OECD Education Working Papers No. 198

The lives of teachers
in diverse classrooms

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Meredith Bannon**

<https://dx.doi.org/10.1787/8c26fee5-en>

Cancels & replaces the same document of 12 March 2019

**The Lives of Teachers in Diverse Classrooms
OECD Education Working Paper No. 198**

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This working paper has been authorised by Andreas Schleicher, Director of the Directorate for Education and Skills, OECD.

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JT03444906

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Abstract

Recent migration patterns have brought major change to the experience of schooling for students, parents and teachers. This paper focuses on teachers, and explores their roles, functions and challenges in classrooms with diverse student populations. It examines initial and in-service teacher education and professional development programmes and approaches that can foster the teacher competencies called for in school settings characterised by migration-induced diversity, and offers policy pointers. The paper argues that in order to fulfil the growing expectations teachers face, they need to be equipped with relevant knowledge, capabilities, dispositions, values and skills, such as knowledge and understanding of diversity issues, reflectivity about identities, perspectives and practices, teacher agency and autonomy, empathy, and pedagogical judgement and tact. The paper suggests that responsive teacher education should integrate diversity into the curriculum, approach diversity as an asset, link theory and practice, create spaces for action, reflection, study and anticipation in handling diversity, and incorporate relevant technologies for innovative teaching.

Résumé

L'évolution récente des migrations change profondément l'expérience de l'école vécue par les élèves, leurs parents et leurs enseignants. Ce document, qui porte sur les enseignants, étudie les rôles de ces derniers, leurs fonctions et leurs difficultés en classe face à des élèves d'origines diverses. Il examine la formation initiale et en cours d'emploi des enseignants ainsi que les programmes de développement professionnel et les approches pouvant favoriser les compétences nécessaires aux enseignants travaillant dans des structures scolaires caractérisées par une diversité née de l'immigration, et propose des pistes pour l'action des pouvoirs publics. Il est avancé dans ce document que pour répondre aux attentes croissantes auxquelles les enseignants sont confrontés, ces derniers doivent posséder les connaissances, les capacités, les dispositions, les valeurs et les compétences nécessaires (par exemple connaissance et compréhension des problèmes de diversité, capacité de réflexion sur l'identité, les perspectives et les pratiques, capacité d'action et autonomie, empathie, jugement pédagogique et tact). Il est suggéré que la formation des enseignants devrait intégrer la diversité dans ses programmes, considérer la diversité comme un atout, faire le lien entre théorie et pratique, créer des espaces d'action, de réflexion, d'étude et d'anticipation sur la gestion de la diversité, et incorporer les technologies propices à un enseignement novateur.

Acknowledgements

Within the OECD Secretariat, the authors would like to thank Francesca Borgonovi for her valuable comments and guidance. Alessandro Ferrara contributed figures for this paper, while Diana Tramontano and Deborah Fernandez provided editorial support. Many thanks also to Tracey Burns, Andreas Schleicher and Yuri Belfali (all OECD Secretariat) as well as Sonia Guerriero (UNESCO) for their reviews.

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1. Introduction

The past two decades have brought major changes to the experience of schooling for students, parents and teachers. This is partly due to the recent migration patterns. For example, diversity has significantly increased in a number of countries when compared with the 1990s. This is particularly striking, for example, in France (the number of countries of origin accounting for 60% of the flows increased by 40%) and even more in Germany and Switzerland, where the number of countries doubled (OECD, 2015^[1]). Resulting, in part, from recent migration, today's classrooms are also becoming increasingly diversified.

In this paper, diversity, especially diversity within education systems, is defined as "characteristics that can affect the specific ways in which developmental potential and learning are realised, including cultural, linguistic, ethnic, religious and socio-economic differences" (OECD, 2010^[2]).

Research on classroom diversity has increased alongside expanding diversity. Much of this research focuses on the challenges of diverse classrooms, with the goal of proposing solutions through multicultural or intercultural discourses, and more recently in the context of transnational or transcultural studies. The terminology is manifold; while the term 'multicultural education' and its predecessor 'multi-ethnic education' (Banks, 1994^[3]) are more prevalent in the Anglo-American literature, the term 'intercultural education' is more common in Europe. While in educational policy and public debates both terms are often used interchangeably, in the academic discourse the term 'intercultural' is usually used in a programmatic sense, while the 'multicultural' is seen as more descriptive. The multicultural describes and analyses a state of affairs, for example, the multicultural society or the multicultural set-up of a classroom. The intercultural is seen as response to multiculturalism and focuses on how to handle effectively the multicultural set-ups. Transcultural approaches in education are often based on a conceptualisation of culture as empirically and normatively 'transcultural' (Adick, 2010^[4]).

Regardless of the particular terminology and conceptual framework, the debate has centred on formal education settings with researchers analysing the processes and problems related to cultural, ethnic, linguistic, religious or national diversity at school. In turn, researchers and practitioners search for solutions, frequently focusing on desired teacher qualities and competencies (Dietz, 2007^[5]).

Importantly, intercultural/multicultural/transcultural education is for everyone and does not solely address classrooms with high concentrations of immigrant and/or minority students. Mainstream and minority groups both need an inclusive education that builds on diversity and incorporates multiple perspectives (Nieto, 2001, p. 37^[6]; El Ashmawi, Sanchez and Carmona, 2018^[7]).

Despite the superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007^[8]) that characterises our societies, not much is known about how teachers teach in diverse classrooms and how they can be prepared to do so. This paper explores the teacher's role in these classrooms. Although it discusses teaching in diverse classrooms, the findings and policy suggestions are of value to all classrooms, irrespective of the measure of heterogeneity.

This paper explores the following questions:

- What is a diverse classroom?

- What are the required competencies, irrespective of specific national contexts, that are needed to excel as a teacher in diverse classrooms?
- What are effective methods and programmes to train teachers for diverse classrooms, both in pre-service and in-service teacher education?

To answer these questions, the paper is divided into six sections. Following the introduction in section one, section two outlines some characteristics of diverse classrooms and diverse student populations with an emphasis on migration-induced diversity. Section three discusses teacher competences for diverse classrooms. Sections four and five examine how initial teacher training and professional development can help teachers learn to teach in diverse classrooms. The last section offers some policy pointers.

2. The Diverse Classroom

Classroom diversity is a term that can have many different meanings depending on context. As a descriptive term it refers to the wide range of differences in students' attributes and needs. In the context of schooling, relevant differences may consist of students' interests, experiences, aptitudes, abilities, learning styles, exceptionalities, gender, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, immigrant and/or minority background such as cultural, ethnic, national, religious and language backgrounds.

This section focuses on migration-related diversity in response to the growing number of students with an immigrant background, including refugee, asylum seeker and other categories of immigrant children entering schools and placing specific demands on schools and teachers. It describes a number of relevant aspects, trends and challenges related to migration-induced classroom diversity. The term 'immigrant students' refers in this paper to native- or foreign-born students whose parents are both foreign-born. "Students with an immigrant background" can be immigrant students, students from mixed households (one parent is native-born, one foreign-born) or returning foreign-born students (of native-born parents) (OECD, 2018^[9]). In spite of this specific focus on immigrant background, the approaches explored in this paper can also have an impact on teaching in classrooms characterised by other kinds of diversity.

Defining who counts as a migrant or an immigrant child has important consequences for reporting on the number of migrants, for the analysis of challenges faced by migrant populations, and for policies that aim to address these challenges (Janta and Harte, 2016^[10]). Although there is no consensus in definitions, most commonly, migrant status is defined either by birthplace or citizenship (Tromans, Natamba and Jefferie, 2009^[11]). Since birthplace, as opposed to citizenship, cannot change, it is often used as a more robust variable, although it does not represent a precise proxy for international migrants as it does not take into account the length of stay in the host country. This lack of precision also applies to data based on citizenship, which can only provide a collective picture of a population ranging from recent arrivals to second- and third-generation immigrants, who remained citizens of their countries of origin (Anderson and Blinder, 2015^[12]).

2.1. Birthplace Diversity

One way of showing increasing diversity is by looking at birthplace diversity over the last two decades. A common index of birthplace diversity used in academic research is the likelihood of two individuals living in a country being born in two different countries. In Spain and Ireland, the likelihood of people living in those countries being born in two different countries increased by over 20 percentage points between 1990 and 2010. In Germany, Norway and Sweden it rose by about 10 percentage points, in Austria and Italy by nine percentage points. In Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States birthplace diversity increased by eight percentage points, in Denmark and Finland by six percentage points, and in the Netherlands by about five percentage points (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2012^[13]). This rise in birthplace diversity also has important consequences for diversity in the student body.

2.2. Trends in the Composition of Students with an Immigrant Background

Another way of illustrating increasing diversity is by looking at trends in the composition of different groups of students with an immigrant background (Figure 2.1). On average across OECD countries, the share of students with an immigrant background increased by six percentage points between 2003 and 2015. Overall changes in the percentage of students with an immigrant background have been accompanied by changes in the composition of this student population. On average across OECD countries between 2003 and 2015, the greatest increase was in the percentage of second-generation immigrant students (by three percentage points), followed by the percentage of native students of mixed heritage (by two percentage points) and of first-generation immigrant students (by one percentage point).

In Austria, Canada and Luxembourg the largest rise was in the size of the first group, increasing up to 15 percentage points in Luxembourg. In Germany, the expansion of the two groups was almost identical (six and five percentage points, respectively), which balanced out the decrease of five percentage points in the number of first-generation immigrant students. By contrast, in Portugal, almost all of the surge in the percentage of students with an immigrant background can be attributed to the increase in the percentage of native students of mixed heritage (eight percentage points). In Ireland the group that grew the most was first-generation immigrant students (nine percentage points). Italy saw equal percentage point increases in the number of first-generation immigrant students, second-generation immigrant students and native students of mixed heritage.

