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Maeha’a Nui: A Multilingual Primary School Project in French Polynesia

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Abstract
This paper describes a collaborative longitudinal project, launched in September 2015, which aims to create a multilingual environment in a French Polynesian primary school called Maeha’a Nui situated in Tahiti. The project was conceived with the joint efforts of four researchers from the University of French Polynesia, and a number of teaching professionals involved in primary education. The overall objectives of the Maeha’a Nui project are: to involve all stakeholders such as teachers, school staff, parents and so forth in the creation of a dynamic multilingual environment; to experiment and identify effective teaching methodologies for Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL); and to train teachers and colleague mentors on innovative techniques in foreign (English) and heritage (Tahitian) language teaching. The first part of this paper reviews the relevant literature on second and foreign language learning and bilingualism. The second part provides an overall description of the project and gives information on the procedures followed in the implementation of the project. The third section of the paper describes the CLIL research activities, which are carried out as a sub-project of the Maeha’a Nui project. This section also examines the preliminary data and describes the observations made as well as the pedagogical implications of these insights in language learning/teaching. The paper concludes with a brief description of what will follow.

Keywords: Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL); Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP); bilingualism; second/foreign language learning; competency-based language teaching; sociocultural theory; action-oriented language learning; task-based language teaching.
Introduction

This paper describes a collaborative longitudinal project called Maeha’a Nui, which was launched in September 2015. The project was named after the state elementary school Maeha’a Nui in which it is carried out. The utmost goal of this project is to create a multilingual space within the school’s premises in addition to regular language teaching.

The Maeha’a Nui project builds on two former groups of research activities, which were carried out in an elementary school setting in French Polynesia. The first group of research projects was promoted by the French Polynesian government under the rubric of multilingualism and took place between the years 2005-2014 on the teaching of Polynesian languages in collaboration with researchers from the University of Nantes, France (see Nocus, Vernaudon & Paia, 2014). The second group of research activities was carried out between the years 2012-2014 by two researchers from the University of French Polynesia on the implementation of CLIL approach using English as a medium of instruction (see Gabillon & Ailincai, 2013, 2015).

The Maeha’a Nui project is also connected to the MOM project, which was launched in 2015. The MOM project, which is an ongoing longitudinal research pursuit, comprises the gathering of large-scale classroom data samples from French Polynesian elementary schools. The project is financed by the Ministère des Outre-Mer (Ministry of Overseas France) and is carried out by a multidisciplinary and multi-institutional research team. The primary objective of this research project is to build a representative body of corpus on current educational and parenting practices (including multilingual practices) across the five archipelagos of French Polynesia.

Theoretical standpoints

Positive effects of Bilingualism

Reviews of international research on bilingualism have demonstrated significant advantages of bilingual schooling over monolingual schooling. Research results obtained from diverse bilingual settings have indicated that bilingual children develop more advanced cognitive processing skills compared to monolingual children (Baker, 2007, 2011; Bialystok, 2010; Bialystok, Luk & Kwan, 2005; Cenoz, 2003; Cummins, 1979, 1980, 2014; Cummins & Swain, 1986). Bilingual studies that investigated the role of mother tongue on the child’s development have suggested correlations between the child’s level of mother tongue competence and his/her second language development (Ball, 2010; Cummins, 2001).

Cummins’ (1980) Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) model suggests that the experiences and skills that bilingual children acquire through L1 (mother tongue) and L2 (second, foreign, regional language etc.) promote a development of skills/competences underlying both languages. Cummins maintains that these skills (e.g. general, communicative, social, linguistic, academic etc.) and knowledge (e.g. academic, linguistic, metalinguistic, conceptual, cultural etc.) are stored as competences (underlying proficiency) common to both L1 and L2 that can be easily accessed to and transferred from one another. The effectiveness of this mechanism depends on the level of conceptual knowledge acquired in either language (i.e.; the
amount and quality of exposure the learners had in these languages). This model suggests that expansion of CUP would support learning other languages and offers a theoretical base to explain why bilingualism facilitates the learning of additional languages.

