addition, Samoan style of education was structured around the environment, where learning and teaching happened in everyday living, whether it was in the home, ocean, farm, social gatherings, village meetings or in cultural activities (Maiai, 1957 & Tuia, 2013 and 1999). For instance, children of all ages were to learn from observation and participation, and it continued throughout the years (Silipa, 2004). The youths or the taulelea (untitled young men), attended village gatherings while young females of the village, observed and modeled the role of the tamaitai (young women of the village).The taulelea served the fono a matai (meeting of chiefs), and when it is their turn, they will preside over village gatherings (Maiai, 1957).

The culture was Samoa's only guide in everyday living, whereby children, adults such as untitled young men, village tamaitai (females), matais and their wives followed the protocols of the faa-Samoa. Their values of reciprocity (fetausiai), sacred relationship (va tapuia), respect (faaaloalo), mutual respect *(*va fealoai*)* (Tuia, 2013, p. 9) were demonstrated in everyday cultural and social activities. The practice of respect in Samoa's cultural activities is usually known as service (tautua). This cultural practice is slowly eroding with Samoan assimilation to the global social, cultural, educational, economical and political changes.

During these cultural activities, such as funerals and weddings, families offer respect to distinguish guest/s with a 'sua' involving the bestowal of fine-mats, pigs, and tapa. For instance, a coconut is now replaced with a can of coke (western drink), while a chicken is replace with corn beef (western product) (Vaa, 2006). Although this transformation is the current cultural practice it continues to serve the purpose of respect and honour that this cultural practiced was known for in the past. Although it strengthens and consolidates the values of respect and honour as an important aspect of Samoan society, it has become costly, as its associated value to money increases. Currently, most families with low economical situations are finding it hard to keep up with this new cultural transformation, but it doesn't stop people from asking or giving what they perceived as the norm. These changes confirm that Samoan customs and cultural activities have changed. It is referred to as 'Tumau faavae ae sui faiga' and literally translated as the foundation remains but practices change (Tuia, 2013, and Vaa, 2006). Subsequently, in education, Samoans assume cultural values guide the education system, and its quintessence and significance remain vital in the post-colonial era (Tuia, 2013 & Afamasaga, 2006). Undoubtedly, there is the belief Samoans run the education system at the school level, ministry and at university and as such cultural values are deemed to be part of the package. However, the majority at university and the ministry have had overseas education and exposure limiting their peripheral vision to what they have learnt overseas. The application

of western philosophies and values into cultural epistemologies and belief systems remain a challenge. Furthermore, Samoan's cultural changes as stated above thus signify the notion of mimicry, which are shown through the western materials and objects used to replace Samoan objects. Although this is evident in cultural functions with the replacement of a cultural item with a western commodity as it is more cost effective, it does not detract from the process, style and conduct that attest to the Samoan approach of respect and reciprocity. Thus in postcolonial, Samoan adoption of the hybrid space revitalises Samoan social and cultural values, which is to lessen confusion and encourage restructuring for understanding.

Due to the rapid global movement, people of former colonized nations are unable to respond to these changes recurrently, because of the vulnerability in human and physical resources. Fundamentally, the loss of cultural values has played a significant role in the problems that children encounter at school. This is due to less recognition given to the Samoan cultural hybrid values situated in its culture, social and education activities. Therefore, it is necessary for Samoa to have a strong education system that accumulates the necessary global social, cultural, education and political ideas and knowledge for all to learn. There is a major attempt by teachers of all levels, primary and secondary, to infuse cultural ideas and local knowledge into productive lessons that incorporates the local context, practices and western knowledge for students to acquire.

Methodology

The study was directed by a qualitative scientific research methodology that required an investigation of text such as government documents, missionary writings and Samoan authors through the utilisation of interpretive methods and analysis to elucidate the views from texts and general observations. The texts included education publications, (MESC, 2006), archival missionary writings documenting Samoa from 1830 and before 1830 (Meleisea, 1987., Davidson, 1970 & 1967) and Samoans historians who have added to the work of others (Meleisea, 1987). Government documents contain significant information in relation to Samoa's education policy and the changes overtime. The history of Samoa written by missionaries before 1830 was recorded and collected from conversations with Samoans when they first arrived in 1830. The same information was also captured in the writings of local and western historians (Meleisea, 1987 & Davidson, 1970). Qualitative research methodology is utilized to comprehend the changes caused by globalization on education, from Samoa's post-colonial perspective. For instance, some of these educational changes were information that replaced or supplemented the existing curriculum to ensure information and examples were relevant to the context of Samoa, a change derived from globalization. Some of the recent education changes that took place in Samoa was the change from the scaling system to raw scores, the primary curriculum and extending teaching hours in schools Qualitative approach was also used to capture the global education, social and cultural problems that Samoa had gone through in the post-colonial era. In doing so, qualitative data was gleaned from the MESC documents, globalization and education theories, as well as situated readings of themes that included culture & heritage, art forms in oceania, issues of literacy & numeracy in schools. These themes characterized Samoan cultural values and values transformation as situated in different periods from colonisation to post-colonisation and globalization. The new Samoa in the global world demonstrates its association with the concepts of hybridity and mimicry. The study adopted a critical analysis approach, with an aim towards providing a social, cultural and educational framework critiquing and illustrating how globalization has changed Samoan cultural and social values and its impact on post-colonial education system in Samoa.

