Interculturally Differentiated Instruction: Reflections from Cyprus Classrooms

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Abstract

Nowadays, teachers are called to address the needs of all students in their culturally-diverse and mixed-ability classrooms. Despite the widespread concern about the underachievement and marginalisation of students with disabilities and students from diverse cultural backgrounds; the reasons for this have, for too long, been attributed to the students and their families, rather than to the curricular, pedagogical, and organisational structures of schools and the inequitable framework of our society. Within this context, two pedagogical approaches appeared in the research and literature: intercultural education and differentiated instruction that only recently have been combined to form interculturally differentiated teaching. In this paper, we examine the implementation of interculturally differentiated instruction by Cypriot teachers in real, mixed ability, and culturally diverse classroom settings. Our analysis indicates that teachers are unable to connect intercultural competence with educational effectiveness, consequently failing to create inclusive instructional practises that could maximise learning potential along with intercultural competence for all children. Based on these findings, we question the effectiveness of teacher professional development on interculturally differentiated teaching.

Keywords: intercultural education, differentiated instruction, mixed-ability classes, cultural diversity, inclusive instruction

Introduction

More than ever, teachers are called to address the needs of all students in their culturally-diverse and mixed-ability classrooms. Despite the widespread concern about the underachievement and marginalisation of students with disabilities and students from diverse cultural backgrounds, the reasons for this have, for too long, been attributed to the students and their families, rather than to the curricular, pedagogical, and organisational structures of schools and the inequitable framework of our society. All these viewpoints have had their share on transforming and reshaping education, shifting its focus on the necessity to respond to the needs of all students. Within this context, two (among many others) distinct pedagogical approaches appeared in the scientific literature: intercultural education and differentiated instruction.

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Despite the fact that both approaches are based on the premises of inclusion, equality and equity, most of the research and publications have focused on one at the expense of the other. Scholars of each tradition often use the same argumentation, propose similar strategies and reach similar conclusions. Nevertheless, the emphasis is different: while intercultural education celebrates students' cultural backgrounds and uses them for the development of effective classroom instruction and school environments, differentiated instruction focuses on academic aptitude, therefore requiring a systematically planned curriculum and instruction that meets the needs of academically diverse learners. Thus, while both approaches share the vision of inclusion, their underlying philosophies differ. Differentiation of instruction is focused on the individual's prerogative for success and happiness; on the other hand, intercultural education is focused on the community, and therefore it is mostly concerned about the preservation of collective identities. Attempting to pinpoint the philosophical background pertaining to each approach, we may argue that differentiated instruction is associated with liberalism and positivism, while intercultural education is linked to communitarianism and critical pedagogy.

The aforementioned distinction helps us realise that the challenge for educators in contemporary multicultural classrooms is twofold: to sustain collective identities and to facilitate individual academic success. Accordingly, blending together premises and practices of both approaches (intercultural instruction and differentiated instruction) may be the optimum way to handle diversity. Thus, utilising a blended approach, called interculturally differentiated instruction, this paper examines the implementation of intercultural education and differentiated instruction by Cypriot teachers in real, mixed ability, and culturally diverse classroom settings. Drawing upon interview and observation data, along with lesson plan analysis, we discuss how teachers define, understand, and apply intercultural education and differentiated instruction and if they are able to make connections between these two notions.

Interculturally Differentiated Instruction: Theoretical Framework

Only recently, literature has proposed a blended approach of intercultural education and differentiation of instruction that challenges the alibi often used by education systems regarding school failure.⁵ Only through this way, can teaching in culturally

⁴ S. Valiandes and L. Neophytou, 'Teachers' professional development for differentiated instruction in mixed-ability classrooms: investigating the impact of a development program on teachers' professional learning and on students' achievement', *Teacher Development*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (2018).

