Dilemmas of Global Citizenship Education in Australian International Baccalaureate Schools

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Abstract

The idea of global citizenship is central to the International Baccalaureate's attempt to develop 'international mindedness' across each of its four programs. These programs have a broad understanding of international mindedness, linked not only to preparing students for the rapidly globalizing nature of work and labour market but also encouraging students to respect other perspectives, cultures and languages.

This thesis examines the ways in which two International Baccalaureate (IB) schools in Australia interpret the notion of global citizenship, and explores the challenges and opportunities they face in enacting global citizenship education. This thesis assumes global citizenship education to be ubiquitous in IB schools, and poses two core questions: First, how are global citizenship discourses interpreted and enacted in two International Baccalaureate schools? Second, how do these schools take advantage of mobility, diversity and connectedness in the student body and in what ways do these elements support notions of global citizenship? This thesis approaches these questions using qualitative methods, including interviews, focus groups, and document analysis.

Overall, this thesis suggests that while the discourses around global citizenship education espouse a range of moral and political aspirations, both schools face a number of dilemmas in enacting these aspirations, within an increasingly market society that defines the broader context in which the schools are located. These dilemmas arise from the two schools' attempts to negotiate the competing demands of relational and individualized interpretations of global citizenship narratives, and to reconcile both the local and global concerns their students encounter. The analysis of these dilemmas points to some of the ways in which IB schools might facilitate forms of global citizenship education as not only a cognitive, but as a moral enterprise.

Declaration

This is to certify that

i the thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD,

ii due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used,

iii the thesis is fewer than 100 000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices

Anna Dabrowski

August 20th, 2018

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Dedication

For Jemima O'Callaghan. A true global citizen, the world is just a little bit better for having had you in it. You remain in my heart, and in so many of my memories.

Contents

Introduction 8

Being and Belonging 8

Recent Rise in the Idea of Global Citizenship 13

Academic Accounts of Global Citizenship Education 16

Global Citizenship Education 18

Global Citizenship Education in IB Schools in Australia 19

Research Questions, Research Design, and Thesis Overview 21

The Idea of Global Citizenship Education 24

Introduction 24

Historical Origins of Global Citizenship 25

Current Definitions and Contestations 28

Current Global Forces and Conditions Driving Global Citizenship 31

Agencies Promoting Global Citizenship and Global Citizenship Education 36

Global Citizenship Education in Australian Schools 39

Broadening the Policies of Multiculturalism 46

Conclusion 51

Global Citizenship Education in Action 53

Introduction 53

The International Baccalaureate 53

Programs, Pedagogy and Practices 56

The Promise of an International Curricula 57

International Mindedness and the Learner Profile 58

Accessing the International Baccalaureate 60

Research into the Teaching of Global Citizenship Education in IB schools 62

Conclusion 67

Research Methodology and Design 69

Introduction 69

Methodological Considerations 70

Enactments and Dilemmas 71

Case Studies 73

The Research Sites: Callan College and Bexley Academy 75

Participant Selection and Methods of Data Collection 79

Approach to Data Analysis 84

Crystallisation 86

Conclusion 87

Interpreting and Enacting Global Citizenship Education 89

Introduction....89
Tensions Between Interpreting and Enacting Global Citizenship....90
Corporate Statements....93
Marketing Messages....99
Enacting Global Citizenship....110
Classroom and Curricula....120
Conclusion....126
Engaging the Local and the Global....129
Introduction....129
Becoming 'Global' in Local Spaces....130
School Responses to "GGE"....138
Support and Segregation....140
Inclusion and Distance....149
Promotion of GCE and Lost Opportunities....155
Conclusion....159
Reconciling the Individual and the Collective....161
Introduction....161
Global Citizenship Education in a Market Society....163
Individualism and the International Baccalaureate....171
Attitudes and Aspirations....178
Community and Self....183
What is, and What Ought to Be....188
Conclusion....195
Exploring the Possibilities....197
References....214

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Being and Belonging

I grew up in a strict, Polish-Australian, Catholic family during the 1980s. My earliest memories are not fond. I remember being discouraged from speaking Polish to my grandfather, who was ashamed of his culture, and being bullied for my 'foreign-sounding' name and 'funny accent'. In my early twenties, after completing my teaching degree, I began to search for a sense of self: to understand who I was and where I belonged. This search for belonging and a desire to connect, and to help others connect, underpins much of this thesis.

I spent my first few years teaching in low socioeconomic schools in Western Sydney where I came across many different children, but it was always the children from migrant backgrounds that I felt most connected to. Children whose English skills prevented them from engaging, children who had come to Australia by boat, children who were living in community detention. Children who had spent their lives separated from their families, moving between countries, or struggling to integrate into different cultures. After several years teaching, my desire to work with migrant and transnational students, and to see more of the world than my upbringing could afford, took me away from the schools of Western Sydney, Australia, to international schools abroad - first to London, and later to Berlin, where I began to work in the suburb of Kreuzberg. Although traditionally an area populated by former Turkish guest workers and their families, the suburb had begun to fill with Western expats and emigrants from all over the world.

In this period, Australia was also bearing witness to unprecedented racism in the form of the Cronulla riots of 2005 (see Dunn, 2009; Poynting, 2006), and the German chancellor Angela Merkel had declared that multiculturalism had failed. All my life I had been insulated from such public attacks on the central premises of multiculturalism, growing up in a very much white community in a small town in Australia, but part of me felt connected to something else. Registering as a foreign resident at the *Ausländerbehörde* in Berlin, I heard counter staff whispering about the *aussischweine* (foreign pigs) that were taking over their country. I remember standing on the tram with a colleague from London, and having a man

come and taunt her, *schwartze*, *schwartze* (black, black) because of the colour of her skin. Students brought cookies named *Negerkuss* (negro kisses) to class to give to new students who had recently arrived from Sudan. Children in my class refused to let the girl from China come to their birthday parties in case 'she ate their dog'. Colleagues nonchalantly stated in the staffroom that Germany was not ready for so many Muslim immigrants, and that 'what happened to the Jews would surely happen to the Turks'. In my job, the segregation between migrant children and local students confused me, and each small injustice that was committed against students because of gender, language, culture, or religion increasingly concerned me. Inside the classroom, my desire to both understand and change the ways in which students connect to one another increased steadily. So too, did the desire to help these students find a sense of self, a comfort in being who they were, and understanding how important it was not to forget where they had come from. Perhaps in part, this was linked to a desire to understand who I was, and where I came from.