Several established researchers who are involved in bilingual education maintain that in bilingual communities where the medium of instruction is different from home language, parents should be encouraged to continue using the child’s first language at home (Ball, 2010; Cummins, 1980, 2001; Cummins & Swain, 2014; James, 1996). Cummins (1980) and Lambert (1981) make distinctions between two language learning situations: 1) additive bilingualism: the child’s first language and culture continue to develop at home in addition to a second language that the child is learning at school; and 2) subtractive bilingualism: the second language (schooling language) substitutes the child’s first language. Cummins (1980, 2001) maintains that additive bilingualism minimizes the difficulty of learning a second language. He supports additive bilingualism and claims that when a child has a good mastery of his/her first language s/he would encounter less difficulty retaining and labeling notions/concepts in a second language. He also asserts that improved level of L1 proficiency, which also means mastery of various notions and skills, enables learners to transfer and use these competences when learning a second language. The transfer of acquired competences (e.g. in L1 or another L2) reduces cognitive demands of learning tasks and facilitates acquisition of the target language (Cenoz, 2003).

**CEFRL and foreign and second language learning approaches**

The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFRL) is one of the key documents, which was created by the joint efforts of the researchers and language specialists who took part in the multilingual movement initiated by the European Commission. In today’s European context of language teaching, CEFRL constitutes a common ground for the syllabuses, curriculum guidelines, language levels, examinations, textbooks, and so forth across the European Union states. In French Polynesia language learning policies have also been influenced by the principles and guidelines offered by this document. CEFRL recommends the use of Competency-Based Language Teaching (CBLT) in language teaching in bilingual or foreign language teaching contexts. This approach views language learning as building skills that enable learners to cope with the demands of society. The approaches, which belong to this family are: Action-Oriented Language Teaching (AOLT), Task-Based Language Teaching (TBLT), Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) (Adler & Milne, 1997; Lier, 2007). The key features of CBLT can be summarized as follows:

- Focus is on conveying meaning and interpersonal communication
- Uses purposeful tasks to develop life skills (tasks are not exclusively language related)
- Uses performance-centered orientation
- Outcomes are specified in terms of explicit behavioral objectives
- Focuses on the ability to use rather than to talk about the language
- Uses learner-centered instruction which targets at developing autonomous language learners
- Language is used as a learning tool
CLIL literature

The term Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) was introduced into language learning literature by a group of language experts and researchers who were involved in the multilingual education movement incited by the European Commission (see European Commission publication 2008; Eurydice Network 2006) in the late 90s. CLIL practices were first introduced in European schools to supplement regular language teaching hours. To provide the desired additional exposure to foreign language teaching, it was suggested that teachers teach some school subjects using a foreign language that the learners are learning at school. The key features of CLIL can be summarized as follows:

Objectives
- CLIL aims to help learners acquire both language skills and disciplinary content knowledge.
- CLIL aims to develop cognitive and general skills that learners can transfer and use in other social settings.
- CLIL aims to create naturalistic learning settings that enable authentic language use.

Learning
- Learning is a compilation of real life skills
- Learning is a social activity which is accomplished via mediation of social artifacts and social activity
- Learning takes place both on social and individual planes

Tasks
- Goal- directed real-life tasks are used
- Tasks are complex and open ended

Interaction
- CLIL emphasizes face-to-face real-life interaction using social artifacts (e.g. realia) as learning/teaching materials

Sociocultural theories and language teaching

The Maeha’a Nui project was inspired by the principles of Sociocultural (SC) theories both at research and non-research levels. The design used in our CLIL project, which is a sub-project of the Maeha’a Nui one, was largely based on a SC framework. The key terms, which are associated to SC philosophies and socially mediated learning are: ‘mediation’ (Vygotsky, 1978) ‘scaffolding’ (Brunner et al, 1976), ‘ZPD’, and ‘social artifacts’ (Vygotsky, 1978). The SC perspective views language learning as a social activity, which takes place on both personal and social planes (Vygotsky, 1978). According to the SC perspective knowledge is co-constructed with others (other-regulated) on social planes and it is appropriated (self-regulated, internalized)

