Research Paper

Content-Based Instruction: Teaching Literature in International High Schools

Suzon Mamet

e18M3256

Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL)

International Language Education

Soka University

Graduation paper under the supervision of

Dr. Richmond Stroupe

July 14, 2020

To Anas, for showing me the path forward.

Acknowledgements

Writing a graduation paper is never an easy task, and many have contributed to the birth of this research paper. I would like to thank my professors in the TESOL programme for teaching me so much about education, and for being such great role models. I'd like to address special thanks to my advisor, Dr. Richmond Stroupe, who has been extremely patient, kind and supportive throughout the past two years, while still setting the bar high enough that I could develop as a student and as a person. His clarity of mind made the writing process so much easier. To Donna Brinton and Dr. Steven Morgan, I can never say thank you enough for the time they spent going through every single line of this document, helping me improve it. Our discussions are at the heart of each section, and I learnt a lot from them. Finally I would like to thank my classmates, who all contributed equally to this paper, and were never afraid to point out mistakes and offer insights from their rich and varied experiences.

To my parents, family and friends who supported me from abroad, I hope that you will think our time apart was worth it in the end. *Merci de m'avoir toujours accueillie à la maison quand j'en ai eu besoin*. To Anas: wherever you are in life, I am grateful for your daily support. You carried me through the happy and the hard days with your faith, and have showed me the strength that always was within.

Abstract

This research paper explores three different fields of research. The first section covers the different types of courses that fall under the umbrella term content-based instruction (CBI), and is vastly inspired from Brinton and colleagues' work. The second section centres around the subject of literature, how the teaching of literature was addressed through different approaches, and more specifically through the CBI approach. The third part breaks down the large variety of international schools, in an effort to define and compare the different options available to students. The paper is both an attempt at defining all of those terms, as well as a review of the literature that goes across the three topics and meets at the convergence of those fields. An additional section connects back the author's personal experience to the topic, in an attempt to situate a specific context at the junction of these research areas.

Table of Contents

Introduction

The following paper consists in an extensive review of the literature in three separate fields of study, namely content-based instruction (CBI), the teaching of literature as an academic subject, and international schools. Although the three fields can be connected under the TESOL umbrella, there is at first no evident link between these research poles. The reason behind this study lies in the author's experience as a student. On the one hand, the paper presents a student's experience in a CBI programme and a British literature course as taught in a French high school between 2009 and 2012. On the other hand, this experience needs to be contextualised with an extensive review of the literature, leading to the construction of a framework of reference for a more systematic approach. Attending an international high school programme in France had a number of benefits, among which a clear improvement in fluency and proficiency in English, as well as the acquisition of transferable academic skills in the literature course specifically. Consequently, the paper explores the belief that the literature content-class was the most effective tool at the students' disposition to achieve fluency in English. The prompt for this study stemmed from the difficulties in labelling a specific personal experience after being presented with general theories of second language acquisition. As a TESOL student, general introduction to theories and approaches of bilingual, immersion and content-based education were not sufficient to identify the nature of this high school programme or the extent of the benefits of the literature course. The desire to make sense of this experience and to find the overlap of this Venn diagram prompted the current review of the literature. Because the three areas of content are not obviously connected to begin with, gaps in the research might appear at the junction between the fields.

As a brief introduction, Brinton, Snow, and Wesche (1989, p. vii) defined content-based language teaching (CBLT) as "the concurrent study of language and subject matter, with the form and sequence of language presentation dictated by content material." Brown and Lee (2015) described the benefits of the approach on students as threefold, with an increase in intrinsic motivation, empowerment, and overall increase of academic results across subjects. These observation match with the experience described in the paper. According to Brown and Lee (2015), challenges met in these programmes usually concern the level of proficiency of candidates, as well as the qualifications of teachers, which again matched with the specific experience described in this paper. However, identifying which type of CBLT approach was adopted in the programme was challenging; proving the role of literature in the improvement of overall academic competence too. The paper will thus systematically analyse and develop the literature in these three fields, with the aim of identifying elements relevant to the present experience. The first section presents CBI and the variety of implementation models that appeared in the field. The aim of this section is to determine the primary characteristics of content-based instruction in order to establish a framework of reference for this specific experience. The second section focuses on the subject of literature, various teaching approaches used in academia, and the relationship between language (as subject of the EFL class) and literature (as subject of a content class). The main elements of literature instruction will be outlined in order to complete the framework of reference. The third section consists in observations on the vast number of options that exist among the catalogue of international schools worldwide, identifying a number of criteria that are helpful in reading the diversity of existing institutions. After reviewing the literature in these three fields, the completed framework of reference will be presented. The following fifth section of the paper will thus be concerned with presenting this specific high school

programme, and evaluating whether the programme meets these criteria, and in what ways. Finally, the sixth section of the research paper consists of a narrative of her experience as a student, and revisits this student perspective in the light of current research. Educational implications and recommendations for future research were added at the end of the paper for other students and researchers who may be interested in CBI, CLIL, Literature or international instruction. The recommendations are not limited to topics for research papers, and may interest action-research oriented students as well.

Review of the Literature

One of the current research paper's aims is to describe a specific, personal experience in a systematic manner. Three general areas of research were extracted from this experience: content-based instruction, and more specifically literature as content within this approach, as well as international schools in general. The following review of the literature thus focuses on each domain separately in order to single out a number of criteria that can be gathered within a framework. This framework will then be assembled in the next section, and used to evaluate the programme that serves as a specific example in this project. In other words, the purpose of the literature review is to prepare for the systematic presentation and evaluation of a specific programme in the light of current research.

Content-Based Instruction: A Chronological Perspective

Content-based instruction (CBI) is an approach to teaching that consists in teaching another subject in a language that is not the native language of the learners, with the purpose of improving proficiency in that target language as well as transmitting knowledge in that subject. Students might refer to CBI classes as "biology in English" or "history in French." The concept itself is simple to grasp: CBI courses generate an environment where the target language is genuinely needed in authentic communicative situations. The first section of this thesis covers the roots of CBI: the origin and the consecutive evolution of the movement, as well as some key features that define this approach to teaching English. In a second part, the various forms of CBI will be presented in a systematic manner, using the current reference map of CBI and the multiple ramifications that have appeared over the years within the approach.

Before CBI: Founding Works

Immersion Programmes

The history of CBI started in the mid-1960s in Canada, with what is known today as French immersion programs (Snow & Brinton, 2017). Québec is a province in Canada where French is the official language, which means that mastering the language was a key skill for English-speaking Canadians who wished to be employed there. In the 1960s, structural language-learning was still widely used, but did not cater to the needs of the workers, whose priorities were centred on socialisation and effective communication (Swain, 1997).

Swain (1997) explained that based on the work of Wallace E. Lambert, a specialist in bilingualism, a new program was set up in which students of monolingual families were first

taught how to speak and read in French and then were introduced to English literacy skills at ages 7 to 9. According to Swain, there were three main outcomes of this program. First, the model did not threaten students' ability to use their L1 fluently. As a result, although learners scored lower on standardized tests in the years when English was first introduced in their curriculum, they then caught up and performed at least as well as their monolingual peers on standardized English language tests. Second, the longer the students were immersed (that is to say, the earlier the immersion started), the better their L2 abilities. However, whether students went through early-, mid- or late immersion, they all displayed stronger receptive skills, and somewhat less accurate productive skills. The final finding was that immersion students performed well at school. Additionally, there seemed to be, for each subject, a different linguistic threshold at which students could comfortably engage with the materials due to the fact that certain courses required a higher complexity of language than others.

Some of the criticism of the original immersion model stemmed from data collected during class observations. Among these findings, Allen, Swain, Harley and Cummins (1990) and Swain (1988) underlined how the input that students receive in the immersion classroom is restricted to a limited set of functions. The authors also described how immersion teachers seem to focus on categorizing language forms as opposed to exploiting the meaning and pragmatic use of these features. The classes also suffered from a teacher-centred approach, which greatly limited production opportunities. According to Swain (1988), teaching content in a foreign language was not as inherently communicative an approach as researchers like to believe. Language acquisition needs to be addressed, scaffolded, and connected to the content that is taught. In her article, she referenced a study by Ho (1985), which yielded surprising results. For five months, a number of grade 8 students were taught all of their subjects in English (L2), while the other half of the group was taught the exact same content in Cantonese (L1). The end of term evaluations revealed that there was no significant different

in English competency between the two groups after those five months. Lyster (2007) offered a more measured assessment of the shortcomings of the Canadian immersion programmes, and listed a number of characteristics that represent the average level of immersion students. On the one hand, the students acquired advanced receptive skills, and produced functional output in context. However, the same students exhibited lesser competence in accuracy, idioms, vocabulary and pragmatics. The reasons offered by Lyster (2007) align with Swain (1988) and Allen et al. (1990). The solution offered was to use a more "counterbalanced approach" (p.126), which can also be described as an integrated approach to language teaching and content teaching. Lyster (2007) cited Skehan (1998) as the rationale for this approach, who established a continuum of meaning-oriented and form-oriented learners. According to Lyster (2007), Skehan recommended that students be pushed against their natural inclination to prioritise either communication or accuracy, in order to develop balanced learning habits. In a similar way, Lyster (2007) advocated for integrated language foci in the content classroom, instead of asynchronous and decontextualized analyses in the language classroom.

Bullock Report

In the 1970s, the British government commissioned a team of researchers directed by Sir Alan Bullock to inquire about the use of English in schools, and how the teaching of language might be improved. The resulting document (Department of Education and Science, 1975) described the school system in detail, starting with the assessment of stakeholders towards the English system, standards of reading and literacy, the various age groups and how English was taught to each level, how the school system was organised, a diagnostic of learning problems that arose at the time, the implication for the students in their adult life, as well as an extensive list of recommendations to improve the situation (DES, 1975). This

document had an immense impact on policy making in the UK regarding language teaching, mostly because Butler coined a new term (Davis & Parker, 1978): “language across the curriculum” (DES, 1975, p. 193). This notion appeared in the main body of the report as one of the primary reforms advocated by Butler, who acknowledged the difficulty of this transformation. In chapter 12 of the report (DES, 1975, pp. 528-529), he compared the primary and secondary institutions, offering a clearer picture of what language across the curriculum means:

> **137**. In the primary school the individual teacher is in a position to devise a language policy across the various aspects of the curriculum, but there remains the need for a general school policy to give expression to the aim and ensure consistency throughout the years of primary schooling.
>
> **138**. In the secondary school, all subject teachers need to be aware of:
>
> **(i)** the linguistic processes by which their pupils acquire information and understanding, and the implications for the teacher's own use of language;
>
> **(ii)** the reading demands of their own subjects, and ways in which the pupils can be helped to meet them.
>
> **139**. To bring about this understanding every secondary school should develop a policy for language across the curriculum. The responsibility for this policy should be embodied in the organisational structure of the school. (DES, 1975, pp. 528-529)

The notion of language across the curriculum was well articulated in the report. Bullock started with a simple observation: the elementary school teacher is responsible for all subjects, and can therefore monitor language use and acquisition at all moments. Continuity from one year to the next is the only point that requires additional coordination. Moving on to secondary education, different subjects are taught by different teachers, so that language is not interwoven into the whole curriculum. Bullock’s report created a major shift in the

literature in that he advocated for a less rigid separation of subjects. This argument is essential in understanding CBI, introducing the notion that subject division is a norm rather than a necessity. This concept of language across the curriculum is the main element to retain from the report, and had dramatic impact on educational policies at the time.

Other parts of the report were of surprising relevance to the field of CBI. Some of the recommendations touched upon the needs of migrant children from non-English-speaking families (DES, 1975, p. 544). Although this point is yet to be developed at the time of the report, some features of CBI can be traced back to these lines; mainstreaming students certainly is one of the goals of current CBI endeavours at a university level in the US. Sheltered programs, especially, focus on honing second language academic proficiency so that students who have reached the threshold level may join the mainstream classroom. The report underlined that certain student population may have special linguistic needs, and took into consideration the importance of continuity of instruction, or cooperation among levels, and not just among subjects.

Other key elements stood out as foundational features of the CBI movement in the list of recommendations. Continuing on the notion that language should be taught across the curriculum, the Bullock report went further, and introduced the idea that language is not just a medium of instruction, but an essential part of what students learn, equally important to other types of subject-knowledge. Even though the issue was already hinted at in the report, the question of hierarchy among subjects is still prevalent in CBI research today. Articles 168, 169 and 170 of the report (DES, 1975, p. 533) established important distinctions for the field of language teaching. First, English is not to be taken in isolation, which means that very specialised English, especially, is all the more likely to be assimilated if taught in context, using authentic and relevant content. Second, English teachers are not subordinate to content teachers. Bullock recommended that institutions provide their English department

with the time and resources needed to coordinate syllabi across subjects, even when a distinct English course is part of the curriculum. Last but not least, the report emphasised the importance of authentic communication, which is a cornerstone of the CBI approach. According to articles 93 and 96 (DES, 1975, p.524), pupils should acquire a range of comprehension skills that are useful across disciplines and beyond the boundaries of school, leading into their adult lives. To mirror this future use of their linguistic skills, he recommended that educators teach language in contextualised exercises that do not isolate linguistic features, but rather highlight the intertwined trajectories of pragmatics, authentic context and language (DES, 1975, p. 528).

The Bullock Report predates by a decade the first publication on CBI, which means that these findings and recommendations are rooted in empirical teaching. The document seems to have solidified the first traces of the CBI movement, with new concepts such as "language across the curriculum", special linguistic needs of students transitioning into bilingual courses, conflict of interest between departments as well as possible benefits leading into adult life.

Beginnings of CBI

The very first book published on the topic of CBI was written by Mohan in 1986 and entitled *Language and Content*. In this volume, Mohan laid down definitions for a new approach that had been implemented in various programs, integrating both language learning and the teaching of content, in a way that really differed from the grammatical syllabus that was traditionally used at the time. He described the Knowledge Framework, which is essentially a set of skills that individuals use in order to gather knowledge. These skills comprise analysis, synthesis, causality and classification, among others, and can be used in

any subject; in other words, the skills are transferable rather than subject-specific. Language expresses these skills with specific phrases (as a result of, because of… for instance); which allows educators to tap into this common foundation, whether in terms of skills when they teach new language, or in terms of language when they enrich the skill set of students, to ensure coherence in the schema.

Mohan (1986) pointed out that language acquisition is not simply incidental. He went against the laissez-faire approach that was prevalent at the time, backing up Swain's (1988) stance on that precise argument. These two authors found fault with Krashen's (1982) theory of comprehensible input. Krashen advocated for communicative language, and meaningful communication. In other words, he encouraged students to use the language in any way they can in order to exchange meaning, or a message. According to him, the acquisition of form results from the systematic exposure to meaningful, highly accessible language. However, as he underlines himself, learners have the ability to decode and understand utterances, despite inaccurate syntax. In a similar way, students can produce inaccurate sentences while still getting their point across. Some utterances are imprecise, or simply inexact, and yet meaning can come across as comprehensible all the same. While they successfully answer communicative objectives, such utterances are not sufficient in an academic context. In other words, and going back to the laissez-faire approach, the main criticism against Krashen's theory relates to accuracy. How desirable is incidental acquisition of inaccurate language? As students start to produce language in an attempt to communicate, they themselves add inaccurate language to the pool of comprehensible input that the class is exposed to. For second language students in a mainstream content class, incidental learning is not sufficient, and places the learner at a disadvantage for most academic tasks. Lyster (2007, 2017) advocated for more language-driven CBI programmes, focusing on direct feedback

techniques and other strategies that teachers could implement to help learners improve their accuracy.