I have now spent more than a decade as a secondary and tertiary teacher and, during this time, I have watched Australia and the world change, from within and from afar. In some ways, these changes have been for the better, and we have seen an increased in inclusion and a willingness to know the other. But as often occurs when society swings to the left, conservatism and more recently, right wing populism, can push back in resistance. In multicultural Australia, tensions arising from religious, cultural and linguistic difference are increasing. Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party[1] and more recently, Reclaim Australia[2] reflect a fear and a lack of concern for 'the Other', and for those of us who share ties with other countries and communities, the Australian Citizenship Amendment (or Allegiance to Australia Act) of 2015 raises many questions around what it means to be 'Australian'. We have seen similar propositions in European countries, and we see similar propagation of fear in the United States. Latin American children are kept in cages while their parents are threatened with deportation, Muslims have been threatened with ankle tags to monitor

[1] Pauline Hanson is the leader of right wing populist party, *Pauline Hanson's One Nation*. Hanson is recognised for her right wing views on Indigenous communities, immigration, race, and Islam (Gibbs, 2001). More recently, Hanson delivered a speech to the Australian parliament, warning that we are being "swamped by Muslims" (http://www.abc.net.au/news/2016-09-14/one-nation-senator-pauline-hanson-makes-first-speech-to-senate/7845150) in reference to her 1996 maiden speech when she warned that Australia was in danger of being "swamped by Asians" (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sIef__jz4XQ) .

[2] Reclaim Australia is a right wing group that opposes Islam, and held a number of rallies in 2015. (https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jul/28/dont-be-fooled-reclaim-australia-wont-fade-away-if-starved-of-publicity)

their movements. The rise of *Daesh*[3] has seen the slaughters of countless innocents in the Middle East, yet the same presence of extremism in Paris, Brussels and Germany has fed into our insecurity of the very same immigrants fleeing brutality and persecution. In 2018, as I look around at our society, the potential binary between 'us' and them' (Peppers, 2006) continues to widen. We watch on as the bodies of infants wash up on the shores of Greece, we cry when the bloodied faces of Syrian children stare back at us from our television sets. Yet in Australia, we detain these same children in offshore detention where they are subject to abuse and denied education, some comfort themselves in the solace that displaced persons are only 'economic refugees', and in 2017, our government announced we will permanently close our doors to those who need us most. We have watched Donald Trump ride to his presidency on a wave of racism, sexism, homophobia, and vilification of others. In Australia, it has been almost too easy to forget that, with the exception of our Indigenous communities, we are all a product of migration. We have failed to silence racism as we try to protect what we have taken. We are indifferent to others, locally and globally, a demarcation Richard Sennett described as a 'corrosion of character' (Sennett, 1998, in Schattle, 2008b).

Yet Australia need not progress down an insular path, and there are many ways to challenge essentialised, nationalistic discourse. As a teacher and researcher who has worked extensively in the international system, I have seen schools becoming increasingly multicultural, with student diversity reflecting processes of migration and globalisation. For young people, education and schools can be places of reinforcing dominant norms and the status quo, but education can also be an effective and sustainable way of understanding diversity, rather than viewing 'the Other' as something to be feared. Diversity and inclusion afford the student and school culture a number of advantages and benefits, including greater inter-cultural awareness, increased empathy and understanding, a better appreciation of diversity and connectedness and responsibility to those who are vulnerable in society (Andrzejewski & Alessio, 1999; Schattle, 2008a, 2008b). I think back to Year 12 students I taught telling me that our government should 'sink the boats' filled with refugees. At the time, I wanted to shout at them, to point out

[3]Daesh, ISIS, or ISIL, is a jihadist unrecognised state and militant group that followd a fundamentalist doctrine of Sunni Islam. Daesh has been designated a terrorist organisation by the United Nations, and as of 2016, is operating in more than 18 countries around the world. Daesh gained notoriety in 2014 for its brutal attacks and mass executions, and its broadcasting of the beheadings of western captives. Daesh has been responsible for numerous attacks around the world (http://www.cnn.com/2015/12/17/world/mapping-isis-attacks-around-the-world/ ; Black, 2014).

that Australia's education system provides students access to a myriad of opportunities around the world, to ask why these opportunities could not then be shared. But I fell silent, not sure what to do.

I moved back to Australia with my partner and our two children in 2012, and it has now been twelve years since I first begun teaching. In those years, I have spent time in schools and tertiary institutes in Germany, Switzerland, Thailand, Argentina, and Australia. It was during this time that I was first introduced to the International Baccalaureate, at an international school in Berlin. I immediately resonated with the International Baccalaureate and its programs and was struck by the celebration of global connection and 'international mindedness' that appeared to underpin much of the International Baccalaureate Organisation's work. Though the mission and goals the International Baccalaureate were often criticised by my colleagues, I believed that the IB offered students a chance to engage deeply with others beyond their borders, and to consider the role that we, in the 'West', have played in the construct of narratives that privilege our lives and narratives above those who are different.

Years later, when I was teaching a unit of high school English entitled 'encountering conflict' as part of the year 12 Victorian Certificate of Education, my state's leaving certificate, I thought of the IB, as I watched presentations from my students calling for Australia to 'ban the burqa', and 'sink the boats'. I couldn't help but to lament where Australian students, and our broader society, was heading. Driven by the desire to understand the inequities within the Australian education system, and the positioning of international, transnational, and migrant students in Victoria, I completed my Master of Education in 2013. Leaving classroom teaching was made less difficult by the sudden access I had to countless academics working in equity, language and international education policy, and gaining work as a research fellow in the education department at the same university where I would eventually begin to undertake my doctorate.

Over time, as I have been teaching and learning about international education, the world has changed, and so it seems, has our empathy for those who imagine better lives and augmented prospects. Fear of immigration. Fear of Islam. The presence of Daesh, now in the west. Detention camps for refugees attempting to enter Australia diminish the dreams of those who sought something more. Brexit. Marine LePen's increased presence in France. Poland, home to one large part of my cultural identity, moves towards a shared alliance

with Hungary's right-wing regime. In the United States, where my children hold citizenship, Donald Trump is now president. Individuals from predominantly Muslim countries being told they are not welcome, and here in Australia, we hear politicians like Pauline Hanson tell us 'our' country, 'our' home, needs to be eradicated of the 'other'. I read about kindergarten children in the United States taunting their Mexican classmate, telling her, 'you're going home', and of children being torn from their parents and kept in makeshift detention centres. At times like this, belonging to an international community that acts when you cannot, could not be of greater importance.

