Native, Cosmopolitan, or Cypriot? Identity Development and Sense of Belonging Among International School Students in Cyprus

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Abstract

Cyprus is a culturally diverse island where people of different nationalities, ethnicities, religions, and social status have learned to live together. This phenomenon can be observed in Cyprus' international schools, where the superdiversity of the Cypriot society comes together and overlaps; and where students enter a 'third space' created at the interstices of society, that is non-native and non-host. In this paper, we explore these students' sense of belonging to both their host (Cyprus) and heritage cultures, and the role played by international schools in the development of the two. The sense of belonging, as well as its challenges which go hand in hand, are important aspects of social integration and provide insights into how individuals relate to their environment and whether they feel socially connected or disconnected from it. This is especially important in the context of Cyprus because of the increasing number of long-term migrants who consider Cyprus their 'home', and who create their own cultural and social space on the island.

Keywords: international schools, Cyprus migration, Third Culture Kids, identity, sense of belonging

Introduction

In its recent history, Cyprus has become a country of immigration. The ongoing crisis in the Middle East has brought political refugees and asylum seekers from the Arab countries; and after the USSR collapsed in 1991, many people came from Eastern Europe. Cyprus' accession to the EU (2004) triggered large-scale immigration from Central Europe, with 23,558 EU citizens registering in the island in 2005, and 42,630 in 2008, after the accession of Romania and Bulgaria.[4] Since then, the number of

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[4] Nicos Trimikliniotis, 'Migration and Freedom of Movement of Workers: EU Law, Crisis and the Cypriot States of Exception' (2013) 2 *Laws* 440.

immigrants has continued to grow. Between 1998 and 2018, Cyprus reported an average of 15,000 migrants per year.[5] The profile of the migrant in Cyprus, however, is not unitary. Migrant workers must be distinguished from the elite migrants who are highly skilled and are often privileged holders of prestigious posts in business.[6] Furthermore, there is a noticeable increase of migrants who are long term-residents living in Cyprus for more than five years. Between 2014 and 2019, their number rose from 4,116 to 27,168. Moreover, between 2007 and 2018, 25,867 people obtained Cypriot citizenship.[7]

Today, Cyprus is a culturally diverse island where people of different nationalities, ethnicities, religions, and social status have learned to adapt and live with each other. To a large extent, the Greek-Cypriot society and the migrants have blended through friendships, employment, marriages, and offspring. Therefore, migration to Cyprus not only has an economic dimension, but also a significant social one. The presence of a large population of well-off foreign parents resulted in the opening of many international schools (IS) on the island. These schools provide education in English and are often chosen by foreign parents over the Greek State schools, as the latter provide education in Greek and remain largely ethnocentric.[8] Furthermore, several Greek-Cypriot parents also choose IS as an educational option that will secure their children's university placement mainly in the UK. Therefore, IS in Cyprus accommodate local and foreign students.

IS students enter a 'third space' created at the interstices of society, that is non-native and non-host. Research often refers to the IS migrant students as Third Culture Kids (TCK),[9] and the IS local students as Third Culture Indigenous Kids (TCIK).[10] This is because completing an international programme of studies while growing up within a multicultural environment contributes to students' identity development. It can be argued that the IS experience can lead students to become cosmopolitan

[5] Olga Demetriou, 'Migration, Minorities, and Refugeehood in Cyprus' (2021) *Jahrbuch für Europäische Ethnologie* 91.

[6] Trimikliniotis (no 2).

[7] Demetriou (no 3).

[8] See Christina Hajisoteriou, 'Intercultural Education? An Analysis of Cypriot Educational Policy' (2012) 54(4) *Educational Resea*rch 451.

[9] David Pollock, Ruth Van Reken, *Third Culture Kids: Growing up Among Worlds* (3rd edn, Boston: Nicholas Brealey, 2009).

[10] Nkechi Emenike, David Plowright, 'Third Culture Indigenous Kids: Neo-Colonialism and Student Identities in Nigerian International Schools' (2017) 16(1) *Journal of Research in International Education* 3.

citizens who respect local and global cultural diversities, and who approach others with willingness and openness.[11] It can also be argued that as a result of studying in an international school, children are losing their heritage (national, religious, ethnic) identity, as these schools are most often driven by a western, liberal, humanist philosophy to which all need to adjust.[12] Alternatively, as a result of marginalisation, some students may strengthen their traditional cultural and religious practices.[13]

Migration and minorities in Cyprus have been studied in a number of aspects. A notable body of work has been done in the field of education in terms of the growing diversity in Cyprus' State schools, including the issue of national identity among Greek-Cypriot children,[14] as well as the issue of identity and sense of belonging of migrant children in State schools.[15] Overall, these studies reported that migrant children in Cyprus State schools are frequently marginalised, often feel pressure to assimilate to the mainstream Greek-Cypriot educational system, and can experience alienation and incidents of racism. Such circumstances can negatively affect their identity development.

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[11] Fazal Rizivi, 'International Education and Production of Global Imagination' in Nicholas Burbules, Carlos Torres (eds), *Globalization and Education: Critical Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2000) 205; Nigel Bagnall, *Global Identity in Multicultural and International Educational Contexts: Student Identity Formation in International Schools* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

[12] Julia Resnik, 'Sociology of International Education – an Emerging Field of Research' (2012) 22(4) *International Studies in Sociology of Education* 291; Jagdish Gundara, *Interculturalism, Education and Inclusion* (Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd, 2000).

[13] Fred Dervin, 'Cultural Identity, Representation and Othering' in Jane Jackson (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Intercultural Communication* (London: Routledge, 2011).

[14] See e.g. Panayiotis Stavrinides, Stelios Georgiou, 'National Identity and In-group/out-group Attitudes with Greek-Cypriot Children' (2011) 8(1) *European Journal of Developmental Psychology* 87; Peter A.J. Stevens et al., 'Testing the Relationship between Nationalism and Racism: Greek-Cypriot Students' National/Ethnic Identities and Attitudes to Ethnic Out-groups (2014) 40(1) *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 1736; Peter A. J. Stevens et al., 'Minority Students' Responses to Racism: The Case of Cyprus. (2016) 64(1) *British Journal of Educational Studies* 77.

[15] Evgenia Partasi, 'Intercultural Education in Cyprus: Policy and Practice' in Charis Psaltis et al. (eds), *Education in a Multicultural Cyprus*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publish, 2017) 134; Evgenia Partasi, 'Identity and Belonging in a Culturally Diverse Classroom in Cyprus' (2009) 9(4) *International Journal of Diversity in Organizations, Communities and Nations* 146; Id., 'Experiencing Multiculturalism in Greek-Cypriot Primary Schools' (2011) 41(3) *Compare* 371; Elena Skapoulli, 'Gender Codes at Odds and the Linguistic Construction of a Hybrid Identity' (2004) 3(4) *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 245; Panayiotis Angelides, Tasoula Stylianou, James Leigh 'Multicultural Education in Cyprus: A Pot of Multicultural Assimilation?' (2004) 15(3) *Intercultural Education* 307; Christina Hajisoteriou, Panayiotis Angelides, 'Promoting Immigrant Parental Involvement in Culturally-Diverse Schools Through a Multiple Perspectives Approach' (2016) 11(2) *International Journal of Pedagogies and Learning 145;* Christina Hajisoteriou, Christiana Karousiou, Panayiotis Angelides 'Successful Components of School Improvement in Culturally Diverse Schools' (2018) 29(1) *School Effectiveness and School Improvement* 91.