⁵ S. J. Alenuma-Nimoh, 'Taking multicultural education to the next level: An introduction to differentiated-multicultural instruction'. The Journal of Multiculturalism in Education, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2012), 1-17. Valiandes and Neophytou, "Teachers" professional development for differentiated instruction'.

and academically diverse classrooms address socio-economic, psychological, and institutional factors that influence students' school success and social inclusion. In order to frame our theoretical framework, we turn to Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy within which the blending of intercultural education and differentiation of instruction occurs. In agreement with Klinger *et al.*, we recommend the creation of a culturally sustaining education system grounded in the belief that all culturally and linguistically diverse students can excel in school when their evolving personal and group cultures, languages, heritages, and experiences are valued and used to facilitate their learning and development, and when all students are provided access to high quality teachers, programmes, and resources.

Therefore, for the blending of intercultural education and differentiated instruction to be realised in practice, we propose that teachers should deploy the strategy of interculturally differentiated teaching. In this context, the framework utilised for lesson design is also used in the development of differentiated lessons, however, being enriched with items from intercultural instructional methodology. This is what we have illustrated using Alenuma-Nimoh's proposal for merging the key elements of Intercultural Education and Differentiated Instruction. Interculturally differentiated teaching values and draws upon all students' lived experiences in order to overcome 'the pathologies of silence about differences (including those of ethnicity and class) and work explicitly to replace deficit thinking with deep and meaningful relationships, we will have taken great strides toward achieving education that is socially just and academically excellent for more children'.⁸

A key element of differentiated instruction is *affect*. In incorporating *affect* in intercultural education, interculturally differentiated teaching should have also a socio-emotional character. In this way, it may help students to recognise and counter oppression by promoting empathy and examining discrimination from the immigrant's perspective. Emotionally responsive intercultural differentiation in teaching may provide all students the opportunity 'to express their emotions appropriately, regulate their emotions, solve common problems, build positive relationships with their peers and adults in their environment, and engage and persist in challenging tasks'. ¹⁰

⁶ J. K. Klinger, et al., 'Addressing the disproportionate representation of culturally and linguistically diverse students in special education through culturally responsive educational systems. education policy analysis archives', Education Policy Analysis Archives, Vol. 13, No. 38 (2005), n38.

⁷ Alenuma-Nimoh, 'Taking multicultural education to the next level'.

⁸ C. M. Shields, Dialogic leadership for social justice: Overcoming pathologies of silence. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (2004), 128.

⁹ C. Hajisoteriou, L. Neophytou and P. Angelides, 'The perceptions of high-level officers in Cyprus about intercultural education and their underlying assumptions'. *Curriculum Journal*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (2015).

¹⁰ M. L. Hemmeter, M. Otrosky and L. Fox, 'Social and emotional foundations for early learning'.

Drawing from our discussion above, we may argue that teachers have to perform complex roles in order to meet the demands of a 'super-diverse' learning environment. First of all, teachers have to develop methods that cultivate all students' decision-making and critical-thinking skills in order to avoid future risks of social exclusion and marginalisation. Moreover, teachers should take into account the identities of all students in their educational practice in order to give them the opportunity to have equal learning opportunities.¹¹ This will contribute decisively to their possible future school success and improvement. It should also be noted that teachers should not exclusively aim at the cultivation of knowledge. Instead, they should aim at the moral, emotional, and social development of their students.¹²

The Case of Cyprus

For the purposes of this research, we used Cyprus as our case study. The official education policy, developed by the state and the Ministry of Education and Culture, has adopted the rhetoric of interculturalism and inclusion to respond to immigration. According to the national curricula, including all students regardless of their origin suggests the creation of democratic schools that provide equal educational opportunities for access, participation, and success by respecting diversity and cultural, linguistic and religious pluralism. However, research asserts that there is a gap between policy rhetoric and practice. In practice, culturally diverse students are still seen as in need of assimilation in order to overcome their deficiency and disadvantage.

Differentiation in the context of the recent curricular reform in Cyprus is declared to be the optimal instructional methodological tool to address student diversity in mixed-ability classrooms. Acknowledging the ineffectiveness of teaching and learning in Cyprus, as shown by the results of PIRLS-2001 for reading ¹⁶ and the

School Psychology Review, Vol. 35, No. 4 (2006), 585.