During my work as a teacher and, more recently, during the fieldwork for this thesis, my conversations with students impressed upon me the sheer number of young people who feel disenchanted, angry, and displaced. Through circumstance, many students have not yet had opportunities to explore what it is to be an empowered member of a community, and to feel some sense of this as they navigate some of the most influential years of their lives. It is evident that many young people have given up, that rhetoric has paved the way for us to avoid attempts to understand each other, to avoid problematizing the complexity of our societies today. Consequently, this thesis attempts to better understand the struggle of students in being and belonging, and to illuminate the dilemmas facing other educators in enacting notions of global citizenship education.

As I began my doctoral research, I thought about my students within international schools, the experience of being 'different', and the changes education can make to our lives. I read about belonging, to both communities and the nation state, about identity, and about the ways in which schools can support student diversity. In my readings, I began to identify as both cosmopolitan and transnational: cosmopolitan in that I am well-travelled, speak several languages, and am familiar with, and at ease in many different countries and amongst different cultures; transnational in that I feel connected and in between national boundaries. But I remain ill at ease with both terms. Like Waldron (2000), who considers the state of cosmopolitanism as 'dabbling' in multiple cultures, cosmopolitanism for me still implies a state of access to countries and opportunities; this access related to wealth, capital, or sheer luck. But my own upbringing and current circumstances are the result of neither prosperity nor good fortune and, likewise, the concept of transnationalism continues to remind me that just as I am connected to many places, I am also not really connected to anywhere.

As cosmopolitans, transnationals, migrants, or expatriates, globalisation leads many of us to appear as globally mobile and globally minded. But we not necessarily critical of ourselves and reflective of our responsibilities. It was reaching this awareness that lead me to become interested in the notion of global citizenship education as a mechanism for greater good and revived connectedness between members of a society that is now increasingly alone. I began to study the definitions, interpretations, and uses of global citizenship education. Perhaps global citizenship is a way to traverse the in-between spaces of cosmopolitanism and transnationalism. Acknowledging the slippage between the terms that are now used in relation to global citizenship, and the implications of concepts such as transnationalism, cosmopolitanism, and internationalism, I wondered if the longings of global citizenship, as a mechanism to respond to the diversity of the world, and reclaim a sense of community, could ever be achieved. Thus, my professional and personal biography has given rise to the issues I address in this thesis, coupled with a desire to understand where global citizenship education has come from, by whom is it driven, the forms that global citizenship education now takes, and a pondering over whether global citizenship education is possible.

Recent Rise in the Idea of Global Citizenship

Although this thesis is largely located within western traditions and written under western conditions, the idea of global citizenship is not absent from other cultures. Global citizenship, as connected to the idea of community and shared responsibility, is apparent in many other religious and cultures, for example, Islam's concept of brotherhood, Buddhism's notion of humanism, South Africa's philosophy of *ubuntu* (or humanity towards others), *dharma* in Hinduism, kinship in Indigenous Australian culture. These notions of community and connection underpin many cultural traditions, as does the idea of privileging community good over individual interest, as Buddhist scholar David Loy (2003) fittingly notes: 'if I do not struggle with the greed in my own heart, it is quite likely that, once in power, I too will be inclined to take advantage of the situation to serve my own interests' (p. 35). Loy's analysis of the struggle between individual and community interests is a key foundation to the challenges associated with understanding and enacting global citizenship. Young (1986) critiques notions of community in her discussions on the politics of difference, stating 'there is no universally shared concept of community, but only particular articulations that complement, overlap, or sit at acute angles to one another'

(p.1). Thus, in its modern, western forms, although global citizenship borrows heavily from the traditions of different religions and cultures, it must be problematised, and the recent rise of global citizenship explored.

It is undeniable that as part of the ongoing process of globalization, people around the world are more connected than ever before (Rizvi, 2008), and such connectedness has led to the emergence of collective aspirations (Appadurai, 1996, as cited in Dabrowski and Lodge, 2016). Today, Australia, and Melbourne where I live, has become increasingly multicultural, enriched by the aspirations of migrants, transnationals, displaced peoples, and by technology, all of which have added to a globalising of people today, augmenting opportunities for connectedness and communication with a myriad of languages and cultures, across and beyond borders. Yet nationalist sentiments in politics, perpetuated by the corporate media and some influential individuals, often present the world beyond local borders as foreign, different, and dangerous. Indeed, as a result of the forces of globalisation, there are many kinds of understanding of citizenship that now exist and, while global interconnectedness continues to grow, the principles of multiculturalism have proven insufficient. Here, global citizenship offers a way to respond to the global condition.

'The concept of 'global citizenship' has become prominent in Europe and the Americas in government, civil society and educational discourses' (Andreotti & Souza, 2012, p. 1) but the concept itself is not new. Indeed, the rise and potential understandings of global citizenship are complicated by the ambiguity of the concept. The confusion around what global citizenship means (Roudometof, 2005; Shultz, 2007; Shultz and colleagues, 2011), and where it comes from, is largely due to the multiplicity of terms and concepts, often used interchangeably. Here, cosmopolitanism, transnationalism, internationalism, glocalisation and so forth, muddy our understanding of what global citizenship is. As global citizenship efforts to reconcile its cosmopolitan heritage and move towards moral forms (Parekh, 2003), there is also a tension in that global citizenship exists within a neoliberal world, and the fact that it is in this space that global citizenship continues to expand and grow.

The growing recognition of global interconnectivity has also been relentlessly promoted by corporations as well as non-government organisations. And while much of the interest in global connectivity and interconnectedness can be attributed to globalisation, technology, and indeed, the corporate interests that increasingly seek to capitalise on this connectedness

(see Scherer and Palazzo, 2008), organisations such as Amnesty International (2015), Oxfam (2009), United Nations (see UN, 2012) and UNICEF (2015), have chosen to consider global connectedness as an opportunity to focus upon our rights and responsibilities to others around the world.

To realise these responsibilities, much emphasis has been placed upon individuals, and the 'role of education in instilling in the minds of people core human rights values and the sanctity of a global citizenship ethic' (Abdi & Shultz, 2008, in Abdi, 2009, p.3). In this context, individuals possess the capability to shape the globalised world, and here lie the foundations for global citizenship, which Abdi and Shultz discuss as aiming 'to expand inclusion and power and provides the ethical and normative framework… whereby citizenship is a product of diversity rather than an institutional tool serving particular interests' (p.3). Extending this logic to the education realm, global citizenship offers a way to respond to the complexities of the globalised world, as Dill (2013, p.1) notes:

> Of course, anxieties about the world and anxieties about our schools are deeply connected: we look to our schools to shape and form the next generation, while realizing that the world for which students are being prepared is highly complex and uncertain. These anxieties are rooted in the variability and speed of changes in the processes we call "globalization." The problems, challenges, and opportunities of globalization are many and, by now, familiar: migration, cultural difference, a global economy, environmental crises, and a growing list of global social problems. The world seemingly gets smaller and smaller, boundaries appear to fade away, and we feel more and more connected to corners of the globe that previously felt, quite literally, a world away. Barriers are broken, and distant people and places feel closer, and yet these same processes radically intensify difference and competition.