In this paper, we aim to explore Cyprus' international schools in terms of students' identity development and sense of belonging to their heritage and host cultures, and the role played by IS in relation to these two elements. By focusing on physical and abstract indicators of belonging, we ask how TCK and TCIK in Cyprus' international schools approach the notions of identity and belonging in terms of their first and second culture. Moreover, what are the perceptions of IS headteachers and teachers about these schools' role in terms of students' identity development?

This study is significant, as it firstly contributes to Cyprus' research field in education by providing data and the framework of international schooling on the island, as well as discusses the issues of belonging and identity beyond State schooling. Secondly, in the context of Cyprus, the study depicts the issue of migration and minorities in Cyprus beyond the generally acknowledged historical minority groups and draws attention to migrant families with middle-to-high socioeconomic status. The sense of belonging and the potential challenges to this sense are important aspects of social integration and provide insights into how individuals relate to their environment and whether they feel socially connected or disconnected from it.[16]

Theoretical Framework

International Schools are to a great extent independent institutions that have the liberty to establish their own ethos and rules of conduct, and their community of teachers and students vary in terms of their cultural, national, and linguistic backgrounds, and previous educational experience.[17] IS follow an international curriculum, such as the International Baccalaureate Diploma Program (IBDP), the International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE), etc. These programmes provide education that is implemented internationally, incorporate global, cultural, and linguistic issues, and by having international credibility and acceptability, allow students to access international tertiary education.[18] Currently there are 22 primary schools, and 26 secondary schools in Cyprus,[19] that have a diverse population of students and teachers, use primarily English as a language of instruction, and at the secondary

[16] Lucas Fuchs et al., 'The Challenged Sense of Belonging Scale (CSBS)—a Validation Study in English, Arabic, and Farsi/Dari among Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Germany' (2021) 3(3) *Meas Instrum Soc Sci* 1.

[17] Mary Hayden, *Introduction to International Education* (London: Sage, 2006).

[18] Ibid.

[19] Cyprus Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth and Sports, Private Primary and Secondary Education (2022), available at http://www.moec.gov.cy/en/private_education.html (last accessed 20 February2022).

level, provide internationally recognised examinations that allow students international university entrance. Private schools in Cyprus are approved and licensed on an individual basis by the Cyprus Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth and Sports. International schools are categorised under 'similar type' and 'different type' schools.[20] 'Similar type' schools, alongside the international curriculum, are required to include a substantial amount of the time and material of the main courses covered in the State schools. In this study, these will be called 'Internationally Cypriot Schools' (ICS). 'Different type' schools are to a large extent free to choose their curriculum, which for the majority, is the UK and international curricula. Nonetheless, some restrictions from the ministry still apply e.g. compulsory lessons of Greek language. In this study, these will be called 'Internationally British Schools' (IBS).

Such an international education can influence students' identity development.[21] The conceptualisation of identity has been widely debated across academic fields and in many different aspects: cultural identity, ethnic identity, racial identity, religious identity, gender identity, and institutional identity, to name a few. Thus, in this theoretical section we will focus on the areas and issues of identity that are relevant to the purpose of this study. Cultural identity refers to: [...] specific features of a certain cultural group or groups with shared characteristics, such as racial, ethnic, or geographic origins [...] formed by adopting beliefs, norms, habits, language patterns, or practices of a cultural community or communities that an individual believes to belong to.[22]

Over the years, the discourse of cultural identity has shifted from the structural-functional paradigm of a single identity to post-structuralism and post-modernism, which advanced the concept of multiple identities.[23] McLean and Syed used master narratives as forms of discourse to define identity as a 'subjective, constructed, and evolving story of how one came to be the person one currently is. This story integrates the past, present, and future providing the individual with a sense of personal

[20] Ibid.

[21] Stephen Ball, Dimitra Nikita, 'The Global Middle Class and School Choice: A Cosmopolitan Sociology' (2014) 17(3) *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft* 81.

[22] Anatoli Rapoport, 'The Changing Meaning of Citizenship and Identity and a Perspective Model of Citizenship Education' in Joseph Zajda, Suzanne Majhanovich (eds.) *Globalisation, Cultural Identity and Nation-Building. Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research*, Vol. 23 (Springer, Dordrecht 2021) 37.

[23] Joseph Zajda, Suzanne Majhanovich, 'Cultural Identity in the Global Era' in Joseph Zajda, Suzanne Majhanovich (eds), *Globalisation, Cultural Identity and Nation-Building. Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research,* Vol. 23 (Springer, Dordrecht 2021) 1.

continuity'; however, although 'for many individuals whose lives fit in with societal structures, these master narratives are functional and unproblematic', for others this may mean that they 'need to construct or adopt an alternative narrative'.[24] For example, members of the minority group may reject the minority culture in favour of the majority culture or do the opposite in order to conform to their own group norms,[25] indicating that one can control the level of national or cultural self-identification.[26]

Students in international schools vary in terms of their cultural, national, and linguistic backgrounds. Their educational experience and the time they reside in the host country contributes to identity development. Pollock and Van Reken used the term *Third Culture Kid* to describe a: 'person who has spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents' culture'.[27] For TCK there are no 'master narratives' but a number of fragmented, partly-shared, alternative narratives, and their past, present, and future rarely provide them with a sense of personal continuity. TCK relate to their 'first culture' (their passport country, their parents' homeland culture); 'second culture' refer to other places that are non-native to them, but where they have lived for a substantial amount of time, and 'third culture' which signifies the community of people with whom they share a similar experience.[28] The 'third culture' does not unite the first and the second culture but rather provides a space for their unbalanced incorporation.[29] TCK can be considered to be similar to second-generation immigrants, as neither fully enter the home or host society. However, even though second-generation migrants are ethnically rooted in their country of origin, they become culturally at home in their destination country;[30] TCK frequently build relationships with all the cultures, while not having full ownership of any of them.[31] Therefore, these individuals have some sense of belonging to both their host and native countries but are not fully committed to either.

[24] Moin Syed, Kate McLean, 'Personal, Master, and Alternative Narratives: An Integrative Framework for Understanding Identity Development in Context' (2016) 58(6) *Human Development* 318, 320.

[25] George A. Akerlof, Rachel E. Kranton, 'Economics of Identity' (2000) 115(3) *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 715.

[26] Davis Miller, *On Nationality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[27] Pollock,Van Reken (no 7) 19.

[28] Tina Quick, *The Global Nomad's Guide to University Transition* (Summertime Publishing, 2010).