Figure 2.1. Change in the share of students with an immigrant background

Notes: Countries and economies are ranked in descending order of the cumulative percentage point change in the share of first-generation immigrant, second-generation immigrant and native students of mixed heritage between 2003 and 2015. Changes between 2003 and 2015 that are statistically significant are indicated with darker or striped bars.

Source: OECD, Programme of International Student Assessment (PISA) 2015 Database, <http://www.oecd.org/pisa/data/2015database/> and PISA 2003 Database, <http://www.oecd.org/pisa/pisaproducts/database-pisa2003.htm> (both accessed 4 December 2018).

2.3. Challenges of Students with an Immigrant Background

Immigrant students face an intersection of multiple potential challenges that can result in multiple forms of marginalisation. For one, socio-economic disadvantage is commonplace for many first-generation students (foreign-born students of foreign-born parents), but also often affects second-generation immigrant students (native-born students of foreign-born parents). On average and in most Programme of International Student Assessment (PISA) countries, both second-generation and first-generation immigrant students are socio-economically disadvantaged compared to native students: they tend to have parents who are less educated, and with less prestigious occupations, and to have fewer resources in their homes (OECD, 2018^[9]). By contrast, native students of mixed heritage are more advantaged than native students.

Differences in socio-economic status explain about one-fifth of the gap between students with an immigrant background and native students in the likelihood of attaining baseline levels of academic proficiency, on average across OECD and EU countries. In France, Greece, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, socio-economic status explains a considerable fraction of immigrant students' academic disadvantage, while in the United States, immigrant and native students with a similar socio-economic profile have equal chances of attaining baseline academic proficiency (OECD, 2018^[14]).

In addition to socio-economic status, immigrant students are often disadvantaged by lack of fluency in the language spoken in the host country. For example, on average across OECD countries, immigrant students who do not speak the language of assessment at home are around eight percentage points less likely to be academically resilient (defined as scoring at least Level 2 in PISA in reading, science and mathematics) than native-speaking immigrant students. Language is also linked to a sense of belonging at school. Immigrant students who are non-native speakers are five percentage points less likely than those who are native speakers to report a sense of belonging at school, on average across OECD countries (OECD, 2018^[9]). Lack of language fluency and socio-economic disadvantage can be amplified by other factors such as having migrated after the age of 12, lack of parental support, and studying in a disadvantaged school (Luciak, 2010^[15]; Wissink and de Haan, 2013^[16]; OECD, 2018^[9]; Ratcliff and Hunt, 2009^[17]).

Furthermore, the schooling background of students varies considerably. In Europe, refugee children arrive with a multiplicity of prior formal education. On one extreme there are students who had little exposure to any form of schooling in their countries of origin. On the other extreme, there are students who experienced no interruption of formal schooling up until their departure (Koehler, 2017^[18]). Additionally, these newly arrived students come to schools at different times of the year. Thus, classrooms can be comprised of, for example, very recent arrivals, new arrivals who started the school year on time, and other immigrant students who have been in the local school system for years (Allard, 2016^[19]).

Lastly, the socio-emotional background of students may vary, especially when refugee and asylum seeking children arrive in a resettlement country, depending on the conditions in their country of origin, and the manner in which they have travelled to their new home, which may or may not include traumatic experiences (Tyrer and Fazel, 2014, p. 2^[20]),

As classrooms have increasingly become diverse and complex, developing culturally responsive pedagogies has become a professional imperative for teachers. However, considerable international research suggests that meeting the needs of diverse student cohorts is challenging for many teachers, novice and seasoned alike (Santoro and Forghani-Arani, 2015^[21]).

3. Teacher Competences for Diverse Classrooms

Teacher quality is often recognised as one of the most, if not the most, significant factor in the quality of schooling (McBer, 2000^[22]; OECD, 2005^[23]; Sammons and Bakkum, 2012^[24]; Stéger, 2014^[25]; Hattie, 2015^[26]). Considering the significant correlations between teacher quality and student performance (Barber and Mourshed, 2007^[27]; Snoek, Swennen and van der Klink, 2011^[28]), policy-makers frequently stress the importance of teacher competences in relation to student achievements (Le Donne, Fraser and Bousquet, 2016^[29]).

Teaching and learning to teach is a complex, multifaceted task, especially against the global backdrop of rapid societal change. The teaching profession is “firstly becoming more and more complex; secondly, the demands placed upon teachers are increasing; and thirdly, the environments in which they work are becoming more and more challenging” (European Parliament, 2014^[30]).

There is general consensus that teachers need to be equipped with relevant competences throughout the teacher education continuum if they are expected to fulfil the growing expectations they face. Policy-makers have increasingly sought to define the competences required from teachers by developing frameworks (European Commission, 2013^[31]). Such frameworks can offer education systems with a sound basis for planning and providing comprehensive professional development opportunities. However, policy approaches to developing competent teachers are not always coherent with the intended objectives, are often limited in scope or even counterproductive and misguided: “just when the very most is expected of them, teachers appear to be being given less support, less respect, and less opportunity to be creative, flexible and innovative than before” (Hargreaves and Lo, 2000, p. 2^[32]). The growing diversity in classrooms and societies makes these issues even more compelling.

Teacher competence implies professionalism in the multifaceted roles of the teacher on different levels of the individual, the classroom, the school, the immediate community, the society, as well as in relevant professional networks. In the current discourse a certain degree of consensus seems to converge on the notion of competence (Caena, 2011^[33]). It can be defined as the ability to meet complex demands, in certain contexts, by drawing on acquired resources. The Council of Europe defines competence as “the ability to mobilise and deploy relevant values, attitudes, skills, knowledge and/or understanding in order to respond appropriately and effectively to the demands, challenges and opportunities that are presented by a given type of context” (Council of Europe, 2016^[34]).

A review of recent literature and policy recommendations reveals a common recognition of diversity competence as a core teacher competence. Appreciation of diversity and multiculturalism, knowledge of issues of diversity and inclusion, and dispositions to promote learning of all are commonly understood as generic competencies (Williamson McDiarmid and Clevenger-Bright M., 2008^[35]).

The Council of Europe has defined a set of competences that teachers should acquire to effectively engage with diversity in classrooms (Arnesen, Allan and Simonsen, 2010^[36]; European Commission, 2017^[37]). The framework of teacher competences outlines three key competence areas: (1) knowledge and understanding, (2) communication and relationships, and (3) management and teaching. Correspondingly, this section provides a discussion of a number of key competences based on the structure of the three domains. It then argues for approaches that reach beyond competence categories, and take on the

complexity of handling diversity in concrete classroom situations. It suggests to complement predefined competences with pedagogical tact. Teacher competence and pedagogical tact taken together could provide a sound basis for a well defined and, at the same time, flexible and context-sensitive approach to policy and practice of educating teachers who aspire to excel in teaching in diverse classrooms – irrespective of specific national contexts.

3.1. Knowledge and Understanding of Diversity

Teachers should be able to effectively address issues of equity and social justice by understanding the historical, structural and political contexts that lead to prejudice and discrimination in education. This involves developing knowledge of the multiple dimensions of diversity and cultural differences, awareness of stereotyping mechanisms in knowledge construction (Cowan and Maitles, 2012^[38]), as well as attentiveness to students' social, cultural and linguistic context as it relates to teaching and learning (Keengwe, 2010^[39]).

3.2. Relationality, Reflectivity and Multi-perspectivity

Teachers need to be reflective about their own experiences, attitudes, opinions, preconceived notions and beliefs on cultural and socioeconomic differences (Rychly and Graves, 2007^[40]). They come to perceive socio-ethnic-cultural identity as a social, personal, and also educational construct (Cochran-Smith, 1995^[41]; Ladson-Billings, 1999^[42]; Hachfeld et al., 2015^[43]; Darling-Hammond, 2014^[44]). This context-reflectivity grows as teachers become aware of their own privileges or lack thereof in relation to their students (Byrd, 2016^[45]).

Diversity competence of teachers often assumes the case of the culturally mainstream teacher at home confronted with the culturally-other minority or immigrant student. It is therefore based on the premise that teaching efficacy in diverse classrooms depends on the teachers' consciousness of their own enculturation, cultural identities, assumptions, perspectives and biases (Gay, 2000^[46]; Guyton and Wesche, 2005^[47]; Ladson-Billings, 1995^[48]). The literature suggests that teachers tend to introduce their own cultural beliefs into the curriculum and ignore the cultural heterogeneity of their students (Gay, 2000^[46]; Sleeter, 2001^[49]). When teachers become conscious of their own identities, it is argued, they become culturally efficacious individuals who can move between two or more cultures and also become advocates for those from cultures other than the dominant one (Bennett and Salonen, 2007^[50]; Guyton and Wesche, 2005^[47]).

From this reflective standpoint teachers can treat diversity as an asset and a source of growth rather than a hindrance to student performance (Burns and Shadoian-Gersing, 2010^[51]). By valorising students' diverse heritages, they can represent educational resources benefiting students from all backgrounds (Gay, 2010^[52]).

Teachers also need to be reflective not only about their own experiences, attitudes, opinions, preconceived notions and beliefs on cultural and socioeconomic differences, but also of the experiences, identities and sense of belonging of their students as they grow, develop and change over time. Teachers who bring empathy to the classroom are perceptive of how their students experience school life and situations in classroom life. The Gallup Organisation found that "sensitivity and anticipation of student feelings mark teachers who bring empathy to the classroom" (Gordon, 1999, p. 305^[53]). "Students are more ready to accept themselves and to establish relationships when they work with teachers who acknowledge and understand their feelings" (Gordon, 1999, p. 305^[53]). And importantly,

teachers' empathy (often characterised as care) constitutes a decisive factor in students' performance, especially for students and student populations prone to marginalisation: "as teacher's caring for high achievers increases, so does student performance, while the performance of low achievers becomes even worse when teachers ... are uncaring" (Gay, 2018, p. 78^[54]).