Effects of Globalization on Education in Samoa

Education is the backbone of any nation, it is a haven that houses and nurtures knowledge and skills into its specific area before transmitting to individuals in society.   "The vision of the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture for the period 2006 – 2015 is a holistic education system that recognizes and realizes the spiritual, cultural, intellectual and physical potential of all participants, enabling them to make fulfilling life choices" (United Nations Education, 2011, p. 1). These individuals with specific knowledge and skills will one day assist with the educational, political, social, cultural and economical developments of the nation. Forshay (1991) further explained that the purpose of education is to serve the "social needs, to contribute to the economy, to create an effective work force, to prepare students for a job or career to promote a particular social or political system" (p. 1). Others described education as a way of teaching "one to think intensively and to think critically" (Martin Luther King Jr., speech at Morehouse College 1948). It is vital that education should be seen as a living organism that provides energy to all its essential sections to flourish physically and psychologically. In essence, the future of any nation depends on its education system to produce a skillful, intelligent and capable workforce to ensure that all entities within the country are well nurtured and productive for the country to augment and embrace globalization in education, social, cultural, economic and political spheres.

The actual purpose of universal education is to strengthen and encourage "sustainable development and advancement of human welfare" (Okoli, 2012, p. 659), in any nation around the globe. Similarly to the purpose of education here in Samoa and abroad, education is seen as a driving force towards improving individuals well being in society, culture, economic and politics (Tuia, 2013). Further, education is the aspiration of many individuals in former colonized nations to grow physically, psychologically, educationally, economically and politically competent. "The Mission of the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture is mandated to promote quality and sustainable development in all aspects of education and culture to provide choices to everyone" (United Nation Education, 2011, p. 3). As Okoli (2012) argues, education serves the "nations from league to low to those of high level technology nations" (p. 659). However, the education systems of former colonized nations including Samoa cannot survive on their own, without the assistance of donor nations and world agencies, to reach higher levels of education. Moreover, former colonized nations need a globalized strong education system to strengthen their political, educational and economical ties with donor nations and world agencies.

World agencies and donor nations have contributed greatly to Samoa's educational development. Khamsi (2012) explained the World Bank's contribution to education developments in developing and underdeveloped nations is "steeped in a political process" (p. 1), that helps to "garner support" (p. 1), into "particular activities" (p. 1). World agencies and donor nations' presence in education reforms in Samoa have impacted greatly on the people and nation. The aims and objectives of these organisations and donor nations are to assist vulnerable and fragile small island nations with global educational developments, due to their limited physical and human resources (Samoa National Human Development Report, 2006). Organizations and donor nations intentions in relation to education, political agenda and ongoing association with Samoa's educational reforms are a disguise. For instance, small island nations cultural values have been ignored, while western values and ideas dominate the education system in former colonised nations. In fact, this is the case with Samoa's current Education policy statements document (MESC, 2006), which represented by Universal values rather than Samoan cultural values. Retrospectively, this arrangement illustrates what many indigenous are unaware of in the development, organization and formulation of Samoa's education system.