1 Mediation refers to interpersonal interactions that provide guidance (help) in children’s cognitive development and knowledge construction, such as thinking, reasoning, problem solving, memory, and language.
2 Scaffolding is the process of supportive dialogue, which directs the others’ (learners’ or peers’) attention to the key features of learning using successive steps (Brunner et al, 1976)
3 Zone of Proximal Development refers to the difference between what a learner is capable of doing without guidance and what s/he is capable of doing with guidance (Vygotsky, 1978).
4 The SC theory considers all human made material and objects which are used in social mediation as artifacts (Vygotsky, 1978).
on personal-planes. In this social setting, language is used as a means by the individual to regulate his/her cognitive activities, in other words: language is used as a “…tool for thought…” and “…a tool for learning…” (Lantolf, 2002, 2006; Mitchell & Myles, 2004). According to Vygotsky (1978) the social activity, which involves others and the use of social artefacts, contributes to the child’s optimal cognitive development. The role of social interaction and social artifacts in the child’s potential cognitive development is explained by Vygotsky’s ZPD concept (1979). Aleksei Leontiev’s (1974) Activity Theory (AT) develops a number of concepts introduced by Vygotsky. “Activity”, which is a purposeful social interaction between actors and “artefacts” (the world and its objects), constitutes the foundational framework of AT (Leontiev, 1974, 1978; Engeström, 1987). Established language teaching approaches which are recommended by CEFRL such as CLIL and TBLT, which involve the use of real-life activities and purposeful tasks, are based on an AT framework.

The Maeha’a Nui project

The Maeha’a Nui project was launched in 2015 as a pilot project in collaboration with the researchers and teachers from the Ecole Supérieure du Professariat et de l’Education (ESPE) of the University of French Polynesia, the teaching professionals from the Circonscription Académique No:8 Punaauia and the teaching staff and other school personnel from the state elementary school Maeha’a Nui.

Background to the project

French Polynesia is a multilingual society where five local languages have co-existed and are used by its people. Although French is the language of school instruction and the only official language (Debène, 2011), many people use at least one of these local languages as a means of daily communication and socialization in their social milieus (Nocus, Vernaudon & Paia, 2014). In French Polynesia, many children are brought up in family environments where parents and other family members such as grandparents communicate with children using a local language. Although local languages are considered as part of Polynesian people’s cultural identity, cultural heritage, and wealth of French Polynesia by law (the Organic Law n° 2004-192 2004 article 57; the State-Territory Convention on Education n° HC 56-07 of the 04/04/2012), the Polynesian languages were integrated into the local school curriculum in 1982 following the decree n° 81-553 about “…teaching of languages and dialects…” in 1981.

In French Polynesia the long awaited transformations in educational policies involving the teaching of local and foreign languages were primarily prompted by the multilingual education movement initiated by the Council of Europe in the early 2000s. As a consequence of this widespread recognition of multilingual education, since the early 2000s, a number of multilingual schemes have been financed and set up.

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5 In the French education system Ecoles Supérieures du Professariat et de l’Education (ESPE) are public institutions that provide Master level diplomas, a necessary condition to be qualified to take the French national exam to become teachers in primary or secondary schools.

6 In the French Polynesian educational system a Circonscription Académique refers to an administrative district in charge of several state elementary schools. This unit is in charge of educational supervision and educational inspection.
up in French Polynesian schools. Today the teaching of local and foreign languages is one of the educational priorities in French Polynesia.

Context

Maeha’a elementary school is located in Punaauia, a town in Tahiti, French Polynesia. The teaching staff is made up of 14 professionals including the headmaster and serves 284 children of mostly Polynesian origin. The majority of these children are from a district of low-income households with disadvantaged social and educational backgrounds. Many of these children live in precarious housing, which is shared by several families. Alcohol and drug use is part of the landscape where these children live.

The primary motive in the initiation of the Maeha’a Nui project was to increase equity and quality of education offered to these disadvantaged pupils through creating a plurilingual learning environment in which foreign languages and their mother tongue are valued and used. The ideas which encouraged this project are grounded on results obtained from bilingual studies (Baker, 2007, 2011; Bialystok, 2010; Bialystok, Luk & Kwan, 2005; Cenoz, 2003; Cummins, 1979, 2014; Cummins & Swain, 1986). Many of these studies emphasize the importance of learners’ home language in their cognitive and personal development (Ball, 2010, Cummins, 2001). The majority of the parents who send their children to Maeha’a Nui are disadvantaged parents with poor educational backgrounds. Most of them show little interest in their children’s education and rarely participate in activities offered by the school. The project prioritizes communication between the school and parents, and stresses the role of parents in the development of their children’s mother tongue use.

