Global Citizenship Perceptions and Practices Within the International Baccalaureate Middle Years Programme

Andrea Christoff

Kent State University

Abstract:

This multi-case study investigated how teaching in an International Baccalaureate (IB) Middle Years Programme (MYP) Individuals and Societies (I & S) classroom influenced teachers' global citizenship (GC) perceptions and pedagogy. Results demonstrate teachers were informed by their personal experiences and district expectations, utilizing a cosmopolitan global citizenship education (GCE) that aligned with the IB MYP philosophy. A disconnect sometimes existed as teachers' rationales for global citizenship recognized the need for multiple perspectives and a critical view, but a reactive or proactive approach influenced instruction. This research effort furthers the discussion on the role an international education framework can have on a teacher's pedagogy, where global citizenship education is situated in the curriculum, and what influences a teacher's thinking and pedagogy. This can be helpful to us in understanding the role curriculum context can have in shaping a teacher's ideas about global citizenship and how they enact those ideas.

Key words: global citizenship education, International Baccalaureate, Middle Years Programme, social studies, teacher perceptions, teacher practice

Introduction

The purpose of my study was to investigate and understand how teaching in an IB MYP Individuals and Societies (social studies in non IB schools) classroom can influence a teacher's perceptions and global citizenship pedagogy. Global citizenship education is understood as a broader view of citizenship education that looks beyond traditional nation-state borders, insisting on a shared set of human rights and democratic values for all, embracing diversity, and

seeking peaceful, cooperative, and equitable solutions across political boundaries (Fernekes, 2016; Merryfield & Kasai, 2004; Osler & Starkey, 2010). With a preferred national view of citizenship education in the US, global citizenship education has struggled to find a place in the curriculum. However, events such as globalization have brought teaching about the world to the forefront, so it is important to examine places where it is supported. One of the providers and one which explicitly teaches for global citizenship (Dill, 2013), is the International Baccalaureate (IB). IB offers a curriculum framework which develops "international mindedness" in students and promotes as Bill Gaudelli calls, a global citizen model of "world justice and governance" (2009 p. 75).

Started in 1968, the IB has grown with over 7,000 schools internationally (IB, 2020a). It is a pre-K-12 framework with the Middle Years Programme (MYP) supporting grades 6-10. The number of IB schools in the U.S. has also been growing in recent years (Bunnell, 2011) and today, US schools are the largest buyers of IB, with over 2,300 schools offering at least one of the programmes and over 650 of them in the MYP (IB2020b). Becoming an IB World School means incorporating their philosophy, especially international mindedness, into the school culture, and using the curriculum framework they created to teach for global citizenship.

Many schools choose IB because of its rigor and ability to improve student outcomes and preparation for college (Bunnell, 2011; Fox, 1998; Santee Siskin, Weinstein, & Sperling, 2010). Spahn, 2001; Wright, Moosung, Tang, & Tsui, 2016). Other schools choose IB because of how it supports certain affective traits, including international mindedness. Although IB's approach to curriculum and instruction has gained popularity for a variety of reasons, it has been chosen most notably to ready students for the 21st century and the demands of globalization. Enthusiasm in IB schools has increased in recent years within the US, in part because of support from the US government in bringing IB into Title One schools (Santee Siskin, Weinstein, & Sperling, 2010). The international education organization encourages the use of research-based best practices such as inquiry (Swan, Lee, & Grant, 2015), backward design (Wiggins & McTighe, 2005), conceptual learning (Erickson, Lanning, & French, 2014) and reflective practice (Dewey, 1933). However, with the continued focus on accountability and standardized tests, the biggest reason schools in the U.S. tend to embrace IB is the opportunity for improving student outcomes (Jones, Miron, & Kelaher-Young, 2012; Monreal, 2016; Sperandio, 2010).

The move to incorporate global citizenship is important because of globalization. All of us are being faced with a massive shift in the way we interact with, trade with, and communicate with people from other parts of the world. Globalization has also had a tremendous impact on

Corresponding author: amenger@kent.edu

education, our country and the world, forcing us to adjust how we live together, learn, and make decisions. This includes how we perceive what is a citizen and what citizenship means in different contexts (Cogan & Derricott, 2012; Dill, 2013; Gaudelli, 2009; Myers, 2006; Osler & Starkey, 2003). Our increasing interdependence and the advent of globalization, Thornton (2005) argues, has made the need for global citizenship education a vital necessity. "Global interdependence means we really don't have a choice whether to educate for internationalism" (p. 81). The answer to globalization, by many, has been to alter how we teach for citizenship, and to purchase an international framework that effectively prepares students as global citizens. How teachers think about global citizenship, the IB, and practice global citizenship education may have a direct impact in how our students think about and respond to globalization.

