Teaching Assistants in International Schools: Perceptions and Perspectives

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Abstract
Although multiple studies have investigated teaching assistants in public schools, there is little research dedicated to the study of teaching assistants in international schools. The purpose of this study was to investigate teaching assistant wellbeing in international schools in East Asia through the lenses of locally-hired teaching assistants to discover what they consider to be barriers in their positions. Data acquisition for this descriptive perception study occurred through an online questionnaire that was completed by 134 teaching assistants working in international schools in East and Southeast Asia in March and April of 2019. The main findings of this research study were that many teaching assistants in international schools desire relevant professional development, fairer working environment, more professional and career opportunities, and more equitable salary conditions.

Keywords: teaching assistant, support teacher, international school, SEN, ELL

Introduction
There are more than 11,000 international schools worldwide (ISC Research, 2019), and the number is projected to reach 16,000 schools by 2026 (Independent Education Today, 2016). The growth of international schools has been astounding, especially in China and other countries in East and Southeast Asia (Ward, 2017). ISC Research (2019) has reported that local student enrollment world-wide in international schools is well above 80%. Many host country parents seek to enroll their child in an international school to provide their child with an English-medium education and future opportunity for university study in a native-English speaking country (Dearden, 2014).

In numerous international schools, locally-hired teaching assistants (TAs) are working with students that have high linguistic, academic, behavioral, and emotional needs. While there has been a considerable amount of research concerning teaching assistants, there is a shortage of international schools (Tarry & Cox, 2014). Of primary concern with the deployment of teaching assistants in international schools is their readiness to perform their roles. According to Fisher and Pleasants (2012), the role of teaching assistants has been identified as problematic because “the least qualified staff are teaching students with the most complex learning characteristics and in some cases with little oversight or direction” (p. 288). The purpose of this research study was to investigate teaching assistant wellbeing in international schools in East Asia through the lenses of locally-hired teaching assistants to discover what they consider to be barriers in their positions. This research study occurred because of the

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many observations made by the researcher while working in international schools in East and Southeast Asia.

Teaching Assistants

There are various terms used to label teaching assistants in schools. Sometimes little regard is given to the actual meaning of the term used (Roffey-Barentsen & Watt, 2014), while at other times, terms are deliberately used to define roles and expectations (Trent, 2014). Teaching assistant, education assistant, classroom assistant, support teacher, teacher aid, inclusion aid, support staff, school officer, paraeducator, paraprofessional, resource officer, and assistant teacher are some of the labels used by schools. For the remainder of this article, the researcher will use the term teaching assistant (TA).

International schools often employ locally-hired host country workers to serve as TAs to teachers usually hired from native-English speaking countries. In many cases, TAs in native-English speaking countries are not required to have a university degree. For example, Blatchford, Russell, and Webster (2012) found that 15% of TAs in England and Wales had an undergraduate university degree, and three-percent had a higher degree. Although teaching assistants can be found throughout a PreK-12 international school, most TAs work in the kindergarten and primary sections of the school.

Traditionally, the teaching assistant’s role was to support the classroom teacher by performing various tasks ranging from photocopying materials to monitoring student behavior and wellbeing. Nowadays, it is common to see TAs performing more tasks and roles in schools, including pedagogical roles, and according to Whitehorn (2010), most of a teaching assistant’s time is spent working with students, followed by supporting the teacher. In some international schools, TAs are the main facilitators of inclusion in the classroom (Chan & Yuen, 2015).

Previous research shows that TAs are often unsure of the primary responsibilities and expectation for their jobs (Gibson, Paatsch, Toe, Wells, & Rawolle, 2015; Roffey-Barentsen & Watt, 2014), and many TAs believe that behavior management is their primary function (Blatchford et al., 2012). Due to the wide variance between classrooms and international schools, communication between the teacher and TA is vital for the effective use of the teaching assistant in the classroom (Tarry, 2012). Unfortunately, lack of time for the classroom teacher and TA to communicate impairs the overall effectiveness of the classroom (Ofsted, 2005). Conversely, when positive collaboration and teamwork occurs between the classroom teachers and TAs, the classroom environment encourages better learning and behavior outcomes (Ofsted, 2005).