Diversity of Implementation in CBI

This section covers the classification of CBI and its many ramifications. The literature on the topic is very diverse, especially as time has passed. Brinton, Snow, and Wesche (1989) came up with a first classification of the field, in which they tried to organise all existing models of CBI (then few) into a map. Even in 1989, Brinton et al. wrote about prototypes of CBI, insisting that the map was not finished. As CBI was progressively implemented on a wider scale, variations from the original prototype became more numerous. A new map was developed and published in Snow and Brinton's 2017 *The Content-Based Classroom*, which described and defined new hybrids derived from the original prototypes. This new map is still bound to undergo further modification, considering that CBI is in constant evolution, and changes in every new implementation. This section will thus offer suggestions of alterations that could be made over certain classification decisions.

Definition of CBI

Before going over all of the different ways in which CBI has been implemented, the concept needs to be defined. Brinton, Snow and Wesche offered a definition in their original work on the field:

> In this volume, we define content-based instruction as the integration of particular content with language-teaching aims. More specifically, since we are dealing primarily with postsecondary education, it refers to the concurrent teaching of academic subject matter and second language skills. Ultimately, the goal is to enable students to transfer these

skills to other academic courses given in the second-language. Thus, both in its overall purpose and its implementation, content-based instruction aims at eliminating the artificial separation between language instruction and subject matter classes which exist in most educational settings. (Brinton, Snow & Wesche, 2003, p. 2)

This initial definition underlined a few key areas that characterise CBI. First of all, this approach relies consists in teaching languages from contextualised content. Authenticity of the materials and the context is the primary key to any CBI endeavour, and the authors point towards a tradition of what is acknowledged as good teaching practices. Brinton et al. highlighted the relationship between contextualisation and acquisition, arguing that meaningful content is often assimilated in a much more comprehensive manner. The second main point is that CBI is usually taught after elementary school, which means that most schools and university differentiate subjects at that level. As a result, CBI is going against the current organisation of courses, as the approach aims to create bridges between independent courses.

The latter point is directly connected to the recommendations that were made at the end of the 1975 Bullock report, which introduced the notion of coherence across the curriculum, advocating for the end of strict subject division. The central problem is still the same. How to create a bridge between different subjects, taught by different professors, without compromising the knowledge that students need to master for each subject at the end of the year? From the very beginning, three main solutions, or prototypes, emerged.

Brinton, Snow and Wesche's 1989 Map

Brinton, Snow and Wesche established a first map of field in 1989 (2003), where they defined three main forms of teaching that effectively connected to the foundational principles of CBI, namely theme-based instruction, sheltered instruction and adjunct instruction.

Theme-Based Instruction. Theme-based instruction has become a mainstream form of CBI, since most teachers are used to this type of syllabus that is widely used in textbooks nowadays. As the name indicates, theme-based instruction is centred on a selection of themes that allow students to develop specific knowledge, rather than example sentences that fit within the language focus, and more often than not, the theme of a giver section, but that are otherwise arbitrary within the larger context of the syllabus, as would be the case in a structural syllabus. Brinton et al. (2003) defined this approach as follows:

> Theme-based instruction refers to a language class in which the syllabus is structured around themes or topics, with the linguistic items in the syllabus subordinated to the "umbrella" organizing function of the theme which has been selected. (Brinton, Snow & Wesche, 2003, p. 26)

Theme-based courses are taught by the language teacher, who is in charge of both language and content-specific instruction. This type of instruction works very well in courses that address the four skills, or for classes oriented towards single skills.

Sheltered Instruction. A sheltered course is neither an advanced English language class, nor a mainstream content class. Sheltered courses are mostly content-oriented courses in which the instructor is a content-specialist, and not a language teacher. In those classes, language learning is often more incidental, despite a slightly higher focus on language compared to mainstream classes. The content of a sheltered course is delivered in the target academic language to non-native speakers, and the purpose of the class is for students to master the content, as well as additional academic skills, to ensure their success once they enrol in mainstream classes. The sheltered course is constructed around a skeleton of existing and functioning programmes in high schools, and sometimes universities, where a second language student population is isolated for its linguistic needs. Brinton et al. (2003) underline that sheltered courses are usually designed around courses that "can attract large enough

numbers of second language speakers to justify creating special lecture or discussion sections." (Brinton, Snow & Wesche, 2003, p. 46). Usually, the sheltered course is very content-driven: the sheltered class does not learn less than its mainstream counterpart, and the content instructor is trained to be more accommodating in regards to language issues, while the mainstream teacher might allocate less time in the lesson plan for the needs of the second-language students. This approach is helpful in a context where students who are not native English speakers come from a variety of backgrounds; English serves as a unifying teaching medium. For this reason, the approach also suits "English-only" learning environments (Brinton, 2019). Teachers accompany the transition from one academic language to a new academic language that is more relevant to the students' current context: for instance, the academic first language of the isolated second language student population is not sufficient and they need English to function in their new educational environment (Brinton, Snow & Wesche, 2003).

Adjunct Instruction. The adjunct model, as the name indicates, consists of cooperative (or coordinated) teaching among a language and one or several content teachers. Brinton et al. (2003) defined the term as follows:

> In this model, students are enrolled concurrently in two linked courses – a language course and a content course – with the idea being that the two courses share the content base and complement each other in terms of mutually coordinated assignments. Second language learners are sheltered in the language course and integrated in the content course, where both native English and non-native English-speaking students attend the same lecture. (Snow, Brinton & Wesche, 2003, p. 16)

In the content class, non-native speakers are integrated with the native speakers, and follow along the same lessons as their classmates. In the language course, however, they are singled out and receive instruction that is specific to their needs. The language instructor is

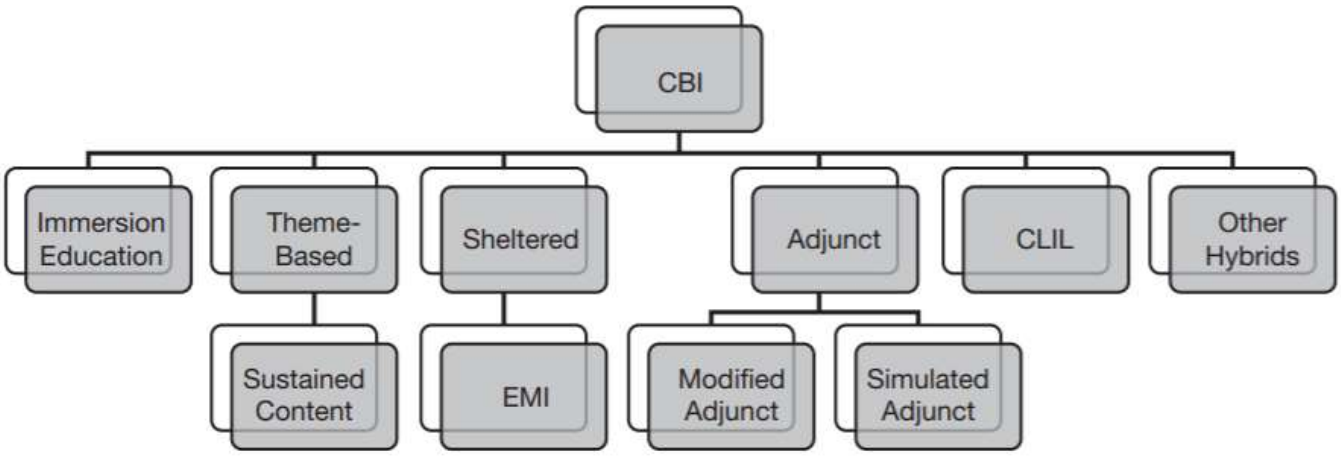
also responsible for teaching these students the academic skills that they need for other subjects; the focus is on transferable skills and functional language.

Some problems may emerge in this method, and Goldstein, Campbell and Cummings (1997) described in detail a number of obstacles that may arise in a number of contexts. Although the adjunct model is theoretically based on close cooperation among teachers and works well when this criterion is met, such cooperation is not always possible or encouraged in all institutions. Goldstein and colleagues described problems at the student level, where students were confused as to who holds authority over their grade, and whose advice they should follow. Some students also rejected writing advice (skill) because they resisted the subject matter (content). Additionally, some students doubted the credentials of the English teacher who delivered content as part of the adjunct curriculum. Other problems appeared when communication and cooperation were taken for granted. Goldstein and colleagues noticed that for teachers who are not specialised in academic writing, the criteria for evaluating writing are sentence-based, or accuracy-based. However, for the writing teacher, the products of academic writing cannot be graded only according to form; content, the organisation of the message as well as the delivery are at the core of academic writing. All sorts of conflicts can appear from this definition problem, as the content teachers might be dissatisfied with syntax and grammar, and dismiss their colleague's ability to lecture about content. As the authors underlined, Academic writing is indeed a skill, but the teaching of writing cannot be achieved by anyone. Skill-based courses are as legitimate as content courses. This subordinate conception of skills under content is sometimes reflected in the way colleagues interact, and leads to the flight attendant syndrome (coined by one of the teachers who shared their experience in the paper). Language teachers can perceive the adjunct course as a loss of agency on their side, which is why it is very important for both sides to meet in the middle and discuss their expectations of successful writing.

Snow and Brinton's (2017) New Map

Snow and Brinton coined the first prototypes of CBI in 1989, and have since then observed the evolution of the field. They came up with an updated version of the original map, which consists of five new additions. Most of these additions are considered extensions of the existing prototypes, and cover a large amount of the new hybrid models that emerged over the years. Similarly to the previous map, however, a slot has been left open for further updates as the field keeps evolving. As the authors explain, the strong point of CBI is its lack of definite form, which also means that the approach changes in its every iteration, in order to fit new students, teaching contexts and financial situations.

Figure 1.1: An updated map of CBI (Snow & Brinton, 2017, p. 9)



Sustained Content Language Teaching. Sustained Content Language Teaching (SCLT) is an approach inspired by mainstream and sheltered courses that offers a dual focus on the exploration of content in a designated field and on L2 language teaching. Although similar to theme-based instruction, SCLT does not switch themes as often, which means that students are offered an in-depth exploration of a variety of sources, and can engage more fully in

critical thinking (Murphy & Stoller, 2001). Snow and Brinton (2017) outlined four major characteristics of SCLT. First, SCLT offers a much narrower selection of themes over a same period of time. For instance, the teacher can choose to focus on a single topic for a complete semester or year, as opposed to the "potpourri" approach criticised by Jacobs (1989). The use of content over an extended period of time also simulates the needs of a content course, which in turn allows the learner to make more connections, at a deeper level than with regular themes. Eventually, the longer focus on the content also means that all aspects of the course can be addressed, without falling for one of the pitfalls of CBI, neglecting neither content (critical thinking, strategies and skills) nor language (grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, four skills).

English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI). English as a Medium of Instruction is a pretty straight-forward appellation which refers to the practice of teaching a content class in a student's foreign or second language. EMI courses are appealing to international students who wish to improve their resume, and thus attract a greater variety of students. EMI courses are usually offered at the post-graduate level. Depending on the institution, the program can offer varying degrees of language support, but common research topics regarding EMI cover the threshold of minimum L2 proficiency for entering such courses, evaluation criteria (for instance, how much of the grade depends on language?), and faculty training (who teaches the EMI class, and how familiar should the teacher be with language learning?). On the diagram, EMI is placed in the continuation of sheltered instruction, which can be explained for two main reasons. EMI and sheltered instruction are very content-driven, and the teachers for these courses are usually not language-teachers, which means that language learning is for the most part incidental in this content. Additionally, EMI teaching also works in similar contexts as sheltered instruction, since instruction in English allows for a more diverse student body.

Modified and Simulated Adjunct. The modified adjunct model covers several variations of the adjunct model, but Snow and Kamhi-Stein (2002) described an adjunct model where the content course was linked to a study group rather than a language course. A language teacher and a student who completed the content course shared teaching responsibility in the study group, and targeted the needs of language minority students regarding the assignments of the main content class. In this scenario, the language course did not grant any credits, and did not have an official existence, as opposed to the content-class. Another instance of modified adjunct consists in using of online platforms to deliver asynchronous language support to students enrolled in a content class. The content teachers can direct the students towards worksheets uploaded on the platform. Students also receive individual feedback from language teachers on their assignments. Teachers, on the other hand, received delayed feedback on the results of their courses, as the improvement in language can only be assessed through the papers that students submit for the content class. An example application of such modified a adjunct course was described by Chou and Lee (2017). The online adjunct programme at the University of Arts, also known as OLS programme, addressed many of the problems that Goldstein et al. (1997) singled out as part of the flight attendant syndrome. On the one hand, language teachers provided linguistic support via an online platform, which means that they did not have to teach a physical class, nor did they have to create a adapt a language syllabus for the needs of the programme. On the other hand, the fact that content teachers posted all of their materials on the platform also means that there was less pressure for faculty members to meet outside of class time. The increase in transparency gave more agency to language teachers, and vice versa. Students also gained more agency, as they were able choose when support was needed, and when to pass on it. An additional benefit of the modified adjunct programme was that lower-level learners of English were able to follow CBI courses, due to the asynchronous nature of language learning for those classes.

The simulated adjunct class was created by Brinton and Jensen (2002), and their colleagues at UCLA. Holten, Repath-Martos and Frodesen were also involved in the video recording process. They gathered permission from content colleagues to record lectures and gather resources used in the course, and used this authentic content in combination with adequate language support to create SCLT units. Their work has been published in a two-volume textbook series untitled *Insights I* and *II*, designed for advanced ESL students.The model is still considered adjunct because content and language teachers were involved in the project, but the language professors put together the entire program and syllabus for the course. They created the materials based on authentic content, and delivered the course to students outside of the adjunct framework, mostly because of timetable constraints. Students across all departments could thus attend this language course without administrators having to find a common time for all of them to attend.

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). CLIL is an acronym that is often used as a synonym for CBI; the term also refers to integrated content learning into the language class. Although the CLIL tradition was initially European, the approach has been increasingly implemented in many countries worldwide, which leads to the problem of telling CLIL and CBI apart. Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010) pointed out that CLIL serves different objectives: the aim of this approach is to create multilingual citizens in a multilingual economic area. As a result, English is often taught as a lingua franca. In this context, CLIL is a sort of sheltered program that is not designed for minority language students, but that instead targets learners who receive instruction in more than one language. For students, the aim of such a program is not to replace their original language by a new academic language, but instead to expand their academic repertoire and enhance their proficiency in the L2.

Dalton-Puffer (2017) underlined a few of the characteristics of CLIL, compared to CBI. CLIL does not replace the EFL class, but usually happens alongside this class. Students

enrolled in the CLIL course are usually mainstream students, rather than language minorities. For administrators, CLIL courses are counted as content lessons, and scheduled as such. Finally, CLIL teachers speak both language fluently, but they do not need to be native speakers of the L2.