3.3. Agency and Autonomy

Teacher agency and autonomy are related to the ability of teachers to control their work within structural constraints (Quinn and Carl, 2015^[55]). Addressing socio-cultural diversity in curriculum and institutional development means acting as agents of change. Selecting and modifying teaching methods for the learning needs of diverse student populations, critically evaluating representation of diversity in teaching materials, using diversity-sensitive assessment methods, and systematic reflection on and evaluation of own practice and its impact on diverse students, require a high level of professionalism. This in turn requires professional autonomy and latitude, empowering teachers themselves to take charge of developing their pedagogical competence (Sonmark et al., 2017^[56]). Research shows that teachers are able to adapt to and adopt policy requirements to fit some of their practices and reshape others on account of their professional agency (Robinson, 2012^[57]). The OECD Future of Education and Skills Education 2030 project which aims to help countries find answers to what knowledge, skills, attitudes and values are needed for today's students to thrive and shape their world, as well as how instructional systems can effectively develop them, designates teacher agency as a "design principle" for relevant changes over time (OECD, 2018^[58]). The OECD Learning Framework 2030 defines teacher agency as empowering teachers as professionals (OECD, 2018^[58]).

Teacher autonomy and agency are important to counterbalance two current trends in educational policy, often subsumed as the teacher effectiveness movement, which can minimise teacher professionalism. One stresses the need for teaching to become an evidence-based profession – in order to be effective, "where ultimately teachers only do that for which there exists positive scientific evidence that such interventions will produce the desired effects" (Biesta, 2012, p. 44^[59]). The other trend in improving teacher effectiveness can reduce professional development of teachers to impersonalised, standardised, prescriptive competences that make it challenging for teachers to be creative, flexible and innovative.

While the deliberate policy focus on teacher effectiveness has brought benefits in terms of deepening understanding of methodological approaches, it also tends to "de-compose" teaching into auditable competencies and performances (OECD, 2018^[58]). A narrow focus on measurable teacher performance and learner outcomes has given way to a "culture of performativity", which makes it hard for teachers to see themselves as agents of change, "reflective of their students' social, cultural and linguistic experiences" (OECD, 2018^[58]). What is lacking in many systems is teacher agency: "the capacity of teachers to act purposefully and constructively to direct their professional growth and contribute to the growth of their colleagues" (Calvert, 2016^[60]). Teachers need to be supported by system-level enabling conditions, such as policy frameworks, statements and regulations that recognise and develop their "co-agency as professionals" (OECD, 2018, p. 19^[58]). The OECD Education 2030 project aims to offer different types of effective pedagogies, and to reimagine the architecture within which teacher education and practice take place in order to provide scope for co-agency in teachers' professional lives. This will involve more emphasis on professional learning communities and peer-networks; breaking down

isolation both in the classroom and in professional development; being open to learning from students; learning from and within the communities within which their schools are based (OECD, 2018^[58]).

As indicated in a recent comprehensive review of OECD data, successful school systems have moved on from teacher-accountability and administrative control of teachers on strict evidence to professional forms of work organisation that encourage teachers to be innovative, to improve their own performance and that of their colleagues, and to pursue professional development that leads to better practice (Schleicher, 2018^[61]). However, the standardised organisation of teaching has often left teachers alone in the classroom. “Zero per cent school autonomy has meant one hundred per cent teacher isolation behind closed classroom doors. As the prescriptive approach weakens, the position of the classroom practitioners needs strengthening” (Schleicher, 2018^[61]). Educating for agency and taking action in a responsible and meaningful manner will be the key underlying concept of the OECD Learning Framework applying to all forms of formal education and training, including teacher education.

Box 3.1. Blind Spot – Teachers’ Hidden Biases

Teachers’ attitudes influence students’ outcomes and can constitute obstacles for successful teaching in diverse classrooms (Gay, 2010_[52]). Despite working in increasingly diverse classrooms, teachers may harbour negative attitudes towards students with a diverse linguistic, cultural and/or religious background (Agirdag, Huyst and Van Houtte, 2012_[62]; Chircu and Negreanu, 2010_[63]; Coronel and Gómez-Hurtado, 2015_[64]). Teachers tend to adopt lower expectations for students with immigrant and/or minority backgrounds (Glock and Kovacs, 2013_[65]; Glock and Krolack-Schwerdt, 2013_[66]) and may unintentionally implement discriminatory grading methods towards them (Sprietsma, 2013_[67]).

Research shows that despite conscientious intentions of embracing diversity, teachers can be highly biased against specific immigrant or minority populations. A distinction must be made here between explicit and implicit attitudes. “Explicit attitudes are those that we are aware of having”, while “implicit attitudes consist of associative knowledge” for which we often lack awareness (Banaji and Greenwald, 2013, p. 448_[68]). The two forms need not agree; people are often unaware of disagreement between their own implicit and explicit attitudes and stereotypes. This often applies to racial attitudes or ethnic bias.

The disagreement observed in extensive empirical research between explicit positive attitudes towards minorities and implicit prejudice towards specific groups could mean that people deliberately misrepresent their negative bias against certain groups – possibly for reasons of social desirability. However more often this has to do with the pervasive character of implicit attitudes, generally unconscious and unknown to the person. Based on extensive data, Banaji and Greenwald make a clear case that implicit racial or ethnic attitudes have practical and behavioural consequences, strikingly “even among people who fervently espouse egalitarian views” (Banaji and Greenwald, 2013, p. 452_[68]).

Forghani-Arani replicated a Dutch implicit attitudes study with a team (Forghani-Arani, Geppert and Katschnig, 2015_[69]) within the framework of the large-scale research project on the Austrian New Middle School. The Dutch study examined teachers’ implicit prejudiced attitudes towards ethnic minorities and concluded that these implicit biases clearly impact expectations of students’ academic achievements, which in turn actually impact the students’ outcomes (van den Bergh et al., 2010_[70]).

The results of the Austrian replication study strongly resemble the Dutch study. The study drew both on quantitative and qualitative data – with a mixed methods design. To tap into latent or hidden attitudes it used the Implicit Association Test (IAT), widely used in social psychology (Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz, 1998_[71]; Banaji and Greenwald, 2013_[68]). The Implicit Association Test (IAT) revealed that 94% of teachers who voluntarily participated in the study (60 teachers, 11 school sites) had hidden ethnic biases. The questionnaire, used with the same teacher sample, to measure explicit attitudes towards immigrant students showed no overt prejudice.

These results add to a growing body of experimental evidence that suggests that teachers may hold implicit stereotypes and prejudices that are largely out of their control even in the face of overtly egalitarian attitudes (McKown and Weinstein, 2008_[72]; Dovidio, Gaertner and Validzic, 1998_[73]; Greenwald et al., 2002_[74]). In preparing teachers for teaching in diverse classrooms it is important to start to uncover and understand invisible

structures that everyone carries (mostly unknowingly), including well-intentioned teachers. In terms of teacher education for diversity, this uncovering can help to raise self-awareness of one's own hidden biases and blind spots, and to provide teachers with insight into differential treatment of stigmatised student groups (Kise, 2006^[75]; Ferguson, 2003^[76]).

Ladson-Billings argues that teachers' problems in working with a diverse group of students is rooted in the teachers' belief that effective teaching is about 'what to do' when the real problem is rooted in 'how we think' (p. 30). She argues that in culturally responsive teaching 'doing is less important than being', because attitudes about students are always inevitably manifested in instructional practices. She suggests that transformative pedagogies require transforming how we think about those other than us (Ladson-Billings, 2006^[77]). It is not just about how a teacher teaches, but it "is about the visible and hidden human interactions between a teacher and a learner, whether they are in a classroom or in the larger community" (Wink, 2000, p. 1^[78]).

3.4. Pedagogical Tact

A teacher can be knowledgeable, understanding, caring, empathic, reflective, self-aware and autonomous, and still not be effective in diverse classrooms. Despite good planning and preparation, teachers can find it challenging to make spur of the moment pedagogical decisions. This concept is at the heart of teaching: the need for concrete situated judgements about what is educationally desirable, both with regard to general principles of education and with regard to the specific case at hand. Certain competences such as knowledge about and awareness of different worldviews are necessary for teaching in diverse classrooms. However, these competences are sometimes not sufficient; there is always the need for judgement about which pedagogical principles are called for in each particular and unique educational situation.

Teachers are required to be discerning about what is appropriate and what is not with students. To use Aristotle's distinction, teaching is not only about *poiesis*, that is, a process of production for which we need a capacity for judgement called *techne*, but about *praxis*, that is, a process orientated towards the human good, for which we need a capacity for judgement called *phronesis* or practical wisdom (Joachim, 1998^[79]). "Such practical wisdom is not a skill or competence – and even less a matter of scientific evidence – but a quality or 'excellence' that permeates and characterises the whole person" (Biesta, 2013, p. 45^[80]).

Pedagogical tact, a term coined by Herbart at the turn of the 19th century, describes when teachers are engaged in making quick judgments and decisions in the interest of their students – in the midst of action. Teachers see, assess, judge, decide and act in response to a myriad of situations in their daily interactions with their students. "Teaching children or young people is difficult, not merely because teachers are constantly busy and they have to act; it is difficult because teachers continually have to act in ways that are pedagogically tactful. A teacher who is more than a mere instructor is constantly required to know instantly what is pedagogically the right thing to say or do" (Van Manen, 1991^[81]).

How do teachers know what to do? How do they opt for the one or the other response? How do they choose the course of action? Pedagogical tact is a notion that helps answer these questions. Tact is the mediator between educational theory and practice as the teacher

scans the situation, decides how to meet the necessities of the individual case at hand, and acts accordingly (Herbart, 1802^[82]; Muth, 1967^[83]; Van Manen, 1991^[81]; Van Manen, 2016^[84]). Such pedagogical tact, which can be developed only in the practice, has to do with the mind-set and the disposition of the educator, and is a result of thoughtfulness, genuine interest and moral commitment, which in turn leads to successful pedagogical practice (Herbart, 1802^[82]).