Dill's discussion illuminates some of the complexities that have shaped the concept of global citizenship, and today, global citizenship education is a term increasingly used by policy makers, humanitarians and educators, despite its contested definitions (Abdi & Shultz, 2008 in Abdi, 2009; Andreotti et al, 2009; Balarin, 2011; Davies, 2006; Dill, 2013; Oxfam, 2015; Sheppard, 2004). As Dill (2013) notes, global citizenship education is now one of the fastest growing movements in the educational space, shaped and developed with support from policy makers, global institutions, corporations, practitioners, and non-government organisations. As a result, there are numerous efforts to 'make students into

'global citizens' equipped with the consciousness and competencies needed to prosper in the hoped-for empathic civilization. These longings cut to the heart of educational aspirations to form the young and prepare them for life in the world' (Dill, 2013, p.2).

Yet current forces also drive the need to understand global citizenship education in new ways. While within the education realm, global citizenship education seeks to prepare students for the globalised world, at the same time, the principles of global citizenship are still widely used by corporations as market forces. The corporate positioning of global citizenship is increasingly used to sell and is heavily promoted within the technology and business sectors (Shallcross & Robinson, 2006). The idea of global citizenship, and often interchangeably, the concepts of cosmopolitanism and transnationalism, is reflected in advertising campaigns for banking corporations, mining companies, clothing companies, and insurance companies (Scherer & Palazzo, 2008; Shallcross & Robinson, 2006), promoting products through the prospect of 'belonging' to a wider global community. And as educational organisations and systems increasingly work towards supporting a cosmopolitan middle class (Ball, 2003), global citizenship education has become increasingly appealing.

Academic Accounts of Global Citizenship Education

As the world 'gets smaller' (Dill, 2013), schools around the globe have begun to focus upon expanding the consciousness and competencies of students, in order to prepare them for a globalized world. Further, as Dill (2013) notes, global citizenship education has become an area of focus largely because it 'captures the longings of so many—to help make a world of prosperity, universal benevolence, and human rights in the midst of globalization's varied processes of change' (p.2). In this context, schools have undoubtedly capitalized on the changing demographic of students, evident in policies, curricula and educational practices that seek to position learners as global citizens (Bourn, 2012; Brown, 2009; Robbins, Francis & Elliot, 2003).

Global citizenship, and global citizenship education, endeavour to broaden the policies of multiculturalism, but within academic debates, there are historical conditions and policy and curriculum terms that can help us to understand why has global citizenship has become so significant, and why the OECD, and perhaps most prominently UNESCO, have

embraced the notion of global citizenship education, which has in turn been picked up by systems of education around the world. While in some respects the tensions between cosmopolitan ideals and the transnational realties for many individuals can be negotiated through the conceptualisation of global citizenship, education itself can contribute to both national and globalised identity formation. And it is within these spaces that the concept of global citizenship has been outlined as a 'practicable and desirable political ideal' (Furia, 2005; p. 331), extending beyond the cosmopolitan and transnational orientation into a tangible framework to support the shared aspirations of students and their schools. Although Brecher, Childs and Cutler (1993) offer an articulate explanation for the disparate conceptualization of global citizenship, noting the obvious dichotomy between global citizenship as driven by the ideals of elite cosmopolitans connected by capital, and the idealized alternate: derived from human solidarity and the aspirations of individuals to create a better world (p.40), there remains a lack of clarity as to the forces that drive global citizenship education.

While policies related to global citizenship practices and frameworks for enactment in education are increasingly evident in many nations around the world (Banks, 2007), it still remains unclear if global citizenship education will produce 'a globalized identity of elites arising from the integration of capital' or 'a growth of human solidarity arising from an extension of democratic principles as a result of the exertions of peoples and their voluntary associations' (Brecher, Childs and Cutler, 1993, p. 40). Yet at the same time, the forces driving global citizenship can be both beneficial and harmful. As Dobson (as cited in Andreotti, 2014, p.3) argues, the globalisation of trade also creates ties based on 'chains of cause and effect that prompt obligations of justice, rather than sympathy, pity or beneficence' (p. 178). Dobson asserts that hegemonic global citizenship narratives do not 'take sufficient account of unequal power relations', and as Andreotti (2014, p.3) concludes, 'the concepts of a 'global citizen', interdependence and world-wide interconnectedness that often accompany unexamined notions of a common humanity in global citizenship education' are problematic. As a consequence, as Andreotti and colleagues (2009, p.5) note, recent research has 'analysed and critiqued various conceptualisations of global citizenship and explored different frameworks for its application within educational contexts (see, for example, Peters et al, 2007; Abdi and Shultz, 2008; O'Sullivan and Pashby, 2008, Shultz, 2011a)'. Yet spite of increased interest in global citizenship, and continuing understanding of what it means to be a global citizen,

the ways in which global citizenship manifests in society and in the education sector remains complex, contested, and under-researched (Andreotti, 2006).

Global Citizenship Education

Education is influential in connecting individuals, cultures and communities across borders (Hanson, 2008; Papastergiadis, 2000; Vertovec, 1999, 2009) and acts as 'major driver of the global mobility of people, especially from developing countries to developed English-speaking countries' (Rizvi, 2009, p. 269). Accordingly, as Tarc (2011) has noted, transnationalising spaces of education have rendered education, and in particular international forms of education, as increasingly desirable and useful. Today, education plays a critical role in raising awareness of global issues that impact upon society (Davis, Evan and Reid, 2005; Lapayese, 2003; Su, Bullivant and Holt, 2013), and global citizenship education offers a pathway to achieving what Abdi and Shultz (2008) see as a shared responsibility to others.