Discussing the New Map

The main suggestion is that CLIL and CBI differ enough that the two approaches could be on different diagrams. Both approaches stem from different academic traditions, and although they came to cover similar academic realities, there are initial differences that cannot overlap. Dalton-Puffer (2017) underlined that there are also many different forms of CLIL depending on students and context, which tends to show that CLIL and CBI faced similar constraints and had to overcome them by adapting to individual contexts. In practice, certain types of CBI may be almost identical to CLIL, but because CBI is a much broader concept, both acronyms are not equivalent. I tend to see them as two trees growing intertwined branches: they might have a same shape and meet in some places but they do not stem out of the same base, or not directly. Just as they intertwine in some places, the two fields might also grow apart in other places. They have the potential to be the same, but they are not in many cases.

Conclusion

CBI is an approach to language learning that can be traced back to the 1960s in the classroom, and to the 1980s in the literature. Supporters of this approach advocate a decompartmentalized view of teaching and a holistic treatment of school subjects within the learning curriculum. This movement has strengthened over the years and is now

internationally recognised and applied. Brinton and colleagues (1989; 2017) compiled and organised a number of case studies, which allowed them to create maps to navigate the field. Indeed, as the authors underlined, CBI is only loosely defined, which means that there are many ways to integrate this approach into a programme. This map is only a reflection of current applications of the research, and keeps evolving. Connecting back to this paper's aim, Brinton et al.'s (2017) new map will be used as a reference to try and label the author's original high school programme. Van Lier's (2005) scale will be used as an additional instrument in order to describe and evaluate whether the programme was more content- or language-driven.

Although CBI is not tied to any specific subject, this research paper focuses specifically on literature, and how to teach literature according to CBI guidelines. According to Holten (1997), literature is the "quintessential content" (p.377) through which to teach CBI. The next section of this essay will thus be concerned with identifying what literature is, in the context of academia, and through the lens of CBI.

Teaching Literature: Definition, Integration and Learning Outcomes

This section aims at defining what the term literature means in the language classroom. Literature refers to a vast area of human production, and spans several centuries and cultures. However, literature as a school subject is a narrower definition of the broader term. The Merriam-Webster online dictionary gives the following definition of the term, which will be the starting point of this section: "writings in prose or verse, *especially*: writings having excellence of form or expression and expressing ideas of permanent or universal interest" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). Based on this initial definition, a few characteristics can be underlined. Literature refers to a body of written texts in various formats, recognised as above-average in a cultural setting, by a community. Both content and form are considered important in the evaluation of a work of literature. Further questions arise from this definition: who exactly defines what texts belong to literature, and which ones are below average? The universality of the norm, or standards, should also be assessed. This definition provides a number of important features of what a literary text is, but a reader might still not be able to identify literature from that alone. How can literary language be identified, compared to other written products for instance? Is an email considered literature? The answer is not straight forward, as emails may appear within a novel. Defining literature is a daunting task, because of the variety that exists within the field, and the first part of the section will focus on the delimitations of literature according to research in linguistics, before looking at the way teachers and educators have approached literary works in their teaching practice. Finally, the question of integration of language and content within the field of literature will be addressed.

General Definition of Literature

Ohmann (1971) provides a much deeper and more systematic analysis of what constitutes literature. The dictionary refers to literature as pieces of written texts that have been recognised as different from the vernacular language by a group of individuals within a society. The first element that constitutes literature is language, but Ohmann goes further and connects literature to discourse, which means that the text possesses a coherent structure with a beginning and an end. Various literary devices can be used within the excerpt in order to achieve certain effects; Austin (1962) identifies three main characteristics of discourse, or three different types of acts that a speaker or writer can perform within discourse: locutionary acts (the act of using the language), illocutionary acts (using conventions within a language or a community in all awareness; pragmatic use of language) and perlocutionary acts (impact on the receptor).

Based on these distinctions, Ohmann (1971) proposes a very interesting definition of the literary work: "A literary work is a discourse abstracted, or detached, from the circumstances and conditions which make illocutionary acts possible; hence it is a discourse without illocutionary force" (p.13). The statement may strike us as odd, at first. What the author means is that the illocutionary acts performed within the novel do not directly impact reality; in other words, literature is fiction, or at least exists in a cognitive dimension. The language of the book is not addressed to or directed at an interlocutor, and the illocutionary acts of requesting, ordering apologizing etc. that characters and narrators might produce ultimately fail in the dimension that the reader exists in. He then adds:

> A literary work is a discourse whose sentences lack the illocutionary forces that would normally attach to them. Its illocutionary force is mimetic. By "mimetic," I mean purportedly imitative. Specifically, a literary work purportedly imitates (or reports) a

> series of speech acts, which in fact have no other existence. By doing so, it leads the reader to imagine a speaker, a situation, a set of ancillary events, and so on. (Ohmann, 1971, p. 14)

Based on this addition to the original definition, literature is made up of mimetic speech acts that imitate real life discourse, without being directly attached to real-life situations. To qualify this statement a little, and coming back to the first definition, the content can and should be relevant to the reader. A work of literature is connected to universal problems, themes and ideas. The language, however, imitates interpersonal discourse in a dimension that is not interpersonal because of the chosen media.

Ohmann (1971) consequently summarizes the seven features that distinguish literature from normal discourse. Literature is mimetic. The reader is thus engaged in an act of co-creation of a new world. Literary language is also rhetorical, and carries a dramatic structure that has a definite end. Although the language carries themes and meaning, or messages, the words themselves are devoid of impact, as all speech acts do not have direct influence outside of the co-created world. Symbolism plays an important role in literary texts. For all of these reasons, literary discourse obeys a different set of conventions than traditional language, which is why language in literature is considered an autonomous form of language.

These definitions of literature based on linguistics are mostly useful to critics and authors, as they provide insight of the type of language that is necessary in an attempt to produce such works. However, for teachers and students, the definitions offer little indication of what to study. Students are not expected to produce literary texts beyond exercises in stylistics such as *pastiche*, but to engage personally with texts, understand the cultural history of their community, and produce academic and metaliterary language. Literature as a school subject is thus different from the greater field of literature.

Carter and Long (1991) already noticed a shift from a literature-based language education to new techniques in the 1880s-1990s. Despite the cultural importance of literary knowledge, the English class became more concerned with English for Specific Purposes (ESP) and oral fluency with each new reform, adapting to the growing demand for multilingual workers in a globalised context. Carter and Long propose three main reasons for introducing literature in the language classroom, which they call "the cultural model", "the language model" and "the personal growth model" (Carter & Long, 1991, pp. 2-3). In the cultural model, teachers approach literature as a cultural product, and focus mainly on the range of formats, eras and movements to expose their students to great variety. In the language model, literature is seen as a medium to improve language output in students. This practice is criticised by Carter and Long (1991) as interfering with students' personal engagement with the works, considering that they are typically asked to focus on form rather than content. The language model does however benefit students, in that they learn a systematic and methodical approach to reading any piece of literature. The personal growth model embraces the shifts in language education, and tries to introduce student-centred interaction with texts. Teachers are facilitators as students engage with the texts. This model is, to an extent, the opposite of the cultural model, in that works of literature are not considered to carry a sacred cultural meaning anymore. While teachers guide interpretation, they are not considered as the sole possessors of the meaning and value of a text. Therefore, students are not taught to look outwards to so-called experts for meaning and significance, but inwards for personal interpretation; in this model, they are expected to develop a more autonomous, critical mind. Two main practices currently co-exist in literature classes: in-depth reading and extensive reading. These two movements mirror the opposition between the aforementioned models, as on the one hand students are expected to engage with the

materials more, while on the other they are taught to recognize and classify texts within the literary history of their own cultural group, or that of a target cultural group.

Integrating Language and Literature

Traditionally, language and literature have been taught as two separate entities. There is increasing debate as to whether this tradition should persist in literature studies (Geisler, et al., 2007). Byrnes (2007) identified the source of this divide in Western thinking, and more specifically in the ancient Greek idea that language and knowledge must always be separate entities. Bakhtin (1981) and other post-structuralists, on the contrary, started to view language not as a naming tool, but as a culturally-embedded meaning making tool. Instead of applying language (*logos*) to the ideal order of nature, post-structuralists hypothesised that language itself contains a structure. Using language to construct human knowledge, therefore, means that knowledge is constructed according to the human logic embedded in language. Theories on the nature of language evolved, but Kord and Byrne (2002) observed a number of literature classrooms, and noticed that language learning was often incidental in empirical conditions. Knowledge of literature is evaluated through comprehension, memorisation, from the superficial plot level to rather broad level of literary culture and ideas. Language is used as a medium of instruction, or simply viewed as language of the text under study, but never the object of the study itself. For this reason, the learners might be allowed to use their L1 more often, and failure of communication in the L2 might occur as communicative opportunities disappear or decrease.

L2 Proficiency in the Literature Course

Hadaway, Vardell and Young (2002) wrote about ways in which literature content could help support language instruction in the EFL classroom, and found that literary language offered more contextualised language that skill-oriented materials, as new vocabulary words and terminology were embedded in narratives and detailed, if fictive, backgrounds. Because of the nature of literary themes, Hadaway et al. also noticed that students were more likely to seek genuine interaction with others, share their opinion, ask for advice, or simply ask questions, which increased their motivation in regard to communication and cooperative learning. Finally, based on Krashen's (1982) theory of input, students can be exposed to language that is level-appropriate, without sacrificing accuracy in the process.

Frantzen (2002) studied ways in which literary texts might be used as context for meaningful communication in undergraduate language classes of different levels. At the beginner levels, authentic texts can be used as models for syntax, tenses and vocabulary. At the intermediate level, students can identify narrative structure and linguistic features of the text. At the advanced level, discussion and writing topics inspired by works of literature can inspire meaningful production within a context. As stated in the beginning paragraph, literature carries a variety of universal themes, and a number of texts can be used as models for advanced grammar within each theme of the syllabus. Weber-Fève (2009) hypothesised that the divide persists between language and literature because of the difference in academic traditions of both fields. Despite some evolutions in literary theory, most definitions define literature as texts, or collections of texts, and these definition reflect the majority opinion in the field that literature is primarily a written product. On the other hand, the field of language learning and language teaching has been heavily influence by developmental psychology, language development theory and learning theory, with an increasing consideration for the stages of development and the mental processes at work in the minds of learners through

different ages. According to Weber-Fève (2009), this could explain why the culture, content, values and ideas within literary texts remain underexploited in the language classroom. Bernhardt (2002) made recommendations to overcome this dichotomy: teachers should remember that the objective is not to deliver content, but to teach students. In other words, most of the work comes from understanding and adapting to the cultural and linguistic framework of students. Additionally, educators and researchers should acknowledge that language and literature have more in common than the accepted tradition might lead to think. Going back to Ohman's (1991) definition, there is very little that separates literary language from vernacular language, if not for the parameters of some discursive acts. By contextualising literary language as well as ideas expressed in the text, and practicing close reading, teachers can learn to integrate both language and literature in the classroom.

Frantzen (2002) also noticed that advanced students of literature do not always have the language proficiency to match with their literary skills. By using the same activities that are used in beginner and intermediate level classrooms, teachers can ensure that the students understand fully the literary text, and maximise engagement with the materials. Iyer (2007) added that close reading could also be used as a tool for needs assessment in the classroom, especially regarding linguistic needs. According to Weber-Fève (2009), close reading benefits the students in that they can identify up to four levels in each text. At the linguistic level, they notice form and grammar. At the semantic level, learners elucidate meaning using cognitive skills. At structural level, students adopt an analytical mind-set to make connexions within the text. The final level is interpretative in nature, because at the cultural level, learners establish connexions within their schema and interpret the content based on information that is available outside of the literary text. Gallop (2007) observed that the close reading skills allowed teachers to integrate literature and language within the lesson plan, but the skill also transferred to other academic subjects and areas of life, as students became able

to discern more layers into texts, even of non-literary nature (journalism, marketing…). Gallop (2007) added that close reading was especially valuable to learners because the classroom then shifted to a learner-centred model, since in this approach knowledge is considered to be within the text, accessible through critical thinking, and not delivered by the teacher.

Buckton-Tucker (2012) made the same observation that students in advanced literature class had difficulty with language, and suggested another approach to integrating language and literature teaching. Textual intervention is a technique which consists in rewriting parts of a text, introducing a number of changes. Pope (1995) and Kimber (2000) both explained that readers already engage in modifications in their mind; the technique mimics this genuine interaction with literary materials and is interpretative in nature (which is the fourth level of reading outlined by Weber-Fève (2009)). With this approach, students can establish a direct connection between language and literature, as rewriting the ending of a story could for instance modify several themes. In the act of rewriting a text, the impact of language on form becomes directly measurable. Buckton-Tucker (2012) also advocated for textual intervention, explaining that literary language was much easier to introduce in concrete ways with creative writing exercises than they were to define in an abstract manner. In other words, writing a simile and a metaphor might be more effective in the long run that learning the definition of two figures of speech that have the same analogical function. Although textual intervention cannot replace traditional literary instruction, with the specific academic writing products that gravitate around the subject, the technique makes for a very communicative set-up in a course that could be delivered as a lecture.

Benefits of Literature for Language Learning

Alami (2013) and Savvidou (2004) researched how mastering literary skills was mutually beneficial, and even necessary to a positive language learning experience. Communicative competence does not rely only on knowledge of form and structure, but also on the ability to interpret and analyse discourse in context. According to Gajdusek (2007), this feature of the literary text stems from the non-referential nature of literature, meaning that the text is representational of what the writer put in the book, and not directly of reality. Once more, Ohman's (1991) definition of literature as mimetic discourse in a fictive context is in alignment with the integrative approach to language and literature. According to Nada (1993), another benefit of literature on language learning is that the study of literary texts provides a framework for students to think in the L2. Sterns (1987) wrote about the benefits of literature in teaching writing skills to beginner-level students, through controlled rewriting grammar exercises, and intermediate-level students with guided production. Similar to Gallop (2007), Zyngier and Fialho (2010) observed that the fields of literature and stylistics could both benefit from greater connection with theories of education, so that the learner-centred model may take root in that area of instruction too. The researchers explained that students need to have a less vertical relationship to their content professor, in order for them to develop truly critical and emotional reactions to literary texts.

Alami (2013) referred to a few other integrated models to teaching language and literature, among which O'Brien (1999), who relied on linguistic description in order to interpret the meaning of texts (drawing attention to form and meaning alternatively, until learners managed to express how meaning was conveyed through form, and eventually conveying their own interpretation through these same linguistic forms). Zafeiriadou (2001) focused on learner-centred instruction, where all texts are seen as opportunities for personal growth and meaningful communication. In the same spirit of decentralisation of knowledge,

Carter and McRae (1999) developed the reader-response approach, which enables students to seek interpretation inwards rather than in the teacher.