¹¹ C. Hajisoteriou and P. Angelides, *The Globalisation of Intercultural Education: The Politics of Macro-Micro Integration* (London: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2016).

¹² L. Boutskou, (2012). What is the Teachers' Role in a Globalised Learning Environment? [In Greek]. Lemonia-boutskou.gr (2012). Available at http://www.lemonia-boutskou.gr/data/pdf/ergasies_mou/rolos-ekpaideytikoy.pdf.

¹³ MOEC - Ministry of Education and Culture. *Curricula for the Public Schools of the Cypriot State* [in Greek] (Nicosia: Ministry of Education and Culture, 2010).

¹⁴ See Hajisoteriou, Neophytou and Angelides, 'The perceptions of high-level officers in Cyprus about intercultural education'; M. Zembylas and S. Iasonos, (2010). 'Leadership styles and multicultural education approaches: an exploration of their relationship'. *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (2010).

¹⁵ C. Hajisoteriou and P. Angelides, 'Collaborative art-making for reducing marginalisation and promoting intercultural education and inclusion'. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (2017).

¹⁶ K. Papanastasiou and M. Koutselini, IEA: PIRLS - Primary School Students' Literacy Performance [in

poor performance of 15-year-olds in reading, according to PISA results,¹⁷ curricular reform that was initiated in 2010 in the Republic of Cyprus stressed the importance of differentiated instruction along with the necessity for optimal teacher training practices that could enable teachers to differentiate their instruction in mixed-ability classes. Teacher training in both intercultural education and differentiated instruction appears to be limited and ill-supported. Stavrou and Koutselini¹⁸ point out that teachers' inability to differentiate is primarily a result of ineffective pre- and in-service education. Further, as the Teacher Policies Report in the Republic of Cyprus¹⁹ points out, despite the multiple kinds of professional development schemes, most activities take the form of one-time training, with very little follow up for evaluation and further development. As a response, Valiandes and Neophytou²⁰ emphasise the need for high-quality professional development programmes, which include active learning and collective participation that is closely related to the curriculum and the existing teaching realities, sufficient duration, and sustainability.

Methodology

For the purposes of this research, we adopted a qualitative research design by researching each school as a case study. Our final sample included a total of 22 schools across Cyprus. All schools were located in urban and suburban areas, which had a highly culturally diverse profile. The percentage of immigrant students exceeded 30% in all the participant schools. Most of the immigrant students in all schools were first generation immigrants with 0–12 years of residency in Cyprus. Their countries of origin varied, including mostly Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, Iran, Syria and Lebanon.

The research team carried out interviews with 50 teachers from all the participant schools. The final sample included 28 female and 22 male teachers. Thirteen female and eight male teachers were aged between 25 to 35 years old and had less than 15 years of teaching experience; nine female and seven male teachers were between 35 to 45 years old, and their experience ranged from 16 to 25 years; and lastly, eight female and five male teachers were between 46 to 55 years old, and their experience ranged from 26 to 35 years.

The interview schedule referred to issues such as teachers' perceptions of

Greek]. (Nicosia: University of Cyprus, 2008).

¹⁷ OECD, PISA 2012 Results, OECD.com (2012), available at http://www.oecd.org/pisa/keyfindings/pisa-2012-results.htm.

¹⁸ T. E. Stavrou and M. Koutselini, 'Differentiation of Teaching and Learning: The Teachers' Perspective'. Universal Journal of Educational Research, Vol. 4, No. 11 (2016).

¹⁹ World Bank, *Teacher Policies in the Republic of Cyprus*. (Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Unit, Southern Europe Program Europe and Central Asian Region, 2014).