However, what makes the aims of global citizenship education particularly challenging is that, even as students come from different backgrounds, global citizenship education often remains referenced in relation to western traditions. It is in this context that the use of global citizenship becomes complex as it attempts to acknowledge both established cosmopolitan orientations and respond to the transnationalising aspirations and dispositions of the globalised world. In addition, although global citizenship education is espoused as a pathway to 'bring shared values to life' (United Nations, 2014), a movement towards privatisation of schools threatens to undermine the aims of global citizenship education. As neoliberalism continues to intensify in many countries, neoliberal narratives of school choice have helped to create elite markets within the educational realm (Ball, Bowe & Gewirtz, 1996), and here, global citizenship education must be problematized.

In Australia, where this thesis is situated, global citizenship education continues to build on the tradition of multiculturalism, but also operates as an invention aligned with neoliberalism. Thus, it can be a dividing concept outside and within schools. While in state or public-school systems, global citizenship education affords practices that can support and facilitate community building and shared responsibility, within the private or independent system, global citizenship education is often linked to different outcomes. Indeed, increased student mobility, transnationalism, and programs and practices that mark opportunity for

students to directly engage with the global, rather than the local, can foster unequal reproduction of capital, and neoliberal imaginaries. Indeed, in Australia, school choice has effectively 'produced a stratified market that reinforces relative class position' (Doherty, 2009, p.3), and we now see parents and students increasingly awareness of the opportunities that school can afford their students.

As the concept of global citizenship is relentlessly pushed by corporations, a type of corporation logic is embraced by schools. Yet uses of global citizenship for companies is driven out of corporate interest and lies in contrast to the more social justice focus posited by organisations such as Oxfam and Amnesty International. Thus, global citizenship serves thus serves a dual purpose: as both a marketing tool, and a mechanism for social change, and it is against a backdrop of these tensions that global citizenship education is positioned. Further, global citizenship education continues to be term that warrants confusion in understanding what it is, where exactly it has come from, and who is driving its growth. Accordingly, the motivations for promoting global citizenship education vary, conditions for enacting global citizenship education vary, and most importantly, the implications of global citizenship education vary.

Global Citizenship Education in IB Schools in Australia

The International Baccalaureate is now a global franchise, having expanded beyond the realm of international schools. The International Baccalaureate still echoes many of its original desires, that is, to unite the world through education (Tarc, 2009). The notion of unity is shared by advocates of global citizenship, but in the neoliberal realm, as discussed in the previous sections, the concept of global citizenship in increasingly shaped by market logic and corporate interests. Yet in Australia, and quite unlike the context for IB in North America (Dabrowski, 2015; 2016; 2017), the private sector is where the International Baccalaureate largely finds itself. In Australia, the IB it is now increasingly offered by private schools in competition with local curricula, and in the high school or secondary years, many of these schools (which require parents of students to pay high fees) now offer students a choice between the International Baccalaureate Diploma Program and an equivalent state-based school completion certificate which, in Australia's federalized system, aligns with the broader Australian national curriculum. But interestingly, there is little research into

enactments of global citizenship education in the International Baccalaureate, in these Australian schools despite increasing interest into ways that global citizenship can be measured and assessed. The International Baccalaureate, with its aims to improve the world through international education, therefore offers a useful site for us to examine the ways in which global citizenship is interpreted and enacted. In fact, I argue that the IB is the site where global citizenship education is most likely to be enacted, given the historical context and international focus of the organisation, as well as the program structures and expectations of IB students.

In this thesis, I attempt to explore the ways in which global citizenship education, in morally productive forms, can be enacted in International Baccalaureate schools within Australia. And although Australia is certainly not representative of all global citizenship education enactments across the world, the way in which the IB has evolved in Australian schools also reflects many of the contestations over the uses of global citizenship education. In Australia, the IB, like global citizenship, is perceived by many to create socially responsive students, but it has also been criticised for its banal uses that driving unequal forms of student capital and promote academic stratification (Doherty, 2009). In the state of Victoria, where this study is situated, the complexity of understanding interpretations and enactments is made further problematic by the use of the IB in the secondary or high school years by the independent, or fee-paying, system. Thus, if as educators we consider global citizenship education as offering a formalised chance to respond to the modern condition in which the lives, aspirations and dispositions of individuals continue to meet, a study of global citizenship enactments within IB schools in Victoria offers an opportunity to explore the complexities of global citizenship education enactments in spaces that are both cosmopolitan yet removed from the historical motivations of the IB as an organisation. And while the rhetoric for global citizenship education is readily available, a detailed study of enactments is lacking, and an exploration of the ways in which critical, or morally productive forms of global citizenship education, are interpreted and enacted by schools is also missing from current research into the concept. Accordingly, this thesis attempts to respond to the gaps in knowledge around enactments of global citizenship education. By extending attempts to understand and enact global citizenship education in educational settings and systems around the world, the study aims to shed light upon the experiences of children living in today's globalised world as one more step towards achieving the longings of global citizenship education.

Research Questions, Research Design, and Thesis Overview

As limited research has investigated the ways in which global citizenship education is understood within schools, this thesis is driven by an ongoing need to understand the interpretations, enactments, and dilemmas that arise from understanding global citizenship education. In the context of this study, global citizenship education is examined within IB schools, and is guided by two overarching research questions:

> How are global citizenship discourses interpreted and enacted in two Australian IB schools?
>
> How do these schools take advantage of mobility, diversity and connectedness in the student body and in what ways do these elements support the imagining of global citizenship?

This study is underpinned by a conceptual framework of critical global citizenship in a market society (Andreotti, 2006; Sandel; 2009) that considers soft and critical enactments of global citizenship. In so doing, this thesis draws upon sociocultural research and has also been influenced by relevant theorists within the fields of education, hermeneutics, and sociology. It builds on research around the various imaginings of global citizenship education, while considering the complexity of enactments (Weick, 1995) within school spaces. Building on research into the notion of imagined spaces (Anderson, 1991; Appadurai 1996, 2000), cosmopolitanism (Appiah, 2006; Brown, 2009; Vertovec & Cohen, 2002), and global citizenship in education (Andreotti, 2006; Nussbaum, 2002; Schattle; 2008a, 2008b; Tully, 2008), this thesis employs case study methodology (Yin & Merriam, 2009) in order to understand how the phenomenon of global citizenship education is interpreted and enacted in International Baccalaureate schools.

Importantly, this study is predicated on the notion that while the interpretation of global citizenship remains contested, enactments of global citizenship education are less explored. With particular reference afforded to the notion of policy enactment (see Ball, 2015; Ball, Maguire, Braun, & Hoskins, 2011), the idea of enactment is significant to this thesis and represents a major departure from the traditional, naturalist notice of interpretation. Instead, the notion of enactment highlights context and contingent processes. These

enactments provide a specific and nuanced opportunity to understand global citizenship education, and thus, the question of how global citizenship education is enacted ultimately drives this thesis.