Drawing on the resonance between Aristotle's *phronesis* and Herbart's pedagogical tact one can start to think along the lines of an 'intercultural pedagogical tact', or of a 'pedagogical diversity tact' to articulate what is called for in handling diversity pedagogically (Forghani-Arani, (2012^[85]; 2015^[86]; 2016^[87]; Forghani-Arani and Phelan, 2012^[88]).

The rationale of drawing on the construct of pedagogical tact is to add the otherwise missing pedagogical dimension to catalogues of competences and standards. Competence frameworks are important governance tools that can ensure shared quality structures and processes, for example as references for the design, evaluation and quality assurance of teacher education and professional development programmes (European Commission, 2015^[89]). Policy-makers have thus increasingly aimed to define teacher competences to improve teaching quality. This "steadfast feature" (Caena, 2014, p. 312^[90]) of educational policy to design and impose sets of teaching standards and lists of competences can be characterised as a tendency towards the standardisation of education systems and the teaching profession.

Policy for teacher quality should not overlook the bottom-up nature of professional learning and focuses more on the actual needs of teachers in their daily praxis. Frameworks or standards are useful in educational governance but not necessarily helpful in day-to-day realities of teachers' lives. They risk leading to a neutral, technical approach of teaching, overlooking the contextual factors and the situational nature of teaching and learning to teach.

Helping teachers to become more competent in teaching diverse classrooms needs clearly defined frameworks, but also notions and concepts that directly relate to what teachers do. The rationale of drawing on the construct of pedagogical tact is that it brings attention to what teachers do in a pre-reflective mode. Tact is a teacher's contingent, contextual acting as he or she is handling a situation. In the moment of handling, a teacher does not have the quiet moment to devise a thorough plan of action. Afterwards, in a moment of quiet he may revisit what just happened in class, and how he handled it. The concept of pedagogical tact helps signify what happens, allowing concrete instances of handling a situation in the flow of teaching to be reflected upon, analysed and improved. Effective teaching calls for transformative competencies, which are complex, where each competency is intricately inter-related with the others. Teachers' diversity competence is developmental in nature, and thus learnable. The ability to develop competences is itself something to be trained and learned. The OECD Learning Framework 2030 puts forward a "sequenced process of reflection, anticipation and action as a mode of developing complex competencies. Such reflective practice is the ability to take a critical stance when deciding, choosing and acting, by stepping back from what is known or assumed and looking at a situation from other, different perspectives" (OECD, 2018^[58]). "Anticipation mobilises cognitive skills, such as analytical or critical thinking, to foresee what may be needed in the future or how actions taken today might have consequences for the future. Both reflection and anticipation are precursors to responsible actions" (OECD, 2018^[58]).

In terms of professional development for teaching in diverse classrooms, concepts are needed that help teachers look back at what happened in class and identify significant instances to interpret what happened, and to provide a structure and space to anticipate alternative improved action, to draw conclusions for future action, and to think about and plan for how to proceed. Teachers can thus continually and systematically cultivate responsible pedagogical judgements and actions. The concept of pedagogical diversity tact can serve this purpose.

Box 3.2. When Diversity as a Resource is Not Enough

Drawing on the work on teachers' lived experience and their meaning-making processes in selected school sites identified as so-called hot spot or high-need schools in Austria, the following account explores some of the challenges of diversity in the classroom.

A teacher of history and English in a lower secondary Viennese school describes the heterogeneous set-up of the students in her class:

I have students from – let's say – 12 different nationalities. Many of them are from India, one from Iran – her father is from Iran, her mother is from Iraq, there is one from Sri Lanka, two from Croatia, from Poland, three from Nigeria, actually there are only two Austrians. Many of the parents work at the UN. Many of them are expats' kids, UN kids, or the parents are here on business. Most parents work for international organisations.

The teacher is highly committed to working with the diversity of her students as a resource. For example, she has been instrumental in setting up a bilingual class at her school. While describing her efforts to recognise, appreciate and include diversity in her teaching, she relates the following story:

A student of mine from Sri Lanka, he went to Hajj, you know the Muslim pilgrimage, and I could tell he was different, when he came back. He was just so filled with faith when he came back from Mecca. Imagine, there are millions of people circumambulating the Kaaba, and you are part of it, I mean for a 13-year old. Shortly after that we were studying major religions, and I said: "Well, tell us about it, you were there". And then he took his Holy Book, stood in the corner of the class and chanted a prayer for us with all the movements that go with the phrases. Everything turned so quiet. Then he told us about his religious beliefs. He made it very clear that he would never ever marry a girl who doesn't wear a headscarf, and that he persuaded his mother and his sister to wear the hijab after he came back. He said: 'otherwise a woman's hair would catch fire'. That's when I said: "Let's change the topic".

When asked to share the reasoning behind her decision to "change the topic", the teacher explains:

This is always extremely sensitive. As a teacher, if I contradict him, I'd create resistance and opposition on his part. I would end up shoving him into a corner and that is exactly what I want to avoid as a teacher. That's not my job. That's not what I'm here for. That's not my role. If I let it pass and let the other kids take over the discussion - well actually I didn't even think of that option. You have absolutely no idea what would turn out. You never know. Someone could get up and say: 'rubbish' or 'that's nonsense' or something like that. So I simply turned it off. I said: 'That's enough for now' because it was getting

out of hand. It was actually kind of scary. I was somehow perplexed. You have to be so careful. It's like walking in a minefield.

The teachers explains above the potentially explosive collision of beliefs and perspectives as one of her immigrant students, moving across national, cultural and religious borders, affects not only his own private sphere but the public space of the classroom (Levitt and Waters, 2002^[91]). This is one of the many instances where the social space of the classroom is reworked through her students' simultaneous embeddedness in more than one society, continuously re-inventing the classroom space in unpredictable ways.

What is at stake in this and in numerous comparable situations that shape lives in diverse classrooms every day? For the teacher it is a case of making the right pedagogical choices, judgements and decisions. She makes two key decisions: 1) to invite and welcome the difference a student brings into the classroom; and the reverse, 2) to shut down the irritating difference the student brings into the classroom.

The teacher's first decision – to include – appears to be reasoned by a commitment to diversity, by drawing on students' diversity as an asset, by enriching the curriculum through students' knowledge, experience or background. The kind of difference the young man introduces, however, does not seem to fit within the usual study of world religions in a history lesson. The plurality initially sought by the teacher can no longer be managed as a curriculum resource intended to enrich the topic of major religions. The potential response from the other students renders the event sufficiently 'scary,' in the teacher's view, to shut down the discussion before it becomes ignited. Therein appears the teacher's second judgment. Her decision to change the topic stems from her concern that if things get out of hand, some harm could befall the young man or his classmates.

There seem to be several sources of pedagogical commitment at play in this classroom moment: the obligation to plurality and diversity, the obligation to be open to other ideas and perspectives, the obligation to care, and the obligation to protect, to name a few. The teacher's pedagogical obligation to prevent harm creates a satisfying substitution, which replaces the lost gratification of plurality and diversity as an educational principle. Teachers tell us here the story of the intricacies and the convolutions of enacting diversity agenda in their work. They tell us that teaching is more than merely enacting the one or the other policy agenda. Teachers tell us that teaching in diverse classroom is far more complex and intricate than having a positive attitude towards diversity and drawing on it as a resource.

Note: The empirical inquiry was mainly pursued in a large scale government funded research project (NOESIS) evaluating a major Austrian school reform programme, the "New Middle School" (NMS) with the policy goal of limiting marginalising processes to improve transitions and trajectories within an inclusive school setting with improved educational opportunities for all. Within the framework of the longitudinal study (2010-17) the focus was on schools with a significant immigrant student population known to be at risk of marginalisation processes. The study was embedded in the instructional design strand of the large-scale research project (Forghani-Arani and Hörmann, 2010^[92]; Forghani-Arani and Hörmann, 2012^[93]). Data was collected in narrative interviews (n=24) with teachers and students in case studies.

4. Initial Teacher Education for Diverse Classrooms

Many teachers enter the profession because they want to make a positive difference in their students' lives through education (Kiriadou et al., 2010^[94]; Sanger and Osguthorpe, 2011^[95]; Watt and Richardson, 2008^[96]). However, there are tensions between teachers' desire and teachers' capabilities to help all their students – especially those students prone to marginalisation – to advance and succeed. One reason is that teacher education has not adequately prepared teachers to be diversity-responsive practitioners. Many teachers are simply ill prepared to teach students from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Gay, 2010^[52]; 2000^[46]); and (Darling-Hammond, 2012^[97]; Adair, J. K., Tobin, J. & Arzubiaga, 2012^[98]). For example, more than two-thirds of teachers interviewed in France, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Spain and the United Kingdom agreed slightly, moderately or strongly that adapting to meet the needs of immigrant students increased workload and caused frustration: 52% felt there was insufficient support from management for managing diversity (Fine-Davis and Faas, 2014^[99]).

There is no exact blueprint for building diversity competence in teachers. While concepts of diversity permeate all aspects of education, introducing diversity competence as a constitutive element of teacher education is a particularly slow and complex process. The extent to which teacher education programmes include diversity varies by country. For example, in the Netherlands, New Zealand and Norway, teacher candidates take mandatory courses in supporting students from diverse backgrounds. Courses in the Netherlands include training in intercultural education, expectations about immigrants and their specific learning needs, and knowledge about cultural diversity and its implication for teaching and learning. Similar courses are absent or offered *ad hoc* in France, Japan and Spain (OECD, 2017^[100]). Completing such courses in initial teacher education is usually optional in Europe (Van Briel, Darmody and Kerzil, 2016^[101]).