Studying the deployment of TAs in British international schools, Tarry (2011) found that British international school headteachers wanted TAs to be engaged in supporting the learning of all students. Tarry (2011) reported that some of the schools did not provide any training while a couple of schools provided TAs with in-service educator training (INSET) and access to conferences and online training. Of the 26 questionnaires received for her study, Tarry discovered that only two schools provided TAs with training related to working with students in reading and math, and only two schools specified TA training in working with students with special education needs (SEN) (Tarry, 2011). Additionally, Tarry (2011) found that some of the schools participating in the questionnaire had TAs on
staff with qualifications and degrees from the UK.

In contrast to the schools participating in Tarry’s research, many international schools in East and Southeast Asia use locally-hired teaching assistants. In most international schools, very rarely is a TA provided with an opportunity to teach a whole class; nonetheless, locally-hired TAs have an in-depth understanding of both the student culture and the arduous task of learning a second language. For these reasons, TAs are often in a position to make valuable contributions to the linguistic development, social wellbeing, and academic success of locally-enrolled students. For some or all of these reasons, some researchers encourage using teachers from the same population as the students because of their ability to work and communicate with students in both the native language (L1) of the students and English (L2).

The salary of a locally-hired TAs is considerably lower than a teacher hired from a native-English speaking country. Hardman (2001) reported on the feelings of inequality that TAs can have at the differences between salary and benefits afforded to foreign teachers as compared to locally-hired staff. Hardman (2001) also discussed how these feelings might emerge negatively, thereby affecting the classroom and school environments.

McKenzie and Scheurich (2004) cautioned administrators and teachers of the perils of equity traps when working with students that have a different background. Equity traps are “conscious and subconscious thinking patterns that trap teachers, administrators, and others, preventing them from creating schools that are equitable” (McKenzie & Scheurich, 2004, p. 601). Although McKenzie and Scheurich were focusing on equity traps that administrators and teachers may have towards minority students who have different backgrounds, locally-hired TAs may present potential equity traps for foreign-hired administrators and teachers.

Of further concern in international schools is the potential for linguistic prejudice which arises when “one accent [of English] somehow sounds more or less intelligent than others” (KirKPatrick, 2007, p. 15). Much of the educational practices in international schools are carried over from monolingual native-English speaking their working environment and job performance.

**Research Question**

The purpose of this research study was to investigate teaching assistant wellbeing in international schools in East Asia through the lenses of locally-hired teaching assistants to discover what they consider to be barriers in their positions. The following question was used to guide the study.

- What do locally-hired teaching assistants consider to be barriers in their positions?

**Method**

The researcher collected 927 potential participant contact information by visiting the websites of international schools. In addition to an English version, the survey and introductory note were translated into Chinese, Thai, and Vietnamese. The researcher used a questionnaire hosted by Survey Monkey to collect data. Before sending the survey, a native-speaker for each translation reviewed the translation and served as an expert in the field to establish content validity (Creswell, 2012). In the survey email, potential participants were informed of the intentions of the study and provided with instructions to delete the email if they chose not to participate. Of the 927
potential participants, 528 (56.96%) opened the survey. Of the 528 potential participants who opened the survey, 134 (25.38%) chose to complete the questionnaire.

The 134 participants who decided to participate completed the questionnaire without coercion or promise of a reward. The online survey collected no personal information, and none of the questions were mandatory. There 134 participants were located in various countries in East and Southeast Asia, mostly in China, Indonesia, Thailand, and Vietnam. The collection of survey responses occurred in March and April of 2019. Each Likert scale question had five points. Additionally, the survey contained one open-ended question to acquire qualitative data for answering the research question. In line with Creswell (2012), open-ended questions on surveys allow the researcher to move beyond the responses obtained by closed-ended questions.

**Data Analyses**

Responses from the study revealed 6.7% of the participants did not have a university degree; however, 74.1% had a bachelor’s degree, 18.5% a master’s degree, and 1% a doctorate. Further revealed was that 61.5% of the participants had a teaching credential issued from the host country government where the TA worked, allowing them to teach in a public school in the host country.

