# International Education, Methodological Nationalism, and the Formation of Student Civic Identities: A postcolonial exploration of an IB World School in Lebanon

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I, Iman Azzi confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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# Impact statement

This research project in its current dissertation form, has been designed to further the academic discourse around citizenship education within the International Baccalaureate (IB) and the field of International Education (IE) more broadly. I provide empirical evidence on the existence of methodological nationalism underpinning the IB's approach to IE, which had previously only been alluded to in existing literature. I use this finding to better understand what kind of discussions around citizenship are happening inside IB classrooms. Since its establishment, the IB's practice of citizenship education has been to promote lessons of, and concepts related to, global citizenship education, while assuming that lessons on local and national citizenship are the domain of national governments. My findings challenge the viability of this model in practice, arguing that it is impossible to isolate lessons on the local/national away from lessons on the global/international. These findings have the potential to compel a reckoning over how the IB conceptualises the local, national and international within their programming.

This research makes use of unprecedented access into IB classrooms at one elite international school in Lebanon. Through classroom observations, I reveal lived IB practices that could not be uncovered through interviews or surveys alone, making the case that more research is needed inside IB classrooms. Applying a postcolonial lens to this data allowed me not only to discuss what was happening in these classes but allowed for space to reflect on what was absent as well. Although my target audience for this submission is those engaged in the IB and IE, my findings will interest any scholar engaged at the intersection of postcolonial theory, (global) citizenship education, and class politics. It is my hope that future articles and presentations could speak more directly to these groups and promote pathways for IE research to broaden its sphere of engagement.

Outside of academia, and at the request of the case study school, I will produce summaries of my findings and make them available to practitioners at international schools. Teachers interested in postcolonial legacies within education will be especially interested in these findings to consider how they can more explicitly engage historically marginalised narratives inside their classrooms. My findings are also relevant to anyone interested in how teachers first engage with IB programming and what challenges they might confront as the case study school was only recently authorised to use IB programming. These findings are useful for IB trainers too, as they provide insights into challenges new teachers face.

Finally, this research has the potential to impact how some national governments approach their own national curricula on citizenship education. As many governments have partnered with the IB to design and deliver programming, such a detailed report on how the IB's programming is lived by students and teachers will be of interest to those engaged with education at a national level, curious about how the IB's approach works in practice, and how it might be tailored to more local, national audiences.

# Abstract

The International Baccalaureate (IB) is both a major producer of, and a dominant influence in, International Education (IE). The IB's approach to IE reflects methodological nationalism, which positions the nation state as a natural and central focus for study. Additionally, this approach, conceived while colonial rule was being challenged and physically dismantled, positions IE as promoting global citizenship, including the IB's flagship, yet contested, concept of international mindedness (IM). This thesis explores how such a model of IE is interpreted by teachers and how it informs conversations about the local, national, and international. It also investigates how students enact, reproduce, re-contextualise, and challenge civic identities ascribed by IB programming.

Using ethnographically informed data collection methods, including classroom observations and creative interview techniques, this two-year single case study followed teachers and secondary students at an elite international school in Lebanon. Data was analysed through a postcolonial lens, inspired by Edward Said.

This thesis finds that the IB model of IE compartmentalises states into self-contained units. Further, the school's interpretation of IM encourages international examples at the expense of local ones. These approaches not only perpetuate methodological nationalism but also reinforce a hierarchy that prioritises certain nations' knowledge and perspectives as more central to IE. Therefore, a disconnect exists between the IB's ideals of global citizenship, which purport to be equally accessible to any student regardless of nationality or class, and how IB is practised at the case study school. Despite past claims that international schools are isolated from Host countries, this thesis argues that the local is present daily within classrooms. This postcolonial exploration highlights the distorting effects of methodological nationalism within IB programming and discusses how students negotiate these limitations of formal instruction and desire opportunities to develop localised civic identities alongside lessons on elite global citizenship.

# Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| CAS | Creativity, Action, Service (a core component of the IBDP) |
| Ecolint | The International School of Geneva |
| EE | Extended essay (a core component of the IBDP) |
| GCE | Global citizenship education |
| IB | International Baccalaureate |
| IBDP | International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme |
| IE | International education |
| IM | International mindedness |
| Home country | IB discourse for the country from which a student comes |
| Host country | IB discourse for the country where an IB World School is located |
| LP | Learner profile (ten attributes promoted by the IB) |
| PCT | Postcolonial theory |
| TOK | Theory of Knowledge (a core IBDP course) |

# Tables and images

Table 1 – Teacher interviews 117

Table 2 – Student focus groups 120

Image 1 – Map of countries mentioned in classes 272

# Table of contents

*Acknowledgements* ... *ii*
*Impact statement* ... *iii*
*Abstract* ... *iv*
*Glossary* ... *v*
*Tables and images* ... *vi*
*Table of contents* ... *vii*
*Chapter 1: Introduction* ... *1*
Beirut, 2008: The researcher ... 3
Beirut, 2016: The research project ... 12
Geneva, 1924: The roots of the International Baccalaureate ... 22
Problem statement ... 27
Research questions ... 30
Contributions to the field ... 31
Organisation of thesis ... 35
Chapter 1 conclusion ... 39
*Chapter 2: Theoretical framework* ... *41*
What is Postcolonial Theory? ... 41
Travelling theory ... 50
Contrapuntal readings ... 55
Edward Said in education ... 58
Chapter 2 conclusion ... 61
*Chapter 3: Literature review* ... *63*
The International Baccalaureate ... 63
International mindedness ... 70
Representations of the Local ... 80
The impact of the IB on student civic identities ... 87
Elites and the IBDP ... 92
Gaps in the current literature ... 96
A note about related concepts ... 99
Chapter 3 conclusion ... 101

*Chapter 4: Research design* ........ *103*
**Aims of research/Review of research questions** ........ **103**
**Ontological, epistemological, and axiological assumptions** ........ **106**
**A single qualitative case study** ........ **108**
Selection of the school ........ 109
Participants and establishing rapport ........ 110
**Methods of data collection** ........ **112**
Classroom observations ........ 112
The role of the observer ........ 114
Interviews ........ 116
Table 1: Teacher interviews ........ 117
Focus groups ........ 119
Table 2: Student focus groups ........ 120
In-class workshops ........ 123
Textbook and educational programming analysis ........ 125
**Data analysis** ........ **126**
**Ethics** ........ **128**
Ethical guidelines ........ 128
Collecting consent ........ 130
Establishing the role of researcher in the field ........ 132
Influence of research project on participants ........ 133
**Triangulation and trustworthiness** ........ **134**
**Limitations** ........ **136**
**Chapter 4 conclusion** ........ **137**
*Chapter 5: Contextualising the Local* ........ *140*
**The creation of the modern state of Lebanon** ........ **141**
**The first visit, October 2016** ........ **148**
**The teachers** ........ **155**
**The students** ........ **158**
**Local and international affairs** ........ **166**
**Elite international schools in Lebanon** ........ **174**
**Students and IB research** ........ **177**
**Chapter 5 conclusion** ........ **183**
*Chapter 6: How international mindedness travelled to the case study school* ........ *186*
**Step one: Origin** ........ **187**
**Step two: Movement** ........ **194**
**Step three: Snapshots of reception** ........ **204**
Snapshot from maths: International mindedness as a tool for conversations with others ........ 205
Snapshot from chemistry: International cooperation as international mindedness ........ 215

Snapshot from Theory of Knowledge: What is a mother tongue? 221

**Step four: Postcards 229**

Postcard to the past: How much of the original idea remains? 230

Postcard to the present: How has the new idea been applied? 232

**Chapter 6 conclusion 237**

***Chapter 7: Representations of the Local within the IBDP 240***

**Reading representations through contrapuntal analysis 241**

**In-class representations of Lebanon as the Local 243**

Chemistry, first period 245

History HL, second period 247

English, third period 251

Theory of Knowledge, fourth period 254

**Lebanon as featured within formal lessons 256**

**How students understand national representations 261**

Image 1: Map of countries mentioned in classes 269

**Representations, power, and agency in international education 270**

**Chapter 7 conclusion 281**

***Chapter 8: Reproducing, enacting, and re-contextualising students' civic identities, as ascribed by the IBDP 284***

**Reproducing lessons on local and national civic identities 285**

**Reproducing lessons on global civic identities 290**

**Enacting civic identities through the curriculum 294**

**Enacting civic identities through classroom dynamics 304**

**Re-contextualising and challenging civic identities as ascribed by the IBDP 308**

**Re-contextualising class within civic identities 315**

**Chapter 8 conclusion 326**

***Chapter 9: Conclusion 328***

**Review of project aims and methods 328**

**Review and implications of findings 331**

**Contributions made to the field of international education 337**

**Contributions to citizenship education research more broadly 344**

**Reflecting on challenges encountered 348**

**Future areas for research 351**

**Recommendations for the International Baccalaureate 356**

**Final reflections 359**

***References 362***

*Appendix*......388
Appendix A: Emails between researcher and case study school establishing research project...... 388
Appendix B: Transcript of researcher video introduction to case study school...... 392
Appendix C: Observation protocol...... 394
Appendix D: Example of semi-structured interview questions...... 395
Appendix E: Surveys given to students at focus groups...... 397
Appendix F: Questions for student focus groups (semi-structured)...... 401
Appendix G: Materials used for in-class workshops...... 403
Appendix H: Extracts from *Mathematics for the international student*...... 405
Appendix I: Extract from *Chemistry Guide: First assessment 2016*...... 406
Appendix J: Extract from *Theory of Knowledge: Course companion*...... 407

# Chapter 1: Introduction

The International Baccalaureate (IB) is both a major producer of, and a dominant influence in, International Education (IE). The IB's approach to IE reflects methodological nationalism, which positions the nation state as a natural and central focus for study (Wimmer & Schiller, 2002). Methodological nationalism, a concept which originated within political science, can be defined as "the assumption that the nation/state/society is the natural social and political form of the modern world" (Wimmer & Schiller, 2002, p. 301). Methodological nationalism is about more than dividing the world into units by country, it involves acceptance that this world order is almost natural, and that it is no longer worth considering how this has happened or why it continues. Remarkably, while some researchers (Doherty et al., 2009; Hughes, 2009; Matthews & Sidhu, 2005) have noted the IB's approach makes use of methodological nationalism, no studies have questioned how this view of the international community affects teacher practices and student learning, especially on issues of citizenship.

In general, the IB focuses on discussions around global citizenship education, including the IB's flagship, yet contested, concept of international mindedness (IM). Beyond this, the IB serves two largely different groups of students, high achieving students at state schools and privileged and, often geographically, mobile elites living in post-colonial states. That the IB, established in 1968, began just as European colonial powers lost physical power across the globe has rarely been acknowledged in research yet, as I

discuss later, their histories are more intertwined than past literature often reveals.

No empirical work has investigated how such a model of IE is interpreted by teachers and how it informs conversations about the local, national, and international. This is important as the IB came to fruition as part of an “ideological mission […] to prepare students for world citizenship” (Hill, 2012, p. 251), yet there is little evidence as to how its approach influences these aims. In addition, this thesis asks how students enact, reproduce, and re-contextualise civic identities ascribed by this ideologically-driven IB programming, which the IB acknowledges as “Western” in orientation (Walker, 2010). These questions drive this thesis research, where I argue that the IB’s approach to IE, as witnessed as the case study school, creates a disconnect between the IB’s ideals of global citizenship, which purport to be equally accessible to any student regardless of nationality or class, and how IB is practised at the case study school.

This chapter introduces the researcher and the research questions which guide the project and discusses how this project fits into current conversations around IE. Underpinning this work is a sample of theoretical approaches adapted from postcolonial theory aimed at connecting modern educational practices with their historical pasts, uncovering absences, and exploring how some students learn about their civic selves through engagement with the IB.

## Beirut, 2008: The researcher

I first became interested in the teaching and practice of citizenship education when I was hired to teach at a private, international school in Beirut, Lebanon. I was finishing a dissertation towards an MA in women and gender studies and had no formal teacher training. But I had tutoring experience, an interest in the subject matter, and I was friends with the person who was leaving the job. In the Middle East, as in many places in the world, these personal connections, known in Arabic as *wasta*, can help open doors. My friend got me a meeting with my future supervisor, and I was asked to design and present a mock lesson. I was hired. The following term, I taught sixth and seventh grade social studies at this international school.

Defining international schools has been called an "impossible task" as there are no agreed upon components which make them international (Bunnell, 2008). Here, I follow the definition advanced by Heyward (2002), who said an international school is any institution that offers "an alternative to local, national approaches to education" (p. 22). I understand international schools to be formal places for learning, targeting students through secondary school. In addition, for a school to be international it must be explicit about it. International schools can be publicly or state-funded, as long as they seek to explicitly teach students lessons beyond the national perspective (Hill, 2000, 2007a; Walker, 2015). However, in the Middle East,

where I taught and where I chose to focus my research, international schools remain privileged and private institutions.

Although many schools in Lebanon are privately run, this school was one of a handful of elite institutions whose tuitions were out of reach for most Lebanese citizens. Students possessing nationalities from around the world were taught in the school, although most had connections to Lebanon. The school identified as an international school and offered educational programming in Arabic, English, and French. Its claim to being international stemmed from its promotion of a school culture that embraced its diversity of nationalities and encouraged students to see themselves as active global citizens.

The school belonged to a global network of over 5,400 known as IB World Schools, institutions authorised to use International Baccalaureate (IB) educational programming (International Baccalaureate, 2022a). The IB, a non-profit based in Geneva with offices across three continents, is the world's largest provider of education that does not claim to teach through one national perspective and is not designed and controlled by any national government, which is referred to as international education. From the beginning, according to Ian Hill, former deputy director general of the IB, international education was more than an education that sought to include several national perspectives; the IB's programming also comes steeped in a set of values. Beyond teaching students to read and write, as I noted above, IB programmes centre an "ideological mission" (Hill, 2012, p. 251).

The IB is not the only educational body to explicitly promote values in their education programming, but they are perhaps the best-known model of this style of international education, which blends an explicit international focus with a set of values believed to be important for students to learn to live peacefully with others. This can best be categorised as part of citizenship, or more specifically global citizenship, education.

The IB is explicit in its education values, although it is not always as clear in terms of how these values manifest through daily engagement with their programming. The IB's first director general, Gerard Renaud, wrote about the importance of educating "the whole man" through international education (1974, p. 13). One example of how the IB intends to apply this "whole man" approach to international education is through the promotion of education for international mindedness (IM), a flagship concept which signals "an openness to and curiosity about the world and people of other cultures, and a striving towards a profound level of understanding of the complexity and diversity of human interactions" (IB internal document, 2009, as cited in Hill, 2012, p. 256). IM is discussed in IB literature, textbooks, and curriculum guides. Every school that is authorised as an IB World School must agree to promote education for IM, although the IB allows schools to decide upon their own approaches. While I did not teach IB programming, I could not escape the influence the IB had over how the school spoke both about international education and the formation of student identities, often discussed under the cover of citizenship education.

I was left intrigued about how the IB managed to operate in a sector normally reserved for nation states and how they had influenced the conversation and practice of international education.

In addition to social studies, I was asked to teach a weekly civics class to students who were exempt from the Lebanese civics course designed by the government. Exemptions were given to students who were either non-Lebanese citizens, or, if they were Lebanese citizens, they additionally held citizenship of another country or had studied abroad for several years outside of the Lebanese system. For my civics class, there was no curriculum, no textbook, no plan of any kind. I was twenty-five years old, with no formal teaching experience, a degree in politics and a background in journalism, which had taught me that the first step to any assignment was to ask some questions. So, I turned to my department head for advice on where to start.

“Teach them to get along. Teach them to be tolerant and not to discriminate,” she told me. “This country has had enough war. It is still so divided. They need to learn to live together.” So that is what I tried to do. I reflected on my days as a journalist, conversations I had had with politicians, policy makers, charity workers and those I stopped on the street, to think about what language and ideas these students should be exposed to. I thought back to what was being said about citizenship in Lebanon, and, equally importantly, which topics were being ignored.

When I consulted the research on citizenship, I realised I was not alone in finding it difficult to define. Citizenship can refer to a legal status connecting an individual to a state, most easily demonstrated through possession of a passport (Heater, 1999). Most individuals acquire this type of citizenship as a status at birth, either due to where they are born or what citizenships their parents possess and are entitled to pass on. Some people obtain other citizenships later through emigration, marriage, or purchase. State governments are the only authorities who can endow this type of citizenship. This legal citizenship status controls how individuals can, or cannot, travel across national borders and what benefits, privileges, and responsibilities they have within them. In addition to the legal rights this type of citizenship affords, most states concurrently promote a national identity based on shared history, culture, or values (Kymlicka, 2003). In today's world, the primary way land and people are organised is through countries, often known as states. Most of these states are viewed as nation states, countries that claim legitimacy through the fostering of "a national consciousness crystallizing around a common language, culture, and history" (Habermas, 1997, p. 127). This convergence of state and nation into modern nation state means that for most people, citizenship implies membership of both political and cultural communities (Habermas, 1997). But citizenship can be more than this, as demonstrated by my former supervisor's vison of using the class on citizenship to teach everyone to "get along". Here, citizenship can be conceived not just as a status but as a

practice and a feeling (Osler & Starkey, 2003, 2015). The practice of citizenship involves individuals coming together to form a community, be it a local, national, regional, or global one. This three-pronged understanding of citizenship allows space to explore how individuals relate not just to nations but to other communities of which they might be a part.

Citizenship education, therefore, is the space where teaching and learning on citizenship as a status, practice and feeling occur. There is no one correct way to practise or conceive citizenship education. It has been discussed as a "catch all" for approaches, lessons, explicit and implicit, and actions that encourage or engage students to connect to communities around them (Johnson & Morris, 2010, p. 85). Citizenship education is viewed as the "broad-based promotion of socially useful qualities" (Davies & Issitt, 2005, p. 389). These qualities are not fixed, are constantly being negotiated, and may differ across communities. Qualities are not always tangible skills; citizenship education can include lessons to help students negotiate feelings of belonging (Osler & Starkey, 2003). In this sense, citizenship education is about exploring or learning to recognise feelings associated with citizenship, aspects of one's civic identities which cannot be so easily described through a status (Osler & Starkey, 2003). It is important to note that such attributes can overlap or contradict and the boundaries between them often blur. This encompasses citizenship at all levels - local, national, and global - while also understanding that one's affiliation to or understanding of citizenship at each level is intertwined and

interdependent with how one interacts with other communities. Further, discussions of citizenship are inherently about who is included as a citizen, and who is excluded. Citizenship, especially at the national level, is bounded by nation states and not all states treat citizens equally. Some individuals, who are known as stateless, are left out of this system entirely (Kingston, 2019). Citizenship is a complicated, multi-layered discussion and my thesis focuses on those who are already in possession of at least one national citizenship.

Many scholars have raised concerns with those models of citizenship education that prioritise the nation state. For Starkey (2012), "[t]he nation state no longer necessarily provides a complete and exclusive sense of belonging and pride" (p. 47). There have been calls to decentre the nation from conversations within citizenship education (Davies et al., 2005; Tarc, 2009). While citizenship education is about more than an individual's connection to a state, the dominance of the nation state system of governance means that this aspect of citizenship cannot be removed from any conversation on citizenship. For the most part, individuals experience citizenship via some national component, even if that is to point out that some individuals lack connection or access to any recognised state. Further, through my experience as a teacher, and when I started investigating international education, I saw that national experiences of citizenship were the primary focus of most lessons.

One response to these critiques has been the promotion of literature on global citizenship education (GCE). Like citizenship itself, there is no singular understanding as to what constitutes or represents GCE, except perhaps that it is understood in many and often contradictory ways (Oxley & Morris, 2013). It is most often seen as aspirational (Davies, 2006), with a main theme being that it focuses on how individuals relate to, and engage with, communities beyond their primary national identities (Carr, 2008; Schulz et al., 2010). Where national citizenship is about exclusion, with only individuals within a state able to claim a particular citizenship status, GC is about inclusion and envisions all individuals as potential global citizens united by common values such as multiculturalism and tolerance (Ho, 2009). Global citizens are believed to share a common vision of a better world, and they speak truth to power, fight poverty and transcend differences to try and create this better place (Jefferess, 2011). GCE is often theorised as a separate field from education on national citizenship.

I learned a lot by teaching. I noticed that citizenship education cannot, and should not, be confined to a single class. Lessons on citizenship are everywhere and students absorb these lessons throughout their daily lives, at school and at home. For such an important subject, it remains difficult to pin down what lessons are the most important and which are the best methods to use to approach them. These challenges inspired me to stay committed to the field of education when I decided to pursue a doctoral degree. Initially I had planned to study citizenship through a political

science lens, perhaps a theoretical approach analysing constitutional language or examining political rhetoric. But I loved the tangible aspect of studying citizenship from within education: I got to witness how citizenship education was being conceptualised, taught, and discussed in real life. I could see how teachers and students interacted with ideas related to citizenship and how those ideas informed their identities and beliefs.

The questions that guided, and inspired, that initial civics course continue to shape my current research interests. I remain concerned with understanding how students learn about citizenship and form civic identities through engagement with international education. I asked questions about what constitutes international education and whether it is experienced in the same way by students everywhere. And if not, I am curious about how a local environment contributes to how students learn through their international education, which explicitly rejects focusing on a singular national lens. These questions sparked this research project and were then refined through consulting past literature and by early visits to what became my case study school. It should be noted that there are at least six unique domains of research which claim the label of international education (Dolby & Rahman, 2008). Each refer to a slightly different understanding of what international education is or should be. Throughout this project I focus on the model of international education which emerged following World War I (Walker, 2012), which has ideological as well as pedagogical objectives (Hill, 2012), and targets students from primary through secondary school.

The most famous brand of this model of international education is the IB, one of the reasons why I chose to focus on it, but it is not the only one.

## Beirut, 2016: The research project

I understand citizenship education to be formal or informal lessons, conversations, and experiences, which inform and develop how an individual relates to communities central to their lives, at least one of which is a nation state. This understanding was loosely inspired by Kerr's (2005) model of the three citizenship Cs: curriculum, culture and community but I have tailored it to more specifically acknowledge that the state is only one component of one's civic identity. These expressions of civic identities are not fixed and are constantly being negotiated by an individual who, at any point, may feel or act in contradictory ways across their communities in connection to lived experiences or circumstances. This understanding is what I took into the field when, eight years later, I found myself at another private, elite international IB World School in Lebanon. This time I was a researcher. I had returned to investigate approaches to citizenship education within the IB Diploma Programme (IBDP), the IB's programming for the final two years of secondary school.

My case study focused on lessons of citizenship within the IBDP and how students were reproducing, resisting, or re-contextualising their lessons as they formed their own civic identities. Between 2016 and 2018, I followed the school's first class of IB students through their learning

journey. My aim was to discover how the IB's approach to international education was being received, applied, and understood by teachers and students at Charles Malek International School, the pseudonym I have given the school. As noted above, citizenship is a big subject and almost any conversation could have civic implications. Following a review of the literature and an initial visit to the case study school, I identified three elements of citizenship education in the IB for further inquiry. I explored how the IB's flagship concept of international mindedness (IM) contributes to conversations around citizenship, how the Local, exemplified by the Lebanese state, is represented through engagement with the IBDP and, finally, how students are making sense of these lessons and how they are shaping students' civic identities.

It can be hard to pinpoint what is citizenship education within the IBDP and where it is occurring. Unlike many national education programmes that require the teaching of a specific course on citizenship, there is no course focused on citizenship education within the IBDP. The IB does, however, believe they are teaching the knowledge, skills and values that are most often categorised under citizenship education. While the IB has no citizenship course, it maintains that its curriculum supports citizenship education being taught holistically through all subjects (Davy, 2011). While there is no explicit class on citizenship, the IB has published many documents detailing its approach towards education on citizenship.

Beginning with its mission statement, the IB is clear that they expect their education to influence students' civic identities. The mission reads:

> The International Baccalaureate aims to develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect.
>
> To this end the organisation works with schools, governments and international organisations to develop challenging programmes of international education and rigorous assessment.
>
> These programmes encourage students across the world to become active, compassionate and lifelong learners who understand that other people, with their differences, can also be right. (International Baccalaureate, 2022b)

This mission statement expresses which values the IB believes are important, offering a vision it hopes to achieve through education, although it does not elaborate what a "better and more peaceful world" is, who can access it, or how they can do this. While the first and third paragraphs of the IB mission statement stress qualities the IB hopes to impart to its students, qualities necessary to be an ideal citizen, the second paragraph is important as it reveals how the IB sees itself within the international community: a team player within the current structure of the world, working

with schools, state governments and international organisations within existing national realities.

The most explicit layout of the IB's approach to citizenship education is a 2011 policy paper funded, endorsed, and published by the IB entitled *Learners without borders: A curriculum for global citizenship* (2011). This document makes three points about the IB's approach to citizenship education. Starting with the name, this document makes clear that citizenship education within the IB is concerned with the global. The position paper aligns IB objectives with common GCE ambitions and aspirations, such as encouraging individuals, regardless of national identity, to connect with a greater international community. In highlighting the global, the IB ignores its approach to national citizenship. As I noted above, it is hard to isolate the realities of national citizenship from conversations on citizenship education. The absence of national citizenship does not mean its students are able to circumvent the realities of living in a world where individuals are organised by their connection to a country. Therefore, although this policy paper claims that this education occurs "without borders", what it really means is that the IB would prefer not to discuss borders, not that they no longer exist. What we learn is that they prefer to minimise the national element in their literature, instead sticking to aspirational language around GCE.

Second, like other proponents of GCE (Pashby, 2018), the IB views citizenship education as something which occurs holistically throughout all

classes. Citizenship education through the IB is "an approach to learning, not an addition to the curriculum" (Davy, 2011, p. 3). This means that the IB assumes all IB teachers have some responsibility in imparting lessons of citizenship to the students and that the general ethos and mission of the IB contributes to citizenship education. Not defining citizenship education through a specific course allows teachers at IB World Schools to incorporate what they see as necessary in terms of citizenship. But this further complicates the research field as the IB avoids specifically defining what they see as citizenship education and what they want to be taught through the subject.

Third, the IB introduces its own lexicon around citizenship education, thereby further distancing itself from conversations on the national. Within the IB, they use several concepts to discuss citizenship that have little meaning outside of an IB context today. For example, instead of discussing citizenship, the position paper offers the concept of international mindedness. "In the IB this philosophy is most commonly referred to as **international mindedness**" (Davy, 2011, p. 3, emphasis in original).

The Davy position paper (2011) continues, focussing on international mindedness where others might discuss global citizenship: "IM can be balanced with local and national mindedness in order to enable students to develop positive self-identity and appreciate the local or host culture" (p. 14). This understanding of citizenship, that global citizenship can be developed irrespective of national citizenship, as if the two are separate,

isolated components of students' civic identities, is a pattern that runs through the IB's literature on citizenship education. This separation of the global and the national appears to be an intentional choice not to challenge the dominance of the nation state in crafting their own civic narratives (Tarc, 2009, p. 241). The IB, although free to design programming, must coordinate with national governments to be granted permission to operate within countries and, as seen through their mission, aims to stay on good terms with governments to gain approval to run their schools.

First used in early 20th century academic debates, international mindedness is now an IB flagship concept, featuring prominently in their programming, marketing, and research. It is often used in conversations where others might discuss citizenship, but the two concepts are not always synonymous, a relationship I explore throughout this research. Complicating the issue further, this IB vocabulary lacks clear definitions even within the organisation. For example, other position papers, from the same IB funded and endorsed series, define IM differently. One former director general of the IB defined international mindedness as "the motivation and the capability to study issues from different national and cultural perspectives" (Walker et al., 2014, p. 5). So, it becomes clear that although IM signposts discussions that are related to citizenship education there is no formal policy promoted by the IB as to what the exact content of these conversations should be.

In addition to international mindedness and the mission, the IB developed a list of attributes known as the Learner Profile (LP). These ten attributes are what they aim to develop in students to realise the vision set forth in their mission. “The IB learner profile outlines the attributes that enable IB students to engage with this vision, and the IB programs define the path” (Davy, 2011, p. 3). The ten attributes of the Learner Profile include: inquirers, knowledgeable, thinkers, communicators, principled, open-minded, caring, risk-takers, balanced, reflective (Dombrowski et al., 2013, pp. iii-iv). Although referred to as attributes, the IB views the LP as encompassing the “knowledge, skills and values” leading to the development of international mindedness (Hill, 2007a, p. 37). If all this IB speak sounds a lot like the discourse around citizenship education devoid of the word citizenship it is because it is (Cochrane, 2017).

At the IBDP level there are some additional academic requirements which aim to develop the attributes of the LP, and thereby to develop students to achieve the IB mission. In addition to the six subject courses, students must fulfil three additional elements, known together as the IBDP core: participating in a course called Theory of Knowledge (TOK); writing an Extended Essay (EE) on a subject of their choice; and engaging in a certain number of volunteer hours through Creativity, Action, Service (CAS). If these programmes are designed to develop the attributes of the LP and if the attributes of the LP are words the IB promotes over citizenship education, then it stands to reason that these programmes are designed to

contribute to students' formation of civic identity, although this core is not explicitly attributed to citizenship education by the IB.

I chose to focus on one school, thus allowing space to consider the unique realities of the school and the point in time of the study. One such reality was the ability to listen to many voices and engage a multi-perspectivity approach that centred on both teachers and students. In conducting a single case study, I could explore in-depth how concepts moved from IB documents to IB trained teachers to students enrolled in the IB Diploma Programme across the duration of the IBDP. No studies, to my knowledge, have followed the practice of citizenship in the IBDP through the two years of students' engagement. This focus on time, instead of the more common tactic of comparing classrooms or students with one another, allows for space to look at how students and teachers interact with the curriculum, and how those interactions change throughout their learning journeys.

I adapted methods from postcolonial theory (PCT), notably frameworks proposed by Palestinian-American scholar Edward Said. Postcolonial theory provided a flexible framework that recognised the importance of the past in understanding our present and provided structure to recognise and name discursive absences. It gave me tools to explore how ideas travel and settle in new spaces. When I dug into the literature on international education, I saw a body of work concerned with the future, literature focused on developing students to succeed in a globalised world.

There was little to connect these current practices to their origins, little explaining why the international education field looks as it does today. I had been introduced to PCT through my studies in politics and gender studies but found it has not yet been widely used within the field of international education and, in some cases, had even been misinterpreted.

Lebanon was a practical choice for researching the application of international education in a post-colonial context. There is a lack of research on international education practices across the Arab World. Research has been mainly technical or focused on national education policies, but few studies have explored the lives of young people as they experience education (Adely, 2009). Most studies on the IB specifically focus on applications in Gulf countries, which did not experience colonialism in the same way as countries in the Levant or North Africa. While many schools in the Gulf region still cater to children of expats, I wanted to research a school that teaches mostly students who have a political or cultural connection to the country in which the school is located.

The choice of locating my research within Lebanon is partly personal. It is the country my paternal grandparents left but never forgot. It is the country my father was so determined to share with me that he convinced an embassy official to grant me, at 12 years old, a work visa as a photographer's assistant to visit, before the ban on Americans visiting was lifted. It is where I moved, arriving on a one-way ticket, when I graduated from university in the USA in 2006. Two weeks after my arrival Israel

launched a 34-day war across the country and I was transformed from summer intern to war correspondent, setting my professional path in motion in ways I never could have predicted. I am shaped by my Lebanese heritage and my experiences in the country, but I consider myself profoundly American. The product of American private schools, I grew up on stories of the USA's quest for democracy and equality and the idea that a child of immigrants can shape their own future and contribute to making America freer, more just. It was not all positive though; I experienced prejudice following the terrorist attacks on 9/11 and saw many friends leave the country when they no longer felt welcome.

As a researcher, it would be easy to claim "halfie" status (Abu-Lughod, 1991), a position where I could transition seamlessly between insider and outsider perspectives, equally knowledgeable from both vantage points. But this 50/50 split has always felt too balanced for me, a realisation that mirrors findings in Chapter 8 concerning the difficulties of identifying as being from two nations. In some respects, I possess insider knowledge, of Lebanon, the language, and of international schools in the country. But I am an outsider in many regards: I grew up far away as an American, albeit indelibly marked by having Arab roots, and was coming from a UK university to conduct the research.

But this is not just a report of one international school's application of citizenship education. It is a contribution to explaining the evolution of a particular model of international education, one which is most often

recognised as emerging during the Interwar period in Europe, and how it is shaping the civic identities of the next generation. It is important, before meeting the teachers and students at the case study school or hearing about the research aims, to first understand how the IB's model of international education developed, including who designed and promoted it, and why.

## Geneva, 1924: The roots of the International Baccalaureate

The roots of both the IB's model of international education and the modern conception of the international school can be traced back to the same school in Geneva, an educational experiment which began shortly after World War I and continues to educate students today as an IB World School.

"To educate children so that they may become members of the human race as a whole, and not merely members of separate nations, is an immense task," wrote French educator Marie-Therese Maurette (1948, p. 1), in a speech to the members of the recently formed United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). Maurette was discussing her experience of establishing a curriculum that encouraged international cooperation and understanding in addition to the traditional "3Rs" of reading, 'riting and 'rithmetic. Maurette and her colleagues were instrumental in developing this model of education, which today is recognised as international education, laying the foundation for the

establishment of the International Baccalaureate. In this speech, Maurette was reflecting on her experiences as the director of the International School of Geneva (Ecolint), one of the first schools to explicitly style itself as an international school. Ecolint was established in 1924, teaching mostly European and American students, children of expatriate workers living in Geneva, working at the League of Nations, International Labour Organisation, and other recently established international organisations that had been set up in the aftermath of World War I.

Ecolint was, from the start, both a novel, practical alternative to national education models, as the students who attended the school had little interest in settling in Geneva and wanted an education that would allow them to return to their Home countries for university, and an educational experiment. “It was understood that each child was to return to his own country properly equipped to continue his studies in one of the national universities,” wrote Maurette (1948, p. 3). A Home country, in international discourse, is the country which aligns to the student’s national origin (Wright & Lee, 2014). It is almost always assumed that students have one Home country, therein ignoring the realities that more and more students have access to dual or more citizenships. In contrast, a Host country, is the country where the school is located. For this research project, I capitalise both Home and Host countries to signify their specific meanings within international education discourse.

In Maurette's conception of international education, the students themselves were part of the pedagogy. The diversity of nations represented by the students in the classes was important for Maurette and subsequent practitioners who believed students would learn about different countries through direct exposure with students from these countries (Belal, 2015; Hacking et al., 2016; Hill, 2014; Leach, 1969).

Here, international education was established not to transcend national realities, the way research theorises global citizenship education should do, for example, but to reinforce them, with European national realities front and centre. The world was divided into nations, students represented nations, and the curriculum worked to weave in those multiple perspectives as preparation for students to later be able to transition back into their Home countries. Maurette's model of international education accepted methodological nationalism and designed a curriculum that established national perspectives as a focus of IE. Not only is the nation state taken for granted as the unit of focus, but it is viewed as a "benevolent" category (Andreotti, 2016, p. 102). Even those who have acknowledged that the nation state plays an outsized role in the conception of IB international education do not question it or see it as something requiring further exploration. Such an emphasis on diversity of nationality and an education that prioritises multinational perspectivity has masked the fact that these schools are often homogenous along class lines.

Students at Ecolint may have learned about multiple national perspectives however some national perspectives were taught as more relevant and worthy of study than others. “The history of Europe still plays a dominant part,” Maurette wrote, “because it is true that this continent has weighed more heavily in the balance of man’s destiny than any other” (1948, p. 12). European dominance therefore was a key facet of early international educational programming, centring European achievements and presenting them as worthy of international study, not because most students came from Europe but because the educators believed the continent had contributed the most to human history.

But, like global citizenship education (GCE), there was an aspirational component to this new international education programming. Having witnessed the First World War, Maurette was motivated to consider how education could be used to create “a world at peace, and with understanding between nations” (Maurette, 1948, p. 3). These aspirations, that international education could be designed to create peace, became a central vision of this model of international education. Maurette and her colleagues continued these conversations throughout the decades as the League of Nations was replaced by the United Nations following World War II. By the 1960s, educators were exploring ways to implement a standardised international education curriculum, run by a non-profit, to be used by several schools. By the 1960s this was realised in the establishment of the International Baccalaureate (IB) and Ecolint became

one of the first 12 schools to adopt IB programming (International Baccalaureate, 2016) and was hailed as the "birthplace of the [IB] Diploma Program" by IB staff (Hill, 2000, p. 32).

The IB continues to support the view, introduced during Maurette's time, that students belong to one nation and that they can be used as resources in their own education. The emphasis on citizenship as a singular status is important: most understandings assume individuals experience this civic relationship with only one state. Increasingly there is recognition that individuals' loyalties and identities are multi-layered and even contradictory (Alviar-Martin, 2011; Heater, 2003; Ong, 1999; Osler & Starkey, 2003). Research within international education, and the IB, has slowly become more engaged with these multiple layers of identity (Fitzsimons, 2019; Poosoonamy, 2018), a much-needed recognition when dealing with partial democracies or those citizens with weaker national ties. However, most work since has assumed that students hold, practice, and feel citizenship ties to one country only. Some individuals possess national citizenships of two or more countries. Some individuals are stateless and afforded recognition by no state. This further complicates discussions of citizenship education.

Despite the differences in terminologies and approaches, scholars in this field acknowledge that citizenship education, be it national or global, is not limited to school, with lessons on citizenship occurring through time spent in communities and families and being shaped by society, cultures,

and other factors. My decision to focus on citizenship education through the IBDP at one case study school is so I can explore the specific lessons and approaches that are being used through the application of the IBDP although I recognise that citizenship education is never limited to the confines of a school campus.

## Problem statement

Researchers (Robertson & Dale, 2008) have alluded to the existence of methodological nationalism within international education, with some (Doherty et al., 2009; Hughes, 2009; Matthews & Sidhu, 2005; Schippling, 2018) even specifically specifying that the IB's model of international education perpetuates it. However, these studies do not go beyond a cursory acknowledgement of the practice of methodological nationalism. They assume that methodological nationalism exists within the IB without providing evidence or explaining how this impacts teaching and learning processes. No study has provided empirical evidence of how methodological nationalism manifests within the practice of international education. This study provides the first empirical response to these questions, exploring how methodological nationalism exists within IBDP programming and how it influences the teaching or learning of citizenship education through international education, specifically at one IB World School. I chose to focus on citizenship education within the IBDP as this is

the subject of research which has precedence in discussing questions of the local, national, and global within international education.

It is common for international schools to be conceived as “bubbles,” isolated from local cultures (Belal, 2015; Hacking et al., 2016; Heyward, 2000, 2002; Ledger, 2016; Pearce, 1994, as cited in Cambridge & Thompson, 2004). In research, international schools are taken for granted as “de-anchored” from the Host country (Rizvi et al., 2019, Transnational Learning Spaces section, para. 5), This image of the international school as it exists in most literature is outdated; one estimate by an education consultancy reports that over 80% of students at English-language international schools are local students, studying international education in their Home country context (Brummitt & Keeling, 2013). Yet, research on international schools has not adapted to this new reality within the practice of international education at international schools and continues to stress the importance of national diversity within student bodies.

Early in my research, I identified two areas for inquiry raised by approaching citizenship education in international education through methodological nationalism. First, the IB encourages students to classify themselves based on national membership, their Home country. Once established as a member of a Home country, students can then approach global citizenship. I wondered what happens when students struggle with this first step, either because they feel a sense of belonging or community to more than one nation, or no nation. Further, I wondered how students

from less prominent nations view this approach to education, especially as their Home country is not frequently part of the international education canon. While international education promotes multiple perspectives some national narratives feature more prominently, as Maurette made clear and as I touch on in Chapter 3. Further, as noted above, most research on the IB and the IB programming itself has not yet expanded to be more inclusive of those with multiple, and sometimes even conflicting notions of, citizenship.

Second, I was curious about what knowledge is subverted or ignored when educational approaches centre on the nation state. I was interested in learning whether a focus on the nation state as the central unit of study within international education obscures other elements of society, specifically the role of wealth in practicing citizenship. From its beginnings, international education has focused on promoting a diversity of nationalities across enrolled students. This promotion has clouded the fact that for most of the IB's history students engaged in the IB in the postcolonial world have come from privileged families. Although literature focuses on global citizenship, national realities still exist in terms of how students learn and ultimately access these aspirational ideas. The literature has not yet explored how such a division in the approach to citizenship, the separation of the global and the national, impacts student learning on the subject.

It appears a disconnect exists between an education which centres on nation states and one that aspires to develop a global community of

citizen students without borders. This thesis raises questions about why the global in international education is often conceptualised as detached from the local, the national, or other communities to which students belong. Just because no specific course called citizenship is offered, this does not mean citizenship education is not occurring; in fact, I argue that citizenship education is happening at all levels of international programming and through the school setting and hidden curriculum, norms, values and beliefs that inadvertently get taught through classroom learning (Jackson, 1968; Martin, 1976). Closer attention to the relationship between the local and the global would be a welcome addition to how international education approaches this topic.

## Research questions

Considering the problems and questions raised above, I settled on the following research questions, which guided the project:

> Research Question 1: How has the introduction of the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme, a model of international education which appears to rely on methodological nationalism, at the case study school influenced approaches to, and understandings and practices of, citizenship?

To answer this question, I divided it into two sub-questions, choosing to focus on international mindedness, a flagship concept the IB conceives

as central to its citizenship education and, to complement this question on the international, I devised a question with a focus on how the Local is represented and shaped within the IB's model of international education. The two sub-questions are:

> Sub-question 1: How has education for international mindedness been conceptualised and taught at the case study school and how has this shaped discourse around citizenship?
>
> Sub-question 2: How is the Local represented and discussed through engagement with the IBDP?

A second research question was developed to better understand how students engaged with the IBDP are developing:

> Research Question 2: How are students enacting, reproducing, or re-contextualising civic identities ascribed by IB programming?

## Contributions to the field

This research provides the first empirical documentation of the effects of methodological nationalism within the IBDP. I discover how methodological nationalism is embedded in everyday practices of citizenship education within the IBDP and interrogate how these practices shape the civic identities of students within the programme. This is important as no research has shown how methodological nationalism impacts upon citizenship education within the IBDP. Over the course of

these chapters, I will show how the local, which is often portrayed as absent, is in fact constantly present in IBDP lessons. However, students and teachers do not have a chance to interrogate this presence or to contextualise their local impressions within more formal programming. I discuss and show why these assumed absences within curricula need to be explored, offering methodological approaches to help uncover what we did not know we were looking for. This research can serve as the foundation for a deeper understanding about the relationship between the local and global within international education. Further, I aim to contribute to the ongoing debate over how concepts such as citizenship education and international mindedness are understood in an IB context. Research on IB practices is important to the field of international education more broadly, as the influence of the IB extends beyond the IB World Schools (Tate, 2013). The IB has partnered with several national governments, including China, Cambodia, Singapore, Morocco, the United Arab Emirates (particularly Dubai), parts of India, Ecuador, and Chile, thereby tailoring aspects of their programming to become part of the national curriculum (Hill, 2007b). Further, almost all research at international schools or on this Maurettian-inspired model of international education, occurs at IB World Schools, although findings are not always separated into what is IB education and what is international education.

Methodologically, I offer new approaches to the field of international education. In the last decade, researchers have been incorporating

classroom observations into their data collection approaches, following recognition that this could be a valuable approach to learn about IB practices, especially concerning education for IM (Lai et al., 2014). Previously, most empirical research on the IB heavily relied on teachers, students, and alumni self-reporting through interviews or surveys. Even the few studies incorporating observation of IB classrooms have either focused on other elements of IB practices, such as student behaviours (Alford et al., 2013), or those that mentioned observations (Arfani & Nakaya, 2019; Belal, 2015; Hacking et al., 2016; Molina & Lattimer, 2013) have not clearly explained how these observations informed their analysis and findings.

No study, to my knowledge, has observed the same class more than once or across periods of time. In addition, no study has followed a class through the full two-year IBDP cycle, observing classes and speaking to participants at several times through this journey, with or without the benefit of classroom observations. Through the use of classroom observations, this project truly provides unique insights into how the IBDP is practised inside classrooms, as gleaned from time spent at the case study school.

Geographically, the selection of a case study school in the Arab World contributes findings from a region that is understudied within international education. It was important to me to speak from an underrepresented corner of the world as current practices within international education often assume everyone can learn through the same programme, no matter what they recognise as local, no matter what

passport(s), or lack thereof, they claim. Relatedly, I note that the case study school is private and independent, such that this field site provided data as to how IB programming intersects with elite schooling. I offer some observations around how elitism and privilege are being negotiated through engagement with the IBDP.

Outside of the Anglophone world, most IB World Schools are private and most of the students enrolled come from privileged families who can afford the tuition fees (Hill, 2012; MacKenzie, 2009; Resnik, 2012). Complicating the demographics further, at many of these international, private schools there are questions about what brings foreigners to these countries and how the business prospects of many parents working in these countries are intertwined with colonial legacies and institutions. Even less discussed is the relationship to empire of the IB's model of international education. Despite the rise of the IB and its model of international education occurring along a timeline almost exactly coterminous with the decline of European physical colonial enterprises (1920-1960s), research on international education has not reconciled its entanglement with colonialism. Many of the children who attended early IB World Schools were in countries due to their parents' direct involvement in, and profiteering from, colonialism.

Theoretically, this research project emphasises the importance of continuing to negotiate, rethink and reassess events from the past, not just what events are taught in classrooms but also how past incidents and

movements continue to impact today's lessons and approaches. The adoption of a postcolonial framework acknowledges that the present circumstances surrounding citizenship education within the IB are intricately connected to past decisions and power relations. Postcolonial theory offers tools to explore the movement of ideas across time and place and to provide space and a set of questions to interrogate how history has shaped our present, especially concerning how the legacy of colonial empires manifests in today's experiences and practices. These tools have not been used a lot within international education and I share my experiences with them to show that PCT can provide a useful lens for future research related to international education and the IBDP.

## Organisation of thesis

This chapter introduced the researcher and the research project. I have stated why this project is worthy of study and what I hope to contribute to current international education debates around citizenship education. The following outline reveals how I have structured the remaining chapters of the study.

Chapter 2 introduces postcolonial theory as the dominant framework for this research project, focusing on ideas raised by Edward Said. I introduce Said's travelling theory and propose some modifications so it can serve as a framework for tracing the movement of ideas and concepts across time and space. I then explore his notion of contrapuntal analysis. I

conclude the chapter with a discussion on how Said's postcolonial approaches have been applied in the field of international education, arguing that most work so far in the field has misinterpreted or diluted Said's analytical tools.

Chapter 3 reviews what past literature has included on the topic of citizenship education within the International Baccalaureate's model of international education. I focus on three categories of research, which contribute to citizenship education, each providing background to my research foci: how current research understands education for international mindedness (IM), what role the Local plays within the IB's model of international education, and how students enact, reproduce, re-contextualise, or challenge civic identities as ascribed by IB programming. I argue within this chapter that although citizenship education, and related topics, are popular research topics, there has not been a consistent approach taken, which makes synthesising findings across schools a challenge.

Chapter 4 focuses on how I designed the research project. I introduce the project as a descriptive single case study of the application of the IBDP at an international school in Lebanon. I explain how I found the school, introduced myself to the participants, established rapport, and gained consent. Included here is a discussion of the research methods used including interviews, focus groups, classroom observations, and textbook analyses.

In Chapter 5 I discuss how I conceive of the Local in this project. I explain why it is important to contextualise my findings within the Local, contrary to standard procedure in international education, which often assumes findings from a particular international school can be removed from their Local context. Throughout this chapter, I provide context on Lebanon and the greater Middle East, including historical events that still resonate across the region and current events that unfolded during and following fieldwork.

The next three chapters offer findings and analysis. Chapter 6 is the first of two chapters to explore the role methodological nationalism has played in the IB's model of international education. The focus is on one of the International Baccalaureate's key concepts, international mindedness, and I examine how international mindedness, as conceptualised and understood by the teachers, interacts with the IBDP at the case study school, and how IM influences education for, on, and about citizenship. While there is no civics or citizenship course within the IBDP, the IB promotes a particular ideology through its academic programming, focusing on how students can "build a better world". This chapter finds that international mindedness is a useful concept for teachers new to the IB to harness and engage with issues beyond their subject material. IM should be seen as complementary to, but not a substitute for, citizenship education. However, whilst IM remains less assessed than traditional subjects,

students and teachers will treat it as secondary to the formal components of the lessons.

Chapter 7 analyses representations of the nation state as expressed through the IBDP, using Lebanon as the main example. Focusing specifically on how Lebanon, a country that rarely features in the formal curriculum of the IBDP, enters classroom discussions, this chapter argues that the IB's model of international education encourages students to see the global community as a series of relationships between states. Centring the nation state, and adopting the unit of the nation state as the natural unit for study within international education, limits the ways in which students interact with and experience the international, and how they relate their local community to such lessons. This chapter provides evidence that current models of international education, as exemplified by the IB, risk perpetuating a hierarchy of nations, where some national perspectives are central to international education while others are viewed as peripheral and are not expected to be present.

Chapter 8 addresses my second key question, focusing on the voices of the students, asking how they have interpreted and understood lessons on the international through their IB studies. This chapter is concerned with better understanding how the IB's emphasis of methodological nationalism has affected students' understandings of citizenship. The focus is on how they have shaped or considered their own identities and what lessons they are taking from their engagement with the

IB as part of that process. Further, this chapter addresses the role of class within international education, searching for a more intersectional approach to citizenship education that understands that national identity is experienced differently depending on the economic and cultural realities of individuals.

Chapter 9 concludes the research project. I review my research aims and the key questions of the study. I summarise the findings and situate them within a broader discussion of the IB's model of international education, suggesting possible paths for future study and implications for the field gleaned from this research.

## Chapter 1 conclusion

> *…the [IB] project should be seen not merely as an attempt to meet the problems of the international schools […] but as an opportunity for experiment and research in curricula and examinations which could have an innovatory influence on national systems. The international schools could be used as a* ***living laboratory*** *for curricula or examining innovations, which directors of national systems might be happy to see tried out, but unable to introduce on a national scale*. (Taylor, 1967, as cited in Renaud, 1974, pp. 5-6, emphasis in original)

This idea that the IB is constantly experimenting and exploring new approaches within international education is one that has remained constant throughout the organisation's history (Hill, 2007a). I, too, conceive of IB World Schools as a "living laboratory", as spaces to explore how international education is taught, practised, understood, and challenged. In an interview, the IB coordinator at my case study school explained why she

welcomed my presence in her classrooms: “We may not be doing everything right but we’re proud of what we’re doing, and we’re open to having a conversation about it” (I1). Equally, I am proud of the research that follows and hope it adds new insights about the role of the IB within international education, specifically how this model of education can be used to discuss issues related to citizenship and students’ civic identities. The next chapter will identify postcolonial theory as the theoretical underpinning of this thesis, establishing a framework and approach to discuss the main concepts of the nation, representation, and identity, especially in terms of class, as I move forward into research context, design, findings, and analysis.

# Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

This chapter introduces postcolonial theory (PCT) as the underlying framework for my research project. Postcolonial theory, which emerged as a field to tackle questions around power and relationships stemming from, but not limited to, the most recent period of European-led colonisation, can be thought of as a tool to explore and amplify perspectives from those who are not usually foregrounded. PCT is useful as a guiding framework, which provides questions, conceptual contexts, and platforms for analysis. It cannot be "pinned down as a theory proving cause and effect" (Young, 2003, pp. 6-7). Adopting this understanding of PCT, this chapter explores how I relied upon PCT to guide my research in the field of international education and introduces two postcolonial approaches, both conceived by Edward Said, which underpin my analysis: travelling theory and contrapuntal readings. Both concern themselves with the movement of an idea across different times and places, concepts integral to a better understanding of international education.

## What is Postcolonial Theory?

Postcolonial Theory originally emerged within the humanities to discuss the legacy of colonisation, specifically the influences from many European countries as they settled and implemented imperial practices across much of Latin America, Africa, Asia, and most of the Middle East. More recently, PCT has been adapted for many research fields as a concept

encompassing theories that seek to uncover power imbalances and disrupt traditional organisations of power and order. Although it has increased in popularity and visibility over the years, it has yet to gain mainstream appeal in the social sciences and specifically in education research (Bhambra, 2007; Burney, 2012; Go, 2013; Joseph & Matthews, 2014; Viruru, 2005; Viruru & Persky, 2019). Where it has been utilised within international education, postcolonial theory is often enabled to elevate voices who have historically been side-lined in educational debates (Tikly, 2019).