Data collection devices included interviews with administrators, and interviews and observations with educators and year 10 students over the course of the 2016 school year in two independent high schools in Victoria. The two schools, referred to in this thesis as Callan College and Bexley Academy, sit within culturally, socially, and economically disparate communities, but both share commonality in the provision of the International Baccalaureate, which aims to facilitate concepts often used synonymously with global citizenship education, namely 'internationalism', 'cosmopolitanism' and 'international mindedness'. In addition to these interviews and classroom observations, an analysis of student work samples and each school's planning, marketing and policy documents were analysed.

The exploration of interpretations and enactments of global citizenship education is presented as follows. In chapter two, I offer an overview of definitions, concepts and existing research relating to the notion of global citizenship. Here, I delve into the contested meanings and definitions around global citizenship and focus upon the manifestations of global citizenship with sociology, citizenship theory, and finally, the education space. In chapter three, I examine contextual applications of global citizenship in schools that aspire to be 'international', with a focus on the International Baccalaureate as a reference point for the remainder of the thesis. Here, I argue that while International Baccalaureate Schools have unambiguously, self-consciously and self-evidently committed to notions of global citizenship, the ways in which aspirations of globality and cosmopolitanism are enacted remain unclear. In chapter four, I describe the research methodology and design, and provide an introduction to two IB schools: Callan College and Bexley Grammar. Following this are three thematic chapters based on analysis of my collected research data, which provide an understanding of two dichotomous educational spaces and their interpretations and enactments of global citizenship education in International Baccalaureate schools. In chapter five, I explore different interpretations, enactments and relations to the dominant narrative of global citizenship by and within schools that have self-consciously, and intentionally committed to principles of global citizenship. In chapter six, I explore dilemmas of the local and the global regarding global citizenship and consider how

internationalism of schools can enhance or subvert young people's experiences and opportunities to belong. In chapter seven, I examine tensions relating to the interpretation of global citizenship as individualistic against the realities of a market society and considers the complexity of developing collective notions of global citizenship. Finally, in chapter eight, I conclude the thesis with a discussion of the tensions, and opportunities for global citizenship education in International Baccalaureate schools.

Overall, this thesis investigates and interrogates how two International Baccalaureate schools in Australia interpret and enact the notion of global citizenship education, while considering the appeal of the IB in Australian education. Although this thesis focuses on the International Baccalaureate, an understanding of opportunities for us return to morally productive forms of global citizenship education is of significance to all schools and systems of education around the world. Overall, this thesis suggests that while the schools espouse a range of moral aspirations, they also face a number of dilemmas in enacting these aspirations within an increasingly marketized society. And, as they try to enact global citizenship education, a whole host of other considerations are sidelined, and the schools grapple with the repercussions. Reflecting on the competing demands of relational and individualized interpretations of global citizenship, and of local and global concerns, this thesis suggests a morally productive form of global citizenship education.

CHAPTER TWO

The Idea of Global Citizenship Education

Introduction

The early stages of my interest in and exploration around student diversity and belonging eventually developed into a research focus on the idea of global citizenship. My understanding of this concept did not evolve easily, instead, the past few years were marked by many attempts to both understand and problematise the concept of global citizenship. Understanding global citizenship and where it has come from remains contested and thus, considering its implications for education is still problematic. Indeed, the three words - global citizenship education- still exist without a clear definition. Thus, the linking of global citizenship with an education agenda is problematic, given differing interpretations and understandings. In this section, I discuss the different definitions, but must acknowledge these definitions are often confusing and problematic, particularly in terms of uses, motivations and enactments.

As someone acutely aware of the challenges now facing many communities in Australia, I feel it is impossible to ignore the ways in which increased movement of peoples and the connectedness facilitated by social media have rendered us all part of an imagined global citizenry despite the absence of a common political authority or a world order. Perhaps attributable to the contested definitions of global citizenship within the literature and the 'soft' interpretations of the concept in education, the concept of global citizenship itself often seemed too abstract to examine, lacking the tangible quality that I had grown accustomed to while teaching. So instead of focusing upon what global citizenship is as a theoretical educational construct, I shifted towards understanding what global citizenship is in practice: in how it is understood and can be used within and by schools. Exploring and situating these uses within the education scene therefore helps to set the scene in that we may understand as the hegemonic discourses that accompany notions of global citizenship. Considering the complexity, tensions and interpretations of what it means to be a global citizen, this chapter aims to review the most relevant literature to describe the different texts, narratives, discourses, and interpretations of global citizenship in education, and lay the theoretical foundations for the remainder of this thesis. To define and understand the uses of global citizenship, this chapter considers a range of research from

sociology, political science, and education. First, I consider the origins of global citizenship. Next, I examine definitions of global citizenship, while considering the spaces in which global citizenship education is interpreted and contested. Then, I consider the current forces that drive and endorse global citizenship narratives, before focusing on the agencies promoting global citizenship education. Finally, I explore the uses of global citizenship within education spaces, and in the context of this thesis, in Australia.

Historical Origins of Global Citizenship

The concept of 'global citizenship' is increasingly evident in Europe and the Americas in government policy discourses, as Andreotti & Souza, (2012, p. 1) highlight. The concept of global citizenship, closely related to community and shared responsibility, is also found in non- European traditions, as noted earlier. Global citizenship and global citizenship education exist within and outside white western perspectives, and global citizenship education within the literature is linked to a wide range of concepts: Islam, Buddhism, South African traditional society, Hinduism, and Indigenous Australian culture, among others. In fact, in its modern, western forms, global citizenship borrows heavily from the traditions of different religions and cultures, and is a term increasingly used by policy makers, humanitarians and educators despite its contested definitions (Davies, 2006; Oxfam, 2015; Sheppard, 2004). Thus, although the concept is not new, current forces and circumstances drive the need to understand global citizenship in new ways.

Global citizenship offers a way of understanding the disembodiment of the nation state, of the cosmopolitan ideal, and if we look at the current uses and touting of global citizenship in the west, positioning both individuals and communities as 'global citizens' may seem a new and innovative strategy. However, the concept of global citizenship is not nascent: if we are to trace the origins of western forms of global citizenship, we realise that the concept is clearly embedded in cosmopolitan traditions of loyalty between individuals (Appiah, 2006), as Beck (2007) supports: 'to belong or not to belong – that is the cosmopolitan question' (p. 162). Jefferess' 2012 definition of cosmopolitanism as constituting 'an obligation to the Other despite perceived differences' (p. 32) extends upon these ideas, and it is against a notion of obligation, or shared responsibility, that global citizenship is most commonly situated.