The researcher sought to discover the participants’ perceptions of how they were treated by the foreign teacher they worked with the most. Figure 1 shows the perceived level of treatment by percentage. None of the participants revealed they were treated very poorly by the foreign teacher.

Overall, the participants perceived differences in the amount of professional development provided to classroom teachers and TAs. Figure 2 provides a side-by-side comparison of the participants’ perceived levels of professional development given to foreign teachers and TAs.
Further, I sought to discover whether the participants felt valued by the foreign administrator(s). According to the participants who responded to the question (n=132), 25.8% felt they were not valued, while 74.2% felt they were valued by the foreign administrator(s) in their school.

Eighty-one of the 134 participants chose to respond to the open-ended question. Although the question asked for a single suggestion, some participants provided more than one suggestion along with additional commentary. Analysis of qualitative data began after comments not received in English were translated. After reading through the qualitative data, the researcher began matching data based on commonalities. As data were being grouped, the researcher began to identify themes relevant to the topic of this research study (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher also used prior knowledge to make connections for categorizing data into themes (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). Eventually, the researcher established the following eight major themes.

- All good
- Career
- Development
- Respect
- Environment
- Salary
- Students
- Management

Figure 3 displays the count for each of the 111 statements that were grouped into the eight major themes.

**All Good.** Ten participants responded positively about their current position. For example, one TA stated, “Nothing to improve. The environment already good.” Another participant responded, “ทุกอย่างที่นี่ดีมาก ตั้งแต่ผู้บริหารไปจนถึงบุคลากร” (“Everything here is very good, from administration to personnel”).

**Career.** Sixteen comments expressed the desire to have access to professional opportunities or career development. One participant stated, “给助教老师提供更多的职业发展机会，前在我的学校, 基本没有任何 职业发展机会” (“The school should provide more career development opportunities for teaching assistants. Currently there is no career development opportunity in my school”). A number of TAs lamented the lack of opportunities for promotions to positions of management. For example, one TA responded, “有更多晋升的 职位选择” (“Clarify the career development promotion route”). Some TAs also expressed a desire to have more opportunities to use their skills and teach. For instance, a participant stated, “…allowing the support teacher to teach a subject to develop their skills and be a part of teaching field.”

**Development.** Professional development and training received twenty-four comments. Some comments were brief and to the point such as, “更多的相关培训” [More
relevant training] and “增加受高质量培训的机会” [“Increased opportunities for quality training”]. Also commonly expressed was the ability to receive training that would enable TAs to obtain qualifications.

Environment. Comments about the working environment included the desire for TAs to have access to teaching tools, better communication in the school, and a chair, desk, or room dedicated to TAs. The following are examples, “Having iPad for all the teachers including support teacher” and “Love with actions, not only words.” Another example, “ช่วยเหลือซึ่งกันและกันทำงานเป็นทีม” [“Help each other and work as a team”]. There was also a suggestion to change the title of teaching assistant to co-teacher. Another TA commented on how “Students should speak appropriate English when they are in school otherwise the younger kids would learn from the older kids.” A final example pertains to SEN and locally-enrolled students, “Hạn chế số lượng học sinh đặc biệt hoặc số lượng học sinh Việt Nam” [“Limit the number of special need students or Vietnamese students’]. There were twenty-two responses categorized in this theme.

Management. Participant statements towards management ranged from general to specific. One participant responded, “学校能够明确助教的角色和职责” [“The school should clarify the roles and responsibilities of the teaching assistants”]. Two more examples are, “Quy định và chính sách rõ ràng hơn. Cần nhiều kết nối giữa Ban lãnh đạo, các giám đốc và quản lý với nhân viên” [Policies should be clearer. Need connection among leadership, managers, and staff] and “More transparent decision making.” Seven participants responded with comments related to management.