What postcolonial theory is, and how it is best applied in research, is constantly under negotiation. Postcolonial theory as an area of study can be seen as "a contested field, with porous boundaries and no single or coherent position" (Moore-Gilbert, 1997, p. 12). Postcolonial theory remains distinct from the historical study of post-colonial periods, however, and this project follows the standard notation where the hyphenated term (post-colonial) is used to denote the physical time following colonisation, when colonising forces withdrew, and a country was living under newly liberated conditions. The unhyphenated term (postcolonial) implies "ideological orientations" (Mishra & Hodge, 1991, p. 407). Using the term without the hyphen signals the term is about colonial practices and legacies as opposed to a specific period.

While many empires have officially relegated their days of colonial rule to history, many parts of the world are still subjected to colonial violence and rule, such that colonialism should not be thought of as only existing in

the past (Crossley & Tikly, 2004). Postcolonial theory seeks to challenge institutions, beliefs, and practices that those in dominant positions maintain are 'traditional' to shed light on how such systems were made, and whom such systems ignored or harmed in the process.

Postcolonial theory provides a platform to explore relationships across geographies and through time. Postcolonial approaches allow researchers to rethink and reposition not just the colonial interventions of the past but their lingering effects, especially in relation to contemporary globalisation (Crossley & Tikly, 2004). Importantly, this understanding of postcolonial theory connects it to our present; PCT is not the study of historical systems, but rather how such history impacts the present (Joseph & Matthews, 2014).

Postcolonial theory is related to conversations around decoloniality, a field initiated by South American scholars grappling with their region's relationship with modernity and working to challenge the perceived universality of Western thinking as opposed to legacies of colonialism (Quijano, 2000). Proponents argue that decoloniality is more radical and seeks to challenge the status quo, while PCT is an establishment response to an establishment problem but without any tools, or will, to dismantle the system fully (Mignolo, 2000). Postcolonial theory was initially conceived as a response to contemporary theories and paradigms that ignored colonialism or sought to justify its acts (the 'white man's burden' arguments) or to honour them as historical moments society has moved beyond. That postcolonial

theory is seen as a product of Euromerican academies is something to be mindful of, but this does not minimise its power to challenge dominant paradigms, especially those produced inside establishment spaces. Both postcolonial theory and decoloniality can contribute to the challenges of decolonising the current landscape of international education, by naming asymmetries of power, uncovering absences, and challenging dominant, assumed narratives. While both offer tools to challenge and disrupt, I chose to be guided by PCT as many of its theories, especially those developed by Edward Said, were conceived with the Middle East in mind and I wanted to explore how these ideas could be adapted to disrupt conventional narratives within international education.

Globalisation theory is another theoretical lens that is often applied to related questions about how the world is connected (Szeman, 2001). Like PCT, globalisation is concerned with the relationship between the locals and the globals, between smaller communities and superpowers, but it does not seek to uncover the roots of these relationships or question how the inequities of the past contributed to the inequities of the present. Globalisation is often discussed in international education. A central focus is often on how to prepare students to work in, and better contribute to, a globalised world (Rizvi, 2007). Yet, globalisation is treated more as an inevitable, unstoppable advancing force than as a theoretical framework for analysis (Rizvi, 2009). This removes the human element, the idea that it has been socially constructed or could be socially manipulated. While I am

interested in questions of how international education prepares students for the changing conditions of our times, current globalisation literature does not provide adequate means to explore the types of questions raised by the case study at the centre of this thesis.

Throughout this research project, postcolonial theory has formed the foundation of my theoretical application. However, like the field itself, I have been influenced by scholars from related fields who seek to open up academic space to marginalised, indigenous or unrepresented actors, including those within decoloniality, globalisation, feminist theory, southern theory, and the critical pedagogy movement.

Early PCT focused on binary relationships, such as colonisers and colonised, centre and periphery, and us and them (Mishra & Hodge, 1991). PCT's goal was to disrupt the power imbalance within these binaries, often compartmentalised through methodological nationalism. As conversations around PCT evolved it was noted that these approaches can end up reinforcing some of the same binaries PCT is trying to challenge or disrupt. After all, not everyone in a specific group has the same relationship to power or privilege or has experienced colonialism in the same way. For example, PCT can be used to explore power relationships within and across countries and communities, spaces that are too often treated as isolated but whose boundaries are frequently blurred and whose relationships remain interdependent. People experienced colonialism differently. This was often intentional, as it was in

the colonisers’ interest to foment animosity amongst those being subjugated. Within the field, the comprador class, a concept borrowed from the Portuguese word describing the local merchants who acted as middlemen when foreign traders sought to trade, represents a group of colonised individuals who choose to work with the colonisers, for their own profit and power, to subjugate the rest of the indigenous population (Ashcroft et al., 2007). Too often, the discussion falls back into discussing colonised and coloniser nations, but the reality within these states was never so simple. The reliance on a binary can be a useful place to start a conversation but it is necessary to maintain nuance and explore relationships within these groups as well. Better understanding of the roles played by elites like the comprador class, is important in challenging a common binary in postcolonial studies, which frequently assumes the world is divided between those who colonised and those who were colonised. However, colonialism impacted subjugated people differently. The colonial entanglements of the privileged within post-colonial societies may reveal new perspectives on the extent of colonial legacies as much as a focus on those most disadvantaged.

The notion of binaries remains flawed and contested, but its persistent presence in both established research and within the field makes it difficult to avoid altogether. The idea of the ‘West’ is inescapable in international education. Equally, its counterpart, the ‘non-West’ or occasionally the ‘East’ (Walker, 2010), is only rarely acknowledged, again

reinforcing that the main producers and consumers of international education are assumed to be found in this Western bloc.

International education research, and the IB itself, accepts that international education was created in the West (Hughes, 2009; Walker, 2010). Programmes like the IB were established for predominantly mobile, Western students by predominantly Western educators. While researchers recognise the ambiguity of the concept of the 'West' (Fitzsimons, 2019), few offer their own definition, thereby leaving the reader to conjure their own interpretation of this concept. Broadly, the West as a concept refers to an area whose dominant political, economic, and cultural practices and values are associated most with the US and Western Europe, and, to a lesser extent, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Non-Western refers to the rest of the world. There is a large overlap between countries understood as Western and those countries that benefited directly from the imposition of colonial rule.

More important than drawing a map of the Western world is the idea that Western signifies a set of ideals, knowledge, and values often traced back to the European Enlightenment period of the late 17th and 18th centuries. During this time, philosophers and politicians championed reason and liberty and challenged the monopoly of power held by the monarchs and the church. During this period, "the secular intelligentsia emerged as a relatively independent social force" (Porter, 2001, p. 10). This new movement, spearheaded by European philosophers such as Immanuel

Kant, Voltaire, and John Locke, believed that individual thought, reason and an emphasis on evidence and consciousness could be brought together to improve society. While there is no definitive list of the values, skills and knowledge accepted as Enlightenment or Western, “[w]hat is beyond dispute, however, is that promoters of Enlightenment values believed that improvements to human life were possible and desirable. It was the duty of the present generation to make the world better for those to come” (Porter, 2001, p. 62). Homage to this Enlightenment belief can be found nearly verbatim within the IB’s mission that an education steeped in Western values can help create a “better and more peaceful world”. In international education, therefore, Western not only serves as a label for those students whom international education was first designed to teach but it signifies a link to the approaches and values it prioritises, approaches rooted in the European Enlightenment by way of the progressive peace movement of the Interwar years (Tate, 2013; Walker, 2010).

Ultimately, although I find the construct problematic and lacking in academic rigour, I have adopted this convention from the field of international education. The term is so ubiquitous in international education that it would be distracting to try and problematise each use. For the purposes of this paper, it is enough to know how much international education relies upon its use. I hope that future research will be able to complicate this binary reliance further. When I refer to something as Western, it is intended to refer to both understandings. However, even this

understanding falls short; for example, it fails to explicitly note which nations are counted, or that some people in so-called Western nations live realities far-removed from Western standards.

Other binaries persist in international education, including but not limited to: Home and Host, internationally minded and non-internationally minded (sometimes referred to as nationally-minded), public and private, and local and global. These relationships are explored through my research. I note here that binaries are imperfect and imprecise; their borders are constantly shifting and who is included can change and is open to interpretation and debate. Yet they are prevalent within the field, often as a shorthand to note that such groups exist and are exclusionary, and as such it is necessary to consider and engage with this in the text, with these caveats.

The following sections focus on two of Said's ideas: the first, contrapuntal readings, stems from his work on critical theory; the second, travelling theory, which explores the movement of ideas and theories, and how such works were read and received in places far from their origins.

While traveling theory is a continuation of his seminal work *Orientalism* (1978), I have isolated travelling theory for the purposes of this project to emphasise its potential in mapping how ideas move, especially to explore how Western ideas have been adapted by postcolonial communities. *Orientalism*'s framework, itself an exploration into a Foucauldian understanding of discourse, began as a response to how the

colonised world was represented within Western art and literature. Said's framework for travelling theory can be used to explore how dominant, colonial groups have used their power to define or subjugate others.

## Travelling theory

Said was intrigued by the movement of ideas. His academic background was in literary theory and his initial application of travelling theory looked at the movement of Lukacs's *History and Class Consciousness*: its origins in Hungary, and ultimately, how and why it moved and was adapted by Goldmann in Paris, and then again by Williams in Cambridge, finding that the new usage shared aspects of the original, but had been shaped by its movements across time and space.

Travelling theory sought to map how theories moved "in order to ask whether by virtue of having moved from one place and time to another an idea or a theory gains or loses in strength, and whether a theory in one historical period and national culture becomes altogether different for another period or situation" (Said, 1983, p. 226). Although categorised as a theory, this quote shows that Said saw a theory as interchangeable with an idea, which is the interpretation followed in this thesis. Rather than predicting outcomes, theory here serves as a guide to better understanding the movement of concepts and ideas as well as theories (Bal, 2002; Frank, 2009). This approach is postcolonial in that it foregrounds the influence of

past relationships, especially between powerful oppressors and those who were subjugated under processes of colonialism, over current norms and standards. Words have their own histories and travelling theory is a framework for clarifying and exploring how those pasts influence our present linguistic practices and understandings.

For Said (1984), there were four stages of movement:

1. Origin: An idea begins at the point of origin, conceived in response to local and urgent circumstances.
2. Movement: The idea then moves and ages from its point of origin. It is important to follow the path it takes and ask what forces have initiated and sparked such a move. Who initiates this movement? When and how long does it take for an idea to be received elsewhere?
3. Reception: This stage includes an examination of how the idea is received in a new time and place. Said calls these "conditions of acceptance" and "conditions of resistances" (1984, p. 227).
4. Embedded Transference: The original idea has now become embedded in a new time and place. At this stage, Said is interested in how much of the original idea remains, what elements have been transformed, and how the new idea has been applied.

In my framework, the first two steps remain unchanged from Said's understanding. However, the final two steps have been adapted to account for two main critiques lodged against Said, and a third noted in my analysis. The first critique of travelling theory is that it was undertheorised, as it was only expressed in two essays, and so left certain key points unexplored and unchallenged (Clifford, 1989). For example, where Said mentions conditions of acceptance and conditions of resistances, I remove the binary choice, thereby opening up a space for more nuanced ways in which an idea can be received, arguing that elements of ideas are not always accepted wholeheartedly or entirely rejected. I have renamed Step Three as Snapshots of Reception. This was done to recognise that a concept can be received beyond Said's proposed binary of acceptance or resistance, to make space for a concept to be received differently by members of the receiving community, and to highlight that the concept remains in motion, even once it has established itself as familiar discourse in its new community.

The second critique is that Said's description of movement is too clean. His movement travels only one way, from origin to margin, which is too linear. An analytical path with space for only one direction "cannot do justice to the feedback loops, the ambivalent appropriations and resistances that characterise the travels of theories, and theorists, between places in the 'First' and 'Third' worlds" (Clifford, 1989, Center/periphery–Home/abroad–past/future. . . section, para. 11). To compensate for this

linearity, Clifford conceived of these feedback loops, which would speak back to the origin, allowing the idea to remain in constant motion and constant discussion with both newer, transformed impressions and older, perhaps outdated or neglected, models. This is in line with more recent applications of postcolonial scholarship, where it is argued that colonialism was not only about colonisers imposing views on foreign lands: the colonial Other was present in colonial centres, and policies reflected this direction of travel as well (Bhambra, 2020).

To account for this more flexible, circular style of movement, I renamed Step Four of travelling theory Postcards from Travel, creating space to reflect on how the movements and receptions from the previous steps can influence and interact with a greater debate, in this case on international mindedness and international education. The postcards represent information being sent back, or as Clifford would say, fed back, to the larger group discussion in two ways prompted by Said's questions: how much of the original idea remains, and how has the new idea been applied? In renaming it Postcards from Travel, and moving away from embedded transference, which assumes the idea is singularly located in only one new time and place, I acknowledge that this step is not just about comparing present practices to past ones; rather, this step is transformed as a place to contribute new examples to an ongoing debate taking place across the present day. This design more comfortably allows for multiple

contemporaneous uses. In Said’s original outline, his theory assumes there is only one application of an idea at any given time.

Conceiving of the movement of ideas as a form of travelling is a relevant way to discuss how international education, as modelled by the International Baccalaureate, has spread across the globe. Many physical components of international education move, from teachers leaving homes to work abroad, to some students moving with families to new countries and new schools, to textbooks being shipped around the world. It seems sensible therefore to apply a theoretical lens which centres such travel. Said is not the only scholar concerned with how ideas and movements travel (Frank, 2009). Yet, his outline of travel provided the best framework on which to build a research project based in the Middle East, interested in the movement of an international educational project, curious about questions of identity and class, and hopeful that the application of PCT within IE could produce new perspectives on current programming and pedagogy.

My adapted theoretical framework provides space to respond to my own critique of travelling theory, which is that Said ignores the role of power and privilege in such movement. Ideas are not neutral or immune to positions of power and spaces of privilege. The adaption of an idea is always influenced by the new context. While Said’s questions about travel formed the foundation for my research, I use this framework explicitly to map the travels of the International Baccalaureate’s flagship concept, “international mindedness,” in Chapter 6. Here I use the four steps noted

above to help clearly trace how such a term originated, for what purpose, and how it became embedded as a major part of the IB vocabulary. Finally, I look at how it is used at the case study school, sending postcards back to a broader discussion about the role of IM in international education. To a lesser extent, I make use of travelling theory again in Chapter 8, when I focus on civic identities and the IBDP. I use Said's questions as a guide to better understand how students at the case study school have received the IBDP's ideas related to citizenship, and how teachers and students have understood them.

## Contrapuntal readings

A talented pianist, Said borrowed the term contrapuntal from music, where it describes a composition containing multiple independent melodies which are treated equally, as opposed to a single melody that is emphasised over the harmony. Contrapuntal analysis or readings, as an academic method, describes a process of re-reading texts from the peripheries back to the centre, or to where the text originated. It emphasises the voices of the Other as a response to a dominant narrative and aims to bring to the forefront external influences, or invisible impacts, on the perceived main events. To read contrapuntally involves highlighting what happens behind the scenes and understanding when events on the page would only be possible through unspoken imperial processes or colonial legacies (Said, 1993). His goal was to explore texts through a binary: contrapuntal readings

explain both those processes indebted to imperialism and those which have occurred through resistance to imperialism (Said, 1993; see also Rizvi & Lingard, 2006). Undertaking contrapuntal analysis can allow traditionally marginalised voices agency. Instead of only looking at how powerful actors produced or benefited, this multi-perspective approach examines what else may have resulted from those actions.

One of Said's earliest contrapuntal readings was of Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*, analysing how her descriptions of Sir Thomas Bertram's overseas properties seemed to accept British rule abroad as part of the natural order and concluding that Austen's writing condoned these acts. This type of reading enables the "awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and of those other histories against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts" (Said, 1993, p. 51). In choosing to ignore such colonial realities in her book, Said argued that Austen's representations of her characters' realities were incomplete. This separation of Britain from empire allowed her characters to look much more self-sufficient and independent than they could have been in reality, as their wealth would have been tied up in supporting and extending empire. Said's contrapuntal analysis allows for a more contextualised reading.

Whereas orientalism focused on deconstructing the methodology behind the creation, subjugation, and objectification creation of the Other, contrapuntal readings centre the voice of that Other, allowing those who

have previously been marginalised to re-read, review and re-frame a text. In other words, a contrapuntal reading is:

> a technique of theme and variation by which a counterpoint is established between the imperial narrative and the postcolonial perspective, a counter-narrative that keeps penetrating beneath the surface of individual texts to elaborate the ubiquitous presence of imperialism in canonical culture. (Ashcroft & Ahluwalia, 2008, p. 93)

This method is useful for international education as it offers a way to explore educational programming by contextualising it within broader global discourse. The lesson plans of one educational institution are not isolated but can be read as part of a larger narrative.

Contrapuntal analysis provides a framework to seek out what is absent from the dominant narrative and to accept that we, as researchers, may not be aware of such absences from the start of the research journey (Said, 1993). No thesis can account for every perspective or provide every viewpoint, but, going forward, I try to name some of these absences and shed light on under-researched or under-represented aspects of international education. I utilise contrapuntal readings in Chapter 7 where I focus on representations of the Local within the case study school. I rely on a contrapuntal reading of conversations with and observations of students to better understand what is not said when they're talking about civic identities and to try and situate these modern civic identities in local contexts

and experiences. Contrapuntal analysis provided space to analyse not just what was being said in the classroom but what was being forgotten or intentionally silenced, because of past colonial events or current geopolitical realities. This provided space to think of civic identities not only as hyphenated labels, a joining of two national identities such as Lebanese-American, but as layers, where students might emphasise one more than the other, or choose which civic identity to associate with during a given moment or experience. To explore civic identities contrapuntally provided the opportunity to let students' words and actions shape their understandings as opposed to trying to identify them all through the same set of questions or experiences.

## Edward Said in education

There has been limited yet positive interest in applying Edward Said's concepts, which are best known in the humanities, throughout Education Studies. His contrapuntal analysis has attracted the most attention while, to my knowledge, no education researcher has adapted travelling theory for use in an empirical study. Scholars have engaged Said in contributing to several current debates in education: conversations around current pedagogies, both national and global; theoretical conversations on the potential of educational criticism; personal reflections on the practice of education; and discussions of the cultural politics of

education. There remains significant potential for further applications of Said’s work across the field (Burney, 2012).

However, several of these works have diluted Said’s ideas: rather than engaging with the imperial processes, colonial legacies, or asymmetrical power imbalances that contributed to the original educational programming, Said has often been used as more of a figurehead for using an increased diversity of texts. For example, in calling for a contrapuntal pedagogy, which would teach Western and non-Western texts side-by-side, Canadian-based researchers Singh and Greenlaw (1998) incorrectly focus on contrapuntality as equality of voices without explaining it as a tool to examine the colonial forces that made such a dominant narrative possible.

One of the strongest champions and clearest interpreters of Said in education is American Merryfield, who has also conducted work on the IB (Merryfield, 2012). In calling for her own version of contrapuntal pedagogy, she explicitly states that inclusion of marginalised voices is not enough (Merryfield, 2001). She argues that postcolonial theory can be used to change and challenge current approaches, rather than simply to add new voices to them. Other scholars have attempted to build upon Merryfield’s work, but, again, they have missed what is most radical within Said’s ideas. Australian-based researchers (DeJaeghere, 2009; DeJaeghere & Tudball, 2007), while proposing a model of critical citizenship education, imply that contrapuntality is akin to including lesser-known voices.

A second empirical education study (Hannaford, 2018) incorrectly conflates contrapuntality with “embracing human diversity” (p. 496). Both these studies have repurposed Said, diluting his words to appear less threatening to the status quo within education, to which Said likely would have objected. It is important to remember that for Said, contrapuntal analysis was not only about including “everyone in the rainbow collaborative” (Leonardo, 2020, p. 20) but also naming absences and uncovering asymmetries and abuses of power. Although it is encouraging to see more researchers, especially those who have not previously explored postcolonial theories, engaging with Said’s ideas, most of these studies have not grasped the nuance of Said. They have cherry picked elements that they found comforting or which perhaps suited their intended narratives while rendering his ideas meaningless. This risks establishing a precedent where Said will be misinterpreted or co-opted within education research.

Throughout these studies there is evidence that engaging themes from *Orientalism*, applying contrapuntal methods and other strands of Said’s vast and interconnected work, could be useful in promoting educational approaches that are more global in structure and intent, not just with respect to included content. However, it would benefit education to embrace postcolonial theory at its roots and work to understand its intentions instead of grasping at key concepts that appear to lend support to more superficial aims. Finally, it is worth remembering that education and teaching, while not his subject specialty, were part of Said’s life’s work. He

was a career academic, teaching classes and serving as an active member within an educational institution, Columbia University. Through his published work and activism, he was instrumental in encouraging establishment academics to re-examine what they considered to be truths around knowledge and the world and how such knowledge is constructed and discussed.

## Chapter 2 conclusion

This chapter has introduced postcolonial theory as a framework to examine the interconnectedness of societies, with specific attention to how the colonial past has influenced the present. Postcolonial theory, as evidenced through the work of Said, asks us to pay close attention to the origins of ideas and their movements and expansion across time and place. These are the central questions and themes I will examine in the following chapters as I introduce and share my research findings and analysis.

Contrapuntal readings allow space for new perspectives on mainstream ideas. While contrapuntal reading is seen as speaking back and naming absences, travelling theory emphasises the movement and exchange of ideas. Together, I apply these techniques to the movement of educational concepts (for example, the evolution and application of 'international mindedness'), the representation of the Local in educational materials and the influence that methodological nationalism plays in an international curriculum and classroom, as well as in the formation and

understanding of civic identities in students who are receiving lessons about the international through their formal schooling.

This chapter has outlined the theoretical approaches of my research project. I focus on two PCT tools first proposed by Edward Said: travelling theory and contrapuntal analysis. Together, these approaches will help explain how the introduction of the IBDP has influenced approaches to, and understandings and practices of, citizenship at the case study school. I trace the lineage of international mindedness in Chapter 7, connecting it to a colonial past, to question how it has been adapted or accepted in the case study school. Further, these approaches provide space to explore absences, which will be useful in Chapter 7 where I focus on the role of the Local within international education programming. In Chapter 8 I touch on the legacies of colonialism within Lebanon, including the creation of an upper class, that can afford private tuition and embraces international knowledge and norms, and I explore how students interact with such ideas. Before that, I review how research has previously examined related issues, which I will do in the following chapter.

# Chapter 3: Literature review

This chapter explores how past literature has discussed citizenship education within the International Baccalaureate's model of international education. As mentioned in Chapter 1, there is no explicit course on citizenship within the IB. But that has not stopped researchers from exploring how ideas are related to citizenship within IB programming, often at the IBDP level. This chapter focuses on three factors of citizenship education, which all correspond to my research questions: how current research understands education for international mindedness (IM), what roles the Local plays within the IB's model of international education, and how students are enacting, reproducing, or re-contextualising those civic identities ascribed through IB programming. In the following sections, I review the literature which relates to these three dimensions of citizenship education within the International Baccalaureate.

## The International Baccalaureate

Before reviewing the research, it is important to understand how the IB operates and how its programming reaches students. The IB does not run schools. The IB authorises schools, through inspections and trainings, to use their programming. These schools are known as IB World Schools, and schools pay to join this network. This is rarely mentioned in research. Authorisation to teach the IBDP costs nearly GBP 9,000 and, once schools are approved, they pay nearly GBP 7000 annually (International

Baccalaureate, 2022c). The IB designs educational programming across four levels and authorises schools to use one or more of them. At the secondary school level, the IB offers the two-year IB Diploma Programme (IBDP), its oldest programme. Graduates of the IBDP receive certifications that are recognised at thousands of universities worldwide. Obtaining high marks in the IBDP can allow students to gain credit at many universities. Where possible I have focused this review on research at this level as it is the programme which was used by the case study school. Most IB World Schools are not IB exclusive, that is they offer the IB as one possible programme for students. For example, at the secondary school level, a school might offer the national curriculum and the IBDP. This means that not every student at every IB World School is engaged with IB educational material. Yet every student will have some exposure to the IB ethos as IB World Schools must commit to a school culture in line with the IB's mission statement to gain authorisation.

Approximately 40% of all IB World Schools are in the US and Canada (International Baccalaureate, 2022a). These schools are largely state funded, targeting youth from the Home country, and often the IB is only offered to those considered academic high achievers. Some schools require a minimum GPA before students can enrol in the IB, and some have minimum grades students must have achieved to be enrolled in the IBDP.

In non-native English-speaking countries, most schools teaching the IB in English are private and most students come from wealthier tiers of

society that can afford the tuition. In some countries, including Lebanon, wealth alone is not enough to access the IB. Some countries do not allow students to opt out of their national programming to enrol in the IBDP. For a student who holds Lebanese citizenship to enrol in the IBDP they must either hold dual citizenship with another country or have studied abroad for several years previously.

Despite many IB World Schools operating as places of privilege in the postcolonial and developing world, IB leadership has sought to distance itself from the label of elite education, portraying it as international education for all by emphasising how the majority of IB World Schools are now public (Hill, 2006; Hill & Saxton, 2014). However, as mentioned in Chapter 1, it is important for research to attempt to understand the IB's relationship to elite education and private schools rather than using research to downplay this connection, or to attempt to, as some research written by IB staff (Hill, 2007b, 2012) has done. In addition to public and private schools, there is a chain of boarding schools known as the United World Colleges (UWC), which use the IBDP and are part of the IB network. I have opted to ignore research on these schools as they are boarding schools which intentionally bring together students from all over the world and research at these schools has not separated the IB from the UWC experience.

As I noted in Chapter 1, both independent and state-funded schools can self-identity as international schools. Yet, in the research, especially on international education, a particular model of international school dominates

and when researchers speak of “international schools” they do so with this narrow interpretation in mind and often let their results speak for international education more broadly. This is known as the “Type A” international school (Hayden & Thompson, 2013). Type A international schools are private institutions, often working in English or another colonial language, situated in a country that does not use this language and catering to students who are children of mobile, elite expatriates and, more recently, children from wealthy, local families. Although state funded schools can display international characteristics, and research by IB staff makes a point of stating that national schools can be international (Hill, 2000), most of the research focuses on these private international schools as the main suppliers of international education.

Further, international education research (Hayden, 2006; Wilkins, 2013) often assumes the school is composed of students who do not have a connection to the Host country, where the school is located. Students are more often encouraged to identify with a Home country instead of the Host country. This Home/Host binary was established when most schools were Type A schools, private English or European foreign language schools operating in non-native contexts, intended for non-native children who would return to home countries for universities.

In addition to creating content and authorising schools to use its programming, the IB runs a research office and coordinates with universities, notably the University of Bath, to conduct research on its

programming and IB World Schools. As mentioned in the previous section, the belief that a nationally diverse student body is the main indicator for a school to be considered international pervades IB-funded research. In two of the most recent empirical works funded by the IB, both reports categorise only those schools that boast a nationally diverse student body as international, making a distinction between those and independent or private schools (Hacking et al., 2016; Rizvi et al., 2014). This contrasts with IB branding, which views all IB World Schools as international, as IB World Schools must subscribe to the IB's mission statement and adapt it as part of their school ethos, which I introduce in the next section. Despite this claim, it appears the legacy of the Type A schools persists, and a certain model of international education remains dominant in research. A more recent body of work (Belal, 2015; Galegher, 2019; Poonoosamy, 2016, 2018) has turned its attention to the experiences of Home country students, alternatively referred to as local students, but they remain treated as the exception within international schooling even though their numbers are on the rise.

I have tried, throughout this project, but especially in reviewing the literature, to be clear about what is research on the IB specifically and what is research on international education, who is producing it, and what their relation is to the field. There are many benefits to former or current practitioners researching the programming as no one knows it better and they are often trusted by school leadership and able to gain access to

schools. However, there are some disadvantages to having mostly career insiders undertake research. IB discourse from practice, such as the flagship concept of international mindedness (IM), has been absorbed into research terminology without much critical attention, as I will explore in this chapter and again in Chapter 7. Further, it means IB specific terms, again like international mindedness, have slipped into greater international education discourse without much reflection. It can be the case that insiders speaking to insiders tend not to explain their process as much as they might if they needed to introduce ideas to a new audience. Many concepts, like IM, Western knowledge, or international schools, are used with little context as it is assumed the audience will understand them in a similar way to how the author does.

In addition, most researchers working in this field of international education, and on the IB, are former or current IB teachers or staff. Many of the names I cite in this chapter are researcher-practitioners. Some, like Hill, are employed directly by the IB while others, like Hughes, work at IB World Schools. In several research projects (Lai et al., 2014; Tarc & Mishra Tarc, 2015; Thompson, 2019) researchers have recruited participants through their own professional networks, either interviewing those they had trained or those they knew through their own teaching careers. Like many of these practitioner researchers, I have a background in international education, and I worked at an IB World School, although I have never taught IB programming directly nor have I ever been employed by the IB.

When searching for a case study school, I sought out a school, and participants, I did not know professionally, being aware that I had insider traits from the experience of teaching but wanting to be able to observe interactions at the school as an outsider, removed from personal ties that would exist if I already knew the participants. In the next chapter, I expand on the benefits and challenges of being a former teacher in the field, reflections that are absent from most research carried out by those employed as teachers at IB schools or IB staff who engage in research production.

Within the research on the IB, there is also a pattern of amplifying experienced voices. Some researchers (Lai et al., 2014) targeted educator participants who had been involved in the IB for many years; another example is a US-based study which focussed on a teacher participant because she was “the most experienced IB Educator on site” (Thompson, 2019, p. 17). While amplifying experienced voices provides valuable insights, few studies have looked at less experienced voices, such as those teachers and schools just beginning their IB journeys, to help understand how teachers engage with the IB early on and how they might transform into experienced IB practitioners. Further, many IB-funded research projects (Hacking et al., 2016; Rizvi et al., 2014) take place at schools chosen by the IB offices. This means that a lot of the research on the IB presents a curated image of the IB in practice as they choose schools they believe exemplify practices they want highlighted without including a rubric

or information as to how that decision was made. It also means that research has not documented how IB schools attain such best practices. These approaches are not unique to international education, as many researchers in education are former or current practitioners, but across all research on the IB there is a notable silence around how the positionality of such practitioner-researcher research might impact the direction of findings.

## International mindedness

This section reviews literature related to the IB's use of international mindedness, finding that the research uncritically accepts it as a positive addition to the IB programming, despite it being used differently by different researchers. When I was beginning my research, it was one of the most popular foci for research on the IB (Dabrowski, 2016). I soon realised that although it was being championed by the IB, it was being used in many ways by researchers. As mentioned in Chapter 1, one common official understanding of IM is that it is the philosophy that embodies the skills, knowledge and attitudes needed to achieve the IB mission, which has been explicitly connected to developing global citizenship within IB students (Davy, 2011). An IB-funded report (Hacking et al., 2016) views it as a fundamental concept aiding citizenship education within IB programming as both an attribute and an educational philosophy. Former IB Deputy Director Ian Hill even uses IM interchangeably with international education (Hill, 2015). However, despite its prominence within IB branding and

programming, what IM actually is remains contested (Cause, 2009, 2012; Hayden & Thompson, 1995; Haywood, 2007; Marshall, 2007). Not only this but, according to one study (Hacking et al., 2016), this lack of clarity appears to suit the IB. So there appears to be no urgency from the IB in applying the concept more consistently, both in practice and in research.

At the most fundamental level, international mindedness within the IB is perceived to be “good thing” (Skelton, 2013, p. 379). Beyond that, international mindedness is frequently praised yet is interpreted differently nearly every time. It has been defined as a disposition (Hill, 2012; Tarc, 2009), a global perspective framework (Van Vooren & Lindsey, 2012), a worldview (Muller, 2012), a set of skills and actions (Bailey & Harwood, 2013), and the key concept for international education (Hill, 2012). It claims many synonyms depending on the researcher: for example, global mindedness (Haywood, 2007; Pitre, 2015), cosmopolitanism (Gunesch, 2004), and global consciousness (Bailey & Harwood, 2013).

Initially, in research, international mindedness was applied literally to mean knowledge and impressions of the international. At the start of the 21st century (Baker & Kanan, 2005; Hayden et al., 2000) studies still followed a 1957 definition which defined international mindedness as “interest in or knowledge about international affairs” (Sampson & Smith, 1957, p. 99). Under this definition, one study (Hayden et al., 2000) surveyed teachers and students at IB World Schools, measuring IM in terms of experiences with foreign travel and interest in and knowledge of foreign

media or cultures. Teachers and students both agreed however that travelling or living abroad was not necessary to develop IM, with studies concluding that IM is not dependent upon lived experiences abroad. In a second study (Baker & Kanan, 2005), students at different types of schools – international, magnet and public, all located in Qatar – were surveyed to see which type of school produced the most internationally minded students. The findings are mixed. Female students in magnet schools scored higher, by a tiny margin, on the IM index than males and females at international schools. The reasons were not explored. Yet, when responses from males and females are combined, international schools ranked highest on the production of IM.

Both studies were not IB programming exclusive. While Hayden et al. (2000) focused on IB World Schools, just over half of the students were enrolled in the IBDP while the rest were students enrolled in actual IB programming. The study did not make a distinction within their findings, with student responses grouped together. This could imply that the school culture of the IB World School is as, or more, influential than the IB programming. A distinction like this is important as it has been shown that both school environments and education curricula are factors in shaping student attitudes (Hayden & Thompson, 1996).

In the second study (Baker & Kanan, 2005) it is not even clear that all international schools are IB World Schools. Yet the study is frequently cited by researchers (Bunnell, 2008; Hill, 2015; Tamatea, 2008) focusing on

the IB. This is a frequent limitation in the research, with researchers often not taking the time to state whether those studied are IB students at an IB World School, non-IB students at an IB World School, or students at an international school that does not follow the IB. Without specifying it is unclear whether the findings should be credited to the IB or to the specific school's culture and approaches. This is important as other studies have suggested that culture, more so than programming, influences education with respect to IM (Belal, 2015; Halicioğlu, 2008; Hayden & Wong, 1997).

Subsequent definitions appear to highlight links between education for IM and global citizenship, being less focused on international affairs (Lai et al., 2014). In an empirical study of IB World Schools in Hong Kong, researchers (Lai et al., 2014) defined education for IM as "a whole suite of key competencies, understanding, awareness and actions related to being global citizens and entails both cognitive and affective components" (p. 78). However, the nine Chinese language teachers interviewed in the study did not mention global citizenship as part of their understanding of IM, instead conceptualising IM more as intercultural understanding, openness, and tolerance (p. 85). In addition, the Chinese language teachers said that while they personally appreciated the aims of IM, professionally it was not a priority as it is not assessed (Lai et al., 2014). Other studies have raised concerns that IM is not taken as seriously by practitioners as those assessed elements of the IBDP (Loh, 2012; Wright & Lee, 2014). In these studies, teachers are aware of IM and see it as a positive aim but not a

priority. There was little evidence provided by the participants to show that practices of IM aligned with "actions related to being global citizens". Unfortunately, this disconnect between researchers' and participants' understandings of IM was not explored in the findings.

One US-based study, which interviewed five IB teachers, defined education for IM as ideas on "understanding, awareness, and perspectives" (Gigliotti-Labay, 2010, p. 78). However, when the researcher pressed the teachers for examples of how this is achieved, the author was disappointed that their answers rested on platitudes, and they could not provide specific examples.

This study also interviewed IB site visitors as research participants, the only study I have seen to include this group. Site visitors are representatives, often current or former educators, hired by the IB to observe schools and grant IB World School status. The site visitors explained that recognising IM inside schools is more through gut feeling than a standardised checklist. The site visitors claim to have "a deep understanding" of international mindedness and what it should look like when successfully implemented..." (p. 98). Site visitors stressed that education for IM must go beyond flags and food and that the Learner Profile is a "living breathing part of the school" (Gigliotti-Labay, 2010, p. 98). But equally, they reinforced the idea that it's about international affairs, saying "I might ask them to give me a topic and tell me how they make it international" (Gigliotti-Labay, 2010, p. 98). Finally, despite having strong

personal feelings about what is IM and what is not, they said ultimately education for IM plays a small role in whether a school is authorised.

Around the same time, the IB itself appeared to take an increased interest in understanding education for IM, both in theory and in practice. In addition to designing educational programming and authorising schools to use their work, the IB conducts its own research. At the time that I was designing my research, the IB had just published several commissioned reports (Castro et al., 2012; Hacking et al., 2016, 2018; Rizvi et al., 2014; Sing & Qi, 2013) investigating how education for IM, and related concepts like the 10-attribute Learner Profile, was practised inside schools through literature reviews and empirical methods.

The first two of these reports (Castro et al., 2012; Singh & Qi, 2013) reviewed IB documents and existing research and focused on international mindedness as a culmination of developing "multilingualism, intercultural understanding and global engagement" (Castro et al., 2012, p. 5; Singh & Qi, 2013, p. 5). This is a change from past research, and should be seen as a new direction promoted by the IB, as both research teams had agreed on this framework in consultation with the IB.

In addition, one of the studies quickly noted the lack of engagement with "how a better world can be created if questions of equal opportunity, stereotyping, marginalisation, race, gender, poverty, power and religion and faith are not interrogated" (Castro et al., 2012, p. 6). The reference to a "better world" is a nod to the IB's mission statement, showing a disconnect

between the organisation's stated aims and its current methods for promoting global engagement through education for IM. This quote is reminiscent of a previous study of IBDP teachers relating to their daily practices of IM, which found that while teachers overwhelmingly supported the concept of IM, few of them discussed issues of social justice or power relations within it (Harshman & Augustine, 2013). These one-line observations on the intersection of IM with privilege and power are important. Researchers have noted an absence of this discussion but have not yet found an adequate way to probe this relationship further.

The most recent IB-funded studies on IM are empirical, relying on data collected from teachers and students across several IB World Schools. While some schools were found to approach IM through the three-pronged approach mentioned in the previous studies, the reports themselves shied away from this understanding of IM (Hacking et al., 2016). Overall, both studies (Hacking et al., 2016; Rizvi et al., 2018) not only agreed that IM is understood differently by school communities, but that it is no longer only about international affairs and encouraging students to learn about foreign countries. "What seems to be important is the relationship with others," the first report observed (Hacking et al., 2016, p. 41). This report noted that this interpretation of IM could even encompass conversations about the local. The second report, for which research was conducted at schools in Australia, India, and Hong Kong, agreed, noting that internationally minded

students were “effective citizens of their local and national, as well as global communities” (Rizvi et al., 2014, p. iii).

These understandings contrast with previous IB-funded reports (Sing & Qi, 2013) which reviewed literature and educational programming and remarked that education for IM transcends national communities. While this divergence from past reports was not remarked upon it marks a shift in statements through official IB channels: the IB agrees that IM is no longer education on the foreign. While not official position papers, these IB-funded and commissioned works are produced in close cooperation with the IB, such that it seems to be a strong indication that this new view of IM, one that includes education on the local, is one that the IB would support, as it comes through in both reports.

Rizvi et al. (2014) explained that how IB uses IM is “similar to” (p. 10) how other educators discuss global citizenship, as well as related concepts such as intercultural understanding and global mindedness. There was a stronger link between IM and citizenship in this report than in earlier works. Teachers, especially those with more IB experience, viewed the Learner Profile (LP) as an important part of the IB’s citizenship education. The LP, not IM, was the focus of one study, yet research on the LP is just research on education for IM by another name: as I mentioned in Chapter 1, the LP encompasses ten attributes which together provide the “knowledge, skills and values” leading to the development of international mindedness (Hill, 2007a, p. 37). Teachers identified the core components of both the LP and

the IB (TOK, CAS and the EE) as elements “central” to the development of students’ identities and understandings of citizenship (p. 54). Modelling of key attributes from the Learner Profile was also mentioned as a way to promote IM (Hacking et al., 2016, pp. 91, 96). However, these implicit practices have been challenged by teachers from regions where textbooks and teachers are viewed as entities to learn from, not to engage with (Wright & Lee, 2014).

On the question of explicitness, researchers (Tarc & Beatty, 2012) have questioned whether education for IM needs to specifically reference IM in front of the students or whether it can do without this label. Despite the claims that “good” practice is explicit, an article from the same research data as the IB-funded report (Hacking et al., 2016) appears to agree that such explicit programming is not required. It is not clear if this kind of education would still be as “good”. This then becomes hard to study or measure, as without a clear definition it becomes quite challenging to observe how such lessons of education for IM would occur through the hidden curriculum, including through school cultures or teacher modelling. To support this point, however, it has been argued that students appeared to find it more beneficial learning among a nationally diverse peer set than having explicit lessons around IM (Belal, 2015), echoing Maurette’s vision that students learning from students is a central component of international education.

As if to highlight the above acknowledgement with respect to the absence of discussions of class, the study avoids exploring how the privileged backgrounds of the students in the study could have impacted the findings. It only briefly touched on the fact that all schools in the study are private, and students are mainly privileged. Even when acknowledging that a similar study in US IB World Schools, which are mainly public schools, could yield different results the assumption is that US schools would be more “national” in feeling, and not that the difference in class backgrounds would be likely to affect the findings.

The Hacking (2018) report noted that “good” IM practice is “explicit, valued and inclusive” (p. 14). This substantiated past claims (Muller, 2012) that students benefit when there is clear alignment around education for IM from teachers across subjects; not only is education for IM explicit but that it is intentional and coordinated across subjects. This acknowledgement that “good” IM practice exists is important. The existence of this phrase in an IB-funded report implies that at some level the IB does have expectations around IM, because if some schools have “good” practices than the opposite holds true as well. Examples of school interest in IM include senior leadership showing an interest in IM or the creation of a staff position dedicated to the promotion of education for IM. Although citizenship education, and education for IM as a manifestation of citizenship education, is meant to occur holistically across subjects (Davy, 2011), when conducting classroom observations, these funded studies only focused on languages,

humanities and TOK, thereby reinforcing the notion that the best data on IM will be found in these classes.

However, tensions were noted between “diversity and uniformity” (p. 82) that these IB concepts encountered: too much uniformity risks the IB forcing pedagogies on schools and potentially resistance, while too much diversity would weaken the meaning of the concepts. Overall, the research on IM focuses on how individual schools practice IM, with researchers inadequately defining the concept, such that it is hard to apply findings across studies.

## Representations of the Local

This section reviews how international education research has asked questions about the representation of the Local within international education. Unlike international mindedness, the topic is not a clear subfield of study within research on the IB.

It is interesting that more recent IB-funded and commissioned studies on international mindedness attempt to include education on the local, despite the name appearing to explicitly focus on the international. There is no evidence in the above studies to show how IM best represents the local, and there are several other studies which have more adequately covered this topic. Here, I have made a distinction between local, an adjective to describe a person or place in terms of proximity to another, and the Local, a distinct, yet imagined, entity where an international school (or

a school using international education) exists which can include the nation state where the school is located but which is not solely defined with respect to national borders.

There are two issues at play in the conceptualisation of the Local in research on the IB: Is there a default Local and what role does the Local play within education programming? In terms of the first question, the default Local is often a Western, largely Anglophone, perspective. Within most of the research, students' Local knowledge is assumed to be Western knowledge, and those students from the West have said they were more familiar with some of the IBDP content, especially in Theory of Knowledge (TOK) (Poonoosamy, 2016, 2018). This belief in the separation of the school environment from the Local remains embedded in much of the research, which reports findings on educational programming with no consideration of the cultural and national context where the study occurred. One study of students at an international school in a postcolonial island nation revealed that students had noticed their international school privileging Western narratives and perspectives and not promoting Local knowledge as equal. This study withheld the name of the country where the research took place, opting to refer to it only as a postcolonial Indian Ocean Island Nation (IOIN), to preserve anonymity, although unlike the previous anonymous studies enough details were revealed to contextualise the school within a local environment (Poonoosamy, 2018). Through journaling and interviews one white student, who is a citizen of three nations, including

the IOIN, was disappointed in how her school ignored the Local in her classroom discussions, pointing out that most of the cultural experiences at her school align with her understanding of British culture, one of the citizenships that she holds. (Poonoosamy, 2018).

A second British student studying in the IOIN said, in an interview, that he saw his white skin as a privilege. He explained that TOK was easy for him as it prioritised British knowledge and cultural norms, which he had learned before moving to the IOIN (Poonoosamy, 2016). This view was corroborated by his teacher, who said: “We tell our students to prioritise international perspectives […] and we need to use examples and references that are known to an international audience, and these examples and references are most of the time from Europe” (Poonoosamy, 2016, p. 592). According to this teacher, international means Western, and here that specifically means European, as it is the knowledge that is most easily understood by those in charge of final assessments. However, a teacher in another study, in a statement which echoed Maurette’s views on the primacy of Europe within international education, expressed the belief that international education focuses more on Western knowledge because it is ultimately more important to learn (Tamatea, 2008). This teacher referred to the IB as part of the liberal-humanist tradition, which he argued is universal and could be delivered equally to students, referring to attempts to diversify the curriculum as politically correct window dressing (Tamatea, 2008). This view, while a minority in the research, confirms that Local non-

Western narratives are sometimes being explicitly withheld from IBDP programming, as opposed to previous studies which appear to simply fail to consider it.

In another study, which interviewed five Canadian teachers, teachers recognised that being foreign in a non-Western school came with certain privileges and social capital (Tarc & Mishra Tarc, 2015). Interviews with middle school students at IB World Schools in Belgium and Serbia expressed similar views, that some nationalities were privileged more than others through the formal curriculum, "with the highest value awarded to Anglo-Western identities" (Fitzsimons, 2019, p. 274). Not only do these studies provide evidence that Western identities and knowledge are privileged within international education, but they also imply that Western identities are assumed to be the Local and that they are the starting frame of reference which students will know before casting their attention abroad. This is unsurprising for an education programme which claims Western roots, Western educator influences, and Western approaches (Walker, 2010).

When research looks at IB World Schools outside of the Anglophone world, the question is one of representation. If the default Local of IB programming is Western, how are the Locals of the Host countries represented inside the schools? Primarily, the research claims that they are not. The Local barely features in most of the research on international schools. Type A international schools, the first institutions that offered this

style of international education, and which persist as the dominant unit of study in the field of international education, have often been conceptualised as "bubbles" (Belal, 2015; Heyward, 2000, 2002; Hacking et al., 2016; Pearce, 1994, as cited in Cambridge & Thompson, 2004).

Some research studies on international schools do not even disclose where the research occurred. While this may be one of the only ways to preserve the anonymity of the school, especially if it is a small country with only a handful of international schools, the research outputs (Caffyn, 2010; Symes, 2006) imply that the findings from within these schools can be removed from the national and Local context where they are located and discussed independently, as if location plays no role in school culture or policy. Further, these studies did not allow space to question how location might affect their studies, thereby implying that these considerations were not factored into the research process. An earlier study on the IB specifically noted the importance of context and school culture, stating that they could confirm whether the positive results in their study were a direct result of IBDP programming or school culture, especially those that have a nationally diverse student body and teaching staff (Hayden & Wong, 1997). But even that study stopped short of acknowledging the role the Local, national context might play within the school's culture and, thus, promoted the idea that what happens in IB World Schools can be isolated from the areas in which they are located.

Education about the Local depends more on individual teachers than on the IBDP curriculum or mission. Interactions with the Local increased as staff at the schools grew more comfortable delivering the IB programmes to students, meaning they felt they could branch out and try new approaches (Ledger, 2016). Students in international schools in Egypt agreed, reporting that they learned about the Local only from teachers who had personal experience with Egyptian culture (Galegher, 2019). Foreign staff, hired for their knowledge of English-language curriculum but without direct experience in Local culture or history, have been viewed as greater obstacles to learning about the Local than IB programming (Davies, 2006, as cited in Ledger, 2016; Galegher, 2019).

Research portrays IBDP interactions with the Local in one of two ways: externally through field trips or internally through the hidden curriculum. For example, one study found that teachers in a remote part of Indonesia used outreach programmes, such as the IB's CAS component, to engage with local communities (Ledger, 2016). This supports past findings that, within the IBDP, CAS is the main pathway for students to engage directly with local communities. (Belal, 2015; Brown & Ohsako, 2003; Hacking et al., 2016). Some students however choose to travel abroad for their CAS credit, such that this interaction with the Local in relation to their school may never occur. In another study, teachers told researchers that many students preferred CAS when it involved foreign

travel, viewing it as a chance for personal development rather than a mission to serve and learn about others (Wright & Lee, 2014).

Within schools, introducing the Local is primarily done through the “numerous Fs” (Bunnell, 2019), understood as some combination of the flags, food, festivals, families, and fashion of national cultures (Bunnell, 2019; Hacking et al., 2016; Hurley, 2006; Ledger, 2016; Molina & Lattimer, 2013). Such an approach to education about national cultures is seen as “easy and non-threatening” (Ledger, 2016, p. 36), allowing schools to include the Local without altering the applied curriculum or pedagogical practices or challenging national discourse that may be produced by the local national government. However, questions have been raised about what students gain from such celebrations (Hurley, 2006). The promotion of the numerous Fs is supplementary and not often linked to a more formal component of the programme. Again, they depend upon how proactive the teachers and senior leadership want to be on this issue, as none of these are mandated through IB authorisation. No studies, to my knowledge, have focused on how the Local is represented within actual IBDP lessons and materials.

Research on international schools still reflects the dominant model of the Type A international school, which assumes most staff and students do not have personal connections to the Host country. Students from the Host country are treated as exceptions and are usually treated as outliers in their communities (Emenike & Plowright, 2017). Where most teachers

are not local to the host country, for example in the previously mentioned IB-commissioned study of schools in India and Hong Kong (Rizvi et al., 2014), they are even praised for their "outsider perspective" which is seen as enabling them to "speak frankly about localised cultural factors and wider systemic issues associated with the implementation of the LP in their school" (p. 28), as if teachers from the Local were not as trustworthy with respect to discussing these issues.

## The impact of the IB on student civic identities

The third approach to research on citizenship education within the IBDP explores understandings of international education often related to personal and civic identity development. I understand civic identity as "a set of beliefs and emotions about oneself as a participant in civic life" (Hart et al., 2011, p. 773). In focusing on civic identity, I aim to narrow my focus to those elements that concern how students think and feel about their roles in civic life, public spaces, and feelings of belonging to communities. However, I do not have a set of proscribed beliefs or actions as a checklist to being a good citizen; I am more interested in how students are thinking about these ideas than in making sure they are doing certain actions. And, following Said, I am just as committed to learning what students are *not* thinking about in terms of civic identities, and ways in which students might avoid civic participation or debate.

As the previous section noted, the Local, interpreted as non-Western, is often ignored in IB research or, when discussed, is shown as being secondary to Western or foreign knowledge. This section explores how students are discussing these lessons, what they notice, and, more importantly, how these lessons impact their discussions of their own civic identities. Research projects on students are varied, but most rely on interviews and focus groups with IB students or former students. I have also included some studies focusing on younger IB students as their comments directly relate to the IB and citizenship and the formation of civic identities, such that their findings could be relevant for the IBDP.

Some studies have focused on how the IB developed national and global citizenship. A mixed methods study focusing on IBDP students and parents in Japan and Indonesia explored the balance between educating global citizens and developing skilled workers (Arfani & Nakaya, 2019). The study found students had “weak national belonging”, measured mostly in terms of how committed students felt in engaging with local or national communities. The students also raised the challenge of time when completing the IBDP. They said they had no time to devote to outside commitments, so while their awareness of social challenges in their communities increased, they had little time to join local communities and apply this knowledge to real life problems.

Another study that asked students about national and global citizenship reported that students at “elite international schools”, which

included IB World Schools, were more likely to believe their schools promoted global citizenship rather than national citizenship. In a study of Egyptian youth students were surveyed about national and global civic identities. While roughly half of students at “elite international schools” responded that their schools promoted both national and global citizenship, 39% said their schools only encouraged them to be global citizens (Galegher, 2019, p. 151).

The selection criteria for this study were unique: students from different high schools who ended up at the same English-language Egyptian university following secondary school. Twelve percent of those surveyed earned IBDP certificates, but it can be assumed that several more attended IB World Schools but enrolled in a different curricular programme. In her analysis Galegher drew a distinction between international schools and “elite international schools”, which included IB World Schools. Both this and the previous study framed studying international education in English language as a trade-off where students gained a foreign outlook but ultimately sacrificed local linguistic and cultural capital (Arfani & Nakaya, 2019; Galegher, 2019).

Two studies of students at the middle school level, studying at IB World Schools but not explicitly through the IB programming, reported mixed results about how students were negotiating civic identities through their formal schooling. One study (Fitzsimons, 2019), which met with the same students four times over six months, found that some students

believed their schooling contributed to a greater sense of internationality while others responded by engaging more with their national identity (Fitzsimons, 2019). It seems many factors are at play, including location of school, overall school mission and culture, and individual characteristics of the students, as the same school can promote different feelings in different students.