In western forms, global citizenship dates to the time of the ancient Greeks. Here, the

positioning of both Socrates and Diogenes saw each identifying as citizens of the universe (Schattle, 2008), who had a responsibility for themselves and those around them. Schattle further notes that the cosmopolitan ideals of ancient Greece marked the positioning of 'individuals and institutions to regard each human person of as worthy of equal respect and concern' (p.2), regardless of governance, legal, and political boundaries. Similarly, the expectations for children as global citizens, as Kleingeld (2013, p.37) notes, relate to the idea of morality: 'as a matter of moral education, children may need to learn to broaden the scope of their affiliation from that of the family, to the local community, to the country, and to the community of all human beings'.

Importantly, the intersection and divergences between globalisation and cosmopolitanism have shaped and challenged historical and modern interpretations of global citizenship. Of relevance here, the idea of citizenship as currently evidenced in modern global citizenship narratives has continued to move away from a discussion that views citizenship as the political and legal membership afforded to recognises members of particular nation states. Instead, we see that modern ideals and conceptualisations of global citizenship offer a way for individuals to return to the cosmopolitan ideals first proffered by Socrates and Diogenes, allowing individuals to be part of a global imaginary, a realm that encourages us to connect to others and shape our lives within and across communities. In this context, being a good citizen is about international mindedness and clear mindedness (Hoy, 1934), about a shared sense of responsibility and sense of belonging. It is about a capacity for rationality and the ability to look beyond one's own backyard. Accordingly, global citizenship appears to be ubiquitous within cosmopolitan realms, and it is unsurprising that global citizenship is often used interchangeably with both concepts of world (or global) citizenship and cosmopolitanism (Cohen, 1996; Jones, 1999; O'Byrne, 2017). As such, the terms cosmopolitanism and global citizenship are often interlinked. 'Global citizenship draws much of its inspiration from the ancient Stoic ideal of cosmopolitanism' (Wright, 2012, p. 47) and thus, 'the many images and practices of global citizenship reflect an ancient tradition—the cosmopolitan tradition' (Schattle, 2008, p. 1)

To explain further, although there are different ways of enacting cosmopolitanism (Nussbaum 1996, 1994), in most conceptions, cosmopolitanism positions all human beings as citizens in one community offering a path between 'ethnocentric nationalism and particularistic multiculturalism' (Vertovec and Cohen, 2002, p.1) and literal or metaphorical notions of 'world citizenship' (Kleingeld, 2013). But moving away from the

cosmopolitan imagining of global citizenship as care about others, to the notion of shared responsibility for each other more complex and perhaps more uncomfortable for the modern cosmopolitan. Here, Immanuel Kant's conceptualisation of *Welibiirgerrecht* (cosmopolitan law) is of significance. Kant is now regarded as one, if not the most influential figure in cosmopolitan citizenship narratives (Nussbaum, 1996), and considering recent interpretations of global citizenship, Kant's concept is perhaps still the most relevant and common enactment of the cosmopolitan ideal.

But today, more people are beginning to identify as members of a global community. Here, transnationalism offers as a way to understand the mobility of people as a more recent and related construct, and considers the complexity of the modern condition, illuminating the 'sociological phenomenon of cross-border migrants considering more than one place 'home'' (van den Anker, 2010, p.73). Transnationalism is increasingly emphasised in research as more disciplines acknowledge the prevalence and connectedness between individuals against complex constructs of shared ties with more than one nation state (Vertovec, 1999). If we assume this view, global citizenship can be viewed more through the lens of transnationalism, therefore affording a reimagining of the spaces between the local and the global (Appadurai, 2000): a way for individuals to generate collective aspirations, a way for us to be equal (Haydon, 2006; Pigozzi, 2006; Torres, 2015).

It is not only intellectuals or cosmopolitan idealists who see themselves as 'global citizens'- individuals from around the world appear to be heeding Kwane Anthony Appiah's reminder that 'no local loyalty can ever justify forgetting that each human being has responsibilities to every other' (2006, xvi). Martha Nussbaum (1997, p.60-61), who is perhaps the most influential modern scholar on writings of global citizenship, sees cosmopolitanism as a basis for education, and links the concepts of cosmopolitanism and citizenship together as a way for us to work towards connection, caring for one another as members of a community:

> Beyond all these circles is the largest one, that of humanity as a whole. Our task as citizens of the world, and as educators who prepare people to be citizens of the world, will be to "draw the circles somehow toward the center," making all human beings like our fellow city-dwellers. In other words, we need not give up our special affections and identifications, whether national or ethnic or religious; but we should work more to make all human beings part of our community of dialogue and

concern…

Indeed, despite the lack of a world government, a possibility unlikely to ever be achieved, more people are beginning to imagine Nussbaum's vision of global citizenship (Appiah, 2006) regardless of opportunities, political persuasion or national identity. Returning to the cosmopolitan ideals of the ancient Greeks, many individuals and communities are beginning to see, feel, and act in ways that recognise the complexity of the current condition, of the world in which we live (Barry, 1999). Most commonly, these self-declared 'global citizens' are what Bhikhu Parekh has termed 'globally oriented' (2003): despite having a place to call home, these individuals realise 'the reality and the value of political communities, not necessarily in their current form but at least in some suitably revised form' (p. 12). Here, we see individuals who travel or connect with others abroad before returning to their local community. Here, the circumstances that impact upon those around us bear lesser importance to the opportunity to learn about as a means by which to enhance our own knowledge and understanding. It is therefore worth considering the idea of global citizenship not only from the perspective of the cosmopolitan idealist, but from the view of those who imagine realms of shared belongings, in spite of disparate opportunity to access such spaces. Many of us consider ourselves to be global citizens because of travel, our economical access, or our engagement with culture for leisure (Heater, 1997, 2002). Yet situating global citizenship within the construct of the cosmopolitan ideal is problematic, such a far-removed involvement with other individuals and communities can dilute the notion of belonging and of shared responsibility. These cosmopolitan discourses of global citizenship also render those of us in the west powerful, normalising the position of many individuals to act in a way that does little to impact positively on the lives of those impacted.