Respect. Responses by twelve participants fell into the theme of respect. Examples of the desire to be afforded more respect include, “Listen to our thought even though we just teacher assistance but we’re very close with students” and “Coi trọng trợ giảng hơn, đặc biệt trước mặt học sinh” [“Respect teaching assistants more, especially in front of students”]. Another participant stated, “我们是和外籍教师占在一线教学的教育工作者, 也在努力地工作, 帮助学校成长” [We are also educators who are teaching in the front line with foreign teachers. TAs are also working hard to help the school grow”].

Salary. There were sixteen comments related to salary and employee benefits but not associated with professional development or career opportunity. For example, some teaching assistants hoped the school would allow the children of locally-hired staff to attend the school. Some participants pointed out how the salary between “expat and local staff” was “extremely different.” Several participants expressed the desire to receive equal pay with the foreign teachers, “同工同酬” [“Equal pay for equal work”]. Others wanted to receive fair treatment; incentives for motivation; salary based on ability and experience; and paid holidays. The disparity in salaries between foreign staff and locally-hired teachers revealed other comments such as “建议能够提高中方员工的福利，让我们更有归属感” [“It is recommended to improve the welfare of Chinese employees and give us a sense of belonging”]. There was also a call for the salary system to be reviewed and made more transparent.

Students. There were four comments that the researcher placed in the theme of students. Several participants expressed improvements that would directly impact students. One responded called for “Nhieu hoạt động thực tien voi cuoc song hon cho hoc sinh” [Practical activities for students].
Other participants wanted more space or new desks for students.

At the beginning of this section, the researcher presented information about the participants’ level of education and teaching qualifications. Then, the researcher provided data concerning the participants’ perceived levels of professional development given to TAs compared to foreign teachers. Next, the researcher presented information about the participants’ perceived levels of treatment by foreign teachers and whether they felt valued by the foreign administrator(s) in their school. After providing general survey data, the researcher introduced the major themes of the qualitative data and the frequency in which the themes occurred. Lastly, the researcher briefly depicted each theme using examples from the statements of the participants.

Discussion

Contrary to the 15% of TAs in England and Wales that had an undergraduate university degree as reported by Blatchford et al. (2012), 74% of the TAs in the present study had a bachelor’s degree. Additionally, 18.5% of TAs in the current study had a master’s degree as opposed to three percent in the study by Blatchford et al. (2012). Further, a majority (61.5%) of the TAs participating in the current study held a government-issued teaching credential which qualified them to teach in a public school in their home country. The level of education in many countries in East and Southeast Asia has been rising in recent years. For example, recent results on the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) reflect that some countries in East and Southeast Asia are outperforming countries from which most administrators and teachers in international schools originate (Gurria, 2018). With the majority of TAs having a university degree and a teaching qualification, it is puzzling that many TAs are not better utilized in international schools.

Overall, approximately 88% of the TAs in this study reported they were treated well or very well by the classroom teacher they work with the most as opposed to 3% who revealed they were treated poorly. Of note are the 10% of TA participants who were undecided in how they perceived the classroom teacher treated them. If combined with the participants who felt they were treated poorly, this combine percentage is still fairly small. On a positive note, none of the participants revealed they were treated very poorly; however, one participant chose not to answer the question.

Of particular interest in the survey data are the differences in the perceived levels of professional development between foreign teachers and TAs. Participants revealed that they perceived foreign teachers as receiving more professional development than TAs. More than half of the participants revealed that they received a very low or low level of professional development compared to only 27% of the foreign teachers. When it came to TA perceptions of whether or not they felt valued by the foreign administrators, there appears to be considerable contrast. Approximately 26% of TAs revealed that they perceived the foreign administrators did not value them in their school. Whereas, 74% of TAs believed the foreign administrators valued them. While three-quarters of the TAs believed the foreign administrators valued them, more than half of the participants reported having received very low or low levels of professional development.

Although many participants reported being treated well by foreign teachers and being valued by foreign administrators, a
majority of participants provided their perspectives concerning barriers to TAs at the school in which they work. Many of these perspectives revealed discontent with several key aspects of their work. These key aspects surfaced as some of the themes. The top four themes that emerged from the qualitative data were professional development, working environment, career opportunities, and salary. Although the researcher eventually categorized qualitative data into eight major themes, some responses had content that overlapped into other themes.