A second study on pre-IBDP students at an IB World School in Qatar (Frangie, 2017), which offered both IB and the US High School Diploma programme, noted tensions that had arisen between home and school environments. This again seemed to position the IBDP as Western educational programming or, at the very least, not local to Qatar. Through focus groups with Qatari youth, the researcher noted students exhibited confusion as to how to balance conflicting expectations from home and school. Specifically, many students were "afraid to upset their parents" by showing too much interest in lessons learned from school that might counter cultural and social beliefs they held (Frangie, 2017, p. 233).

One survey collected responses from 16 IBDP alumni from two public schools in Canada, representing graduates from the classes of 1996 and 2000 (Taylor & Porath, 2006). Most questions focused on practical aspects of their IBDP experiences, such as time and stress management. However, one question allowed some space to discuss attributes related to the development of their civic identities: "Do you feel there were long-lasting personal benefits to participating in the IB program?" (Taylor & Porath,

2006, p. 152). Most participants agreed that the IB strengthened their critical thinking and communication skills and provided them with a broader perspective on the world. However, the small number of participants, 16, and the vagueness of the questions do not allow for much more to be understood from this (Taylor & Porath, 2006, p. 152). Yet, this study is often cited in a manner that appears to assign excessive meaning from these 16 Canadian alumni responses. For example, one study (Brunold-Conesa, 2010) credited the Taylor and Porath (2006) study for proving the "effectiveness of the TOK course in fostering intercultural perspectives" (p. 263). It seems a bit far-fetched to point to this study as proof that TOK fosters international perspectives due to the size and phrasing of the questions.

Increasingly studies have acknowledged that students, especially those who attend privileged international schools, hold multiple national citizenships (Galegher, 2019; Poonoosamy, 2018). Future research could be more explicit about this to better understand how holding multiple national citizenships, or feelings towards more than one nation, influences learning through the IBDP. However, again, since many of them rely on student reporting through interviews and surveys, removed from their lessons, there is not a lot of information about how these national and local representations enter classrooms, so it is hard to understand how students are engaging with questions of citizenship and identity within their studies.

The range of findings from conversations around international education and civic identity formation shows both the numerous perspectives on the issue and the challenges in discussing these topics without adequately defined concepts, as it is hard to draw out themes on such varied research. Although these studies reinforce the idea that citizenship education is occurring within IB World Schools, and that students are applying such lessons to their own civic identities, there is little evidence as to how this is occurring within classrooms. I have focused on the methods used in data collection to show that most studies rely on speaking to students as opposed to watching them interact with the IBDP. No study I found utilised classroom observations to provide further insight into how students were discussing these issues through their engagement with the IBDP. Further, these studies do show that students are grappling with questions of civic identity at the local, national, and international level, and many reveal that students are interested and invested in learning more about these issues.

## Elites and the IBDP

Sociologists frequently categorise citizens of states along a spectrum of lower class, middle class, and upper class. The category of elite signifies more than those who possess wealth, referring to a group that has power and exercises influence across their society. Elites are often seen as those in society who benefit from the status quo and discussed as a homogenous

block (Bottomore, 1964). Writing from the field of economics, Piketty (2014) argued that it is important to study these elites, which he defined as the upper decile of a national society. Further, he made a distinction between the top 1% whose income often comes from capital and the remaining top 90-99% whose income comes from labour. The former individuals, he points out, are the top level of business executives, civil servants, and sector leaders and have a disproportionate influence over the direction of their societies (Piketty, 2014, pp. 180, 280). This decile encompasses many of the families who send their children to private international schools in the postcolonial world. Piketty argued that it is important to study this 9% within the society from which they come, however tempting it might be to isolate the elites away from the rest of society as current international education research often does. In Lebanon, for example, the top ten percent of the adult population receives 55 percent of the total national income (Assouad, 2021).

In the postcolonial world, the notion of the elite class is further complicated by this decile's relationship with history and how their wealth was often secured. During colonial times, the comprador class was composed of "relatively privileged, wealthy and educated élite" (Ashcroft et al., 2007, p. 47) who acted as agents of the former power, willingly or unwittingly, consciously or unconsciously, and benefited from this relationship, often to the detriment of the rest of the local society. Following the decline of physical colonialism, and the withdrawal of a European

physical presence, the *comprador* class was well positioned to inherit power within the newly established post-colonial state. Education played a key role in developing this privileged group, developing local students who could think like, and serve, the foreign powers. The conception of the comprador class is a useful frame which shows how members of post-colonial societies experienced colonialism differently and it is beneficial to understand these lasting class dynamics within post-colonial societies today.

When research (Hill, 2007a) does mention class, it is usually to try and distance the IB's present from its elite origins. With some exceptions (Maire & Windle, 2020; Tarc & Mishra Tarc, 2015), most literature on the IB has otherwise allowed social class to exist in the background. As I noted in Chapter 1, the IB broadly serves two distinct groups of students: students at state-funded schools across Anglophone world and students at independent institutions in the rest of the world. In the post-colonial world, these students are often from the middle and upper classes, and many are from elite communities within their respective countries (Gardner-McTaggart, 2016). International education has followed the same path as other Education sub-fields, which have historically prioritised discussions of race and gender over discussions of class production, or reproduction (Weis, 2008). In the case of international education, as I stated earlier, conversations around diversity of nationality are often the focus instead of the role of class within these schools.

In discussions on private IB World Schools, most often categorised within the international education sub-field of international schools (Dolby & Rahman, 2008), assume the students come from privileged backgrounds (Gardner-McTaggart, 2016) yet these two fields are often discussed in parallel although there are many similarities. For example, works on elite education make note of the existence of IB programming within their case study schools (Howard & Maxwell, 2020), yet the IB is not part of the main analysis on the production, maintenance, or reproduction of elites.

Like the research on GCE and international schools, elite education is often focused on how individual students enter a professional global class (Howard & Maxwell, 2020). Other researchers focus on how middle-class parents spend time and money in trying to advantage their children through education (Maier et al., 2008). In both conversations, these students are often discussed as gaining social capital through education, which will allow them greater professional experiences, global or otherwise (Gardner-McTaggart, 2016). Yet, the production of class, and elites specifically, should not be separated from the societies from which they come, global or local (Piketty, 2014; Weis, 2014), a critique which has been explored more robustly through postcolonial theory (Andreotti & Souza, 2011).

Like the conception of international schools as "bubbles", is the notion that elite students are sheltered from other classes within society. There is a general understanding that students engaged in elite education are not often exposed to students from different classes. This is noted as

having direct implications on GCE as it means students lack first-hand experiences with the types of inequality their schools often pledge to combat (Howard & Maxwell, 2018). Indeed, across most accounts on global citizenship education, minimal attention has been paid to how these debates manifest within privileged and elite institutions (Howard, 2022).

More so than ever, especially in US research, researchers argue that individuals are no longer born into the class in which they must inhabit, and that elitism is not the inherited trait that it was so often understood to be in the past (Weis, 2014). However, there is less work on how elites are produced and reproduced in postcolonial societies and, consequently, international schools operating in such regions. It stands to reason, though, that if elitism is now at least partly a learned, or gained, status, then understanding education's role in accessing elite sections of society is even more critical and it would be worth research on the IB engaging past research on elite education more robustly.

## Gaps in the current literature

There is still much to explore and understand when it comes to the IB and international education (Lai et al., 2014; Lineham, 2013). First, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, researchers have alluded to the practice of methodological nationalism within the IBDP, but no study has evidenced its existence empirically or discussed how such a framework impacts upon the

delivery and practice of international education. What all these studies share is that they centre nation states within international education, adopting the literal understanding of “international” as meaning between nations. None question how this understanding of international, where states are the natural unit for study, shapes teachers’ and students’ perceptions. I have opted to use postcolonial theory to provide a framework for this exploration, an underutilised theoretical tool within the field of education but one that has much to offer in terms of how international education is conceptualised and delivered (Burney, 2012).

Second, a discrepancy exists between how the IB envisions the delivery of both education for IM and citizenship education and how data on these topics is collected. The IB envisions such education as occurring across subjects, throughout the duration of the programme. Yet, most of the research collects data from single points in time, providing snapshots into single moments of staff and student lives and often through the perspective of only one subject. Data is not triangulated across time and research has not offered insights into how teachers and students experience the programme across different points throughout the two-year cycle.

The study of these issues is further complicated by the IB’s reluctance to articulate a clear vision for international mindedness or citizenship education. This means that every study on IM and/or citizenship education relies on its own interpretation of these concepts, and provides, or should provide, its own metric for how these are being studied. In

practice, most research is produced by practitioner-researchers who do not define terms as robustly as they should, instead relying on how these concepts have been used in their practice. Citizenship education is happening every day in IB World Schools, through both the formal and the hidden curriculum. While the IB has emphasised the provision of global citizenship education (GCE) (Davy, 2011), research has not questioned how lessons of national citizenship and other types of citizenship complement or challenge the IB's approach to GCE.

Third, research on IB World Schools assumes that research on one IB World School can be applied to all others, without considering where the schools are in their IB journey. Almost all the available research focuses on established IB World Schools, delivering "promising and good" methods. This body of work suggests that the IB does prefer certain approaches to education for IM and citizenship, yet the research does not explore how schools can be designated as such. In Lebanon, it has been noted that teachers with fewer years of IB experience are less likely to be reflective when discussing teaching practices (Refai, 2020). But there are no studies that focus on newly authorised schools, exploring how they are navigating IB requirements and IB programming around IM and citizenship.

The fourth gap concerns the absence of discussions around class and privilege in the IB. It is mentioned frequently that the IB was established through a network of elite schools catering to a mobile, global, privileged class, yet more recent research, especially that produced by IB staff,

stresses how the IB has expanded into public schools. However, the majority of IB World Schools outside of Anglophone, North American countries, are private schools. In the research there is little distinction made between research conducted in state schools and that in private schools, thereby giving the appearance, but providing no empirical evidence, that the IB is practised identically in public and private educational settings. While some research does label some of the IB World Schools as elite, class and status have not been dominant in explorations concerning the daily practices of, and lived experiences with, the IBDP.

The fifth gap concerns the methods used to collect data on the practices of teachers and students engaged with the IBDP, especially the fact that classroom observations have not been utilised by researchers. Almost all the research collected on teachers and students of the IBDP is removed from daily practices of the IBDP, asking students and teachers to share recollections and observations away from the classroom. In terms of methods used, the most popular way to collect data has been through semi-structured interviews and surveys. Increasingly, researchers recognise the importance of research conducted inside classrooms (Lai et al., 2014), but so far few have made this the focus of their research.

## A note about related concepts

To any reader familiar in the literature on citizenship education, it will be apparent that my work on citizenship education echoes notions found

within conversations around education for cosmopolitan citizenship (ECC) (Osler & Starkey, 2003, 2015, 2018; see also Akar & Ghosn-Chelala, 2015). As I noted in Chapter 1, I made use of ECC's framework of citizenship as a status, practice, and a feeling (Osler & Starkey, 2003, 2015, 2018). I, too, believe that citizenship education goes beyond one individual learning about one nation state. However, as someone interested in postcolonial theory and the ways in which history informs our present, I have questions around ECC's proposed normative framework based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and how it can be applied universally within schools and within contexts which have varied histories with the United Nations and its international community of nations.

As I discuss in the next chapter, I wanted to study citizenship education holistically across the IBDP and for that it was best to take a broad approach to citizenship education, which I understand as formal or informal lessons, conversations, and experiences, which inform and develop how an individual relates to communities central to their lives, at least one of which is a nation state. Further, the notion of cosmopolitanism is already used within IB research (Leek, 2022; Rey et al., 2021; Tarc, 2009; Wright et al., 2022) but it is imbued with other meanings, none of which align with the values prescribed by ECC.

## Chapter 3 conclusion

Citizenship education is happening through the IB. It is less clear how much of this education is shaped by the IB, through engagement with its programming, or is happening parallel to it. Big questions remain about how students are learning about the world and communities they live in through engagement with the IB's model of international education. Specifically, the research reveals that the IB's flagship concept of IM is adopted by schools but is not understood or practiced uniformly. I have noted the assumptions that international schools operate as bubbles and that there is another assumption that the IB can be universally applied, both to different geographies but also to students in different class demographics. However, I point out that the IB was designed to target a particular, mostly Western, group of students, and I will show that elements of this remain and that the IB still approaches many topics through a Western lens. Finally, in terms of students, they are engaged in questions of citizenship. Again, this is hard to compare across schools as there is no understanding as to the expectations of citizenship education in the IB beyond that it exists, it is positive, and it should encourage students to make the world a better place.

Broadly, the above-mentioned literature can be categorised as responding to three main questions: How is IM conceptualised, understood and practised in different IB World Schools; How do members of IB World School communities understand, engage and interact with the Local; and What can conversations on international education tell us about citizenship

education and the IBDP? Once I understood the questions, I set about designing an appropriate study to capture data that could shed light on these subjects. In the next chapter I explain how I organised the study to best collect data to speak to some of these gaps and questions.

# Chapter 4: Research design

This chapter focuses on how the research project was designed and conducted. I review my process for establishing the research questions and explain how a single qualitative case study was best suited to collect data on these questions. Then I describe how I found my case study school, who the participants were, and the different research techniques I employed in the field, followed by an explanation of how I approach data analysis and ethical considerations. I conclude with how I sought to establish the trustworthiness of the project and explore potential limitations of this research project. In writing this section, it is easy to portray the process as linear, in that I first designed research questions, then I collected data, and finally I analysed the data. However, my process was iterative and flexible, with data often reviewed to help inform later stages of the research process.

## Aims of research/Review of research questions

Following my review of the literature, I had a better sense of how methodological nationalism was assumed to exist within the IBDP's model of international education yet did not know how such an approach manifested in the lived experiences of those engaged with the IBDP. Equally, I understood that a lot of people were talking about citizenship education within international education, often in parallel with discussions on education for international mindedness (IM), but that few people were

exploring what was happening inside classrooms and that concepts were unclear and contested. I knew I wanted to observe and investigate the transference of knowledge and ideas inside classrooms, not just ask students and teachers about their experiences as removed from their studies. I knew that international education programming in the Middle East, as it exists through independent programming like the IB, is often a luxury reserved for upper class elite students, and so I was interested in how class affects education that claims to be international and promotes social justice and dignity.

Once I took note of these gaps, I was able to start envisioning a project that could seek to speak back to them. The initial focus was on education for IM as a conduit for citizenship education. In the fall of 2016, I took my first trip to the case study school, with the aim of meeting participants and scoping out the feasibility of the project I had designed around education for IM. Following this first visit it became clear that education for IM was not the only way to approach citizenship education within the IBDP, so I expanded my lines of inquiry. During this initial visit, discussions around nation states and identities came up and I saw how such topics complemented my initial approach, which had focused on IM. The final component in helping frame my research questions was finding a way to recognise that the school that accepted me as a researcher was newly authorised to teach the IB. Many studies on the IB targeted long established IB World Schools, sometimes even selected by IB staff (For

example, Hacking et al., 2016; Wright & Lee, 2014). These studies showcased established practices but did not document how these schools achieved such practices. There is scant research on how newly authorised IB World Schools enter the IB community and no studies follow new schools across time to see how they adapt to the IB over time.

These topics, combined with the reality of the school and the methods that were available to me, came together to create the following research questions:

> Research Question 1: How has the introduction of the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme, a model of international education which appears to rely on methodological nationalism, at the case study school influenced approaches to, and understandings and practices of, citizenship?

This question will be explored through two chapters, each focusing on a different aspect of citizenship. The first chapter focuses on the IB's concept of international mindedness as an example of global citizenship discourse found within IB programming. The second focuses on the way the Local has been represented and discussed through engagement with the IBDP.

> Research Question 2: How are students enacting, reproducing, or re-contextualising civic identities ascribed by IB programming?

This question is primarily addressed through a chapter which focusses on the voices of the students. It draws from findings in earlier

chapters about how the Local and international are discussed within the IBDP at the case study school to better understand how students are understanding these lessons. These are the questions that guided the design, collection, and analysis of data.

## Ontological, epistemological, and axiological assumptions

Ontologically, I entered the field aware that my presence would affect both the shape of the research and the findings. I share the belief that education is a “human event of communication” (Biesta, 2015, p. 11) and thus must be studied in such a way as to acknowledge that any research on such interactions between people will involve an element of subjectivity. While I, as researcher, can transcribe conversations as accurately as possible, through my subjective choices of what to include and when and how, I shape the research project and provide context to such conversations and interactions. Therefore, arguments and analysis in this research project are produced within a social constructivist tradition, by which I agree that understanding the social world concerns not only the “transmission of knowledge but the construction of meaning” (Brown, 2009, p. 8).

More specifically, I positioned this research project, through the adoption of postcolonial methods, to challenge “the ‘hegemonic’ model of knowledge as certain and disinterested” choosing to accept knowledge as “ideological and political and as situated and embodied” (Moore, 2013, p. 337). In terms of epistemology, that does not mean I do not accept certain

natural world truths, such as the composition of atoms or degrees within a triangle, but for the purpose of producing research, I do not believe arguments can be made that are not a product of the researcher's place and time. Research traditions that have denied the social implications of knowledge and have argued that knowledge is decontextualised and universal are often reproducing Western knowledge traditions and assumptions without acknowledging this bias (Moore, 2013). The design of this research project was influenced by my past studies, experiences and communities but was also informed by how I view the process of research, which I see as collecting data and providing analysis as a conversation "imagining what could be" (Kincheloe, 2008, p. 4). As my research is concerned with identifying absences within dominant, Western narratives of international education, I aimed to apply the same curious and inclusive approaches to my own research methods.

Like all researchers, beyond these past experiences I brought to the research project a set of values that guided my conduct and approaches. Such axiological principles mandated that I ensure not only rigor of research, which I outline further through a discussion on triangulation, but also a concern for the conduct of research and its impact on participants (Hill, 1984). While I had experience teaching young people, I was less experienced in conducting researching with young people, so I took several courses to help me enhance skills that would allow me to work responsibly with students. In line with British Educational Research Association

guidelines, which state that researchers engaged in overseas research should still comply with child protection clearance procedures (BERA, 2011), I received a Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) check from the British Criminal Records Bureau before starting field work. These preparations, before entering the field, provided me with reflexive tools to aid this axiological orientation and ensure that I was able to produce a strong body of work while respecting participants' rights and ensuring their comfort within the research framework. In the section on how I met the participants, I expand on these ideas to discuss how I gained legitimacy in the field and established a strong connection with both students and teachers.

## A single qualitative case study

I chose to design a single case study utilising qualitative research methods, as it allowed me the room to be both flexible and inclusive in my design and would provide me with space to dive deep into the lived experiences of teachers and students at an IB World School. The case study was a suitable method for this project as I wanted to focus on one school community's interaction with the International Baccalaureate, with a specific focus on how IB programming, a model of international education that reflects methodological nationalism, influences approaches to, and understandings and practices of, citizenship. The case therefore is the implementation of the IB at one case study school, not the school itself.

In designing the case study, I drew inspiration from three main theorists, Merriam (1998), Stake (1995), and Yin (2014), who all stress the importance of multi-perspectivity in a case study and the need to use several methods to build the case. With respect to design, I relied more upon Stake and Merriam's articulations of a case study, which focus on qualitative approaches to the case study, as opposed to Yin (2014) who considers quantitative models as well. Stake and Merriam both espouse a more constructivist outlook than Yin's positivist orientation (Yazan, 2015). Stake writes that "most contemporary qualitative researchers hold that knowledge is constructed rather than discovered" (Stake, 1995, p. 99). Stake sees the researcher as an interpreter who shares their findings through their own constructed realities, a position I followed as my own experiences with international schools and Lebanon informed how I observed, collected, and analysed data. A case study is an appropriate model for this project as, as Yin (2014) has pointed out, one main reason a case study is suitable is when the research questions seek to describe how an event is occurring, which is the goal of my guiding questions.

### Selection of the school

As mentioned previously, some researchers either study schools where they have worked or ask the IB for help in selecting schools for research. I wanted to find a school without the IB's guidance, not only to maintain my independence as a researcher but to highlight IB practices that

may have been ignored by past research, which has tended to focus on more established IB World Schools. At the time of my search, Spring 2016, eight schools in Lebanon were authorised to teach the IBDP according to the IB's website. I emailed all of them and received one positive reply from the assistant director of one school, which I have given the pseudonym Charles Malek International School (CMIS) (Appendix A). I agreed to share my findings with the school, but they did not ask for any control over the editing or final version of the findings.

Once I found my case study school, I set clear boundaries of place and time on my case (Baxter & Jack, 2008). The research project ran for two years, the duration of one IB Diploma Programme cycle. In addition, I was clear about who was included in the case, namely teachers and students, although I am aware that several other groups, such as administrators, parents, and local communities can influence education too. I received a student travel grant from the British Association for International and Comparative Education to cover expenses related to field work at Charles Malek. But all design of methods, observations, and analysis is my own. I opted for qualitative methods, which will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Participants and establishing rapport

My first point of contact with the teachers at the case study school was through a video (Appendix B). The assistant director had asked if I

could make a short video to introduce myself and the research project, which she would show at a faculty meeting. While I found several articles discussing the advantages and drawbacks of using video call services such as Skype for qualitative research (O'Connor et al., 2008; Opdenakker, 2006; Sedgwick & Spiers, 2009), I found no precedence for submitting a video to participants ahead of time. Following the advice of O'Connor and Madge (2001), I provided information about myself to which I hoped participants would relate: my experience teaching at another IB World School in Lebanon and my personal connection to Lebanon. But I wanted to distinguish between my past as a teacher and my present as a researcher. In the video, I spoke of "looking forward to wearing a new hat," to signal my transition from educator to researcher. The assistant director informed me that the video was shown at a faculty meeting before my arrival.

When I arrived on campus and had my first meeting with the teachers, several said they recognised me from the video but did not remember the specifics of my speech. It was my impression that it was less important what I had said, and more that I had made the effort to introduce myself before arrival. This positive reception, to me, outweighed the limitations of producing an introductory video, namely that the encounter had been one-sided and that I was not able to see or hear their reactions, or answer questions that came up in the moment.

The assistant director decided how I would be introduced to the students, who I met when I began classroom observations. In the first class,

the teacher explained that I would be observing the class. When I followed the students to their next period, the students who had been in the first class told the new students who I was. When I had my first round of focus groups, I was able to personally introduce myself and provide background to the research project.

## Methods of data collection

I was fortunate to be granted permission to employ several methods of data collection to better understand the dynamics and interactions at the case study school. Here, I explain the main methods used: classroom observation, interviews, focus groups, in-class workshops, and textbook and educational programming analysis. These techniques were used across four visits where I spent 23 days in total on campus.

### Classroom observations

Classroom observations allow the researcher "the opportunity to follow a setting's natural stream of life" (Adler & Adler, 1994). Initially conceived to provide background details and to support comments made in interviews and focus groups, classroom observations became integral to my findings. I was overwhelmed by the richness of data I accessed once invited inside these classes. Not only did this help in triangulating information with other forms of data collection, but it allowed me to see how students and teachers lived IB programming.

As citizenship education within the IB is viewed as holistic across subjects (Davy, 2011), it was important for me to observe different classes so as to witness citizenship education that way it has been conceived through the programme. I observed the students of the IBDP in nine subjects, a mix of standard level (SL) and higher level (HL): Chemistry SL, Language and Literature SL and HL, History SL and HL, Theory of Knowledge (TOK), Maths SL, and Psychology SL and HL. Except for psychology I observed each class three to five times across four visits. I stopped observing Psychology HL after the teacher asked me to; the classes only had two students and the teacher felt my presence was a distraction in such a small class. During classroom observations I sat where instructed by the teachers, which often meant an empty student desk at the back of the classroom.

Class observations were not audio or video recorded. I took handwritten notes, inspired by the Cornell notetaking system (Pauk & Owens, 2010), which dedicates a column to main ideas and a second to details. This process is promoted to help students listen effectively but has not been recorded as a research method specifically. In the left column I marked quotations and actions happening in the class. In the right I added any reflections or thoughts that occurred to me. This included personal reflections, such as if I felt myself losing focus or getting antsy from sitting too long, or any memories of my own secondary school experience that arose.

For each period I recorded the subject of the class and the day and time when it was occurring. I noted the number of students in the class, mentioning absences and where students sat. If the layout of the room had changed, I would redraw a diagram of the class noting the position of the teacher's desk, student desks, the projector and screen, doors, windows, and what, if anything, was hanging on the walls. Even in small classes there are many interactions happening simultaneously, such that it was impossible to record, or even witness, them all. The selection of comments and actions I chose to record was a choice and adds bias to how my data was collected. I attempted to minimise this bias by observing many classes and looking for the patterns that occurred across them. Finally, I created an observation protocol and checklist for comments or interactions of which to be aware (Appendix C).

## The role of the observer

I entered each classroom with the understanding that "[o]bservation is more than just looking" (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 456). In observing I attempted to engage as many senses as I could. I recorded words that were said, movements that I witnessed, and the setup and location of students and teachers. I experienced hot classrooms, roasting from the afternoon sun, and freezing classrooms, drenched with too much AC. I noted what it felt like sitting in different chairs and desks and where they were positioned in the room. I paid attention to when students moved throughout the classes

and how. The classrooms rarely smelled of anything distinct, but occasionally someone wearing a heavy scent might pass me, mostly in the hallways between classes. I noticed how technology was employed alongside more traditional teaching practices. All classrooms had a projector and screen and students used iPads as textbooks and, occasionally, phones as notebooks. In short, there was a lot going on, and I was eager to record as much as I could, not just the lesson content.

My role in classroom observations was as an "observer-as-participant," that is someone whose role as researcher is clear and who is personally and professionally removed from the site of study (Gold, 1958). I tried to stay out of the way and did not talk during lessons. I knew I was not invisible, but I tried to minimise my presence in the classroom. I arrived early for classes, said a quick hello, or smiled at students and teachers, but did not engage them in conversation unless they spoke to me first. I did not open my phone, which I made sure was on silent and tucked away in a bag. On a few occasions a teacher directly engaged my opinion, to which I responded as briefly and honestly as possible but tried to give responses that would not bring me further into the conversation. Another challenge I encountered was hearing inaccurate information go unchallenged in a classroom. I wanted to correct it, or at least address it outside of the class, but I chose not to, to minimise my influence over the classroom conversations as much as possible and so as not to appear to be assessing or critiquing teaching practices, which was not within my remit.

Culturally, I was raised believing it is important to look at a person when they speak. I found this challenging as an observer as I did not want to catch the speaker's eye and remind them of my presence; yet I did not want to stare at my desk and miss non-verbal interactions or appear disinterested. In reading about classroom observations, I had not found any advice on where to rest my eyes. Usually, I opted to look past the speaker, that is in their general direction but not with the aim of making eye contact, through focusing attention more on the periphery. While many researchers remind observers to record such non-verbal interactions (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), I found no recommendations for where the observer might want to consider looking. This is one small example of how my background impacted the type of data I collected and recorded.

### Interviews

The purpose of the qualitative research interview "is to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena" (Kvale, 1983, p. 174.) Undertaking interviews with this understanding provided space for individuals to tell me more about how they were interacting with the IB and the school. Interviews are a popular way to gather qualitative data as they allow the researcher to directly approach participants and get their feedback on relevant topics (Berg & Lune, 2012).

I conducted 11 interviews with five teachers, including two senior administrators, the IB coordinator, and the Creativity, Action, Service (CAS) coordinator (Table 1). Some teachers had multiple roles. The IB coordinator also taught chemistry. In the first year, the history teacher taught TOK. In the second, the English teacher took over teaching TOK. Each interview was conducted in English, within a class period, and took place on the school campus. Most took place in teachers' classrooms or offices. All names have been changed in this study.

Table 1: Teacher interviews

| Name | Date | Participant | Duration (min.) | Location |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I1 | 5-Oct-16 | Miss Maya, IB coordinator (IBC)/chemistry teacher | 44 | Their office |
| I2 | 6-Oct-16 | Miss Hala, TOK/history teacher | 41 | Conference room |
| I3 | 6-Oct-16 | Miss Karima, CAS coordinator | 26 | Their office |
| I4 | 14-Nov-16 | Miss Maya | 15 | Their office |
| I5 | 18-Nov-16 | Miss Niveen, English teacher | 29 | Their classroom |
| I6 | 29-Mar-17 | Miss Maya | 17 | Their office |
| I7 | 29-Mar-17 | Miss Karima | 18 | Their office |
| I8 | 6-Apr-17 | Miss Niveen | 31 | Their classroom |
| I9 | 10-Apr-17 | Mr Rashid, maths teacher | 54 | Their classroom |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I10 | 11-Apr-17 | Miss Hala | 40 | Their classroom |
| I11 | 16-Feb-18 | Mr Rashid | 38 | Their classroom |
| I12 | 16-Feb-18 | Miss Maya | 40 | Their office |

Following Yin (2009), who recommends that interviews in a case study setting be "guided conversations rather than structured queries" (p. 106), I employed a semi-structured interview approach that allowed me to ask similar questions to all teachers but maintained the flexibility to ask different follow ups, sometimes based on specific classroom observations, or to let the conversation flow naturally to what interested the teacher (Appendix D). During the first two visits, interviews focused on learning more about the teachers and their experience with the IB, especially the authorisation process, how they have adapted to teaching it, and their thoughts on education for international mindedness. As I reframed my research questions, away from only IM, I began asking more questions about their teaching practices within the IB and how they were experiencing the IB journey.

After each visit I transcribed the interviews, including noting silences, pauses and background noises. Transcripts were sent to the participants who expressed interest in reviewing the conversation, but none revised their statements. One participant asked for the audio recording as well. I then re-listened to the audio to find ways in which I could improve my interviewing style. Following review of the first round of interviews, I noticed my habit of

asking two or three questions at once. I realised I was doing this to try and provide alternative phrases or to narrow my focus, but when I read over the transcripts, I noticed that this meant some questions did not get answered. After that I focused on asking one question at a time and providing more time to answer between questions.

Focus groups

In addition to the interviews, I conducted eight focus groups, meeting with 14 students out of a possible 15 engaged with the IBDP during 2016-18 (Table 2). One student left the programme in December 2016, transferring to the American Diploma Programme, while another student joined the IB in January 2017. At the end of the first year three other students elected to withdraw from the IBDP and transfer to the US High School Diploma programme. By the end of the first IBDP cycle, 11 students sat the final exams. So, in total, 15 students experienced the IBDP during this first cycle at the case study school.

I decided to meet with the students through focus groups instead of interviews following consultation with the senior leadership of the school. Most focus groups were conducted in small groups, during a period reserved for CAS, which became a free period if the CAS coordinator, Miss Karima, did not need to meet with them. Miss Karima explained that these students were used to working in these small groups so they would be comfortable meeting together. Students were invited to join but it was made

clear that participation was voluntary. All focus groups, except the last one which occurred in the school's library, took place in a room connected to the CAS coordinator's office. The door between these two spaces was left open or closed, depending on what students did when they entered. All group sessions were audio recorded after gaining verbal consent from the students. Once I met with one student alone after they said they would be more comfortable speaking privately. A total of 14 students opted to join at least one focus group. Names of the students, like the teachers, have been changed in this research project.

Table 2: Student focus groups

| Name | Date | Number of students | Duration (min.) | Prompts used | Location |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FG1 | 15-Nov-16 | 5 | 50 | Learner profile attributes; diamond ranking activity | CAS office |
| FG2 | 15-Nov-16 | 5 | 50 | Learner profile attributes; diamond ranking activity | CAS office |
| FG3 | 16-Nov-16 | 1 | 50 | Learner profile attributes; diamond ranking activity | CAS office |
| FG4 | 3-Apr-17 | 2 | 50 | Listing countries; Daily Star newspaper | CAS office |
| FG5 | 3-Apr-17 | 3 | 50 | Listing countries; Daily Star newspaper | CAS office |
| FG6 | 3-Apr-17 | 5 | 50 | Listing countries; Daily Star newspaper | CAS office |
| FG7 | 10-Apr-17 | 4 | 50 | Listing countries; Daily Star newspaper | CAS office |
| FG8 | 16-Feb | 4 | 50 | n/a | Library |

I began each focus group with a short survey (Appendix E). This approach was useful for three reasons. First, it allowed me to collect background information on the students, such as how long they had been in the school, countries they had lived in, passports they held, or whether they had heard of the concept of international mindedness. In asking about passports I recognised that this was only one way to learn about their civic identities, but I thought it was an important data point as it allowed me to get to know their backgrounds a bit better. In later focus groups I asked students to list the countries they remembered discussing in class and again asked them about international mindedness to see how their answers differed across time. This was one way in which the role of time helped to shape the collection of data, findings which I share in Chapter 6. Secondly, these short questionnaires served to occupy the students while others were still arriving. Because the sessions took place during their free periods, and were on the second floor, in an office tucked away in the corner, not all students would arrive promptly at the start. Third, as not every student was a native English speaker, I found it was helpful to introduce some of the ideas I would be raising on paper to give students time to think about them before being asked to share with a group. On this topic, I told students they could use Arabic words if they wanted to explain their points, although the main language of the groups was always English. I brought in prompts to help guide the groups. During the first two focus groups Miss Karima, the CAS coordinator, sat in for some of the time, eventually leaving to sit at her

desk, although the door between us remained open. Later, I conducted interviews without her presence in the other room.

In the first round I organised questions around the IB Learner Profile. Inspired by another study on citizenship education at Lebanese state schools (Akar, 2016), I asked the students to create a diamond ranking of the ten attributes of the Learner Profile. At the top of the diamond the students were asked to place the attribute they thought was most important; in the next row, they listed the next two attributes they thought were important; followed by three attributes, then two, then the least important one in their mind. Ultimately, these rankings of attributes did not provide the type of data I had hoped to collect, but the structure of the exercise provided a good introduction to discussions surrounding the attributes and the Learner Profile.

In the second round I used a local newspaper, the only English-language daily, *The Daily Star*, to help spark conversations. The rest of the focus groups focussed on a list of questions I had, although, like the interviews, I was open to changing focus based on the students' responses (Appendix F). In the final round, in 2018, I did not use prompts and focussed solely on following up on themes and topics the students had raised in the previous two rounds. As with the interviews, transcription began while in the field, following visits to the school. I created a ledger to anonymise student and teacher names and incorporated these into the transcription.

Transcribing so soon after the focus group made it easier to distinguish student voices as the conversations were still fresh in my mind.

In-class workshops

Twice the school allowed me to run workshops over a period of Theory of Knowledge, one of the only classes where all IB students were together. I explained both activities (Appendix G) to the teacher beforehand. I aimed to organise activities that would be useful to my research questions but that could additionally complement the students' studies, as it was during class time. I wanted to collect data in an anonymised manner since students could not opt out of the class. In the first workshop I adapted an exercise called "silent conversations" (Facing History, 2008). Prior to class, I pasted photographs onto large sheet of blank paper. In class, I asked students to respond to the image in writing, silently. In the first round, they reflect on what they see. In the second they respond to their peers or respond to a written prompt I had put next to the photo. In the third round, they move around the room and look at the other pictures and continue writing their thoughts on the paper. Finally, we open into a group discussion. I pasted four images I found of people working in their communities – firefighters, protesters, students, politicians – and broke the class into four groups.

In the second workshop, I brought in excerpts from Irene Davy's (2011) position paper on citizenship education in the IB to use as prompts

for discussion. Following a discussion on the prompts, the students broke into small groups and wrote down questions they would like to ask students at other IB World Schools about their experiences based on the themes we had discussed.

I did not record these sessions as I could not be sure to have gained all students' consent since this was official class time from which they could not opt out. In place of recordings, I intentionally designed activities with written components so I could collect data to review. However, I found that without a recording of the discussion or the ability to take notes it was too hard to fully code and organise the data. If I could do it again, I would ask either the teacher or an assistant to lead the activities so I could take notes and observe, as guiding the session and taking notes was too difficult to do simultaneously and I missed too much in relying on my notes taken after the session.

These two reasons, the challenges of gaining consent during scheduled class time and the inability to fully capture the discussion, coupled with the rich data I was collecting through other means, especially focus groups and observations, meant that data from these workshops did not directly inform my analysis. However, conducting these workshops still contributed to the development of my research. They helped me establish rapport with both teachers and students. I had some great conversations with the teachers as I designed these activities, which allowed us to debate ideas informally and gave me a chance to get to know them outside of

structured interviews. This allowed them to get to know me as an educator, not just a researcher, to gain confidence in my work, and to see me interact with students. I enjoyed working with the students, contributing activities that complemented their TOK studies and giving them a chance to interact with me and ask questions outside of the focus groups. At least two students used the time to ask me questions about my role as a researcher and my experience with the IB, something they did not do during the more formal focus groups.

### Textbook and educational programming analysis

To complement my data collection methods at the case study school, I collected and analysed several educational materials pertaining to the IB and the school. I looked at IB-produced materials that were cited by research as pertaining to citizenship education, such as the IB mission statement, the IB Learner Profile, and IB-funded and published position papers. In addition, I analysed two textbooks that were being used to teach the IBDP at the case study school, for Theory of Knowledge and Maths, and some IB-produced slides for chemistry. I analysed a third history textbook mentioned in conversation with one teacher as it pertained to our interview about what type of content they opted to teach the students.

## Data analysis

My social constructivist approach led me to analyse data thematically and I was able to start observing patterns from within the field, noting what was important to the participants as I observed them. I began analysing data as it was collected in the field, primarily through a research journal. After spending the day at the school, I would write up my reflections in a journal, away from the site. The journal was useful in collecting my thoughts as to what I was finding in relation to my research questions, and I could note any themes as they occurred. The entries acted as a starting place for analysis when I returned to London, as I could review what I had flagged as important in the field. As noted earlier, I began the process of transcription in the field, which meant that I was listening to interviews and focus groups between class visits and would reflect on these conversations in my journal as well. However, I did not print or re-read transcripts again until I was back in London. I wanted to allow some time to pass before reviewing transcripts or notes.

Back in London I analysed the data, including the relevant textbooks, more systematically, submitting typed notes from classroom observations, transcribed interviews and focus groups, and pages from textbooks into Nvivo, on which I had been trained through UCL courses and had experience using through an on-campus job. This consolidation of data was not only efficient but allowed me to see patterns emerge across the different methods of collection. (Merriam & Tisdall, 2015; Yin, 2014). I adopted

thematic and open coding (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Thematic codes are those I designed prior to entering the field, while open codes were those that emerged through patterns in the data. For example, the chapter on international mindedness is based on thematic coding as this was a concept I knew I wanted to investigate from the beginning, while the chapter on Lebanon as a representation of the Local emerged through open coding. While I knew I wanted to focus on the "international" it was not until I started analysing my class observation notes that a pattern emerged about the way states were being centred in classrooms, as well as within IB materials. I noted the pattern in my journal and then was able to review transcripts to see how time, or the perceived lack of it, affected student and teacher engagement with citizenship education within the IBDP.

Following coding of data, I engaged in thematic analysis, identifying patterns that had emerged and topics that had been raised by both students and teachers. As noted above, some of the data was selected based on thematic codes, key phrases and concepts I intended to find before engaging in fieldwork, while others emerged over the course of fieldwork. I selected examples that both spoke to my research questions and that could be triangulated by other data, which I explain later this chapter. This does not mean that all data pointed to the same direction but merely that the data I used was indicative of the experiences of my participants in a way that helped clarify a pattern or a trend. This approach allowed me to focus on what was said but, unlike other approaches, such as critical discourse

analysis which encourages examination of the role of language as communication, it afforded me the flexibility to develop ideas through other means of communication, such as how students interacted with textbooks or how teachers explored their own IB practices.

## Ethics

### Ethical guidelines

I followed the research ethics guidelines established by the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2011). The decision to follow BERA came about through coursework taken at the Institute of Education (IOE), which emphasised the safeguarding of young participants within research projects, and I wanted to adhere to guidelines which ensured that all participants were treated with respect and had ability to consent into the study. While most members of the British academy might be comfortable with BERA guidelines, I was aware that such ethical norms might not be universally accepted or applied (Tikly & Bond, 2013). I wanted a more flexible ethical approach to complement the BERA guidelines and my own postcolonial theoretical approaches. Therefore, I was led by postcolonial ethical considerations, namely the four criteria for ethical research established by González (2003): ethics of accountability, context, truthfulness, and community.

In clearly laying out my methods and explaining how I came to discover my findings, I practiced the ethics of accountability and explain

more about how these methods of collection worked together later this chapter. Following this, I dedicate the entire subsequent chapter to situating my case study within a broader (post-colonial) context. This shows my commitment to the ethics of context and the importance of describing the environment. It is a chapter that is not commonly found within international education research but one that was important, not only to provide much-needed background to my "audience" (González, 2003), who might be less familiar with the Middle East, but also one that validated the positions of those in my research field. Postcolonial research ethics stresses the importance of dialogue within research (Tikly & Bond, 2013) and I felt it was important to set the scene before any meaningful dialogue could occur.

As part of the ethics of truthfulness, González (2003) argues that researchers must practice "radical openness…to see that which is on the surface is not visible" (84). As I noted in Chapter 2, postcolonial theory reflects a desire to uncover these lesser-known voices and in engaging this framework, I was able to find methods, explained below, which can help uncover such absences. Finally, while not a traditional ethnography as is González's focus, this case study made use of several ethnographic methods, which afforded me the opportunity to get to know my participants well, and I made sure this was in line with an ethical awareness of community and how my relationship with participants might have impacted data collection and analysis. Following these postcolonial ethical guidelines was not in competition with BERA but complemented the more traditional

BERA framework and strengthened the practice of an “ethic of respect” which is important for any research project (BERA, 2011, p. 5). This approach and research design was then approved by the IOE ethics committee.

### Collecting consent

In line with the BERA code of conduct, I aimed to get informed voluntary consent from all those I would be collecting data from. I arrived on campus, with paper consent forms I wanted to ask students and their guardians to review and sign. However, the assistant director explained there was no need as the school had already been granted consent from students and their parents and that this is how it had been done for past research projects conducted at the campus. The school has an “internal policy that will take care of ethical dimensions of all research,” the assistant director explained to me over email (personal communication, November 15, 2016).

I then shared a copy of the consent form with students to read, but I was asked not to share it after two focus groups. The assistant director explained that such forms would be confusing to students and their guardians, as they had already trusted the school to make these decisions for them on campus. As I was following BERA ethics guidelines, I still wanted to find ways to explicitly gain consent for my research and offer ways for students to opt in. I asked for verbal consent, starting focus groups

or interviews with a clear description of my project, my aims and how I would use this data, and offering space for any questions the students might have for me. I then verbally checked each time that participants were fine to have their voices audio recorded. I made it clear that attendance was voluntary, but I know that adults they trusted told them to trust me and that my research was important, so it might have been hard to say no. That said, during focus groups all students participated and spoke, so it seems no one exercised silence as a means of resisting participation.

This lack of formal consent did influence some of the decisions I took with respect to the full class workshops I conducted; as noted above, I did not record these as I could not find a suitable way to make sure students could opt-out, considering these were held during their scheduled class times. Without recordings, these workshops were hard to analyse fully. The assistant director had decided upon how I would meet the students, who were not shown my video ahead of my arrival. Upon reflection, it would have been nice for the students to see the video, even during the first round of focus groups so I would not take up class time, so they could receive the information in the same way the teachers had.

Related to the question of consent is the issue of anonymity of school and participants. As I did not collect formal, written consent where students, and their guardians, could choose what level of publicity they wanted, I opted to give pseudonyms to students and teachers, as well as to the case study school itself, removing details of the school that were irrelevant to my

research to further mask it. The practice of anonymising school and participant names is common in the field of international education.

Establishing the role of researcher in the field

Before I entered the field, I saw my previous teaching experience solely as a positive attribute. I believed, like past studies (Starkey et al., 2014) suggested my past as an educator would signal to teachers that I understood their discourse and the environment and would help teachers have trust in my research project and methods. I understood I had to be wary of “fighting familiarity” (Delamont & Atkinson, 1995) and that the challenge would be on me to observe this school through a researcher’s lens and not as a former educator. While I described myself as a doctoral student, I relied on my past as an educator to show that I was knowledgeable about the subject and that I had experience of these issues. But I had not considered how this experience would be perceived by participants, especially the teachers who took it to mean that I was one of them.

Two examples of this indicated that the teachers saw me as a fellow teacher, perhaps more so than as a researcher. First, I introduced myself to students as Iman. However, the teachers began referring to me, as is the custom at the school, by a prefix and a first name so I became Miss Iman, a title that further marked me as a teacher figure. The second example is when I was speaking to a teacher during a break. They were recounting the

dynamics they had witnessed between some of the students and how one student could derail the class with their tangential questions. When the students filed in for the next period a student remarked that the student we had been discussing was absent that day. “Now you will see,” the teacher said, looking at me with a conspiratorial smile on her face. I found this exchange, in front of students, frustrating, as it seemed to align me with the teachers more so than the students, challenging any hope of me appearing to be neither.

Influence of research project on participants

Part of the process of developing questions in qualitative research is about reflecting on how participants might react and respond to such questioning (Agee, 2009). The methods used were minimally invasive so as not to cause harm, distress, or unnecessary disruption to participants’ lives. However, I was aware that participation in my study would affect them and their relationship to the IB. For example, during my third visit to the case study school, I asked students if they recognised the concept of international mindedness. They said yes and I asked where they remembered hearing it. “When you were here last time,” one said, while another nodded. This was a simple reminder that my presence was impacting their education. However, upon reflection, through a commitment to following BERA’s guidelines, and via constant check-ins with schoolteachers, it appeared that discussing international mindedness, and

other related topics, more frequently would not contribute negatively to their studies.

As my field visits progressed, I began to get a sense that the IB's model of international education was being elevated over other education programmes. I first noticed this through the way the school displayed and promoted the IB logo on promotional materials and the school website. But it was solidified after hearing how teachers and students spoke about the IB in comparison to other programmes. In addition, IB students received select privileges which their peers did not. I explore the elevation of IB programming within the school culture further as part of my analysis in Chapter 8. However, I note it here as, upon reflection, it occurred to me that by focussing my research only on IB classrooms I was inadvertently contributing to this notion that international education was more worthy of study, or attention, than other models of education.

## Triangulation and trustworthiness

Yin (2014) stresses that a strong case study must involve triangulation of at least three methods within a case to increase the validity of the research. I practised both data source triangulation, collecting views and perspectives from students, teachers and educational materials, and data type triangulation, which meant I collected data through several approaches, such as observations, interviews, focus groups, and types, such as notes, transcripts, visual data, and educational materials. Return

visits over two years provided another method for triangulation, as I observed how the students and teachers interacted with the IB and each other across time.

Triangulation is not the same as having data that all points in the same direction, and it is important to be aware of contradictions and complexities within triangulated qualitative research (Fielding & Fielding, 1986, p. 33). For example, a teacher told me her students would understand the concept of international mindedness, yet in focus groups more than half the students said they did not recognise it. I had to negotiate these two conflicting conversations within my analysis. I was not concerned that the disparity existed yet needed to better understand why it had occurred. Why did the teacher believe all students would know it? It is this interpretation of triangulation that I follow; the use of multiple sources and multiple methods to produce nuance, to explain contradictions, and to strengthen the research project. This approach to triangulation was informed by the practice of contrapuntal analysis, which allowed me to make space for less obvious findings and to try and connect the dots not just with what I was seeing and hearing but with what was not present as well.

Trustworthiness was established through the imposition of clear boundaries on the case study and by providing thorough and clear details of the design and process (Baxter & Jack, 2008). As mentioned previously, my process was iterative and cyclical. Data I gathered informed my outlook on the case, challenged my initial assumptions, and introduced new lines of

inquiry and new perspectives on analysis. Therefore, the location of this section towards the end of the chapter does not imply that establishing trust in the project comes after data collection and analysis, as it is necessary to build trust throughout the process, primarily through clarity of design and intentions, transparency of methods, and the provision of my techniques and reasonings. The trustworthiness of a qualitative research project, therefore, depends less on all types of data coming to the same conclusion than on it being built through transparency of methods and aims, and robustness of documentation, both during the research collection and analysis phases, and throughout the final product.

## Limitations

Like many qualitative studies, I selected a small sample size to better allow for developing depth, through investigating the research question from several angles and across two years. My sample size obviously does not attempt to speak for all those enrolled in, or teaching on, the IBDP. The production of knowledge, based on any sample size, is always part of a bigger conversation (Kincheloe, 2008). With a small sample size, it is important to continually situate my findings within the bigger debate and to look for ways in which this case study can speak to broader questions. It is a small class size, but one that adequately addresses my original aims and offer useful insights into how educators and researchers think about citizenship education within international education, especially considering

the in-depth nature of the research design and my multiple trips to the same site.

Although my sample size was limited to one school, I collected data across two years, collecting far more data than I was able to discuss within this dissertation. This represents another limitation, in that I was unable to discuss everything and had to make choices based on data that was the most relevant to my research aims. I, the researcher, had to make choices about what to include and what to exclude. Questions of inclusion impacted how I defined my case. For example, I have excluded the experiences of non-IB students at the school and parents of IB students, two groups who would have provided additional perspectives. However, I have made choices based on logical reasoning, careful review of past literature and IB materials, and a thoughtful and transparent project design, as described in this chapter, to offer valuable insights into the research questions that guide this project. Research cannot exist in isolation; yet it is important to set clear limits on what it is possible to cover. I have been intentional in establishing boundaries that best address my research questions.

## Chapter 4 conclusion

In this chapter, I have defined my case as the implementation of the IBDP at one IB World School and explained how a single case study model is best suited to respond to my research questions. In addition, I have outlined some of the ethical considerations, including questions around

consent and influence of the researcher in the field. I worked to prove the trustworthiness of the research, touching on some of the challenges and limitations I encountered. After all this, how can I be confident that I have produced educational research that will not only contribute to the conversation on citizenship education within international education but will also provoke new questions and directions for research? Bassey (2003) argues that four criteria should be met for a case study to be considered "good" educational research (p. 116).

First, the report must be trustworthy, which I have established through transparency, detailed accounts of my process and findings, and triangulation of methods and sources. Second, the research must be ethical, which I have established by following BERA's code of conduct, obtaining a DBS check, taking a specialised course on how to conduct research with young people, and adopting a reflexive position throughout all stages of my research. Third, the research should say something significant, which I aim to do in later chapters by providing descriptive accounts and thoughtful analysis of the lived experiences of students and teachers at the case study school. Lastly, the final version should be readable, which I have done by keeping in mind my academic audience and situating my project within the current body of research. In addition, as promised to the assistant director, following completion of this dissertation I plan to create summaries of my findings to share with participants who may not want to read the full research project. In the next chapter, I begin

exploring the data I collected through these methods and provide analysis of the IB's flagship concept, international mindedness.

# Chapter 5: Contextualising the Local

As I have noted, most research assumes that international schools operate as a “bubble”, often ignoring any local pressures or influences that might impact upon schooling. This can give the false impression that findings from one international school could be applied at a second school regardless of geographic location. During my research I could not avoid how the school’s location interacted with how students received and understood international education and the civic identities ascribed through such programming. By dedicating space to setting the scene this chapter intentionally situates my research within the local context of my case study school, Charles Malek International School (CMIS), with the aim to better understand in what ways the Local enters the classroom and how it affects learning.

This chapter serves as a bridge between my earlier chapters, where I introduced my research project, and my analysis chapters, by introducing and contextualising what I understand as the Local in terms of this project. Drawing on my research journal and excerpts from the students’ and teachers’ insights, woven together with important information about the history and composition of Lebanon, I aim to provide a portrait of the Local, which is not the same as the IB concept of a Host country. Nor is the Local equal to a nation state. The students in my study live in Lebanon but their experiences do not speak for all Lebanese students, even all those at private or international schools. By using Local, I mean to include social,

cultural, historical, and economic factors that directly impact the area where the school is located. I am aware too that a diverse body of students and teachers will draw familiarity and connections from different types of communities, near and far, and that these impact learning at the case study school. As I mentioned in Chapter 4, the borders of my case study are the school grounds. This chapter is not intended to go beyond those borders but to better understand what types of local factors have found their way into the application of the IB Diploma Programme (IBDP) at the case study school and how these are used and experienced.

Throughout this chapter I offer a historical and cultural contextualisation of Lebanon, in particular, and the Middle East, more broadly, as many readers on international education may be less aware of the particularities of the region, considering the dearth of studies on international education located in the Arab Middle East. Further, I aim to locate the school not just in a country but within a historical narrative, one that pays particular attention to how colonial legacies continue to impact upon teaching and learning within international education.