Literature Review

The connections between teachers' perceptions of their content and its pedagogy and their practice is supported in teacher education (Britzman, 2003) and within citizenship education (Knowles, 2018) scholarship. Personally responsible citizenship has been the traditional mode of instruction in the U.S. (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) and many social studies teachers align with a conservative and programmatic view of citizenship. "Conservative civic education works for a social studies that promotes a sense of unified national identity and social order as well as pride and respect for constitutional republicanism and American exceptionalism" (Knowles, 2018 p. 75). Thus, the social studies field has struggled to move beyond traditional forms of instruction which feature the banking method (Freire, 1970) and a patriotic and Eurocentric focus. Rapoport (2010) found teachers were hesitant to include the world in their curriculum if the community they worked in was not supportive. Contributing to this unease is their biography. Most social studies teachers are white and middle class, reflecting a population that has a more conservative and national approach to citizenship education. This view translates into pedagogy, creating a civic empowerment gap for students who are not white, belong to a lower social class, and are otherwise marginalized in society (Hart & Atkins, 2002; Levinson, 2010; McLeod, Shan, Hess, & Lee, 2010; Sherrod, 2003). This also extends to global citizenship education which "removes the nationalistic filters" and "challenges assumptions of superiority and manifest destiny" (Merryfield & Subedi, 2006 p. 278) causing teachers, including those who teach in an IB school, to reexamine their views on citizenship and who is included in the narrative. Quaynor (2015) found IB teachers who had a fixed orientation toward teaching for global citizenship were unwilling to include their students' backgrounds into their instruction. Teachers who had flexible

Corresponding author: amenger@kent.edu

orientations were more willing to consider their students' biographies and to include their experiences into how they learned about the world.

Britzman's (2003) work with preservice teachers discovered what teachers believe and value impacts their classroom decisions. Teachers are in a constant 'struggle for voice' meaning circumstances surrounding their biography, emotions, and the structures surrounding them in their life exert influence on their identity development and on their practice. Moore's (2017) study on IB MYP teachers and their acceptance of IB supports Britzman's work on the structures surrounding teachers. Without proper support and professional development, teachers are less accepting of curricular or instructional change.

IB itself struggles to define its stance on global citizenship, referring to the conception as 'international mindedness'. Barrett Hacking et al. (2018) found IB teachers across the globe interpreted the concept according to their own mindsets and those of the communities in which they taught. IB teachers in Storz & Hoffman's (2018) study were more willing to incorporate global citizenship into their curriculum decisions with administrative support. While studies have examined the popular Diploma Programme and their success in teaching for global citizenship (Saavedra, 2016), no studies have sought to understand how Middle Years Programme social studies teachers think about global citizenship and practice global citizenship education. Understanding these circumstances can help us understand the how and why of teacher global citizenship curriculum and instruction decisions.

Theoretical Framework

This study utilized Andreotti's (2006) soft and critical global citizenship to frame and analyze the data. Soft (Andreotti, 2006) and cosmopolitan (Oxley & Morris, 2013) global citizenship advance intercultural competence, human rights, and the idea that despite our differences, we are all in this together. Critical (Andreotti, 2006) global citizenship dismantle existing power structures and instead seek more equitable solutions.

Methods

I used a multiple case study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) with three teachers from a Midwest state participating. Mr. Davis and Mr. Anderson both taught 9th grade World History in an upper middle class inner ring suburban district and Mrs. Taylor taught 10th grade US government in a rural district. All three of the teachers had 5 or more years of experience teaching. Both schools operated within K-12 IB continuum districts. All three teachers were solicited by their IB

Corresponding author: amenger@kent.edu

Coordinators and volunteered to join the study. I conducted 3 semi-structured interviews (Rubin & Rubin, 2012) with each of them, observed them in their classrooms, and collected documents from their lessons. The main limitation in the study was the advent of COVID-19 which prevented me from finishing my observations of Mrs. Taylor's class. She offset this by sharing a video of her teaching a lesson and assessment to her students online. To ensure triangulation, and to analyze the context under which these teachers may be guided in their teaching of GCE, a content analysis of IB and teacher created materials (Saldana, 2016) was also conducted. Four IB created documents were analyzed: What is an IB education?, MYP Principles into Practice, the Individuals and Societies Guide, and Global Engagement Best Practices Guide. The IB documents represent a summary of the organization's position on global citizenship, from both a theoretical and practical stance. In addition, the participants offered their IB MYP unit plans. The main research question was: What are the connections between what IB MYP proposes for global citizenship education and how IB MYP I&S teachers perceive and understand global citizenship and enact global citizenship education?