A review of publicly available information on initial and continuing teacher education for diversity provides a snapshot of teacher training for cultural diversity in a selected number of low, medium and high-immigration countries. Through a broad review of 105 initial and in-service teacher training programmes on cultural diversity, migration and displacement across 49 countries, results indicate that only 28.5% of the training programmes are supervised, offered or funded by the governments, emphasising initial teacher education. Moreover, only 19% of all training programmes identified are mandatory (UNESCO, 2019^[102]). A review of European countries found little evidence that strategic policies on diversity training were in place or that initial teacher education programmes helped teachers develop relevant competences (European Commission, 2017^[37]).

Training programmes cover a range of topics such as cross-cultural knowledge, cultural awareness and sensitivity, intercultural and professional communication skills, culturally responsive pedagogical approaches and psychosocial interventions (April et al., 2018^[103]). Whereas cross-cultural approaches and courses on cultural awareness, sensitivity and intercultural skills convey knowledge and basic skills, programmes with a culturally responsive pedagogical approach cover more student-centred pedagogical approaches in which learning is determined by the learner, who must be considered in the teaching and learning processes. In such programmes teachers incorporate personal and adapted questions, discuss authentic problems and put the emphasis on fulfilling the needs of learners (April et al., 2018^[103]). There is a difference between knowing, understanding and applying knowledge. Pedagogical approaches demonstrate deeper understanding through

the application of culture-specific knowledge, which can otherwise remain disconnected if knowledge is only imparted in terms of general cross-cultural awareness. Being a diversity-responsive teacher is more than knowing about cultural differences, stereotypes and ethnocentrism. It “is not just an issue of relating instructional techniques and/or adapting instruction to integrate assumed traits or customs of specific culture groups...[rather,] it is acquiring a mind-set that consciously seeks out and promotes diversity in the learning experience” (Ragoonaden, Sivia and Baxan, 2015, p. 1_[104]).

Diversity training programmes for pre-service and in-service teachers worldwide cover a range of formats such as topic-specific online resources, toolboxes, conferences, apps for teachers, action-research, learning modules, seminars, theoretical and practical courses, workshops, immersive training courses, fast-track training courses, small-scale projects, coaching processes including train-the-trainer courses, implementation of core groups for coaching and networks to develop resources to advise and to support members, case studies, critical incidents, problem-solving activities, and lesson planning (April et al., 2018_[103]). Programmes that are more effective in training teachers for diverse classrooms share a few common characteristics, which are described below together with an example of a programme or policy.

4.1. Diversity as an Asset

Effective teacher education programmes understand diversity not as a deficit but as an asset, a source of opportunities. This represents a step forward from recognising and ‘dealing with’ the multiplicity of students’ characteristics and backgrounds, to understanding the benefits of diversity to learning processes.

The OECD Learning Framework 2030 proposes, “educating with a growth mind-set model, not a deficit model” (OECD, 2018_[58]). Teachers should believe that their students could learn, and have high expectations of the students, instead of focusing on their shortcomings. Knowledge is growing about the kinds of skilled and sophisticated pedagogy for active, engaged and empowered, rather than passive, learners. However, in addition to pedagogical knowledge, there is the question of the attitudes and values that teachers bring to the table. The OECD Learning Framework 2030 acknowledges, for example, that teachers are themselves a ‘product’ of the very same education system that they are being exhorted to overhaul. Rarely have they experienced the kind of personal agency and efficacy they are now called to fulfil first hand – and their own teacher preparation programme is unlikely to have modelled the kind of learning experience now needed in their classrooms with their diverse students.

In the context of migration-induced diversity, this stance appreciates “the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning encounters more relevant to and effective for them” (Gay, 2018, p. 36_[54]). At the University of Washington, in Seattle, Washington, United States, for instance, pre-service teachers delve into their own cultural backgrounds in order to see the importance of culture while also learning a pedagogy they can replicate in their future classrooms. Student teachers are able to produce feelings of personal agency, efficacy and empowerment.

4.1.1. Intercultural Teacher Education (ITE)

To respond to the increasing need for teachers skilled in teaching diverse classes, the University of Oulu in Finland created a combined Bachelor and Master’s Degree in **Intercultural Teacher Education (ITE)**. The course of study lasts five years – three for

the Bachelor's Degree and the remaining two for the Master's Degree. Students graduate with all initial requirements to teach in public Finnish schools (professional teaching qualification and a Master's degree). The programme covers specific content and experiences including:

- Consideration of teaching in a heterogeneous classroom
- Studies of global matters and international relations
- International guest lecturers
- A period of study abroad (a minimum of 1 semester)
- Teaching practices abroad and in international schools
- Internships in government and non-government organisations
- Global education studies (peace and conflict research, equity and human rights, environment)
- Study of international development policy

The ITE degree integrates cultural learning into all aspects of the programme; for maximised learning potential, intercultural perspectives are integrated into all content during the entire five-year programme. Emphasising global and multicultural perspectives in education, the programme aims at providing prospective teachers with skills that they will need as teachers or educational professionals in an increasingly multicultural society and world. Overall, the ITE programme emphasises the lifelong process of intercultural learning, encouraging students to consistently find ways to challenge their notions of diversity (University of Oulu, 2017_[105]).

Applications to the ITE programme are also critiqued by “applicant’s interest in global, political and societal issues, and open and critical attitude towards world issues, as well as academic and pedagogical potential” (Alasuutari and Jokikokko, 2010, p. 31_[106]). Although successful, current teachers in the ITE programme recommend additional support and in-service training for former students (now teachers) because as individuals, many graduates find it too difficult to influence unequal structures and practices, related to diversity and intercultural norms, in their schools. Other possible areas of improvement include creating a more diverse student body within the ITE programme (as most students are native Finnish), and advocating for ITE content in mainstream teacher education at Oulu University (Alasuutari and Jokikokko, 2010_[106]). More information on the programme can be found on their website: www.oulu.fi/edu/intercultural_teacher_education.

4.2. Cultural Self-Reflectivity

Effective teacher education programmes encourage teachers to reckon with their own cultural background, as well as their own biases, stereotypes and ethnocentrisms. These programmes argue that teachers can only see the value of the diversity that students bring to the classroom by fully comprehending where they personally stand in relation to others in society (Sensoy and DiAngelo, 2017_[107]). Such programmes often include discourse on power, privilege, positionality and social justice, including a high level of vulnerability on account of pre-service teachers and teacher educators. These discomforts surrounding difficult discussions are essential in the learning process to become a teacher of diverse students; “educators need to be sensitive and aware of other perspectives which are possible, legitimate and representative of a heterogeneous society. In this respect, self-examination and reflection become tantamount to understanding and accepting difference and otherness in educational contexts” (Ragoonaden, Sivia and Baxan, 2015_[104]).

When teachers are “reflexive not only in regard to their internal, psychological, or mental states but also when they consistently consider the conditions and persons of the outer, social world” they are able to better teach in diverse classrooms (Danielewicz, 2001, p. 156_[108]). Building cultural competence needs to start with the study of self, “for it is from the study of the self that we potentially gain more knowledge about how to work with diverse learners” (He and Cooper, 2009, p. 307_[109]). Once pre-service teachers begin to understand themselves as cultural beings, they are more receptive to accepting the culture, race, and ethnicity of the students they, in turn, will eventually teach (Gay, 2010, p. 148_[52]).

Intercultural teachers are aware of the potential meaning of their socio-cultural identity in personal life and in the learning outcomes of all students in the education system. They develop an ethnic–culturally responsive pedagogy and can contribute to developing intercultural inclusive curricula (Leeman and Ledoux, 2003_[110]).

4.2.1. *TRANSABC’s of Cultural Understanding and Communication*

The **TRANSABC’s of Cultural Understanding and Communication** is a 4-step programme of self-study. The steps are used in pre-service teacher education programmes in an effort to aid teachers in discovering their own cultural identity in order to appreciate the similarities and differences that exist between them and their students. L1, L2 and L3 language teachers were to be developed into culturally responsive instructors. Named after the American programme **ABCs** (an acronym for the steps below), the **TRANSABCs** are the same but used ‘trans-atlantically’. The TRANSABC’s were implemented in teaching English as a foreign language, literacy methods and literacy classes as well as in classes in applied linguistics, business administration and intercultural competence. While the core curriculum varied across 12 campuses in the United States and Europe, the common core curriculum was literacy. The components of the pedagogical practice include:

- An **autobiography**, written in detail, by each student – to include key life events related to education, family, religious tradition, recreation, victories, and defeats.
- The **biography** of a person who is culturally different from the student, written from in-depth, unstructured interviews that include key life events.
- A **cross-cultural** analysis of similarities and differences between the life stories is charted.
- Lastly, the development of culturally responsive ideas.

The programme has been successful internationally, helping participants develop language and cultural awareness (Finkbeiner, 2015_[111]; Schmidt and Finkbeiner, 2006_[112]).

4.3. Linking Theory and Practice

The traditional divide between college/university’s theoretical-based teacher education and communities/families has been addressed by various researches. Traditional college and university-sponsored teacher education programmes often lack connections between university-based teacher education courses and field experiences which makes it difficult to engage with student teachers’ cultural experiences (Sassi et al., 2012_[113]). Pre-service teachers need a training that integrates theory and practice, and helps relate conceptual knowledge to practical experience in diverse classrooms. Service learning and cultural immersion can provide for relevant field experience in teacher education. Service learning allows teachers to “work with and learn from local people in the process of doing something that teachers serve as educational leaders for an increasingly diverse student population” (Boyle-Baise and McIntyre, 2008, p. 310_[114]). Cultural immersion experiences help educators venture outside their cultural comfort zone and transform their understanding of

others (Yuan H., 2018_[115]). Cultural immersion can be combined with international mobility programmes, but can also take the form of community-based placements in local immigrant or minority communities, as well as practice in local schools characterised by migration-induced student diversity. Linking theory and practice is highly relevant in initial teacher education, but also later in professional development of in-service teachers, which is further discussed in section 5.