## The creation of the modern state of Lebanon

From the moment one disembarks an aeroplane in Beirut, Lebanon's capital, one is greeted with signs in Arabic, English, and French. These languages are spoken by many people interchangeably, often using different languages within the same sentence. For example, it is common

to hear people say "*merci kteer*", where *merci* is thank you in French and *kteer* is a lot in Arabic. This mixture of languages is an example of how Lebanon's history remains present on the streets today, and notably how European powers have shaped Lebanon's modern composition. For example, every time I land in Beirut and start to hear this familiar combination of Arabic, French, and English, I am reminded of a story my father told me:

> It begins with two American friends discussing their Arabic studies over lunch.
>
> "I've just learned the Arabic word for truck," the first said. "*Camion*".
>
> "No, that's not right. That is French. There must be something else," the second one argued.
>
> At that moment, their Egyptian cook, Fathi, walked in, carrying their meals.
>
> "Fathi, what is the Arabic word for truck?" They asked him.
>
> "Lorry," Fathi said, which of course is the British English word for truck. I still do not know an Arabic word for truck that is not rooted in either French or English depending on which European power presided over the land.

It is hard to exaggerate the French colonial presence that remains within Lebanon.

Following the end of World War I, and the collapse of the axis-allied Ottoman Empire, the French claimed control of Greater Syria. The two decades spent under French control would eventually shape the land more than the five centuries spent under Ottoman rule had (Joseph, 1997). France did not occupy Greater Syria so much as rule it through the League of Nations sanctioned mandate programme, which granted France control with the understanding that they would oversee the region's transition to independence. Unlike traditional colonies, mandates were not expected to be absorbed into empires, but this did not stop France from getting involved in local politics and using the Mandate era to benefit themselves. The League did not specify that Greater Syria had to remain united, but the majority of those within Greater Syria had expressed a desire to remain as one people within one state. The French divided the territory into two: Syria and Lebanon, a smaller state located along the Mediterranean Sea and home to a majority of French-allied Maronite Christians that would remain loyal to French interests post-independence (Stoten, 1992).

Lebanon achieved independence from France in 1943. A government structure was established based on sectarian power sharing, which encouraged groups to look to foreign governments for alliances and support, as no group, even the Maronites, was strong enough to rule alone. There are 18 officially recognised sects, mostly different strains of Christianity and Islam, with Judaism also recognised although few Jews remain in the country. Seats in parliament were divided among Christian

and Muslim sects in a 55:45 split. This split was determined by a 1932 census, which revealed the Maronite Christians to be the largest sect, with 29% of the population, and Christian sects having a slight majority overall (Mackey, 1989).

Senior leadership was determined via sect and the 1932 census figures. *Al-Mithaq al-Watanii* (The National Pact) agreed between Maronite and Sunni elites, stated that the president and the head of the army would be Maronite Christian, the prime minister would be Sunni, and the speaker of parliament would be Shiite (Fontana, 2017). Remaining cabinet positions were distributed to the other, smaller sects. From its inception religion was an intermediary between the individual and the Lebanese state (Picard, 2002). Identifying as a Lebanese citizen with no religion is not an option. The economic position of this new state involved laissez-faire policies, which cemented Lebanon as a trading base in the Middle East and allowed new forms of wealth to enter the country and benefit the elites (Gaspard, 2004; Jawad, 2009). There was little established in the form of welfare policies, which provided another opening for religious institutions to further ingratiate themselves within Lebanon's civil society, through offering support to the country's most vulnerable.

During this time, to Lebanon's south, the British controlled their own Mandate over Palestine and Transjordan. Zionist activists had been lobbying for a Jewish state in Palestine and several wealthy Lebanese families sold land in Palestine to these activists, failing to consider, or

actively ignoring, the larger ramifications of these transactions which helped give Zionists a foothold in Palestine. Eventually, and not without the use of violence, Zionist activists succeeded in getting the British to establish the state of Israel in 1948. Following this decision, wars broke out across the Middle East. The notable ones took place in 1948, 1967 and 1973, and, with each violent crisis, Palestinians fled, many north to Lebanon, carrying possessions they thought they would need for a short trip to outlast the fighting. Over 400,000 Palestinians still live as refugees in Lebanon, banned from working in certain professions, and with many living in camps set up by their grandparents or great-grandparents. Lebanon refuses to resettle them and let them live as citizens with full rights in the country claiming this would be seen as normalising relations with Israel, a state it refuses to recognise. However, demographics influence discrimination against the Palestinians. Most Palestinian refugees are Muslim, and Lebanese Christians are already wary about the changing demographics that have turned them into minority groups. The census has not been taken since 1932 so no new numbers exist, but it is largely understood that Christians are now in the minority (Pearlman, 2013).

In addition, many still harbour resentments against some Palestinian factions for their contributions to the Lebanese civil war, which began in 1975 and ended in 1990. Often over-simplified as a power struggle between Christians and Muslims, the war was more multi-faceted than this, with the country being transformed into a battleground for regional tensions that had

been inflamed during the mandate era. In addition to Lebanese fighting Lebanese, Palestinian militias used South Lebanon as a base from which to attack Israel, who retaliated by invading and occupying half the country, from the south to the capital, in 1982. While Israeli forces eventually left the capital they did not withdraw from South Lebanon until 2000, ten years after the war had ceased, and only after a concerted and violent opposition campaign waged by the Lebanese militia Hizbullah, who were hailed as liberators at the time, although their current status in the country is contentious. Hizbullah maintain an active presence in Lebanese politics, closely aligned with Iran, and classed by many in the West as a terrorist organisation. During the Civil War Syria also invaded and remained in the country until 2005, long after the war had ended. The Syrians only withdrew following mass demonstrations condemning the assassination of former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri, which many blamed on the Syrian regime and those Lebanese citizens loyal to the Syrians, although his killers have never been brought to justice. While Israeli and Syrian physical occupations have been dismantled in all but a few border towns, Israel continues to fly air raids over Lebanese lands, illegal under international law. In addition, Israel invaded again in 2006 and fought Hizbullah on Lebanese lands in a 34-day war that was devastating to the country's people and infrastructure. Pro-Syrian Lebanese politicians remain in positions of power.

It is estimated that during the civil war era of 1975-90 up to 40% of the Lebanese population left the country (Pearlman, 2013). These migrants

joined earlier waves of Lebanese migration from the Ottoman era, which had created strong Lebanese communities in the US, Canada, Brazil, Argentina, and other countries. During the mandate era many Lebanese had emigrated to Western Africa too, where they worked as intermediaries between indigenous African populations and the French colonial forces. The newer wave of migrants during the civil war joined these established communities but also sought refuge in France and other European countries and Australia. It is estimated nearly three quarters of the Lebanese who moved abroad travelled to Western Europe, North America, or Australia (Pearlman, 2013). Over 70% of those who fled acquired a second nationality while living abroad (Kasparian, 2003, as cited by Pearlman, 2013). Following the oil boom across the Arab Gulf in the 1970s and '80s some Lebanese moved east for work, again finding roles as intermediaries between the newly wealthy Gulf royals and European businesses.

The war was declared over in 1990, following the 1989 Taif Accords, which altered the political power balance, leaving the National Pact in place but shifting some of the duties from the president to the prime minister. Taif reaffirmed the role of religion in state power but re-apportioned seats in parliament equally between Christian and Muslim sects. No heads of any of the militias were held accountable for crimes committed during the war. Indeed, the government passed a law of general amnesty for crimes committed during the war as part of the ceasefire so that most of the heads of militias were able to seamlessly transition to become heads of political

parties, and still run parties today (or the parties are run by the sons of these leaders). Taif called for the creation of a new national history textbook. Despite several attempts this has never been produced because the different sects cannot agree on how to discuss the civil war with younger generations (De Baets, 2015; Shuayb, 2016).

When the civil war ended many of these wartime migrants returned, bringing with them newly acquired citizenships alongside ideas about governance and politics they had observed during their time abroad. While many Lebanese citizens did return in the 1990s to help Lebanon rebuild, many did not. It is estimated that up to a quarter of Lebanese nationals now live outside Lebanon abroad (Murphy, 2006). This Lebanese diaspora remain active in Lebanese politics and culture, sending back remittances that prop up the nation (Hourani, 2010). However, rather than affecting change from abroad, Lebanese diaspora communities often reproduce the sectarian politics of Lebanon in their new locations (Skulte-Oaiss & Tabar, 2013). Until 2018 Lebanese citizens abroad could not vote in elections unless they returned to Lebanon (Chehayeb, 2022), so while they followed the news closely it was hard to effect change unless they flew back for elections, which thousands would do.

## The first visit, October 2016

"I arrive in Beirut before 5am. After some initial confusion stemming from new security rules at the taxi stand, I arrived at my friend's apartment

and took a quick rest," I wrote in my journal on the first day of fieldwork in Beirut, on October 3, 2016. Beirut's airport is south of the city and the 15-minute drive to the capital is lined with billboards, often targeting consumer goods that remain out of reach to the average citizen: flights to Cyprus, Western DJs at rooftop bars, the latest cell phones or TVs, for example.

Also present along the drive from the airport were trash bags. Hundreds and thousands of trash bags, lining the sides of streets, stacked under bridges, and piled up in parking lots. The trash crisis was due to the expected and long-overdue closure of a main landfill site. The government had not attempted to find a new plan for waste collection, and, because of this failure of leadership, trash collectors went on strike and trash built up. It was perhaps the most literal example of the government failing its people, but it was not the only one. In October 2016 the country had been without a president for nearly 15 months. The president is chosen by parliament, and no one could agree on who should take power.

As the taxi exited the highway and started weaving through the smaller streets of West Beirut, we passed one of the grandest five-star hotels in the city, the Phoenicia, on the left. Immediately following, we drove past the site of the bombing which killed Hariri in 2005, a McDonalds, a mosque, a bank called *Fransabank*, and a pharmacy, before driving uphill and turning into my friend's small street just before reaching *Rue* John Kennedy (*rue* is street in French and is how many streets remain labelled in Beirut), a one-way street that leads to the English-language American

University of Beirut. During this drive, especially along the strip I mentioned, which is near a stretch of road known as the *Corniche* (another French appropriated title), along the Mediterranean Sea where people spend their leisure time with friends and family, I observed the increased presence of a new group of people: those sitting and asking for money, holding signs or with outstretched arms. By 2016 the Syrian war was over five years old and unofficial figures placed the number of Syrian refugees seeking shelter in Lebanon at a million and a half. Lebanon is a country of approximately four million and, prior to the Syrian refugee crisis, the country was already dealing with four generations of Palestinian refugees as well as Iraqi refugees who had fled their country following the 2003 invasion of Iraq.

This was the Local to which I returned. Advertising for the wealthy on streets lined with trash, a country with no president but more people, many refugees not here by choice. At 7am I took a quick rest and was back in a taxi by 12pm headed to Charles Malek International School. My first journal entry continued by describing my first ride to the school:

> I leave for Charles Malek International at 12pm. My taxi driver spoke English, French and Arabic. He used to run his own copy store that produced documents and branded items for businesses. I didn’t ask what happened because, if he is driving a taxi, the outcome could not have been positive. He has his own car and picks up shifts. He drives me to the school this morning and comments on how education here is

different. ‘We speak all these languages,” he said. We have to in order to communicate with everyone.’

The driver got lost on the streets outside of Beirut. We had to call the school for directions. Over the course of my visits, I would have a mix of drivers, some knew the school, some did not. One driver said he took two sisters to it from West Beirut every week. The school is located above Beirut, on a one-lane road off a major highway that curves up a mountain. Like the first driver, many drivers from West Beirut, which was Muslim-controlled side of the city during the civil war, are less familiar with the mountain villages where CMIS is located, which are mostly inhabited by Christians. Decades of fighting, occupation and checkpoints meant that people were often confined to smaller areas of the city, and even today predominantly stick to familiar neighbourhoods. I learned this years ago when my cousin asked if he could drop me off near the Green Line, an invisible line separating East from West Beirut, after a day at a beach south of the capital. The labyrinthine streets of West Beirut, where I lived, were so foreign to him that he preferred not to enter, and I walked the final 20 minutes to my building.

To reach Charles Malek International School one exits East Beirut to the north, exiting off the coastal highway into the *Metn*, a mountainous elevated region of Lebanon that is primarily Christian and Druze, where Edward Said spent summers as a child and where he was buried in 2003 (AFP, 2003). CMIS is located on the side closest to Beirut. To reach the

school one follows the road uphill, past some industrial buildings and a small-town centre that has a taxi company, a nail salon, some restaurants, and the local office of one of Lebanon's main Christian political parties. The school's driveway is opposite a vegetable stand. Parents, private drivers dropping off students, and the hired school minibuses stop in front of the black metal gates, letting students out before continuing down the steep road that reunites with the highway at a lower point on the mountain. Teachers and the empty minibuses park in a dirt lot opposite the main gates. The school is surrounded by a muted yellow concrete wall on all sides.

The taxi turned into this parking lot. Inside the school compound I checked in with a security booth to the right of the main gates to obtain a visitor's pass. The primary school is in a building behind the security booth. There is a small playground with two sets of swings, one to the left, by the yellow wall, and a second in the centre, surrounded by a circle of trees. Multinational flag bunting hangs between the trees, with many Arab countries represented, and a selection of countries from Africa, Europe, and other parts of Asia. The main building for the older students is behind this circle of flags, with staircases on both the left and right sides. There are three levels of classrooms and a cafeteria in the basement. Access to another playground is through the basement as the school is built on an incline, so it is blocked from the front as it is on lower ground. Middle school classrooms are on the ground floor, with classroom doors opening into the courtyard, although there is a cover that forms an outdoor hallway of sorts

to protect students from the rain when moving between rooms, reminiscent of motels situated along a highway. Classes for secondary students take place on the first and second floors of this main building. Some classes are located in a row of ground floor classes to the left of building. Because of the different ages of the students, there are constantly students on break, or at lunch, and it is not uncommon to hear yelling and the sounds of ball games or groups of students chatting during classes.

I was instructed to check in at reception, which was on a mezzanine between the first and second floor of the main building. At reception there is a small table with complimentary tea, coffee, and minted and cucumber infused water near the door. Alongside the beverages is a dock with many phone and tablet chargers, which students and teachers are welcome to use throughout the day. Students must go to reception when they are late to receive late slips from the receptionist, Lara, who is friendly buy firm with them. In front of Lara's desk is a u-shaped area of black chairs for parents and visitors. There is a table with promotional materials, including several pamphlets displaying the IB logo and acknowledging that the school has become an IB World School. Behind reception is a hallway that turns to the right, offering conference rooms, offices for senior administrators, a kitchen, a photocopy room and, at the end, positioned behind the kitchen and out of view from reception, the teacher's lounge. Although the staff is almost all Lebanese, English was heard as frequently as Arabic in these spaces. My first impressions, recorded in my journal, were that: "this was a happy and

comfortable, yet focused, environment. People smiled, people chatted, people worked. Lara was attentive to students who entered, although she didn't know all their names". Some students even introduced themselves to me and many seemed aware that I was coming.

That first day I met with the assistant director to review my visit and plan my schedule. It was a quick visit. Leaving the school, I opted to take the bus back to Beirut. Buses drive set routes, and from this area they all end up at a bus station in Dora, on the outskirts of Beirut, but there are no bus stops. One just flags a passing bus down. These buses are either plain white and smaller than usual city buses, more like giant minivans, or vibrantly coloured 1970s-era vehicles, red or blue or yellow stripes or stars decorating all sides, shaped more like old fashioned US school buses, but often with no door at the entrance by the driver. People hop on or off at will, sometimes when the bus is slowly moving. Because I was never in a rush at the end of the day, I always took the bus. On a good day, the wait would be less than five minutes; sometimes, the wait could take closer to 30 minutes, and I would wander down the road, which only occasionally had sidewalks, waiting for a bus to pass. I would take the bus to the end of its route, at Dora, and then switch to a *service*, a shared taxi that would take me close to my accommodation in the west of the capital. *Services* have taxi signs on top but riders can choose to pay a full fare and have a private journey or pay a smaller amount where the driver is then able to pick up other passengers headed in the same direction. This whole trip usually took

over an hour, depending on traffic, compared to the 15-20 minutes it took in a private taxi in the morning, before the city's rush hour.

Later, I took more detailed notes on the scenes I saw from the taxi windows as I left Beirut and headed closer to the school each morning:

> My own car journey to the case study school each morning took me past buildings still sporting bullet holes from the [1975-90] civil war, a collapsed bridge with dirt and grass filling in the ditch, piles of garbage overflowing from garbage collection bins and stacked under overpasses, and several people, including children, either begging at street corners or selling gum or knick-knacks to cars stuck in rush-hour traffic.

The next day I returned to campus, again by taxi. I was ready to meet the teachers.

## The teachers

My first meeting with the teachers took place during a morning break in a conference room off reception. All IB teachers were invited and attended. I introduced myself and my project and took questions. Some teachers, like the Maths teacher, asked lots of questions while others were silent and opted not to join in my project.

All the teachers who joined my research project were Lebanese; one mentioned that they also held a Cypriot passport, but no others discussed second nationalities. All had primarily been educated in Lebanon. Some had

grown up during the civil war, but this was only ever mentioned briefly. Childhoods spent in wartime are so common in Lebanon it is not often seen as worthy of conversation. Only the English and Maths teachers had IB experience prior to 2016, having both taught at other IB World Schools in Lebanon, for ten and three years respectively.

The teachers were excited about teaching the IBDP. Miss Maya, the IB Coordinator, said a major factor in applying for IB authorisation was that when they looked at the IB requirements they realised the school was already trying to foster a community that embodied the values shared by the IB. She noted how the Learner Profile already resonated with her teaching style so she was confident it would be a smooth transition to integrate the IB into the school. Other teachers told me similar stories about how CMIS fostered an international community that was already similar to the kinds of communities the IB envisions.

A few days later, during my first meeting with the Creativity, Action, Service (CAS) Coordinator, Miss Karima, she said something which reminded me of that early conversation with the taxi driver and how many Lebanese people are already connected to the global community through multilingualism and culture:

> We know about everything, the whole world. For example, when I go to the [United] States, maybe they've never heard of the Middle East. But if you ask any Lebanese here, or student, or any citizen, they know about Trump, about Hillary,

about what is going on in the Brexit…It's in their culture, we learn about other cultures. (I2)

It is true. In most corners of Lebanon people weave in and out languages. They can tell you about the news from abroad and, often, they will tell you about family or friends they know abroad. The Lebanese do not need the IB or international education to teach them languages (the students in my study were bilingual or more before entering the IBDP) or to encourage them to learn about foreign affairs. This comment stayed with me as it raised the question of what, then, the IB brings to the students at CMIS. I asked Miss Karima this question, who, like the IBC coordinator, said that they did not need the IB to feel international but that the formality of the IBDP and joining the IB network inspired them. She liked the idea of being part of a larger international community that shared similar values and beliefs around education. At a time when all of Lebanon's land borders were shut, and only a handful of countries offered visa-less travels to those on a Lebanese passport, feeling part of a larger, more welcome international community could be quite an attractive prospect.

I mentioned that it sounded like CMIS was already preparing Lebanese students to think about the international, and I asked her what she thought the students would gain from the IB that they were not getting previously. "I think they fine-tune their experiences, their knowledge, and they put the experience into practice, what they know through the CAS, and all of that," Miss Karima said (I2). She explained that the IB helped teachers

and students to be explicit in terms of international education and that the IBDP had a structure that was easy to follow. I noticed this through my observations too. The adoption of the IBDP provided a framework that the school could follow to formalise their dedication to international education and an international culture at the school. It provided them with language, such as international mindedness and the Learner Profile, as well as legitimisation, by way of connecting the school into the IB World Schools network. The teachers I spoke to during these early visits were optimistic about how the IBDP could help define the school's international culture and how the aims of the IBDP could support students in gaining more international perspectives through education.

## The students

There were 435 students, from preschool through to secondary school, enrolled at Charles Malek International School. Fourteen of these were enrolled in the IBDP in Fall Term 2016. After my first focus groups with the students, I wrote some general reflections about them in my journal: "They are thoughtful, polite, and kind students. For the most part, they don't interrupt each other (one male student did a large chunk of the talking in the second session though). They do point out when they think others have missed things." Two of the students expressed no national affiliation to Lebanon. One student was Syrian and had moved to Lebanon recently, after living in Egypt for several years. The second student was South

Korean, the child of a Korean diplomat, and was also American, having been born in the USA when his parents studied there. The other 12 students all claimed a connection to Lebanon, either possessing citizenship, being born to a Lebanese parent, or living there their entire life and feeling most at home there.

As noted earlier, not every Lebanese citizen can access the IBDP in Lebanon. While there are no restrictions for non-Lebanese students, Lebanese passport holders must either hold a second passport or have lived abroad for three or more years. Before introducing the students' national backgrounds, it is important to explain a bit more about the nature of citizenship in Lebanon. In Lebanon, as in several Arab countries, only Lebanese fathers can pass on Lebanese citizenship to children despite the Lebanese constitution guaranteeing equal rights to all (Charafeddine, 2010). Joseph (1997, 1999) has argued that the Lebanese constitution takes the family, not the individual, as the basic unit of society, such that despite claims that all are equal the way the constitution is framed privileges men as head of households. Further, patriarchy in Lebanon is understood not just as prioritising the rights and power held by men but also those of elders (Joseph, 1997) and this emphasis on patriarchy in conversations of Lebanese citizenship has been "sanctified by religion" thus making it even more entrenched within national politics (Joseph, 1999, p. 316). Consequently, the notion of citizenship rights for women and young people

is curtailed and there is no framework within the country for these groups to exercise their rights fully.

The children of Lebanese women are viewed as foreigners and must take the citizenship of their father. These kids are granted special residency permits but this does not guarantee them the same rights. The class dynamics in Lebanon present a challenge to overcoming this patriarchal approach to citizenship as wealthy women use money and status to settle their children into the state, thereby discouraging an alliance with all women to push for legal and constitutional reforms (Azzi, 2010). Upper class and elite women, those more likely to be connected to the Lebanese political class, tend to marry foreigners from countries in Europe or North America, thus guaranteeing their children passports that allow them global mobility and options. Their wealth opens doors inside Lebanon, where they can attend private schools or get jobs through connections and *wasta,* so they are not personally affected by the restrictive citizenship laws. By contrast, many poorer women who marry Palestinians or Syrians find that life in Lebanon is hard for their children without access to Lebanese citizenship, especially if a father abandons the family.

Twelve students in the Autumn term of 2016 had Lebanese citizenship or identified as Lebanese through cultural or familial connections. Nine held Lebanese passports in addition to passports from Australia, Belgium, Greece, Guinea Bissau, and the US. The student, Amal, holding the passport from Guinea Bissau had no familial relationship to the

country; her Lebanese parents purchased this passport so she could gain access to the IB. One student had a Lebanese father and a Tunisian mother but not the Tunisia passport; they were able to enrol in the IB because they had studied in Saudi Arabia for over three years prior to moving back to Lebanon. The final two students identified strongly as Lebanese but only held foreign passports. Khadija was American because her mother was Lebanese, and her father was originally Lebanese but only had US citizenship. The second student, Nayla, had Syrian and American nationalities but had been born in Lebanon, felt a strong connection to the country, spoke Arabic with a Lebanese accent, and felt disconnected from both Syria and the US. I introduce the students here, but these points will be further explored in analysis chapters.

It is hard to talk about the Lebanese citizen without acknowledging religion as it acts as an intermediary between individual and state (Joseph, 1999). As noted earlier, religion played a fundamental role in the formation of the Lebanese state and continues to affect how citizens' access to the state. All individual citizens are connected first to one of 18 official religious sects. Citizenship and religious affiliation are completely entwined. Both first and last names provide clues to an individual's religious affiliation. Personal status and family laws are controlled by religious judicial institutions rather than the government: this includes laws around marriage and divorce, child custody, and inheritance, among others. Civil marriage is not allowed in the country and couples who choose to marry outside their

sect must get married in another country. This messy entanglement between citizenship status and religion has been a factor in all the country's violent episodes, as religious groups serve as political parties and vie for power. Many schools ban discussions on religion. At the case study school one student and one teacher told me it was banned there too, but others said this was not true. Religion was discussed in some classes I observed but never taught as formal material. For these reasons I did not ask direct questions around religion. Where it is mentioned in my research it is because it was first raised by teachers or students or in textbooks.

The original 14 students enrolled in the first year of the IBDP were an even mix between those who had already been at the case study school for several years, previously enrolled in the US High School Diploma programme, and new students, some of whom had just moved (back) to Lebanon, most of whom had attended other private schools. The students had previously studied in English, Arabic or French. There were four main reasons for these students choosing to try the IBDP at Charles Malek. The most popular reason was that they joined the IB to help them gain credits that allow them to skip certain classes or even the entire first year of university. The second reason some gave was that those who wanted to study outside Lebanon for university, especially in Australia or the US, believed an IB diploma would help them gain acceptance at these foreign schools. The third reason was that their parents had made the decision for them, two noting that their older siblings had taken the IBDP, so it had felt

like a done deal, and they had not thought much about it. Finally, two of them mentioned that they saw the IB as an academic challenge. “I’m not going abroad for university, so it doesn’t help me. I don’t know why I chose it. I thought it would be a challenging,” Jean said (FG3). Jean had been at Charles Malek International School (CMIS) longer than almost anyone in the class and spoke of joining IB as another step in her educational career.

In these discussions about why they chose the IB no student brought up the IB’s mission statement around making the world a better place, the IB’s focus on education for international mindedness, or that the IB would train them as global citizens. None of the students mentioned the incentives that the school had offered students, such as the right not to wear uniforms and the ability to leave campus during breaks, although I observed that they did utilise these rights throughout the year. I was not expecting them to, but this absence is important to note as it signalled to me that many of the questions I would be asking the students were not necessarily what they considered the main focus of their studies or the reasons they were involved with the IB. Overwhelmingly, their reasons for entering the IB were related to the IB’s positive reputation as an academic programme that could help students in their university admissions, which is more in line with past work on this subject.

However, the more we talked the more it became clear that the students did have some preconceived expectations about international education in general, and about international schools. As I will discuss in

Chapter 7, several students expected an absence of material on the Local, interpretating international education as being focused on events abroad. For example, a student with Syrian and American passports who also feels connected to Lebanon, Nayla, said: “It’s not even about our countries, they don’t even mention our countries” (FG6). As I will discuss in later chapters, Nayla did not claim the US as “her” country and was observing how the countries she felt closest to did not feature in her education. This opinion was shared by many, and I explore this point further in the upcoming chapters, especially Chapter 7, where I discuss how the IB appears to privilege certain national perspectives as more worthy of international study, as well as in Chapter 8, where I discuss how students reconciled these observations on geographic disparities within their education with their own civic identities.

However, the students did hold ideas about the differences between international schools and national schools, namely that international schools were more open-minded than the local alternatives and that this was valuable to them somehow. Min Jun, the only student without familial connections to the Middle East, explained that international schools were more open-minded than other schools and that if the school was not open-minded “it would be a domestic school […] that’s like a basic flat fact” (FG1). Other students nodded at this sentiment. This statement revealed that students believe there is a difference between international and national schools; it is one based on values not class. No one brought up the fact that

most international schools in Lebanon are only accessible to those who can afford the fees, save a few scholarships on offer.

Several students felt the IB complemented values that they already held and that engagement with the IB signalled their acceptance of these values. The Greek-Lebanese student, Jean, said: “Even before IB, we were like born, *mish* [not] born, like taught to be open-minded about other cultures. Since this school is like international, we always, they use to teach us diplomatic ways, *mish* attack, but to approach situations” (FG3). She explained that she thought it was important to be part of an international school as she wanted to be able to understand people from different cultures and thought the more local schools were not as capable of developing the necessary skills for this. Like the teachers discussed earlier in this section, Jean saw the IB as encapsulating values she had already been learning, but the IB had the additional element that it was recognised all over the world. Other students agreed, noting that the IB was focused on teaching through multiple perspectives and that this was a good way to learn. “It prepared me for things that I didn’t know they exist,” said Mirvat, a Lebanese student who gained exemption from the Lebanese Baccalaureate because she had studied abroad previously (FG7). She explained that through these perspectives she was able to learn more about certain issues than if she had only engaged with one narrative on the situation. This idea that international education is open-minded and promotes diverse perspectives was important to the students. It may not have been the main

reason they chose to enrol, but they mentioned that they appreciated these factors in several conversations.

## Local and international affairs

In November, when I returned for the second visit, almost all the billboards from the airport to Beirut and from my apartment to the school had been replaced by images of the country's newest president, Michel Aoun. Aoun came to power on October 31, 2016, ending a fifteen-month period where the country had been without a president. Additional multi-story high photographs of Aoun hung down the sides of buildings in neighbourhoods where he was most supported, adorned with patriotic slogans.

Aoun was new to the post but had been a public figure in the country since the 1980s and had been eyeing the presidency for decades. A Maronite Christian, the only sect from which a president can be chosen, he fought in the civil war until the Taif Accords declared a ceasefire. He refused to accept the terms of the accords and fled to the French Embassy requesting asylum, citing his fierce opposition to the Syrian occupation as a risk to his life. He lived in exile in France for over 15 years, establishing and leading a Lebanese political party known as the Free Patriotic Forces (FPM) from abroad, until his return in 2005 following the physical withdrawal of Syrian forces. Ironically, for someone who gained fame for his anti-Syrian stance, he would not have become president without a reversal of this

position and a recent alliance with pro-Syrian Muslim political parties, notably Hizbullah. Across the world, within the same week, Donald Trump beat Hillary Clinton to become the US's next president. These two events were closely followed inside the classrooms at CMIS. For example, one student voiced his frustrations at the slow speed of change in Lebanon compared to what he was observing in the US press:

> Ali: Here, problems keep on happening and happening and happening and still nothing changes, and the president comes. Ok, everyone's happy the first two, three days and still nothing changes. Look at Trump, already he came and already in his first week it's changing, and he started building their wall for the border. Here Aoun does nothing. *Walla* [I swear to God].
>
> Interviewer: Do you want him to build a wall?
>
> Ali: No, no, not build but at least change something, maybe like I don't know, first poverty, garbage, electricity, maybe anything. Here is [electrical] cuts. I swear, in Saudi Arabia it doesn't even cut once, maybe it cut once in a year, only and every day it keeps on going and going and doesn't stop. (FG7)

The electrical cuts Ali mentioned are a long-standing national problem (which has only gotten worse since the time research was conducted). The country cannot supply enough electricity, so they ration it. In wealthier neighbourhoods of Beirut, the cuts are three hours, with times rotating daily, so one day it cuts from 9-12pm, the next 12-3pm, and then 3-6pm. People learn to avoid elevators during this time, or they risk getting stuck for three hours, or they do not open their refrigerators so the food will not get warm. Those who can afford it purchase gas generators that provide energy during the cuts. Others simply do without power. In poorer villages outside the capital, the cuts can reach up to eight hours a day. Even at the school the lights and AC would switch off briefly before the generator took over.

Ali's overall message that the country needed to "change something" was a common refrain I heard from the students. They knew there were problems in the country and that many issues needed better solutions, but they did not know how or where this change could come from. These ideas will be discussed more in Chapter 7, as I examine how the Local enters the IBDP classroom. Here, excerpts from students are used to help describe the environment in which the research was conducted.

Another student told me they used to write letters to the Lebanese president as an assignment at their old school. I asked them what they would say to Aoun if they were to write letters now. Here are some examples of what they said:

Nayla: Fix everything. Please don't die.

Interviewer: Please don't die?

Nayla: Because he's like older than the country…Fix the transport, fix the electricity, fix the water, fix the –

Lama: Fix the country.

Leila: Everyone already knows what has to be fixed, I would tell them just to start doing something.

Ali: Exactly all the politicians here are the ones not doing anything.

Nayla: They know what's wrong with the country but they just–

Ali: They are just not bothered to fix it, they don't want to pay money to fix it, that's what they want to do. (FG7)

This exchange reveals not only that students are aware of local politics but that they believe the current system is not getting the job done. It goes beyond Ali's list of problems and hints at what the obstacles to reform might be: "all the politicians". The students and teachers spoke like this in classes too, as I will discuss in Chapters 7 and 8, lumping the politicians together as the source of the problems. While it was known that all politicians were linked to religious parties, this was less discussed. Instead, the students often mentioned "politicians" in general with little consideration

as to how these politicians are installed, who supports them, or how they manage to hold onto power. While headlines changed throughout the year, this frustration towards politicians, as if they were removed from their society, remained a constant.

My trip over March and April 2017 was the longest trip to the case study school, nearly three weeks, and one where I started to feel comfortable with my role as researcher within the school. Teachers and students recognised me and welcomed me back, and even within the greater school community I began to get to know people. Within the school, at the start of the second semester, one student dropped out of the IBDP and moved to the American Diploma Programme at CMIS, and another had transferred into the IBDP from a different school, having recently moved back to Lebanon from Australia. By the end of the 2016-17 school year three other students would switch to the US High School Diploma programme so that only 11 students would complete the second year of the IBDP at CMIS.

While I felt more comfortable, I noticed a shift in the personalities of teachers and students. Everyone seemed a bit more anxious and stressed, less energetic about the ideals of the IB, and more focused on understanding the requirements and deadlines. Right before my trip the students had received their second term exams back and most were not doing as well as they had hoped. I noted in my journal that “The teachers are not exactly reassuring them and are allowing them to think their grades are low. Maybe this is in hopes it will push them to work harder.” There was

a sense of urgency around examinations and assessments I had not felt before. I heard more students talking about grades and colleges. As I entered the CAS coordinator's office one day, I heard one student say "Miss, I want to go to the best university." They were looking for advice as to what they needed to do in order for this to happen.

It was during this third trip that the US conducted airstrikes against Syria, escalating its involvement in Syria's civil war, which had begun in 2011. Regional tensions increased and conversations about Syria were frequent, less so in classes, but between teachers. I started paying attention to how the war across the border was impacting life in Lebanon. Many people in Lebanon were calm about the war to their east; there was a general sense that "the politicians" were in agreement about not letting the war come to Lebanon. But refugees had been arriving in large numbers, over a million had entered the country, and Lebanon had just shut its border for the first time since the fighting began. Refugees could be seen on many streets around Beirut.

During my first visit, in 2016, Miss Karima mentioned that some CAS projects might involve helping these refugees, but when I returned in the spring I heard no more about that. It seemed most students had either chosen to perform CAS within the school, supporting the elementary students in making a roof garden, or by travelling abroad and joining Model UN or the Duke of Edinburgh project. Like people everywhere, some students and some teachers, like the history teacher, were more interested

in discussing it, while others ignored it. Like religion, the people in Lebanon have mixed feelings over Syria, its relationship with Lebanon, and its current civil war, so I avoided bringing it up but would discuss it if students or teachers raised it in conversations.

With the Lebanese-Syrian border shut the country was cut off by land. Lebanon's southern border, with Israel, had been closed since 1948. After the Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon, in 2000, the area fell under Hezbollah control, although a UN peacekeeping mission maintains a presence. A shorter, more recent war in 2006 between Israel and Hezbollah again decimated the southern region of the country. In addition to damage from fighting, the region was left with over 4 million unexploded cluster submunitions, dropped by Israel, most of which were dropped after a cessation of hostilities had been declared but before this came into effect. These cluster bombs continue to take human and animal lives, and to impact farming and daily life in the region. Checkpoints scatter South Lebanon and many Lebanese do not visit unless they are from southern villages. To some Lebanese from Beirut the south is unknown terrain and is governed as such.

During one focus group Lama mentioned that she visited the Lebanese border with Israel over the weekend. One boy asked her if she meant Palestine and she responded, “No, that part is Israel”, referring to the stretch of land she saw. The boy dropped the issue, but it could have led to a bigger argument, and I was glad that no one pushed the subject. Due to

fears over the notion of normalising the existence of Israel, some Lebanese refuse to recognise the state of Israel. This fear of normalisation is also used as a political excuse to keep the Palestinians in Lebanon isolated in camps and with fewer rights, with politicians arguing that to grant Palestinians citizenship would be to acknowledge they were never going home, back to Palestine.

The short exchange over the Israeli border stood out for me as most conversations about the weekend involved the same activities for these students. When I asked about their weekend plans, students told me about how much they studied or friends and family they visited. A more typical reply about weekends came from Jean who explained:

> I dedicate Friday nights to finishing [schoolwork], wrapping up everything, because I still remember, and Saturday mornings, *kamen* [also], especially when we have essays or research papers it takes me the entire weekend. 'Cause I cannot sit and write it in two hours. I need to fix and edit, fix and edit. And then Sunday nights, again, editing. I have Saturday nights and Sunday mornings to wake up. (FG 2)

Min Jun explained to me that he rarely left his house, in a gated suburb of Beirut, as his mother wanted to make sure he had enough time to study. One time Nayla had visited an animal shelter to fulfil her CAS hours. Other students talked about the challenges of finding a balance between homework and spending time with family and friends, often at

home or at upscale restaurants across Beirut. Amal casually mentioned she went to “To downtown. Zeytouna […] and my friend’s house” (FG4). In 2016, Zeytouna Bay was Beirut’s newest stretch of restaurants and cafes, located on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, a place my friends would go occasionally for celebrations or nice dinners too. It was out of reach to many in Beirut, but this comment, the way she casually mentioned it, reminded me that these students come from pockets of Beirut that have access to the nicest and fanciest parts of the city and these luxuries are seen as normal life by them.

## Elite international schools in Lebanon

Most students in Lebanon attend private schools (World Bank, 2022). However, most of these schools are run by religious institutions that charge no fees or only token amounts. As noted above, religious groups have often filled the vacuum left by the government in Lebanon, which is enabled through the declaration of the National Pact, and the education sector is no exception (World Bank, 2022). The popularity of private schools is due to low confidence in the public education system, so much so that up to 14% of Lebanon’s education budget is spent on tuition fees for civil servants’ kids’ private school fees (World Bank, 2022).

Although private, most schools still follow the Lebanese Baccalaureate, which is required for all Lebanese who cannot gain exemptions. Some schools make it possible for students to prepare for both

the Lebanese Baccalaureate and the French Baccalaureate, the secondary school programme run by the French government. In other countries the IB has been adapted similarly, so that students can complete the national programme at the same time, but the Lebanese government does not allow this. The IB Coordinator at the school said one reason for this might be due to religious schools' opposition to the IB's commitment to the theory of evolution, but admitted that was only a rumour she had heard. So, unlike the French Baccalaureate, the IB is limited to those students who can gain an exemption and want to opt out of the Lebanese Baccalaureate if they are Lebanese citizens. At the time of research, only eight schools in the country, all private, were authorised to use IB programming. These schools charge tuitions close to, or more than in some cases, the average GDP per capita in Lebanon, which was approximately $8,170 in 2016 (World Bank, 2023). These private schools, including CMIS, are seen as elite and are out of reach to most Lebanese. They cater to children from wealthy families, and they are the most popular choice for children of non-Lebanese expats living in the country. These children come from families living in that top decile mentioned by Piketty. They are the children of politicians and civil servants, businesspeople, and doctors.

It is not only wealth that defines those in the top decile of society, but their connections that allow them to enjoy luxuries others cannot access. In Lebanon, as mentioned in Chapter 1, this is known as *wasta*, a concept describing a particular form of nepotism that is about who you know and

how much you can pay to avoid a problem. For example, some wealthier Lebanese women have procured citizenship for their children, although this is officially prohibited, by buying off the right officials. Another example is the prevalence of generators. Instead of using their elite status to lobby for energy reforms, which would benefit the country and could minimise electrical cuts across the country, those who can afford it, buy generators to provide themselves with energy during the cuts.

Finally, connections help elite Lebanese gain employment. Some Lebanese, especially men, work abroad, primarily in the Gulf states, while their wives raise the children in Lebanon. There was at least one student, Ali, like this in my study. Ali told me he already had a job in his father's company, should he want it, following university graduation. This potential to use *wasta* to solve individual problems has contributed to a cycle of corruption in the country, as it gives wealthier and better-connected Lebanese little incentive to mobilise, campaign or push for change, as they can buy their way out of many problems that appear to be forbidden. Education at these elite schools can contribute to this as students gain access to contacts and connections that will serve them later in life. The concept of *wasta* impacts the practice of citizenship in Lebanon, as citizens cannot all access rights equally, because this is dependent on who you know (Joseph, 1997). To an extent this is true in many countries, as elites are generally better resourced and connected, but this privilege is uniquely felt in such a small, postcolonial nation where the gap between the elites

and other citizens is vast, and the government has not worked to address it.

Throughout this chapter I have alluded to elements of CMIS that showcase the wealth and privilege of the students enrolled, such as nights out at Zeytouna Bay, possession of generators, or the ability to travel abroad to complete Model UN. Even commuting to school, students are driven by parents or hired drivers or catch the school bus, which costs extra. As mentioned previously, I met a taxi driver who is contracted to take two sisters to school every morning. Another physical marker of elite education is the role of technology within Charles Malek. Few objects symbolise wealth at a school like an iPad in the hand of every student. IPads were central to schooling at CMIS, and used in almost every class, either as textbooks or notebooks. I saw students present draft essays on their iPads. These status markers were mentioned casually by the students, and as I became more interested in class I started paying closer attention to the ways the students' elite backgrounds affected their engagement with the IBDP, as discussed further in Chapter 8.

## Students and IB research

I mentioned in Chapter 4 that my presence, and my research project, would be emphasising concepts like international mindedness more than the IBDP curriculum alone, and I would be asking students to use and reflect on these concepts more than they would be if I was not present. This is one

way in which my research might influence their studies and I was always on the lookout for others. During my third visit, after asking the students some questions about the IB in general, I realised that my presence was contributing to the idea that the IB community was something worthy of study. I paid close attention to how much they understood about the IBDP beyond their immediate classes, such as in relation to the network or the way it is set up. As a researcher I was constantly linking my observations to past research findings or claims made by IB literature, but the students did not have any of this context. They did not know how the larger IB World Schools network was structured. They had assumed that all students in the IBDP were learning from the same books and following the same curriculum, which is not true as teachers have freedom over their classes as long as they are preparing their students for the same final external assessments, which are written in such a way as to cover many topics. After a round of focus groups with the students I reflected on this in my research journal:

> …[S]tudents don't seem to know how their IB experiences connect to the larger IB network. They didn't know that their TOK textbook was only one option, not the only option (and I didn't even mention that some schools don't use textbooks at all for TOK). They wanted to know if theirs was the 'easiest' and I replied by asking since all students take the same exam, would you want the 'easiest'? I did point out that their book is

> the only one made in partnership with the IB, so they appreciated that. In talking to them, it became clear they thought that their teachers were following a plan set by the IB and hadn't realised that the schools control the day to day and the content.

This entry was a reminder to me that although I was intimately aware of the ways that IB World Schools are connected the students' experiences with the IB were more limited and localised. They assumed that all students engaged in the IB were learning the same content, as with the Lebanese or French Baccalaureates. This meant that much of the classroom material they attributed to the IBDP as opposed to the teachers, who are the ones who chose what to discuss as long as it aligned with IB criteria. Whereas in future chapters I consider choices made by the teachers, particularly when and how to introduce the concept of international mindedness or whether to teach Middle East history units, the students were not aware of this process in the same way. They saw teachers less as the creators of their educational programming and more as guides overseeing the IBDP programme. In addition, the students did meet other students during Model UN conferences or other projects, but these were students from international schools, and not just those enrolled in the IBDP, so it was more about networking with international students than comparing IB experiences.

In addition, I spent time thinking about how well findings from current IB research aligned with the realities I was witnessing at Charles Malek. As

I discuss in later chapters, the pressures of time were felt by both students and teachers, which is an observation shared with past research (Lai et al., 2014). My research sheds new light on past conversations about how Western knowledge is often claimed as international (Poonoosamy, 2016). However, I discovered that some widely used concepts did not align with the realities I was observing and found evidence that a frequently used concept became problematic when situated within my case study. Here I explain how one such concept, relied upon frequently to describe students in international schools, did not seem applicable to my case study and why I opted not to apply it in my research.

The concept of the Third Culture Kid (TCK) (Useem & Downie, 1976) has frequently been used to describe students learning international education in international school settings and is explicitly linked to the IBDP in research (Thompson & Hayden, 1998). Originally coined to describe American expatriate children who grew up in India, most to parents who were missionaries, the TCK was a label given to someone who had difficulty feeling at home in America (their first culture) *and* in the Host country (their second culture). This proposed third culture is an imagined space hosting an alternative culture the TCKs could claim as theirs (Useem & Downie, 1976). The term has come to represent more than these American students, purporting to represent any student who has “spent a significant part of his or her developmental years outside the parents’ culture. The TCK builds relationships to all the cultures, while not having full ownership in any”

(Pollock & van Reken, 2001, p. 19). It should be noted that most of these early TCKs were exceedingly privileged, but this aspect of their identity is minimised, or ignored, in research. The focus remains on the binary between Home and Host and how students can settle somewhere in a third space, beyond these two categories. For this third culture to exist, a homogeneity between Home and Host cultures is assumed, implying that there is one set way to experience such cultures and that anyone who does not conform lacks “ownership”. Perhaps most applicable to my own research, this simplistic understanding of how individuals access and belong to cultures does not make space for the complicated experiences of multi-cultural and multi-national students, nor does it explore how feelings and experiences of culture are shaped by class, wealth, and privilege.

Since the late 1990s the TCK has been an active trope in research on international schools. The TCK was introduced into the field of international education by a practitioner-researcher named Mary Langford, an admissions and communications director at an IB World School in London. Langford declared that TCKs and international schools “are destined to remain interdependent” (Langford, 1998, p. 39). As noted above, this approach reinforces the notion of the international school as a bubble, implying that international schools are not only distinct from local cultures but that they possess their own culture. It has been argued (Emenike & Plowright, 2017) that even if there are local students present at such international schools, their fraternising with international students and

international education removes them from the local and embeds them within this third culture. A reliance on the concept of the TCK further obscures how students relate to their Local. Conversations on TCKs work to find commonalities across all students at international schools, at the expense of better understanding how students negotiate feelings of belonging between Local communities and school communities. Further, the fact that many of these schools are elite and privileged, while occasionally mentioned in passing, is not analysed as part of the findings.

For these reasons the concept of the TCK, popular in similar research projects (Harrington, 2008; Heyward, 2002; McNulty & Carter, 2018; Meyer, 2015) based at international schools, was not a useful frame of reference for this project, especially as I became more interested in how the Local was represented within the IBDP classroom at the case study school. While I do not work with the concept of the TCK, Chapter 8 addresses similar questions the concept speaks to around civic identities and how students relate to the communities around them. Instead of seeking to isolate the students, as the concept of the TCK does, I explore these questions in their current location, examining how the absence of feelings of belonging or connecting to a culture or state of which the students might be a member is a response. The students in my study are embedded in the Local around them so much so that I devoted a chapter to exploring these connections. Does this absence of the TCK imply that all the students in this study connect instead to a Home or a Host culture? Not

at all. In opting to avoid this binary I hope to complicate conversations around these cultures and to show that for many of these students it is no longer a case of choosing between two distinct cultures, but rather of reconciling elements from many cultures within their own sense of civic self.

## Chapter 5 conclusion

In this chapter I have explained key elements of the Local, setting the scene for my research and analysis. While in the field I realised how integral foregrounding the Local would be to my findings, and thus have dedicated a chapter to providing an outline of how I understand the Local. In international education, as noted in Chapter 3, there is a tendency to assume that schools operate as bubbles, such that researchers assume findings from one international school can be applied to another, regardless of local context. Some research further isolates students from their Locals, as in the case of the TCKs (Useem & Downie, 1976), as if enrolment in international education makes them supra-national, when really, for many, especially in Lebanon, their practice of international education is directly related to the political citizenships they do or do not hold.

In producing a body of work that centres the Local, I felt it was important to describe some of the factors that existed during my visits to Lebanon, in terms of how the school was organised and who attended, and in terms of what else was going on in the local context. Of course, more environmental, political, and socio-economic-cultural factors shaped the teachers', students', and the researcher's experiences during this time, but

this chapter attempted to provide background information that will help situate the findings which will be discussed in those following. While the Local for this project is Beirut and the broader Middle East, the findings discussed in the next three chapters will offer insights into the practice of international education internationally.

This chapter provided background to Local events that were occurring throughout the duration of my field visits, 2016-2018. Of course, life in Lebanon continued once I completed my fieldwork and returned to London, and subsequently Berlin. A French expression perhaps sums up recent developments in Lebanon since my last field visit: *plus ça change, plus c'est la meme chose*. The country slipped further into an economic crisis. The Lebanese lyra devalued so much it lost the ability to peg itself to the US dollar and banks refused to let customers withdraw their own funds (Safi, 2022). Electrical cuts increased, as did sanitation crises. Many of those who could flee the country, often due to possession of a second nationality, did so. The war in Syria raged on, often quite violently and with constant international meddling, and refugees in Lebanon found themselves in a prolonged status of limbo, in a country that did not attempt to help them integrate and, often, encouraged or pushed them to return to Syria (Amnesty International, 2022). The economic crisis, coupled with the Covid-19 pandemic, only increased struggles across the country. In August 2020, an explosion at the Beirut port, best blamed on decades of government incompetence and corruption, killed 100 people and inflicted

damage across East Beirut, and no one has been held accountable (Mroue, 2022). Finally, in November 2022, Lebanon was again without a president, as parliament could not agree on Aoun's successor. These more recent events cast a shadow over both my memories of Lebanon and how I approached the data I had collected. While I had initially noted the silences on the topic of class within international education at CMIS, the increased focus on the country's wealth disparity had never been so stark in my mind, which encouraged me to continue to ask such questions and explore how the data spoke to class privilege and inequalities present within the Local. In addition, as I read about new waves of Lebanese migration, questions arise about what privileges exist for those who are geographically mobile, the IB's initial and assumed audience, and how this mobility and choice of citizenships impacts conversations around civic identities. I could not have predicted what has happened to Lebanon when I left in 2018 but the unfolding news has continued to shape how I consider my data and how I seek to situate my findings in specific times and places. These themes and questions remain present and are considered in various ways over the next three chapters.

# Chapter 6: How international mindedness travelled to the case study school

As established in previous chapters, international mindedness is a flagship concept within IB discourse. This chapter explores how international mindedness (IM) has been conceptualised and taught at the case study school and how this has shaped discourse around the local, national, and international. To do this, I use an adapted model of travelling theory (Said, 1983), as introduced in Chapter 2. Analysing IM across the four steps of travelling theory, I review the concept's origins, trace the path of travel from its origin to its new home within IB discourse, and then ultimately to the case study school, with the aim of better understanding how IM is practised there through the IBDP. Findings show that through the application of international mindedness, the IB privileges Western knowledge and approaches, a situation which has been observed at other IB World Schools in the post-colonial world (Poonoosamy, 2016, 2018). In addition, I argue that education for IM at the case study school perpetuates methodological nationalism by encouraging teachers to think of the international in terms of national units. Further education for IM can be perceived as promoting the international above the Local or national. This is especially true when the local is postcolonial and not a dominant global power.

## Step one: Origin

Step one in Said's travelling theory explores the origin of an idea. Through a literature review explicitly focused on international mindedness, I aimed to establish its roots, how it was initially used, and by whom. Considering IM's ambiguous and contested nature in both the practice and research of international education, I investigated the concept's origin and how it moved into established IB parlance to better contextualise my findings from the case study. As mentioned in the previous chapter, international education frequently relies on the binary between the West and the rest. One strong example linking the IB's pedagogy and educational approaches to Western thought is evidenced through examination of the history of the concept of international mindedness.

While the IB does not intend education for international mindedness to be their only outlet for citizenship education, this flagship concept serves a similar purpose in the IB, as a signpost for lessons and discussions on many issues which overlap with citizenship education. It is frequently the entry point into discussions on citizenship within the IB (Dabrowski, 2016). I began my research with it, as well, and through an exploration of IM I was introduced to the other concepts central to my research. Therefore, it seems fitting to discuss it first, tracing the concept back to its roots, to understand how IM serves the IB today.

In the field of international education (IE), the origin of international mindedness is most often traced to a 1929 article by the American

philosopher George Mead, which contrasted the international mind with the national mind (Cause, 2012; Hurley, 2006). Based on this article, it appears that the international mind is distinct from, and in competition with, the national mind. It follows that the international mind is a product of the interwar years, a concept that came about to encourage global solidarity, as a way of discouraging war between nations. However, outside of IE, researchers, particularly those in philosophy, have found that international mindedness predates World War I and was deeply entrenched in early 20th century conceptions of nationalism as opposed to being an alternative to it. In 1912, then president of Columbia University, Nicolas Murray Butler, stated his understanding of an international mind:

> The international mind is nothing else than that habit of thinking of foreign relations and business, and that habit of dealing with them, which regard the several nations of the civilized world as friendly and cooperating equals in aiding the progress of civilization, in developing commerce and industry, and in spreading enlightenment and culture throughout the world. (Butler, 1912, p. 102)

Butler situates the international mind not in terms of global solidarity but as a promoter of a certain kind of civilisation, one that seeks to spread Enlightenment values and a particular brand of culture, today classified as Western. According to Fischer (2008), the civilised world at the time was understood as "[Western] European nations, and white settler colonies such

as Canada and Australia. The United States as a white settler ex-colony, and sometimes Japan and some South American republics, were also included" (p. 511). Except for Japan, all these civilised countries developed around Christian values and cultures. Christianity played a large role in this early conception of development and civilisation (Fischer, 2008).