[29] Jacqueline Knörr (ed.), *Childhood and Migration: from Experience to Agency* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2005).

[30] Tracy Reynolds 'Ties That Bind: Families, Social Capital and Caribbean Second Generation Return Migration' (2008) 46 Working Paper (London: South Bank University and University of Sussex) 1.

[31] Pollock,Van Reken (no 7) 13.

Furthermore, to distinguish the experience of local students in international schools, Emenike and Plowright referred to them as Third Culture Indigenous Kids (TCIK),[32] due to the dichotomy between the local context and the school's culture that these students operate in. TCIK have to conform to the community that exists within their country but does not represent their nation, culture or beliefs.[33] This can be considered problematic in postcolonial countries[34] and in conflict processes (such as Cyprus), where the solidification of ethnic groups through the formation of a strong national identity has a significant influence on the functioning of the Nation-State.[35] Students in an international school environment can lose some of their traditions if these are not constantly reinforced by the home culture.[36] For example, students in Belgium and Serbia acknowledged that as a result of studying in international school, knowledge of their national history suffered.[37] TCIK international school students in Vietnam pictured themselves representing the English-cosmopolitan image, rather than the Vietnamese-local.[38] Other studies among IS students found that Anglo-Western identities were considered superior to others.[39] Therefore, 'international education can be a homogenizing induction into Western-dominated global culture [...] rather than the encouragement of diversity, which is espoused in intercultural learning.'[40]

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[32] Emenike, Plowright (no 8).

[33] Barbara Deveney, 'An Investigation into Aspects of Thai Culture and its Impact on Thai Students in an International School in Thailand' (2005) 4(2) *Journal of Research in International Education* 153; Maha Frangie, 'The Negotiation of the Relationship Between Home and School in the Mind of Grade 6 Students in an International School in Qatar' (2017) 16(3) *Journal of Research in International Education* 225.

[34] Mico Poonoosamy, 'The International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme in Post-Colonial Mauritius: Reaffirming Local Identities and Knowledges' (2010) 30(1) *Asia Pacific Journal of Education,*15; Id. 'Third Culture Kids' Sense of International Mindedness: Case Studies of Students in Two International Baccalaureate Schools' (2018) 17(3) *Journal of Research in International Education* 207.

[35] Rumelili Bahar, Jennifer Todd, 'Paradoxes of Identity Change: Integrating Macro, Meso, and Micro Research on Identity in Conflict Processes' (2018) 38(1) *Politics* 3.

[36] Veronica Wilkinson, Mary Hayden, 'The International Baccalaureate Diploma and Student Attitudes: An exploratory Study' (2010) 9(1) *Journal of Research in International Education* 85.

[37] Sinéad Fitzsimons, 'Students' (Inter)National Identities within International Schools: a Qualitative Study' (2019) 18(3) *Journal of Research in International Education* 274.

[38] Trang Thi Thuy Nguyen, Hoa Thi Mai Nguyen, 'Thinking Globally or "Glocally"? Bilingual Identity of Vietnamese International School Students' (2017) 85 *International Journal of Educational Research* 24.

[39] Lucy Bailey, 'The Experiences of Host Country Nationals in International Schools: A Case-Study From Malaysia' (2015) 14(2) *Journal of Research in International Education* 85; Fitzsimons (no 35).

[40] Michael Allan, 'Understanding International Education Through Discourse Theory: Multinational, International, Multicultural or Intercultural?' in Richard Pearce (ed.), *International Education and*

However, it can also be argued that TCKs challenge traditional assumptions of what it means to identify as and belong to a particular race, nationality, or ethnicity,[41] and have a 'cultural liberty'[42] to choose how they want to go about their inherited religions, traditions, nationalities - what they want to show, and what they want to hide.[43] As Rizvi explains:

> With formative international experience, they are able to look at the world as dynamic and multicultural. This is so because they operate within a hybridized space and are equally comfortable in more than one cultural site. Their identity is intercultural with multiple cultural defining points. They typify a new global generation.[44]

To better understand TCK identity development, Nette and Hayden[45] focused on the issue of belonging rather than identity itself. In psychology studies, the sense of belonging refers to one's need and satisfaction of being a part of a larger community; in sociology, to the issues of inclusion and exclusion, and the general feeling of 'being at home'.[46] Nette and Hayden referred to indicators of belonging that are places to which TCK have some kind of 'physical' link. The two strongest indicators of belonging are the country of birth and the passport country, which relate to their 'first' culture. However, an indicator of belonging can also be a place where the TCK's family is located, or a place where they lived for a very long time. Attachment to places relates to the lived experiences thus 'questions of "who we are" are often intimately related to questions of "where we are"'.[47] The above physical indicators of belonging are important because they give TCK a sense of a tangible place where home is or where they come from, i.e. 'a concrete solution to a somewhat abstract dilemma.'[48]

However, for TCK the connection between the sense of belonging, and a physical location can be scattered and/or unclear.[49] Drawing from Pfaff-Czarnecka's definition

Schools: Moving Beyond the First 40 years (Bloomsbury Academic, 2013) 149, 160.

41 Pollock, Van Reken, (no 7).

42 Miller (no 24); Dervin (no 11).

43 Wilkinson, Hayden (no 34).

44 Rizvi (no 9) 223.

45 John Nette, Mary Hayden, 'Globally Mobile Children: The Sense of Belonging' (2007) 33(4) *Educational Studies* 435.

46 Fuchs et al. (no 14).

47 John Dixon, Kevin Durrheim 'Displacing Place-Identity: A Discursive Approach to Locating Self and Other' (2000) 39(27) *British Journal of Social Psychology* 27.

48 Nette, Hayden (no 43) 5.

49 Ibid.

of belonging as 'an emotionally charged, ever-dynamic social location'[50] one's sense of belonging is not stable and fixed, nor connected to a physical space. Therefore, on an abstract level, issues of culture and language,[51] as well as strong connections with family and friends,[52] can also be considered tangible indicators of belonging. Language is fundamentally attached to one's personal, national, and ethnic identity,[53] and TCK often use language rather than geographical location as a factor by which they define themselves.[54] Furthermore, some TCK locate their belonging based on the relationships they form with other people.[55] Thus, we can look at the indicators of belonging as physical and abstract bonds in the context of one's identity. Moreover, the abstract indicators of belonging can navigate one towards places of physical belonging, and the opposite. Therefore, in this article we explore the types of relationships students in international schools may have with their first and second culture by focusing on physical and abstract indicators of belonging. We ask the question of how TCK and TCIK in Cyprus' IS approach the notions of identity and belonging in terms of their first and second culture. Furthermore, we explore how IS in Cyprus approach their students' identity and belonging in terms of building and maintaining students' relationships with their first and second culture, by asking what the perceptions of headteachers and teachers about the role of IS in terms of students' identity development are.