4.3.1. Immersion Programmes at the School of Education at Indiana University

The School of Education at Indiana University in the United States has several cultural immersion programmes for pre-service teachers as well as a similar programme for in-service teachers. The goal of the cultural immersion is for participants to develop skills in teaching diverse students. Placements include the American Indian Reservation in the Navajo Nation, the Hispanic Community in the lower Rio Grande Valley, urban settings in Indianapolis and Chicago, and multiple international locations in South America, Europe, Asia and Africa. Since the inception in 1970, the programme has had positive results; numerous studies have shown the positive impact on “pre-service teachers’ personal and professional development, a shift in consciousness and perspective, and empathetic understanding of the world and its people, an appreciation for other cultures and an awareness of both global and domestic diversity” (Zong, 2009, p. 78_[116]).

4.3.2. “Éveil aux langues et ouverture à la diversité linguistique” (ELODIL)

The Canadian programme “Éveil aux langues et ouverture à la diversité linguistique” (ELODIL) [Awareness of English and openness to linguistic diversity], facilitated by the University of Montreal, is an example of an action-research training programme that focuses on language and communication. ELODIL offers training programmes and support plans for current and future teachers in Montreal, Quebec, Canada and in rural regions (Armand, 2014_[117]). The training programme is funded by a programme of the Quebec Ministry of Education, which aims to support universities in the design, deployment and evaluation of professional development programmes carried out in partnership with the school community.

The programme enables teachers to adopt good practices that facilitate student learning and promotes their commitment to recognise student’s linguistic and cultural background as a resource, not as an obstacle (Armand, 2014_[117]). The programme has been found to increase the likelihood teachers develop and experiment with efficient teaching practices, which in turn helped student teachers develop positive attitudes towards diversity as well as metalinguistic abilities. The training facilitated the recognition and legitimisation of the different immigrant children’s languages of origin in creating multi-ethnic environments, and in the specific context of Quebec, helped the learning of French and the awareness of the social and identity role of French as a common language (Armand, 2014_[117]). The programme for preschool and primary education teachers and special education teachers at the Faculty of Educational Sciences of the University of Montreal includes mandatory courses about multilingualism.

4.4. Content and Skills

Effective teacher education programmes for diversity do not include diversity courses as *ad hoc* or separate from the curriculum. Rather, diversity is integrated into the curriculum; “when designed as mere ‘add-ons’ to the curriculum in response to pressing societal issues, *ad hoc* courses on diversity-related issues risk fragmenting the curriculum and compromise

the implementation of a comprehensive pedagogical approach to diversity throughout” initial teacher education (European Commission, 2017_[37]). A number of teacher education programmes in Europe specialise in educating teachers for diverse classrooms by integrating diversity into all levels of the programme, including the following: Master of Intercultural Education (Marino Institute of Education, Ireland), Master of Educational Treatment of Diversity (University of Latvia, Charles University in Prague, Ludwigsburg University of Education, and National University of Distance Education), and Master of Multicultural and International Education (Oslo and Akershus University College for Applied Sciences, Norway) (European Commission, 2017_[37]).

4.4.1. Master Programme of Intercultural Education at Marino Institute of Education

The Master’s programme at Trinity University Dublin is for educators who seek to better understand the role of education in a diverse society. The programme aims to:

- To develop students’ competence in the requisite knowledge, skills and attitudes relevant to interculturalism
- To enable students to develop knowledge, skills and attitudes relevant to educating children and young people in a variety of settings, e.g. primary, post-primary, tertiary, and non-formal sector, in the area of intercultural education
- To provide students with a high level of theoretical understanding and critical awareness of key issues in intercultural education
- To develop students’ competence in relation to “culturally relevant pedagogy”
- To enable students to conduct original research in the area of intercultural education

Students on this programme study four discrete modules in first year; namely, schools and diversity, inclusion and intercultural education; teaching English as an additional language; religious diversity and intercultural education; and human rights, human rights education, and interculturalism. In year two, students have the opportunity to focus on one of these areas in greater depth. They develop research skills and prepare a dissertation on a topic relevant to intercultural education (Marino Institute of Education, 2018_[118]).

4.5. Innovation and Technology

Innovative teacher education programmes for diversity draw on technology to facilitate learning about diversity for pre-service teachers. Technology can facilitate communication between pre-service teachers and people from different cultures and help increase cultural awareness of prospective teachers (Davis, Cho and Hagenson, 2005_[119]; Bowser, 2008_[120]). Davis and Ok Cho note “applications of educational technology served as a bridge to introduce new cultures, knowledge and people to [teacher] students” (Davis and Ok Cho, 2005, p. 1_[121]).

4.5.1. eTutor programme

In Australia, realising that most pre-service teachers had little understanding of other cultures, RMIT School of Education in Melbourne, piloted **eTutor**, a programme to teach intercultural skills through technology. The **eTutor** project set-up an environment where pre-service teachers could question their own and others’ cultures in ways that were “safe, supportive, inclusive, challenging, and engaging” (Carr, 2016, p. 104_[122]). The experience of interacting with children from multiple cultures in an online environment resulted in a positive attitudinal shift for the majority of participants; the pre-service teachers, many of

whom had started with an ethnocentric view, finished with an ethno-relative view, demonstrating empathy and caring for children of different cultures. Overall, the programme left participants with a more positive and optimistic view of teaching in diverse classrooms. Even for those pre-service teachers who were hesitant to interact with students through **eTutor**, they were still able to benefit vicariously by analysing their colleagues' interactions with students (Carr, 2016_[122]).

4.6. Supporting Teachers through Mentorships

The first years of classroom teaching can bring challenges for new teachers. There is the additional component of teaching in diverse classrooms as many new teachers are placed in disadvantaged schools that can be difficult to staff. A proven method to support these teachers is comprehensive mentoring; “without effective mentoring support, many beginning teachers struggle and fail to learn the nuances of effective teaching” (Spoonerville-Lane, 2017_[123]). Furthermore, mentoring is essential for teachers in disadvantaged schools as it can help them learn the necessary skills more quickly (OECD, 2012, p. 132_[124]).

4.6.1. Induction and mentoring programme in New Zealand

A cornerstone of New Zealand's teacher education system is the comprehensive induction and mentoring programme for provisionally certified teachers. The ‘Guidelines for Induction and Mentoring and Mentor Teachers’ sets out clear regulations on the role of the mentor, mentee, and the school for the new teacher's first two years. In addition to the general guidelines, there is also detailed information for the **Induction and Mentoring in Māori-medium Settings** (*Te Hāpai Ō – Ko te Whakangungu me te Arataki i ngā wāhi Mātauranga Māori*). As a historically disadvantaged group in New Zealand (Marie, Fergusson and Boden, 2008_[125]), these special guidelines help new teachers in supporting Māori students.

Research into the induction and mentoring programme in New Zealand shows that new teachers are provided with knowledge and skills that enable them to support the learning of all students (Grudnoff et al., 2016_[126]). The programme is built into the schedule of all new teachers. In addition to reducing total teaching time for all teachers, the ‘Teachers Collective Agreement’ affords first and second year beginning teachers an extra 5 and 2.5 hours of time, respectively, to be used for induction and mentoring (OECD, 2012_[124]; Ministry of Education of New Zealand, 2015_[127]; Ministry of Education of New Zealand, 2016_[128]). Through this time allotment, new teachers are given more of an opportunity to learn from their mentor (Anthony et al., 2007_[129]).

5. Professional Development for Teachers in Diverse Classrooms

Teacher development tends to focus on initial teacher education – the knowledge and skills that teachers acquire before starting work as a teacher. Similarly, most of the resources for teachers' development tend to be allocated to pre-service education. Given the rapid societal changes that directly affect schooling and the long careers of many teachers, teachers' development must be viewed in terms of on-going learning (Schleicher, 2018^[61]). Throughout teachers' careers, the competences acquired during initial teacher training need to be enhanced, complemented and expanded, and the experience gained through teaching in classrooms need to be regularly reflected, processed, sorted out and improved to respond to the changing requisites of schooling – this can happen through professional development (European Commission, 2015^[89]; Steen and Scheerens, 2010^[130]). Professional development can take different forms, such as dissemination conferences, workshops (e.g. on new subject-matter content), school-based activities (e.g. study groups, courses) and personal teacher development (individual activities outside of schools) (Musset, 2010^[131]).

Evidence shows that professional development for teachers can be successful in changing the way teachers learn, work and feel about their job (OECD, 2016^[132]; Desimone and al., 2002^[133]), but less so in improving student learning (Hattie, 2009^[134]). The impact improves when participant teachers are expected to go back to their respective schools and organise a class to reinvestigate the content, or teachers are invited to reflect and discuss their practices and draw on their own lived experience. The effect also increases when school principals encourage teachers to participate, when education authorities initiate or fund the programmes and involve external experts, and when the training links the practical to the theoretical (OECD, 2016^[135]; Timperley, 2008^[136]).

Content and focus of professional development programmes commonly relate to knowledge and methods of teaching specific subjects, and to the pedagogical dimension of teaching. There is widespread recognition of the importance of investment in professional development aimed at developing diversity competence, especially as teachers are increasingly teaching more heterogeneous student populations, including immigrant students and students who may not be proficient in the country's principal language (OECD, 2016^[137]). Based on the OECD's Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS) 2013, only 16% of lower secondary teachers in 34 education systems had undertaken training in multicultural or multilingual education in the preceding year (OECD, 2014^[138]). In France 20% of lower secondary teachers worked in schools where more than 10% of students had home languages other than the language of instruction. Yet only 4% of teachers had benefited from professional development in multicultural or multilingual training. Furthermore, teachers especially in Latin American countries and Italy report a great need for professional development for teaching in a multicultural or multilingual setting (46% of Brazilian teachers, 24% of Chilean teachers, 27% of Italian teachers and 33% of Mexican teachers) (OECD, 2014^[138]).