Academics like Mead and Butler not only promoted Christianity, although critics argued even this was due to opportunism more than piety (Sinclair, 1923/2021), but they espoused critical views of other religions, especially Islam (Fischer, 2008) and Judaism (Norwood, 2007). As president of Columbia University, Butler oversaw the creation of quotas for Jewish students, decreasing Jewish students' enrolment from over 50% of the study body to just under 25% (Norwood, 2007). Clouded by his own anti-Semitism and his beliefs on world order and trade, Butler was slow to denounce Nazism and even hosted an event at Columbia for the Nazi ambassador to the US, calling him "intelligent, honest, and well-mannered", mere months after the 1933 Nazi book burning campaign (Norwood, 2007, p. 254). Butler was one of the best-known academics of his day; he even ran for the US vice presidency (Sinclair, 1923/2021) and was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931 (Norwood, 2007). His views were seen as mainstream, especially by those in elite and wealthy American circles. Butler and his contemporaries looked down on those less educated and less well off. When Butler ran for the US vice presidency, he lied about his roots, claiming to be related to old money and not the son of a car mechanic

(Sinclair, 1923/2021). It was said that Butler "loved the rich with a passion" (Baltzell, 1964, as cited in Norwood, 2007, p. 258). Butler's actions, and his words, were a product of his times, arguing for greater international cooperation as a way to protect American interests, but they were also a product of his elite status, wherein he had a vested interest in preserving the status quo of American society.

These beliefs of the upper echelons of American academia about spreading specific models of civilisation, steeped in Christian and Enlightenment values, echoed Western justifications of colonial rule, thereby sympathising with these colonial enterprises. The French spoke of undertaking *la mission civilitrice* to rationalise exerting its power and values over others. It is not so much about understanding others as global equals as it is about maintaining and promoting a beneficial worldview to those already holding most of the power on the international stage. Although areligious in name, in practice international mindedness was part of a conversation that promoted Western cultural practices based on Christianity and Enlightenment principles and took a negative view of other religious traditions and backgrounds.

In 1912, global power dynamics were on the precipice of a major reorder. The United States was on the rise while the British, Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires were weakening. Empire, as an institution, was weakening in favour of the nation state model. During this time, only a minority of the world's people were recognised as citizens of nation states.

Today, only a small number are not, and it is hard to find an education model that does not reflect this worldview. According to Butler, to claim an international mind was to signal that you supported remaking the world in this model, privileging a model of civilisation based on Christianity and the Enlightenment and one that sought to preserve global power among a select number of worthy states. Butler's world order was one that foregrounded methodological nationalism. The international mind is "not inconsistent with sincere and devoted patriotism," he said (Butler, 1912, p. 101). For Butler, the acquisition of an international mind was soft power currency for a nation state, not a call for a more united international community.

Powerful Western nations saw a benefit to creating a world order in their image. The nation state model of global governance became normalised during the interwar years through the establishment of the League of Nations and other early international organisations which accepted the (Western) European model of the nation state as the norm that should be promoted for all regions (Chatterjee, 2016). The League of Nations was even authorised with reproducing this version of statehood throughout the rest of the world, including through the Mandate system, which I mentioned in the previous chapter as instrumental in the creation of Lebanon by France. The international mind was not just about advancing this singular version of civilisation and promoting the organisation of a new world order based on nation states but was also about one's relationship to

their own nation. For some, including Mead, international mindedness was another tool for increasing American soft power. Mead writes:

> …[W]e will find ourselves faced by a league of Latin nations in America, resentful of our assertion of supremacy in this hemisphere. Over against such a league we would be compelled to maintain a vast military establishment and our whole life would be vitiated by the very system against which we took up arms in a Prussianise Germany. (Mead, 1929, as cited in Fischer, 2008, p. 509)

Mead's "we" refers to American citizens. In early conceptions, being nationally minded was not perceived as being in opposition to international mindedness but as an essential first step; this often-overlooked point becomes important to keep in mind as international mindedness starts to travel away from its origins in American elite, academic and political circles and into discourse around international education. It will indeed become the foundation of the IB's approach to IM and citizenship education.

Finally, even the construct of framing ideas around a "mind" was a popular method at the turn of the century. Fischer (2008) notes that one of the more famous academics of this era, American educator John Dewey, also proposed no less than six different "minds" during his career. Referring to something as being of the mind was used conversationally within these academic circles (Fischer, 2008). In reviewing the early usages of international mindedness it appears that it also arose through such informal

conversations and has not been developed with a clear definition or purpose, but more as a signpost for an ideal or a perspective held by those applying it. This lack of clarity from the beginning is important to keep in mind as we seek to trace its movements into other times and conversations, as it shows that it is nearly impossible to infer a singular meaning from the concept. Incidentally Dewey, who is often credited as an influence on the IB, was known to Butler (Hewlett, 1987) and Mead (Aboulafia & Taylor, 2023).

Fischer's research is known to those studying international mindedness within international education, yet no one has reconciled the differences between her claims and the way the IB presents the history of IM. An IB-funded study (Singh & Qi, 2013) cited the article but did not acknowledge the findings which contradict the IB's creation story of IM, which is that IM was conceived as a response to global challenges that arose following World War I. No articles on IM within the field of IE, to my knowledge, acknowledge Fischer's claim that international mindedness was first conceived as a tool to promote American interests. If they acknowledge the history of the concept, most articles (Bunnell, 2019; Hurley, 2006; Singh & Qi, 2013) credit only to Mead (1929). None cite Butler's earlier speech (1912) on the subject or seek to contextualise how Mead understood it. While Dewey is often acknowledged as an influence on IB programming and IM (Hill, 2012), his proximity to IM's origins is frequently ignored. Ian Hill (2013), writing during his tenure as IB director general, skips this era

entirely and writes that he believes the first use of international mindedness was in 1951, with the establishment of the Conference of Internationally Minded Schools, a key meeting that jumpstarted the group of educators that would form the IB in the late 1960s. Hill's (2012, 2013) selection of historical references on IM implies that the IM is not saddled with any historical connotations of its own and that it came about through the same international education conversations the produced the IB.

The historical narrative around international mindedness found in international education appears to have been selectively chosen to cultivate IM as a global, positive notion. Therefore, adopting Said's travelling theory in exploring the current application of IM is vital as it helps contextualise how this concept has transformed and been adopted, given there is no clear historical record to follow otherwise.

## Step two: Movement

Step two of travelling theory concerns movement. Here, I focus on the movement of international mindedness through international education discourse as I recognise that from origin, a concept might be appropriated by several distinct conversations. I explore how it travelled and how it became embedded as a flagship concept of the International Baccalaureate, with an emphasis on who initiated such travels and for what purposes. This step sees international mindedness shift away from use solely by the American intelligentsia, where it supported the expansion of a

particular global civilisation governed by the US, to narrower conversations around international education, an emerging field at the time. Over time, the concept loses its links to American exceptionalism, through adopting an idealistic ethos of global inclusivity; this updated international mindedness becomes a signifier within conversations for those elements of international education that cannot be categorised by subject and relate to the greater "mission", which professes to use education to create peace between nations.

Some key figures, such as Mead, took part in both the pre-World War I initial conversations about the international mind and its transformation within the burgeoning explicit practice of international education during the interwar years. Other figures emerged during this time, aiding the travels of international mindedness in different ways, including Marie-Therese Maurette, the long-time head of Ecolint introduced in Chapter 1. For example, in 1925, Ecolint's first mission statement, stated that the school aimed to "prompt, in the students, the development of a truly international mind and to create an *atmosphere* around them, which fosters the development of such a mind" (École Internationale de Genève, "Premier rapport annuel 1925–1926" as cited by Dugonjić, 2014, pp. 148-49). It seems like too much of a coincidence to believe the staff at Ecolint came up with this term independently of contemporary academic conversations, especially given the funding and support Ecolint received from members of America's elite academic class (Dugonjić, 2014).

Another educator who was instrumental in overseeing the travel and eventual settlement of international mindedness within IB discourse was Alec Peterson. According to the IB's promotional materials, without Peterson the entire IB project "may never have happened" (International Baccalaureate, 2022d). Before spearheading the IB, Peterson wore many hats: a British WWII psychological warfare director, civil servant of the British Empire, and educator based at several British schools, and, ultimately, at Oxford University (International Baccalaureate, 2022d). While Peterson was not alone in promoting IM as an IB concept, this section argues that Peterson, who was the first director general of the IB, served as a link between older conceptions of international mindedness and its journey to becoming an IB flagship concept. I explore how his background and beliefs contributed to current understandings of education for international mindedness within IB discourse. This section is not a comprehensive history of Peterson's role within the IB, nor is it a definitive historical account of the early days of the IB, several of which already exist (Peterson, 1978; see also Hill, 2010; Leach, 1969; Matthews & Hill, 2005).

Prior to his work in education, Peterson worked with Lord Mountbatten, who was, among his many roles, the last viceroy of India and was directly involved in the 1947 partition that was ultimately responsible for the creation of three modern states: India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. During this time, Peterson worked closely with Lord Mountbatten as Deputy-Director of Psychological Warfare for Southeast Asia Command, which

controlled Allied operations across the region (Peterson, n.d.). Peterson's military connections were viewed positively for the establishment of the IB as he was closely connected with politicians and could promote, and fundraise for, the IB in these elite circles (Hill, 2010, p. 66). Peterson's relationship to, and experience defending, the empire is minimised and no IB literature has questioned how his, and undoubtably some of his early IB colleagues, colonial experiences impacted the course of the IBDP's growth, and its conceptualisation of education for IM.

The IB views Peterson's war experience as a positive for the development of education for international mindedness, as it convinced him about the need to teach "peace between nations" (Kirton, 2014). Here, methodological nationalism exists as the foundation as it becomes clear students are national citizens before they are international ones, with his understanding echoing Maurette's earlier call, as introduced in Chapter 1. Peterson's colonial experience, and the way the IB viewed such experience as a benefit, is just one example of how the IB's history is entangled with colonial history. A second, as yet unreconciled, entanglement with empire is that nearly all the IB's early students were children of others engaged in the perpetuation and defence of colonialism and empire building, or at least those who profited from it. Most of those early IB World Schools would not have existed if not for the colonial occupation of, and occasionally the related missionary endeavours within, the Host country. In Chapter 1 I noted how in Maurette's version of international education, she believed students

were expected to return to their Home countries for university study. This transient nature of students within Host countries continued with the establishment of the IB. While everyone spoke of how these students planned to leave their Host countries no one ever questioned why they were in these foreign countries to begin with. Interestingly, one researcher (Dugonjić, 2014) who has challenged the dominant narrative that the IB was created to respond to a specific “need” has been ignored by the loudest voices within international education.

In his memoirs, Peterson mentions that education during the 1960s was viewed as preparation to manage “a business, a colony, a newspaper or a parish” (Peterson, 2003, p. 42). He goes on to note that it was “not very far-sighted” to continue to train for colonial posts, acknowledging that the British Empire was in its final days (Peterson, 2003, p. 42). However, there is no further recognition of colonial and imperial pasts or their legacies in his accounts or other official IB histories. This silence and lack of reckoning over the IB’s shared history with the final days of physical European colonial rule in many regions of the world continues into present-day literature.

Like Maurette, who saw world peace as cooperation between nations and did not envision a global community in the Kantian sense, Peterson (2003) conceived of international education as a type of instruction that could reach students from different countries at the same time. His international education accepted methodological nationalism; he was not aiming to create a borderless world with the population living as a single,

global community. Hill (2012), who served as IB deputy director general after Peterson's tenure, noted that Peterson believed education for IM could be done "in a sophisticated, uncompetitive way which allows an individual to admire his/her roots while at the same time being a citizen of the world – the two are complementary, not exclusive" (p. 255). This belief draws direct comparison back to international mindedness' origins, where Butler (1912) professed it was "not inconsistent with sincere and devoted patriotism" (p. 101).

Here, one sees how the IB's approach to citizenship education starts to take shape during Peterson's leadership. I have argued in previous chapters that the IB separates conversations on the national from the global. Citizenship conversations become compartmentalised. Peterson was as aware as any about the complex diplomacy needed to run educational programming in several countries, as education was often the accepted domain of state governments. This separation of national patriotism from the development of IM was intentional, established to avoid stepping on nations' toes. To keep those in his political rolodex appeased Peterson encouraged the IB to avoid conversations that mention citizenship explicitly (Tarc, 2009). While not too much is stated publicly on the issue, it seems this sentiment might have been the start of, or at least contributed to, using international mindedness instead of citizenship within IB programming.

Hill (2012) noted that Peterson's observation that IM and national citizenship were "complementary" to education on national citizenship remains enshrined in IB programming. "IB documents express similar advice," continued Hill (2012, p. 255), which indicates the longevity of Peterson's influence over the IB. In another article (2006) Hill extends this compartmentalisation approach to citizenship education by stressing that "…global citizenship should not devalue the nation state" (p. 15). This affirms Peterson's legacy by showing how IB leadership continue to discuss national citizenship and global citizenship as separate entities. Education for IM contributes to this, its name alone reaffirming that education on the international can be divorced from local, or national, lessons. I pick up this thread in the following chapter where I look at how national representations manifest through engagement with the IBDP and how this affects conversations around the Local.

In the 50 years since Peterson took the helm of the IB, IM has remained at the forefront of IB programming and branding. The concept is praised yet remains hard to pin down. The IB continues to promote education which takes international perspectives into account. The most recent official definition of IM I could find was in an internal document from 2009 that Hill made public through one of his articles (2012). This internal document, which I first quoted in Chapter 1, and used as my starting point for understanding IM within the IB, states that international mindedness is:

> an openness to and curiosity about the world and people of other cultures, and a striving towards a profound level of understanding of the complexity and diversity of human interactions. The IB describes attributes of international mindedness in its learner profile. (IB internal document, 2009, as cited in Hill, 2012, p. 256)

While the essence of IM remains, the language has evolved. The IB no longer talks about nations, but about cultures and interactions, thereby downplaying any direct link to national perspectives in official publications, in line with Peterson's objective of avoiding controversy with national governments. The methodological nationalism underpinnings are more subtle.

However, even for Hill this internal document was unsatisfactory. In that same article, IB Deputy Director Hill (2012) concluded by offering a new definition of IM:

> …[E]ducation for international mindedness is the study of issues which have application beyond national borders and to which competencies such as critical thinking and collaboration are applied in order to shape attitudes leading to action which will be conducive to intercultural understanding, peaceful co-existence and global sustainable development for the future of the human race. (p. 259)

In creating his own definition, Hill offers no explanation as to what he deemed to be missing from the IB definition as cited from internal documents. He fails to address why he, as a researcher, would develop his own definition when he, as senior leadership, could influence the official IB definition. Hill's personal definition replaced the emphasis on curiosity about the world and people of other countries with an interest in issues which have application beyond national borders, thus centring methodological nationalism's role more squarely within international mindedness. It is about issues beyond borders more than an openness to the world. He also emphasises competencies which contribute to IM, which are more specific than the "profound level of understanding" suggested by the first. It would have been beneficial for Hill to explain why a new definition was needed and what he found lacking in the official version, one that he would have had influence over in his position as deputy director of the IB.

Three years later, as I was preparing for fieldwork, Hill extended his understanding of IM again, declaring it to be interchangeable with international education (Hill, 2015). True, Hill might be writing in his personal capacity and not speaking for the organisation, but it should raise questions when the deputy director of an organisation muses so publicly in a direction different from that of the official organisation. At the very least, it shows that there remains an element of confusion around IM within the IB itself; how much of that confusion is intentional is less apparent. It is confusing that few researchers have opted to challenge the discrepancy in the definitions,

opting to label the concept contested without interrogating what the differences between the various understandings are.

As noted earlier, an IB position paper on citizenship education (Davy, 2011) explicitly connected IM with global citizenship education. More recently, an IB-funded report appears to expand IM's remit to include the local and national, contradicting earlier policies. "What seems to be important is the relationship with others", said a 2016 IB report on education for IM, explaining that IM could speak to the local (Hacking et al., 2016, p. 41). This contradicts the earlier understanding from the 2011 position paper which spoke of IM as distinct from "local and national mindedness" (Davy, 2011, p. 14), arguing that all three should be developed in parallel. National mindedness is rarely found in literature beyond 2011, such that it can be assumed that IB agrees that IM can encompass knowledge at both the national and international level.

Others have noted this reluctance to reconcile past scholarship on IM (Cochrane, 2017). There is some recognition that the IB's hesitancy to clarify IM is purposive, a balance between "diversity and uniformity" (Rizvi et al., 2014, p. 82), where it attempts to allow individual schools to practise IM as they choose without being too prescriptive. This makes sense from an IB policy perspective, treating IM as a flagship concept to be promoted and utilised as needed by IB World Schools. It is less obvious why researchers of the IB have allowed such a patchwork approach to scholarship on the concept and have shied away from investigating past

definitions before offering new ones. With all this academic confusion and contestation in mind, it becomes even more important for researchers to enter classrooms and observe how education for IM is practiced and used by teachers and students, which is the focus of the next section.

## Step three: Snapshots of reception

Here, as outlined in Chapter 2, is where my framework for travelling theory diverges from Said's original four steps. Over the two years of fieldwork, it became clear that education for international mindedness was understood in many ways and these practices would not fit neatly into Said's proposed binary of conditions of acceptance or resistance. I repurposed this step to capture that diversity and to make space for multiple appropriations and examples of the newly settled idea. This section relies on data collected through my fieldwork, focusing on classroom observations and interviews with teachers.

I explore the movement of international mindedness within the case study school, Charles Malek International School (CMIS). Instead of limiting my research on IM to one subject, as past empirical studies have done, I designed my project to have the flexibility to observe education for international mindedness across subjects, which is how the IB has envisioned it to occur (Davy, 2011). During classroom observations, I monitored when the concept of international mindedness was used and whether it was mentioned by the teacher, a student, or the material, such

as a textbook. I also observed how students responded to the term when it was mentioned, paying particular attention to questions or comments they raised, and whether they took notes or further actions. Here, I provide three snapshots of how international mindedness was received by teachers and students at CMIS, a newly authorised IB World School, and how those moments relate to existing research on IM.

Snapshot from maths: International mindedness as a tool for conversations with others

The first class I observed at the case study school was maths. On Friday, October 7, 2016, the school receptionist escorted me down the long hall of the first floor of the main building, where most secondary school classes are held. Although we were two minutes early for second period, I was surprised to see students not only in their chairs, but with their books, calculators, and pencil cases out. They were all quiet and already appeared engaged in the lesson. It was only after the class that I learned I had joined the second half of a double period, because Miss Maya, the IB Coordinator, had thought I would not want to arrive early enough for first period.

Mr Rashid, the maths teacher, paused to acknowledge my presence and offered me a desk in the back row. I had met Mr Rashid the day before at my first meeting with the IB staff and he had seemed welcoming of my project. There were seven students in the class: five girls and two boys. They were mostly sitting in the first two rows, and a glance at the whiteboard

informed me they were studying functions. I described the set-up of the room in my notebook:

> The room is at the end of the hallway and has two windows on one wall behind the desks. There is a broken analogue clock, frozen at 6:10:17, on the wall with the door. The remaining walls display a corkboard covered in posters and the whiteboard. The posters are a combination of IB branding (one is a colour logo next to the LP attributes; the other is a coloured printout of the IBDP as represented in a circle diagram with the IB core [EE, CAS, TOK] in the middle, other classes around them, etc) and general maths jokes (picture of π says 'get real'; next to it, √ -1 says 'be rational'; another poster reads 'Rules of math: if it seems easy, you're doing it wrong').
>
> The individual desks are arranged haphazardly, and the surfaces are a range of colours: peach, green, yellow, original wood and three shades of blue. All desks and chairs have white rims and legs. Only a few desks have graffiti or pencil scratch marks.
>
> [The maths teacher] appears comfortable at the head of the class. He is standing near the white board, and constantly checks in with the students: 'Do we all agree…'; 'Why is this important?'; 'Why do we need this?'

It was an easy class to follow. Mr Rashid asked clear questions, and paused to let the students finish. He reviewed past concepts. He had a good rapport with the students, pausing to let them ask questions and prompting individuals when no one offered an answer. He invited students to come up to the white board to record answers and supported them to find the correct answer. Students took notes, followed along and, for the most part, concentrated on the material. The language used was English, although a few Arabic words slipped in, mostly when students were making tangential remarks or short one-liner comments to friends during lulls in the lesson.

Towards the end of the lesson, Mr Rashid introduced the concept of universal notation, commonly recognised symbols that mathematicians use and understand regardless of where they work. He asked why this is important. This shift in focus, from functions to universal notation, initially confused students. They had not expected a jump in lesson content. But, once they realised the conversation was no longer related to functions, many students spoke up and mentioned the importance of universal notation for communication between mathematicians and scientists.

Mr Rashid smiled and agreed and said how important this kind of communication was for “international mindedness”. Mr Rashid explained that if mathematicians in the United States and Lebanon are coordinating a project, it is important that both understand that “c” represents the hypotenuse in the Pythagorean formula: $a^2 + b^2 = c^2$. The equation represents a form of cultural literacy that must be learned if one wants to

speak to mathematicians anywhere. This allows for cross-cultural communication and understanding. Students seemed in agreement but did not have much to add and Mr Rashid transitioned the class away from universal notation and returned to some exercises in their textbook. IM was not mentioned again. When the bell rang, the students packed up and I joined them, walking down the hall to the next period.

The class ended.

This early lesson on IM, only a month into students' IB journey, introduced students to the notion that one component of education for international mindedness is knowing the skills needed to communicate in the international community. Being internationally minded means being aware of international standards and being able to communicate through them. The meaning is clear: if someone wants to join the international community, it is important that they learn these accepted international standards. This echoes Butler's call that those with an international mind use it "in aiding the progress of civilisation, in developing commerce and industry, and in spreading enlightenment and culture throughout the world" (Butler, 1929, p. 102), as it is much easier to develop business if everyone is using the same norms and professional standards.

I noticed that Mr Rashid glanced in my direction as he discussed IM. I had been taking notes on the conversation, initially amazed at my luck in observing this moment in my first classroom observation, but then I started to question if he was only talking about this now for my benefit. However,

the more time I spent with Mr Rashid, who was one of two teachers at the school with previous IB experience from other IB World Schools in Lebanon, the more I learned that he had come to incorporate the IB's philosophy and pedagogy into his own practice and fully embraced the language and ideals promoted by the IB. I surmised that my presence may have encouraged him to explicitly mention "international mindedness" that day, or that our conversation the day before had been on his mind, but his raising the concept was not out of character. Had it not occurred on this day he would have had this conversation with the students at another time.

An IB poster about the Learner Profile, recognisable from the IB logo and distinct shade of blue, hung next to his desk. He described himself as a lifelong learner, had attended several IB workshops, and was in the process of completing an MA in Education. For Mr Rashid, it is not enough to teach IB or to talk about IM in class. He also lives and models the attributes the IB promotes through the Learner Profile to further develop international mindedness inside his classrooms. In an interview he explained the importance of modelling behaviour to students. For example, he spoke about the attribute of inquiry: "I told myself that if I don't inquire and if I don't actually acquire these attributes [of the LP], I won't be able to 'dance' with them, these students," he said. "Because if they don't see it in their teachers, they won't acquire it, you know" (I10). Living the LP is intentional for him, and since the LP contributes to the development of IM,

embodying the LP becomes a conscious educational approach to promoting international mindedness inside his classroom.

He explained that another way he promotes IM is to draw attention to the more subtle lessons within textbooks and materials. Mr Rashid said he is aware that the IB strives for an international focus in maths classes and looks for opportunities to highlight this. For example, he likes to engage with the students as to the design elements of their textbooks. One of the three textbooks he chose even has international in its name: *Mathematics for the International Student*, (Haese et al., 2012). The textbook is not endorsed by the IB but was created “in consultation with many experienced teachers of IB Mathematics” (Haese et al., 2012, p. 3). The book was published in Australia and is geared toward a Local that centres Australian knowledge, cultures, and norms. The cover shows a globe, focused on the Middle East, which is Mr Rashid’s Local but is pictured here to portray the international, to signal that this book is concerned with the international. This cover highlighted one of the quieter lessons on IM: for an international to exist, there must be a Local, a place that is familiar to the person undertaking the lesson.

Like many textbooks, the Haese et al. (2012) textbook has little cartoons in the margins, whose characters provide tips (Appendix H). On one page, there was a cartoon of a young girl wearing a headscarf. He pointed to the picture and said: “So I shared this with the students, actually, and told them: Do you know why you have this figure?” Mr Rashid said that

the students had not studied the image and that one student had assumed it was an egg. Mr Rashid said he told them, “It’s a veiled woman. Because [the textbook] is trying to be international…” Women in headscarves are commonly found in Lebanon. Based on conversations I had with students, some students had mothers and female relatives who wore the veil, although no female students in the year wore it themselves. Mr Rashid told me he showed this cartoon to his class but said the students did not recognise it as a woman in a headscarf. He explained that the style in the book is culturally closer to non-Arab Muslim communities so that might explain why the students did not identify it as a headscarf.

He flipped through some pages and pointed: “The names that they use, some of the names are really unfamiliar to us, even to me, and the students because they are from Asia, or I don’t know” (I10). The book is Australian, and the cartoons are targeting an Australian student body, using names and images familiar to that region. This caricature of a woman in a headscarf is one of ten cartoon faces (four women and six men) that pop up throughout the text, offering a hint or fact about the related lessons. She is the only one with a headscarf and the only one visibly connected to Islam. Five of the faces wear glasses, most of the men wear ties, one has a beard, and one woman has red hair. All are visibly light skinned. None of the images appear to represent a person from the Middle East. In this celebration of diversity, the focus is on nationalities, an application of methodological nationalism, as individuals are categorised by country.

Mr Rashid's comments about the images and the names used in questions revealed that a textbook marketed for international students appears only to feature cartoons that celebrate a multicultural Australia, not an international audience more broadly. This might seem like a minor point, focusing on cartoons in the margins, but it highlights a disconnect in this approach to education for international mindedness: for the international to exist, there must first be a local orientation. While there may be attempts by those in the IB and international education to claim that international is universal (Tamatea, 2008; Walker, 2010), what these claims really show is that most involved in international education are starting with an assumed Local, and one that is based in Western cultures and traditions. This does not make it universal, instead showing that most international education makes the same assumptions about who is local, or the intended audience, and who is international, different, or the Other. For students in Lebanon to understand how IM occurs within this book, first they must learn what is local in Australia, as Australian local knowledge is assumed. To do this it is up to the teacher to be proactive, as Mr Rashid explained, noting how he thinks it is important to have these conversations with his students.

While Mr Rashid is available to explain these cultural differences to his students, there are other ways that students from non-Western, non-Anglo, cultures could struggle if international education assumes Western culture as a starting point for universal norms and knowledge. This centring of Western norms could potentially cause challenges for students in final

assessments where their exams are graded by teachers around the world, a point I will explore in the next chapter when analysing why teachers chose to avoid lessons on the Local in some subjects.

But, in conflict with this, is a statement from former IB Director General Walker (2010), who acknowledges the IB's Western bias but believes the programme's popularity is evidence enough that no change is required:

> However, since the IB offers evidently successful programmes of education and continues to expand rapidly, particularly in its Asia-Pacific region, there is little incentive to change […] many students study the Diploma Programme precisely to achieve a passport to higher education in the West. (p. 8)

This acknowledgement by the director general shows that the IB understands that what is being promoted as international education is largely Western education. They are not necessarily eliminating the subtle norms that students from minority cultures might not understand, but their value is perceived in teaching those explicit Western norms that are expected in order to access higher education in the West. Contrapuntal analysis is well-placed to explore this tension, working not only to highlight Western knowledge as dominant, but exploring what has been ignored during its rise.

Through my observations of this maths class, and in subsequent conversations with Mr Rashid, I observed two other ideas about the practice of education for IM. The first is that basic lessons of international mindedness begin with teaching students that there are norms and standards in the international community, which it is their responsibility to learn. But it is more than this; it is about teaching students that the international community is composed of nations, and some national views are deemed more worthy of study, as can be seen in the choice of an Australian textbook.

Mr Rashid is teaching his students that recognising and celebrating a diversity of nationalities is a central aspect of being international or possessing an international mind. As with Peterson, this observation demonstrates that the international community is made up of individuals who are approaching the international via a national perspective. The students remarked on this understanding of IM early on too, with one student describing it as being “concerned with other countries, not only your country” (FG2). IM in the early days of the case study’s relationship with the IB appeared to be discussed in terms of learning about others in other countries.

The second observation is that education for international mindedness is teacher-led. The teacher determines how often to discuss it and whether to model it in their own practices. There are some resources to help but it is up to the teacher to decide how often to introduce them to

the class and how to interpret what is included as education for IM. In addition, those resources often start with an assumed local as their entry point into a more international focus.

Snapshot from chemistry: International cooperation as international mindedness

Following maths, the seven students from Mr Rashid's class and I attended chemistry for third period. I followed behind the students to the classroom, walking the entire length of the first-floor hallway, down some stairs, turning right on the ground floor to connect to another short hallway. The hallways are chaotic during these breaks, with students walking, running, and pushing in all directions. There is no time to stop and chat. The stairs are narrower than the hallways so bottlenecks are formed but the students keep moving as best they can. Students were apologetic if they bumped into me, especially once they realised I was an adult and not their peer.

Desks in the chemistry classroom were arranged in groups of four or six. There was not a lot of space between these makeshift small tables. The class was full: a student occupied every desk. I later learned that students in the US High School Diploma Programme shared the course as the school was too small to have separate English-language chemistry programmes, which explained why there were so many more students than in other classes I observed. The classroom felt even smaller once the students'

educational accessories came out, textbooks were opened, backpacks left on desks, jackets hung off chairs, students not pushing their chairs in after taking their seats and stretching out their legs.

Miss Maya greeted me, and offered me her chair at the teacher's desk, which was positioned in the front corner of the classroom, just off to the right of the whiteboard. I sat down. She did not introduce me to the students but, as students entered the class, I saw the students who I observed in Mr Rashid's maths class whispering to their peers about who I was. Class started with a review of Millikan's oil drop experiment and the properties of atoms. Miss Maya stood towards the front, holding an iPad, which was connected to the screen. Initially, I felt uncomfortable that I was in her chair but, after observing more lessons, I realised she never used her chair, preferring to stand and wander among the desks.

About a third of the way through the lesson, a slide titled *International Mindedness* came up on the screen. The slides are produced by the IB and display the IB logo. I have seen Miss Maya use others from this series in previous classes and the slides are saved on a drive so students can refer to them after classes too. This slide was on CERN, the European Organisation for Nuclear Research. I did not have time to copy the exact wording on the slide, but I found similar material in an IB-published chemistry guide (Appendix I) which suggests linking the lesson on electron configuration to CERN:

> The European Organisation for Nuclear Research (CERN) is run by its European member states (20 states in 2013), with involvements from scientists from many other countries. It operates the world's largest particle physics research centre, including particle accelerators and detectors used to study the fundamental constituents of matter. (International Baccalaureate, 2014, p. 40)

"Why is this included?" Miss Maya asked the class. I was struck by the way she phrased this question, which reinforced the idea that the material is coming directly from the IB. It made it seem like Miss Maya was the messenger and not the curator of the lesson, that she had not in fact selected this slide to show the students.

A student replied, "Because they're international. They're accepted in the field." Miss Maya nodded as the other students watched silently. No students took notes. The words international mindedness were never spoken, but they had been displayed on the screen for all to read. None of the seven students I had previously observed in maths noted that international mindedness had been mentioned in that class as well. But the lesson on IM was similar: there are international norms and standards, and it is your responsibility to learn them. This is not unlike those who insist that a common language is a prerequisite for active citizenship (Lister, 1997). Good citizens must all speak the same language, must all understand the same terms in order to debate in the public arena, some argue. International

mindedness therefore is not just about being aware, being mindful of the international, but about assimilating into it and being able to communicate fluently once there.

More than this, the student's response made a subtle connection, one I noticed in other less conspicuous forms: the idea of respecting something *because* it is international. The international is not just different but it is better. CERN is "accepted" because they are international, according to the student, and Miss Maya had agreed. This is not unlike how the IB students were granted more privileges due to their enrolment in the IB, more perks than even their older peers in other programmes. I will further develop this point in Chapter 8.

Miss Maya moved on to the next slide and the class continued. As we reached the end of class, the students started to lose focus, and asking fewer questions. Their answers to questions became shorter. Miss Maya noticed that the students were slowing down, eager to get to their break. Eventually even she seemed to give in, noting, "this chapter is dull. The next chapter will be more interesting." And with five minutes left of class, Miss Maya told them they could work on homework as students are not allowed to leave classrooms until the bell rings. "Research more about CERN too," Miss Maya suggested. It sounded more like an afterthought, not a clear assignment, no details, no guidance on what they students should look for. She said it as the students completed their homework and started packing up and were no longer giving Miss Maya their full attention.

The class ended.

As in maths, these slides on CERN were seen as supplementary to the actual material. Both examples were offered by IB programming or textbooks, but the teachers had taken the decision to incorporate them. They did not have to, thus underscoring the idea that education for IM is teacher dependent. I did not sit in on the next chemistry class, so I do not know whether the students did research more about CERN. But in no other class observation, interview, or focus group of which I was a part did I hear the students discuss CERN again.

In interviews Miss Maya said that she liked having explicit guidance on IM from the IB and that she hoped the IB would give even more support on how to integrate international mindedness into classes. “I was not satisfied. I did not get anything,” she said, laughing a bit, when recounting her online subject training and its approach to IM. She continued:

> I searched myself and international mindedness was minor in the research. So, most of the IM training I had through the process was as a coordinator. Later on, when I discovered about my course, I got more intro IM. So, like, my programme, for every paragraph, or sub-topic, you have how it applies internationally. So that will help me a lot to gain a better understanding of international mindedness. (I1)

Although she has only been teaching the IBDP for a couple of months, she said her understanding of IM had already changed and she was surprised

by how often she was reassessing her approach to education on IM. That she was not expecting her views on IM to shift so soon implies that her training had not encouraged a flexible approach to IM. For a school to gain IB authorisation, teachers must receive IB training in-person or online, an expense covered by the school. The school had opted for online training, which is much cheaper, partly because an initial assessment had concluded that the school was already closely aligned with IB values and that an online training might be enough to prepare the teachers for this new programme.

Only two months in, she has already come to a new realisation as to how to teach IM:

> Now, I would have answered differently than I answered during the authorisation process. I believe in the authorisation process I didn't have enough information to share how I would apply this to my course [...] So I think my answer was not that deep. So now I believe I should apply it in every instance. So, if we take, for instance, isotopes. Radioactive isotopes. We don't have any here, ok, so I have to tell the students the history behind it. Why do countries fight for these isotopes? So, this is how deep I'm going now into IM for every topic. (I1)

Following our interview, I looked up the lesson on radioactive isotopes in the IB-produced *Chemistry guide*, which suggests connecting the lesson on the nuclear atom to isotope enrichment as an example for international mindedness: "Isotope enrichment uses physical properties to separate

isotopes of uranium, and is employed in many countries as part of nuclear energy and weaponry programmes" (International Baccalaureate, 2014, p. 38). The guide suggests connecting the lesson to national nuclear energy and weaponry programmes. But Miss Maya realised that Lebanon does not have a good example of this, so she adapted international mindedness to be lessons on foreign countries, especially when local examples do not exist.

Miss Maya's comment supports past IB-funded research that conceives of IM as a journey (Hacking et al., 2016). But she was initially uncertain how to begin such a journey and realised it would only start on her own initiative. She was dismissive of her training and said she wished the IB had provided more guidance on IM, thereby saving her the time it took to do this on her own. As a new IB teacher she felt this time would have been better spent helping herself and the students to acclimatise to the programme. Researching IM on her own, especially after an unsatisfying training experience, had felt like an additional burden at this moment in her IB experience.

Snapshot from Theory of Knowledge: What is a mother tongue?

A few weeks later, I observed a Theory of Knowledge (TOK) class and heard international mindedness mentioned again. TOK meets twice a week and students are not given as much homework as for other classes. It was Tuesday, November 15, fourth period, which follows the morning

break. I arrived early and took a seat in the last row, just next to the door. Students came in loudly, chatting, finishing conversations with those in the halls. Some carried bits of a snack or a drink. Miss Hala said they would be finishing Chapter 1 of their textbook, the Oxford edition of *Theory of Knowledge* (Dombrowski et al., 2013), so they opened their books and settled in. One student, who forgot his textbook, wordlessly stood up, walked over to his friend's desk, and snapped a photo of the pages on his phone so he could work from the image.

While there are many TOK textbook options, Miss Hala chose this version because it was endorsed by the IB; the book comes with a seal on the cover displaying the IB's white and blue logo and reads "In cooperation with IB". While the IB does not require a certain textbook, as a new IB teacher Miss Hala said she felt most comfortable selecting the textbook that was published with explicit guidance from the IB. Dombrowski, the lead author, taught IB English and TOK for over 20 years at United World Colleges, selective boarding schools that use the IB (Dombrowski et al., 2013). She was also a TOK assessor and spent most of her career in her native Canada (Dombrowski et al., 2013). The two other co-authors are American and Canadian educators, who have previously taught or assessed TOK, and have worked in North and South America (Dombrowski et al., 2013). The Local for this textbook is undeniably North America, particularly Canada.

The first chapter started with an assignment for students to draw maps of the world from memory to learn what parts of the world they emphasise and to discuss how people see the world differently. These maps were hanging on the wall by the door. The final activity of the chapter was a list of questions meant to encourage students to identify how their background has shaped the way they view the world (Appendix J). Following the questions is a blurb entitled *Becoming 'internationally minded'* (Dombrowski et al., 2013, p. 27). Miss Hala talked about how everyone has a worldview and how your background contributes to its formation. The example she gave was a hypothetical situation about a child from an abusive home whose parent was an alcoholic and how that might affect their worldview.

"If someone went through that, do we have to write about it?" one student asked.

"Yes. It's part of the background, it's your perspective," she said. Then Miss Hala referred them back to the questions in the book to get started. Like the maths book, the pages are decorated with smiling faces but this time they are photos. The textbook says they are photos of real IB students, and most were wearing stereotypical national costumes: a Hispanic boy in a sombrero, two Black girls in colourful African-print dresses, two Indians girls in saris, two fair-skinned girls in Eastern European embroidered shawls and vests.

The first question was *"How old are you? How might your age affect both what you know and your attitude towards gaining knowledge?"* (Dombrowski et al., 2013, p. 26). The students began to write, pencils scratching on paper replaced voices. As the class worked silently, noises from outside became more noticeable: students late to other classes shutting their classroom doors and the shrieks of younger students enjoying the playground during their recess period were the most pronounced. A few minutes later, the office manager appeared at the door and said Miss Hala was needed at the office. Behind the office manager was the psychology teacher, Mr Charbel, who had arrived to serve as a substitute teacher. Miss Hala told the students to continue answering the questions, which would be discussed next lesson. Mr Charbel, who the students know, took a seat at the teacher's desk at the front of the room.

"What is a mother tongue?" one male student asked, breaking the silence. A few heads popped up to focus on the reply, signalling that they too were unclear about the wording of question two, which read: "*What is your mother tongue? What other languages do you speak? How might your particular language(s) affect your knowledge*?" (Dombrowski et al., 2013, p. 26).

"It's the language your mother speaks," a female student responded. A few others murmured unintelligible replies, but the tones indicated they disagreed with this answer.

"If you're born in Lebanon, then your mother tongue should be Arabic," Mr Charbel said decisively.

"But what if your parents speak French at home?" another female student asked. The question implied there should be one dominant language, but some of these students speak multiple languages equally.

"I speak English and Arabic. I don't have just one. Can we have two?" another male student said, speaking as the first student finished her question.

"It's whatever one you know best," Mr Charbel said.

"I speak both equally," the male student persisted.

"If you're angry and you want to swear, what language do you use?" Mr Charbel asked. Many students laughed, but others, under their breath, whispered a language to their neighbours and wrote it down.

"It depends on who is around me," the male student said loudly enough for the class to hear. The class fell back into silence after his, the pencils and pens and occasional finger pressing on iPad back at work.

I was reminded of Edward Said who had grappled with these same questions during his time as an Arab child in elite English-speaking private schools:

> …Arabic, my native language, and English, my school language, were inextricably mixed: I have never known which was my first language, and have felt fully at home in neither, although I dream in both. Every time I speak an English

sentence, I find myself echoing it in Arabic, and vice versa.

(Said, 2000, pp. 556–57)

Although these students did not have the vantage point Said had, they were learning the same lesson: languages look different in countries that have been occupied and where there remains an expectation that individuals can seamlessly negotiate between multiple languages.

"What is urban?" a female student asked a few minutes later, prompted by question four: *Did you grow up in an urban area or a rural one? How might living in a city or living in the countryside affect what and how you know?* (Dombrowski et al., 2013, p. 26). Another student replied that it was like the city.

"I live in both. I live in Beirut but on the weekends, we go to the village," the girl said. "What do I put?" The "village" is an important concept for many Lebanese who do not trace their roots to the capital. Voting registration is based on ancestral community as opposed to current residential address and many Lebanese who live in Beirut must travel to their village every election day. Even with the words defined, the girl was struggling to answer the question, as she did not see her living arrangements represented. Mr Charbel looked over the question and attempted to redirect her focus to the second part, exploring how these experiences affected what and how she knows.

The questions were asking students to create a profile by ticking some boxes, selecting either/or responses, when these categories have

little meaning to them. They were not questioning the methods of the book, as they believe the IB is “the best”, as I mentioned in Chapter 5, but you can see that they are struggling to connect the book to their lives. While a teacher can guide them to the intention behind the words, the fact that the book was clearly speaking to another bunch of students became more obvious. The questions were not created with their realities in mind, and it was up to them to adapt around the words rather than to let the words speak for them. The class went back to writing.

A few minutes later, a female student, who had not spoken previously, asked: “What is a spiritual worldview?”

“Your religion,” Mr Charbel replied.

“Why don’t they just write that?” she replied.

“Because some people don’t have a religion,” a male student responded. She looked at him as if she was going to disagree but, eventually, turned back to her writing. As I have previously mentioned, many students are conditioned against speaking about religion in school; religion is still a controversial topic of conversation here. The bell rings and the students close their books and head out to their next class.

The class ended.

As soon as Miss Hala left, I knew I would be watching a different version of the class from the one she had planned. I knew, from past classes, that Miss Hala likes to engage students and provoke them, such that she might have handled this class differently. But this is what happens

in schools: sometimes planning is disrupted but learning continues in alternate, often unplanned, ways. I witnessed a variation of the planned lesson. Mr Charbel had no idea what topics were being discussed when he entered that day.

As a researcher, it was interesting to observe how the students interacted with the textbook without their regular teacher as intermediary. Alone, the text appeared unsatisfactory in meeting the class objectives and the students left with perhaps more questions on the aims of the assignment than, as intended, on the formation of their perspectives. The book was asking them to choose identity markers that did not speak to them, offering binaries like urban/rural that did not fit their experiences, or assuming linguistic comfort in only one main language. This formal introduction to international mindedness appeared to separate eight key elements of their identity that could inform their worldview.

Noticeably absent in the list of questions that contributes to an internationally minded perspective is what nationality a student holds and how one's access to international mindedness might be shaped by such national membership(s). This is perhaps an example of Maurette's legacy, as she said it was important "to minimize the idea of nationality, and never to speak of it as something that mattered" (Maurette, 1948, p. 6). Or of Peterson's legacy, where he encouraged the separation of the national from conversations on the international. More complex questions around dual or tri nationals, or those who have cultural ties to nations of which they do not

claim citizenship, are also ignored, reinforcing the foundation of international education, which came from early international educators' beliefs that each student calls one country Home. Absent, too, are any conversations around class or how a student's privilege, position in society, or lack of privilege, influences perspectives. While many of the questions incorporate elements where class could be considered, none explicitly encourage the student to think about how wealth and privilege affect worldviews. A wealthy student with a weekend house in the country will have a different outlook on the rural than a poor student who lives on a farm for example.

## Step four: Postcards

This fourth and final step also differs from Said's initial model. I called this step Postcards, as, like those postcards sent by tourists, this section aims to send information back, providing new insights and offering thoughts from a new venue: Charles Malek International School. I have designed this step to reflect on how the movements and receptions of IM at CMIS can influence and interact with the wider debate on the nature of IM within the IB's model of international education. Here, I created two postcards from the case study school, intended to "feedback" (Clifford, 1989), and feed forward: a postcard to the past, interested in understanding how much of the original idea remains, and a postcard to the present, exploring how the new idea has been applied.

Postcard to the past: How much of the original idea remains?

Would Butler and Mead recognise today's application of international mindedness? There are many indications that they would. Most lessons on IM that I witnessed encouraged students to look abroad and learn about others in foreign places. More so, this act of looking abroad was intended for personal betterment, to gain knowledge that would help the students, not unlike Butler envisioned it helping with commerce. Today's lessons continue to embrace the international through a lens of methodological nationalism, pushing students to gain fluency in a discourse recognised by those in the international community, largely based on English-language systems and notations.

IM in classrooms stressed cooperation between states as the foundation for the international. While the IB's understanding of IM makes use of methodological nationalism, emphasising education across state lines and taking the nation state as a main unit for study, there was little reference to how local states contribute to, or access, this international community. This promotes an imagined idea that citizens from all nations can access this international space equally; yet it appears some nations' knowledge is given preference in this international discourse. This apparent tension within the IB's model of international mindedness, simultaneously relying on methodological nationalism while also minimising the role that

national affiliation plays in accessing the international community, is one that I explore in the next chapter.

In Butler's 1912 vision, international mindedness contributed to providing students with the knowledge and skills to deal with "foreign relations and business", with the aim of bolstering a national community. There was an explicit understanding that looking abroad would be beneficial to business and the ability to make money. IM was not just an interesting project about national differences but a worthwhile pursuit to benefit American pockets. In his time, Butler worked within an elite circle of academics and international mindedness was a project spearheaded by these elites with an eye on how it could increase profits. This explicit connection to wealth and status has decreased over the years, but the case study's approach to IM still emphasises international content that could aid students in navigating an international business culture, such as gaining fluency in international measurements, or understanding international projects like CERN. In Lebanon and the Middle East, students who engage with the IB and international mindedness are, similarly to Butler, from a privileged class of their societies. While IM is a concept that came from elites and is used amongst them, the concept appears within class discussions as class neutral. It has lost the explicit connection to class, but the links to business remain.

There, too, remains a centring of Western, Enlightenment knowledge and ideals within the application of international mindedness. Following

adoption in the IB discourse, IB leadership and teachers have foregrounded connections between the IB curriculum and the Enlightenment, as Butler did, noting that the IB's pedagogical traditions are founded on a distinctly Christian European ethos (Tamatea, 2008; Tate, 2013; Walker, 2010). The focus may no longer be on civilising but there are definitely elements about conforming to certain standards; those designed and promoted by Western academic and business practices.

Postcard to the present: How has the new idea been applied?

The three examples of IM inside classrooms all occurred in the first semester of the IBDP. By the end of the first year, I did not observe international mindedness explicitly mentioned in classes anymore. This aligned with research that noted how educators felt pressured to focus on assessed elements of the curriculum over international mindedness (Loh, 2012; Wright & Lee, 2014). When I raised this during interviews with teachers, most said that IM was not as much of a priority as making sure to fulfil other aspects of the IB curriculum. Miss Hala said that she had not had a chance to think about how international mindedness could be integrated into her classrooms, stating that her time was full meeting objectives that she knew would appear in final exams. A few days later, Mr Rashid, the maths teacher, agreed: "I think at this stage the school is more concerned with having things done as they should be done like finishing curriculum.

There is a huge focus on finishing curriculum now and the weaknesses that students have" (I4).

By the end of the first year, teachers had discovered gaps in student knowledge or skills that needed to be covered for the students to understand the IBDP curriculum and pass external assessments in the second year. For example, Miss Maya noted that she had to spend time teaching them a new way to write up lab reports to align with IB standards. In later years, she said they would teach this in classes prior to the IBDP, so the students entered with the skills, but in this first year the teachers and students were left playing catch-up once these gaps had been identified. The English teacher noted a similar gap. She was rethinking the curricula of younger grades to incorporate how to introduce students to additional styles of writing so they would be more prepared if they chose the IBDP. The teachers noted that once they had completed these washback reforms and moved some of the necessary lessons to earlier years, then they expected there would be more time within the IBDP to bring in more lessons on education for IM.

This lack of focus on IM became apparent when speaking to the students too. During my second visit, April 2017, I asked if students remembered hearing about international mindedness. In my class observations, I had heard or seen the concept used at least six times and assumed it was mentioned or read about in classes where I was not present. However, six of the 10 students said they were not familiar with the

concept. The rest said it had been mentioned in class but one of those asked me to define it for them. Two students said they remembered I had used it with them during the first round of focus groups. A year later, February 2018, I again asked about international mindedness. “I think in the books. They all have boxes…” Hassan said (FG8), cutting his reply short as others nodded but no one filled the silence to explain what was in those boxes.

Students responded with vague recognition that international mindedness had been present, but it was not foregrounded in any replies to my questions, and no student ever raised the concept unless I asked specifically about it. As I noted above, the teachers stated that they would like to spend more time on it, so perhaps later years will benefit from this realisation, but, as the first class, it seems they lost time on IM because other, more academic, lessons were seen as the priority. In the next chapter, I return to this idea of how students discussed material present in their formal curriculum, such as the textbooks, as opposed to informal classroom discussions sparked by the curriculum. It became apparent when I spoke to them following classes that students appeared to recall more examples from the formal curriculum than from lessons through the hidden curriculum.

Of course, these quotes from teachers and students do not mean education for IM was not occurring inside the classrooms. But my observations found that explicit references to international mindedness

decreased throughout the two-year cycle and that students were not comfortable discussing IM. Looking back, I wondered if my presence had encouraged teachers to use IM so explicitly, especially as some classes followed interviews where teachers and I had discussed IM in detail. And then, perhaps, as teachers were used to my attendance in their classes, they no longer focused on the explicit conversations around IM as much. But, ultimately, as teachers like Mr Rashid noted, there had been early enthusiasm for education for international mindedness, even before I arrived on campus. However, it appeared that other elements of the course, those that spoke directly to assessed components, had become the priority and lessons on IM were cut to make room for these.

It is not my intention to argue that the only way to teach IM is to explicitly focus on it inside classrooms, or to insinuate that education for IM no longer existed inside these classrooms, but, without clearer guidance from the IB or a more concerted effort from researchers to engage similar approaches to IM, it is hard to assess other more implicit methods of instruction. Further, as the IB uses the concept in its programming, it stands to reason that it is one the IB would like students to grasp and use in their own lives. In terms of a pattern at the case study school, when it came to education for IM, I saw teachers eager to teach education for IM alongside other IB requirements, but by the end of the first year they were so preoccupied with the more assessed components of the curriculum that they abandoned these efforts, or at the very least decreased them

substantially. Students too were “overwhelmed” (I7) with the assessed components, such that they did not give as much attention to CAS as the CAS Coordinator, Miss Karima, had hoped. But she was sympathetic as she knew they could catch up next year. It should be noted that many of the examples of education for IM I witnessed came from the IBDP textbook and materials, which implies that teachers are happy to have these explicit suggestions for incorporating IM into their classes. They all expressed a desire for more guidance from the IB as to how to teach education for IM continually throughout the IBDP cycle.

As noted previously, I found no study that focused on education for international mindedness during a school’s first year of IB authorisation or even early in their relationship with the IB. Many studies (Hacking et al., 2016; Lai et al., 2014) purposefully selected schools and teachers that had been recognised for their years of experience and evidenced “promising and good practice” (Hacking et al., 2016, p. 12). Yet, infuriatingly, no study, nor the IB itself, provides a rubric to assess these promising practices. “Promising and good practice” schools appear to be based on researchers’ or IB staff’s personal knowledge of the schools and their feelings about the school environment, and possibly final assessment outcomes, although this is never explicitly stated. But since the IB promotes the practice of education for IM as a “journey of learning” (Hacking et al., 2016, p. 16) it does a disservice to only produce research once schools have arrived at the destination. This project, targeting a school in its first year of the IBDP

journey, contributes to this gap and offers valuable insights into how teachers, new to the IB, first experience IB discourse, like IM, and IB aims more generally, such as approaches to what is, and is not, included within the label of international education.