Findings

The results of this study reflect a cross case analysis of the three teachers and the IB documents. I will discuss the findings from the documents, the teachers, then across both sources of data.

A content analysis of the four IB materials showed they supported a soft (Andreotti, 2006) and cosmopolitan (Oxley & Morris, 2016) form of global citizenship education. This aligns with Andreotti's (2006) view of soft global citizenship where a passive approach to understanding and appreciating others as the key to changing attitudes towards global cooperation and connections. This approach is meant to dissolve barriers allowing citizens to work together to improve global conditions and human rights. Critical global citizenship education (Andreotti, 2006), which calls on individuals to critically reflect on the legacy of colonialism, was only marginally referenced, either in specific words or references to matters of power and privilege.

International mindedness (IM) operated as the primary value promoted by IB (Hill, 2012), and several of the intended transaction values (Stake, 1967) leading to IM being supported across all four documents, including intercultural understanding, student learning of a second language, and the inclusion of global contexts in the MYP unit plan. However, little theoretical support was offered within the documents to structure how IB thought about international mindedness. For example, in What is an IB education international mindedness is defined as "a multifaceted and complex concept that captures a way of thinking, being, and acting that is characterized by an

Corresponding author: amenger@kent.edu

openness to the world and a recognition of our deep interconnectedness to others" (IB, 2013, p. 2). This definition leaves room for a great amount of interpretation by each school and teacher (Barrett Hacking et al. 2018), but was also not adequately supported by theory within the documents. Many of the references used within the four documents were presented without in-text citations, or were offered at the end of documents not as references, but instead for additional reading.

The teachers and IB documents were in alignment in their perceptions and understandings of a soft (Andreotti, 2006) and cosmopolitan (Oxley & Morris, 2013) global citizenship education as all three teachers found connections within the affective traits listed in the IB Learner Profile. The Learner Profile is a set of personal standards intended to guide and shape the decisions and actions of all IB students. Together, what IB MYP proposed for global citizenship education and how IB MYP Individuals & Societies teachers perceived global citizenship and practiced global citizenship education reflected a reactive or proactive approach by the teacher. In both approaches, where the teacher placed IB MYP in their decision making was instrumental in how the teacher perceived and practiced education for global citizenship.

Results of a reactive form of global citizenship include a teacher who adheres to a transmission and dominant narrative style of teaching by working within the structures surrounding them and allowing those structures to limit their pedagogical decisions. With this stance, the teacher places IB either at the end of their pedagogical decisions, which is what Mr. Anderson did, or does not include them, which is what Mr. Davis did. This approach also aligns with the review of the IB created materials which supported the continuation of a western centered global citizenship education (Andreotti, 2010) mindset and coloniality (Tarc, 2012). Neither of them preferred this approach, but cited institutional constraints as the reason for doing so. This finding aligns with Moore's (2017) study showing that MYP teachers who viewed external regulations as a hindrance to their independent motivations were likely to comply with regulations but experienced higher levels of demoralization, resulting in a lack of dedication to the IB MYP framework.

A proactive form of global citizenship was used by a teacher who also worked within the structures surrounding them, but looked for and found the wiggle room (Henderson, 2001), teaching a more student centered, democratic, dialogic, and at times critical form of global citizenship education. In this case, IB was placed at the front of the teacher's decision making. Mrs. Taylor exemplified this approach. Conversely, in Moore's (2017) study, MYP teachers who were independently motivated were able to navigate external regulations, resist demoralization, and still engage in student-centered instruction.