CBI and Integrated Content and Language

The literature shows that both the literature- and language-centred sides of research see mutual benefits in learning skills from the other discipline. Integrative techniques were developed on both sides of the research community to be used in either the literature or the EFL classroom. Both the tension between content and language and the dialectic of integration are relevant to the field of CBI and the multiple iterations of this approach. Indeed, CBI as a field epitomises the conflict between content and language, as evidenced by the large variety of programmes that try to accommodate the needs of both students and teachers in specific institutional contexts. On one end of the spectrum (van Lier, 2005), content is prioritised, with only a few language-centred activities. The sheltered and EMI programmes are instances of such content-driven courses, relying on incidental learning to fulfil any objective targeted towards language acquisition. On the other end of the spectrum, theme-based instruction has entered the EFL classroom, and fosters language learning, using literary works and other materials only as authentic instances of communicative contexts. In the middle, the adjunct model represents a middle way, through which content and language should be given equal attention. However, Goldstein et al. (1997) coined the expression flight attendant syndrome to describe how misunderstandings are especially frequent in the adjunct model. Cooperation, just like language learning, is not incidental. In the CBI field, there seems to be an additional layer of integration, not only integrating content and language learning in the classroom, but also integrating content teaching and language teaching through cooperation. As researchers have pointed out throughout this section, content fields,

such as that of literature, could benefit from integrating learner-centred techniques that have been developed and applied in language instruction. The gap in teaching techniques and philosophies is an obstacle to the integration of content and language. Regarding what could be achieved in a case of functioning integration, Holten (1997) demonstrated how literature was the most effective content to be taught in a CBI context, because students could relate more to the themes regardless of personal preference for the subject matter, and to a deeper level of cognition, scaffolding the use of abstract discourse in the foreign language.

Goldstein (2017) looked back on her previous article and reassessed the situation in adjunct-teaching. According to a survey she designed, teachers still do not receive support from the administration in terms of salary or decreased workload to accommodate their needs in terms of coordination. The situation evolved in terms of distribution of power among staff, as about half of the EFL teachers reported that they were treated as equals by their content colleagues. About a third of the respondents were able to work in close cooperation with their teaching partner. A number of teachers still reported unfair distribution of power within their institution, where the content-teachers were less willing to participate and undermined the credibility of the writing teacher in front of students. Goldstein (2017) also reported about the benefits of adjunct teaching, with affective benefits for multilingual students who felt more integrated and included in the mainstream classroom. She reported an increase in student motivation in the EFL classroom, due to the adjunction of the course with a content credit-bearing course. Students reported that they felt more confident from receiving double the support, learning how to organise their work in college and learning content ahead of other students and in greater depth. Students also reported a boost in confidence caused by an increase in perceived language proficiency. Teachers, on the other hand, reported that despite these benefits for the students, the drawbacks were numerous in the professional sphere. Without institutional support, teachers felt obliged to do extra work out of a sense of duty;

many educators complained that at the very minimum, financial support, and being provided with a space and coordinated times for meetings or auditing their colleagues' classes, would have eased the strain on their professional well-being. Feelings of isolation, frustration and sometimes resentment emerged over time, and some teachers reported that they stopped participating in adjunct programmes despite their long experience working in the model.

Conclusion

Although literature is a richly polysemic term, some definitions in the field of linguistics, such as that of Ohman (1991), support integrative theories of instruction. Research shows that implementing a mix of traditional literary techniques with more recent language-centred techniques were equally beneficial to both language and content courses (O'Brien, 1999; Carter & McRae, 1999; Iver, 2007; Gallop, 2007; Weber-Fève, 2009). Techniques designed in the spirit of integration can transfer to the field of CBI, which suffers from the same internal conflicts. Although CBI is concerned with language across the curriculum, regardless of subject matter, literature appears as the primary channel through which to achieve such integration (Holten, 1997). As a result, implementing literature CBI courses in any CBI curriculum would positively influence the learning and fluency outcomes. The impact of these tensions among subjects reflect on how institutions perform (Goldstein, 2007), and international schools in particular could benefit from a careful implementation of a few key integrative techniques. The following section will thus explore the different types of institutions within the international school community, and identify determining the determining influences in the teaching of literature in international curricula.

Mapping Out the Diversity of International Schools

Introduction

International schooling describes a variety of institutions organised in a multi-layered system. Hayden and Thompson (2000) underlined in the introductory chapter of their book that the international school community lacks homogeneity, and presents great diversity. Additionally, Murphy (2000) explained that there is no definition of the term "international school" which successfully covers all the different schools represented in the community. To add to the complexity, even the term "international education" is perceived differently across the community. The most general characteristic that makes a school international is the presence of students or staff members that are of a different nationality than that of the country where the school is in. However, most schools fit under that description, independently of any title attributed to the institution. Another characteristic of international schools is that they embrace this diversity by offering programmes specifically designed for the international student population, taught in some cases primarily by international staff members, to answer the needs of the international community within the country. In other words, all schools can potentially be representative of international diversity, but international schools choose to design their curriculum to answer a set of needs. Walker (2000) also noted that international schools usually came with sets of liberal and humanist values, and interacting with a diverse community was one of main takeaways of the international school experience for future mobile workers aiming to integrate a globalised system. Sencer Corlu (2014) summarised the situation with the following dichotomy: on the one hand, international schools deliver humanist and liberal education, but on the other they have to adapt to pragmatic imperatives dictated by the highly mobile nature of the student

body, which brings concerns over the recognition of this international education in other countries. The system is mostly private for this reason, but even public schools can apply for international accreditation through private agencies.

The guiding principle, for this section, is to map out the very diverse pool of international schools, and to understand at which levels the fundamentals of CBI might play a role in the learning process of students, using literature as a primary focus.

Accreditation Agencies

There are two types of agencies or institutions which hold the most stakes in the field of international education. The first type of agency will be regrouped under the common denomination of **accreditation agencies**. Through the analysis of a variety of examples, the main features of these institutions will be outlined.

Accreditation Service for International Schools, Colleges and Universities (ASIC)

ASIC is an independent UK-based agency that grants accreditation to institutions in the field of education. ASIC works with different types of institutions, namely universities, colleges, schools, training organisations and providers of online courses.

ASIC advertises its holistic approach to evaluating institutions, based on eight major areas of concern:

> "A – Premises, and Health and Safety
> B – Governance, Management and Staff Resources
> C – Learning, Teaching and Research Activity
> D – Quality Assurance and Enhancement
> E – Student Welfare
> F – Awards and Qualifications
> G – Marketing and Recruitment of Students
> H – Systems Management and Compliance with Immigration Regulations"
> *(https://www.asicuk.com/schools-accreditation/ consulted 31/05/20)*

The first point that stands out is the fact that “learning, teaching and research activity” only appears as the third item of the list, behind premises, and staff and management. Although the accreditation was designed for schools, the academic requirements regarding content do not appear to be a priority. Furthermore, looking at the ASIC’s internal documentation regarding evaluation criteria, the content of the curriculum is not examined. Section C of the criteria handbook only lists a number of factors that affect in-class environment, but remain exterior to in-class teaching concerns. This choice is understandable in one respect, which is that with such flexible criteria, the accreditation agency may sell services to a greater variety of institutions worldwide.

The second point to notice is that except for section C and D of the list, all criteria are concerned with the institution’s management choices and ethics. As previously established, section C itself is only superficially concerned with educational contents. Key-terms, such as awards, marketing and compliance with regulations reveal the true purpose of the accreditation agency: ASIC is a marketing service that allows institutions to brand themselves as “international”. Whereas a naïve onlooker could expect a levelling of educational standards, the core service offered by the agency is a sort of corporate makeover, to rebrand your education business into a more sophisticated and attractive version, in order to secure more clients on an increasingly competitive market. For this reason, and despite a specialisation in the education niche, the agency regards schools and institutions as businesses, and guides them towards accepted managerial strategies. In other words, accreditation agencies reshape existing businesses into what the current norm of success dictates. The direct consequence of that observation is that institutions are regarded through a capitalist lens, implying that financial benefits must emerge at some point. Although accreditation agencies are extremely concerned with ethics, the conflict of interest should be underlined. Nussbaum (2010) wrote about a number of problems

Council of International Schools (CIS)

The CIS defines itself as a global, non-governmental, non-profit membership organisation which offers its services to institutions at the primary, secondary and tertiary level. This specific organisation has more than 1360 members across 122 countries. The organisation does not seem to claim any specific origin, but capitalises instead on the nationalities represented in its ranks. The headquarters are located in the Netherlands. This organisation aims to foster global citizenship worldwide through quality international education, which entails a number of teaching goals related to teaching languages, introducing global issues into the curriculum, reflecting on ethics and diversity, teaching a number of leadership skills that work in a variety of cultural contexts; the members should also strive to adopt sustainable policies in their local communities. The CIS places emphasis on child protection and provides workshops to train staff from all institutions to take an active stance in this matter, seeing that international school populations are especially vulnerable to abuse, due to their mobility, as well as the variety of social and cultural norms represented in a classroom, and the varying degrees to which children grasp the cultural norms of their local community. Although the CIS is not the only agency to focus on child protection as one of the foundational membership requirements, their dedication to training their staff past the accreditation period and to raising awareness should be noted.

The CIS claims to be the leading evaluation and accreditation agency for international teaching institutions, with wide recognition by national government offices. The CIS was accredited itself by an overarching American non-profit organisation, the International Council Advancing Independent School Accreditation (ISAICA), whose other members are essentially independent school unions from a number of States in the USA.

Japan Council of International Schools (JCIS)

The JCIS is a Japanese, non-profit, non-sectarian organisation that welcomes primary and secondary schools located in Japan offering western-style education in English. Despite a similar denomination to the CIS, the JCIS is not an accreditation agency, but an association that provides a network and training for teaching professionals in Japan. The members do adhere to a code of ethics, and to hiring guidelines and a code of conduct in alignment with the regulations in place for child protection. Similarly, the European Council of International Schools (ECIS) is not an accreditation agency either, although this UK-based association provides professional training workshops to its members.

Council of British International Schools (COBIS)

This British agency accredited 270 schools in 80 countries. The purpose of COBIS is to give a voice at a governmental level to schools providing British education worldwide, and to facilitate and support networking and staff training for those institutions. According to a partner data collection institution, the International School Consultancy (ISC), there are around 8000 English-medium international schools worldwide, and a small half of these claim to offer British education, often adapting features of the British national curriculum. This agency is mostly concerned with continuity of instruction for students who start studying overseas and then transfer to the UK. Contrary to the CIS, which advertises multinational cooperation, the selling point of COBIS is firmly rooted in its national identity. Much like a specialty food store, COBIS encourages British schools to open “franchises” in other countries, according to their own terminology.

On the COBIS website, future investors and school owners can find information to set up their first international school business. One graph specifically lays down the six key studies to carry out before opening a school business in a foreign country (COBIS, 2020). What

stands out from this document is the type of terminology used by the agency: market research, competition, risks and opportunities, legal framework and local requirements. The language unequivocally refers to business terminology and business processes, equating schools to any other types of company.

New England Association of Schools and Colleges (NEASC)

NEASC defines itself as an independent, voluntary, non-profit accreditation agency in the USA. This organisation was founded in 1885, which makes it one of the forerunners of the field of accreditation in North America. NEASC offers a variety of accreditation programmes, international schools accreditation being only one of them. This international accreditation can be delivered to American and international schools in the US and in other countries, national schools with embedded international programmes, and online education providers. NEASC seems to view schools through a different prism, which is evident in their ACE programme for transformative accreditation. ACE stands for Architecture, Culture and Ecology, which is a metaphor for a sound construct or foundation holding the school together, cultural diversity of both staff and students, and insertion in a community through the school's identity construct. The first phase of this accreditation model resembles the accreditation criteria of other agencies, focusing on safe premises, available equipment and legal and ethical obligations. The next phases, however, are centred on the core notion of learning. This accreditation agency looks into courses available, motivation of a target student population, learning processes, as well as self- and peer-assessed impact of learning on students. The NEASC teams also encourage reflexive thinking at an institutional level, which is what they call transformational accreditation: a process through which staff members become aware of their teaching and learning beliefs, and are given an opportunity to make changes based on research and future goals for their institution. NEASC also defends

the notion that learning improves in a healthy emotional environment, and encourage schools to reflect on the way the various members of the ecosystem interact with each other.

Finally, NEASC points out a number of drawbacks from accreditations that are not learning-focused. Most agencies do not view schools on a continuum, but simply set out a number of standards that have to be met in order to receive accreditation. Because schools are seen first and foremost as businesses, they are not offered different accreditation plans, except for when they present significant differences in the type of institution (an online school versus a traditional private school). The accreditation process usually takes a significant amount of paperwork, as well as visits of professional assessors who go through the school archives, and meeting with criteria that are representative of an accepted norm among accreditation agencies and their accreditors. NEASC created a new procedure based on measuring the impact of learning on students, which shifts the paradigm in the accreditation world.

Conclusion

In brief, accreditation agencies sell a brand to institutions. Schools can buy this brand image; they are accompanied in this makeover by the agencies, following a number of safety and ethical guidelines. The most noticeable feature of these makeover packages is that the content of lessons is barely mentioned. Requirements as to what should be taught are nearly inexistent. Additionally, the accreditation phenomenon is a symptom of what Beder, Varney and Gosden (2009) described in chapter 13 of their book; education has become a market, and providers of education services heavily rely on marketing to keep existing in a competitive environment. Some schools have no choice but to invest in marketing strategies such as international accreditation, since the alternative leads to a decrease in the number of students, which in turn leads to a decrease in funding, and potentially closure of programmes,

or even schools. Such a financial reality has consequences on the experience of students, as weaker students might be encouraged to enlist for less challenging electives, in order to boost a school's performance report. Hayden and Thompson (2000) also warned contemporaries of the shift in leadership from academic-driven to market-driven decision-making, which gave priority to recruitment over academic standards. Nussbaum (2010) underlined about a number of problems that arose from looking at schools exclusively through the capitalist lens, and voiced concern about the notion that schools were expected to generate financial profit, instead of focusing on less substantial and immediate benefits.

Although accreditation agencies operate as multinational entities, their business model is clearly based off of western business models, and spread a uniform school design. There could be studies focusing on the variety of teaching approaches, and the diversity of institutions and management options that can exist in the international school realm. The purpose of accreditation is to attract customers by a vertical validation of a school's assets. In other words, accreditation agencies sell peace of mind and prestige to their clients; in this system, where accredited schools are better and wealthier, the question of diversity could be a paradoxical weakness. Furthermore, there is a diversity of international schools within the accredited world, but other schools can be described as international, despite a lack of accreditation. A broader and more extensive study of the field could be researched in future papers, to help define and understand the needs of the international community in a variety of contexts.

Authorisation Agencies

Until now, the paper focused on the meaning of the *international* appellation, and explored possible routes that a school could choose in order to receive accreditation. However, going back to Walker (2000), one of the primary characteristics of international schools is that they specialise in answering the needs of the international community. The student population of international school is highly mobile, and concerned with integration in today's globalised world. One of the primary needs of this population is curriculum continuity, coherence, and consistency, as well as acceptance of the degree overseas. Hayden and Thompson (2000) and Sencer Corlu (2014) wrote about the diversity of international curricula. The former researchers described how philosophy of education, and the nature of the student body and of the school could impact curricular choices. Combined with national curricular expectations, schools are sometimes limited in the amount of flexibility they can integrate into the curriculum, which results in extreme curricular variety across international schools. Sencer Corlu's (2014) observations aligned with Hayden and Thompson (2000), as some schools may decide to design their own curriculum adapted from both national and international content (Stobie, 2005), or adopt a pre-designed curriculum offered by agencies. The next part of the paper will thus focus on curriculum within international schools, and more specifically on organisations that design such curricula.