It is also universally agreed amongst developed nations to assist small islands and developing nations with their educational, political and economical infrastructure (Tuia, 2013). The role of these donor nations and world agencies are to find possible educational ways to ensure that places like Samoa has an education system that serves the interests and needs of the people. The change in the education system in former colonized nations usually takes place when there is a rapid flow of global changes around the globe. Problems that usually occur in these educational reforms, usually relates to limitation of time for small islands and underdeveloped nations to examine, absorb and deliberate new educational ideas that are introduced by donor nations and world agencies to be integrated into the education system. Therefore, instead of island nations examining new educational ideas, they welcome the new changes and hope for instant adjustment by people. The whole operation of educational reform in former colonized nations has always been a problem, due to the imbalance between the inputs of indigenous people and the donor nation or agency. In addition, indigenous people's voice are hardly heard in these educational reforms, however, the presence of their cultural values, beliefs and ideas, are pertinent to the development of the Samoan child to become a well rounded person. Samoa is a country with very limited resources, and its developments rely heavily on foreign aid. Education in particular, has been served by world agencies, such as World Bank, JICA, Asian Bank, and donor nations, like Australia and New Zealand (MESC, 2007). Therefore, some of the conditions in accepting foreign aid from world agencies and donor nations was to adopt their cultural values, beliefs and ideas, believed to be relevant to the organisation and operation of the education system. As the result, these foreign places and agencies expand the distance between the indigenous people and their cultural values, beliefs and ideas, as well as replacing their indigenous cultural interests with western interests. For instance, most well educated and rich Samoan parents now put their children into private schools, and expect their children to speak only the English language. Moreover, some parents provide favors and give their children freedom to explore the world, without considering the consequences of too much freedom. These are some changes that interfere with Samoa's cultural values and differentiate Samoa in the past from the present.

For Samoa to succeed in the global world of education, social, culture, economic and politics a well developed education system is key. Educational reforms need to steer development towards the vital cultural, social, educational, economic and political needs and interests of people (Iyer and Tuia, 2015). For instance, Samoan educational needs and interests were to succeed in the Western education system, with the guidance of Samoan cultural values, beliefs and ideas. In addition, Samoans are desperate to acquire western education, knowledge, ideas and skills, so that their social, cultural, educational, and economical interests can be achieved. Harthi (2002) suggests that better educational reforms are "the means that will help countries to deal positively with the forces of globalization" (p. 1). It is also Chinnamai's (2005) understanding, that "through globalisation of education, which is being knowledge transfer from the western countries into developing countries, is intended to improve the skills and capabilities of the people receiving it" (p. 1). In fact, that has always been the aims and objectives of educational reforms led by world agencies and donor nations, which is to improve education in former colonized nations and to acquire appropriate knowledge and skills to face a dynamic world. However, while Samoans are rushing into improving their western knowledge, ideas and skills in all areas of life, their language, cultural values and customary ways are slowly slipping away.

However, in Samoa, the education system has always being a problem, especially in the area of policy and curriculum that contradicts with the social and cultural values of the country (Iyer and Tuia, 2015). For instance, most Samoans assume cultural values that govern and guide Samoan's education system are purely Samoan (Tuia, 2013), instead, these are universal values such as cultural and spiritual values, partnerships and cooperation. (MESC, 2006). Samoan and Universal values have similar meanings but

different ideas as well as the way people perform them in their environment and abroad. For instance, Samoan cultural value of respect is a value that signifies the old and young, kinship and noble status in the village, the pastor and high chief of the village. When a Samoan shows respect to a family at a funeral, the family gives in return through fine mats and money. In addition relatives of the deceased help with the funeral chores. This kind of respect is a demonstration of strong family ties and a symbol of reciprocity in the faa-Samoa. Samoans also expect their children to develop these deep-seated values in the faa-Samoan way of life in schools and public places, denoting a solid upbringing of Samoan cultural values in the home (Silipa, 2008). In fact, it is important for Samoan children to learn the pros and cons of their Samoan values at home, and when they enter school, it has become an integral part of who they are. Interestingly, every major educational reform in the past, have been in the areas of curriculum and policies. These educational entities are usually dismantled by donor countries and their counterparts, and then reconstructed to accommodate New Zealand and Australia educational ingredients believed to be the best for the well-being of Samoans. In practice the local teachers may have very little say in the whole development process. As echoed by Tuia (2013), most of these education policies and curriculum somehow originated from the developed nations or donor nations like New Zealand and Australia, which some have referred to as second hand education policies (Green, 2006). This indicates that not all the changes that are introduced by donor countries are physically, socially, culturally, politically, economically and educationally adequate with the environment and culture of Samoan people. However, it didn't stop former colonized people from encouraging their children to do well in the white man's education. Historically, former colonized indigenous aspire for their 'children to do well in education for both locally and globally because of the dual environment they live in' (Quigley, 2009, p. 78). The intention and expectation of former colonized nations, relies on a consequential education system that has relevant social, cultural, educational, political and economical ideas and knowledge significant to an improved global lifestyle. The educational intention of many Samoans is for their children to acquire western knowledge and ideas, and speak their language, without considering the consequences of losing cultural values and language.