## Chapter 6 conclusion

"Ideas and theories travel," Said wrote as he explored how theories move from origin to new destinations (1984, p. 226). This chapter has explored how international mindedness has travelled from early 19th century USA, through Europe's interwar years, to settle as a flagship concept within IB discourse. It looked at how this iteration of IM then spread and was adapted within the case study school during its first IBDP cycle. Early approaches to education for international mindedness at the case study school appeared to encourage the students to look beyond borders and learn about other nations and the international community. Teachers taught IM as supplemental information related to the programming that draws in examples from other nations, the literal international. They have not adopted the approach that education for IM could include local interactions or knowledge, as some IB-sponsored research has implied.

The importance of international communication is one component of IM, and students are taught they must learn these international norms, standards, and institutions to connect outwards. Most teachers relied on examples of education for IM presented in IB programming or textbooks.

Over the course of the program, the explicit focus on education for IM decreased as teachers focused on the more assessed components of the IBDP, although I recognise education for IM could still be occurring through teachers' modelling of IM, the hidden curriculum, or other means my study was not designed to capture. Throughout my research, a common approach to education for IM encouraged students to look outwards, across the borders of the school's home country, and to focus on knowledge about the international community from a Western perspective. The school's approach to education for IM, which I showed closely followed how the teachers believed the IB envisioned it, reinforced methodological nationalism as a key component of the IB's model of international education. IM was discussed in terms of what was happening in other countries, encouraging student to think about the world through other national perspectives. Further, certain national perspectives, those from the West, were highlighted more than others as their norms were portrayed as international norms.

During these class moments on IM, I began to wonder how this emphasis on the international, and the necessity of learning about international norms and standards, affects how students think about their more local communities. Is it possible, I wondered, that in emphasising the importance of learning about these international standards and international initiatives, students will begin to internalise the idea that what is international is more important to learn about than what is local, or national? This

question, and others concerned with representations of the Local in the IBDP, will be explored further in the next chapter.

# Chapter 7: Representations of the Local within the IBDP

The previous chapter explored the concept of international mindedness (IM), where it originated and how it travelled and was adopted as a flagship concept within IB discourse. The chapter then explored how IM is currently practised at one newly authorised IB World School in Lebanon. I argued that many approaches to education for IM encouraged students to look abroad, prioritising a particular vision of the international, which accepted traditional Western practices as international. This encouragement of the students learning about international affairs led me to wonder about what kinds of lessons on the Local, understood here as the area where the school is located, are happening through the IBDP at the case study school.

Focusing on representations of the Local, which include representations of Lebanon, but also cities within Lebanon and the broader Middle East, this chapter asks how this is being discussed and understood within classrooms following engagement with the IBDP. I find that, contrary to expectations, this international school is not a “bubble”; the Local was present in many ways throughout classes of all subjects but was most often portrayed negatively. I then explore how students are interpreting these representations based on data collected from focus groups. Applying contrapuntal analysis, a postcolonial framework that allows researchers to foreground what is traditionally side-lined from dominant discourses, provided an analytical lens to better understand how the Local is present

across the IBDP. Finally, I touch on the issue of diversity of geography within international education programming, as this chapter raises questions about who is ultimately responsible for producing, encouraging, or challenging, such representations: the IBDP, individual teachers or the students themselves.

## Reading representations through contrapuntal analysis

As discussed in Chapter 2, Said conceived of contrapuntal analysis to uncover parallel, intertwined narratives that had been marginalised by more dominant narratives. His most frequently cited example is his analysis of Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*, a novel which foregrounded an idyllic English way of life, while ignoring the imperial and economic realities that made such a life possible, such as cheap labour and colonial pillaging of natural resources. Contrapuntal analysis does not aim to displace the original story but to add additional narratives to it, those that acknowledge how imperial processes would have contributed to the main story. In seeking to better understand representations of the Local within international education, I chose to utilise a similar contrapuntal analytical approach, one best designed to help me identify gaps and absences while not losing sight of the original curriculum. Focusing on, and researching, the Local, is not intended to displace the International, or to compare them, but to understand how their representations co-exist inside classrooms.

I refer to representations in the Saidian sense: representations are their own constructions and should not be treated as accurate substitutions for the objects they are representing. Said (1978) argued that representations should never be taken as exact reflections of reality and should always be contextualised, taking into consideration both their producer and consumer. Classrooms are ripe with representations, as knowledge is brought in from various sources and through daily conversations. Here, I am interested in representations of the Local, often but not always exemplified through representations of the state of Lebanon.

As I first explained in Chapter 1, I make a distinction between local, small l, an adjective to describe something or someone related to a particular area, and the Local, capitalised, a concept used to denote the geopolitical setting of an international school. Locals are not limited to the country where the school is located. Although Lebanon features heavily as an example, the country itself is not a homogenous entity and different regions and cultures will be reflected through different students' experiences. Lebanon however is a tremendous force within these students' Local, especially as their education promotes a style of multi-perspective critical thinking grounded in methodological nationalism, as discussed in the previous chapter.

## In-class representations of Lebanon as the Local

"Whilst many international schools […] operate in a form of a bubble from the outside world, there is clearly a concern about their relationship to local communities," wrote Doug Bourn, a consultant on an IB-funded research project (Hacking et al., 2016, p. 100). This quote encapsulates how many IB World Schools operate. They are seen as separate from their local communities. While acknowledging the need to have a relationship to the local community, this quote is representative of how most IB World Schools are treated in the research, that is as separated from the Local, not embedded within it. IB World Schools are viewed as nationally "de-anchored" (Rizvi et al., 2019, Transnational Learning Spaces section, para. 5), as if the activities within a school could be found in any international school regardless of national location. Even before I set foot in the field, I was surrounded by research that insisted the Local had little relevance to how international education is produced and consumed within international schools. When I entered the field, I expected to enter such a bubble, I expected absences of the Local, but, with the help of a contrapuntal lens, I encountered the opposite.

Within international education research clear lines are drawn between the international school, where international education occurs, and the Local, where the school is located, often called the Host country in international education parlance. Most of the literature on international schools, including IB World Schools, assumes the general premise that the

Host country is irrelevant to the daily practices within the school, envisioning schools as “bubbles” (Belal, 2015; Katz, 2011; Pearce, 1994, as cited in Ledger, 2016, p. 27) or as “expatriate enclaves” (Caldwell et al., 2006, as cited in Ledger, 2016; Walker, 2000, as cited in Hurley, 2006). In other words, these institutions are independent from their local surroundings. One study (Caffyn, 2010) of an international school in Europe, on the pretence of preserving anonymity, does not mention the country where the school is located, reinforcing the idea that any international schools are completely removed from their national context or their Local.

My assumption prior to fieldwork was that Charles Malek International was one such bubble, and I designed my study to help uncover absences of the Local, expecting it to be difficult to find. A review of formal teaching plans for the two-year IBDP would have corroborated this expectation as few classes utilised dedicated material from Lebanon and many followed IB programming that would look similar regardless of geographic location. As I showed in the previous chapter, textbooks often portrayed other Locals, Australia and Canada, for example. But what I found was that the Local was not absent.

In many classes representations of Lebanon frequently featured in the hidden curriculum, and both teachers and students relied on these representations to deepen their understanding of the international education material. However almost all mentions of Lebanon were negative, and these representations were rarely treated with the same multi-

perspectivity encouraged by the IBDP. To illustrate this point, I focus on representations of Lebanon used in classrooms across one day in March 2017. Lebanon was mentioned in all four of the classes I observed: chemistry, English SL, History Higher Level (HL), and Theory of Knowledge. Due to the nature of student schedules, not every IB student was in every class, but they all attended English SL and TOK. Seven students were in History HL and nine students were in chemistry. Therefore, some students would have heard all four references, while some might only have been present for two or three. This section presents those four moments to show the variety of ways the Local was mentioned despite it not being present within the formal curriculum.

Chemistry, first period

As introduced in Chapter 1, during a lesson on collision theory the teacher introduced an example about the process of rusting. When she lived in Jbeil, a coastal city to the north of Beirut, she noticed how quickly the aluminium pipes would rust. A student pointed out that aluminium isn't supposed to rust, and the teacher replied: "In Lebanon, nothing is ever 100% real."

Here, it is implied that the pipes are rusting because they are not aluminium but fake. It is true that much of Lebanon's infrastructure could be improved, that fakes are omnipresent and that few mechanisms exist to protect consumers from such fraud. The legacy of the fifteen-year civil war

remains, including physically, as many buildings still bear marks of the internecine fighting, and inefficient safety procedures mean that not every building has been maintained or rebuilt to code. Students nodded when this example was used as if they understood the imagery of rusting pipes along the coast that the teacher had conjured.

This is an example of the most common representation of Lebanon to feature through the hidden curriculum: a negative representation, used to relate a lesson from the formal material to students' lives. However, unlike national representations found in the formal material, which usually provided several perspectives and contexts, these quick anecdotes about Lebanon sat alone. No space was provided to unpack them or to question why Lebanon's pipes would be fake. Further, the fact that no student tried to debate them implies that these points are familiar to the students, and that they share these negative insights into the country. For example, in a focus group I asked Amal how she would respond if someone asked her what it is like in Lebanon these days, and she replied: "Not very good… Because the government is kind of corrupt and the people here, they don't respect each other, like you know" (FG4). I mentioned this theme in Chapter 5 too. Students are aware that the situation in the country does not work for most people. Like Amal's quote, most students blame an abstract group for these troubles, be it the "government" or the "politicians". This kind of abstract blame can make it hard for individuals to see solutions to these national problems.

History HL, second period

Next period, seven students in History HL were continuing a unit called “The Move to Global War”, which looks at the interwar years through mostly Western European and American perspectives. The teacher was overseeing the creation of a chart about key leaders and events from 1918 to the 1930s, a big picture review of people and dates they had previously studied, based on information provided by the IB-approved Oxford University-published textbook. Key events were listed horizontally at the top, while major countries were listed vertically down the left side: the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Russia, Japan. The students were discussing what caused the Great Depression and one student suggested inflation. Another student asked what that was, and the teacher explained that inflation was “when more money has less value. Lebanon had inflation during the Civil War. That’s why 1,500 Lebanese lira equals one US dollar. During the war, the lira lost value and Lebanon took on a lot of debt.” As in the chemistry class, this example was initiated by the teacher, using a negative representation of Lebanon to explain a point introduced in the formal material. Although no notes were taken on her comment, the observation was retained by at least one student, who returned to class the next day with a follow-up question about Lebanon’s pegged currency and the lira’s relationship to the dollar.

Class continued, with students moving on to the column on the Weimar Republic and Hitler's rise to power. Several students started discussing Hitler's rise and how he came to power. Miss Hala, the teacher, replied: "The Weimar Republic is like Lebanon. There are lots of political parties, lots of leaders. Each political party wants a say in government, so they have to agree on someone." Students nodded, having just witnessed Lebanon's own political class compromise and declare a controversial former Christian militia leader turned politician, Michel Aoun, president, filling a 29-month vacancy of the post. This was not the first time I had heard Miss Hala relate Lebanon's present with Germany's past: the implication this time was that Hitler was the best compromise the politicians could find, just as Aoun was the only compromise the Lebanese politicians could make. The class returned to near silence, with some students quietly whispering to their desk partners as they continued filling in the chart.

A few minutes later, one male student broke the silence and asked how historians know so much about the rise of Hitler. The teacher replied: "They're not living in Lebanon. They know their ancestry. In Lebanon, we had archives, but they were burned." Here was Miss Hala's third critique of Lebanon, each of which was used to help clarify a point in the formal material, spread across 15 minutes. By mentioning that the Germans know their past, her comment reinforced the idea that some countries have prioritised this and that Lebanon, in addition to a weak economy and a corrupt political class, does not even have access to its history in the way

that other countries do. In one lesson, students had quickly heard disparaging comments about Lebanon's economy, political class, and communal respect towards its own history. But none of these points were supported with sources, and multiple perspectives or contexts were not provided in order to better understand them.

Comparing Weimar to Lebanon was a frequent tactic I witnessed in almost every history class I observed. Not for the first time, I was left unsettled by these quick examples linking Hitler and Lebanon's current political situation. It was one of a few moments I observed where I had wanted to, but ultimately did not, offer up an opinion to push for a more nuanced discussion of the topic and to question what the price of political compromises and stability were worth in these situations. But I stayed silent. I did not want to risk interfering with the research project by imposing my opinion on an issue and knew that any comment could be taken as judgement and thereby threaten my position as researcher, making it appear that I was there to evaluate teaching practices.

The more I observed, the more I realised that while these textbooks provided in-depth facts and analysis on the Weimar Republic, from different perspectives, there were no materials or content delivered to contextualise the Lebanese situation or to teach dates or people related to these quick comments, and no time to do devote to this issue. The teacher's perspective on Lebanon was the only one offered. And while most students knew the basics, enough to nod along to the above anecdotes, it became clear during

my focus groups that students had a range of knowledge when it came to the history of Lebanon, almost all of which they said was gained outside the IBDP.

I watched as students started reproducing these backhanded comments about their Local, connecting the lessons to their realities in Lebanon. For example, during another History HL class on the Russians leaders Nicholas I and Alexander II, the teacher was discussing the various legal reforms undertaken by each ruler. At some point, she mentioned that the country had been at a “standstill”. A student blurted out “like here, in Lebanon”. There was so much that could have been unpacked from this comment. The comment was ignored by both the teacher, who continued her lecture, and the other students. It was a fleeting moment but offers an example of how words such as standstill instantly connect to Lebanon for the student. I continued to think about alternate ways to explore this in the lesson. True, both situations had entrenched rulers seeking to consolidate power at the expense of the average person, although in Lebanon’s case the country claimed to offer democratic opportunities to the people. But Russia, under these czars, was a military powerhouse, waging wars on multiple fronts. It was a minor comment that led to me to think about how such a tangent could have been used to explore Lebanon’s current alleged standstill, the gaping hole in the presidency that had just been plugged by an aging, formerly exiled, militia leader, and the constant lack of services that elites were able to navigate by spending money on private alternatives,

such as private generators to solve the electricity shortage or trash collection to remove trash from outside their buildings and neighbourhoods. The more I reflected on the word standstill, the more it seemed to remove any power from the people, as if some immovable force was blocking progress. In these cases, it is assumed to be the political establishment, blocking progress, out for themselves. Not once did students or teachers question their relationship to such powerful people. Other IB World Schools in Lebanon were famous for teaching the children of current Lebanese politicians, but this one, by virtue of its status as private and international, was teaching a generation of students who were adjacent to such positions of power in the country. Their parents might not be politicians themselves, but it was reasonable to assume that some of those students in that class came from families who were connected to the class of people profiting from the perceived standstill in the country.

English, third period

Next period, the seven students from History HL and I joined the rest of the IB students for English, the last class before a morning break. Miss Niveen was reviewing past IB essay prompts and students were formulating ideas as to how they could respond to the questions, using examples from the books they read. The first prompt asked students to explore the tensions that arise between the universal and the local. The class seemed a bit

hesitant to tackle this question, with several looking down or shuffling some of their books around.

One student finally suggested one could look at how racism is encountered in different areas of the world. “In the West, as Lebanese, as Arabs, as Lebanese, there is tension towards how they mistreat Arabs.” Here she established Lebanon and the Arab World as her Local, revealing how she sees the West as mistreating her Local. It is interesting that the question itself did not provide guidance or encouragement to define what the student sees as the universal and what they see as the Local; the way it was written encourages students to think in this binary and assumes that all students will envision the universal the same. The student brought up Said’s *Orientalism*, which the class had discussed while reading *Things Fall Apart*, arguing that the essay could explore how Arabs were treated differently depending on where they were.

The teacher asked her a few detailed questions about how she could structure the essay, but then the student got a bit quieter, especially around questions about how it pertains to the universal, as she was not quite sure how to further develop her ideas. The teacher moved on to the second essay prompt and the rest of the examples focused more closely on the texts they had read that term: *Things Fall Apart*, *Waiting for Godot* and *Great Expectations.* It was the first time that day a student had brought up Lebanon. The essay prompt had indeed prompted her, it seems, into talking about the Local, so she had reached out to find something from her Local

to discuss. Unfortunately, due to the set-up of the class, there was not enough time to fully consider the issues or questions raised.

As in history, Miss Niveen noted the lack of knowledge about Lebanon from the IBDP students. Miss Niveen told me that students on the other tracks, both the LB and US High School Diploma programme, were "extremely more in touch" with Lebanese political and cultural content than the IBDP students (I7). This complements past research, which I reviewed in Chapter 3, that reported teachers told students to "prioritise" international perspectives (Poonoosamy, 2016).

There could be several explanations for this. The first could be that the type of student attracted to the IBDP might be more curious about learning about others than focusing on Lebanon. Another explanation could be that through the IB's explicit focus on international mindedness and the international community students do not have the time to devote to learning about Local issues and are tailoring their studies to meet final assessment expectations. Whatever the reason, once enrolled, focus on the Local decreases, to such an extent that Miss Niveen said her IBDP students struggled to select examples from the Local for a recent essay assignment. "They found difficulties, so they started choosing from other countries, very few actually chose stimuli from their own country" (I7). She explained that students did this for two reasons. Firstly, they did not know what opportunities existed, or where to look for them, within the Local, and second, they believed better examples, in terms of assessment, could be

derived by selecting foreign topics. So, despite the constant references to Lebanon in classroom conversations, students do not appear to be internalising these examples. These examples do not appear to be valued as education in the same way more formal lessons are, and thus the students could be seeing these conversations as tangential, at best, or even unimportant and irrelevant, at worst, to their actual learning through the IBDP.

Theory of Knowledge, fourth period

After the morning break, all IB students again came together for Theory of Knowledge (TOK). TOK is the class wherein I had observed most discussions of Lebanon, but today the teacher had invited the English teacher to help explain the guidelines of IB essay writing. However, Miss Karima, the CAS coordinator, stopped by, as planned, with an update on the SATs, standardised tests required for many English-speaking universities in the US and Lebanon. Miss Karima interrupted the class to tell students the June SAT exams were cancelled because of a cheating scandal. She stressed that the cheating occurred in other countries, not in Lebanon, but that the College Board, the organisation that runs the standardised tests, had cancelled many sites across Asia as a precaution. The English teacher added: “There was cheating here, because of the seating plans. Do not spare Lebanon.” Her comment implied that there was cheating in Lebanon but that those in charge of the SAT had not caught on

to the local scandal. Again, a teacher introduced the Local in a negative way. Miss Karima agreed that she had heard about incidents of cheating in Lebanon but that the reason for the cancellation was directly related to incidents in East Asia and that Lebanon was not being punished for whatever cheating had occurred locally. It was a quick conversation, between teachers, in front of students, about a negative representation of Lebanon.

On its own, like many of the previous examples, it might not have been worthy of a mention. But it was the fourth class in a row to negatively reference Lebanon through the hidden curriculum. It is hard to express what it felt like to observe these negative representations of Lebanon one after the other. On their own each was brief and quick but, cumulatively, I began to realise that these representations were creating a fixed and negative representation of Lebanon that was going unchallenged across several subjects of the IBDP. This representation of Lebanon was being constructed across subjects, although no formal lesson plan would have shown this.

Class after class, teachers and students took punches at Lebanon, pointing out its flaws, quickly, conversationally, speaking for the Local and assuming all agreed, without providing context or space to unpack the issues. The more aware I become of these moments, the more I saw them. But no one in my observations seemed to take any notice of them. The moments were unscripted so no level planning meetings would flag the repeated negative comments on Lebanon. No notes were taken so students

would not record this pattern. This realisation was perhaps the single biggest takeaway from conducting classroom observations, across subjects and for the duration of the program. No other method would have so fully recorded this data. No other method except classroom observations can reveal the disparity between formal learning aims, written by teachers, and what is actually happening inside the classrooms. Unlike much of the research I reviewed in Chapter 3, most of these students had connections to the Local and, unlike past research (Caffyn, 2010), which revealed findings without even considering the location of the school, it seemed obvious that these students' educational experiences could not be separated from their Local connections.

## Lebanon as featured within formal lessons

While representations of Lebanon frequently entered classrooms through informal channels, only once did I observe a class which focused on Lebanese content. This unit had such an impact on students that they even reminded me about it a year later, presenting evidence that there is a real benefit to incorporating representations of the Local into formal programming. During third period, which followed the morning break, all 14 of the IB students had English Standard Level (SL). I arrived early, sitting in my "usual" spot in the last row as this was not my first observation of English SL. Students trickled in during the last five minutes of their break, many finishing snacks, a couple smiling at me in acknowledgement. Two students

came in holding Starbucks iced coffee drinks, which meant they had left campus during the break to walk about ten minutes down the road (and, returned via a *service*, a shared taxi as a student had told me they did not have time to walk both ways). One student was passing around a bag of pretzels. Others chewed gum. Almost all of them wore jeans and sweatshirts and had dropped their backpacks on top of desks and chairs while they chatted. When the teacher came in, the students put the food away, and took out books, iPads, notepads, and pencil cases before placing their backpacks on the floor.

English SL focuses on several themes over the two-year program, known as units. For the first unit, the teacher selected one called Gender and Taboos. The class I observed was in the middle of this unit and was focused on a chapter from Lebanese journalist Joumana Haddad's collection of essays, *Superman is an Arab: On God, Marriage, Macho Men and Other Disastrous Inventions,* published in 2012. The book was supplemental to the course, selected by Miss Niveen, and is not found on the IB prescribed reading list. Haddad is well known in Lebanon. She was the first woman to edit the cultural pages of a Lebanese newspaper, and later went on to launch the Arab World's first erotic cultural magazine, becoming a prominent voice in the Arab World against sexism and cultural and patriarchal oppression of women. These views have won her both supporters and critics, especially those who label her as anti-religion or too

Western, by which they mean she is too open in how she approaches sexual subjects.

To start the class, the teacher asked for general responses to the chapter, which the students supplied, some through hand raising and waiting to be called upon while others just jumped into the conversation, sometimes after first making eye contact with the teacher. There was immediate energy in the class, and I could feel that many students had something they wanted to say about the chapter.

"I thought feminists were aggressive towards men. I thought it was like this but the tone of this is softer. Not like in newspapers," Allen said. With this initial comment, Allen was demonstrating how easily he connected the homework to a conversation that had been taking place within his community. He saw parallels to his life in the reading, which is not surprising considering Haddad is talking about events that happen in his local neighbourhoods.

"She isn't blaming men," Lama said, although it was not clear if this was in response to the previous comment or just her own observation, as she looked at the teacher and not Allen when she spoke. "She's stating facts. She's being objective."

"Joumana Haddad also blames women," added Miss Niveen. Haddad's body of work is critical of the existence of patriarchy in all regions of the world, often comparing the situation in Lebanon and the Arab World, to that in the West, ultimately arguing that women suffer from different

manifestations of patriarchy depending on the region of the world they live in. As Miss Niveen pointed out, she is explicit in pointing the finger at some women who help to promote and uphold such patriarchal ideals. Students nodded along; all eyes focused on their teacher.

"Like she used facts and she spoke about the West too. We think the West is perfect but it's not," Mirvat said. Mirvat's use of "we" shows how she positioned herself as part of the non-West, either as a Lebanese, or an Arab.

"She is furious," said Amal, starting even before Mirvat had finished her previous thought.

"She's aggressive," added Khadija, quickly, on top of Amal. The students nodded some more. Miss Niveen is acquainted with Haddad, who visited the school last year. The students asked if she would come back and Miss Niveen said it was unlikely that year but maybe in the future. Haddad is more than words on a page, she is a figure who exists close to them, and is potentially accessible. The world she represents in her writings is a world the students share; Haddad's views may not align with theirs but the world she inhabits is familiar to them. Then the conversation transitioned to follow a set of questions Miss Niveen had supplied on the chapter, some exploring the themes the students had raised, with others focusing on the structure of the chapter and the writing itself. The bell rang and students turned in their answers and left the room.

Although they only spent a few weeks studying Haddad's work, the lessons appeared to have an impact as I kept hearing about it in focus groups, brought up by students, not me. A month later, Khadija told me: "We were learning taboos…and then we have to relate it to Lebanon. So, then you get to know about here" (FG2). She went on to explain how the class had explored taboos around homosexuality and incest in Lebanon, classes I did not observe, and how this had prompted her to raise these issues with her family, saying that normally she did not bring up specific content from her classes at home. This struck me. As a former teacher I know not every student talks about their day with their parents. Yet, I had never considered that more Local content might inspire more students to bring up their lessons around the dinner table. Khadija made the point that it was easier to do this when the material was relatable. The Local connections between Haddad's work and the students' lives made it familiar and easy for them to approach and share.

Several months later, in another focus group, Leila told me how she looked at billboards differently after learning about gender and patriarchal challenges in Lebanon (FG6). Amal said Haddad pushed her to consider how men and women are treated differently and whether that is fair (FG4). The following year, February 2018, I asked students to reflect on when Lebanon was discussed in class. The first responses recalled that Fall 2016 English unit on Gender and Taboos. In addition, Tareq brought up examples from a unit on Language and Power, which I did not observe, and said that

the teacher had made use of many sources from Lebanon. Reading Lebanese sources made it "easier to discuss Lebanon matters," he said (FG8). Not one student brought up any examples of when Lebanon was discussed informally, like the examples in my earlier section.

This brief example, of the legacy of formal representations of the Local through the IBDP, highlights the potential impact foregrounding the Local could have in international education, especially in countries that are often ignored by the dominant IE narrative. It would be worth conducting more research on how students identify with their Local through their formal education, and, as I have shown, undertaking contrapuntal analysis provides tools to better understand how marginalisation of such nations might impact upon learning.

This example appears to suggest that when space in the formal IE curriculum is provided for Local issues, the students express appreciation for these lessons. Given how both teachers and students talk about the limits of time within the IBDP, that there is not enough time to do everything, selecting Local materials for study can teach the students that Local issues are worthy of being included within international education, that it is important to learn about the Local as well as the international.

## How students understand national representations

In April 2017 I wanted to better understand how students were interpreting the representations of Lebanon that occurred in their classes

and how these representations contributed to their learning through the IBDP. As mentioned in Chapter 4, I began the focus group with a small writing prompt for the students. This time, I asked students to list countries that were mentioned in class “either as the focus of the lesson or in questions or discussions”. The wording was intentional. I was trying to prompt a discussion both on countries that had been the focus of their lessons and those that might have come up more informally, like the above examples of Lebanon.

On these papers not one student wrote Lebanon as a country mentioned in classes. The US was listed by the greatest number of students. In one focus group, the students explained how it was impossible to avoid the American perspective and how this overshadowed information about their own Local:

> Jean: [The US] is there without you wanting it, like, even, if you don’t want it. You can’t help it.
>
> Hassan: Yeah, I have never been to USA, but I know a lot about it.
>
> Interviewer: Do you feel you know almost more about it than Lebanon?
>
> Hassan: Yeah, probably.
>
> Khadija: It is like the powerful countries that you should know. (FG5)

This conversation not only reveals that the US is heavily present throughout their IBDP experience but, as evidenced by Khadija's last comment, the students see knowledge on the US as information that they must know. It is as if knowledge on the US is part of the canon of international education, similar to how Maurette claimed the history of Europe was more important for the education of all people. Knowledge of the Middle East, the students' Local, became peripheral, optional. Students understand that this absence is expected to make room for these more powerful nations.

In addition to the US, all students listed at least two European countries, mostly those that were major players in the World Wars they had been studying in history: France, Germany, Italy, Russia, the United Kingdom. Several students listed Japan and China, two other countries that featured prominently in history lessons. Two students named Nigeria, the setting from *Things Fall Apart,* which they had just finished reading in English SL. One student wrote Ethiopia from a history lesson on the Abyssinian Crisis, which occurred during the week of the focus groups. The number of countries remembered was particularly small and focused on Western or other nations recognised as powerful and developed, and all had direct links to formal education content. Some students did respond with regions. Three students wrote "Middle East" and two wrote "Africa". When looking at what is missing, I noted that no one wrote Europe and that all European countries were listed individually. I even found myself hinting

in later focus groups, really emphasising “are there any countries that are discussed in conversations, that you talk about a lot?” Still, no one mentioned Lebanon until I mentioned it.

Once mentioned, the students were quick to say that Lebanon comes up frequently. “Actually, we do discuss in TOK about [Lebanon]. When we’re doing a free discussion or a topic discussion, we kind of always end up talking about the Middle East issue or religion,” Min Jun said (FG7). This understanding aligned with what I had witnessed in classroom observations, that conversations drift into an anecdote or content on Lebanon but that the class did not stay on these points long enough for students to see them as the focus of classes. This acknowledgement that the class does talk about Lebanon when no student listed Lebanon on the writing prompt implies a potential disconnect between what the students consider part of their education and the way representations of Lebanon enter classes. The fact that students only focused on countries that were in their formal lessons is not surprising. There is already a lot to learn within the IBDP when just considering formal material. However, that makes it more important that teachers and educators consider the types of representation occurring within formal programming.

Once I realised that students understood that Lebanon, or their Locals, would not feature within international education, I began to wonder whether they would like more time to focus on the Local. They were divided, with some saying of course they wished Lebanon, and the Middle East,

would be central to their formal studies. “I’d love to talk about it,” Leila said (FG5). Several said they would like to apply the same approaches to topics about Lebanon as they do to other places, such as visiting issues from several perspectives.

Others said they recognised Lebanon’s absence from their studies but that they had expected that Lebanon would not feature in their lessons and viewed it as a trade-off for enrolling in international education programming. “But what I’m saying is that I like to know about my country, and I don’t …okay, *akeed*, I have to know the basic things about World War I, the Great Depression. (Pause) I want to know about these things but not the details about Russia. Like, I want to know about my country,” said Lama (FG6). Here, Lama affirms a tension between Lebanon, her Local, and major global events that she feels she must learn about, that she understands to be part of an international education canon. As with the previous chapter, where the maths and science teachers taught education for international mindedness as literacy of international community norms, students appear to have internalised the notion that fluency in certain histories is more important within international education. This is similar to Khadija’s comment wherein she assumes the students should know about the US. These comments imply that students believe that international education has a dominant narrative being pushed through the IBDP. All these viewpoints echo Maurette, who, as quoted in Chapter 1, argued that it was natural for the history of Europe to be centred within international

education, as it has “weighed more heavily in the balance of man’s destiny than any other” (Maurette, 1948, p. 12). More recently, practitioner-researchers have argued that Western knowledge must be taught regardless of the location of the school (Hughes, 2009). This idea has been noted in past research too. Students from more Western nations have been found to be more familiar with much of the material presented through the IB, thus having an easier time than many from smaller, postcolonial nations in handling the assessments (Poonoosamy, 2016).

It appears that students are recognising that there is a canon outside of international education, one that privileges Western knowledge and creates a hierarchy of national perspectives within the programme. They see the benefits of gaining an international education as a suitable trade-off for ignoring their Local in lessons. For some, who expected that the IBDP would focus on issues abroad, they said they would not want this international lens applied to their Local issues. In 2017, following my observation of a TOK class, one student initiated a conversation with me. She said that she liked history, but she was waiting to study it in university, which she was planning to attend in Lebanon. “I took psychology because I didn’t want to learn American history. I love history but I want to learn it about my country,” she said.

When I asked her to explain what she meant by “American history,” she said that she understood that the IB teaches American perspectives on history, and she would rather get a more local understanding when she is

at university. While she did not expand upon how she came to this opinion, she is not alone in noticing that the American experience is given a privileged status within the IB. Since its inception, the "potential Americanisation" of the IB has been a concern for IB educators (Matthews & Hill, 2005, p. 111). Following its establishment in Europe, albeit with some US allies and funding, the IB is now understood to have "found its 'home' in the United States" (Bunnell, 2011, p. 66). At another IB World School in Europe, a researcher noted that many students used "Western" and "Americanised" interchangeably (Fitzsimons, 2019, p. 283). The fact that the US was the most listed country by all students further supports the idea that teachers at the case study school have provided a lot of space for American perspectives throughout the IBDP.

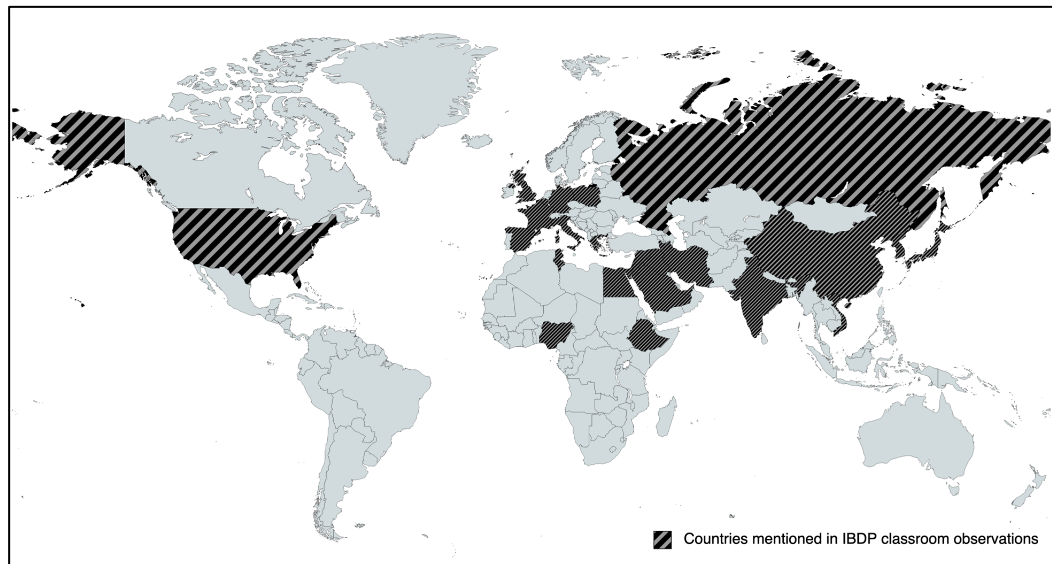
When I asked Min Jun, who held both Korean and American citizenships and was one of the only students with no cultural or familial ties to Lebanon, if he would like to see more Korean history within the IBDP he was conflicted. He said: "Actually yes but…but…at the same time no, because I'm sure there will be bias or like only showing in parts that like some people want. So, I wouldn't want the changed history to be learnt here so I would rather say no because they might learn it the wrong way" (FG7). For Min Jun, the "wrong way" to teach Korean history would be letting a Western narrative speak about his country, rendering the country almost silent as to its own history and traditions. When Min Jun spoke about countries, he always noted that South Korea was his country. Despite the

possession of a US citizenship, he repeatedly said that, to him, it was just a passport, and not how he sees himself. He did say that might change if he moved to the US for university.

Both students recognised that the IB's approach might not align with how they would want to learn about their Locals, but neither expressed regret about enrolling in the IBDP. Both saw the IBDP as a way to make them desirable to universities and so they accepted the trade-off of avoiding local perspectives in favour of a recognised degree. International education was seen as a better, more prestigious model of education, and gaining the IBDP diploma was seen as more important than gaining Local knowledge in their classes. This trade-off has been recognised in past literature, with some researchers and IB staff (Gardner-McTaggart, 2016; Walker, 2013) noting that this focus on Euro-American knowledge and methods is an attractive component for several elite families in the post-colonial world who have ambitions of sending their children to Western institutions of higher education.

Throughout my research, I noted that while national perspectives were promoted through the IBDP, certain countries were discussed more frequently. Following fieldwork, I mapped the countries that had been mentioned in classes I observed or discussed in focus groups. In the following map, the shaded countries are the ones that were discussed in classes I observed across all subjects.

Image 1: Map of countries mentioned in classes




Reflecting on this map, it is clear that the IB's model of international education does not involve material that covers all nations. No one has ever claimed that it does or should. But a hierarchy of national representations has emerged through my research, with some countries, such as the US, dominating formal study, while other countries were never mentioned. It is worth better understanding how this geographical spread impacts the delivery of international education. The question then is not whether every country is discussed, but why some national perspectives have been prioritised and transformed into international canon and what this says about international education's intentions. This goes back to the IB's mission statement: it appears, in some ways, that instead of promoting a diversity of national perspectives so students can make the world a better place the current IBDP helps students to more comfortably live in the world as it is, reinforcing who is dominant now and modelling to the students that these dominant nations are more important than others.

A third student, who had not understood that international education would not focus on his Local, took a different approach and worked to find ways to engage with the Local through the IBDP. Hassan grew up in Australia, studying in English. When the family moved to Lebanon, he enrolled in the IBDP to keep studying in English and to gain a diploma that would be recognised by Australian universities. However, he said he had not realised how little Lebanon would feature in the lessons. “I think the IB focuses on Western cultures,” he said (FG8). As he knew he might only have a few years in Lebanon, before returning to Australia, he wanted to learn more about it while he was there, so he sought out CAS projects in Arabic to get more involved in Lebanese issues and was one of the few students to focus on a local, political issue in his extended essay (EE). Through these conversations with students, it seems they accept that international education is focused on issues abroad, with the understanding that the IBDP reinforces a particular world order, one where American and European narratives are centred and promoted. They are divided on whether, or how much, of their Local they would like to see in their classrooms, but they have all felt its absence in the way the IBDP is currently being taught at the case study school.

## Representations, power, and agency in international education

Far from being “removed from the national and local setting in which they are positioned” (Ledger, 2016, p. 27), I have shown there are several

ways teachers and students connect to the Local during IBDP classes. My initial assumptions, in part based on previous international schooling literature, were wrong: it is not only a matter of how to diversify international education to include more of the Local, but the question that needs to be asked is how to contextualise the representations of the Local that are being presented. Currently, this appears to be the responsibility of the teachers, tasked with ways to bring in, or diversify, the current curriculum.

Throughout the writing of this chapter, I could hear the counterargument against my claims that the IB's model of international education does not provide a lot of formal space for smaller, poorer, post-colonial Locals. For example, the IB does not prescribe daily content, so it is up to teachers to determine how much of the Local to bring in. Or the fact that there is no one textbook teachers must follow. This is true, but teachers of the IBDP must always have an eye on external assessments, and many teachers, as has been previously noted (Poonoosamy, 2016), believe the programme is easier for the students if it embraces a more Western-centric model of international knowledge.

There are several authorised textbooks on units that focus on the Middle East, particularly in history. So, it is not that the IB ignores Lebanon as the Local so much as it is a choice made by the local teachers. While the English teacher did make use of this flexibility, assigning Haddad and some other local writers, all received positively by the students, the history teacher purposefully focused on units of European history, World War II from a

European perspective, and Imperial Russia. She did not want to select the IB's units on the Middle East. Here I explain why she chose to focus away from the Local. It was not that she did not want to teach Local history, but that what was offered to her did not align with her own version of Local events. Local history, as promoted by the IB, was still taught through highlighting Western narratives.

Miss Hala said her decision was based on two factors. The first was that World War II was an event with which students were already familiar and that Imperial Russia was connected to it so it would be a comfortable transition. She was aware that the IB was a big change for her students and wanted to start with units that were potentially recognisable, especially as many of her students had already been studying under the more informal American curriculum, which would have covered some of these events. The second factor was that she sought to limit confusion and controversy. She said she considered the unit on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, a unit that would have undoubtedly allowed for discussions on Lebanon and its relationship with its southern neighbours. "I took a general look at it and I'm like okay 'forget it, no,'" she said (I2). The IB's textbooks on the crisis did not reflect her understanding of the conflict and she felt it did not respectfully cover Lebanese, or Palestinian, narratives. It would not be a unit with new material, but it would focus on teaching new perspectives that potentially would run counter to what students, and their parents, believed on these issues. This echoes earlier research on IB World Schools which found

teachers telling students to "prioritise international perspectives" that would be known and familiar to teachers who will ultimately be grading the final exams (Poonoosamy, 2016, p. 592).

Yet other research perpetuates the idea that international education is somehow immune to this level of regional bias: "Because it is used in so many different cultures, the IB emphasizes transparent assessments that eliminate subtle norms and expectations that may exclude students not raised in the majority culture" (Kugler & Albright, 2005, as cited in Hill, 2006, p. 18). Yet, as I noted in the previous chapter, IB leadership is aware that some of the IB's value lies in its Western-ness, more so than any international claims it might make. It is hard to reconcile the idea that somehow the exams can speak to students from everywhere equally if a large element of the programme involves passing on Western norms and values through education.

Caution over her students struggling to find their narrative in a history unit on their Local led her to avoid it entirely, especially since this was her first-year teaching IB programming. To better understand Miss Hala's decision, I conducted a thematic analysis of one textbook that was produced to cover the IB's unit on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, *The Arab-Israeli Conflict 1945-1979* (2012). The textbook was written by Jean Bottaro, a South African based IB teacher who is an "experienced examiner and moderator and has written a wide range of History textbooks" (Bottaro, 2012, fourth cover). Although the book is not endorsed by the IB, her

background as an examiner implies that she knows what is needed to do well in this course and will be able to provide coursework to help students achieve good marks. If anything, her credentials as an author reveal that she is an expert in IB testing and not Middle Eastern history.

In the last chapter, Bottaro (2012) focuses on events from 1979 to the present, including the establishment of Hezbollah and subsequent wars between them and Israel. From the start, it becomes clear that this is a book that has positioned the Middle East as the international without taking the time to assess the local nuances of the situation. The book states: “Israeli actions further angered Muslims in Lebanon, many of whom joined a radical new organisation called Hezbollah. One of Hezbollah’s aims was to force the IDF [Israeli Defence Forces] to withdraw completely from Lebanon” (Bottaro, 2012, p. 206). Two points about the word choice stand out. First, the word radical. From some Lebanese perspectives, what could be so radical about trying to remove an occupying army from your land? Within Lebanon, support for Hezbollah varies and many people who supported Hezbollah’s actions in the 1980s and ’90s no longer condone them. But introducing the group as radical from the start denies readers a chance to assess the situation and maligns them as the extreme actors. They might be extreme but, from some vantage points, they are not the only ones worthy of that label. Hezbollah supporters would argue that the group was acting in defence, protecting Lebanon’s land and people from an invading

army that, in 1982, had invaded and occupied the southern half of the country up to Beirut.

The second point focuses on the use of Israeli Defence Forces, which is how the Israeli Army is known in Israel. However, many Lebanese avoid this term, opting for the more neutral term Israeli Army as they do not believe the army is acting in defence when it is occupying foreign land. Using “Israeli Defence Forces” reveals either a sympathy for the Israeli side, or an ignorance on the issue where the author might not understand the problem with the term. These points remain contentious between professional political scientists. They may seem like small points to a casual reader who does not have a stake in this conflict, but they are complicated points to teach to students so that they can use the correct language in writing external assessments.

In its final chapter, the textbook covers related events from 1979 to the present, including the 2006 Summer War between Israel and Hezbollah. When discussing fatalities from this war the textbook wrote that Lebanon suffered “heavy civilian casualties” and that “over 100 civilians” in Israel were killed (Bottaro, 2012, p. 213). No sources are attributed for either the lack of specific number in Lebanon’s case or the figure provided for Israel. These figures conflict with official reports and do so in a way that minimises Lebanese loss of life while inflating the number of Israeli civilian fatalities. Verified figures report 1,191 Lebanese citizens were killed (Amnesty International, 2006). This number includes Hezbollah fighters since the

group is secretive over their membership; Hezbollah claimed they lost 74 fighters while Israel claimed they killed 500 fighters (Amnesty International, 2006). The numbers do not include 51 foreign nationals and 5 UN peacekeepers who were also killed in Lebanon. In Israel, 43 civilians and 117 Israel soldiers were killed, so over 100 but they were not all civilians (Amnesty International, 2006).

Even the textbook's language around measuring the human cost of war reveals a bias for the Israeli narrative. Israeli actions "resulted" in Lebanese casualties, as if the fatalities were unfortunate accidents, while Hezbollah missile strikes were responsible for the targeted "killing" of Israelis. Again, this may seem a trivial example, but these numbers differ from Lebanese and third-party accounts to the extent that they minimise Lebanese fatalities, by providing an abstract figure, whilst inflating Israeli civilian losses. By printing these numbers in the textbook, they gain an authority within the IB and students who have learned differently might have a harder time supporting their positions.

Unlike teaching students about imperial Russia, where they enter the class with clean slates ready to absorb new material, any lesson on Palestine would have to engage with perspectives the students already have, some of which would contrast with the formal material in the books. Miss Hala is not opposed to disagreements, and is open to debates in class, I witnessed her playing devil's advocate several times to push students to consider opposing perspectives, but she thought it would be an extra

burden for the students to have to prioritise learning dominant narratives at the expense of their own, or those of their parents'. This was especially true, she noted, as students would be expected to write final essays for external graders who are less likely to understand the local views and would expect ideas that were more closely aligned with the information from IB-approved textbooks. She exclaimed that while the IB does not forbid other perspectives the onus would be on the student to thoroughly introduce and support their perspectives and this would be harder to do than to repeat the dominant narrative found in the book.

Every so often, Miss Hala would mention the problem of Palestine in her classes, but I never heard her explain why she was not going into more details. During one class, she even indicated that she had more to say on the subject but that those lessons were only for those in the American section.

"For example, the Arab-Israeli situation. There are different perspectives. And there is a distinction between Zionism and European Jews," she said one day in class, prompted by a conversation on the role of propaganda. "I read a book called the *Holocaust Industry*. It is by a Jew. If you were in the American section, you would be learning more about this. But now back to Japan."

I remarked in Chapter 5 that I noticed the students thought that the IB was responsible for the daily content of their classes. This exchange seemed to enforce that point. In this situation, their teacher told them about

a lesson she did for non-IB students on their Local. It appears that she has control over that as it is about a book she read. But, in the IB class, the lessons are about the international, in this case Japan. It is about issues far away and the teacher is delivering the content. She did not tell them she had the choice to teach more Local issues but chose not to.

It is important to remember that colonialism was not just about a foreign power subjugating a foreign people. Colonialism was instrumental in shaping how these Others were, and still are, perceived. Colonisers supplied a lot of the language academics use when discussing the world: even the idea of the "Middle East" is a colonial legacy. As colonial scholar Smith observed: "They came, They saw, They named, They claimed" (Smith, 1999, p. 80). They, the colonisers, named and claimed. They established the infrastructure. In Lebanon's case, they, the French colonial rulers, drew the borders. They oversaw the drafting of the constitution and government structure. They imposed their language, especially in education. More than that, but less discussed, they took ideas back to their Home country which impacted upon how their children learned about the Others and about their place in the world.

These colonial legacies persist. This is important to remember when thinking about how educational materials are written and created. It is not enough to include diverse (national) perspectives within international education, as it is necessary to think about who is writing them and for what audience. For example, in the Bottaro (2012) textbook, there are 131 source

boxes scattered throughout the chapters, supplementing the regular text. These boxes are excerpts from 57 sources, including speeches, interviews, UN resolutions, government policies, memoirs, media and the largest category, history books (only one co-author of one of these 57 sources is a woman, and none of the primary source material features female voices, but that is a topic for another thesis), and are similar to what students will cover in their final assessment. Bottaro (2012) relies on 24 academics to supplement her chapters. Two of these voices are Arab: American historian Rashid Khalidi, who is of Palestinian heritage, and Lebanese historian Albert Hourani. Including speeches by Arab leaders and some other primary source material from Palestinians, Arab voices account for only 13% of the sources provided. In other words, in a textbook purporting to teach Arab history only 13% of the primary sources are Arab. This analysis of one textbook on the subject supports Miss Hala's concerns that this unit would not present the region in a way that students would understand: there are few Local voices represented.

Most academics quoted are British and American, although there is one each from Kenya and Australia. All the media quoted is British except for a Soviet newspaper article. There are five Jewish academics quoted, two of whom (American political scientist Norman Finkelstein, who wrote the above-mentioned *Holocaust Industry*, and Israeli-British historian Avi Shlaim) are often criticised within Israel for being anti-Zionist or even pro-Palestinian. But the point here is not about pro-Palestinian content so much

as representation and voice within the textbook itself: what does it teach students when the textbook allows Israeli historians to present both sides of the conflict? It is not only about a balance of perspectives but about who is allowed to speak and who gets to represent themselves. There are no Arab voices speaking on behalf of others; they have barely been given space to speak for themselves.

The selection of regional units, like the one on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, is the biggest example of the argument that although the IB comes from Western roots the current content offerings are international (Van Oord, 2007). But there is something problematic about regional units that are avoided by the regions they cover due to not being inclusive enough in their approach. For these reasons, Miss Hala decided it was better to teach non-Local history than to place additional burdens on her students and, as discussed in the previous chapters, it appears several of her students agree with her approach and prefer to keep their Local out of their international education. This suggests that not only are some countries, such as the US, more frequently discussed inside the classroom, but other countries, like Lebanon, have been consciously avoided. This counters the idea that these schools are free to choose whatever content they wish as long as they do so through IB (Western) methods; this example shows that teachers are concerned it is not in the students' best interests to learn about their Local if their exams are being assessed by non-Locals. Miss Hala was not perpetuating a hierarchy of nations within her history classes because

certain historical accounts from abroad, from the West, were seen as more important, but because those units appeared to provide the best chance of programmatic success to her students.

As mentioned previously, I entered the field anticipating Lebanon's absence. Instead, I encountered its daily presence through informal conversations and anecdotes. But I was not expecting teachers to actively avoid speaking about it in the way Miss Hala explained she felt she had to. It is not that Lebanon was replaced with content from an established international education canon, but that teachers consciously avoided it in the hopes of giving their students a better chance with external assessments.

## Chapter 7 conclusion

Speaking about those who are marginalised by current systems, one of the early influential thinkers within postcolonial theory, Bhabha (1996) wrote:

> I do not mean, in any sense, to glorify margins and peripheries. However, I do want to make graphic what it means to survive, to produce, to labor and to create, within a world-system whose major economic impulses and cultural investments are pointed in a direction away from you, your country or your people. (p. xi)

The intention of this chapter is also not to “glorify margins” or to argue that the IB’s model of international education should more explicitly focus on representations of the Local, but to explore how this interpretation of international education is impacting students through their daily engagement with the IBDP. This chapter argued that there is a need to more consciously explore and better understand how the Local is represented and discussed within international education both within formal programming and through the hidden curriculum. That Lebanon is mentioned daily inside Charles Malek International School is not surprising. Most teachers and students claim a cultural or political identification with the country and every member of the school’s community, regardless of background, is currently based in Lebanon. It is natural for teachers and students to connect lessons to their lived realities. However, the repeated negativity that accompanied most mentions of Lebanon is important to note and reflect upon.

This chapter reveals four things about how the Local enters the IB’s model of international education. First, I show that international schools are neither removed nor “de-anchored” (Rizvi et al., 2019, Transnational Learning Spaces section, para. 5) and that the Local manifests in several ways through the IBDP cycle. Indeed, the Local is always present. Just as the colonial was present behind the scenes in Austen’s novels, a contrapuntal reading of representations of the Local suggests that its absence will impact upon the delivery of educational programming at the

case study school. Its absence is the lesson. In a model of education that is seen as important, so important that students were awarded privileges upon enrolling, Local knowledge is understood as not important enough to include in the curriculum. Second, the Local entered case study classrooms most commonly through informal channels, often as a comparison to more formal material. Third, the most frequent examples of Local representations in the classroom were negative. On a near daily basis students receive negative commentary on their Local, informally, and with little time in the classroom to contextualise, process or unpack. Finally, the Local's absence from formal programming is sometimes intentional, signalling a disconnect between how Local teachers and the IB view the alleged universality of international education programming. In the next chapter I extend this discussion, shifting focus to ask how students' experiences with international education, including the notion of international mindedness, as discussed in the previous chapter, and representations of the Local, have influenced and challenged their civic identities.

# Chapter 8: Reproducing, enacting, and re-contextualising students' civic identities, as ascribed by the IBDP

In Chapter 6 I argued that education for international mindedness (IM) at the case study school encouraged students to look abroad and to learn how to integrate into a pre-existing international community, which has an established hierarchy of nations and often privileges Western knowledge as international. In Chapter 7 I discussed how, often negative, representations of the Local are present daily through engagement with the IBDP, even when the Local does not feature in the formal curriculum. Both elements, education for IM and representations of the Local, contribute to the delivery of citizenship education through the IB. In this chapter attention shifts to how students are interacting with and understanding such lessons, and especially how the IB's reliance on methodological nationalism might have contributed to these interactions.

I ask how the students at the case study school are reproducing, enacting, re-contextualising and challenging civic identities, as ascribed by IB programming. As mentioned previously, I understand civic identities to be "a set of beliefs and emotions about oneself as a participant in civic life" (Hart et al., 2011, p. 773). In discussing civic identities as ascribed by the IB, I understand that the IB encourages students to engage with international education through the lens of being a citizen of one Home

nation state, and that all students, regardless of citizenships possessed, can have equal opportunities as global citizens, which impacts their beliefs and emotions about themselves as public participants. In designing this chapter, I had assumed that this model of citizenship education, even if not explicitly taught as such, would impact upon how students talk about their own civic selves, and I was interested in learning if this was true, and how students were interacting with and assessing such lessons. As introduced in Chapter 1, I understand citizenship education to be formal or informal lessons, conversations, and experiences which inform and develop how an individual relates to communities central to their lives, at least one of which is a nation state.