²⁰ Valiandes and Neophytou, "Teachers" professional development for differentiated instruction'.

differentiated teaching, intercultural education, and their instructional approaches within their culturally diverse classrooms and their practices per se. All teachers were interviewed only once and for approximately 40 minutes. The interviews were taperecorded and fully transcribed so that no verbal information would be lost. To maintain credibility, we adopted a member check measure,²¹ thus we asked interviewees to review and revisit the interview transcripts and the themes that emerged from their interview accounts.

From January 2017 to June 2017, the research team carried out three non-participatory observations for a full day per week in 10 of the participant teachers' classrooms. Observations referred to occurrences during teachin, which we considered to be related to differentiated instruction (DI) or intercultural education (IE) practices. We also kept field notes and reflections regarding not only the classroom dynamics and students' behaviour, but also regarding teachers' understandings, characteristics, and teaching styles. In parallel, we analysed the lesson plans for the lessons observed to examine whether DI or IE strategies were acknowledged in lesson design.

In the event, a total of 50 interviews, 30 observations, and 30 lesson plans inserted in a thematic analysis cycle. In order to examine the multiple positions and viewpoints addressed by the interviewees, we carried out an inductive analysis of the data in order to identify the thematic priorities of each interview according to our previously stated research questions. These priorities were compared and contrasted across the different interviews so that common themes could emerge.

The three researchers independently carried out their analyses. In the end, we examined agreement between the three analyses. We ensured inter-rater reliability in our qualitative thematic analysis, meaning that the researchers had agreed upon the emerging themes to a great extent. Then, we read our data closely and we also kept notes about our thought processes. After that, we began examining our data for themes and we tried to locate how these were connected within a theoretical model (Robson, 2002). We continued the process of analysis and we divided the data into thematic categories. Finally, we began looking at our data in order to substantiate the emerging thematic categories with raw data. In trying to establish the trustworthiness of the data, we examined and triangulated our data from multiple angles and different perspectives, continually looking for alternative possibilities and different explanations, trying to develop a richer understanding of them.²²

²¹ N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln, *Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (London, SAGE 2005), 2.

²² J. W. Creswell, V. L. Plano Clark, M. L. Gutmann and Hanson, W. E., 'Advanced mixed methods research designs', in A. Tashakkori and C. Teddlie (eds) *Handbook on Mixed Methods in the Behavioral and Social Sciences* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2003).

Findings

In presenting our findings, we used Alenuma-Nimoh's (2012) proposal for merging the key elements of Intercultural Education (IE) and Differentiated Instruction (DI). Namely, our coding was based on the following themes that we discuss and substantiate with data:

- Content (DI) Content integration, Knowledge construction and Prejudice reduction (IE)
- Process element (DI) Equity pedagogy, and Prejudice reduction (IE)
- Product (DI) Knowledge construction and Content integration (IE)
- Affect and Learning environment (DI) Empowering school culture (IE)

Content (DI) – Content Integration, Knowledge Construction and Prejudice Reduction (IE)

What stemmed from our analysis is that teachers appear to use existing textbooks or additional sources in order to make their students feel included. Through the content of their lessons, along with the content used to decorate their classrooms and carry out school celebrations, teachers attempt to represent the various and diverse cultures of their students:

'During school celebrations we always make reference to the tradition, the culture and the customs of other countries, in particular the countries of our students' origin.' (T22, female, 5th grade teacher, 11 years of service)

Through their practices, teachers address prejudice reduction, since diversity of content helps students become acceptant to racial, gender and ethnic diversity. However, despite achieving a certain level of content integration and prejudice reduction, their practices are still failing to address the overarching principle of DI, which is ensuring the success for every child.

Arguably, teachers' practices were rather superficial, as they added folkloric content in their teaching, rather than focusing on the ways culture (e.g., worldviews, problemsolving techniques) and thus culturally responsive content may influence students' learning. Classroom observations made by the researchers revealed that, in every case, no substantial changes were made by the teachers to optimise the content of their lesson, nor to pair it with strategies of effective instruction. Therefore, no actual adaptation was made in order to take into consideration the readiness level or the pre-existing knowledge of the students, not only in terms of their cultural background but also in terms of their learning aptitude. Content integration appears to be done mostly in a folkloric manner (music, dance and food) coupled with integration of moral content, instructing students that they 'should' accept diversity. Instructional content appears to be taught in a vacuum, disconnected from its cultural or political context,

and is lacking deliberation about how and why specific information may be included or excluded. Therefore, teachers' practices appear to lack the perspective of knowledge construction process that would empower students to investigate and understand how unspoken norms and conventions effect how knowledge is fabricated.