**Professional development.** PD was the theme that received the most attention from TAs. Although many teaching assistants have qualified teaching status in the host country, few are provided an opportunity to receive professional development in international schools. Because many TAs have university degrees, host country teaching credentials, and experience at learning English, they represent an underused resource in working with students in international schools. Students in international schools learning English would benefit from working with TAs who have received professional development in SLA. Additionally, students categorized as being SEN would benefit from working with TAs who have received PD in working with SEN students. According to the participants, there is a discrepancy in the amount of PD that TAs receive in comparison to classroom teachers (see Figure 2).

While there have been findings showing how instruction provided by TAs is generally ineffective (Blatchford et al., 2012; Whitehorn, 2010), many of the TAs in those studies lacked university education and a teaching qualification unlike the majority of TAs participating in this study. However, many locally-hired TAs in international schools with university degrees and teaching qualifications lack training in western educational practices. Compounding the problem is that many administrators and teachers in international schools lack training in the effective use or deployment of TAs (Whitehorn, 2010).

Blatchford et al. (2012) identified TA preparedness, deployment, and practice as critical areas that should be addressed in order to make effective and efficient use of teaching assistants. Furthering the call for better deployment of TAs, Bosanquet and Radford (2019) stressed the need to provide TAs with training in scaffolded interaction, especially since TAs tend to work with small groups or one-to-one with students. Bosanquet and Radford (2019) pinpointed specific professional development in scaffolding to be provided to TAs by referring to the three key characteristics of scaffolding, as identified by Van de Pol, Volman, and Beishuizen (2010). These three key characteristics are contingency, fading, and transfer. Contingency involves guiding the student forward, fading works toward developing student independence, and transfer shifts the responsibility of learning to the student as independence is developed (Bosanquet & Radford, 2019). Overall, students benefit more when TAs use structured literacy interventions with one student or with small groups (Sharples, Webster, & Blatchford, 2015). In sum, TAs need more training (Roffey-Barentsen & Watt, 2014; Sharples et al., 2015; Trent, 2014), and short-term training sessions or INSETs may not be the best form of PD for TAs (Lamb, 1995). Furthermore, TA training needs to be differentiated (Baker, 2016; Echevarria & Graves, 1998) and sustained in duration (Darling-Hammond, Hyler, & Gardener, 2017).
Working environment. The working environment encompasses many elements for TAs from being provided with tools that allow them to be more effective in the classroom to merely have a dedicated chair or desk. One TA commented on the need for older students to speak English so the younger students would learn from the older students. Another TA suggested that the school should limit the number of SEN or Vietnamese students, which is interesting since the respondent was a Vietnamese TA. This comment suggests that some TAs are struggling with the number of SEN students and locally-enrolled students with limited English proficiency. There was also the suggestion of a title change from TA to co-teacher. While the title of co-teacher may not be appropriate for most international schools, many international schools should investigate the title given to locally-hired staff to ensure it aligns with the expectations of the position.

Many TAs believe they are working as hard as foreign teachers and are equally contributing to the success of the school, justifying their call for equality in treatment and benefits. Although it is unlikely that all TAs are working diligently towards the success of the students and school, it may be advantageous for school administrators to examine the school’s policy towards the title of TAs and consider how a change may provide an incentive and retain promising talent. When responding to the open-ended question on the survey, participants did make calls for more explicit policies, more transparent decision making, more communication between staff, and more cohesive organizational behavior, all of which trace back to the school’s leadership and administration.

Career opportunities. Some of the participants expressed their desire to be a part of the teaching staff, and one participant asserted that TAs are educators who are also working to help the school grow. Similar to previous research (Roffey-Barentsen & Watt, 2014; Trent, 2014), TA responses in this study showed that many international schools are not providing career advancement opportunities for TAs. One participant expressed the desire to see the school management clarify the roles and responsibilities of TAs. The need to clarify TA roles has been a finding of previous studies (Blatchford et al., 2012; Gibson et al., 2015; Roffey-Barentsen & Watt, 2014; Tarry & Cox, 2014; Trent 2014).