Keeping with the business analogy established in the previous section, there is a second type of institution which provides services and products that can be sold by international schools to parents and students; these companies can be regrouped under the term **authorisation agencies**. Authorisation agencies can bring prestige to a school, but the main value of their services is that they serve as warranty for a number of factors. With authorised content comes a warranty of academic results, continuity of content across establishments,

and a network for professional development for the teachers. These needs were identified by as essential for international students (Hayden & Thompson, 2000; Sencer Corlu, 2014). While accreditation agencies focused mainly on the structure of an administration, classroom equipment and conformity to both work ethics of the company and the legal requirements of the target country, authorisation agencies are decidedly focused on academic performance and the content of courses.

There are a number of authorisation agencies across the globe, but three were commonly referenced by parent associations: Fieldwork Education, the International Baccalaureate and Cambridge International. The key feature for each of these authorisation agencies is the type of diploma, or qualification, that they prepare students for. All of the agencies can boast a network of international schools across the world, and in that respect, all of them can argue that they offer academic continuity. One determining selection criteria among agencies is the recognition at a university level of the qualifications offered by these schools. To begin with, the paper will present a number of authorisation agencies, focusing in a second part on the different programmes offered at a high school level. Finally, the subject of literature will be singled out from these curricula, to try and understand the relationship between international content courses and the CBI approach.

Fieldwork Education

Fieldwork Education offers three programmes to more than 1000 schools: the International Early Years Curriculum (IEYC) for students between the ages of 2 to 5, the International Primary Curriculum (IPC) for students between the ages of 5 to 11, and the International Middle Years Curriculum (IMYC) for students between the ages of 11 to 14 (Fieldwork Education, n.d.b). These programmes are taught in more than 90 countries, thanks to 15 000 trained educators (Fieldwork Education, n.d.a). This authorisation agency does not

provide a curriculum for high school students. While Fieldwork is transparent on its values and goals, no trace of the curriculum can be found on the website. For all of these reasons, this organisation will not be considered relevant to the study, nor will it be taken into account in the following comparison. (Fieldwork Education, n.d.a)

International Baccalaureate (IB)

The International Baccalaureate (IB) covers a number of educational programmes that cater to 3 to 19 year old students. These programmes can be taught in any authorised school worldwide, which are known as IB World Schools. The benefits of the IB for students are on the one hand the continuity of education at an international level, considering that 5000 schools have adopter the IB curriculum. The IB system also employs more than 70000 teachers, and dispenses education to more than one million students worldwide (International Baccalaureate Organisation [IBO], 2014a). On the other hand, educators from the IB approach value both academic excellence and student personal development.

IB currently offers four programmes to international schools. The Primary Years Programme (PYP) caters to the needs of students 3 through 12 years old (until the end of elementary school). Students aged 11 through 16 can then follow the Middle Years Programme (MYP). For students in the age range of 16 to 19, two programmes are available: the Diploma Programme (DP), which is the original programme offered by the IB, and the Career-related Programme (CP). These programmes prepare students for the international baccalaureate, which is a high school qualification (IBO, 2014k).

Cambridge International

Cambridge International is a non-governmental authorisation agency that sells courses to 10 000 schools worldwide, which is twice more than IB schools. Cambridge International

courses range from elementary school to high school as well, with four programmes: Cambridge Primary (5-11 years old), Cambridge Secondary 1 (11-14 years old), Cambridge Secondary 2 (14-16 years old) and Cambridge Advanced (16-19 years old) (Cambridge Assessment International Education [CAIE], 2020g). These programmes prepare students for the Cambridge O level (junior high school qualification) and A levels (high school qualification). Similarly to IB programmes, Cambridge separates its advanced learners into two categories. The *AS and A levels* programme replicates a regular high school curriculum, while the *Pre-U* programme focuses primarily on preparing students for the standards and expectations of universities (CAEI, 2020e, 2020f). Cambridge International announced in 2019 that the latter programme would be withdrawn from their schools; the last cohorts will graduate from *Pre-U* in 2023. In terms of values, Cambridge International aims to make learners "confident, responsible, reflective, innovative and engaged" (CAIE, 2019, p.3).

High School Curricula

Looking more closely at the DP curriculum in the IB programme, academic subjects are divided into core subjects and electives from six subject groups (IBO, 2014f, 2014g; International Baccalaureate [IB], 2018b, May 2). Core subjects have a strong research orientation, and are name as follow: *theory of knowledge* (or epistemology), *extended essay* (a 4000 words research paper on a topic chosen by the student) and *creativity, activity, service* (a personal project that consists in setting a challenging creative or personal goal, and whose solving will benefit others). The six main subject groups after that are studies in language and literature, language acquisition, individuals and society, sciences, mathematics and the arts. Students are required to take one subject within each of these subject groups, but are allowed to replace the arts by another elective. Most subjects are offered at two levels of

difficulty: at the standard level, students are expected to receive 150 hours of teaching, while the higher level consists in 240 hours of teaching, for three to four subjects in the curriculum.

The Career-related Programme is the second programme in the IB catalogue that is open to 16 to 19 years old students. The CP is focused on starting businesses, entering the workforce, and providing students with the tools they need outside of school (IBO, 2014b; IB, 2018a, May 2). Courses are divided into CP core courses, as well as other courses that are not provided by the IBO directly, but by the career-related study provider in a field chosen by the student. Graduates of the CP programme receive an IB certificate that does not reward the content of career-specific studies, and need a complementary certificate from the company or institution which hosted their internship or apprenticeship (IBO, 2014c, 2014d, 2014e).

In the *AS and A levels* programme, students can choose from a list of 55 subjects. In the Cambridge system, requirements depend largely on the target university of the students and the availability of a subject within a specific school, which means that most students can personalise their curriculum over the course of three years (CAIE, 2020a; 2020d)

Course Catalogue

Looking more closely at the literature subject group, there is a true wealth of courses within the IB community. The IB qualification offers three literary subjects: Language A literature, Language A language and literature, and Literature and performance (IBO, 214h; 2014i; 2014j; 2014l). The first course is offered in 55 languages and can be extended to new languages on request from a school, while the second subject is available in 17 languages. The third one is delivered in English, but can also be taught in Spanish or French upon special request. The IB organisation recommends that students take two courses in the language and literature group, in different languages, as a way to obtain a bilingual diploma. This statement is very interesting because it brings back the question of CBI. Within the Cambridge system, the literature electives are the following: English literature (for the 2 year A Levels), English language and literature (for the one year AS Levels only), Spanish literature and Hindi literature. No other language seems to be included in the catalogue. Furthermore, the likeliness of students of a different native language electing Spanish or Hindi literature is close to zero, which means that in the Cambridge system, literature is presented through the lens of British culture.

Comparing the different subjects, the first element that stands out is this "language A" denomination. This language refers in theory to one of the native languages of the students who attend the school, but language A might also refer to the language they use at school, or their primary academic language. The non-restrictive use of the term *native language* points in the direction of a multitude of linguistic combinations within international schools; for instance, courses could be delivered in English as an A language in a country where it is not an official language, on the grounds that the school delivers instruction in this language only.

On the other hand, literature courses could be delivered in the native language of students, which, despite an English-speaking learning environment, could also fall under the "language A". According to this description, learning literature in another language falls under the CBI umbrella. Similarly, although less explicitly, Cambridge International aims its courses at students who might not be native speakers of English, and therefore need the legitimacy of a British education provider approved by organisms such as the British Council. It is however difficult to evaluate how many Cambridge learners in the Common Wealth share that need.

Syllabus

In the IB Language A literature course, students are offered either 240 hours of instruction at the higher level, or 150 hours for the standard level. Students are presented with 13 different works of literature in the former, and 9 in the latter. Although the description of times periods is not as precise as within the Cambridge syllabus, the IBO specifies that the works should be representation of a variety of literary forms, places and time periods (IBO, 2014h). On examination day, students are graded on two essays, one comparative based on two of the works studied, and one analytical and critical on unknown texts; there is also an oral presentation which is designed with the same comparative approach, as well as a personal response of 1500 words to one of the works in the programme. Just as in the Cambridge programme, students are expected to master linguistic and stylistic analysis of literature, and develop an informed critical opinion. However, the IB syllabus places special emphasis on contextualisation and culture, with a study of different works in translation, focusing on the impact of notions such as bias and cultural assumptions on the interpretative process of readers.

In the Cambridge A Level syllabus for English literature, the final evaluation consists in writing four essays, each worth 25% of the final grade. Three of the four papers have a pre-

set topic; “Poetry and prose”, “Drama”, and “Shakespeare and other pre-20th century texts” (CI, 2019, p. 22). For the fourth paper, students can choose a topic among “1900 to the present”, “Comment and appreciation”, or “Coursework”. Most students study 8 sets of texts (either complete works or collections of short works) over two years, except for those who picked “Comment and appreciation”. These students study 6 sets of texts, and receive two unknown texts on the day of the examination. The Cambridge syllabus aims to foster independent thinkers with excellent academic and communicative skills, and promotes personal growth through the acquisition of a broad culture. Looking more specifically at the criteria for each paper, students are evaluated on their knowledge of linguistics and pragmatics. Memorisation is an implicit requirement of the syllabus, since original texts are not allowed for reference during the examination (CAIE 2020b; 2020c).

Conclusion

International schools come in many administrative combinations, but the most recognised schools usually rely on accreditation through agencies in order to secure a position in this niche field of education. The sector is driven by competition, and an increasing number of authors underline how business objectives sometimes take precedence over quality of instruction. However, authorisation agencies act as check and balances for this model, by ensuring a quality of content across all members schools. Although schools do not all depend on these organisations to design a curriculum that satisfies both national and international requirements, the large recognition of authorisation agency content introduces greater accountability in this diverse field. Some differences in approach and philosophy persist. Taking Literature as an example, the IBO adopts a point of view that aligns with post-colonial studies. Cambridge International, on the other hand, adopts a more hegemonic

framework in terms of cultural representation, despite an equal focus and level of expectation on academic skills as its competitor.

Synthetic Framework

Looking back on this review of the literature, a number of points stand out. First of all, CBI is a field in constant evolution, and there is not prescriptive definition of what a CBI course should be, but only descriptions of what courses currently exist. Similarly, there is no unified definition of international schools. The following framework is a synthesis of the research findings in this paper, but the key points are not prescriptive in nature. The aim of the framework is to compare one specific experience to the multiple models described in the literature.

CBI	Literature	International Schools
The aim of CBI programmes is to integrate language across the curriculum, regardless of the specific variation of CBI adopted or the subject taught. Content and language are integrated to an extent, in either one course, or in two or more courses that function in cooperation.	Literature as a school subject is the study of an area of human discourse that obeys a number of rules. In other words, language (or one type of language) is the content of this course. This paper followed Ohman's (1991) definition of Literature, but others may be used instead.	There is no unified definition of international schools. International students and staff are present within an international school. However, the first feature of an international school is that it aims to meet the needs and demands of an international population. International schools promote international values

On the teacher's side, either one content instructor (EMI, Sheltered), one EFL/ESL instructor (Theme-based, SCLT) or two or more instructors (adjunct, simulated or modified adjunct, CLIL) are in charge of integrating content and language. Language and content integration might not correspond to existing models of CBI instruction, but can be placed on van Lier's (2005) scale. In other words, practices may be identified as content-driven, language-driven, or balanced. CBI is neither a mainstream content-class, nor a language course. A content course	According to Geisler et al.'s and Byrnes's (2007) observations, Literature has mostly been taught as separate content from language. However, these authors also underline the increasing concern of Literature teachers and researchers for integrated language and concern. A number of techniques were developed to foster integration: alternating language- and content-centred approaches (O'Brien, 1999), reader response approach (Carter & McRae, 1999), textual intervention (Buckton-Tucker, 2012), close reading (Weber-Fève, 2009). These techniques are representative	(diversity, integration, mobility, cooperation, humanism). International schools is a controlled appellation regulated by accreditation agencies. Governments may grant accreditations as well. A non-accredited school may offer an international curriculum. Accredited schools, in principle, offer an international curriculum, but caution should be applied when looking at accreditation policies, since content is not regulated by accreditation agencies. The outcomes of international schooling are

that does not accommodate language learning needs of the students and use even incidental opportunities to draw attention to language, or a language course that does not use authentic content materials at all are not considered part of the CBI spectrum.	of the integrative approach to teaching Literature. Skills specific to the literature class may transfer to other academic domains (critical thinking, argumentative structure, cause-consequence, academic writing and presenting in the L1, interpersonal skills). Although students may be asked to imitate literary language in stylistics exercises, the purpose of the Literature course is not to produce literary language, but meta-literary language. At the production stage, students should exhibit systematic and critical thinking in their academic writings and presentations.	consistency of content across the globe and eligibility in foreign universities, **as well as** local universities. International schools support high mobility students, but also local integration. Authorisation agencies design curricula for international schools. Schools are free to design their own content to meet national and international standards, but authorised content increases in theory the chances of international recognition of a degree in foreign universities.

	Exercises such as pastiche and translation are not the primary output of the course. Regarding the aims of the literature course, Carter and Long (1991) distinguish three primary aims that can be found in all programmes to an extent. The cultural model privileges a wide coverage of Literature across time, movements or regions. The language model focuses on output and a systematic analysis of language. The personal growth model places the educator as a resource rather than a source of knowledge; students develop critical thinking and interpretative skills.	

Evaluation

This section of the paper is concerned with piecing the various elements of this study together. The starting point was the following: from a specific experience in the system, it was not possible as a student to understand which type of education I received. Concepts such as CBI, CLIL, immersion programme and bilingual studies all seemed appropriate to an extent and blended in with this experience. After reaching outwards to try and understand different academic fields, and highlighting the most common approaches, the final section of the paper will bring all of this knowledge back to the original experience, in an attempt to finally label and categorise what type of instruction I received.

Description of the Programme

I attended a French high-school in Dijon from September 2009 to June 2012, and entered the very first class of the *Option Internationale du Baccalauréat* (OIB) section, which stands for French baccalaureate with an international option (or module). Most of the analysis made in this section will be based off of the official *Association des Sections Internationales Britanniques et Anglophone* (ASIBA) 2020 OIB handbook rather than memory. The ASIBA is a non-profit organisation that supports the OIB programme all over France, allowing teachers, parents and students to connect in a broader network. The objectives of the ASIBA are diverse, but I remember a definite change in the programme after my school joined the association. For all of their training, teachers in the programme found it very difficult to reassure parents about the direction of the OIB curriculum. The association served a great role in clarifying what the outcomes of an OIB class were, and helped parents prepare for the

three year programme. One particular benefit of joining the ASIBA was that the association provided a structure for financial management, and organising school trips became much easier and accessible for all families after 2012. As a matter of fact, teachers of the OIB section and parents managed to organise the very first trip outside of Europe. The fourth batch of students went to New York the following year.

Details of the Programme

About the French *Baccalauréat*

The French *Baccalauréat* (FB) is a national examination that students usually sit at the age of 18, after four years of jr. high school and three years of high school. Although similar in name, the FB is different from the IB, the European Baccalaureate, or any other Baccalaureate found in Great Britain. French students study a minimum of six school subjects for this examination, which corresponds to 30 hours of class a week on average. Although some subjects might be taught in smaller groups, the average class size in high school is 35 students. There are three types of FB, or three *séries*: general, technological and professional, but only the first one prepares students for university. Regardless of the chosen *série*, all students are taught and examined on French, Philosophy, History-Geography, Mathematics, one foreign language minimum, Physical Education, and two other subjects of their choice. Within a *série*, students also have to specialise in a subject: Science students may specialise in physics and chemistry, biology or maths, for instance.