Corresponding author: amenger@kent.edu

All three teachers expressed an acceptance of critical global citizenship education (Andreotti, 2006), but did not always translate these values into instruction, reflecting the reactive approach. In two of the cases, Mr. Davis and Mr. Anderson, a school culture of accountability and testing as well as an apathetic attitude towards IB was stronger than the teachers' rationales (Hawley, 2010). For example, although Mr. Anderson expressed a desire to teach from multiple perspectives in his Global studies course, teaching from a western dominant narrative was the norm in his classroom (Anderson field notes, March 4, 2020). In explaining this, Mr. Anderson said that although he had some latitude, his department and standardized tests guided many of his decisions, stating, "The curriculum has already been written and the midterm and final exam have been written." This was not meant to suggest he agreed with the decisions, explaining, "The questions haven't changed in a while. Some are good with that, some aren't. I'm like, guys, you could probably eliminate this" (Anderson interview #3, March 12, 2020). Mr. Davis' perceptions and understandings of global citizenship education also suggested he believed several pathways could lead to teaching about the world, but they were often hindered by forces inside his district and constraining his opportunities to teach the type of global citizenship education he wanted to practice. Referring to the district's standardized tests, he stated,

> All [administrators] are arguing about 21st-century skills they need to have is working with others. None of those tests do that. So everyone is talking out of both sides of their mouths. I'm here on the front lines saying, "I'll do as much as I can towards this test because unfortunately it's part of my life." (Davis interview #2, March 4, 2020)

Mr. Anderson and Davis acquiesced to their district's testing and accountability demands and resisted the methods which supported IB MYP and teaching a more critical global citizenship education.

A proactive approach also had to manage administrative demands and IB philosophy; however, Mrs. Taylor, who exemplified this approach, still found ways to support her rationale for teaching a more critical or postcolonial global citizenship (Andreotti, 2006). In her case, she had the support of her administration and was willing to place IB MYP at the front of her decision making. Mrs. Taylor recognized the benefits of IB's philosophy and accepted its cosmopolitan global citizenship ideals, while allowing space for criticality. She embraced these inherent tensions and possibilities by using what IB offered her through the MYP unit plan to connect the content to students' lives and to prioritize student choice and agency. Explaining how she made the connections, she said:

> You have to approach it by having them make a connection with themselves first. Otherwise if you start at the global level, there becomes a disconnect because they don't see themselves at the global level. So it's almost like you make a connection first, when you start building. And then that's your building block, your foundation, and then you build it to the global citizen. (Taylor interview #1, February 12, 2020)

In a unit on political parties, Taylor provided students choices and agency in their summative assessment. She explained:

> Once you get to the summative, it ended up them running for President, creating a platform, choosing five issues. There were five global issues, which were their choice, what they wanted to talk about. They could either focus on one issue they were passionate about or they could do a mudslinging commercial against one of their (fellow students) opponents. (Taylor Interview #2, March 25, 2020)

Giving students a choice in their learning as well as connecting the content to their lives is integral to transformative global citizenship education (Banks, 2017).

Despite recognizing the potential IB offered her practice, Mrs. Taylor acknowledged that cooperation at all levels is important and that many in her district struggled to accept the international framework at first. Over time this mindset had diminished. The difficulty, she said, was with administrative turnover: "They are worried about their state report card and their standards." (Taylor interview #3, April 10, 2020). What they've tried to do is find common ground, stating, "How can we make sure when teachers are teaching, they are teaching a key concept and they are meeting the standard?" (Taylor interview #3, April 10, 2020). This has allowed both the teachers and the district feel their needs and the needs of their students were being met.

District support for IB was crucial for all three of these teachers to take it seriously and to apply it to their global citizenship education pedagogy. This study also found being an educator in an IB MYP school is not a guarantee rationales for teaching a critical or postcolonial (Andreotti, 2006) global citizenship will translate into practice. District expectations exerted more influence.

Personal experiences and professional development also played a role in teachers accepting the IB philosophy and practice. For example, Mr. Anderson relied on his previous knowledge and experience as a financial analyst and teaching within the Diploma Programme to shape his beliefs about IB and the MYP because he had not had any professional development with the MYP. This is significant because research has shown engaging in IB professional development improves a

Corresponding author: amenger@kent.edu

teacher's practice and acceptance of the curriculum framework (Storz & Hoffman, 2018). As a teacher new to the MYP, Mr. Davis had received no IB professional development, and instead relied on his perceptions about his district's global practices and informal learning networks to inform his practice. Mrs. Taylor, on the other hand, had attended at least eight different IB professional development seminars over the last ten years, and acted as the Diploma Programme Coordinator for her district. Her knowledge and experience with IB professional development influenced her rationale and supported her student centered approach.