Research Context and Method

This paper shares results of a mixed-methods study in six international schools in Cyprus. The quantitative strand of the study involved questionnaires that were administered to students and teachers. The qualitative strand consisted of data obtained

[50] Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka, 'Multiple Belonging and the Challenges to Biographic Navigation (2013) (MMG Working Paper13-05) Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, available at WP_13-05_Pfaff-Czarnecka_Multiple-belonging.pdf (mpg.de) (last accessed 20 February2022)13.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Wilkinson, Hayden (no 34).

[53] Zajda, Majhanovich (no 21).

[54] Michael Tannenbaum, Jenny Tseng, 'Which one is Ithaca? Multilingualism and Sense of Identity Among Third Culture Kids' (2015) 12(3) *International Journal of Multilingualism* 276.

[55] Heidi Sand-Hart *Home Keeps Moving* (The McDougal Publishing Company, 2010); Kathleen Daniel, 'A Canary Sings on the Road to Athens' in Gene H. Bell-Villada et al. (eds), *Writing Out of Limbo: International Childhoods, Global Nomads and Third Culture Kids* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011) 132.

from semi-structured interviews with headteachers, and open-ended questions from the teacher questionnaires.

This study was conducted based on the convergent parallel design[56] by implementing both strands in concurrent timing in one phase of the research process; both qualitative and quantitative components were weighed equally and analysed independently before the results were combined for the overall interpretation.[57] The qualitative data were analysed through thematic analyses.[58] To ensure the credibility of coding, the themes were then reviewed by the authors, and final decisions were made[59] with the final codes and themes being both, 'data-driven' and 'theory-driven'.[60] Moreover, the data were continually inspected throughout the analysis to secure rigour and consistency. Regarding the quantitative data, all statistical analyses were conducted with the use of SPSS 28 for Windows, where descriptive and inferential statistics were used for the analyses.

In terms of the validity of mixed-methods, understood as 'employing strategies that address potential issues in data collection, data analysis, and the interpretations that might compromise the merging or connecting of the quantitative and qualitative strands of the study and the conclusions drawn from the combination',[61] we addressed credibility, validity, and reliability separately for each of the two strands.[62] Since the two strands addressed the same issues, and were completed by the same population, it enabled the comparability and triangulation of the data.[63]

We used stratified purposive sampling where: 'the stratified nature of this sampling procedure is characteristic of probability sampling, whereas the small number of cases typically generated through it, is characteristic of purposive sampling'.[64] The sampling process included the choice of schools, where we included both: ICS and

[56] John Creswell, Vicky Plano Clark, *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research* (Sage Publications, 2010).

[57] Ibid.

[58] Virginia Braun, Victoria Clarke, 'Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology' (2006) 3(2) *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 77.

[59] John Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (Sage, 2009).

[60] Braun, Clarke (no 56).

[61] Creswell, Plano Clark (no 54) 239.

[62] Anthony Onwuegbuzie, R. Burke Johnson 'The Validity Issue in Mixed Research' (2006) 13(1) *Research in the Schools* 48.

[63] Creswell, Plano Clark (no 54).

[64] Charles Teddlie, Fen Yu, 'Mixed Methods Sampling. A Typology with Examples' (2007) 1 *Journal of Mixed Methods Research* 77, 90.

IBS across regions. This was followed by the choice of students, where we aimed to stratify across gender, age, and nationality. Furthermore, we aimed to include teachers and headteachers within these schools from a variety of subjects. Overall, 288 participants took part in this study: 206 students, 76 teachers and 6 headteachers. Table 1 presents sample sizes in the three researched Internationally British schools (IBS) and the three researched Internationally Cypriot schools (ICS).

Table 1. Sample size of study participants in Internationally-Cypriot and Internationally British schools

	Internationally Cypriot Schools	Internationally British Schools	Total
Students	103	103	206
Teachers	43	33	76
School leaders	3	3	6

In total, 206 secondary school students took part in the study. Participants included 80 males (42.3%) and 109 females (57.7%). In terms of age and class level, 102 students (49.5%) were studying in lower secondary school (ages 11-14); and 104 students (50.5%) were studying in upper secondary school (ages 15-18). The study included students of different religions: 53.8% of students were Christians and 12.5% were non-Christians. A relatively large percentage of students (33.7%) declared to be atheists, agnostics or unaffiliated. Out of the 206 participants, 32.5% were born in Cyprus. Out of the 67.5% who were born abroad, 34% had lived in Cyprus for four years or more, and 33.5% less than four years. Regarding national and ethnic background, over 50 different nationalities and ethnicities were found.

For the purpose of this study, the students were divided into two groups: Third Culture Kids (TCK), who are the foreigners, and Third Culture Indigenous Kids (TCIK), who are Cypriots. A statistically significant difference between nationality groups and school type was observed ($\chi^2(5)=13.448$, $p=0.020$). In Internationally Cypriot schools (ICS) there were higher frequencies of Cypriot and Half-Cypriot student participants and lower frequencies of international student participants compared to Internationally British schools (IBS). Regarding half-Cypriots who only had one Cypriot parent, a decision was made not to consider them as TCIK since they consistently presented very different results compared to the Cypriots whose both parents were from Cyprus. As a result, three student groups were created: foreigners, Cypriots, and half-Cypriots (Table 2). Although this breakdown is particularly informative, since there were relatively few students in some of the categories, es-

pecially when broken down by the school type, only descriptive statistics could be performed in many of the analyses.

Table 2. Sample breakdown according to Foreigners, Cypriots, half-Cypriots, and school type.

	Internationally Cypriot Schools	Internationally British Schools	Total
Foreigners	57	81	138
Cypriots	16	4	20
Half-Cypriots	30	18	48
Total	103	103	206

Overall, 76 teachers (20 males, 56 females) took part in the survey: 43 teachers (56.6%) from ICS and 33 (43.4%) from IBS. The respondents were teachers of a variety of subjects: STEM (20.3%) Languages (31.9%), Humanities (33.3%), and Other (14.5%). Education-wise, 76.3% of participants studied in Anglophone countries (Canada, USA, UK, Australia).

Six headteachers took part in the interviews (two males and four females). All, alongside their management responsibilities, were also active subject teachers. Out of the six, five of the headteachers were British, and one was Cypriot. All the English headteachers were UK trained with teaching experience in the UK. All participants had been settled in Cyprus for many years.

To address ethical issues, such as confidentiality, informed consent, data access and ownership, we secured the approval of the Cyprus Bioethics Committee and the approval of the Cyprus Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth and Sports. We considered the participants' age and language skills. The schools and the parents were well-informed about all aspects of the research. Only children who themselves agreed to participate and whose parents permitted them to do so were involved in the study. All data regarding both minor and adult participants were collected on an anonymous and voluntary basis.

Findings

Students' Views on Their Sense of Belonging in Relation to Their First and Second Culture, and the Role of IS.