Every year in June, candidates sit through both oral and written examinations. Some subjects may be evaluated in the second year of high school, but most examinations take place at the end of the final year. Each subject is marked on a scale from 0 to 20 and weighed differently depending on a student's specialisation. Currently, students may choose to major

in science, social and economic science or literature (humanities). For instance, while science and social and economic science students may sit the same math examination, the weight of their individual grade on their average *Baccalauréat* grade will vary based on a number of criteria, such as their choice of specialisation. Success is determined by the average grade on 20 points across all subjects, and honours are attributed accordingly. The honours are given in the following pattern: *mention assez bien* for grades 12 to 13.99, *mention bien* for grade 14 to 15.99 and *mention très bien* for grades 16 and above. Grades above 17 maybe be awarded *félicitations du jury* in recognition of their exceptional results, as grades above 16/20 are rare within subjects, and even more so as average grades. Certain subjects have a reputation of being historically difficult to pass, and the annual average grade for philosophy is usually under 10 points. In terms of grading policy, every paper is anonymised and gathered in numbered batches. Because most high schools are public in France, papers are randomly sent to state-employed assessors (teachers from different academies). While teachers from an academy might still randomly be assigned papers from their own students, oral assessors may never assess their own students. The system is considered to be overall fair, and all assessors receive harmonisation criteria before each annual session. Students are given an opportunity to retake a few subjects if their average score ranges close to the minimum of 10 points.

The International Option for French *Baccalauréat* (OIB)

Main Features and Integration into the National Curriculum. Two subjects are taught as part of the British International option, and replace two subjects from the normal French curriculum. Although there is not specification regarding the subjects, except for the fact that they cannot be language courses, most OIB sections replace History-Geography in French by the bilingual OIB version of this course, while the normal EFL class is replaced by

a British literature course. Because of these two changes, students still experience a normal *Baccalauréat*, with a slightly heavier course load than average (37 hours of class a week in my final year), and an increased weight on OIB topics (about 30% of my average *Baccalauréat* grade in the Science *série*, with a Biology specialisation, and about 40% of the grade in other *séries*).

Brief History. Bilingual education has existed in France since the 1960s, but language fluency was historically assessed based on the norm of students who started learning a language at 11, 13 or sometimes 15 years old. The structures in place did not grant any recognition to bilingual students until 1981, when growing pressure from parents of bilingual children and foreign residents eventually convinced the Ministry of Education to come together with other European countries in order to design a new programme that would be recognised in other universities abroad. Cambridge International, then names University of Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate (UCLES), was mandated to set up the OIB programme because of its extensive experience in curriculum design for A Levels. The programme was first launched in English, and followed by other sections in a variety of languages. It was decided at the time that OIB teachers should be foreign nationals, and native speakers of the target language, but as the number of sections grew, French nationals with sufficient English proficiency joined the ranks of OIB teachers. To summarise what has been said so far, all OIB sections are hybrid classes within the national French system, with two subjects whose syllabus was designed by an authorisation agency called Cambridge International.

Grading Practice. All *Baccalauréat* papers written in OIB subjects are collected and sent to Cambridge subject inspectors. These inspectors also work in tandem with OIB teachers for the oral jurys. Despite the Cambridge curriculum, the French grading system

makes it difficult for universities abroad to accept OIB students in their programmes, as a 14.5/20 average *Baccalauréat* grade does not convey as much as a AAA in the British system. Overall, the French system covers a broader variety of subjects and is much less specialised than its British counterpart.

When assessing a candidate, whether in the oral or the written part of the exam, OIB examiners should follow the following four principles:

1) Positive marking, using a reward rather than a deficit model; in other words, to try and give credit to candidates for what they know, understand and explain clearly, instead of subtracting points for what they do not know;
2) Acknowledging all judgements and interpretations, even if they personally disagree with a candidate, provided that the points were sufficiently developed;
3) Not penalising linguistic errors, except when the number of errors and mistakes render speech unintelligible. At the same time, is it to be noted that candidates with high marks are expected to reach a certain level of accuracy and fluency;
4) Using the marking criteria set out later in this ASIBA Handbook as well as any specific guidance given by Cambridge Inspectors.

These principles are important because they differ from the normal French grading system applied for the *Baccalauréat*, where each candidates starts with full marks and loses points for mistakes and vague answers. Additionally, the grading criteria are aligned with CEFR requirements.

Language and Literature Syllabus

The aims of the syllabus are to help students develop informed responses to literature in English and to gain enjoyment of literature in English, while at the same time to develop analytical and discussion skills in order to articulate that response according to academic standards. The evaluation criteria were set according to six qualities that candidates should aim to develop in the programme: knowledge of the works and the context in which they were written; understanding of not only plot, but also significance of the literary works; analytical skills to describe, identify and explain literary effects; judgement, both in the capacity to think critically about a text, or in the ability to provide relevant answers to specific content and discussion questions; cultural awareness of the context around works of literature; and the ability to express themselves in fluent English and to organise their ideas while demonstrating pragmatic awareness of the setting in which they speak or write.

Students study works of literature over the course of two years; the selection is decided ahead of time by an assembly of OIB subject teachers and Cambridge inspectors. Authors are usually British, American, and nationals of the Commonwealth, or occasionally writers who write original works in English as their second language. About half of the works are representative of the twentieth century. All works are distributed among four categories: drama, poetry, prose fiction and one of Shakespeare's plays. A work can stay on the list for up to two years, so two successive batches of students might study the same play in the drama section, but different works in all three others. The committee picks three works for each of the first three categories, and teachers may choose one of each to present to their students. In the case of Shakespeare's plays, teachers can choose among a selection of two.

During the oral examination, students present a detailed commentary of a 30 line excerpt of a Shakespeare's play, followed by 15 minutes of questions. In the second part,

students are given a topic area to think about (in my case Post-war writing in the 1950s and the 1960s), and the name of a specific poem to relate to the topic, drawing on their knowledge of one of several authors studied in class and making precise references to some of their work. For each topic, five of six primary texts are listed, and candidates should demonstrate their ability to talk about the topic rather than on the writers they know. There is not extra time allotted for the preparation of the synoptic topic, so students can only work with brief notes made after the passage commentary is completed. Students are assessed based on the relevance of their answers, the content (number of idea and depth of analysis), the structure and logic of their argument, and the quality of language they use.

For the written examination, students are given four hours to answer three questions in English. Part 1 lasts about 2 hours and 40 minutes. There are 18 possible questions on the day of the exam, with 2 for each text. Candidates have to answer two questions in total out of two of the following three sections: drama, prose fiction and poetry. The essays should reach about 1000 words each. In the second part (1 hour 20 minutes), students are presented with either one or two passages of unseen poesy or prose, and must write a critical appreciation of the work. Candidates are thus given a change to demonstrate their analytical skills and structured thinking in the face of unknown works of literature.

Evaluation

Comparison to CBI Prototypes

The high school programme was designed as a hybrid form of CBI, with only two content-based courses replacing two traditional courses in the French curriculum. Although the terms “bilingual programme” and “immersion programme” were used in presentation

meetings to introduce the concept of OIB to parents, a number of differences should be accounted for. OIB students attend a French institution. Only 25% to 33% of hours of instruction are delivered in English, and daily communicative activities such as using library services and ordering lunch are performed in French. OIB students are mixed with French students from the general section once they specialise into *séries* in second year, which also limits the potential for interaction in English. The literary *série* class, especially, experienced severe rejection from classmates because using English outside of OIB courses was considered socially unacceptable by peers. For all these reasons, the terminology does not exactly fit the description of the programme, although students benefit from an increase in authentic and meaningful input in the English-medium content classes.

Regarding van Lier's (2005) scale, the content course leaned on the content-driven side, which excludes theme-based instruction and SCLT. The main reason for that is the following: the literature teachers were American EFL teachers with a degree in literature, like a majority of teachers in the French public system. The literature teachers did stress, however, that their role was strictly that of a content teacher in the programme. In addition, the course did not fit the description of sheltered instruction either, considering that there was neither a need to shelter the students from L1 instruction classes, nor a purpose to mainstream OIB students into an existing EMI course delivered to native English speakers in the same institution. Regarding the adjunct model, the answer remains unclear. Official guidelines recommend to replace Foreign Language instruction with the literature course, but this institution chose to maintain the EFL course as a way to support the students. However, the adjunct course lacked proper support and encountered a number of problems that are described further down in this section of the paper.

CLIL is probably the model that inspired the design of this course, for a number of reasons. First, as Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010) described, the programme is aimed at

students within a diverse multicultural area. The objectives of the programme are for these bilingual or highly proficient students to be recognised by universities in European countries, thus improving the mobility of this population. The fact that Cambridge grading criteria are related to CEFR criteria (ASIBA, 2020) also points towards an integration of the programme in the European CLIL framework. Additionally, Dalton-Puffer (2017) pointed out that CLIL courses tended to be regarded exclusively as content-courses by institutions, which means that administrators tend to implement or maintain EFL classes on the side. This specific difference between CLIL and adjunct CBI models could explain why the model school chose to keep the EFL course despite OIB guidelines.

Approach to Teaching Literature

This programme adopted a very language-centred approach to teaching literature. With the exception of the first year (which does not prepare for A levels but simply introduces students to literature), output was never focused on creative writing, and solely on meta-literary writing. Close reading was the primary approach to interpretation, and students were allowed to defend any position, as long as they were able to support their point with strong textual evidence. Students were also expected to demonstrate systematic analytical skills, since one of the written exercises during A Levels examinations consisted in comparing two unknown poems. Evaluations of student skills and learning outcomes were measured in oral presentations and written position papers and commentaries exclusively. Students were expected to demonstrate sufficient mastery of English in those exercises, which reveals an expectation of fluency development through the course. Teachers in the programme were relatively explicit about fluency goals. Students were recruited at the B1/B2

level through an entrance examination to ensure smooth integration into the programme. The same students were expected to graduate with at least a C1 ability on the CEFR.

Regarding Long and Carter's (1991) classification of teaching approaches to literature, the Cambridge A Level course seems to offer a balance of the three models. Aligning with the cultural model, students are exposed to a variety of British authors from a number of time periods. The variety of genres also aligns with this model, despite the lack of representation of non-British authors. Regarding the language model, techniques such as close reading, commentaries, critical evaluations and input-output methods were used extensively in the literature course. Students did develop a systematic framework for approaching works of literature, as demonstrated in the Critical Evaluation section of the written examination. Through intensive production of written and spoken output for the course, students significantly improved proficiency in English, starting from an admission level of B1 to B2, with a number of students achieving C1 to C2 scores on CAE proficiency tests in the final year of the programme. The personal growth model was also threaded through teaching practices, as evidenced by the examination guidelines stating that personal opinions based on evidence are acknowledged as valid by Cambridge inspectors. To summarise, the primary model adopted in the programme is the language model, with a number of additions pertaining to the cultural and personal-growth models, although to a lesser extent.

Type of International School

The OIB programme is a Cambridge authorised mixed curriculum, designed in cooperation with the French Ministry of Education and neighbouring countries in order to accommodate the needs for recognition of bilingual students and foreign residents in the

French system. The school was originally not accredited as international, but received State accreditation in the three or four years that followed the birth of the OIB section. The content of OIB courses was designed and authorised by Cambridge International, and the final A Level examination was assessed by Cambridge inspectors. The programme is a perfect model of the dual requirements that weigh on international teaching institutions, with on the one hand a necessity to provide students with a degree that is recognised in the country of instruction, and on the other an objective to be recognised by universities abroad and to meet international standards. Cambridge International offers courses that align with the teachings of Cambridge University in the UK. The success of the model abroad is widely based on the recognition of the home university in various fields of research. Although the IB offers a more culturally diverse model, Cambridge International remains the most successful authorisation agency on the market, with double the amount of member schools as the IB.

According to the *Association des Sections Internationales Britanniques et Anglophones* (ASIBA, 2020), one of the main obstacles to the recognition of the OIB *Baccalauréat* is the lack of transparent equivalence between the French and British grading system. Institutions that have no knowledge of this programme have to invest time into research the profile of OIB candidates, which effectively limits their outcomes after graduation. One solution offered by Cambridge International was to have students pass the CAE proficiency test, in order to add more explicit credentials to applications. However, Cambridge International has a vested interest in this solution. To summarise, this hybrid system functions well on a national level and ensures local integration of students, but does not necessarily deliver the promised results on an international level; it was not sufficient as a stand-alone solution in 2012.

Regarding the international dimension of the programme, the high school did promote international values. Most of these values were integrated in the Cambridge curriculum,

which presented peace, humanism and critical thinking as corner stones of each discipline. However, Cambridge International suffers from a strong cultural bias compared to other authorisation agencies, at least in the field of literature, and presented a British view of international problems. As a student, the difference with traditional French teaching in History could be perceived on topics such as the Industrial Revolution, Colonialisation and Decolonialisation, and the Israelo-Palestinian conflict. That being said, no stakeholder or belligerent power was presented as wrong or right, and conflicts were always presented in a generally objective manner that did not put British stakeholders on a pedestal. In terms of representation, only the literature teachers were required to be native speakers of English. No History teacher met the native requirement in the region between 2009 and 2012. In my cohort, 3 students out of 25 had a native parent, 2 were Polish long-term exchange students, and all the others were French students with above average academic performances. One student transferred from Singapore for two year, and moved back after graduation. For this specific cohort, there might have not been a real need from international families living in this town. French students did significantly increase their chances of mobility and L2 fluency through the programme, and the three half-native students received a degree that recognised their bilingual status; no further comments can be made on the real needs of the international population in Dijon, considering the low chances of diplomats, international company employees and members of the military moving to this city.

Student's Voice

Introduction

This section is a description of a personal experience in the OIB programme that opened in Dijon in 2009. The purpose of this section is to offer a student perspective on the questions of CBI, literature and international high schools. Although short, the description will touch upon themes and concepts that were explored and developed in the review of the literature section. Previously, features of the programme were outlined and analysed according to the concepts presented in the published literature, but this section offers an individual and personal retelling of some aspects of this specific programme, which is also why the first person singular will be used. First, the narrative will go over general considerations, such as admission, and the distribution of courses over the three years of the programme. Then, specific features of the literature course will be presented, before looking at a number of problems that emerged as the first batch of this OIB section navigated the three years of this new programme.

Admission

As explained by Brown and Lee (2015), CBI courses are generally targeted for intermediate to advanced learners of English. Entrance examinations were held before the summer. This process is not usual in the French system, considering that students sit the *Brevet des Collèges* at the end of middle school, and can therefore apply to any high school, based on grades. There were numerous meetings over the summer to prepare both parents and students to the new programme. These meetings were helpful to parents but extremely

stressful to applicants, since the focus of all discussions was the additional workload compared to a traditional high school curriculum. Originally, I was a successful student both in English and other subjects in middle school, but I was not in a positive disposition towards the programme because of the additional work load that would ensue. My parents encouraged me to apply for the section. I passed both the written and oral admission examinations. After attempting to withdraw my application, administrators convinced me to give the programme a try.