Process Element (DI) – Equity Pedagogy and Prejudice Reduction (IE)

The participant teachers seemed to be employing various interactive techniques and methods (e.g., collaborative groups, simulations, role-playing, and discovery learning). Nonetheless, they seemed to focused only on ability, while neglecting culture:

'Our textbooks have easy, medium-level, and more difficult exercises. [...] Children from other countries usually can do the simplest [...] but not always[...] if they can they move on and do more difficult exercises. This is what we also do for children from Cyprus ... we do not discriminate.' (T22, female, 5th grade teacher, 11 years of service)

Without considering how culture influences the way people interact in groups, one cannot be certain that students from different cultures will collaborate and benefit equally from mixed-ability/mixed-culture groups. In this sense, the approaches that teachers use, reflect the mentality that 'one size fits all', the very mentality that differentiation of instruction strongly advocates against.

Instead of prejudice reduction, differentiation of process, as applied by the participant teachers in our study, may lead to the development of condescending attitudes and reinforce stereotypes towards immigrant children. Diversity becomes a deficit: skills and attitudes that immigrant children lack in order to fit in and benefit from the 'enhanced' learning process that teachers believe to apply. For example, students may be struggling to participate in a discussion about a picture depicting an 'average' Western-type family, not because they lack abilities, but because their own representations of family may be quite different. Students of different origin may be considered inferior, not because of their intellectual ability but because their cultural background may signify different modes of behaviour, or may derive from different ethical standards or cultural norms.

Product (DI) - Knowledge Construction and Content Integration (IE)

Teachers in our research provided, in many cases, various alternatives to students regarding how to present their work, usually at the final stage of the lesson and almost exclusively in language and social studies lessons. In some cases they used the options given by the textbooks and in other cases they improvised activities on their own:

'Of course we give students choices...when they are finished they can draw a picture, make a dialogue.... These activities are mostly used in language and history...you cannot do that in math.' (T5, male, 2nd grade teacher, 6 years of service)

The way differentiation of product was implemented indicated that teachers considered it as a garniture, a noncompulsory extra component, something that was done after 'serious' work was concluded. By limiting differentiation of product only to courses related to language and social studies, teachers enhanced the development of the hidden curriculum, sending tacit messages about the hierarchy of the disciplines²³ and implicitly suggesting that you can 'mess' with Language and Humanities, but not with Math and Science.

Arguably, the participant teachers seemed to neglect knowledge construction process and content integration. Alternatives provided were dictated by content. Therefore, culture or any forms of diversity other than learning styles were not taken into consideration when teachers provided alternatives to students for presenting their learning. Further, silent or non-dominant groups' voices were never brought forward and discussed. Even in cases when empathy was required for the completion of an exercise (i.e., write a dialogue between two historical persons), teachers failed to provide sufficient guidance or options that would help students utilise their cultural backgrounds. Additionally, researchers observed that, in drawing exercises, depictions and guidance provided by the teachers were primarily based on Western types of illustrations that seemed to be more 'child-friendly' rather than promoting alternative artistic representations that would utilise immigrant children's cultural heritage (e.g. Arabic art).