Responses from the participants made it clear that TAs wish to have opportunities to use their skill sets and develop their teaching skills by being able to teach. Noted should be that some TAs are reluctant to teach a full class seeing this as the classroom teacher’s responsibility, and in some schools, TAs will cover classes in the absence of the classroom teacher, which saves the school money by not having to hire a cover teacher (Roffey-Barentsen & Watt, 2014). These situations could be potential drivers for negative feelings that some TAs have towards the classroom and school, as discussed by Hardman (2001).

Salary. Salary was the theme that received the fourth-largest number of comments. The call for a higher salary, fairness, salary per experience and ability, a transparent salary scale, and monetary incentives echoed findings of previous studies concerning TAs (Hardman, 2001; Roffey-Barentsen & Watt, 2014). Furthermore, responses by TAs made it clear that there is concern about the disparity in salary and benefits between foreign staff and locally-hired staff. For example, some of the participants made comments about their desire for the school to open placements for
the children of locally-hired staff or to provide reduced tuition.

With inclusion becoming more common in international schools (ISC & NFI, 2017), it is interesting to see that much locally-hired staff are not provided with an opportunity for their child to attend the school where they work. According to Bradley (2000), “examples of truly comprehensive, inclusive education are very hard to find” (p. 33), yet the most common issue with the children of locally-hired staff members would be their English language ability. With more than 80% of enrollment in international schools being local students (ISC Research, 2019), language learning assistance should be a relatively common element in most international schools.

**Conclusion**

The main findings of this research study were that many teaching assistants in international schools desire relevant professional development, fairer working environment, more professional and career opportunities, and more equitable salary conditions. The international school market is continuing to expand and now is estimated to be generating more than $51 billion in tuition revenue (ISC, 2019). Additionally, the average tuition fees at international schools in East Asia and Oceania are reported to be $16,403 per year and as high as the country average of $33,591 in China (ExpatFinder, n.d.). While some of the assertions made by participants of the study may be open to debate, the international school market is clearly capable of providing more relevant professional development, fairer working environment, more professional and career opportunities, and more equitable salary conditions to the TAs working in international schools.

**Recommendations.** The researcher recommends that international schools offer long-term, meaningful professional development to teaching assistants. Additionally, the researcher encourages international schools to seek ways to improve teaching assistant working conditions and to provide opportunities for career development and advancement. Lastly, the researcher recommends that international schools provide transparent salary scales and benefits that take TA experience, skills, and motivation into consideration.

**Assumptions and Limitations.** The researcher assumed that participants answered the questionnaire truthfully and without fear of reprisal. A limitation of this study was that the participants were requested to answer questions that may be beyond their scope. To illustrate, TAs were asked their perception of the level of professional development received by the foreign teachers. A further limitation of this study was that the researcher sought participation from potential participants for which contact information was found via school websites.

**Suggestions for Further Research.** Because of the depth of the qualitative data received, the researcher encourages future qualitative research into the lives, perceptions, and perspectives of TAs in international schools investigating an array of topics. Due to the contrast in data between the participants’ perceptions in the level of PD provided to TAs and whether or not TAs feel valued by the foreign administrators, the researcher encourages further exploration in this area. Overall, the researcher suggests further research into the professional relationships between classroom teachers and TAs and administrators and TAs in international schools to find best practices and elevate the awareness of how TAs can be
effectively used to support students, teachers, and schools.

**Concluding Remarks.** The purpose of this research study was to investigate teaching assistant wellbeing in international schools in East Asia through the lenses of locally-hired teaching assistants to discover what they consider to be barriers in their positions. It has been expected that the findings of the study will encourage international school communities to examine their policies and practices concerning teaching assistants. In closing, the following participant’s comment summarizes the position of many teaching assistants in international schools in East and Southeast Asia.

> “Give more training so teaching assistants can find more value in themselves, which will help them improve their teaching career. No one wants to be a teaching assistant forever, and almost no international school has considered this. Teaching assistants hope the school gives them equal pay for equal work and provides opportunities to move to management positions. Doing these things will change the working environment and help the school staff understand each other’s cultures.”

**Disclosure Statement**

The researcher received no payment or reward for this study.

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