I find students are curious about where they are located and how they can connect but are not being provided with an explicit vocabulary or toolkit to reconcile their experiences in the Local with their experiences of international education. Further, I note an absence of discussions on class and how privilege affects civic identities, with little guidance from the IB as to how to integrate questions of class within conversations on citizenship.

## Reproducing lessons on local and national civic identities

"…We require all students to relate first to their own national identity," wrote former IB Director General Roger Peel (IBO, 2008, p. 12, as cited in Hughes, 2009, p. 131). This is reminiscent of the views of Peterson, another director general introduced in Chapter 6. Peterson believed it was possible,

and indeed necessary, to first train students to identify as citizens of one nation, and then to teach them about others (Tarc, 2009). The IB's literature and educational programming remains consistent on following this one nation first approach to citizenship education, as exemplified by the 2012 position paper published by the IB. The IB assumes students will identify primarily with a Home nation and, consequently, defers to that state to provide education on national citizenship, thereby allowing for an absence of national citizenship education within the IBDP. Meanwhile, the IB chooses to focus on global citizenship education, with lessons occurring across all subjects, focusing on the skills and attitudes of the global citizen (Davy, 2012).

The students at CMIS reproduced this starting point in conversations around citizenship, indicating that citizenship primarily concerns the relationship of an individual to one nation state. When asked about citizenship, without exception they connected citizenship to the notion of an individual having a relationship to one nation state:

Jean: To be able to live in the country. (FG6)

Hassan: Working in the country, being educated in the country. (FG6)

Leila: Like a part of a country […] It means you obey your country. (FG5)

To live in, to work in, to be educated in, to obey: These are the ways the students understood one's relationship as a citizen to a state.

Citizenship was about obeying that country's rules, working there, and being educated in such a way that one absorbs lessons the state has deemed important. This mirrors how the IB constructs lessons around citizenship which is to say they reflect elements of methodological nationalism and accept the notion that such identities begin with an individual's relationship with one nation state.

As I mentioned in Chapter 5, all either possessed at least two passports or had cultural or familial connections to multiple countries. Passports only reveal legal citizenship status, not how one feels about or practices citizenship (Osler & Starkey, 2003). Further, they do not reveal how such an individual understands these statuses, or how they reconcile multiples if they are members of two or more states or if they feel a part of one of which they have no official membership. Beyond passports, the students expressed these identities differently. Students almost always prioritised feelings for one nation instead of connecting to both equally, for example:

> Leila: Born in Texas, raised in Lebanon. (FG5)
>
> Lama: I'm from Lebanon *but* I'm also Belgian. (FG5)
>
> Ali: I just start with Lebanese and if they start saying that they have two different nationalities then I'll go, yeah me too. (FG7)

In the first two comments, Leila and Lama acknowledge that they have the ability to claim a relationship with two countries, but stress that

Lebanon is more important. Leila will mention that she is born in Texas as a way to explain why she, a Lebanese girl, has American citizenship, but does not see herself as being *from* America. For her, where she was raised and spent the most time is more important. For Leila and Lama, being *from* a place is important, having roots there, speaking the language, as opposed to having citizenship *of* a place. This aligns with past political science research which has found that where students grow up, and what opportunities they are exposed to, is instrumental in shaping their civic identities and participation as adults (Campbell, 2006; Kiesa, 2012).

Both Leila and Lama agreed they were disconnected from their non-Lebanese political citizenships. Lama sees herself as from Lebanon but recognises that she is also Belgian, explaining that she has family there even though she does not know much about the country itself. In the last example, Ali said he would always say he's Lebanese, unless someone else mentioned that they had dual citizenship, in which case he would mention that his mother is from Tunisia. Their second citizenships become a means of connecting with others, but not something they focus on themselves. Additionally, the students spoke of Lebanon without mentioning their religions, which, as I stated in Chapter 5, is an integral aspect of how citizens in Lebanon have a relationship with the state. I did not ask specific questions about religion, because, as I mentioned earlier, this is often viewed as a controversial subject and many students are not comfortable discussing it in school. However, I observed that they were speaking of

citizenship as a secular concept, again reproducing Western notions of citizenship as opposed to more localised understandings. It is possible that students did not feel comfortable discussing the religious aspects of their civic identities in front of classmates, although I did observe several students bring up religion in other conversations, such that it appears religion is not a dominant focus for them when conceptualising citizenship.

With these statements, the students accepted the IB's notion of identifying with a Home country, as if a student has one country that stays with them wherever they may be: "Citizenship should be something for everyone to have […] thinking their nation's interest is best, even if they are in another country, wherever they are," said Min Jun, the only student in the class with no Arab cultural connections (FG7). He had lived in several countries and held two passports, South Korean and American, but only claimed one of them as his Home country. He said he did not see himself as an American citizen. "No, I never do," he said when asked if he considered himself American. "I mean I was born there and then I only lived there in my baby age and kindergarten so that's why" (FG7). To him, home is somewhere else, and now that he is away from the US there is nothing that connects him to it. This resistance to trying to reconcile multiple national citizenships as part of one's civic identity is a pattern that I explore later in this chapter.

It is interesting to note that students did not give credit to the IB for the formation of either their beliefs on citizenship or their

compartmentalisation of national and international civic identities. One student said she learned about citizenship “through the news”, while another stated she learned about it from “my parents” (FG2). Another student spoke about how in their old school, where they studied the Lebanese Baccalaureate, there was a course was called Civics, which “taught you about the country” (FG5). This could be a result of the IBDP’s indirect approach to citizenship education; without explicit classroom guidance, the students are not recognising how, or if, the IBDP shapes their civic selves. However, the more I observed classes and spoke to the students, the more I started to see instances where the students’ engagement with, and explorations of, these civic identities were influenced by and informed through their engagement with the IBDP.

## Reproducing lessons on global civic identities

As mentioned previously, the IB encourages the compartmentalisation of citizenship education, focusing on global citizenship education (GCE) while assuming education for national citizenship will be provided through other means (Tarc, 2009). The IB’s goal is to train students to establish “a balance between allegiance to nation and allegiance to humankind” (Davy, 2011, p. 4). The IB focused on allegiance to humankind while ceding national citizenship education to the states, thus establishing a compartmentalisation of citizenship education, and teaching

students that global citizenship education can be achieved in isolation from that around national citizenship.

While leaving it to states to cover national citizenship, the IB intends its programming to target aims for "world citizenship" (Hill, 2012, p. 251), as first noted in Chapters 1 and 6. This vision assumes that such global citizenship education (GCE) can be taught irrespective of one's current location in the world. As the previous section showed, students at the case study school focused on national citizenship when citizenship was raised as a topic. Once I introduced the idea of global citizenship, the students reproduced lessons from the IB, noting that it was an abstract ideal removed from national citizenship and feelings of belonging. However, students were divided as to whether such attributes could be attained by anyone or whether they were reserved for students who had lived in many places. It should be noted that I did not witness specific lessons on global citizenship education so cannot claim with authority that the IB is what influenced the students' views; I can however note the correlation and reveal that throughout engagement with the IBDP the students spoke of GCE in similar language to how the IB envisions it and that the IB did not seem to encourage students to consider how national ideas of citizenship intersect with global citizenship ideals.

Like the IB itself, the students struggled to define global citizenship, what it was and how one achieves it. It was not a concept that they knew too much about, and this did not seem to change over the course of my

visits. Leila asked me: “What do you mean by global citizen?” Before I could respond I noticed a boy was shaking his head as a response and wanted to know why. “He is shaking his head. Why?” I asked, directing my comment to Leila to check if she was in on the joke. Charles replied instead: “We’ve mentioned it like eight times in class […] in TOK.” Leila laughed and said, “We have?” Others laughed too. “International awareness and stuff?” Nayla adds (FG6).

This short exchange shows that students are engaging with the concept of global citizenship at different levels. It may be present within classes, or within programming, but not all students have recognised it as an IBDP concept or ideal. In another group, Jean asked: “By global citizen you mean as in like I can fit in any country?” (FG7) It is not surprising they asked for clarity on global citizenship. Nayla’s final addition, “international awareness and stuff,” seems to show that she’s struggling to connect the concept to other phrases she’s heard. Her first instinct is to link it to being aware of the international, again, emphasising that global citizenship is conceived of as something one does beyond their home borders.

The biggest questions they raised were whether they were, or could be, part of it. Some students followed the IB’s reasoning, that it was about the qualities and attributes you possessed. Lama envisioned it as something you can possess through qualities you have, saying: “Yes, because I'm open to every culture and ideologies”. Jean called it “abstract” (FG3). Amal said she was a global citizen because she was “open-minded”.

These students had picked up on the tenets of global citizenship as embraced by the IB: it is abstract in nature, generally a good thing, open to those who are open to others, accessible to anyone who wants to join. Like the IB, these students discussed GCE in the abstract, removed from their Local civic identities.

Other students, though, felt that just as citizenship was the relationship first between an individual and a state, global citizenship required individuals to have connection, physically, to many different parts of the world. Min Jun stated that he felt he was a global citizen because “I have lived in different parts of the world for at least a year” (FG1). On the other hand, Hassan said he was not a global citizen since “both my parents have the same culture and are from the same area in Lebanon” (FG6), despite having lived in Australia and being familiar with its culture. For Hassan he was not a global citizen because he was too rooted in Lebanon, such that it was a zero-sum identity for him. It is not clear where students formed these ideas around global citizenship education, but their reliance on methodological nationalism contrasts with the image of GCE as accessible to all.

Perhaps the holistic vision for GCE the IB promotes is not clear enough for teachers new to the IB. It is not clear how fluent in the discourse of GCE the IB hopes students will become, for example. Without sharing similar concepts, it becomes much harder to measure the IB’s impact, as studies will inevitably target different qualities, skills or knowledge, thereby

making comparison across studies a challenge. But what is clear is that, like the IB, conversations around national citizenship and global citizenship were compartmentalised as if the two could be developed and experienced as isolated identities, reinforcing conversations around citizenship embedded in methodological nationalism. This reinforces the disconnect I mentioned previously, between the IB's ideals of global citizenship, which purport to be equally accessible to any student regardless of nationality or class, how IB is practiced at the case study school, and how IB frames the conversations around global citizenship.

Students were learning about citizenship through the IBDP, but many did not seem as aware of these lessons as they were of their formal subjects. They were reluctant to say the IB's model of international education shaped their feelings and beliefs on Lebanon, since Lebanon was not formally discussed during lessons. They were unsure about concepts like citizenship and global citizen, having heard them in class and seen them in programming, but never having been formally encouraged to explicitly think about them or articulate beliefs on these issues. Despite this, they internalised the IB's messaging that citizenship starts with an individual's relationship to one nation and that global citizenship is isolated from the national.

## Enacting civic identities through the curriculum

The previous section explored how the students spoke about citizenship, reproducing the compartmentalisation of local, national and

international conversations around citizenship, and the absence of negotiations around class. Here I explore how the students interacted with some ideas within their lessons, observing that citizenship was viewed primarily through methodological nationalism and a world order that focuses on national representations and promotes a hierarchy of nations within such an order. In 2016 I witnessed students, those who were primarily Lebanese by nationality, reach for American examples when asked to role play in a class. It was an interesting moment where students had the freedom to shape their class, and despite reproducing ideas that individuals are associated with one nation they felt comfortable picking and choosing elements of citizenship discourse from various national examples.

On one Thursday in November 2016 the SL Psychology classroom became a courtroom. It was my first observation of SL Psychology. The room was on the second floor of the school and was shared with an Arabic language teacher, who had clearly colonised the walls, displaying maps of Lebanon on the two walls without windows, door or whiteboard. When I arrived, Mr Charbel offered me a seat in the back row; there was an empty row between me and the two rows of students in the front. Psychology is an IB elective course, so the class was smaller than most of the classes I had observed. From my seat, I watched five students, all with Arab backgrounds, enter and settle in following their morning break.

The focus of the class was on the role genetics could play in justice. “Scientists have found a gene that supports the idea that violence is more

prominent in some people," Mr Charbel explained. "Can this be used as a defence? Should this be a defence?" he asked. Mr Charbel instructed the students to put on a mock trial. He would serve as the defendant and it was up to the students to judge whether he, their teacher, was guilty of murder, taking into consideration mock arguments that doctors had declared he possessed a gene that made him predisposed to violence.

Immediately the students were engaged, but they wanted more information. They raised their hands, but most asked their question before being called on, finding a quick lull in the conversation. The teacher allowed this informal flow of questioning: "Who did you kill?" "Was the murder conducted in self-defence?" "Are you of sound mind otherwise? What's your background?" They repeatedly asked: "Who did you murder?" The victim is important, they argued. They pushed for details, yet Mr Charbel insisted they should focus on the role of genetics and provided no more background on the suspect or victim. He left the room while the students prepared. They spent most of their preparation time looking up studies on the Internet, through their iPads, on genes and whether people can be predisposed to violence.

When Mr Charbel returned, the trial began. "Who goes first?" one student asked. "The prosecution always does," another replied, noting that was how it was done on "[American shows on] television." Another student considered whether the teacher – the accused – needed to be sworn in. Someone asked whether they could serve as the attorney general, a

position found in Lebanon but made famous by US TV shows. When it was the prosecution's turn to question the defendant, Mr Charbel replied by taking "the Fifth" and the students nodded. The Fifth refers to the Fifth Amendment of the United States Constitution, which protects US citizens from being forced to answer questions that might be self-incriminating.

I was witnessing an American mock murder trial, subconsciously designed by Arab students. There is no "Fifth" in Lebanon, as it does not follow the US Constitution. Other elements of this trial would look different in Lebanon, considering Lebanon's judiciary is based on the French judicial system, itself an interesting dynamic, as the country's legal system is entrenched in its colonial history and treats citizens differently based on a sectarian legal structure co-designed by Lebanese elites and French colonial civil servants. But none of that complicated history was on display in the classroom. That these Arab students were more comfortable staging an American mock trial than a Lebanese one was just one example I saw of how American norms and culture became the focus of a lesson. In many classes examples of the current American presidential race between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, and even a previous race between Barack Obama and Mitt Romney, were discussed as much, if not more than, Lebanese politics.

In Chapters 6 and 7 I presented evidence that the IB promotes Western examples and knowledge and has created a hierarchy within its model of international education which often elevates Western sources and

allows them to act as international ones. However, the IB is by no means the only source of Western ideas and culture experienced by the students. There is no evidence that the students created an American courtroom because of their experience with the IB, and this could equally be due to an interest in American television crime shows. But this snapshot into daily IB life at CMIS was still valuable as it shows that within the IBDP space is created for students to borrow citizenship lessons from other national cultures. For example, in Chapter 6, Miss Maya, the chemistry teacher, saw how important international examples were in supporting her lessons. But equally, it is interesting that these students felt more at ease reproducing other countries' legal systems.

These classroom enactments are important as, like other secondary school programmes, the IB is time-consuming, so there is not a lot of free time where students can get involved beyond their school requirements. Students said that the demands of the IBDP were an obstacle to getting more involved with their communities and said the only real possibility was doing so through CAS. Hassan talked about his CAS experience, where he participated in a version of Model United Nations in Arabic that took place at a local Beirut university, and how he made friends from all over Lebanon, including the north. He explained he had never been to the north and had been invited by these friends to go and see it, but when I asked if he had done so he replied, "Not yet. It's time consuming, the IB" (FG8). Therefore, during their two years studying the IB, it is important to look at how

communities are represented within classrooms as students have the ability to try out different elements within these situations, whereas they do not have as much free time beyond school to participate in other communities.

Hassan's example demonstrates that the IB's model of international education demands so much of a student's time that they are left with little free time to explore or get involved in their more local communities. This supports past research (Arfani & Nakaya, 2019) which revealed students did not believe they had the time to participate in local initiatives which would give them a chance to practice some of the more civic type lessons they were learning in class. Lack of free time is not a problem inherent only to the IB, with more and more secondary school programmes placing extensive demands on students' time, but it is worth noting that students felt they were too busy learning about the international through their books or through their scheduled CAS requirements, to participate in their Local communities. This approach to citizenship education classes is referred to as "citizens in waiting" (Osler & Starkey, 2005). Students are expected to read and learn and discuss citizenship inside classes, learning about how to practice citizenship, which comes as a next, rather than concurrent, step. True, the IB mandates participation through CAS, but it is up to the student how civic minded such an activity will be.

As noted in the previous chapter, this understanding of, and reliance upon, a Western canon of knowledge dominated by American norms and ideas is omni-present, through IB-endorsed textbooks and informal

discussions raised by students and teachers, as discussed in previous chapters. Past research by practitioners and IB senior leadership (Hughes, 2009; Walker, 2012) has frequently debated how “Western” the IB is, separating Western content from Western-inspired pedagogies, mostly stemming from the European Enlightenment movement (Tate, 2013). This abundance of Western culture has been observed at other IB schools in the Middle East, where it was noted that Western celebrities, food, and fashions were dominant and often privileged over local ones (Hurley, 2006). In the same week that the students constructed an American classroom, they read an editorial by former US presidential candidate Mitt Romney in English SL. In their free time the students followed the current US presidential election race, which happened that week, and brought their observations and questions into class. It is important to note that the IB is reinforcing these foreign cultures/narratives and that by emphasising them, as shown in previous chapters, they are given legitimacy to speak as international education, not only Western perspectives, and to affirm to students that they are important. As I showed, travelling theory helps uncover the ways in which ideas have travelled and settle, and here it seems that these dominant narratives have been unquestionably accepted within the IE canon.

It is not just that the US is present or that the students are learning more about the US than Lebanon, with many students pointing to the fact

that students in the US are not expected to learn about them or their cultures and Locals:

Leila: I bet they [students in the US] are not taking anything about Lebanon but like we are taking everything about them so it's unfair… (FG6)

Khadija: I mean even if they did… it is mostly American system yeah. Even if they did go through IB, it is also like their surroundings, which also educate them. Like here you see most teenagers are looking at the Western celebrities. So, it is like we are also educated from that. Of course, they wouldn't be looking at the Arab celebrities or anything like that. (FG5)

Here, Leila shared her frustrations, not that she had to learn about others but that others did not have to learn about them. Furthermore, as an American citizen herself, Leila is revealing her preference to identify as Arab and Lebanese in this context. In addition, other students pointed out that not only did some non-Arabs know nothing about aspects of Arab culture but these students' understandings of the Middle East hinged on stereotypes and negative portrayals:

Jean: I feel like even if they get information about us it's filtered. Like some people still think we ride

on camels and stuff. Can you please study? Like we are studying about you. (FG5)

Mirvat: Because we know different points of view but they [American students] only talk about their point of view.…if you go and ask anyone in the Western countries about any country from the Middle East, they don't know anything. Really. They don't know anything. [class bell rings] (FG7)

These comments were prompted by students sharing their experiences of a trip to Dubai to participate in a regional Model UN (MUN) conference with other students from private international schools across the region, many of which were IB World Schools. The students said their Western peers, even those who studied in non-Western countries, lacked basic knowledge of the Middle East and asked simplistic questions about non-Western life, based on stereotypes from popular culture. A contrapuntal reading of these quotes, where I look at what is not being said, reveals that the other students do know something about the region but that this is based on stereotypes and negative imagery. They know a region exists, but they see it as different, as foreign, and it certainly has not been centred in their studies to the extent that the US, and Europe, have been discussed at Charles Malek. This is evidence, once again, of how the legacies of colonial power continue to shape practices of IE. I mentioned that the bell rang after

Mirvat's quote because it was the last comment of the focus group. I had noticed others were nodding but there was no time to discuss this idea more

Through these focus groups, and observing classes, I saw the students experiencing double consciousness through their engagement with the IBDP (DuBois, 1903/1996). Double consciousness, coined to describe the experiences of Black Americans and the asymmetry of power between them and white Americans, can be understood as the "sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (DuBois, 1903/1996, Of Our Spiritual Strivings section, para. 3). This exists here, in the post-colonial present, too. The students' civic identities are being forged not only by their locals but in response to a dominant, mostly American and European, presence in their classrooms. The students feel they are expected to gain a double consciousness, where they learn both from abroad and locally, whereas students from dominant countries within the IE canon are not held to the same expectations.

In essence, students from postcolonial, less powerful nations, are being asked to do more in terms of engaging with IE. Many Western students will have an easier time with some lessons, as the content will be more familiar from their Local cultures, a point that has already been noted in research (Poonoosamy, 2016). My research reinforces such claims. It is possible that the IB's emphasis on methodological nationalism is having an unintended effect: instead of making all students feel closer to the same

global community, a pedagogy which encourages students to seek membership within a national community before a global one is reinforcing the differences these students see and feel when compared to the traditional Western international student.

## Enacting civic identities through classroom dynamics

But there was more that happened in that classroom in November 2016, another interaction that speaks to how students' civic identities are shaped within classrooms. Returning to the start of the class, before Mr Charbel assigned the mock trial, he returned essays, handing them to the students as they settled into their seats, most without any comment. It was not clear through my observations whether the assignment was a draft or a graded assignment. When he reached one of the students, he handed back the essay and said: “Next time, check the font. When you copy-paste it prints the words in grey.” The response to this accusation of plagiarism was immediate: “I didn't copy paste,” the student said, as they bent over, unzipped their backpack, pulled out a laptop and turned it on before placing it on the desk. Mr Charbel made a small wave of his hand, as if to say it did not matter what they did or did not do, and switched his focus to reviewing the day's homework questions. The student, seated on the left side of class, in the second row, continued scrolling through their laptop. Another student, who was sitting front row centre, turned around, first to look at the accused student before turning her head further to look at me. I felt relieved that my

pen was down and, as she caught my eye, I tried to look as impassive as possible, but I had been put on guard. This student was interested in how I was observing this moment.

The buzzing from the overhead projector filled the silence before students gave their answers to the homework, which focused on the ethics of marketing. Mr Charbel directed a question to the student who had been accused of copy-pasting to provide their answer to a question. The reply was a curt combination of Arabic and English: "*Ma ba'araf* [I don't know]. Copy paste."

Codeswitching, the practice of switching between two languages, especially based on the current circumstances of the speaker, has been well documented in literature on international schools (Galegher, 2019; Kite, 2001). This instance shows how a fluent English speaker reverted to their native Arabic when frustrated and under increased pressure. They were emotional and spoke out in Arabic, a language everyone in the class understood. The Lebanese, more than many cultures, and as a constant reminder of their colonial past, weave languages together seamlessly, often in the same sentence, an act known as translanguaging. In classes, most students used English except in moments like these, when passions or personal interests were running high, or for comments whispered to classmates. In short, Arabic was used when emotions were running high. When the one student who did not speak any Arabic was present these small comments were not translated by either the teacher or students. In

this case, it can additionally be read as an act of resistance, that the student chose to defend themselves in Arabic, chose to switch the dominant narrative back to a language where they felt they could express themselves more freely.

The class looked at Mr Charbel, who said “Let [them] sulk.” The teacher responded in English, signalling that he wanted to return to the lesson, and the rest of the class followed the cue. English, therefore, becomes the language of the system, the language students must return to and prioritise in classes. The student in the front row turned to look at me again. I was more prepared and was not making notes nor staring at the interaction. When all the homework questions had been answered, Mr Charbel explained the day’s assignment, which was the mock trial mentioned previously. Once the students were divided into prosecution and defence teams, Mr Charbel asked the accused student to step into the hallway. No one mentioned anything when they left, and no one turned to look at me again. When the teacher and student returned the tension has eased, slightly, and the class redirected its full attention to the construction of the American courtroom.

I mention this incident for three reasons. Firstly, it highlights the unexpected observations that are made through classroom observations, serving as a reminder that so much happens inside one class period, and much is unrelated to the formal material discussed. Secondly, it is a reminder that learning happens in many ways inside classrooms. This class

was supposed to evaluate whether someone is less to blame for murder if they are genetically predisposed to violence, but the real trial turned out to between this student and his teacher, with the other students silently looking on. Finally, it exemplified how quickly the student reverted to Arabic in moments of frustration, revealing a preference for their native language when under threat. More than that, by choosing to speak in Arabic, the student, perhaps subconsciously, chose to refuse the social norms of the IB programming and challenge educational programming which expects students to use English for all interactions.

Brief moments of linguistic codeswitching were present in most of the classes I saw, but students are not only switching between languages; they are switching between cultures. This too can be understood as a manifestation of double consciousness, a concept that goes further than code switching to describe a reality faced by those in minority cultures who must learn to navigate both their immediate cultures, in terms of the Local, and the cultures of those more powerful within the global community of nations, as represented through IB programming. This becomes more complicated upon reflection that these students belong to an elite and privileged slice of their Local communities, so whereas they might be frustrated by the absence of their Local within their educational programming, they remain privileged in terms of access to wealth, status and global mobility, more so than many students living in Western nations, questions I return to later in this chapter.

As noted at the start of this chapter, citizenship education is not only about what lessons are taught through formal lesson planning. It occurs constantly through the hidden curriculum and through interactions students have with their teachers and peers. In Chapter 6 I spoke about how Mr Rashid, the maths teacher, believed it was important to model the Learner Profile, that his role as a teacher was not only to teach maths but also to embody the IB's values and help pass them to students through role modelling. Here too, perhaps more unintentionally, Mr Charbel was modelling a lesson in citizenship. He was demonstrating that he was willing to listen, to a point, to the student by taking them to the hallway to discuss the issue instead of passing immediate judgment. However, through these actions he demonstrated that the classroom was not a democracy; his words were the final say, and the student needed to figure out how to come to terms with this.

## Re-contextualising and challenging civic identities as ascribed by the IBDP

As I have shown, most students reproduced lessons of citizenship that had been promoted by the IBDP, and their own discussions on civic identities began with the relationship they had to one nation state. While I acknowledge that the IBDP is not the only source of citizenship education for these students, my earlier findings show that students' initial conversations reflect many of the same principles, including an approach to

citizenship which relies upon methodological nationalism. However, I noticed that students were not always comfortable with this understanding of citizenship, and started paying attention to where their views diverged and how they were trying to express themselves. As in Chapter 7, where students did not see their Local as part of international education, in fact expressing a desire for more of it, they do not see their realities reflected in conversations around civic identities. In this section I explore how students are re-contextualising and challenging aspects of civic identities as ascribed by IBDP programming, focusing on how students explain their association with two nation states.

I have discussed how the United States is frequently mentioned in classrooms, and how many of the international norms taught through the IBDP centre Euro-American cultural knowledge. I have discussed how the students see America as a global power, as central to international education. In these conversations the students had positioned themselves as the Other, such as when Mirvat declared herself "us" when talking about the Arab world in Chapter 7; she was watching the US from outside. Yet, American citizenship was the second most widely held citizenship after Lebanese. Six of the fifteen students were American. At least three students had been born in the United States, and many had travelled there or had family there. Several were considering applying to American universities at the undergraduate or graduate level. Yet, none of these Americans initially identified as American, and two did not even mention their access to

American citizenship the first time we discussed which citizenships they possessed. This speaks to a unique form of privilege held by so many students at international schools. It is a small minority in each country who can pick and choose from an assortment of memberships to different countries. Here, I focus on those students at the case study school who had American citizenship to explore the different ways they negotiated access to political and cultural communities and to see if they were recontextualising and challenging the ascribed notion of citizenship as membership of one national community as a way to access the global community.

"I'm Syrian. I have American citizenship," Nayla told me when we first met (FG2). She intentionally separated the nationality she felt most connected to and felt she belonged to from the citizenship she holds, not unlike Leila earlier in this section, who made a point of saying she was born in Texas but was actually Lebanese. Nayla's American citizenship, here, is a status removed from her sense of self. In a survey asking which passports she held, she did not include her American citizenship, explaining that she does not really see it as a part of her. Although born to Syrian parents, Nayla was born in Lebanon and speaks Arabic with a Lebanese accent. This is an important point to explain for non-Arabic speakers, as Arabs can locate people based on accents and Nayla would be accepted as Lebanese when she spoke. In fact, one student did not know Nayla was Syrian prior to our focus group.

Nayla explained that she either introduces herself as Syrian, Syrian-Lebanese, or Lebanese. She does not know Syria as well as Lebanon, having only visited twice before its civil war broke out in 2011. One of those visits was in 2006, when her family fled Lebanon seeking shelter in Syria during the 34-day Summer War between Hizbullah and Israel. For Nayla, feeling part of a nation meant showing loyalty or support, which again aligns with how IB staff spoke of the need for students to connect first to a nation through patriotism. But, for Nayla, the fact that her two official citizenships were connected to countries with a rocky relationship meant that she felt she needed to choose one to support:

> I don't like it. I don't feel American. I don't like [pause] I put here [points to the question in the survey asking what passports she holds] I'm Syrian and Lebanese even though I don't have a Lebanese passport, I'm Syrian so it feels like kind of wrong, I don't know how to explain it because you know America has a bias now, always had a bias but you know *hela* [now], between Iraq and Syria and stuff. So, I feel like [pause] because I'm Syrian, like originally, so it feels wrong when I'm like half-American. (FG6)

For Nayla, admitting to also being American was a betrayal of other aspects of herself, especially her Syrian heritage. When I asked her what she disliked about the US, she moved one hand up and one down, like she was rolling out a laundry list of grievances. Reproducing lessons similar to

those found in the IBDP, Nayla made citizenship sound like a zero-sum game. Yes, she had two, but she had to choose one. But, when the conversation continued, it was clear she knew it was more complicated below the surface but struggled to find the language to express how it made her feel. She had not reconciled her political citizenship to the US as part of who she was as she saw this as challenging her ability to claim a Syrian identity. It is interesting to note that neither Syria nor the US are countries with which she is familiar. It was not about geography here but about culture and alliances. For Min Jun, he was not American because he had been born there but did not live there after early infancy. He did plan to return for university and said he would consider getting more involved in US politics once he was living there, but, for now, he said American citizenship did not impact him. So, students with connections to multiple places are split as to how geographic proximity impacts their sense of civic self. Traditionally, the IBDP has not only assumed each student has one nationality but that they are living outside that country. This is another historical legacy of the early IBDP which has not been revisited. Every year, more and more IBDP students study in at least one of their Home cultures.

In Nayla's final sentence the use of "half-American" implies that she understands most people just divide their identities between the passports they hold, but that this isn't a construct she wants to embrace. Both Min Jun and Nayla said they did not feel American. In addition, citizenship education can incorporate how students feel (Osler & Starkey, 2005), although this

notion was not present within IBDP engagement at the case study school. Further, this struggle, this active denunciation of the US, is integral to Nayla's civic identity. Unlike many Syrians or Lebanese citizens, she has this second passport and access to another corner of the world should she choose to access it.

Making a choice to align with one nation over another is still a privileged position to be in. It is not clear if the IBDP impacted this viewpoint or if the IBDP's approach merely reinforced a previously held conception. But it is clear there was not space within the IBDP to further develop the conflict she had established within herself concerning her national allegiances. Teachers told me that they do not know which citizenships students possess unless students mention it in classes. It appears that students are not having specific conversations around citizenship, and their feelings and questions around belonging, inside classes so students are left grappling with these questions on their own. This could partly be due to the IB's avoidance of explicit citizenship lessons meaning that teachers at Charles Malek have not been encouraged to introduce topics related to national citizenship and, due to this silence, students are not comfortable raising these issues themselves. It almost seemed convenient to be in a position where one nation is the expectation as it allowed her to ignore what possessing an American passport entitled her to, and when I asked her questions it was clear no one had asked her to explore her relationship to these nationalities as inter-connected parts. Further, for many of Nayla's

peers, their American citizenship was what granted them access to the IBDP. Nayla and Min Jun could have accessed the IBDP because they did not have Lebanese passports, but the remaining four students were all were Lebanese-Americans. They could not have joined the IBDP if not for their American citizenships. I mentioned earlier that at international schools, already privileged spaces in the postcolonial world, access to the IBDP can involve another layer of privilege, as students must gain exemptions from the local, national curriculum.

Nayla often ignored her US citizenship, even when I asked direct questions about it. The privilege of possessing multiple citizenships, of being able to choose which national citizenship is primary to their civic identities, was never mentioned by the students. This silence, this lack of recognition of the privilege of choice, left me questioning what it means that students are choosing to remain silent on certain citizenships they possess. As I have shown, most students were looking for ways to fit themselves into the standard citizen model of association with one nation. They had found ways to describe their possession of two passports, but often prioritised one over another. It is hardly surprising that students speak of identity through the framework of a single nation, as this aligns with lessons they are receiving from the IB. In an educational context where singular identities are emphasised, they are reproducing these learned ideals with respect to their own civic identities.

However, it is more surprising that students are opting to emphasise their more local civic identities, thereby distancing their political identity from the dominant examples they discuss in class and searching for opportunities to ground themselves more in their Locals. There is resistance to the dominant nations. The students in my study are not disconnected from their surroundings, they are very much a part of them, and want to be a part of where they are, and where they believe they come from. But many of them are also part of multiple communities and I did not see that they were getting a chance to explore these various connections through their IBDP studies. I did not expect them to be so negative about their American citizenship; perhaps this was directly related to my own experience as an American abroad, who has experienced great privilege through association with the USA. It was interesting that the students had not been encouraged to think of what access to two countries represented. Passports are luxuries in Lebanon, and many parts of the world, but here, these students were seeking to downplay how these nationalities affected their daily lives.

## Re-contextualising class within civic identities

"How do you spell Equatorial Guinea?" one student asked me. As I spelled it out, I saw that they were filling in the question about what passports they held. Their parents had purchased a passport from Equatorial Guinea for their child specifically so they could gain access to the IBDP. Otherwise, as a Lebanese citizen, the child would have had no

choice but to enrol in the Lebanese Baccalaureate. When I asked if they had any interest in ever visiting the African country, they replied: “Not really” (FG4). They felt no attachment to the country and saw ownership of this passport only as a means to an end: access to the IBDP which they otherwise could not have had. In my personal life, I had met Lebanese citizens who had bought second citizenships, either to increase their professional prospects or to allow for geographic mobility, as many countries did not easily grant visas to Lebanese citizens. But I had never met someone who purchased a nationality to further their studies. The opportunity to purchase a second nationality remains the domain of an elite corner of society. Many families would not even know where to start looking to purchase nationalities, let alone have access to the funds needed to complete the transaction. For this student, wealth was the key to accessing the IBDP. This section explores the role class plays, or more often how absence of discussions on class impacts how the students discuss their civic identities.

Yet, in all my class observations, I did not witness any explicit discussions about the economic privilege held by these students. This aligns with past research on IB teachers in Lebanon who did not discuss how learning the IB within such a privileged context might influence students’ learning (Refai, 2020). As noted in previous chapters, international education which privileges a diversity of nationalities and focuses on differences of students between nations can often overshadow

conversations around other social factors including class. Wealth was present every day in the case study school, from the imported Eastpak pencil cases owned by more than half of the students to the Western sneakers, like Nike or Adidas, worn, or the fact that every student had an iPad and was expected to use it in classes and for homework. While cell phones are ubiquitous in Lebanon, reliance on other forms of technology, requiring a consistent source of electricity and the Internet is a privilege, as mentioned in Chapter 5. In the previous chapter, I noted how students went to Starbucks during the break, a privilege they were allowed as IB students but only one they could only access if they could afford the expensive drinks and the *service* fare back to campus. When conducting research at private international schools there is an expectation of privilege but, until now, there has been little analytical reckoning with how such a privileged status affects international education and the formation of students' civic identities.

In line with Said's contrapuntal analysis, by exploring what was not said and what is missing from the dominant narrative of my notes and transcripts, I realised that students, like the IB, were not engaging with questions of class when discussing citizenship education and civic identities. Although they were reproducing the IB's silence on class, they were re-contextualising their civic identities through an economic lens. As I have noted before, many wealthy Lebanese are able to buy their way out of bureaucratic challenges in the country, such as buying a passport to access private international education programming.

Wealth was raised in focus groups in subtle ways. For instance, when the students spoke of the Local, their neighbourhoods in Beirut and the capital's suburbs, they lived in wealthier parts of the city. Several, including Leila and Lama, lived in Achrafieh, a large, predominantly Christian, area of East Beirut, which had the city's largest shopping mall and several of the best-known streets for dining and nightlife. Compared to more conservative areas of Beirut, it is not unusual to see women wearing tank tops, leggings, or other tight and revealing clothing on the streets. Other students, like Min Jun, lived in Baabda, a city to the West of Beirut, where the country's president resides and where several embassies are located. The houses are big and often gated. He mentioned that he rarely even visits Beirut as his parents prefer him to go straight home after school. Amal, who lives in West Beirut, near the American University of Beirut and one of the city's most famous commercial districts, spoke about visiting friends over the weekend, mentioning they went to Zaitunay Bay for dinner, a promenade along the Mediterranean hosting several restaurants, one of the newest areas for nightlife that had opened in the city, which many Lebanese would not be able to afford.

Wealth was present when students spoke about holidays and Creativity, Action, Service (CAS) projects, both of which often involved air travel. When discussing upcoming spring break plans, many were planning trips abroad, mostly to see family: in the UAE, Belgium, France, and Saudi Arabia, for example. Others discussed past trips abroad. Some of their CAS

projects took place overseas, such as an MUN conference in Dubai, the cost of which was not included in the approximately USD15,000 annual tuition fees. Finally, when students spoke of past schools, either in Lebanon or abroad, all spoke about other private, international schools. The one time when students really spoke about money was about how expensive universities abroad are, with some saying they would like to get scholarships to help. However, even the idea of studying abroad is itself a privilege not all Lebanese can access. This kind of travel was treated as usual, not extraordinary, another sign that the students have not had a chance to consider their financial privilege in comparison with others in their Local.

There was another interesting example in conversations around participation within communities. One student, Khadija, asked about donating money: “I don't know exactly how to explain that but my mom kind of puts like files of me and my brothers on our names, so every time […] it is like for the poor so every time she pays, she pays like in our names” (FG6). Khadija was likely referring to her mother’s practice of the Islamic tradition of *zakat*, which mandates that able Muslims should provide for those less fortunate; however Khadija, a common name for Muslims, did not bring up the religious aspect and I maintained my stance of not introducing the topic of religion. In terms of the act of giving, Khadija was curious as to whether this “counted” as community participation, saying she had not thought about it before. Others observed their families gave money

or provided meals for families during the Islamic month of Ramadan. Following this conversation, I paid more attention to whether the students understood donating money as an aspect of community service through IBDP programming. But money rarely came up when discussing CAS. The focus was on community participation, on getting one's hands dirty, rather than on reaching a hand into one's wallet. This absence of the role of wealth in community service, all these programmes need funding to exist, is another example of how the IB avoids confronting elements of wealth and privilege within the programming, as observed at CMIS.

These examples of the absence of conversations around wealth are indicative of a larger absence around the notion of class more generally within the IBDP and how students are not confronted with questions around their own privileged status, potentially normalising just how exceptional their lives are. For example, it is an often unremarked upon privilege to have a Home and a Host country to compare. Most students, increasingly even those engaged in international education, are learning within a Local context to which they are politically or culturally connected. The traditional international student, who has travelled outside of their Home country to study in a Host nation, albeit within the walls of an elite, private international school in said foreign nation, has a privilege that is not often mentioned. If anything, the IB's continued focus on the application of their model of international education in Anglophone state schools (Matthews & Hill, 2005) further distracts from the necessary reckoning about the role of privilege in

international education programming. If educational programming ignores or normalises the wealth that is often needed to join these conversations at these international schools, students do not see their positions as unique or privileged. Further, if no one is talking about how wealth contributes to how individuals form civic identities then students might leave school without having to reconcile or consider how their privileged class status impacts upon their relationship with Local, national and international communities.

In place of contextualising these privileges within Local, national or international communities, the trend has been to isolate and perpetuate the idea that these international school students, or those engaged in international education, are somehow different and unique and that the idea of citizenship which is being promoted is equally accessible to all. For example:

> International schooling has always involved a unique 'class-in-itself', being identified with classifications of children that have a common background and emotional development, such as the 'Third Culture Kid' […] They have outward-oriented global rather than inward-oriented local perspectives. They tend to share similar life-styles, particularly patterns of higher education, and consumption of luxury goods and services (such as the IB). Furthermore, they seek to project images of themselves as citizens of the world. (Bunnell, 2010, p. 353)

In this quote, Bunnell, a former IB teacher and prolific IB researcher, acknowledges that privilege is one quality consistently found within student bodies at international schools. It is rare to see research speak so openly of the privileged nature of most IBDP students, to the extent that Bunnell identifies luxury goods consumption as a uniting element of this unique class. This article is often cited by other scholars in the field, although there has been little questioning of Bunnell's attempt to pigeonhole international students as their own class.

I mentioned in Chapter 5 how a lot of international education research, such as that above, classifies IBDP students, especially those in the non-Western or Anglophone world, as third culture kids (TCKs), as if they inhabit a third space, removed from any locals. I explained why I shunned such a label in this research project, opting to focus on Local connections and influences and believing that the students in my case study are part of their Local, however privileged their corner of it may be. Bunnell's analysis of international students and their shared connections to wealth as a means to unite them and remove them from their Local is exactly the kind of exceptionalisation of privilege that Piketty, first mentioned in Chapter 3, warned against. Elites, like other members of society, are products of their experiences and their connection to communities; separating out privileged groups in society risks obfuscating how they interact with other citizens and enact civic identities throughout their schools, societies, and states.

In all my class observations, surrounded by physical signs of wealth, including drivers, branded clothes and trips to Starbucks during school breaks, discussions rarely, if ever, pushed students to consider their own class status. In reviewing textbooks used by the students, I found scant material to encourage students to consider economic factors; most material emphasised the diversity of national perspectives over the diversity of economic ones. In Chapter 5 I mentioned the role of *wasta* in Lebanon. Lebanon is far from unique in being a society where personal connections are as important, if not more, than how hard someone works, but it is disingenuous to talk about community participation or civic identity without better understanding how economic relationships can influence and impact these roles.

Isolating elites' experiences as exceptional or as habiting a third space, away from national, regional and historical circumstances, does a disservice to those trying to understand how education can develop future generations of citizens. These elite students should be seen as part of their Local, just as elites anywhere should be viewed as part of the cultures which they inhabit, as Piketty argued. To constantly exceptionalise the wealthy is to remove them from a larger meta-analysis of society and to miss important lessons about how their wealth and privilege affects and influences other areas of society.

It is important to note that within CMIS, a privileged space in itself, the IBDP afforded students additional elements of privilege. I mentioned in

the previous chapter that the IB students had been given extra privileges solely because they were IB students. Miss Karima, the CAS coordinator, observed that these privileges had created some tensions within the student body, with non-IB students feeling that the IB students were being given rights and were becoming more privileged members of the school community. She said:

> But the thing is the others look at them as really privileged because [the principal], you know, gave them some privileges to attract them to the course at the beginning. You can come with no uniform, you can leave whenever you want, whenever you don't have courses, you can leave, you can come back you see. So, they envy them: 'Oh you are so privileged, you are so…' That's the thing. (I7)

It is a tricky balance: how to reward students for taking a chance on a challenging and unknown curriculum without making the other students feel they are in lesser programmes. These special rewards created tensions between IB and non-IB students and could be seen as senior leadership creating a hierarchy of educational programming within CMIS, where the IB students have become the elite students at an already elite institution. This hierarchy of educational programming, with the IB on top, has been noted elsewhere, for example in Australia, where students said they believed schools assigned the best teachers to the IB courses and that the IBDP curriculum was "superior" to the national alternative (Paris, 2003, p. 242). I

realised that inadvertently my study, focusing only on the IBDP at CMIS, added to this notion that the international was more important than national programmes, reinforcing the idea that the IB was worthy of study from a researcher from abroad while other programmes were not.

This is especially problematic in Lebanon where the ability to access the IBDP is out of most students' control: it is not grades that hold some students back but nationalities, possession of which is largely marked by class, to the extent that some families have bought their way into the programme. Lebanese citizens having multiple passports is suggestive of families that had the means to flee during the civil war, to resettle abroad and then return, a type of mobility not available to all. Lebanese citizens who cannot gain exemptions from the Lebanese Baccalaureate are not allowed to join the IBDP. In addition to perceiving international education as better than national alternatives, in Lebanon this could entrench the idea that those with additional non-Lebanese citizenships are better somehow, in that they get to access the IB, which is seen as a programme to help get into top universities. In this light, the IB is not making Lebanese students members of the international community; it is providing more privileges to those who are already privileged and have an established connection, often through holding two or more recognised nationalities. This is the kind of unintended consequence it would be worth being aware of and considering when a school becomes authorised as an IB World School. Research has previously noted tensions between the IB's mission to create a better world

and the IB’s programming, which has not fully interrogated questions of “equal opportunity, stereotyping, marginalisation, race, gender, poverty, power and religion and faith” (Castro et al., 2012, p. 6). It appears these tensions are amplified in elite international school contexts and further study would be beneficial.

## Chapter 8 conclusion

This chapter has discussed how students reproduce and enact lessons on citizenship studied within the IBDP, including the idea that it is necessary to associate with one nation as the starting point for civic identity. However, students also re-contextualised and challenged these lessons as not being applicable to them, and struggled with the idea that the model citizen in their lessons did not match their realities. They were left with feelings of disconnect, experiences they went through that were not as neat as those packaged in their textbooks, exactly as I described in the previous chapter when they struggled to fit themselves into the identities ascribed by their TOK textbook. The students adopted a more complicated approach to civic identities, with most being aware that they were in a position of having access to two or more nationalities, but they did not seem to recognise this position as privileged or unusual. While international education research has become preoccupied with, and praised for, developing global citizens, less attention has been paid to the tensions students face in reconciling their local knowledge and experiences with the cultures and knowledge

being prioritised within the IB's model of international education. The students in my study embody a double consciousness, gaining fluency in a culture and norms that they do not normally share, while simultaneously experiencing their own culture outside of the school. Throughout it all, negotiations on class and privilege were absent, possibly projecting the image that citizenship is unaffected by class status or, at the very least, reinforcing the idea that discussions on citizenship and wealth are separate issues within society.

# Chapter 9: Conclusion

This chapter concludes the research project. I review the project aims and methods, summarise the findings, and highlight how these findings contribute to current debates within international education. Next, I reflect on some challenges that came up during the research process. Finally, I offer suggestions as to areas for future study and recommendations practitioners could take on board based on my findings, before offering some personal reflections.

## Review of project aims and methods

I have covered several topics across these chapters all with the aim of better understanding the practice of citizenship education that occurs through the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme (IBDP) at an international school in Lebanon known as Charles Malek International School (CMIS). Although the IBDP does not have a stated citizenship course, I have argued that the IB expects citizenship education to occur, especially around global citizenship. As first introduced in Chapters 1 and 8, I understand citizenship education to be formal or informal lessons, conversations, and experiences, which inform and develop how an individual relates to communities central to their lives, at least one of which is a nation state. These expressions of civic identities are not fixed and are constantly being negotiated by an individual who, at any point, may feel or act in contradictory ways across their communities in connection to

particular lived experiences or circumstances. This definition differs slightly from the stated approach promoted by global citizenship education (GCE) and the IB, which conceive of the development of an idealised notion of global citizenship occurring removed from the realities of national citizenship. The IB envisions this global citizenship education occurring holistically across subjects and believes its flagship, yet contested, concept of international mindedness and its ten attribute Learner Profile facilitate these discussions and lessons. This vision of citizenship can be seen in the IB's mission to encourage students to make "the world a better place" (International Baccalaureate, 2022b). This establishes the IB's model of international education as spearheading an "ideological mission" (Hill, 2012, p. 251) as noted in Chapter 1. National and local lessons of citizenship are left to the discretion of the school.

While reviewing the literature, I realised a lot of research findings produced by IB staff, or funded by the IB, have been accepted as objective studies in the field. Mine is one of a handful of studies to explicitly confirm there was no personal or professional link between the researcher and the case study school. I know this is rare in the field of education. It is hard to gain trust to be invited into schools, as well as to find the time to do research in schools. This does not mean researchers should never have links to their participants in the field or that IB leadership should avoid research; but I note this to argue that researchers in this field should be more open to how

their experiences and relationships within the field affect the questions being asked and the findings being delivered.

I designed a single qualitative case study to observe these teachers and students across the full IBDP cycle and gained access to how the IBDP is lived inside classrooms, methodological techniques which are lacking in current research on international education. The data was collected when the IB was new to the school, providing a rare glimpse into how schools navigate both the programming and the requirements of the IB, and thereby adding to a body of research that has previously focussed on IB World Schools which exemplify “promising and good” practices (Hacking et al., 2016, p. 12). I have presented a portrait of CMIS in its relationship infancy with the IBDP, speaking to teachers and students, and observing classes, to better understand how the IB’s model of international education is understood and experienced, and how the programming is being used in practice by those at a school relatively new to it.

I have explored how the IB’s preferred discourse on citizenship education, especially its reflection of methodological nationalism and its emphasis on international mindedness (IM), contributes to a compartmentalised approach to citizenship education, which separates conversations about the national from those about the international. I examined how representations of the Local are utilised within international education, finding that the Local is present far more than current literature suggests. These representations, although frequent, are not provided the

space within formal lessons to be fully unpacked or explored and, in some cases, I believe teachers are not aware of how often they are being used. All data was analysed through a lens inspired by postcolonial theories.

## Review and implications of findings

In Chapter 6 I asked, “How has education for international mindedness (IM) been conceptualised and taught at the case study school and how has this shaped discourse around citizenship?” I explored the history of international mindedness and traced its movement across the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries to better contextualise how it is being understood and practised at CMIS. This connection with history was especially important since the IB itself has opted to leave the concept ambiguous, allowing schools to use it as they wish, which makes it hard to compare studies on IM, as almost every study has a different understanding of the concept.

I found that teachers at CMIS had quite a narrow understanding of IM, using it to introduce lessons on foreign countries, and particularly norms and cultures identified as part of the international community, most of which were examples from dominant Western nations. This emphasis on norms from Western nations representing the international revealed a hierarchy within IE that prioritises certain nations’ knowledge and perspectives as more central. Through IB-endorsed textbooks and lesson plans students experienced examples of education for IM, which encouraged them to look

abroad and to become comfortable with ideas and concepts deemed necessary to integrate into an international community, which has been defined by Western notions of both the international and community. I presented evidence as to how the IB's model of international education reflects methodological nationalism, by supporting the notion that the world is divided into nation states which are the basic units of the international community and, thus, the foundation for international education. I noted earlier my unease with the binary between Western and non-Western within international education, choosing to conform to earlier conventions within the field. I note here that I still find this problematic, and, having witnessed its use in classroom conversations and focus groups, there remains a lot more to unpack as to how knowledge is classified and categorised within research and practice.

Acknowledging IM as an IBDP concept, and not a general IE concept, is one example of how researchers and practitioners, and those who wear both hats, could help to strengthen the field of IE. As I have shown, there is a lot of evidence to support the idea that IB teachers appreciate it as part of their IB practice and would like more guidance from the IB on how to apply it within their teaching practices. However, research attempts to extend the concept to broader IE discourse remains weak. While agreeing that the concept is contested, researchers often build on past findings that have used alternate interpretations of the concept without clarifying the discrepancies. For example, Duckworth et al. (2005) claimed

that IM is interchangeable with global mindedness without justification or evidence, essentially converting a survey on global mindedness (Hett, 1993) into a tool to measure IM with no explanation as to why they are interchangeable. The research had no connection to IB World Schools or to the IB's literature on IM. Yet, later IB researchers (den Brock & van Tartwijk, 2015) cited Duckworth et al.'s link to global mindedness without clarifying how the use of the concept differed in that research. This is one example of how weakly defined concepts have spread through the field.

Such tenuous connections and claims are present throughout the field of international education and much of the research on these concepts, such as on education for IM, rests more on personal opinions shared between those in the IE "thought collective" (Fleck 1935/1981) than on substantiated evidence. This is a useful reminder that research is an iterative process, that researchers are not removed from their fields, especially when so many of them came to the field via employment with the IB directly or IB World Schools. It seems that research needs less articles seeking to define it in a new way, which in turns creates internal academic discussions with little connection to practice, and more studies that compare how the IB speaks about IM with how teachers and students engage with the concept in practice, in order to better understand the transition between theory and practice.

In Chapter 7 I shifted the focus to the Local, understood as the geographic and cultural area where the students are located, including but

not limited to the country where the school is based. I asked how this Local is represented and discussed through engagement with the IBDP. Contrary to past research on international schools, including IB World Schools, which envision them as “bubbles” and “enclaves” removed from their Locals, I found that it is impossible to avoid representations of the Local inside classrooms even when the formal material does not address it. Indeed, the Local is present every day and its absence from formal learning is felt by the students who viewed this as a trade-off for gaining an international education but were often ultimately frustrated with this experience. In this case, almost all representations of the Local were negative and the mentions were short and not contextualised more thoroughly, as compared to perspectives introduced through the formal programming. Through the juxtaposition of representations of dominant countries on the world stage in their formal curriculum compared to these quick mentions of the Local, students could be internalising lessons that their Local is not as important or worthy of study. This has implications beyond the students enrolled in the IBDP, as other students at the case study school might be learning lessons through the hidden curriculum, that the IB track, a model of international education programming, is more prestigious than the local alternative.