Objectives

The primary objective of the project is to create a dynamic multilingual space (using Tahitian, English and French) within the Maeha’a Nui state school through the active involvement of every school employee. The project thus encourages participation of not only the professionals who are involved in the pupils’ education but also other school personnel such as the school caretaker, canteen workers, and cleaners who are the potential users of one or two of the local Polynesian languages.

The intended objectives of the ‘Maeha’a Nui: Multilingual education project’ can be listed as follows:
1. To create a multilingual environment and activate multilingual awareness both in school and home settings:
   a) by revaluing and revitalizing the learners’ mother tongue through the provision of supplementary space for its use,
   b) by encouraging parents to take part in their children’s language learning practices at home (mother tongue and foreign languages),
   c) by increasing exposure to foreign language use in school space,
   d) by enabling situations in which learners could transfer and use skills (linguistic & general) across disciplines and languages;
2. To carry out research on CLIL using Tahitian and English as mediums of instruction;
3. To bridge the gap between research and teaching practices:
4. To provide teachers and pedagogical advisors with training on second/foreign language learning.

The multilingual research (and non-research) activities carried out in this project have based their principles on solid theoretical standpoints. Figure 1 is the visual representation of the schemes and ideas, which shaped the Maeha’a Nui project.

Figure 1: The principles that shaped the Maeha’a Nui project.

Activities

The project employs three types of activities: a) non-research activities which take place both at school and in home settings; b) research activities which look into the implementation of CLIL practices and the types of support the parents give to their children as regards language learning (e.g. Tahitian, English, and French); and c) various forms of training sessions for teaching professionals and non-teaching personnel.

The non-research activities are in the form of extra-curricular activities that aim at providing the pupils with additional exposure to both their mother tongue (Tahitian) and the foreign language (English) that they are learning (see Figure 2). The first type of activities includes the use of posters, signs, pictures etcetera labeled in Tahitian (L1), English (foreign language) and French (medium of school instruction). These kinds of activities, although simple in nature, provide peripheral learning opportunities that favor effortless incidental learning (Hulstijn, 2008) and contribute to the dynamism of the setting. The second type of non-research activities include involving the school staff such as canteen workers, cleaners, and the caretaker to engage in interactions with the pupils in their first language. For instance, recently an
MA student (as part of her MA project) has worked together with a pedagogical advisor to guide a canteen worker on how to announce the menu in Tahitian and then they observed the worker’s interactions with the children. In the same vein, the project proposes activities involving the canteen workers speaking to children only in their first language while the food is served, or playing games in the schoolyard using English, or in L1 and so forth. Using activities in such natural settings provides natural social mediation and effortless learning opportunities (Lantolf, 1994). The use of such activities, out of regular class hours, helps increase the value of children’s home language and improve their perception of it. In the same vein, the extension of the foreign language (i.e. English) that the learners are assimilating in settings other than the classroom helps enhance the learners’ motivation to learn this language.

Figure 2: Non-research activities implemented at Maeha’a Nui primary school.

The research activities which are implemented at Maeha’a Nui elementary school, for the moment, concern only the implementation of CLIL practices and research activities that aim to investigate the parents’ involvement in their children’s language learning development (both Tahitian and English). The research activities carried out in these two areas are in progress and the data collection and analysis processes are still incomplete. Figure 3 provides an overview of these activities.
One of the objectives of the project is to provide the participating teaching professionals and other school staff with training on multilingualism (see Figure 4). For the teaching professionals, various forms of training sessions are offered. Prior to the commencement of the project, all participant teaching professionals attended a training program (i.e. workshops and lectures). The aim of this weeklong training was to inform the teaching professionals about the objectives of the project and to sensitize them to both the challenges and opportunities of a creating a multilingual school environment. During the implementation of the CLIL project, regular meetings, discussion sessions, and sessions to analyze recorded CLIL lessons are organized with the participating teachers.