The effects of globalization on education in Samoa have greatly affected all areas of human life in former colonized nations. Chinnamai (2005) also argued that "globalization is a process, which has affected many areas of human life, one of those being education" (p. 1). Some of these effects were relevant to the social, cultural, educational and economic situations of people, and some effects tend to create problems to people. The aim of globalization in former colonized nations is to introduce people to new information, products, living styles, work ethics, education systems and connect people to other people and countries. In addition, "the effects of globalization on education bring rapid developments in technology and communications" (Chinnamai, 2005, p. 1) which is relevant to the general development of Samoa. Some of these changes are in education and as argued by Chinnamai (2005) of reform after a country has experienced new global changes. In former colonized nations, such education reform correlates to global changes that validate new knowledge, ideas and skills for people to acquire. Through education, people learn to acquire the knowledge and ideas of new information. Indigenous people also master the skill of mimicking how western societies learn in schools. This is similar to Bhabha's (1994) notion of mimicry, which described the way indigenous and ethnic minority groups mimicked the dominant middle class ways of doing things in society, which sometimes indigenous and ethnic minority groups failed to imitate the exact ways of doing things in the western ways. This has resulted in the misinterpretation of information, knowledge and ideas that may problematized their work or living situations. Often when people of a different cultural upbringing emulate another culture there are certain elements and characteristics of that specific culture they may not be privy to and as a result false impressions and misconceptions arise. Tibile (2012), argued that Bhabha's notion of mimicry is based on ambivalence,

exaggeration, anxiety, and repetition with a difference (p. 17). People need time and space to develop in another culture and this metamorphosis does not happen overnight. One may change the way they look and dress, however, deep seated beliefs and values will need demonstration and exemplary modeling to ensure that there is a permanent change. There is also the probability that immersion in a particular education system which will ensure upward mobility could also be a major incentive in changing values and beliefs. A type of imitation that is unstructured and informal in terms of social, cultural, educational, and political organisation, that is different to the likes of the coloniser, but not a major concern with the former colonised. Further, Bhabha (1994) stated that "mimicry is an exaggerated copying of language, culture, manners and ideas. And this exaggeration means that mimicry is repetition with difference, and so it is not evidence of the colonised's servitude. Essentially mimicry can serve many different purposes and in Samoan culture it could be taken as showing disdain, at other times a form of ridicule, or blatant contempt for the colonisers' ways. In Samoan it would not be seen as analogous to servitude. This mimicry is also a form of mockery as Bhabha's postcolonial theory is a comic approach to colonial discourse because it mocks and undermines the ongoing pretensions of colonialism and empire (p. 86). Therefore, although that the former colonised see himself/herself as doing what their counterparts are doing, but their performances reflects differences in terms of speaking and writing in English as well as their socialisation.

Emerging changes in Samoa's education system is a struggle and frustration to many people, especially in trying to comprehend these changes. In fact, the assimilation and accommodation of these global changes to be effective in Samoa rely on human and physical resources. Unfortunately, human and physical resources are the two particular areas that Samoa has major problems with, due to less specialised people in different areas, and physical resources are a scarcity. In order to make progress in education, student performance and teacher quality need to improve. This calls for a better caliber of teachers to teach the future generation (MESC, 2007). Samoa's future teachers should be well educated, obtain the skills and knowledge to deliver and demonstrate repertoire of teaching techniques to enable learners to connect and comprehend expected learning outcomes. For Samoa incorporating changes in education is vital for educational upgrade, as well as familiarizing teachers with the new changes before implementation. In addition, the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (MESC) has initiated a new teacher scheme, as a response to global education changes, which involves in-service teachers' qualification upgrade. The main aim behind this educational move for teachers in Samoa is to improve the standard of teaching and learning for teachers and students.

The transformation of Samoa's education system is also a change to its social and cultural identity. In post-colonialism, Samoa is slowly becoming a heterogeneous community with a large group of people migrating from different parts of the world to Samoa. It is no longer a place that carries traditional customs and rituals as it was before, but a place that utilizes the hybrid system that incorporates the Samoan culture, people and language in this hybrid space.

Conclusion

Globalization and education is important in the post-colonial era, due to the many social, cultural and educational problems and consequences to be comprehended. In post-colonial Samoa, globalization is unstoppable, and people and nations are impacted by globalization, due to its significance in social, cultural, educational, economical and political developments. Moreover, globalization can be seen as both positive and negative, and this could only be determined after people have experienced global changes in their life situations. Therefore, a well-developed education system in a post-colonial Samoa

will offer opportunities for individuals to explore their horizons in many different areas of life. Further, a suitable education system will assist with extending, expanding and clarifying all the incoming social, cultural, economic and educational changes that are appropriate to foster future intelligent and skilful citizens in Samoa.

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