Affect and Learning Environment (DI) – Empowering School Culture (IE)

In almost all their statements, participant teachers emphasised the importance of taking into consideration children's emotions and making them feel included. They often used positive reinforcement in order boost to 'positive emotions' (e.g., happiness, confidence) in trying to enhance students' self-concepts and their motivation to learn. Regarding the learning environment, all teachers in our research decorated their classrooms in a child-friendly way. About empowering school culture and social structure, teachers made many efforts to include children from diverse backgrounds in the classroom councils, either by campaigning for diversity or by tacitly 'suggesting' for whom to vote. In some cases, teachers even applied gender or nationality quota in the classroom elections:

²³ L. Neophytou, 'A critical analysis of the hidden curriculum associated with critical thinking' [in Greek], *Epistimes tis Agogis* Vol.. 1 (2015).

'We are trying to involve everyone, from all countries, to events, to celebrations and in councils. But when we have children who have another mother tongue, they find difficulties in participating in all these things' (T3, female, 6th Grade teacher, 18 years of service)

Despite teachers' efforts, the involvement of culturally diverse students in classroom councils remained limited. This was mostly due to language issues that, according to teachers, made it extremely difficult for them to understand the discussions that took place during meetings. Yet, even Cypriot children's involvement in the decision-making process was typical and superficial. Topics discussed were on the 'safe side' (e.g., choosing decorations for school or the destination for an excursion from certain given options). Students played the role of the council, without actually being one. Researchers observed that these meetings were always rigidly controlled by teachers who safeguarded the agenda and facilitated 'proper' conduct. Thus, empowering school culture was not achieved. Children did not have any power, control or authority, and consequently they had no mechanism to ensure that their opinions were taken into consideration or mattered in any way.

Conclusion

Our findings suggest that regardless of teachers' hard work to meet the needs of their students and to take into consideration both learning and cultural diversity in their classrooms, their efforts remain at the surface level, failing to succeed neither intercultural competence nor academic success. Researchers observed that teachers' attempts to incorporate methods and techniques from both intercultural education and differentiation of instruction were unconnected and discontinuous. Despite the fact that multiple techniques and methods from both approaches were utilised, these were isolated and fragmented, lacking continuity and focus. Instruction was obviously enriched, yet, the various components appeared to be random, since no learning objectives could be directly related to the methods used. The result was a shuffle of random techniques that indicated, on the one hand, teachers' willingness to differentiate their instruction and to enhance inclusion and intercultural education, and on the other, their unsuccessfulness in achieving learning for all children. Once again, teachers appeared to teach 'to the middle', failing to meet the needs of student diversity, both in terms of culture and readiness.

Teachers should be empowered to bring change in their schools and classrooms.²⁴ Change can be achieved by building communities where all school actors can develop

²⁴ Neophytou, 'A critical analysis of the hidden curriculum'; Valiandes and Neophytou Teachers' professional development for differentiated instruction in mixed-ability classrooms.

and learn from each other.²⁵ Inclusive cultures need to be set so schools can promote social equality by empowering all those involved to engage in a sense of a shared purpose, one which emerges through the collaboration of committed individuals.²⁶ Arguably, teacher professional development is necessary to help teachers respond to these complex roles by implementing culturally sustaining pedagogy in practice through interculturally differentiated teaching.

Teacher professional development should promote their interdisciplinary and intercultural competencies 'by combining all these valuable forms of knowledge, more sustainable practices can be developed and better resolutions to current issues may be achieved'.²⁷ To this end, we suggest that intercultural professional development should encompass teachers' ethical orientation and efficiency, enabling them to promote not only the academic, but also the social development of their culturally diverse students. Ethical orientation refers to the values, interpersonal attributes, and orientation to diverse people, while efficiency orientation includes the organisational skills and abilities to act in various roles and situations.

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²⁵ L. Stoll, R. Bolam, A. McMahon, M. Wallace and S. Thomas, 'Professional Learning Communities: A Review of the Literature'. *Journal of Educational Change*, Vol. 7 (2006), 221-258.

²⁶ Hajisoteriou and Angelides, 'Collaborative art-making for reducing margalisation'.

²⁷ D. Tilbury and L. Mulà, Review of Education for Sustainable Development Policies from a Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue: Gaps and Opportunities for Future Action. (Paris: UNESCO, 2009).

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