5.1. Relinking Practice to Theory.

Effective professional development programmes provide for a strong and accentuated link between teacher classroom experience and theoretical frameworks to help reflect, understand and articulate practical experience. They couple teaching experiences with

relevant educational theory, time for critical reflection and discussion, and supervision by teachers and mentors with diversity related skills (European Commission, 2017^[37]). As Boyle-Baise and McIntyre (2008^[114]) proposed, service learning and cultural immersion are two major efforts to extend and expand teacher experience. Experiential diversity learning can take many forms including international placements. It is noteworthy that international co-operation initiatives often demonstrate relatively limited impact and pedagogical relevance to teachers are costly and raise ethical questions (European Commission, 2017^[37]). Community-based placements in local diverse classrooms constitute valuable opportunities for field experience (Yuan H., 2018^[115]; Yuen, 2010^[139]).

5.1.1. Intercultural Learning in the Classroom Project

Designed by the Intercultural Education Project Group and launched by the Dutch Ministry of Education, the **Intercultural Learning in the Classroom Project** was a professional development opportunity for teachers across all education sectors in the Netherlands to gain skills in intercultural education. In a collaboration of 12 teacher educators and 62 teachers, intercultural activities were developed and then experimented on in real classrooms. While the participants were mainly white teachers, the schools they worked in varied in ethnic composition. The participants were split into groups by education-level (teacher education, primary education, secondary education, and vocational and adult education). Each group was tasked with developing examples of intercultural learning that could be easily integrated into daily activities in the classroom. To aid in this task, the groups received guidance and supervision from institutions with expertise in intercultural education. Additionally, researchers from these institutions observed lessons and discussed them reflectively with the teachers.

The **Intercultural Learning in the Classroom Project** was purposefully designed: “the teacher-networks model was chosen because of the idea that teachers are knowledgeable thinkers who need a dialogue with other teachers to be able to produce a conceptualisation of intercultural learning that is based on actual practice and hence will be of interest to other teachers. They were asked to pay attention to processes of identity formation and to emphasise dialogue in their teaching activities so that they could move beyond culturalism (the idea that individuals are defined solely by their culture). The programme was successful in helping teachers move away from culturalism in the classroom. Additionally, teachers began to view intercultural education as a pedagogy of tolerance, with an emphasis on empathy, communication skills and creating a safe classroom environment (Leeman and Reid, 2006^[140]). Despite relative success, researchers highlighted that the networks could also learn from each other in order not to replicate the hierarchy within the teaching workforce (Leeman and Ledoux, 2003^[110]; Leeman and Ledoux, 2003^[141]).

5.1.2. INSETRom

In several countries (e.g. Austria, Greece, Italy, Romania, the Slovak Republic and the United Kingdom) the project INSETRom (2007-09) offered a teacher-in-service training that addressed the issues of sensitivity and awareness with regard to Roma communities. The project, provided with the support of the European Commission within the framework of the Lifelong Learning Programme, aimed to bridge the gap between Roma and non-Roma communities and improve the academic success of Roma children. To do so, the programme intended to increase teachers’ intercultural, socio-psychological and educational skills and teachers’ awareness of Roma culture. To improve the relationship between schools and the Roma community was another of its aims. As such the

programmes meant to improve engagement with Roma parents, supporting their role as active agents in their children's education.

The training course for in-service teachers followed a strict curriculum, based on the results of empirical research and consultation with experts. The course included: modules on culture and enculturation; stereotypes and prejudice; Roma history, Roma Culture, and culture of schools; intercultural education; classroom management and methodology; curriculum design and development; and teacher-parent communication.

The researchers also considered the opinions and attitudes of teachers, parents and students to define the problem and analyse the different needs. The co-ordinating institution of the project published a handbook available online on the INSETRom website (http://www.iaie.org/insetrom/1_materials_handbook.html), which provides information on the participant Roma groups. Other sections focus on self-identification, academic achievement and attendance, bullying, marginalisation and cultural misunderstandings, teaching methodologies, collaboration with Roma assistants, mediators and Roma organisations.

The project INSETRom has been selected as one of 20 “best practice” EU projects in favour of the Roma communities. It is considered an excellent example of transnational educational programme of teachers’ training practice in Europe; “such training schemes might be used as tools for dissemination of inclusive practices for teaching ethnic minority groups of students like the Roma” (Georgiadis and Zisimos, 2012^[142]). The project led to better academic achievement and attendance, less bullying, marginalisation and cultural misunderstandings, better knowledge to integrate Roma history, culture and language into the curriculum, a stronger collaboration of teachers with Roma assistants, mediators and organisations, and helped to counter prejudices and stereotypes.

5.2. Attracting and Retaining Teachers with an Immigrant or Minority Background

An important factor that influences the agenda for preparing teachers for diversity relates to teacher demographics. Although classrooms have become increasingly more diverse in recent years, the teaching force has remained predominantly homogeneous (Egbo, 2011^[143]; Donlevy, Meierkord and Rajania, 2016^[144]). This “demographic divide” (Gay, 2000^[46]) varies by location. For example, in the United States, a country with a large percentage of black male students in compulsory schools, only 2% of the entire teacher workforce are black males (Bristol and B. Goings, 2018^[145]). Whereas, in the United Kingdom where approximately 29% of primary school and 25% of secondary school learners have an ethnic minority background, only 12% of all student teachers in England and 6% in Wales, respectively, do (Donlevy, Meierkord and Rajania, 2016^[144]). Teachers in many OECD countries come from the dominant cultures of their country and are frequently tasked with teaching students from diverse and/or non-dominant cultures (Cutri and Whiting, 2015^[146]).

The demographic divide points to the fact that culturally diverse students and their teachers live in different worlds, and they do not fully understand or appreciate one another's realities. Daily interactions with one another are sporadic and superficial, and knowledge about the other is partial, biased and filtered – largely through mass media (Gay, 2010^[52]).

Representation matters in the teaching profession, and research indicates that teachers with an immigrant or minority background boost the academic performance of ethnically diverse students, enact more culturally relevant teaching, have more positive perceptions of diverse students, and are highly rated by all students (Carter Andrews et al., 2019^[147]). In some

countries, such as Germany and New Zealand, researchers have found that teachers frequently have low expectations of minority students, especially in comparison to their expectations of ethnic majority students (McKown and Weinstein, 2008^[72]; George, 1983^[148]; Georgi, 2016^[149]; van den Bergh et al., 2010^[70]). These expectations can have negative impacts on students' academic achievement (Donlevy, Meierkord and Rajania, 2016^[144]; Jussim and Harber, 2005^[150]). However, teachers with a migration background or that come from ethnic minority groups have been shown to positively impact students and increase expectations (Donlevy, Meierkord and Rajania, 2016^[144]; Jussim and Harber, 2005^[150]). For example, in the United States, in some cases, "the presence of a demographically similar teacher raises student's academic motivation and expectations" (Dee, 2005, p. 159^[151]; Donlevy, Meierkord and Rajania, 2016^[144]). Teachers with an immigrant or minority background can also have a positive impact on non-minority students because they can have a better understanding of learning needs of diverse students (Donlevy, Meierkord and Rajania, 2016^[144]).

Recruiting and retaining teachers with an immigrant or minority background will require explicit attention to structural, institutional and environmental factors in pre-service and in-service programmes to increase satisfaction, effectiveness and retention. Recognising the importance of teachers with an immigrant or minority background, many countries have implemented special professional development and support programmes for such teachers. Canada, for example, has been prioritising economic immigration for quite some time and, in the context of the teacher workforce, academic and professional bridging programmes were created at a number of universities across the country beginning in the mid-2000s. However, the recent oversupply of teachers in many provinces has resulted in the downsizing of the programmes designed to assist immigrant teachers trying to find inroads to the profession (Schmidt and Janusch, 2016^[152]).

5.2.1. R/EQUAL for international networking and exchange of expertise

Since 2015 Europe has become a central destination for large refugee populations worldwide. Sweden, Germany and Austria are the main target countries in relative terms for many recently displaced people from conflict and war zones. Within this group also a number of qualified teachers have come to Europe. The possibilities to acknowledge the qualifications of these highly skilled migrants vary according to the respective national migration policy and the structures of teacher education. Most of these internationally educated professionals cannot work as teachers in the host country without further qualification. In Europe R/EQUAL, a project initiated in September 2018 and co-ordinated by the University of Cologne, Germany, focuses on international networking and the exchange of expertise in the field of higher education activities concerning recently immigrated and refugee teachers in Europe. Collaborating on a European level R/EQUAL supports existing programmes at the Universities of Stockholm (Sweden), Vienna (Austria), Cologne and the University of Education Weingarten (both in Germany). At the same time, expertise gained from running a programme is shared with other institutions in higher education in Europe. R/EQUAL is funded by the European Union in the programme ERASMUS+, action "Partnership in Higher Education".

Recommendations for building capacity with respect to a diverse teacher workforce include: involvement of ethnically diverse teachers in the recruitment of new hires to ensure a diverse representation in these selection pools; greater attention to anti-oppression and social justice courses at the in-service level; recognising that all students benefit from a diverse teacher workforce; a closer examination of policies and practices that limit or thwart hiring a diverse representation of teachers; ensuring opportunities for teachers to

develop supportive communities of practice; and recognising the insider/outsider position of many historically marginalised teachers (Carter Andrews et al., 2019_[147]).