Since language is considered an indicator of belonging to the heritage culture, the students were asked to self-assess their native-language knowledge. As presented in Table 3, the majority of students considered themselves mostly fluent in speaking,

reading, and writing. None of the participants claimed that they speak their native language at the lowest level, and in general, students found themselves confident in their levels of knowledge of their native language. However, there is a major disparity between how the participants assessed their fluency in speaking to their fluency in writing. Although 81.5% of them considered themselves to be fluent speakers, only 55.0% considered themselves as fluent in writing.

Table 3. Students self-assessed knowledge of their native language

	Fluent	Intermediate	Poor	Very poor
Speaking	81.5%	17.0%	1.5%	-
Reading	70.1%	21.9%	5.0%	3.0%
Writing	55.0%	31.5%	9.0%	4.5%

At the second stage, a new indicator was calculated by summing the student responses in all three language categories (speaking, reading, and writing). This produced a score that ranged from 3-12, that was used as an overall indicator of their native language knowledge. When these results were broken down by student categories (Cypriots, half-Cypriots, and foreigners), the results showed that on average, the Cypriot students considered themselves to be slightly more fluent than half-Cypriots and foreigners (Table 4). Nonetheless these differences were very minor, suggesting that all students maintain the knowledge of their native languages no matter their ethnic background or locational proximity to their first culture. It should also be noted that there were no overall differences between the two types of schools in terms of the students' native language knowledge.

Table 4. Descriptive statistics of self-assessed student native language knowledge by type of school

	Mean			Std. Deviation		
	ICS	IBS	Total	ICS	IBS	Total
Cypriot	11.07	11.00	11.05	2.17	1.41	1.98
Half-Cypriot	10.71	10.88	10.78	1.86	1.71	1.78
Foreigner	10.89	10.60	10.72	1.66	1.85	1.78
Total	10.86	10.66	10.76	1.77	1.80	1.79

The Greek language is the native language of Cypriots (TCIK) who all find themselves to be fluent communicators outside of school. Greek can also be considered at least one of the native languages of half-Cypriots, of which 80.9% claimed to be able to communicate in outside of school. However, for foreigners (TCK), the Greek language is an indicator of belonging to their second culture i.e. Cyprus. Only 35.8%

of foreign students claimed that they can speak Greek outside of school, indicating that the knowledge of Greek among the foreigners is relatively low. When comparing the responses of the half-Cypriots on this question, it is noteworthy that almost all ICS half-Cypriots (93.1%) stated that they communicate in Greek outside of school, compared to 61.1% of half-Cypriots who attended IBS. Also, 27.8% of these students said that they could do that, but they choose not to.

Table 5. Percentage of students' responses regarding communicating in Greek in real life.

		Internationally Cypriot Schools (ICS)	Internationally British Schools (IBS)	Total
Cypriot	Yes	100	100	100
	I can but I choose not to	-	-	-
	No	-	-	-
Half-Cypriot	Yes	93.1	61.1	80.9
	I can but I choose not to	-	27.8	10.6
	No	6.9	11.1	8.5
Foreigner	Yes	37.5	34.6	35.8
	I can but I choose not to	14.3	21	18.2
	No	48.2	44.4	46
Total	Yes	63	41.7	52.2
	I am but I choose not to	8	21.4	14.8
	No	29	36.9	33

It can be observed that ICS students were much more willing and able to communicate in Greek in real life compared to IBS students. There is a statistically significant difference between IBS and ICS based on chi-square tests results ($\chi^2(2)=11.474$, $p=0.003$). Compared to 41.7% of students from IBS, 63% of ICS students said that they use the Greek language outside of school. Moreover, 21.4% of students from IBS admitted that despite having the ability, they chose not to speak the Greek language in real life. This is a much higher number of students than in ICS where only 8% of students claimed the same.

Secondly, we asked students some questions that relate to the knowledge about their native country. On a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1=very poor to 4=very well, students were asked to self-assess how well they know the history of their native country. As shown in Table 6, which presents the average of their responses, students

were generally confident regarding the knowledge of their native country history. The average responses from all groups, regardless of the type of school they attended, were all higher than 2.5, which was the mid-point of the scale. The strongest results were obtained by the Cypriot students ($\bar{x}$=3.18). Foreigners ($\bar{x}$=2.74) and half-Cypriots ($\bar{x}$=2.68) had similar and lower levels of responses in the current variable regarding the history of their native country. It is also noteworthy, that there were no overall differences between the two types of schools in this variable.

Table 6. Descriptives of students' self-assessed knowledge of the history of their native country by type of school.

	Mean			Std. Deviation		
	ICS	IBS	Total	ICS	IBS	Total
Cypriot	3.23	3.00	3.18	.439	.816	.529
Half-Cypriot	2.69	2.67	2.68	.891	.840	.862
Foreigner	2.70	2.77	2.74	.755	.779	.767
Total	2.77	2.76	2.76	.780	.785	.781

The participants were also asked two basic questions related to knowledge about their native country: to name three historical figures, and to name the current leader of their native country. The vast majority of students (78.7%) were able to name their leaders correctly; however, only 55.7% could name three people of historical significance to their native country. In fact, 20.6% of students did not name anybody. To examine this further, a new variable was created that ranged from 0 to 4, based on the number of current or past leaders of historical significance that the students could name correctly. When we compared the student results according to their ascribed identities (Table 7), yet again the Cypriot students performed overall the strongest by being able to name an average of 3.25 individuals, compared to 2.57 individuals named by half-Cypriots, and 2.58 by foreign students. On average, the students in IBS had slightly higher levels of knowledge on this variable ($\bar{x}$=2.71) compared to the students in ICS ($\bar{x}$=2.95).

Table 7. Descriptives of students' knowledge about their leaders and historical figures by type of school.

	Mean			Std. Deviation		
	ICS	IBS	Total	ICS	IBS	Total
Cypriot	3.30	3.00	3.25	1.03	1.00	1.00
Half-Cypriot	2.62	2.50	2.57	1.65	1.41	1.55
Foreigner	2.62	3.05	2.87	1.48	1.39	1.44
Total	2.71	2.95	2.83	1.49	1.39	1.44

The students from both types of schools were also asked to self-assess their familiarity with Cyprus' history and traditions on a 4-point Likert scale ranging from 1=very poor to 4=very well. In this variable, there was a lot more variation based on the student's ethnicity and the type of school they attended (Table 8). By examining the breakdown of the average responses by the school type, the Cypriots in the ICS had the highest average score on this question, with an average score of 3.32. What is noteworthy is that half-Cypriots felt quite strongly about their knowledge about the history and traditions of Cyprus, and presented much higher scores ($\bar{x}$=3.04) than the foreigners ($\bar{x}$=2.62). This finding came in contrast to previous findings where the results of half-Cypriots and foreigners were quite similar. Overall, however, the students in the ICS had slightly higher levels of knowledge about the history and traditions of Cyprus ($\bar{x}$=2.73) compared to the students in the IBS ($\bar{x}$=2.51).