First Year

The first year in the programme had a determining impact on the overall success of the first batch. The function of the first year was to ease students into the OIB schedule, and find a balance between OIB and non-OIB subjects. Community-building was also a central aim of this first year, and students went on a trip to Ireland towards the third trimester. As explained in the evaluation section, the content taught in the first year is not evaluated during the *Baccalauréat*, so administrators, teachers and students worked towards building a foundation for the following two years. In my cohort, students had not only been selected for their language abilities, but also for their above average academic results. Administrators wanted to make sure that we would not lose focus because of low grades in non OIB subjects. The result of that policy was that all students shared a similar story of being bullied or excluded for being *too intellectual* (a common occurrence in the French system), and very strong friendships were cemented in that first year. It was the only time in my student life that all 25 students got along and supported other, without breaking down into smaller social groups. This specific feature of my cohort worked especially well in conjunction with the

international values of the programme and was a source of strength and motivation; many of the students were finally able to freely pursue academic excellence without judgement.

Second and Third Year

As normal in the French system, the class was divided into three *séries*, and OIB students were mainstreamed with other students in about 60% of their classes. Integration was not always easy. The OIB students in the L (humanities) *série* were cast out by their peers because speaking English outside of class was considered elitist behaviour. Mainstream students complained in some cases that teachers were showing preference for OIB students in reducing their workload. Some teachers reacted by increasing the workload, but most were very understanding. Across all three *séries*, the *Baccalauréat* results of the first OIB cohort were outstanding. The transfer student was the only one who scored above 12/20 (first level of honours). Sixteen students scored above 14/20 (second level of honours), six students scored above 16/20, and two received the highest level *félicitations* for grades above 18/20. Additionally, all the students enrolled in the programme were admitted in their preferred choice of university in the country, if not abroad. No student attempted to enrol into a foreign university after graduation, but all members of the cohort eventually studied abroad in their undergraduate and graduate life.

Literature

As a student, I could really relate to what Holten (1997) described in her article. Literature was a work-intensive course from the very beginning, and I was rather hostile to being taught how to interpret texts. However, the Literature class provided an environment

that could not be replicated in the EFL course. While I practiced my irregular verbs, linkwords, and basic academic writing skills in the EFL course, I was able to display language skills while referring to superficial content. I knew I simply had to demonstrate my ability to use a certain linguistic feature on the tests. By contrast, the content class forced me to articulate my thoughts and to communicate them clearly to my peers. The depth of cognitive processing was on a different level, and language structures started to gain meaning, to serve a purpose in my cognition. Literature, specifically, forced me to constantly seek this depth of cognition and interpretation within myself, in the foreign language, until thinking in the language became natural. I was skilled at paraphrase and synthesis, which means that I was able to function with less vocabulary than my peers in most academic tasks, but the literature course provided an immersive context in which acquiring new words was easy. To be more specific, I really did not understand Shakespearian humour as a B1/B2 first year student. Most of the advanced functions of discourse in Pope's and Blake's works were lost on me, and explaining my insights on *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* in English was still extremely challenging at the end of the year because I had processed the content cognitively, but I was not able to articulate my thoughts in structured speech. The second and third year were very different, and I remember finally starting to spontaneously participate in class in English in the final year, because I had overcome my fear of inaccurate language. I felt confident that my English level was sufficiently accurate for me to speak. The fact that the programme integrated language criteria into our content paper rubrics was a definite asset in that respect, since teachers valued accuracy despite the content focus.

The skills acquired in the literature class transferred over to different classes. On the one hand, being able to form coherent and cohesive papers in English was helpful in the other OIB content class. On the other, these skills also transferred to L1 classes, and I remember having better grades in French literature essays when I started to apply what I had learnt and

practiced in the OIB courses. Prior to that, I was not able to understand what was expected of me in French essays. Even after high school graduation and all throughout my undergraduate and graduate years, I received better grades for my academic writing in English, which displayed much stronger cohesion and organisation. One interesting feature stands out in my language development: I learnt academic and formal language before I learnt casual, daily English. My focus after high school was on learning how to name items in a kitchen, or in different parts of the house, workplace, etc. Even today, I am more likely to know advanced academic terminology, but I lack elementary words such as kitchen tools, non-historical pieces of garment or names of flowers. These gaps in my vocabulary converge with what researchers observed in immersion students. However, the main outcome of the literature course for me was that it abolished the distinction between my first and second language. I became confident that I could perform well academically in both languages. I was able to see an improvement in my grades overall. Most importantly, I was able to explain my thoughts in as much depth and detail in both languages. What I didn't get from the programme, I then acquired through reading in English. I started to consume media in English on a daily basis thank to this programme.

Comparing literature to history-geography, I never dropped my resistance towards the second content class. Much like the EFL course, the history course only required me to display knowledge of content and superficial (yet sufficient) mastery of linguistic structures to develop an argument. I never engaged much with the subject, and did not feel like the same degree of cognitive processing was expected in the course.

Problems

One major problem was consistent in the OIB programme. Looking at the official texts, there is no mention of the possibility of an adjunct EFL class. If anything, the principle of replacement of subjects is a fundamental of the programme architecture. Perhaps the administration was trying to give parents a sense of security and relief by providing EFL lessons on top of the other courses, but the programme definitely suffered from what Goldstein et al. (1997) called the flight attendant syndrome. Students were dissatisfied with the increase course load in their schedule (2 hours in a 37h weekly schedule), and both content and language teachers struggled to cooperate. There were complaints on the EFL teacher's side that students were advanced speakers of English and should not be taught regular lessons. The teacher was frustrated that content teachers were pushing grammar on her when she hoped to be teaching more exciting activities that she could not do with other classes. Despite the absence of a set syllabus and textbook, she had to comply with her colleagues' wishes. Eventually, she only regained agency when Cambridge International reached out and offered our class to sit a proficiency test (the Cambridge Advanced Exam, or CAE). Teaching for a different examination than her colleagues, she was able to make choices for her class again. Much like Goldstein's peers, the EFL teacher received comment on superficial syntax and grammar problems, while she tried to focus on more advanced language skills such as interpretation and argumentation. Many of the content teachers felt free to offer writing advice in their class and undermined the expertise of their EFL colleague in front of an audience. On the other hand, content teachers expressed their dissatisfaction with the pace of language lessons, and found that students would benefit more from additional hours in the subject class rather than with the EFL teacher. One of the points that I can remember is that courses were quite compartmentalised. The EFL teacher never agreed to

teach content-specific vocabulary for instance, although content teachers might have preferred to have these boundaries. The problem of status emerged quite regularly as well, as all content teachers had to demonstrate native-like proficiency in English for them to be admitted into the programme. By contrast, the EFL teacher was only accountable for her experience in French high schools and the amount of hours she volunteered on the programme.

A number of problems stemmed from administrative causes, and more specifically from lack of knowledge on the type of programme that was to be implemented. The institution did not provide teachers with financial incentives to meet and coordinate, and teachers were not offered lighter schedules even in the first years of the programme. The responsibility of meeting with colleagues for needs assessment and ongoing feedback fell squarely on the shoulders of the EFL teacher. Content-teachers were extremely busy with creating new materials for the new OIB section, and were not cooperating. A likely hypothesis is that the EFL teacher had to systematically reach out to her colleagues in order to accommodate the wishes of all parties involved, but received backlash for creating additional pressure on the time that they were already volunteering in creating a new syllabus. Eventually, the EFL teacher resorted to asking students what they wanted to learn, without much success. My batch requested that the subject be dropped from the curriculum in the final year, and we were released from the EFL course after a trimester into the year. These two extra hours were allotted to the literature course instead, where language and literature were effectively integrated thanks to the teacher's background in EFL teaching.

Finally, I remember that many of the content teachers were confused with the "bilingual" teaching of history and geography. There was another language section in this high school called the European section, where students alternated one chapter in English with one chapter in French. During the first two years of the programme, teachers simply

reused materials from this other class and never really addressed the specific requirements of OIB examinations. One teacher was appointed during my final year in the programme; by that point, students had absolutely no trust in their content teachers for this subject, and knew that they were not prepared adequately for the examination. Setting the class back on track took a tremendous amount of work. The problem became especially evident when the teacher realised that vast amounts of content had not been covered. For instance, the European and OIB section both study the Industrial Revolution and its consequences, but the OIB section looks very specifically into the British side of history, while the European programme focuses on delivering French content in English. These gaps were fortunately addressed in the final year. Overall, the literature and EFL teachers were much more aware of the stakes of the examination, while the original history-geography teachers showed little willingness to invest any of their time in studying the contents of the programme, and cooperate with colleagues. A hypothesis might be that the slight salary increase that came with the position was not incentive enough for all the extra hours that this programme entailed.

Conclusion

The OIB section in Dijon faced a number of problems that were consistent with CBI literature. Outcomes for the students, in terms of general academic performance, acquisition of specific yet transferable skills, and improvement of fluency were also consistent with the published literature. The literature course was especially effective in improving language ability in students because of the integration of complex cognitive reasoning in the foreign language, which was not achieved as significantly in the history and the EFL course. A number of points stand out as factors that were not underlined in the published literature referenced in this paper, such as the impact of class cohesion on the success of the immersive

experience, or the involvement of teachers and administrators to reduce conflict between OIB and non OIB subjects for the students.

Educational Implications

The two fields of CBI and literature are both organically built around the notion of integration of content and language. Although literature teaching was historically taught as content separate from language, Holten (1997) makes a solid argument in favour of literature in the CBI curriculum. In the current Western models of international instruction, students are expected to specialise in order to prepare for American and British university requirements. Despite this reality, I would like to recommend that literature (and the humanities in general) be preserved in international curricula, no matter what students eventually specialise in, much like the French system where almost no subjects are dropped across all *séries*. Compared to other content subjects, literature delivers all of the benefits of content-based instruction as described by Brown and Lee (2015), and more specifically achieves the three following tasks: making abstraction accessible to learners, enriching not only academic but also general vocabulary through rich input, and offering relatable content to all learners, regardless of specialisation and academic interest.

Integration was at the centre of academic discussion in all three areas of research in the review of the literature. Based on Goldstein et al. (1997; 2007) and Lyster (2007), the first priority is to secure administrative cooperation from institutions, in order to achieve teacher-teacher and teacher-student cooperation in the integrated programmes and subject courses.

Finally, international schools exist to meet the needs of a certain group. In the case of high school students, most decisions are taken by parents, and the current international school system lacks transparency. Accreditation agencies only promote a certain vision of education, and while schools can reach more audience through accreditation, I recommend that administrators assess the needs of parents and keep this connexion with the parent body, in

order to clarify what educational needs and outcomes are met by each individual school. Parent organisations can function as mediators in this context.

Recommendations for Future Research

CBI is a vast field that continues to grow in scope. Reading through the published literature on all three fields, apparent benefits could emerge from reaching outwards and showing interest in the findings of neighbouring fields of research. To give an example, CBI published literature is very rich in action-based research. Brinton, Snow and Wesche's (2017) most recent publication contained a number of solution-oriented articles that explore the diversity of possibilities in the CBI approach. The solutions found in the book, such as evolving towards online platforms in order to solve administrative constraints, could be applicable to CLIL courses, literature courses, and international schools in general. As such, the main recommendation regarding future research applicable to CLIL and CBI would be outline the similarities of CBI and CLIL, in order to collect in one place the research findings that could mutually benefit both fields.

Regarding literature as a subject, a vast majority of sources date back from the 1990s, which might be confirmation that EFL courses are diverging from the literature-based syllabus. New approaches are moving away from the traditional teacher-centred education and towards more inclusive definitions of culture. The more recent articles about integration of content and language underline how literature as a field could benefit from the mutual enrichment of EFL classroom-based action-research. One recommendation for such classroom-based action research could be for literature content teachers to collaborate with EFL and CBI teachers in order to gain more understanding on how to more effectively integrate language and content.

The very nature of international schools, focusing on curricula imported from a western country, namely the United Kingdom and the United States, often times into an educational context situated in a vastly different cultural landscape, raises the question as to how culture

is addressed in such institutions. Detailed investigation into how cultural models are represented in international literature curricula would add to the understanding of how culture is presented in overall international school curricula. An additional question related to the dominance of American and British influence in international literature in these curricula could also be investigated. In a global educational community that is becoming increasingly interconnected and in which diversity is achieving greater recognition and importance, determining effective methods through which findings of postcolonial literature studies can be utilised to implement such diverse cultural representation in schools is warranted. Such research should not consider the place of only simple multicultural, conclusive considerations, but rather focus on how developing a fully restructured literature curriculum could be extremely beneficial, and in fact necessary, in order to improve and maintain the relevance of international school curricula.

Finally, finding relevant academic articles on international schools was the most difficult part of this project. Questions regarding the variety of cultures represented, not only in the majority authorised curricula, but also in the school administrative models should be addressed. In the case of Cambridge International specifically, the implication of promoting a vastly British cultural model in countries of the Common Wealth should be interpreted through a post-colonial lens. This is all the more relevant that Cambridge International is the leading authorisation agency in the field of international instruction, with double the amount of member schools as its first competitor. Upon further investigation, Asia appeared as one of the greater consumers of international education, which raises a question about the lack of representation of Asian institutional models in international schools. The reasons of this underrepresentation of non-western models, or on the other hand, the overrepresentation of the British and American administrative models should be addressed in future research. Furthermore, the tension between international standards of instruction embodied in

accreditation agencies (who paradoxically adopt a non-prescriptive stance on educational content) and the local requirement that condition real-life outcomes for students (both professional and academic) could be resolved at the local level, by increasing transparency at the level of individual schools. Future research could focus on establishing a more transparent rapport between international schools and parents, in order to help the latter make educated decisions when selecting a school.

Conclusion

This paper was constructed around the belief that attending content-based classes at an upper-intermediate level (B1/B2) could dramatically improve student proficiency in English (Brown & Lee, 2015). Looking first at the diversity of CBI courses, a number of key tenets were outlined, such as using authentic materials in a genuine context. CBI in current research is an ever-evolving field, and exists in as many forms as institutions create in order to meet local or circumstantial needs (Brinton, 2017). Challenges outlined in the CBI published literature surfaced in the institution that served as a basis for this analysis, and international schools could learn from the various studies in CBI environment.

Regarding literature as a subject, research shows language and literature are similar in nature, but western teaching tradition usually separated the two (Geisler et al., 2007; Byrnes, 2007) and the integration of language and content was especially fruitful as integrated techniques such as close-reading (Iver, 2007; Gallop, 2007; Weber-fève, 2009) or alternating language- and meaning-centred moments (O'Brien, 1999) were beneficial to the mastery of both subjects. CBI research helps support the argument that literature is not equal but superior to other content subjects (Holten, 1997), in that learners engage in advanced cognitive processes in the foreign language when reacting to literary content, which is not always the case with less relatable, more academic content subjects. However, just as CBI literature exemplifies in multiple contexts, the integration of language and content in the French international school context raised a number of problems, among which status, financial support and cooperation were the bone of contention between content and language faculty. Additional institutional support would have solved the problems encountered at this level.

Finally, regarding international schools, the main finding of the paper was that many stakeholders participate in the successful branding of schools. One primary concern was that western models are prevalent in international instruction, despite a very egalitarian discourse on the surface. Similarly, and perhaps consequently, capitalist interest often converged with educational success, and a number of authors (Hayden & Thompson, 2000; Beder, Varney & Gosden, 2007; Nussbaum, 2010) have questioned the conflict of interest that may arise between financial and educational outcomes.