5.2.2. Basics of Educational Studies for Displaced Teachers

Following the mass migration in the year 2015 from specific war zones to Europe, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Vienna, Austria, approached the University of Vienna to inquire about possibilities of installing re-qualification measures for displaced teachers. Similar initiatives were taken in Sweden and Germany. A group of researchers at the Department of Education investigated and assessed the specific needs of displaced former secondary school teachers now residing in Vienna. The findings led to the project “Basics of Educational Studies for Displaced Teachers”, which provides a certificate programme for re-qualification of displaced teachers to re-enter the teaching profession in their host country in Austria. At the same time the project is conceptualised as a research project to collect data on educational background and current professional needs of displaced teachers.

The project responds to the need to receive, include and integrate newly arrived students in the Austrian school and education system, the necessity of engaging all stakeholders (refugee pupils, their parents and families, classmates and parents, teachers, management and administration), and recognises the crucial role of teachers, who speak the native languages of the newly arrived students, in facilitating this process. Teachers qualified through the certificate programme are in a position to support the school operation, facilitate communication with parents, and offer advice to immigrant families on relevant questions such as youth welfare, child and juvenile advocacy, further education, etc. The certificate programme not only facilitates the inclusion of teachers with a refugee background in the Austrian labour market as trained specialists, but also contributes to prevention of radicalisation, racism and stereotypical bias. Re-qualified displaced teachers act as mediators and can contribute to raising awareness in this field.

The certificate course “Educational background for teachers with a refugee background” was launched in autumn 2017 at the Postgraduate Centre of the University of Vienna. The Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs funded the first year of the course and the associated research project. The second course cycle was mainly funded through donations. The certificate course is a one-year (2 semesters) programme consisting of 40 European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) covering theory and practical experience (Universität Wien, 2018_[153]).

5.3. Teacher Driven

The Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS) 2013 indicates that professional development and leadership practices can be effective in improving teaching quality (OECD, 2014_[138]). One key characteristic of these successful professional development programmes is that teachers’ needs are addressed and that they feel their voices are heard. “Teacher learning is most likely when teachers have influence over the substance and process of professional development. Influence over the course of professional development increases teachers’ opportunity to connect it to specific conditions of their schools and facilitates a sense of ownership” (King and Newmann, 2000, pp. 576-577_[154]).

In the realm of diverse classrooms, professional development can also be teacher-driven. Especially considering that within diverse classrooms, as diversity is complex and varied, no single professional development will solve all problems. Teachers “have very diverse

professional learning needs arising from specific demands that their particular students place on their teaching skills” (Timperley, 2008^[136]). By allowing teachers to drive the professional development, schools are taking teacher diversity into account just as teachers are expected to take student diversity into account.

5.3.1. Portland Writing Project

The Portland Writing Project (PWP), a collaboration between Portland public schools and the Oregon Writing Project at Lewis and Clark College, “models the pedagogy it hopes teachers will take back to their classrooms,” which included constant reflection of classroom practice by teachers and how they can improve their teaching based on observations they make. Not only did this help teachers teach writing based on their students’ diverse needs but it also supported teachers in learning how to develop their own curriculum, an important professional tool needed in order to adapt to diverse classrooms. Every summer, Portland public school teachers gathered in a four-week intensive class (they received university credit for participating) where a lead teacher chose a multicultural novel that situated their teaching in a period of United States history to help teachers learn to integrate history, reading, novel study, writing and students’ lives into curriculum. Different exercises such as role-plays and writing assignments using other texts were used to show teachers how they could develop writing lessons themselves (Rethinking Schools, 2010^[155]). The programme ran for more than 20 years and has morphed into the Oregon Writing Programme, in partnership with Lewis and Clark University to be a more formal graduate school programme for teachers (Oregon Writing Project, 2018^[156]).

5.3.2. Teachers for Migrants’ and Refugees’ Rights

The portal “Teachers for Migrants’ and Refugees’ Rights” is an initiative of Education International (EI), the world’s largest federation of teacher unions. This portal aims to support unions and teachers in their efforts to promote migrants’ and refugees’ rights, by sharing evidence, information, local experiences, resources and leading practices from around the world. The website provides a toolkit to help teachers promote the right to education for refugee and migrant children. Therein, teachers can find information material, a list of training programmes and their reviews, and a collection of teaching resources. In addition, in order to advocate for the right to education, the toolkit includes information about unions’ positions, funding resources, special programmes and research evidence. Finally, the toolkit presents different examples of mobilisation initiatives, such as work with families, social campaigns and alliances (Education International, 2016^[157]).

The portal is a well-suited initiative considering the significant challenges faced in the field of international migration. It takes into account different specificities and local contexts. Education resources, including country profiles, are added continuously. It provides for a space where national and local teacher unions as well as individual teachers can share experience and expertise. It is also accompanied by a research component that works with national and local case studies, and provides a range of examples that help identify core themes and challenges.

5.4. Supporting Teachers through School Leaders

Teachers do not work in isolation. School leaders (and other staff members) can provide necessary support for working in diverse schools and classrooms. School leaders need to be fully aware of the implications and challenges of managing a culturally and religiously diverse educational establishment. Even if some schools are less diverse than others, it

should not deter school leaders from promoting inclusive and culturally responsive approaches (Faas, Smith and Darmody, 2018^[158]).

In schools where principals strive to create a culture of trust and respect, “teachers and students are more apt to embrace diversity as an essential aspect of their system” (Cherkowski and Ragoonaden, 2016^[159]). Principals’ knowledge and skills about diversity are integral in shaping the school culture and correspondingly, in “preparing all students for a democratic and multicultural society” (Hernandez and Kose, 2011^[160]). They also play a significant role in organising the school’s inner work, adjusting the curricula and supporting the new approach in the classrooms in the form of content and teaching style (Norberg, 2017^[161]).

5.4.1. The Urban School Leaders Collaborative (USLC)

At the school and university level in the United States, the ***Urban School Leaders Collaborative*** (USLC), now in its twelfth year, is a cohort-based principal preparation programme dedicated to developing leadership capacity within the San Antonio Independent School District (SAISD). As the third largest school district in San Antonio, Texas, SAISD serves a diverse population of families, the majority of whom are Hispanic and low income. The goal of the programme at the University of Texas-San Antonio is to prepare leaders who can work effectively in ethnically, racially, socially, and linguistically diverse educational environments. Through partnerships with local school districts and institutions of higher education, students have the opportunity to apply leadership theories and practices in real world settings (Murakami and Kearney, 2016^[162]) (http://education.utsa.edu/educational_leadership_and_policy_studies/).

6. Conclusions and Policy Pointers

6.1. Conclusions

Countries and classrooms have become more diverse in terms of migration-induced diversity, which often is a source of ethnic, cultural, religious and socio-economic diversity. While there might be a growing tendency to recognise the benefits that cultural, linguistic, religious and social diversity can bring to schools and to society (European Commission, 2017^[37]), embracing the superdiversity and complexity also leads to particular challenges for teachers on how to respond effectively to more diverse classrooms. For example, one challenge might be on how to embrace diversity while also promoting social cohesion within classrooms and schools.

Teacher quality is a significant factor in effective and meaningful schooling. To fulfil the growing expectations they face, teachers need to be equipped with relevant knowledge, capabilities, dispositions, values and skills, such as understanding diversity issues, reflectivity about identities, perspectives and practices, sense of agency and autonomy, empathy and pedagogical judgement, and tact. But how can initial teacher education and professional development programmes prepare teachers effectively for teaching in diverse classrooms? This paper suggests that initial teacher education could consider diversity as an asset and create spaces for reflection on action and anticipation of future professional action for teachers. It could also better link theory and practice, integrate diversity into the curriculum and incorporate technologies into training.

In terms of professional development, allowing teachers to drive their programme, and foster conceptually framed practice-oriented learning, could help design more effective programmes for teaching in diverse classrooms. Supporting the work of teachers through mentorships, collaborations with peers and school leaders is helpful. This paper has presented a number of examples on how this could be done.

What specifically can policy-makers, teacher educators and teachers do to effectively embrace and manage the increasing diversity in the classroom? Some further policy pointers are included below.

6.2. Policy Pointers

1. Involving teachers in the policy process could help design more effective training and professional development programmes and provide a sense of agency to the teachers, especially in diverse classrooms, which can differ from one another in terms of student composition and approaches needed to respond to different learning needs. Policies can establish the relevant framework by defining the desired outcomes, and outlining the broad lines of action that should be pursued. Having done this, the teachers that act within this framework should be given sufficient latitude to adopt and adapt to policy measures drawing on their own professional agency.
2. Elaborating on aspects identified as common to teaching in diverse classrooms should be included in initial teacher education and continuing professional development to help teachers make sense of their own tensions, issues and challenges.

3. Helping teachers to become aware of their own biases – especially those hidden, implicit and unconscious – could provide teachers with insight into differential treatment of stigmatised student groups.
4. In initial teacher education and in on-going professional development, examining real-life examples of teachers handling diversity (e.g. classroom observation, case studies, videos, reported episodes, etc.) would be beneficial to connect concepts such as pedagogical diversity to concrete practice.
5. Implementing a reflective approach to professional development so that teachers are afforded opportunities to look back at what happened in class and identify instances to interpret of what happened, and to provide for spaces to cultivate wise pedagogical judgements anticipating future action.
6. Offering special professional development and support programmes for teachers with an immigrant or minority background could help them remain in the profession and support students from all backgrounds and with different learning needs.
7. In addition to traditional pre- and in-service training modes, other measures such as learning communities, action-research projects, portals and collaborative networks can also provide additional support for teachers with respect to diversity.
8. Offering targeted mentorships for teachers could help not only new but also practicing teachers to become more effective in dealing with diversity and feeling supported by their peers.
9. Teachers do not work in isolation. Drawing on the support of school leaders, themselves trained in diversity management, could enable teachers to deal more effectively with diverse classrooms and also grant them the space to collaborate with other colleagues.

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