Table 8. Descriptive statistics of students' self-assessed knowledge of the history and traditions of Cyprus by type of school

	Mean			Std. Deviation		
	ICS	IBS	Total	ICS	IBS	Total
Cypriot	3.33	3.25	3.32	.617	.500	.582
Half-Cypriot	3.14	2.89	3.04	.693	.758	.721
Foreigner	2.37	2.40	2.38	.555	.540	.545
Total	2.73	2.51	2.62	.733	.624	.687

To assess the students' sense of belonging in terms of building and maintaining relationships with their first and second culture, a new variable was created by combining student responses to four items measured on a dichotomous yes-no scale. These items asked whether the students listened to the music or watched movies from their native country, whether they read or watched news from their native country, whether they kept in touch with their friends from their native country, and whether they could continue education in their native country. As percentages, many students (73%) claimed that they listen to music and watch movies from their native country, and many claimed that they read or watch the news from their native country (74.3%). Furthermore, most of the students claimed that they keep in touch with their friends from their native country (80.1%) but only a small majority (55.8%) stated that they could continue education in their native country. When these results were combined into a single variable on a scale from 0 to 4, and broken down based on their ascribed identities, once again, the Cypriot students had the highest scores ($\bar{x}$=3.46), followed by the foreign students ($\bar{x}$=2.89), and then by the half-Cypriots

($\bar{x}$=2.38). There were very small variations between the results of students from ICS ($\bar{x}$=2.83) and IBS ($\bar{x}$=2.77) (Table 9).

Table 9. Descriptive statistics of students' sense of belonging to their native culture by type of school.

	Mean			Std. Deviation		
	ICS	IBS	Total	ICS	IBS	Total
Cypriot	3.66	3.00	3.46	.50	.00	.51
Half-Cypriot	2.40	2.33	2.37	1.22	1.41	1.28
Foreigner	2.94	2.86	2.89	.95	1.03	1.00
Total	2.83	2.77	2.80	1.07	1.10	1.08

Although there were no large differences between students from the two school types, a decision was made to compare overall school differences based on the various ways in which the students connected to their home countries. As presented in Table 10, IBS students were more likely to claim that they watch the news from their native country (81.4%) compared to 67% of ICS students ($x^2(1)=4.731$, p=0.030). This is noteworthy because ICS have significantly higher frequencies of Cypriot and half-Cypriot participants, include elements of Cyprus' state programme of study, and the local news is widely available, thus we expected them to present better results in these areas. However, IBS students were less likely to keep in touch with their friends from their native country (73.8%) compared to 87% of the ICS students ($x^2(1)=4.501$, p=0.034). Moreover, IBS students were less likely to feel that they would be able to continue education in their native country (48%) compared to 64% of ICS students ($x^2(1)=4.581$, p=0.032).

Table 10. Chi-square results of student links to their native countries by school type.

	Internationally Cypriot Schools (ICS) (%)	Internationally British Schools (IBS) (%)	Chi-square results
Watch the news from their native country	67	81.4	($x^2(1)=4.731$, p=0.030)
Keep in touch with their friends from their native country	87	73.8	($x^2(1)=4.501$, p=0.034)
Are able to continue education in their native country	64	48	($x^2(1)=4.581$, p=0.032)

In terms of building and maintaining relationships with their second culture (i.e. Cyprus), we did find that students engage with the local community. As presented in

Table 11, it was expected that Cypriots and half-Cypriots would have close friends and family in Cyprus, although the results were slightly lower among the half-Cypriots. However, it is noteworthy that 73.1% of foreigners claimed that they also have close Cypriot friends and family. There were no overall differences between the two types of schools in terms of the students having close Cypriot friends or family.

Table 11. Percentage of students who have close Cypriot friends or family by school type.

	Internationally Cypriot Schools (ICS) (%)	Internationally British Schools (IBS) (%)	Total
Cypriot	100%	100%	100%
Half-Cypriot	96.5%	100%	97.8%
Foreigner	72.7%	73.4%	73.1%
Total	84%	79%	

Finally, we also included a question on where the students feel 'at home'. As presented in Table 12, most of the students chose the hybrid option of Cyprus and another native (foreign) country (45.5%), and 34% referred to Cyprus alone. Only 15.5% of participants said that they feel 'at home' in their native (foreign) country, and 5% did not feel a sense of belonging to any of the above given options.

At the stage of more detailed analysis, we observed that the vast majority of Cypriots (88.9%) claimed that they feel 'at home' in Cyprus. Interestingly, 11.1% chose Cyprus and another foreign country that they consider native. This may be because some of the Cypriot respondents were born or spent some time of their early childhood outside of Cyprus. This suggests that they retain a connection to these foreign countries. Half-Cypriots, on the other hand, were very divided in regards to their sense of belonging to Cyprus. Although 47.9% chose Cyprus, 35.4% felt 'at home' both in Cyprus and in their other native country. Interestingly, while the IBS half-Cypriots were much more likely to affirm their connection only to Cyprus, ICS half-Cypriots were much more divided with 43.3% opting for Cyprus, and 40% for Cyprus and the other native country. This is noteworthy because ICS place emphasis on the development of the Cypriot identity while IBS do not. At the same time, a slightly higher number of IBS half-Cypriots felt 'at home' only in their other native country (16.7) compared to ICS half-Cypriots who stated the same (13.3).

Table 12. Results regarding the percentages of where the students feel at home.

Student category	Where do you feel at home?	ICS (%)	IBS (%)	Total
Cypriot	Cyprus	85.7	100	88.9
	Native (Foreign) Country	-	-	-
	Cyprus and Native (Foreign) Country	14.3	-	11.1
	None of the above	-	-	-
Half-Cypriot	Cyprus	43.3	55.6	47.9
	Native (Foreign) Country	13.3	16.7	14.6
	Cyprus and Native (Foreign) Country	40	27.8	35.4
	None of the above	3.3	-	2.1
Foreigner	Cyprus	10.9	29.1	21.6
	Native (Foreign) Country	27.3	11.4	17.9
	Cyprus and Native (Foreign) Country	52.7	54.4	53.7
	None of the above	9.1	5.1	6.7
Total	Cyprus	31.3	36.6	34
	Native (Foreign) Country	19.2	11.9	15.5
	Cyprus and Native (Foreign) Country	43.4	47.5	45.5
	None of the above	6.1	4	5

Just like half-Cypriots, foreigners also referred to their hybrid sense of belonging to both Cyprus and their native country (slightly above 50% across both school types). Out of those who decided to affirm their sense of belonging only to one place, 21.6% chose Cyprus and 17.9% chose their native country. It is interesting to note that, just like half-Cypriots, IBS foreigners were more likely to affirm their sense of belonging to Cyprus (29.1%) rather than theur native country (11.9%), and ICS foreigners to their native countries (27.3%) rather than to Cyprus (10.9%).