Before the project, the district inspector and some pedagogical advisors had a meeting with the parents concerned. The objective of this first meeting was to inform the parents about the project and to raise awareness about the positive effects of multilingualism. During this meeting, the parents were also encouraged to communicate with their children using their first language.
CLIL research project

We have been doing CLIL research since 2012, in a primary school context in French Polynesia (Gabillon & Ailincai, 2013, 2015a, 2015b). We implemented our first CLIL study between 2012 and 2013. The primary objective of this first experimental study was to investigate if it was possible to implement CLIL with beginner level young learners; and study the differences and similarities concerning CLIL science lessons (in L2, which was English) and regular science lessons (in L1 which was French). The results obtained from this study indicated that CLIL is possible with beginner level young learners but required the use of: a) language simplifications; b) careful scaffolding techniques that could enable gradual progression of teacher-learner mediated activity to peer-mediated activity patterns; c) naturalistic learning situations d) artifacts and gestures); and d) collaborative interaction which could enable lower affective filters.

In the light of the results obtained from this first study, we designed our second study, which investigated the role played by artifacts and gestures in CLIL science lessons. We named this design Socially Mediated Activity (SMA) (see Gabillon & Ailincai, 2015b). Our SMA framework employs activities that enable the use of a) collaborative mediation and interaction, b) social artifacts, c) joint-attention, d) real life tasks, e) and hands on experience in naturalistic learning environments. The outcomes of this second study indicated that without the use of an SMA design, the majority of the exchanges would have been truncated exchanges with constant communication breaks. In these classroom tasks, which used an SMA framework, the learners were able to communicate in the target language, and carry out the activities naturally despite their low level of English. This framework allowed the construction of new concepts using collective mediation (both teacher and learner) with the help of artifacts and gestures, and collaborative interaction.

Current CLIL research

Our current CLIL study is a subproject of the "Maehaa Nui: A multilingual school" project. It is an experimental study that aims to carry out research on how CLIL practices can be effectively implemented in a primary school context in French Polynesia.

The study is a longitudinal experimental study that uses the CLIL approach to teach science lessons using Tahitian and English. The study employs a mixed methods approach. The data for the study are collected using regular observations, audio/video recordings, questionnaires, teacher interviews, and discussions. The data are analyzed using both qualitative and quantitative data analysis methods. The classroom exchanges, which are recorded, are transcribed for analysis. The transcribed data are then coded and interpreted using comprehensive and normative analysis methods. The results are presented using qualitative interpretive methods and descriptive statistics (e.g. histograms, charts, tables using percentages and mean scores etc.)
The overall objectives of the CLIL project can be summarized as follows:

- To identify effective teaching methods suitable for CLIL practices within a primary school context.
- To observe the role of different types of interactions / exchanges used in the lessons observed.
- To study the balance between content teaching and language teaching (i.e. English/Tahitian).
- To train teachers on effective implementations of the CLIL approach within a French Polynesian context.

The participants of the study were two volunteer elementary school teachers and their pupils. Teacher1 has 5 years (T2) of elementary school and a year of English language teaching experience, and Teacher2 has 7 years of teaching and 5 years of English language teaching experience. In the first work package 52 pupils (two groups of 26 pupils) participated in the study.

Figure 5 represents the action plan that we follow in our first work package. Two identical CLIL sessions (in Tahitian and English) are prepared by the teachers in collaboration with the pedagogical advisors. These lessons are video recorded and then transcribed for analysis. After each lesson, discussion sessions are held with the teachers in which the teachers make a synthesis of their lessons and discuss their impressions with the researchers. Then the content of these lessons (e.g. Tahitian vs Tahitian, English vs English, and Tahitian vs English lessons), the results of the discussions, the classroom interactions, and the learners’ reactions are compared (see Figure 5).

Our CLIL study is based on a framework that employs the principles of a SC perspective of learning and CBLT. During the planning stage, we encouraged the teachers to apply the principles of our SMA design (Gabillon & Ailincai, 2015b). The features that constitute the core elements of our SMA framework form the focal points in our CLIL research investigations.
Figure 5: The action plan of the current CLIL research project

**Preliminary observations**

The project is in progress and the data collection and analysis processes are still underway. The observations and their pedagogical implications, which we discuss below are comprehensive general insights obtained after having viewed the videotaped data. These observations constitute the first step of a series of more detailed data analysis procedures we intend to carry out.