Discussion

This study illustrates the continued dueling influences of personal rationales (Hawley, 2010) for teaching global citizenship versus institutional structures and demands on teachers. Despite working within an international school context, in two of the three cases, the teachers' rationales for teaching global citizenship were reactive and did not overcome the pressures from their district to focus on a citizenship transmission (Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1978) practice. This supports Quaynor's (2015) study of IB MYP teachers and their flexible vs. fixed mindsets. Teaching in an international school setting does not guarantee a teacher's rationale for global citizenship education will align with their pedagogical choices. Future research is needed to analyze how a critical and postcolonial global citizenship education can be translated from rationales into instruction.

The brand of global citizenship IB proposes in their documents has potential for teachers who want to teach for a critical (Andreotti, 2006) global citizenship education, but first, IB must reconcile the conflicts inherent in where they place themselves in the global citizenship literature, dealing with the lack of empirical and theoretical support they offer for their conception of international mindedness. A lack of theory invites a passive approach to social justice and implicitly supports colonial structures (Tarc, 2012). As the documents suggest IB's intentions and outcomes supported a soft (Andreotti, 2006) global citizenship education, research has also shown this form of global citizenship education reinforces a western hegemonic mindset and ignores the realities of globalization and the colonized world (Andreotti, 2006; 2010).

An element to this study, but part of the hidden curriculum, is IB's continuing status as an elite school (Bunnell, 2010; Gardner-McTaggart, 2016). Since its inception, IB has continued to be viewed by many as a school for select students who have money and privilege and will eventually live among many nation-states. It's entry into US Title One schools in 2003 (Santee Siskin,

Corresponding author: amenger@kent.edu

Weinstein, & Sperling, 2010). was meant to dispel that myth, but the impression prevails. It is still unproven if IB has successfully altered its image. Being an IB school carries a heavy price tag, and despite support from the federal government, financial costs are a large part of any district's decision making.

Implications

In this study, how teachers perceived and understood global citizenship and global citizenship education was instrumental in how they carried them out in practice (Merryfield, 2000; Quaynor, 2015; Rapoport, 2010). Teaching is a personal endeavor, and each teacher comes to their classroom with a history and approach to the world and are influenced by the structures that surround them (Britzman, 2003). It is crucial for us to understand them, because it matters where a teacher places IB in their decisions. This study also speaks to the possibilities or problems in developing a teacher's pedagogy. Each of the teachers in this study showed promise in how they thought about or wanted to practice a more critical, democratic, or dialogical global citizenship education. How is this potential realized? Helping teachers develop a rationale for why and how they teach for global citizenship could help.

This study illustrates even teachers who teach within international schools struggle to prepare their increasingly diverse student bodies for the impacts of globalization (Myers, 2006). This study also shows buying an international program is no guarantee teachers will effectively embrace the methods or philosophy. What it highlights is what has been found in other scholarship: teachers need time and professional development to think about and understand what it means to teach for global citizenship, and they need practice and support (Korsmo et al., 2012; Moore, 2017; Storz & Hoffman, 2018). They also need to understand the role globalization is having on their classrooms. Ignoring this only leads to the continuation of a neocolonial approach, which ignores the diversity present in their classrooms.

For social studies education, this study reflects the numerous constraints still present in our curriculum. Instead, we need to also be proactive, advocating for our content, reminding decision makers what is at stake and why social studies education is so important to the continuation and flourishment of democracy (Levinson, 2012). We must also wrestle with how globalization is impacting and altering the curriculum. The recent dramatic changes happening across our country have come about in part because of globalization and are highlighting the importance of effective civic action.

For the curriculum, this study illustrated how despite being an IB school, testing and accountability still reign in US schools (Au, 2009). This mindset as well as putting neoliberal agendas at the front of our decision-making influences the system of education within the US and stops us from enacting meaningful reform.

Conclusion

This research effort furthers discussion on the role an international education framework can have on a teacher's pedagogy, where global citizenship education is situated in the curriculum, and what influences a teacher's thinking and pedagogy. This study can be helpful to us in understanding the role curriculum context can have in shaping a teacher's ideas about global citizenship and how they enact those ideas. Understanding what can promote the teaching of a critical (Andreotti, 2006) and democratic global citizenship education has the potential to alter the landscape of teacher education, social studies education, and global citizenship education.

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About the Author:

Andrea Christoff recently obtained her Ph.D. in Curriculum and Instruction from Kent State University after teaching middle school social studies for nine years. Her research centers on global citizenship education and teacher identity development.

Corresponding author: amenger@kent.edu