Headteachers' and Teachers' Views on the Role of IS in Students' Identity Development in Relation to their First and Second Culture

In trying to determine students' connection to their first culture, and how IS influence it, headteachers generally presented a view that students' heritage cultures are rooted in them anyway, but by being exposed to different cultures, and by operating in-between the school, the host, and the family culture, they take on new cultural layers which widen their worldview and deepen their intercultural understanding. As explained by one IBS headmistress:

> They are Third Culture Kids. They've got their original country, they've got the Greek culture in Cyprus, while they have also got the country that they live in; and then they've got this British system that is yet another one that they have

> added into the mix. I would hope that they keep hold of their ethnic identity [...] but also be aware of the global issues and the other people, places and cultures that they are experiencing [...] I hope that because of the inclusiveness and the multiculturalism of the school, students will have tolerance and understanding of other cultures and other religions.

To corroborate that, 71% of teachers found students to be equally comfortable in more than one cultural setting. Those who gave examples of how cultural diversity can be observed in the school, referred to indicators of belonging such as language: 'Students tend to become friends and group according to language.' They also commented on students maintaining relationships with their first culture in terms of dress code, taking specific days off, and diet. These were evident in a number of comments such as: 'Israeli students take time off to celebrate religious holidays, Muslim students fast during Ramadan, Russian students are often away for the first few days of January as Christmas falls on 6th January'. These comments not only represent the IS cultural diversity, but also teachers' awareness of it, and the schools' respect for it. As one teacher explained: 'We follow Christian celebrations but acknowledge those from other cultures. Lessons in all subjects have an awareness of multicultural factors'.

In ICS, which provide some of the State schools' programme and Greek-Orthodox religious instruction, teachers noted that the cultural differences are visible in students' participation in school religious and national events, and participation in certain lessons. Therefore, in ICS the observed cultural differences relate to the Greek-Cypriot (TCIK) and the foreign (TCK) populations of students, rather than the diversity of the school population in general. As one teacher noted: 'Since the school is largely made up of Greek-Cypriot students, religious, ethnic events are all celebrated within the school and our culture and religion are promoted'.

Teachers of both types of schools believe that having a strong ethnic identity adds to the student's well-being and high self-esteem (78%). One teacher noted that 'students should be inspired by their own cultural identity', and another found that having a strong ethnic identity is a 'factor that determines success'. Headteachers, on the other hand, emphasised the importance of students understanding their roots, but, as noted by one, 'not to a level of extremism'. In a diverse school community, for intercultural understanding to take place, some strong national perceptions need to be lessened, as one IBS headteacher explained: 'you have to dilute nationalistic beliefs a little, to be able to coexist. You have to be more understanding of each other

[...] At times we have had Pakistanis and Indians, we had Serbs and Croats. So obviously you cannot celebrate nationalities and cultures in the same way as you would in a mono-cultural school'. This approach of cultural neutrality was also presented by some IBS teachers, as one noted: 'I treat all students as there are no cultural differences. We talk about respect and acceptance for people's individuality in a wider spectrum'. Furthermore, because of the circumstance of migration itself, students do not celebrate their traditions the same way as they would in their own countries. An IBS headmistress pointed out that preserving cultural traditions, beliefs, etc. should be in the hands of parents 'if they want their children to continue having their national, cultural celebrations or having their particular traditions, then, when living in a different country, they need to teach these things to their children.'

In both types of schools, teachers generally believe that their school is promoting an understanding of different national characteristics and behaviours (62%). In terms of the related practices, 89% of teachers said that they adapt their teaching to be more responsive to the needs of diverse student groups, because, as one teacher noted: 'students from different countries have different educational experiences and consequently have varying expectations [...] Some students expect to be taught in a traditional manner with a teacher-centred approach [...] others seek to have a dialogue and discussion'. Moreover, the majority (54%) of teachers noted that they include teaching about heritage cultures of their students and display students' work (e.g. artwork) that reflects students' cultures and ethnic background, but stressed that this relates to the possibilities their subject and their curriculum offers. Teachers gave examples of how they do that in several subjects. An economics teacher referred to studying different markets to 'become familiar with goods and services that we don't use in our everyday life, but others do'. A history teacher commented that 'one can easily target history of the students' heritage. It helps them to find lessons relevant [...] e.g. I can cover some Chinese history in class with Chinese students.' Projects related to students' heritage cultures were also mentioned by English and Art teachers across schools. Moreover, opportunities are given for students to share their cultural heritage during whole school events. One teacher commented: 'When celebrating certain international days we offer students from different cultural backgrounds the opportunity to share their experiences with the school.'

Nonetheless, students overall do internationalise, and such change is unavoidable because of the circumstances they are in, as one headteacher pointed out: 'I would

not say that it necessarily has anything to do with the reduction of their family culture'. The IBS headteachers believe that one does not cancel the other:

> You do not need to focus on national identity to be able to develop a well-educated, well-rounded individual. I think they should be aware of their background and aware of their history. But instead of relying on that [...], they need to look forward to what they can contribute to the whole community rather than what they can contribute by being part of their own community.

Headteachers and teachers do not find internationalisation as a force that acts against one's ethnic identity, but rather as an opportunity that expands one's perspective beyond their heritage identity. As one teacher commented, 'students who attend schools with a diverse population can develop an understanding of the perspectives of children from different backgrounds and learn to function in a multicultural, multi-ethnic environment.'

In terms of students' connection to Cyprus, as ICS headteachers explained, due to the Ministry's requirements, Greek-Cypriot students take Greek language lessons at a native level. Moreover, they need to take subjects such as Classical Appreciation, Greek History and Religious Education that are taught in Greek. Foreign students are not expected to participate in these subjects but are expected to take Greek as a foreign language. In IBS, Greek is taught as a foreign language according to the Ministry's requirements. However, as observed by the IBS headteachers, students do not learn or use the language at a conversational level. One headteacher observed that the Greek language is not seen by students and parents as a language that is widely spoken, which for them, limits the usefulness of its learning. However, all three IBS' headteachers believe that students get enough academic knowledge to be able to operate in Greek and, often, pass external Greek language exams.

Furthermore, when considering local engagement in terms of the participation in national holidays, ICS participate in parades which are an important part of national holidays in Cyprus, as well as celebrate other important Cypriot traditions. As one teacher listed: 'Church visits at Christmas and Easter [...] celebrations of national events such as 25th March, 1st April, 28th October, celebrations of Green Monday, Tsiknopempti'. Having a majority Cypriot population, these events are a very important part of the ICS school year, and as one teacher noted, 'a number of students participate enthusiastically in national anniversary celebrations' in the 'spirit of pride and belonging'. This attitude is different among IBS who have a more international population, and do not particularly wish to celebrate Cyprus national holidays the way the

nationals would do. However, they are keen to teach children about Cyprus through organising trips or by introducing units about Cyprus into their curricula. As one headmaster pointed out, 'we have introduced for all primary and the lower secondary a unit about local history and geography'. What emerges is a very specific relationship IBS have with the local community. On one hand, they do want to engage with local people and organisations, and they teach students about Cyprus; on the other hand, they do not get involved in the Cypriot-national agenda, as they primarily want to stay politically and culturally neutral.