Together, these two chapters contributed data to answering the first research question: “How has the introduction of the International Baccalaureate Diploma Program, a model of international education at the case study school influenced approaches to, and understandings and

practices of, citizenship?" I noted that the IB assumes citizenship begins with one, singular national identity and from there students can develop further traits to access the more abstract, and idealistic, realm of the global citizen. I then argued that this approach to citizenship education compartmentalised national civic identities from international/global ones, thereby supporting a disconnect between the two that implies all students, regardless of national connections, can attain the same kind of global citizen status.

Finally, in Chapter 8 I explored how students are enacting, reproducing, re-contextualising, or challenging civic identities as ascribed by the IBDP. Chapter 8 supported previous findings that non-Western students are less familiar with the overall knowledge taught through the IBDP. I showed how students were reproducing American models of citizenship inside their classrooms and how they are being encouraged to think about the global through a national lens. I noted that the students desired more local knowledge, and were experiencing episodes of educational double consciousness, where they were expected to gain fluency in the established international education canon while also finding ways to apply their new skills to education with respect to the Local. I found many examples showing that the emphasis on diversity of nationality within the IB's model of international education risks minimising other social factors, such as class. I noted the absence of discussions around class and privilege during classroom observations and conversations with

participants. The lack of time was mentioned, with students saying the IB's programming was so intensive it was hard to make time to explore their Local communities, except where this was done through schoolwork.

As I have shown throughout this research project, the IBDP's model of international education does not simply rely on methodological nationalism but has conceived of an international community that is accessed first through these national communities. The idea of a Home nation, or a first culture (Useem & Downie, 1976), is omnipresent throughout the IBDP's model of international education. Students are from one Home. This idea is not new but is a particularly Western notion of citizenship (Giddens, 1986) and one that has not been challenged within international education. There is a need to rethink the role of Home and Host terminology in approaches to citizenship within the IBDP and international education.

Within international education, the Home/Host binary appears to be the first step in conversations about citizenship, encouraging students to pick a Home before focusing on the global. This dichotomy is a barrier to more inclusive conversations on citizenship, which could seek to incorporate local, national and global aspirations, sentiments and struggles. As I have argued, students who are encouraged to engage with civic identity through the lens of one Home nation can struggle to incorporate other aspects of their identity within the conversation. While the students in my study are privileged to have multiple national connections, it cannot be assumed that students with only one such national connection will always

have positive associations with such a Home country or would not otherwise benefit from educational approaches to citizenship which seek to disrupt a nation-first approach to civic identity. International education is well-placed to experiment with how best to support students to balance multiple perspectives, cultures, and nations. International education must make space to problematise culture, rather than to reify the idea of a Home nation above all.

Relying on the Home/Host binary, as argued in Chapter 8, encourages students to identify citizenship with a place, connecting the idea of citizenship to a relationship with a physical location, a nation state. The idea of a Host nation reinforces the differences between nations and the temporality of the students who are there, offering them an excuse not to get too involved on the ground since their situation in such a Host nation is short-lived. This again runs counter to GCE aims, which push for a global understanding of citizenship where people care for individuals equally across borders, not only because of which side of a border they are from.

## Contributions made to the field of international education

This study contributed new data, and raised new questions, concerning the International Baccalaureate's model of international education. At its most basic level, as a single case study of the application of the IB at one private school in Lebanon, it provides an in-depth look at students' and teachers' lived experiences with the IBDP, focusing on how

this programming is influencing conversations around citizenship education. In my review of the literature, I identified five gaps within the current field of international education and citizenship education within the IB to which I aimed to contribute. First, I provided evidence that the IB's model of international education makes use of methodological nationalism and assumes the nation state to be the primary actor within it. I explored this further throughout all my chapters, by showing how this reliance on states encourages students to first identify with a nation state. I have shown how the IB model of IE compartmentalises states into self-contained units. I have provided evidence, in Chapter 7, that within the case study school, not only are international examples offered at the expense of local, or national, ones, but certain nations' knowledge and narratives are being presented as international. While it is obvious that international education must pick and choose which events to portray and from which vantage points, the IB's approach to international education appears to centre certain nations and promote a global hierarchisation of national knowledge that is presented as universal for the purpose of gaining an international education.

Secondly, my research design aligns with the IB's intended vision for citizenship education, which emphasises that lessons should occur through all subjects. By observing classes back-to-back, I was able to distinguish patterns, most notably how the Local was being discussed within the IBDP, that a focus on a single class would not have uncovered. By returning to the case study school four times throughout the two-year IBDP cycle, I

uncovered other patterns, such as the ebbs and flows of education for IM and how it is mentioned less during the parts of the programme where teachers and students turn their focus to the more assessed components of the program. I noticed that conversations around international mindedness were more frequent early in the year and decreased as pressures around the assessed components of the IB increased. These are observations which would have been hard to make with only one visit or if I had not included class observations.

Thirdly, I noted that most studies on the IB featured “promising and good practice” (Hacking et al., 2016, p. 12) and that few studies focused on how newly authorised IB World Schools used IB programming. This raised questions about how newly authorised IB World Schools approached IB programming, and how these newly authorised schools could achieve “promising and good” status, especially as rubrics for this do not exist. I had assumed that there was a difference between these established IB World Schools and those newly authorised, and provided evidence that the latter are relying more heavily on IB published materials for guidance. I made it clear that I was researching how students and teachers at a newly authorised school were engaging with the IBDP. More work needs to be done here, as the research field is overly saturated with best practice research yet little research documents how schools attain such a status.

New teachers at the case study school followed IB recommended textbooks literally and looked to the IB for guidance, especially around

international mindedness. I discovered that teachers were considering how to revise programming for lower levels, which would affect all students, so that students would be better prepared for the IB if they chose to enrol for the final two years. It seems that some of these organisational details could be shared with newer IB World Schools so that each new school was not re-inventing the wheel.

The fourth gap focused on the absence of the role of class and privilege within lessons of citizenship through the IB model of international education. In Chapter 3, I showed how past research has often downplayed the economic disparities between the two largest types of IB students, those in state-funded schools in Western Anglophone nations and those in private, elite schools in post-colonial and non-Western states. This assumption that findings on citizenship education at one IB World School can apply to all others, regardless of location and student body composition, promoted the notion that the IB's version of (global) citizenship education is universal and that all IB students can aspire to practicing the same kind of global citizenship regardless of nationality or economic status. Throughout my analysis chapters, but especially in Chapter 8, I argued that that the IB's emphasis of diversity of nationality, which is both a legacy of the IB's origins and a current strategy, encourages a type of citizenship education, that minimises how wealth and privilege affect one's relationship to a local, national or international community. I showed how this approach overshadowed conversations around other types of diversity at the case

study school. In addition, I noted that the IB students at the case study school were granted additional privileges within the school, creating some resentment from other students, and perhaps establishing a hierarchy of educational programming as only those with ties outside of Lebanon could access the IB. Without space to examine how class impacts citizenship practices and civic identities, there is a risk that the IB's approach to (global) citizenship education, at least how it is practiced in the post-colonial world, promotes an exclusionary form of global citizenship, despite the more universalist aims stated by the IB through its mission, funded research, and Learner Profile. This is not to say this is happening in every IB World School, but it is worth considering, based on the evidence presented from Charles Malek International School, how conversations around class and privilege in the post-colonial world might play a part within future IBDP conversations around citizenship.

Finally, my research addressed methodological gaps in how data regarding IB World Schools has been collected. I showed how important classroom observations can be, offering the field of international education a glimpse into the daily practices of one IB World School, throughout one two-year cycle of the IBDP. As I visited the case study school four times, I was able to observe how time affected the collection of data. In a field that mostly relies on testimonies from students and teachers away from the classroom, the extensive classroom observations I conducted across several subjects provided rich data as to the daily practices of the IBDP. I

have produced a compelling case study design that sampled various approaches and could be replicated in other IB World Schools, an approach that complements discussions with teachers and students, while acknowledging that some of the more poignant information comes from unplanned moments inside classrooms. This approach proved useful for researching citizenship education, but it would work well for investigating how students and teachers engage with and experience other elements of IB programming too.

In addition to speaking to these gaps, I investigated how this case study could speak to bigger questions in the field, seeking to better understand the relationship of international education's history, and entanglement with colonialism, with its present and future, more often discussed in concert with an undefined and murky understanding of globalisation. I have empirically shown how the IB's use of methodological nationalism, itself a product of a world system influenced by colonialism, affects teachers' and students' engagement with IB programming. I have explored how methodological nationalism and the pedagogy of the IB influence discussions of citizenship, finding that conversations about the local and the global are often isolated from each other and removed from conversations involving class and privilege. I have accomplished this through a theoretical framework influenced by postcolonial approaches. Postcolonial theory encourages us to look at the past and explore how past actions and relationships have shaped our current world, our current

practices and our current interactions. As shown in Chapter 2, lip service has been paid to the potential of postcolonial approaches within international education, yet several researchers have misconstrued or diluted such approaches in attempting to put them into practice. I have attempted to be true to postcolonial theory's aims and objectives in this research, offering various examples of how these approaches could provide insights into the IB's model of international education. Throughout this project, I have sought to show how useful engaging postcolonial theory could be in interrogating issues within international education, a field that, perhaps more so than other educational initiatives, professes to have a goal of developing students to "make a better world". I have shown how hard it is to promote such a forward-thinking goal without having a better understanding of the past. Utilising a postcolonial lens is helpful in situating current practices within a greater global and historical context, as no practice is isolated from its historical roots and national origins.

Furthermore, I have shown the potential for postcolonial theories to challenge dominant tropes within the field of international education by helping to give voice to those who have historically been silenced or ignored. By adapting travelling theory (Said, 1983) to extend beyond a liner path of travel, I allowed for a greater flexibility of movement of concepts. I opened up the discussion upon arrival at the new site in order to "feedback" (Clifford, 1989) and feed forward, thus showing that postcolonial theory is not solely a tool for investigating past historical injustices but is useful for

better understanding the present. However, more work has to be done in this area as, as I have previously noted, the world is never so neatly divided into the powerful and less powerful. The students at CMIS, while from a postcolonial colony, were more privileged than many in the Western world. This raises questions about any approach, postcolonial or otherwise, which seeks to explain differences based on colonialism alone. Postcolonial theory is not only useful in those regions of the world that were oppressed by a colonial presence, such as the Middle East. The same lenses I used here could just as easily be used to reflect upon international education practices in the West, perhaps even more so. Postcolonial theory should not be viewed simply as a tool to interrogate colonialism's victims but also its instigators and legacies. I hope future international education research can extend these ideas to reach into institutions in more Western nations too.

## Contributions to citizenship education research more broadly

Throughout my research, I kept returning to the question of whether citizenship education is more beneficial to students if it is explicitly taught, and if, for examples, students are pushed to consider their place in their communities and what those communities are. I thought about this a lot following focus groups, where students seemed to recognise the words in my questions, such as citizenship, global, and international mindedness, but struggled to incorporate them into sentences in their replies. They often

asked me for definitions and seemed uncomfortable using them in conversations. Some looked to me to see if they were using them correctly, although, as I have shown, even researchers struggle to agree on the meanings of these contested concepts. This lack of agreement over popular civic concepts has made it difficult to connect the IB's practices on citizenship with a wider field on citizenship education, which remains heavily connected to its own body of methodological nationalistic dogmas.

But, through this research, some wider observations on citizenship education in a postcolonial and unequal era can be offered. The IB's initial conversations around citizenship revolved around a binary of Home and Host countries. As I have noted previously, this binary is often the starting place for conversations on citizenship, encouraging students to pick one Home nation and contrast it with a Host country, highlighting the methodological nationalism underpinning IB discourse. The IB is not alone in grounding civic conversations within Home countries. Citizenship education remains largely the project of national governments. Even global citizenship education often unquestioningly accepts the world order as a group of nations. More research is needed to really unpack these concepts, especially considering the IB's professed interest in developing global citizenship within its students (Davy, 2011).

This research provides evidence to challenge the claim that international education, such as the IB model, produces third culture kids (TCKs), a concept designed to situate students outside the confines of both

Home and Host but, equally, outside any geographic location, as if they exist supranationally, an unrealistic assumption. It is not a matter of revising the definition of the TCK to make it more inclusive, as researchers (Pollack et al., 2010) constantly try to do. If every international education student who felt a little out of place during their high school years identifies as TCK, that does not mean they are outside of nations. It makes them individuals trying to reconcile what it means to belong to a school community, a Local community, a national community, and a global one. More conversations should recognise these as interrelated, not isolated, conversations and communities.

This research has reinforced the idea that citizenship education is more than a focus on either the nation state or the international community; citizenship is complicated and inextricably, but not solely, linked with one's Local. As mentioned in Chapter 3, I avoided referencing education for cosmopolitan citizenship (ECC) directly as it was not useful for fieldwork. However, many of my findings speak to questions ECC has attempted to negotiate, and future work would be well served in exploring these similarities more closely. These findings could serve as a bridge between research on citizenship education at IB World Schools and ECC and another related conversation that was not foregrounded in this work, namely the politics of belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006, 2010). While my research focused on how students engaged with citizenship lessons due to their engagement with the IB, a logical next step would be to examine how that

engagement made them feel about issues of home and safety (Yuval-Davis, 2010) and to challenge the IB's conception of Home as a country. It would be interesting to speak to the students from my study, now that they are several years removed from the IB, and to learn how those lessons resonate with their sense of self and belonging now, which could speak to a broader discussion about the legacy of secondary school citizenship education, especially in privileged and private institutions.

Space is needed within the field of international education to unpack what a forced selection of Home country means to students. The questions from the textbook I presented in Chapter 6 gave students choices but did not allow for the messiness of citizenship, did not encourage students to claim both choices, or to add an unlisted third way. They demonstrated that citizenship is a series of choices, rather than a conversation involving many layers of individual exploration and examination. These tensions in citizenship education have been noted elsewhere. The Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century describes seven tensions education needs to overcome in the twenty-first century. One such tension is that between the "global and the local" (Delors, 1996, p. 15), separating education on these two, as the IB does, as if they are discrete geographical entities, not historically, economically, and culturally inter-dependent sides of the same world, does not allow educators to probe connections or challenge current conceptions of citizenship.

Other voices have observed this lack of space within current conversations of citizenship for multicultural or intercultural expressions of civic identities (Kymlicka, 2003). Research on the IB, while often speaking for international education, has not entered these more global discussions of citizenship, and IB World Schools could be interesting spaces to explore these ideas. If this research has shown me anything, it is that any approach to citizenship which specifically seeks to isolate conversations to the local, national and international are counter-productive to the civic identities of many students who are already seeking answers as to how they can interact in their communities.

## Reflecting on challenges encountered

Beyond the expected challenges and limitations of the single case study, which I explored in Chapter 4, I encountered some less predictable limitations throughout my study. I mentioned earlier that my initial research design focused on the provision of education for international mindedness and its relationship to citizenship education. A major factor in this design was based on a review of the current literature on IM and IB World Schools. However, when I visited CMIS for the first time, it became clear that IM alone was not going to provide enough insights into citizenship education at the school. So, I expanded my focus and changed course, notably focusing more on representations of the Local and how citizenship education is enacted through IB programming. Questions around class and privilege

emerged and I sought to capture this data, realising that the absence of discussions and research in current literature on these issues had encouraged me to minimise their impact on my research design. If I could start this project from scratch, I would be more deliberate in using methods aimed at collecting data around elitism and privilege in international education. But that is in hindsight; I did not know then what I know now about these issues.

There exists an absence around the role of religion in citizenship and citizenship education, which I explained in Chapter 5. In Lebanon it is impossible to be a secular citizen, with all citizen rights first funnelled through one of the country's 18 official religious sects. Religion is such a contested topic that many schools ban students from talking about it; one student even told me it was banned at CMIS, although teachers said this was not the case. This absence became apparent in Chapter 7, when thinking about students' civic identities with respect to Joseph's (1997) claim that religion cannot be separated from citizenship within Lebanon. Without the ability to more explicitly consider the relationship between religion and civic identities, I found myself limited to perpetuating more Western ideals of citizenship and civic identities, ones of a certain secular nature. It is an ironic realisation, considering the time I dedicated to uncovering marginalised or absent voices within these conversations, but it is my hope that future work will have a better understanding of how to more inclusively approach different models of relationships between citizens and states.

In Chapter 4 I mentioned that the school approached consent with students differently than I would have liked. While I continued to ask for verbal consent and monitored participation to see if anyone was resisting my presence through silence, I know that not collecting consent in the manner encouraged through BERA influenced some of my choices. These questions around consent, and the fact that I was working with minors in general, led me to avoid direct questions on topics that I am sure readers wish I had asked: specifically, around the role of religion and how that might have impacted their lessons on citizenship. Religion and class both came up in classes I observed, and within focus groups and interviews, but I did not bring them up. I examined what was offered to me by the students as I had not designed my study to approach these topics explicitly. It is my hope that any future follow-ups with these students, when they are adults, might result in learning more about how religion and class influenced their engagement with the IB and their civic identities.

Finally, due to a personal emergency, my final field visit, in February 2018, was cut short. I did not have the opportunity to meet with all the students and teachers during the visit and did not have the chance to observe as many classes as I had initially scheduled. Thankfully, I had already gathered some data before I had to leave, but the shorter trip impacted the scope of the data that could be collected.

## Future areas for research

This research has only scratched the surface of how we can better understand the daily practices of citizenship education within IB World Schools. All three of my main foci, education for international mindedness, representations of the Local, and student enactments of citizenship education, could be explored more deeply by repeating similar studies at other IB World Schools, for example. Personally, I plan to continue working on these themes and will share this research with the students and teachers from my study in the hope of hearing whether this work aligns with their experiences of the IBDP. I intend to share my research project with other IB teachers and aim to start a conversation with them to learn if what happened in CMIS is similar to their experiences at other IB World Schools.

Here I outline four of the most pressing areas of inquiry which would strengthen current debates within international education and IB education, particularly concerning the delivery of citizenship education. Topics for further study include a better understanding of challenges encountered by newly authorised IB World Schools; a deeper exploration of the relationship between elite education and IB programming; more data collection on the lived practices of IB programming on citizenship, especially making use of classroom observations; and, finally, imagining alternative models of international education and how these programmes could design citizenship education.

Firstly, we need more research on newly authorised IB World Schools. As I noted earlier, I did not specifically search for a newly authorised IB World School. However, once I had been invited to conduct research at CMIS, I became aware of how important documenting the early stages of a school's IB authorisation is. So many of my conversations with teachers were helping them think through elements of IB teaching they had not yet explored. Teachers were enthusiastic to join the IB World Schools network, but they were also overwhelmed. Yet, no research I found documented these early days. All through my research I reconciled studies of "best practice" reports with what I was witnessing on the ground. There are no studies to show how first year IB World Schools transition into those recognised as engaging in best practice. Perhaps more confusingly, the criteria for best practice remain elusive and appear to be based more on IB staff instincts than on a documented list of attributes.

Secondly, IB research needs to engage with issues of elite education instead of constantly trying to downplay the IB's entanglement with these privileged institutions and students. I found myself thinking back to my own instruction when planning lessons on citizenship: my supervisor had asked me to "teach them to get along." As I got deeper into this research project, it became clear that questions of class and privilege are central to encouraging students to get along and learn about others. Currently, it appears that IB leadership tries to distance the IB from labels of elitism, which is understandable from a public relations perspective, but not useful

in research. Researchers would benefit from probing this relationship more and asking pointed questions about what elite education is and how the IB operates in these spaces.

Several thousand private schools, including CMIS, use IB programming and these schools can share valuable insights too. It is unique to have the same programming in both public and private institutions and it is a real disservice to knowledge to only highlight one of these. This is especially true, as I pointed out in Chapter 1, because not all research on specific IB World Schools can be applied to all other IB World Schools and so it is important to explore issues in both contexts. It is necessary to explicitly look at IB practices in these so-called “elite enclaves” to better understand what is happening there, just as it is important to understand IB practices in English-speaking public schools.

One potential space for collaboration would be within the field of migration studies, where researchers (Fechter & Walsh, 2010; Kunz, 2016; Leonard, 2010) are increasingly interrogating more privileged experiences of migration and their impact on local communities. This would be an ideal space for interdisciplinary exchange, but more concerted efforts towards definitions and understanding of concepts and approaches would be beneficial before inviting a greater audience to participate in these conversations. It is hard to discuss patterns and trends beyond individual schools without paying closer attention to how concepts are intended, used, internalised, and challenged.

Thirdly, research should continue asking questions about citizenship education within the IBDP and more research projects should design their projects to investigate citizenship education holistically across all subjects, as the IB intends (Davy, 2011), as opposed to focusing on one subject area. My research clearly shows that citizenship education is occurring holistically across all subjects, including maths and the natural sciences, as the IB envisions, yet research disproportionately focuses on the provision of citizenship education through TOK, languages, and history, as I discussed first in Chapter 3. As there is no specific citizenship course, it is important to try and examine the delivery of citizenship education across all subjects to better capture all kinds of lessons that are occurring through the delivery of the IBDP. To explore these questions, it would be helpful to have more researchers inside classrooms, observing how the IB is practiced daily between students, teachers, and texts, and how these relationships are navigated throughout the IBDP journey. I have evidenced the need for more fieldwork that includes classroom observations, as I know my research would not have been as rich without the ability to sit in on so many classes.

Fourthly, following my extensive review of research on the IB and the broader field of international education, it would strengthen the field to imagine alternative practices of international education, at the K-12 level, especially how these models could provide citizenship education. As I have noted, there is an entanglement between research on international education and research on the IB, and many researchers slip and let the IB

speak for international education more broadly. The IB is not just the loudest voice in this field, it is sometimes the only one. And its model of international education is increasingly being adopted by national governments without considering alternatives, simply because so few exist. It would be useful to imagine new types of international education, not necessarily with the aim of displacing the IB but to challenge "dead dogma" in the field and to draw out what is really, or should be, the essence of citizenship education within international education. The IB was created in a particular time and place; a new model of international education specifically designed to target students of the 21st century and their citizenship education interests could provide a unique dialogue to expose IB practitioners to alternative approaches and ideas. This would involve exposing debate to new perspectives, an approach supported by the IB within their own programming, so why not also their research?

To ensure the success of any of these proposed areas for future inquiry, I hope future research will continue my efforts to distinguish what is research on international education from what is research on the IB, and to continue to pay attention to who is producing such research. Despite one former IB director general calling for "articulated definitions of some common concepts so that we can evaluate and generalise findings across school settings" (Kumari, 2017, p. 103), there does not seem to be any drive to work towards this. This failure to deeply engage with others' interpretations of key concepts limits the ability to compare findings from IB

studies with a broader conversation within education or other fields such as migration, as mentioned above, but also sociology or political science, which host vibrant and important conversations around citizenship.

## Recommendations for the International Baccalaureate

This section offers three recommendations for the IB, again based on my three main findings chapters: international mindedness, representations of the Local, and student enactments of citizenship education. First, on the subject of education for international mindedness, teachers new to the IB would benefit from receiving more examples of how to incorporate IM into classroom discussions and having more clarity around the concept overall. It does not have to be a definitive definition, the IB could revisit its understanding of IM every five years for example, but it would help to have more explicit advice emanating from IB leadership. (This would strengthen research too, giving researchers a common discourse from which to start conversations).

To support this, the IB could fund more studies on schools early in their IB journey or, even, longer term studies that follow schools as they establish an IB programme. These studies might produce messy, more complicated, findings than situating research within polished, experienced IB World Schools but I think this study has proven the significance of recording the early days of IB authorisation at a school. Research like this, and clarity

around IM, would help IB trainers too so future IB World Schools could avoid the same challenges and have an easier transitions into the community.

Second, in terms of Local representations with the IB's Western-centred international education programming, it is vital for the IB to reflect upon how this Western-centred model of international education is experienced in different corners of the globe. Yes, many non-Western students choose the IB specifically for its Western perspectives (Walker, 2010). Yet that does not mean many of those students do not wish they could also learn more about non-Western regions. This is best exemplified through my example from Chapter 7, when Miss Hala, the history teacher, refused to use IB-approved units on the Middle East as they did not reflect her or her students' perspectives on Arab history. While textbooks are optional, final external assessments are not and Miss Hala believed that her students would have the best chance at success if she kept to dominant IB narratives, a belief shared by other teachers in post-colonial nations (Poonoosamy, 2016). It is important for the IB to acknowledge this trend and explore why teachers in post-colonial nations may feel uncomfortable using IB units on their Locals.

This could be as simple as convening workshops or interviews with a broad range of teachers to better understand how a Western-centred model of international education is experienced in different regions, with particular attention to how this shapes curricula. These findings could be used to create more inclusive units, which seek to amplify frequently silenced

communities, and could be shared with external examiners so they would be more familiar with non-Western perspectives.

Third, on the issue of the IB's role in the contribution of student civic identities, it would be beneficial for the IB to consider my findings concerning the compartmentalisation of citizenship education, which has encouraged students to conceive of their national and international selves in isolation. The IB historically avoids explicit conversations around citizenship; this is a pragmatic decision so it can operate across countries globally (Tarc, 2009). Yet, my research shows the effects of this compartmentalisation on the students, and it is antithetical to the holistic approach to citizenship approach promoted by the IB (Davy, 2009).

Citizenship education is complicated yet the IB's mission is clear: the IB intends their education to shape hearts as well as minds. To do this, the IB could re-examine their discourse around citizenship education and prepare teachers to speak about global realities not as a challenge to national identity but as a complement to it. This could allow students opportunities to see how these statuses and feelings are interconnected. Further, a more flexible approach to citizenship education could also allow students with multiple national affiliations, such as the ones in my study, to see themselves more within IB programming, as I have shown that often these students did not see themselves as the target IB audience.

## Final reflections

When I was designing this research project, I came across a quote that has stayed with me throughout these chapters: "Qualitative research scholars have an obligation to change the world, to engage in ethical work that makes a positive difference" (Denzin, 2012, p. 725). I was struck by this quote's similarity to the call of the IB to "make the world a better place". Throughout the project, I found myself questioning what makes a "better world" and how we create one through research. I wondered how this qualitative research project could make a positive difference. In both quotes, I was inspired by the optimism that research and education can do good in the world, and I was driven to contribute. I aimed for transparency in my methods, accuracy in my data collection, and thoughtfulness in my analysis. I wanted to offer a project that is reflective of my time at the school and pays tribute to the generosity of teachers and students in sharing their IB journey with me. I hope that my project can pass on this positive spirit and help engage a dialogue on how education and research can drive change.

Other days I focused on the words of Audre Lorde (2018): "The Master's tools will never dismantle the Master's house." I wondered what I was hoping to achieve through this postcolonial exploration of the best-known model of international education. Sure, it was easy to speak to the IB and point out absences in their programming and reveal where marginalised voices might be missing or where they could be found. I became convinced that it is not enough to keep adding marginalised voices

to the current programme, but that it is necessary to really look at the program's foundation and intentions and to examine how these came to be. So, if we call attention to how methodological nationalism manifests in practice, can this encourage teachers and practitioners to examine how they locate the nation state in their lessons? I would not engage in education research if I did not think that this programming had the potential to expand and engage today's most critical questions, and not just to reinforce lessons designed to cater to the previous generation's students.

I found inside myself the positivity of the previous point: If I did not believe international education could be revised to be more inclusive, more in touch with its history, more conscious of absent voices, then what was the point of researching it? Why remain in a field if there was not a promise of encouraging it to make the world that much better? The IB was conceived as a work in progress, a "living laboratory" (Taylor, 1967, as cited in Renaud, 1974, pp. 5-6). This research contributes to that experiment. It is my hope that these insights will be shared with researchers, teachers, and students and that this conversation will evolve to reflect those new insights. Personally, I would like to see renewed conversations within the field of international education about the relationship between Western knowledge and universality in international education, and about how historical legacies, such as colonialism, can be better contextualised for practitioners. I encourage this not in the way many researchers do, arguing that all forms of colonial knowledge are bad and that decolonialisation is about silencing

colonial narratives; but instead, I seek to initiate conversations that accept these past relationships and are open to exploring how such past forms of oppression and subjugation are continuing to shape practitioners' and researchers' engagement with the production of knowledge around citizenship and international education.

Finally, I took note of another quote throughout this research journey: "We allow the positive achievements to inspire us and the negative omissions to teach us" (Angelou, 1977). I spent a lot of time searching for absences and looking for other narratives. However, I am sure I have missed some voices along the way too. I hope the next report can take the time to add to this with those who I may have overlooked. Much has already been said about IB practices and international education. Moving forward, researchers might take the time to better examine what has not yet been covered. It is through these incremental insights that we might gain a fuller, more complete picture as to how international education might indeed make the world a better place.

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# Appendix

## Appendix A: Emails between researcher and case study school establishing research project

Date: 3/17/16
Subject: ATTN: ████ - PhD student would like to discuss a research project on international mindedness in the Middle East
Dear ████,

My name is Iman Azzi and I am a doctoral student at the Institute of Education, UCL, London. I am studying what young people in the Middle East are being taught about international mindedness and citizenship at the local, national and international levels and how these concepts are informing their identities and ambitions.
I wanted to offer my congratulations on ████ authorization as an IB World School….
I am reaching out because I am looking to conduct field work in Lebanon and would really like to schedule a phone call or a Skype call with you or ████ 's IB coordinator or another representative at your school so I may better introduce myself and my research project in hopes of being invited to conduct research at your school.
That you have recently become an IB school is of great interest to me as I could observe the process of becoming part of the IB community. The amount of research on the IB in the Middle East is negligible, especially on education for global citizenship and international mindedness. I would really like to help bring case studies from IB schools in the Middle East to the greater discussion, especially as the IB is focusing on how to bring in more non-Western lessons into their framework. Your support would be incredible (and the school could remain anonymous if you would prefer). My methodology would be qualitative but flexible - I am hoping it would include, at minimum, classroom observations and interviews with faculty, administration and students (and parents?). However, I am also interested in participatory research methods - where students or staff can become co-producers of the research at various levels of the process. (Please don't let this put you off - this type of research is a bit more work, yes, but I believe would be rewarding for interested students as it gives them knowledge of the research process, allows them experience as part of a UCL research team and builds their capacity as team members. It is also less frequently used but I believe IB students have remarkable capacity and if they are interested in learning about research I would be really happy to talk about ways to empower them in this project. This is an optional path and one I would be happy to discuss in greater detail).
As a short introduction, I am a Lebanese-American currently based in London but my previous experience is in teaching, teacher training and journalism…Before returning to doctoral school, I worked with an international education NGO, which trained and supported history teachers on how to teach moments from human rights history to build a more tolerant and compassionate citizenry.
I would welcome a chance to call you or Skype in order to explain my research project more in hopes that you would be willing to let me conduct field work with your staff and students.
If you're interested I could send you a longer proposal of my project but I would also welcome the chance to schedule a phone call so I might best deliver my ideas over the phone.
I hope to hear from you and look forward to a chance to tell you more about my research goals.

Kind regards,
Iman

DATE: 3/22/16
SUBJECT: Re: ATTN: [redacted] - PhD student would like to discuss a research project on international mindedness in the Middle East
Dear Ms. Azzi,
Thank you for your interest in our school. [redacted] always welcomes research especially when it contributes a better of the teaching and learning. I am would like to know more about your research,
- your research questions,
- what type of interviews (semi-structured, structured, etc.. )
- how long and frequent are the observations going to be, how long, etc...
- Are the observations going to be semi-structured, will you videotape?
In that context, it would great if you are able to provide a more detailed proposal as you indicated. We would also like to arrange a skype call if possible. Please let me know when you are available?
Looking forward to hearing from you and to host you on our campus to facilitate your research.
All the best,

Kind Regards,
[redacted]

DATE: 3/24/16
SUBJECT: Re: Re: ATTN: [redacted] - PhD student would like to discuss a research project on international mindedness in the Middle East
Dear [redacted],

Thank you for your response and apologies for the delay as I was working to make a deadline before the Easter holidays. Your response is positive and I would welcome the chance to set up a Skype call with either one of you. I am interested in hearing more about your school and hope you might be interested in joining my project.
**Research questions:**
The working title is: **Education for International Mindedness and Citizenship in IB Schools in the Arab World**. I am starting with schools in Lebanon and may focus only on Lebanon depending on how this project goes. It is my (ambitious) goal to expand across the region, so as to include a larger regional analysis, but as Lebanon is what I know best I would like to begin here.
The draft research questions are:
1. What are students being taught about international mindedness and citizenship?
2. How do young people understand international mindedness and citizenship at the local, national, regional, and international levels?
3. To what extent are these concepts informing their thinking, conduct, and ambitions?
A lot of research on the IB's understanding of international mindedness, as you may be aware, is focused on schools in Europe or the United States (and increasingly China and the Far East). In the last five years, the IB has taken a greater interest in this concept and commissioned two papers - one led by a professor in Spain, another in Australia - to explore how international mindedness is taught and understood in IB classrooms. Only a handful of studies have looked at this issue in the Middle East - one was a survey in Qatar which asked students pre-selected questions and therefore did not engage with the students' own understanding of IM and another interviewed teachers working in the Middle East but didn't specify if they were from the region or simply foreign hires currently living in the region. I would like my research to be an exploration of how this term is taught in the Middle East and how it's shaping young people from this perspective. I hope my research could offer best practices and challenges found in this region to be part of a global dialogue about how today's young people in the Middle East views their role(s) in the global communities and, at the same time, their local spaces. For the IB to internationalize further it should listen and engage with all regions where it has IB World

Schools and bring these ideas together to shape the programs moving forward. It is my goal to give a voice to some of the issues being discussed in the Middle East in relation to the field of international education as it is one of the fastest growing regions for international education yet one of the least academically researched.

**Type and duration of fieldwork:**

This is flexible and so what I am proposing my hope but I am open to discussions as each school is different.

I would like to observe classes for a month in Fall 2016 - shadowing one or two DP classes. I would like to interview at minimum three DP faculty (and administrators if possible), with each interview lasting approximately one hour. It would be semi-structured and I would be happy to show you the questions before the interview. Part of the reason for the shadowing of classes, in addition to observing and to learn more about your school culture, is to allow the students a chance to feel comfortable with a researcher, which would allow me to interview some of them either in groups on individually. I would ask for consent forms to be signed by parents and students and would hope to have a chance to speak to students informally during breaks if they are interested or during more formal scheduled times.

**Workshops:**

If I was invited to your school for a month, I would like to hold 2 workshops a week - one for students and another for educators but with the same material. These workshops would ask participants questions about education, international mindedness and their perspectives using activities. I could run the student ones for a class session once a week or maybe student volunteers could stay after school, whatever works for you. For the educators, I would need your help finding a time - maybe there is a DP staff meeting or perhaps teacher volunteers to stay an hour later? If four is too many, maybe we could talk about reducing the number.

I see this workshop as not just data collection but would be offering students a space to talk about their experiences and views on the world. I would share some information on education for global citizenship and hopefully they would come away from the sessions engaged with some of the ideas and not just feeling like a participant. I would share with them steps of my research so they can see what kinds of processes go into designing and conducting field work. Again, I would inform the school of the content of these workshops ahead of time.

I don't require video taping although I would appreciate audio recording interviews if participants are comfortable otherwise I will take notes.

Prior to arrival, I would have my research approved by the UCL ethics board and I would submit an email or letter to be sent to students and parents in consultation with the school. I can change names and I can keep the school as anonymous as possible if you would prefer.

Finally, if you have a Model UN club, I would really like to be able to sit in on their meetings or meet with the students involved in the club. If you feel it's appropriate it would be interesting to observe some elements of the CAS projects the students are involved in.

**Optional** - As I briefly mentioned, I am interested in participatory research methods, where participants become co-producers of knowledge at one or several stages of research (designing questions, observing their surroundings, keeping journals or other methods of data collection, or taking part in analysing data, etc). This is obviously a bigger time commitment for students and the school. Please don't let it put you off as it's completely optional but I think could be rewarding for students and feel it would benefit the literature on the IB as there have not been many studies that engage with students beyond the usual questionnaires or interviews.

For example, instead of my facilitating four workshops, I could invite student volunteers to meet with me for three weeks to help design a workshop they could co-run for their peers during the fourth one. The IB challenges students in amazing ways and few academic research projects have harnessed the capabilities of these students in a capacity beyond asking them to fill out a survey or answer questions and I believe it would be fascinating

to those students who might be interested in sociology, journalism, communications or other fields, to take a more empowered role in this process (and be listed as research interns or some other recognition). If you are interested in this method please let me know as it's a type of research I think would be really rewarding for students and would give them hands-on experience in a research process.
Thank you for considering my request -I hope this wasn't too long! - and I hope we might find a time to speak over Skype and that the views above hopefully give you a better idea of the research I would like to explore. Please let me know if you have any other questions.
I am available any day in early April if you would like to offer a time that is convenient for you or [redacted].
Kind regards,
Iman

## Appendix B: Transcript of researcher video introduction to case study school

10 May 2016
Words: 470
Time: approximately 4 minutes

**Intro**

Hello. My name is Iman Azzi. I am a second year doctoral student in the Department of Curriculum, Pedagogy, and Assessment at the Institute of Education, University College London. I would like to join your community next fall to conduct qualitative research for my doctoral dissertation.

My research focuses on the concepts of international mindedness and cosmopolitan citizenship – I ask: How is international mindedness being taught in the Middle East? What are young people at IB World Schools in the Middle East learning about international mindedness? How are these lessons affecting their daily lives, their ambitions, and their identities?

I am really excited at the chance to join [redacted]. I understand you received IB World School authorization this February – Congratulations! Next fall will be your first full school year as part of the IBDP and I am interested in learning about your process adopting elements of the Diploma Program.

**Methods**

To gain an understanding of how youth are learning and experiencing international mindedness at local, national, and international levels, I am looking forward to spending time at [redacted] employing several research methods to help gather data. I would like to observe DP classes, interview both faculty and students and conduct at least two workshops with students focused on issues of global citizenship and the question of what it means to them to live an internationally minded life.

In addition, I will ask for student volunteers where I could shadow their experiences for a week, to gain a more individual perspective on how a Lebanese student experiences the IB. All participation would be voluntary and participants could withdraw at any stage. I am also happy to keep faculty and student anonymous and look forward to more discussions with faculty and staff as to how to successfully conduct research on your campus.

**Bio and Closing**

I'm happy to share more about myself when I arrive but I briefly wanted to tell you a bit now. I'm Lebanese-American…I have lived in Beirut, Cairo, Lusaka, Zambia, and, currently, I am based in London. Previously, I taught middle school social studies and civics at [redacted] and I have also worked as a journalist across the Middle East. I lived in Beirut for over seven years

and am really looking forward to returning, wearing my new hat as doctoral researcher.
If you have any comments, questions or suggestions about my research aims or methods, I would be interested in hearing from you as I want my research to be as tailored as possible to the environment where I will be working. My email is [redacted]@ucl.ac.uk.
I am looking forward to meeting you all next fall!

# Appendix C: Observation protocol

The following questions guided the researcher during classroom observation of lessons. The questions were derived from the research questions and the definition of terms for this study.

Using International Mindedness to Provide Education for Cosmopolitan Citizenship: The experiences of educators and students at Lebanese IB World Schools

1. *To what extent is there evidence that the case study school is providing education for cosmopolitan citizenship?*
2. *How has international mindedness been conceptualised, taught, and understood at the case study school?*
   a. *How are educators integrating the concept of international mindedness into their classes and school culture?*
   b. *How are students understanding international mindedness at the local, national, regional, and international levels?*
3. *In what ways has education for international mindedness informed students' daily lives, ambitions, and identities?*

I. Layout of the class, number of students, time of day, noises

II. Core components:
   a. Multilingualism
   b. intercultural understanding
   c. global engagement

III. Citizenship
   a. Status, practice, feeling
   b. Students as citizens, or citizens in waiting

IV. Who controls (teacher, text, students) the interpretation of international mindedness, global, and/or civic knowledge?

V. What are students asked to do with international mindedness?
   a. Is it connected to local or global issues? Or both?

VI. What is being discussed? What questions are raised because of the material being taught?
   a. What are students doing during when another one asks a question?

VII. Learner profile: How are the learner attributes brought into the class? Explicit? Implicit?

VIII. What is the nature of the teacher-student and student-student interactions within the classroom context focusing on international mindedness, local/global citizenship content?

## Appendix D: Example of semi-structured interview questions

OCTOBER 2016- **Questions for teachers:**

1. Introductions – project, aims, expectations, timelines (questions)
2. Consent
3. Taped interview – (will record and send transcription for confirmation, all erased and names removed)

- What subject(s) do you teach?
- How long have you been at this school?
- How many years have you taught in total?
- Do you participate in any other roles across the school community? (sports, club, advisory, etc)
- ▪ If yes: In what capacity? Why did you get involved in them?
- Do you participate in any organisations or institutions outside of school?
- o If yes: In what capacity? Why did you get involved in them?
- Prior to this school, do you have any experience with the IB DP?
- What training have you participated in?
- What IB resources do you use in your class? Do you use primarily textbooks? What other resources do you use?

- Could you please describe the stages and process [redacted] took to become authorised as an IB World School? (Decision and rationale, first steps, challenges, insights)
- What do you think are the benefits to students in an IB education? Is the IB a good fit for all students? (or a particular type of student?)
- There's some research questioning the ability of the IB to expand to postcolonial, non-Western regions. I'm assuming questions about the IB's roots were discussed.
- In my readings, I found that the IB came together in the 1960s to fulfill a perceived need: mobile children travelling with their expat parents. 2016 – the global realities are different. I'm wondering if this came up in your discussions and how, or if, you negotiated the IB's establishment with your current needs and aims?
- Eligibility – certain students aren't able to access the IB. Did you discuss the exclusivity of the IB? Have you brought in elements of the IB to your wider school culture? If so, which one?

- Are you familiar with the IB's term "international mindedness" If so, what do you understand by the term?
- **Hill's definition prompt:** Former IB Deputy Director Ian Hill defines international mindedness as "an openness to and curiosity about the world and

people of other cultures, and a striving towards a profound level of understanding of the complexity and diversity of human interactions." Have you come across this definition before? Does it match your understanding?

- The IB has no course dedicated to civics. In your planning meetings, how did you envision citizenship to be developed in your students? National vs international? Specific courses/classes/extracurriculars?
- What do you understand by the term "international mindedness"?
- Where do you believe student develop IM?
- In some documents, the IB uses three components to develop international mindedness: multilingualism, intercultural understanding, global engagement.

- Are you familiar with the IB learner profile's 10 attributes?
- What do you understand by the term "citizenship"?
- What civic concepts and ideas are taught in your class? How do you teach them?
- Some of your students may have multiple nationalities or feel a sense of belonging to many places. How do you support these multiple identities in your school?
- In your class, how are students encouraged to reflect about controversial issues? Are they encouraged to make decisions about controversial issues? How?
- In your class, how are students encouraged to make connections between global issues and local issues?
- In your opinion, what issues do students in this school need to be more exposed to? Please explain your answer.
- In your opinion, are students at your school able to cultivate their national identities? Cultural identities? Global identities? If so, in what ways are these cultivated?

# Appendix E: Surveys given to students at focus groups

**Diamond ranking activity for student groups, November 2016**

**Note:** Part I was answered orally in groups, not written

Gender: FemaleMale

Passport(s) or travel document(s) held: Lebanese Other
____________________________

Countries I have studies in:
________________________________________________________________________

Have you heard of the term "international mindedness"? Yes No

**Part I:** Please, provide a brief example of each of the characteristics listed below. Where do you think you been encouraged to develop this characteristic? In what ways?

Open-minded

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

Knowledgeable

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

Principled

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

Caring

____________________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________________

Communicative

______________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________

Balanced

______________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________

Reflective

______________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________

An Inquirer

______________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________

A Risk-taker

______________________________________________________________________

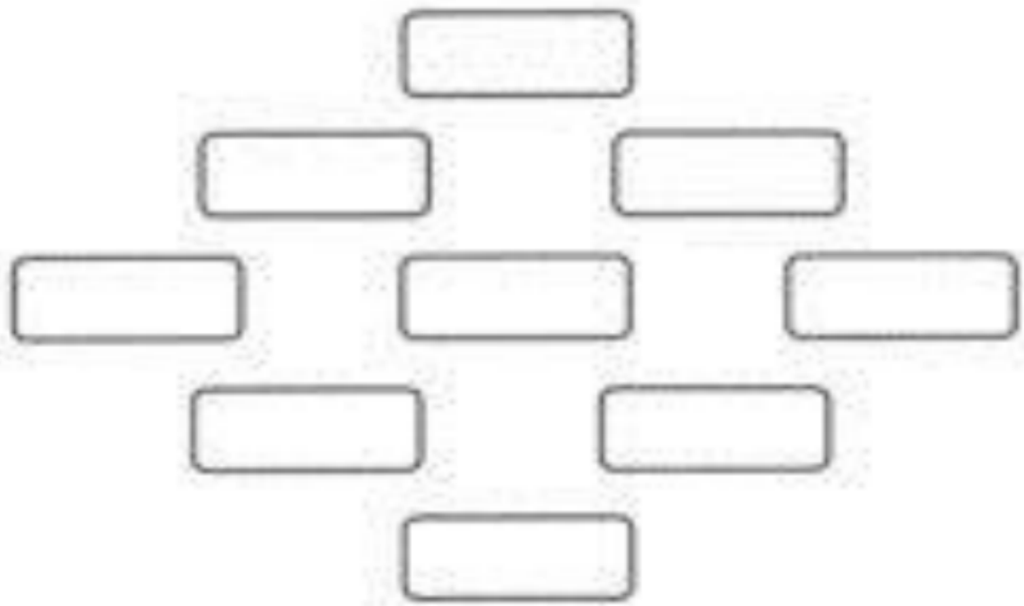
______________________________________________________________________

A Thinker

______________________________________________________________________

______________________________________________________________________

**Part II:** In order to be internationally minded, it is important to be…



**Survey administered to student focus groups , April 2017**

Passports held:

___

How do you answer the question "Where are you from?"

___

What countries do you remember being mentioned in class (either as the focus of the lesson or in questions or discussions?)

___

___

___

___

What countries or topics do you wish you discussed more in class?

___

___

___

Do you think the IB has influenced the way you see Lebanon? Other countries? Your local community? How?

____________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________

Do you consider yourself a global citizen? Why or why not?

____________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________

## Appendix F: Questions for student focus groups (semi-structured)

Questions for students
November 2017

I. **Background**

a. Could you tell me about your background as it relates to citizenship or nationality? (passports held, where parents come from, where you have lived, etc)
b. What is the language you're most comfortable in? what do you speak at home?
c. How many years have you been at at [redacted]?
i. If here before, were you Lebanese or American system?
d. Do you participate in any extra-curricular activities at [redacted] or elsewhere: sports, clubs, music, volunteering, etc.
e. Can you tell me a bit about your life outside of [redacted]? What do you like to do in the afternoons and weekends?
f. What was the decision like to enter the IB program?

II. **The IB**

a. How is the IB going compared to your expectations?
b. What is your favorite course? Why?
c. In your opinion, what makes the IB international?
d. In addition to a good knowledge base of academics, are there skills you hope the IB will teach you or develop? What are they?

III. **IM**

a. Do you follow the news/current events?
i. If so, from which sources (TV, Internet, newspapers, friends, family)
ii. What events are you most interested (ie, if you went to a news page, what type of article/headline are you most likely to click on?)
iii. Do global issues ever come up in the classroom? If yes, in which classes? What do you remember discussing? Lebanese or international issues?
b. What do you understand about the idea of citizenship? What makes you one?
c. What are characteristics of the ideal citizen? Lebanese citizen? Global citizen?
d. Are there different elements for local and international citizenship?
e. On a scale of 1-10, how developed are these traits in you?
i. What do you need to reach the 10?
ii. Compared to your peers, do you think your score would be higher or lower? Why?
f. Have you heard of the phrase international mindedness?
i. If yes, where did you hear this term?
ii. What do you understand by it?

iii. Are there examples from class where your teachers challenged your understand or developed this in you?
iv. On a scale of 1-10 how developed is your IM? What do you need to learn or practice to get a 10?
v. Compared to your peers, do you think your IM is more or less developed? Why?

**IV. General**

a. Are you hoping to study in Lebanon or abroad for university. If abroad, where would you like to go?
b. Do you have any ideas what you would like to study or what job you would want in the future?

## Appendix G: Materials used for in-class workshops

**Questions for the four "silent conversations", administered during TOK, November 2016)**

**POSTER 1: Nawal Saadawi at Occupy London protest photo (2011)**
Round 1: What is happening (Who? What? Where? When Why?)? What information would you like to know about this photo?
Round 2: Have you ever protested something or seen others protesting? If so, what was the protest about? What happened? Are all protests political? What does it mean to "be political" What are some other examples of political events or actions in your communities?
**POSTER 2:** headlines of newspapers on the US election (US, UK, UAE, Russia) (2016)
Round 1: What is happening? What differences or similarities do you notice? How can you tell if a paper is pro or con the news? Are any papers "neutral" ?
Round 2: The media is one source of knowledge – what are others? What are the sources of knowledge you have in your life? How have influenced you? Do you know anyone who has taken part in an election either as a voter, candidate or worked in a campaign? Are elections necessary for democracy?
**POSTER 3: Raising awareness for ILO Convention 189 in Lebanon (2016)**
Round 1: What do you think these women are doing? Where are they?
Round 2: These women are raising awareness about an international convention on labor (worker's) rights. Have you heard of any other international conventions from the UN or do you know what "human rights" are?
**POSTER 4: Putting out fire in Chile (2014)**
Round 1: What is happening? What do you notice? What information would you like to know about this photo? Where do you think this is happening?
Round 2: These men are helping put out a fire in the town where they live. Town lines (Geography) are one way to define a "community" – what are other ways? *What are some examples of communities you belong to? How did you join these communities/societies (by birth? By choice?) Are there certain restrictions to these communities (ie, can anyone join?)?*

**Excerpts from Davy (2012) article, administered to class March-April 2017 visit**

1. "The IB can provide leadership in international education by:
- strengthening the elements of global citizenship throughout the IB curriculum
- developing authentic assessment tools for international mindedness and global citizenship
- opening perspectives for students and empowering them through technology
- strengthening the terminology used in describing and explaining the IB philosophy. (Davy, 2012, p. 9)
2. "**Globalisation and education:** The world is changing, and there is evidence that

we are entering a "post-international environment": borders are weakening, multiple citizenships are more commonplace, migration has reached record levels, and we have encountered the "death of distance". "We are increasingly living next to, working alongside, sharing our leisure with, choosing our partners from people with different cultural backgrounds" (Walker 2010, 69). The challenges in education, arising from pervasive globalisation, are more complex. Today's schools need to educate for the future more than ever before, as the world's challenges and opportunities become more compelling.

Education for global citizenship must become the curriculum of the future. We experience increasing interdependence and interconnectedness. An earthquake in Japan brings suffering to our own back yards; the oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico reverberates for economies and resource use worldwide; revolution on the streets of Tripoli resounds around the globe." (Davy 2012, 3)

3. "**Citizenship: Local, national and global:** A curriculum for global citizenship must explore the many dimensions of citizenship a child experiences growing up. It will guide students in establishing a balance between allegiance to nation and allegiance to humankind. Citizenship education is traditionally a core element of many national education systems around the world. It is argued that young people require a solid grounding in the workings of their governments, their rights under the law and civic participation; these are prerequisite understandings for civic engagement…

   National citizenship is clearly defined as bearing distinct rights and responsibilities. It carries with it language(s) and culture(s), a sense of place and an understanding of governance. …Global citizenship is aspirational; membership in global civil society differs in concrete and significant ways from national citizenship. It carries with it no inherent rights, yet is often motivated by the desire for greater commitment to universal human rights. It can be perceived as inclusive, caring and responsive. Global engagement in the IB includes an element of active membership in the world community, a willingness to challenge injustice and strengthen local and global civil society." (Davy 2012, 4).

## Appendix H: Extracts from *Mathematics for the international student*

Source: Haese, R., Haese, S., Haese, M., Mäenpää, M., & Humphries, M. (2012). *Mathematics for the international student* (3rd ed.). Haese Mathemetics.

Cover Page 118

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## Appendix I: Extract from *Chemistry Guide: First assessment 2016*

Source: International Baccalaureate. *Chemistry Guide: First assessment 2016*. (2014). International Baccalaureate.
https://www.ibchem.com/root_pdf/Chemistry_guide_2016.pdf

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# Appendix J: Extract from *Theory of Knowledge: Course companion*

Source: Dombrowski, E., Rotenberg, L., & Bick, M. (2013). *Theory of Knowledge: Course companion*. Oxford University Press.

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