Based on the findings in the literature, the paper successfully positioned the specific programme experienced by the author on the spectrum of CBI options, approaches to teaching literature, and variety of international schools, through a new synthetic framework. The programme was accredited by the French government, and the content provided by Cambridge International. The model of CBI adopted by the school corresponded to a CLIL-inspired hybrid. The literature course followed first a language model (Carter & Long, 1991), but also addressed aspects of the personal-growth and culture approaches to literature. In this specific example, literature served as an accelerating factor for fluency acquisition, which converges with the findings of Holten (1997). The skills and language acquired in the literature course significantly improved grades in other OIB (International Option of the French *Baccalauréat*) and non OIB subjects, when transferable skills were applicable.

References

Alami, S. A. (2013). *Utilising fiction to promote English language acquisition*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Allen, P., Swain, M., Harley, B., & Cummins, J. (Eds). (1990). *The development of second language proficiency*. Cambridge University Press.

Association des Sections Internationales Britanniques et Anglophones. (2020). *The international option of the French Baccalauréat: Examinations handbook for the British option 2020 edition* [PDF]. Retrieved January 5, 2020, from https://www.asiba.fr/documents_-2/#1454311673987-5ec7eb6f-54f7

Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to do things with words*. Oxford University Press.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). The dialogic imagination. In M. Holquist (Ed.), *Four essays*. University of Texas Press.

Beder, S., Varney, W., & Gosden, R. (2009). Turning schools into markets. In *This Little Kiddy Went to Market: The Corporate Capture of Childhood*, pp. 174-187. Pluto Press. doi:10.2307/j.ctt183pc4w

Bernhardt, E. (2002). Research into the teaching of literature in a second language: What it says and how to communicate it to graduate students. In V. M. Scott & H. Tucker (Eds.), *SLA and the literature classroom: Fostering dialogues* (pp. 195–210). Heinle & Heinle.

Brinton, D. M. (2019). Sheltered instruction: Using challenging academic content with English language learners [PowerPoint slides]. https://www.edmodo.com/

Brinton, D. M. & Jensen, L. (2002). Appropriating the adjunct model : English for academic purposes at the university level. In J. Crandall & D. Kaufman (Eds.), *Content-based instruction in hugher education settings* (pp. 125-138). TESOL.

Brinton, D. M., Snow, M. A., & Wesche, M. B. (1989). *Content-based second language instruction*. Heinle & Heinle Publishers.

Brinton, D. M, Snow, M. A., & Wesche, M. (2003). Theme-based instruction in the ESL and EFL context. In *Content-Based Second Language Instruction* (2nd ed.). University of Michigan Press. https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.8754

Brown, H. D., & Lee, H. (2015). *Teaching by principles* (4th Ed.). Pearson Education.

Buckton-Tucker, R. (2012). Creative criticism: Understanding the language of literature. In N. A. Zidjaly (Ed.), *Building Bridges : Integrating Language, Linguistics, Literature, and Translation in English Studies* (pp. 77-85). Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Byrnes, H. (2007). Some thoughts on articulation. The MLA's Articulation Initiative: High School to College in Foreign Language Programs. Retrieved from http:// www.adfl.org/projects/articulation/byrnes.htm

Cambridge Assessment International Education. (2019, September). *Syllabus, Cambridge International AS & A levels, Literature in English* [PDF]. Retrieved July 3, 2020, from https://www.cambridgeinternational.org/Images/414908-2020-syllabus.pdf

Cambridge Assessment International Education. (2020a). *Cambridge International AS & A levels: Curriculum*. Retrieved July 3, 2020, from https://www.cambridgeinternational.org/programmes-and-qualifications/cambridge-advanced/cambridge-international-as-and-a-levels/curriculum/

Cambridge Assessment International Education. (2020b). *Cambridge International AS & A levels English – Literature (9695)*. Retrieved July 3, 2020, from https://www.cambridgeinternational.org/programmes-and-qualifications/cambridge-international-as-and-a-level-english-literature-9695/

Cambridge Assessment International Education. (2020c). *Cambridge International AS & A levels English – Language and Literature (AS Level only) 8695*. Retrieved July 3, 2020, from https://www.cambridgeinternational.org/programmes-and-qualifications/cambridge-international-as-and-a-level-english-language-and-literature-as-level-only-8695/

Cambridge Assessment International Education. (2020d). *Cambridge International AS & A levels: Subjects*. Retrieved July 3, 2020, from https://www.cambridgeinternational.org/programmes-and-qualifications/cambridge-advanced/cambridge-international-as-and-a-levels/subjects/

Cambridge Assessment International Education. (2020e). *Cambridge Advanced*. Retrieved July 3, 2020, from https://www.cambridgeinternational.org/programmes-and-qualifications/cambridge-advanced/

Cambridge Assessment International Education. (2020f). *Cambridge Pre-U*. Retrieved July 3, 2020, from https://www.cambridgeinternational.org/programmes-and-qualifications/cambridge-advanced/cambridge-pre-u/

Cambridge Assessment International Education. (2020g). *Programmes and qualifications*. Retrieved July 3, 2020, from https://www.cambridgeinternational.org/programmes-and-qualifications/

Carter, R. & Long, M. N. (1991). *Teaching literature*. Essex, England : Longman.

Carter R. and McRae, J. (1999). *Language, Literature and the Learner* (2nd edition). Longman.

Council of British International School (2020). Setting up a British International School [Graph]. Retrieved June 6, 2020 from https://www.cobis.org.uk/about-us/british-international-schools/setting-up-a-british-international-school

Chou, L. & Lee, S. (2017). Teaching content and language in art: Onsite and online approaches. In M. A. Snow & D. M. Brinton (Eds.) *The content-based classroom : new perspectives on integrating language and content* (2nd ed.). University of Michigan Press.

Coyle, D., Hood, P., & Marsh, D. (2010). *CLIL : Content and language integrated learning*. Cambridge University Press.

Dalton-Puffer, C. (2017). Same but different : Content and language integrated learning and content-based instruction. In M. A. Snow & D. M. Brinton (Eds.) *The content-based classroom : new perspectives on integrating language and content* (2nd ed.). University of Michigan Press.

Davis, F. & Parker, R. (1978) Teaching for Literacy: Reflections on the Bullock Report Ward Lock Educational.

Department of Education and Science. (1975). *A Language for Life (The Bullock Report).* London, Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Frantzen, D. (2002). Rethinking foreign language literature: Towards an integration of literature and language at all levels. In V. M. Scott & H. Tucker (Eds.), *SLA and the literature classroom: Fostering dialogues* (pp. 109– 130). Heinle & Heinle.

Fielwork Education. (n.d.a). *Homepage*. Retrieved June 27, 2020, from https://fieldworkeducation.com/

Fieldwork Educaton. (n.d.b). *Our international curriculum*. Retrieved June 27, 2020, from https://fieldworkeducation.com/curriculums

Gajdusek, L. (2007). *Using Literature to Teach Language in the EFL Classroom*. Paper presented at the Eleventh International CtELT Conference November 2007, Dubai: Higher Colleges of Technology.

Gallop, J. (2007). The historicization of literary studies and the fate of close reading. *Profession,* 181–186.

Geisler, M., Kramsch, C., McGinnis, S., Patrikis, P., Pratt, M. L., Ryding, K., et al. (2007). Foreign languages and higher education: New structures for a changed world (Modern Language Association of America Profession 2007). MLA Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages

Goldstein, L. M. (2017). Looking back and looking forward at the adjunct model : Are we still smiling through the turbulence ? In M. A. Snow & D. M. Brinton (Eds.) *The content-based classroom: new perspectives on integrating language and content* (2nd ed.). University of Michigan Press.

Goldstein, L. M., Campbell, C., and Cummings, M. C. (1977). Smiling through the turbulence: The flight attendant syndrome and writing instructor status in the adjunct model. In M. A. Snow and D. M. Brinton (Eds.) *The Content-Based Classroom: Perspectives on Integrating Language and Content*, pp. 331-339. Addison Wesley Longman Publishing Company.

Hadaway, N. L., Vardell, S. M., & Young, T. A. (2002). *Literature-based instruction with English language learners, K-12*. Allyn and Bacon.

Hayden, M. & Thompson, J. (2000). Quality in diversity. In M. Hayden & J. Thompson (Eds.) International schools and international education: Improving teaching, management and quality, 1-11 . Kogan Page Limited.

Ho, K.K., (1985) The paradox of immersion in a second language. *NABE Journal, 10*(1), 51-64.

Holten, C. (1997). Literature: A quintessential content. *The content-based classroom: Perspectives on integrating language and content*, 377-87. Longman.

International Baccalaureate. (2018a, May 2). *The IB Career-related Programme: A flexible framework for a personalized education* [video]. Vimeo. https://vimeo.com/267611005

International Baccalaureate. (2018b, May 2). *The IB Diploma Programme: A broad and balanced education* [video]. Vimeo. https://vimeo.com/267608336

International Baccalaureate Organisation. (2014a). *Benefits of the IB.* Retrieved July 2, 2020, from https://www.ibo.org/benefits/

International Baccalaureate Organisation. (2014b). *Career-related Programme*. Retrieved July 2, 2020, from https://www.ibo.org/programmes/career-related-programme/

International Baccalaureate Organisation. (2014c). *Career-related Studies*. Retrieved July 2, 2020, from https://www.ibo.org/programmes/career-related-programme/curriculum/the-career-related-studies/

International Baccalaureate Organisation. (2014d). *The CP Core*. Retrieved July 2, 2020, from https://www.ibo.org/programmes/career-related-programme/curriculum/the-cp-core/

International Baccalaureate Organisation. (2014e). *CP Curriculum*. Retrieved July 2, 2020, from https://www.ibo.org/programmes/career-related-programme/curriculum/

International Baccalaureate Organisation. (2014f). *Diploma Programme*. Retrieved July 2, 2020, from https://www.ibo.org/programmes/diploma-programme/

International Baccalaureate Organisation. (2014g). *DP Curriculum*. Retrieved July 2, 2020, from https://www.ibo.org/programmes/diploma-programme/curriculum/

International Baccalaureate Organisation. (2014h). *Language A: literature (SL/HL).* Retrieved July 2, https://www.ibo.org/programmes/diploma-programme/curriculum/language-and-literature/language-a-literature-slhl/

International Baccalaureate Organisation. (2014i). *Language A: language and literature (SL/HL)*. Retrieved July 2, https://www.ibo.org/programmes/diploma-programme/curriculum/language-and-literature/language-a-language-and-literature-slhl/

International Baccalaureate Organisation. (2014j). *Literature and performance (SL)*. Retrieved July 2, https://www.ibo.org/programmes/diploma-programme/curriculum/language-and-literature/literature-and-performance-sl/

International Baccalaureate Organisation. (2014k). *Programmes*. Retrieved July 2, 2020, from https://www.ibo.org/programmes/

International Baccalaureate Organisation. (2014l). *Studies in language and literature*. Retrieved July 2, 2020, from https://www.ibo.org/programmes/diploma-programme/curriculum/language-and-literature/

Iyer, R. (2007). Negotiating critical, postcritical literacy: The problematic of text analysis. *Literacy, 41*, 161–168.

Jacobs, H. H. (Ed.). (1989). The growing need for interdisciplinary content. In *Interdisciplinary curriculum: Design and implementation* (pp. 1-11). Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

Kimber, S. (2000). Some ideas for writing. Retrieved July 11, 2020, from http://kimbers.freehosting.net

Krashen, S., (1982) Principles and Practice in Second Language Acquisition. Pergamon.

Kord, S., & Byrnrs, H. (2002). Developing literacy and literary competence: Challenges for foreign language departments. In V. M. Scott & H. Tucker (Eds.), *SLA and the literature classroom: Fostering dialogues* (pp. 35–73). Heinle & Heinle.

Literature. 2020. In *Merriam-Webster.com*. Retrieved January 13, 2020, from https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/literature.

Lyster, R. (2017). Language-focused instruction in content-based classrooms. In M. A. Snow & D. M. Brinton (Eds.) *The content-based classroom: new perspectives on integrating language and content* (2nd ed.). University of Michigan Press.

Lyster, R. (2007). *Learning and teaching languages through content: A counterbalanced approach.* Benjamins.

Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). Literature. In *Merriam-Webster.com dictionary*. Retrieved January 11, 2020 from https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/literature

Mohan, B. (1986). *Language and Content.* Addison-Wesley.

Murphy, E. (2000). Questions for the new millennium, *International Schools Journal*, XIX(2), pp 5-10.

Murphy, J. M. and Stoller, F. L. (2001). Sustained-content language teaching: An emerging definition. *TESOL Journal 10*(2-3), 3-5.

Nada, N. (1993). Panel on Why Literature. Proceedings of the Twelfth National Symposium on English Language Teaching at Ain Shams University, 12, 254-262.

Nussbaum, M. C. (2010). *Not for profit: Why democracy needs the humanities*. Princeton University Press.

O'Brien, T. (1999). *A Suggested Model for Teaching Literature*. University of Manchester.

Ohmann, R. (1971). Speech acts and the definition of literature. *Philosophy & Rhetoric, 4*(1), 1-19.

Pope, R. (1995). *Textual intervention: Critical and creative strategies for literary studies*. Routledge.

Savvidou, C. (2004). *An integrated approach to teaching literature in the EFL classroom.* Retrieved from http://iteslj.org/Techniques/Savvidou-Literature.html

Schaufele, M. (2020). Why are we reading this? Hermeneutic inquiry into the practice of teaching (with) literature. *Educational Studies*, 56(2), 145-159. DOI: 10.1080/00131946.2019.1695212

Sencer Corlu, M. (2014). Which preparatory curriculum for the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme is best? The challenge for international schools with regard to mathematics and science. *International Review of Education, 60*(6), 793-801.

Snow, M. A., & Brinton, D. M. (2017). *The content-based classroom: New perspectives on integrating language and content* (2nd ed.). University of Michigan Press.

Snow, M. A. & Kamhi-Stein, L. D. (2002) Teaching and learning academic literacy through Project LEAP. In J. A. Crandall & D. Kaufman (Eds.), *Content-based instruction in higher education settings* (pp. 169-181). TESOL.

Sterns, S.L. (1987). Expanded Dimensions to Literature in ESL/EFL: An Integrated Approach. *English Teaching Forum, xxv* (4), 47-55.

Stobie, T. (2005). To what extent do the Middle Years Programme and Diploma Programme of the International Baccalaureate Organization provide a coherent and consistent educational continuum? *International School Journal, 25*(1), 30-40.

Swain, M. (1988). Manipulating and complementing content teaching to maximize second language learning. *TESL Canada Journal, 6*(1), 68-83.

Swain, M. (1997). *French Immersion programs in Canada*. In J. Cummins & D. Corson (Eds.) Encyclopedia of Language and Education, Volume 5: Bilingual Education, 261-269. Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Walker, G. R. (2000). One-way streets of our culture, *International School Journals*, XIX (2), pp. 11-19.

Weber-Feve, S. (2009). Integrating Language and Literature: Teaching Textual Analysis with Input and Output Activities and an Input-to-Output Approach. *Foreign Language Annals, 42*(3), 453–467.

Zafeiriadou, N. (2001). *On Literature in the EFL Classroom*. http://www.tesolgreece.com/nl/71/7104.html