Overall, it can be observed that according to teachers and headteachers, students retain their connection to their first culture, and IS try to support that in a number of ways during lessons, whole-school events, and extracurricular activities. At the same time, headteachers, especially in IBS, understand that to maintain harmony in a multinational environment, a certain level of cultural neutrality must be exercised. Furthermore, even though ICS headteachers and teachers, try to appreciate and accommodate the needs of the international population of their schools, they also work towards building the national identity of their native population. Nonetheless, the participants from both types of schools see international education and studying in a multinational environment as a positive experience for students that does not diminish their native identity or sense of belonging to their heritage culture, but which instead leads to the development of cosmopolitan perspective and intercultural understanding.

Discussion

In this study, we aimed to explore the notions of identity and belonging among TCK and TCIK in two types of international schools in Cyprus. We observed that international school students do not lose the connection and the sense of belonging to their first culture, and to a large extent, maintain their native identity. The sense of belonging to their first culture is mostly based on the indicator of language and maintaining connections, which corroborates other studies on TCK in IS.[65] Nonetheless, we did notice that students' knowledge about their native country and of the native language is to a certain extent deficient. This is also in line with other studies on TCK in different countries,[66] and a natural effect of being an international school student. Nonetheless, in our study, this deficiency did not seem to influence students'

[65] Tannenbaum, Tseng (no 52), Sand-Hart (no 53), Daniel (no 53).

[66] Wilkinson, Hayden (no 34), Fitzsimons (no 35).

sense of belonging to their heritage cultures, especially among the TCIK (Cypriots). This is a different outcome compared to other studies where TCIK students in IS pictured themselves as representing the English-cosmopolitan image or considered Anglo-Western identities to be superior to others.[67] With that said, we also observed that half-Cypriots consistently presented lower scores than foreign and Cypriot students whose parents came from the same country. Although half-Cypriots presented a higher level of knowledge about Cyprus than foreigners, their results suggested a lower sense of belonging to their native country (no matter their choice of it) than foreigners. This is significant to building a Greek-Cypriot national identity as an important factor in creating, operating, and maintaining the Nation-State.

In terms of students' attachment to their second culture, which is understood as a place where students have lived for a very long time, Cyprus is a birthplace for more than a third of the participants; for another third, it is a place where they have lived for more than four years of their very young lives. Thus, for many, Cyprus is a physical indicator of belonging, a place where *home* is. This sense of physical belonging does not translate to the abstract indicators of belonging like knowledge of Cyprus' language or culture. Most of the respondents admitted that they knew little about Cyprus' history and traditions. Nonetheless, in this aspect we found major differences between the approach of the two types of international schools. As ICS have higher numbers of Cypriot students, foreign students in these schools are exposed to the Cypriot language and culture at a higher level than in IBS by default. ICS openly celebrate —and to a large extent reinforce— their Greek-Cypriot identity through the inclusion of some elements of Cyprus' national curriculum, and the active celebration of events such as 25 March, where TCIK students engage in socio-political action based on their national identity. IBS have a more multinational population and do not particularly wish to celebrate Cyprus' national holidays, or any particular culture in that matter. What we found significant is that TCK and TCIK studying in the neutral environment of IBS present a similar sense of belonging to their native country. On the other hand, TCIK studying in ICS present a higher sense of belonging to their native country than TCK studying in ICS.

Furthermore, international schools as the 'third culture' do not unite the first and the second culture but rather provide a space for their unbalanced incorporation.[68]

[67] Nguyen, Nguyen (no 36), Bailey (no 37), Fitzsimons (no 35).

[68] Knörr (no 27).

Similarly to the results presented by other studies,[69] the researched here IS did not see the development of an international attitude as an obstacle to maintaining one's cultural belonging, but rather as a route to the development of intercultural understanding and global mindedness. Having a strong value system does not contradict having an open-minded attitude, nor does having an international attitude reduces one's native identity; to the contrary, it can lead to greater self-awareness. The perspective presented by the headteachers of both types of schools is similar in terms of the belief that students should be aware of their cultural identity. However, they acknowledged the distinction between 'allowing for differences' and 'identifying differences', and that remaining neutral is the way to preserve a status-quo. They focused on the development of more hybrid, cosmopolitan identities, leaving the choice and task of the development of native identities to parents. However, while the commitment to neutrality was more evident among headteachers, many teachers gave examples of how they incorporate students' heritage cultures into their lessons and give students the opportunity to discuss their cultures and background to grow and explore their heritage identities. This above-described overall attitude of IS in Cyprus combined with the international programme of study may be the reason for the difference in experience between migrant students in Cyprus' international schools and State schools.[70] IS students do not feel pressured to assimilate to the mainstream native educational system, as their diversity is appreciated and seen as a strength and an opportunity for the development of intercultural understanding among all students. With this approach, students not only keep their sense of belonging to their heritage culture but also develop a positive attitude towards their second culture i.e. Cyprus and the Cypriot society.

Overall, we observed that students present a sense of belonging to both their first and second culture. However, in terms of their first (Heritage) culture, they relate to abstract indicators of belonging, such as language, culture, and connections with family and friends. In terms of the relationship with their second (Host) culture, they refer to physical indicators of belonging — Cyprus being a place where they have

[69] Rizvi (no 9); Wilkinson, Hayden (no 34); Mary Hayden, Cynthia Wong, 'The International Baccalaureate: International Education and Cultural Preservation' (1997) 23(3) *Educational Studies* 349; Jonathan Young, 'All the World's a School' (2017) *31*(1) *Management in Education* 21; Fitzsimons (no 35); Bagnall (no 9); Simon Taylor, 'Globally-Minded students: Defining, Measuring and Developing Intercultural Sensitivity: Part 1' (2013) 33(1) *International Schools Journal* 65; Id., 'Globally-Minded Students: Defining, Measuring and Developing Intercultural Sensitivity: Part 2' (2014) *33(2) International Schools Journal* 26.

[70] For research in Cyprus' State schools see footnotes no 12 and no 13.

lived for several years, where their home is, but where they do not become culturally rooted. Calling Cyprus 'home' does not disrupt their connection to their heritage background. Instead, to an extent, they develop more hybrid and globalised identities and can comfortably operate in more than one cultural setting.

The last point we would like to make refers to Cyprus' migration and minority issues. The superdiversity of the Cypriot society was pointed out by scholars researching intercultural education in Cyprus' State schools.[71] In this paper, we presented the superdiversity of the island's IS. If we observe this phenomenon among youth, it also exists among the adult population by default. Hence, beyond the generally acknowledged historical minorities of Cyprus (Armenians, Maronites, and Latins), we can observe the emergence of micro-minorities which, in the context of Cyprus, create their own micro-cultures their own cultural and social space; one of them being international schools. We recommend considering Cyprus' superdiversity beyond the research areas of education, and historical minorities, and giving more attention to adult long-term immigrants of middle to high socioeconomic status, double-citizenship holders, and the next generation of Greek-Cypriot citizens born to one or both migrant parents.

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[71] Hajisoteriou et al. (no 13).

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