During our Maeha’a Nui project we have observed that in our present CLIL research the results have been less satisfactory compared to the previous studies that we carried out on CLIL. We attribute this to the facts that the participant teachers have very little English language teaching experience and did not receive any in-service training on language teaching before the project. Moreover, the participant pupils are younger (6-7 years of age) and they had very little (almost no) exposure to the English language before the CLIL study. Above all, the pedagogical advisors’ counsels have not always been in concordance with the researchers’ viewpoints. The fact that pedagogical advisors are also the ones who evaluate teachers’ teaching performance in the French Polynesian education system also added to the complications encountered.

Below we provide a summary of our observations and the points we discussed with the teachers during the synthesis and discussion sessions:

**Observation:** Use of pictures/flash cards with pictures that are labelled with the names of the objects

**Synthesis & Discussion:** Having the names of the objects written on the pictures led the learners to read using French spelling and sound system and this resulted in problems in their pronunciation. Using pre-labelled pictures might discourage learners to exert effort to remember the names of the objects they are using during their task. The use of real objects (realia) with no prior labelling would be a more natural way (in some situations labelling could be useful if it is done by the learners themselves after having sufficiently mastered the pronunciation). Children would be more curious and interested in the activity when real objects are used because objects of different shapes, colors, textures, and smells offer more sensory input than flat, uniformly cut paper pictures. Children would make a more direct and natural link between the the object in question, its name and its pronunciation, without the use of a label. Having no labelling would encourage learners to develop strategies to remember new concepts.

**Observation:** Repetitive use of translation

**Synthesis & Discussion:** Repetitive use of translation in L2 environments would discourage learners to attend to the target language. This practice may cause the learners to expect the teacher to translate regularly and conceptualize language learning to be based on translation. On the other hand, a regular use of L2 would provide learners with exposure to the target language and increase the chances of automatic language use. Learners would also be able to make direct associations with the target language without using the L1 as an intermediary.
Observation: Clusters of small autonomous groups

Synthesis & Discussion: Autonomous, small group organization is suitable in situations where the language task demands learners to engage in language production. However, in one of the lessons we observed, the activity required the teacher’s presence and the use of instructional scaffolding. Thus, the task the teacher assigned to the learners was suitable for a round-table activity. This organisation would have allowed the learners and the teacher to work collaboratively using the artefacts in their vicinity.

Observation: Asking learners to raise their hands

Synthesis & Discussion: In some of the lessons, we observed the teachers insisted that the learners should raise their hands. This practice was not adapted to the aims of the CLIL implementation experiment for several reasons. The activities were carried out in small groups and a natural interaction without raising hands would have been more natural. Asking learners to raise their hands before they speak deter active learner participation (especially the shy ones); discourage risk-taking and natural learner exchanges.

Observation: Unnatural language expressions and traditional teacher-learner exchanges

Teachers should encourage natural communication that allows authentic language use rather than insisting on correct production of language forms, expressions and pronunciation (specific language problems should be dealt with during regular language classrooms). Young learners learn better through natural social interaction, which is supported by natural scaffolding.

Observation: Imbalance between the content and language teaching

Synthesis & Discussion: Imbalance between disciplinary content, that is to say, neglecting learners’ language needs and shifting the focus only on content teaching, or focusing only on language teaching and neglecting content teaching, might result in little or no learning. In order to have a natural balance between content and language teaching, the lessons need to be carefully planned. The focus may alternate between content learning and target language use at different moments of the lesson. Using artefacts and gestures can provide the teacher with a tool to make up for the learners’ insufficient language competence to scaffold learning new concepts.
Conclusion

The Maeha’a Nui project is still underway and the data collection and analysis procedures are not yet complete. The project intends to employ several work packages over a period of two to three years. Management of such a project requires careful planning and regular interaction between the participants. Before moving to the second work package, we plan to follow detailed analysis procedures as regards: a) learner vs teacher interactions; b) classroom materials; c) teacher questionnaires and interviews; and d) teacher discussions and interviews. After the completion of the analysis and evaluation procedures, we intend to communicate the results obtained from our actions (both research and non-research) during teacher training sessions and use this information to build awareness in teachers. In the light of the results obtained, we intend to review our actions and plan the coming work packages.
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