Current Definitions and Contestations

Although we can see that global citizenship is clearly intertwined with cosmopolitan ideals, the articulation of what it means to be a global citizen is dependent on the perspective and positioning of those who offer a definition of the concept (Furia 2005; Hutchings 2002; Kapoor 2004; Schattle, 2008). Moving again beyond the cosmopolitan orientation, which sees an individual engage with manners, cultures, societies, and habits around the world (Waldron, 2002) most current definitions and interpretations of global citizenship have

attempted to move away from the banal or tokenistic engagement with others often experienced by the cosmopolitan (Beck, 2002). For Oxfam (2006), an organisation cited in widely in relation to its definitions of global citizenship, a global citizen is perceived as: someone who is aware of the wider world and a sense of their own role as a world citizen; respects and values diversity; has an understanding of how the world works; is outraged by social injustice; participates in the community at a range of levels, from the local to the global; is willing to act to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place; and finally, takes responsibility for their actions. In this way, Global citizenship endeavours to work towards mitigating social injustices, a concept that paves the way for the Global North to critically engage with individuals and collectives facing poverty, social injustice and various types of gender, race and religious based inequality (Carter, 2013; Jefferess, 2008; Mcintosh, 2005). Other discussions on the concept of global citizenship relate to globalization and economic integration (Folk, 1993), and the impacts of these processes (Dobson, 2005) while others relate global citizenship to the notion of New World Order (Brecher, Childs & Cutler, 1993; Folk, 1993), driven by utopian ideals.

Global citizenship extends further and is also seen as a way to mitigate the impact of climate change (Stoner, Perry, Wadsworth, Stoner & Tarrant, 2014), as well as war and radicalization (Yamashita, 2006). Heater (2002), positions a global citizen as 'a member of the human race who is responsible for the environment and the promotion of a world government' (p.36), while UNICEF (2015), defines a global citizen as someone 'who understands interconnectedness, respects and values diversity, has the ability to challenge injustice, and takes action in personally meaningful ways'. As Carter (2004; 2013) also illustrates, the notion of global citizenship can also be argued to include those who are marginalised or otherwise disempowered by society, including women, the Indigenous and the LGBTIQ[4] community. It could therefore be argued that being a global citizen is not only about being an active member of the human race, but about being someone who cares deeply about injustices being committed within and beyond national borders. Although the concept is 'remarkably controversial', as Dower (2002, p.30) notes, at its essence, the concept of global citizenship is an ethical project first and foremost, which seeks to encourage belonging (Dower, 2000; Dower & Williams, 2016). Furthermore, as Lyons, Hanley, Wearing and Neil (2012) point out, is assumed to 'counter the intolerance and

[4] LGBTIQ- a commonly used acronym for the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex and Queer community

ignorance that more provincial and parochial forms of citizenship encourage' (p.361). As such, the notion of global citizenship has spread into the education realm, as Demaine (2002, p.3) explains:

> During the latter part of the twentieth century, and at the beginning of the twenty-first, citizens are urged to 'think globally and to act locally' and the young are said to be willing and able so to do. The notion of 'global citizenship education' is thought to be made more possible through the power of the Internet and other electronic media. Educationists are expected and required to teach children about citizenship, its meaning for action locally and its global implications. The idea of 'global citizenship' is codified in school curriculum requirements often with little or no reference to the problematical character either of the concept of 'globalisation' or of 'citizenship'.

Demaine's analysis considers the complexity and influence of globalisation and cosmopolitanism over the achievement of global citizenship education. Demaine highlights the problematic nature of globalisation, cosmopolitanism, and the resultant understanding of global citizenship education, which often ignores the complexity of the world into which students will emerge. Indeed, in the education realm, as Andreotti (2014, p.8) contends, given that 'there is no universal recipe or approach that will serve all contexts, it is important to recognise that 'soft' global citizenship education is appropriate to certain contexts – and can already represent a major step. But it cannot stop there… if educators are not 'critically literate' to engage with assumptions and implications/limitations of their own approaches, we run the risk of (indirectly and unintentionally) reproducing the systems of belief and practices that harm those we want to support'. It is in this light that global citizenship returns to an undesirable, banal cosmopolitanism which Beck (2002) describes as the product of globalized, market-driven cultural expressions, in which the experience of 'globality' has embedded in everyday life.

As we can see, the complexity and uses of associated concepts such as transnationalism and cosmopolitanism render the notion of global citizenship problematic to understand, let alone enact. It is therefore important to consider the current positioning of global citizenship, and its conceptual treatment and enactments, but in a context that considers criticism over 'soft' conceptualizations of global citizenship education (Andreotti, 2006; Tully; 2008). Soft forms of global citizenship education that seek to enact global citizenship

in a tokenistic, rather than critical, way, and for the education space, this is unsurprising, particularly when much of the existing global citizenship literature and its uses continues to be based upon shared advocacy for a world government, offering a utopian way to unify individuals as part of a shared world (Dower 2000, 2002; Heater, 1997; Karlberg 2008; Nussbaum, 1996; 2002). To many of us, the tension between what is, and what could be, renders these latter definitions too idealistic, an idea Andreotti has extended in her recent work on global citizenship education. Although Brecher, Childs and Cutler (1993) offer an articulate explanation for the disparate conceptualization of global citizenship, noting the obvious dichotomy between global citizenship as driven by the ideals of elite cosmopolites connected by capital, and the idealized alternate: derived from human solidarity and the aspirations of individuals to create a better world (p.40), there remains a lack of clarity as to the forces that drive global citizenship education. Considering the contested motives and meanings driving global citizenship education, the next section considers the current global forces and conditions driving global citizenship education.

Current Global Forces and Conditions Driving Global Citizenship

Globalisation has resulted in people being more connected than ever before. Modern technology systems have made faster, better, and different modes of international communication possible both for individuals and for companies (Demaine, 2006). Social media, new technologies, and the internet have allowed people to imagine limitless possibilities for themselves and their communities, and technology has led to a transnationalising of spaces and opportunities for employment, relationships, and education (Dabrowski and Lodge, 2016). Although technology is a dominant force in the current proliferation of global citizenship narratives, the media too plays an important role in driving both the responsibilities and aspirations of people around the world. Organisations, advertising, and the broader market have reformed the way in which global citizenship is viewed and consumed, as Urry (1998) acknowledges. Urry notes that 'at least one precondition of global citizenship is the development of global media, and especially of images of threatened places which partly stand for the plight of the globe as a whole and which may enable people to view themselves as citizens of the globe, as opposed to, or as least as well as, citizens of a nation-state' (p.6).

Szerszynski and Toogood (1997) also argue the mass media have transformed the

possibilities of interaction and dialogue in contemporary societies, remaking the public sphere through highly mediated forms of quasi-interaction and involving new ways of conceiving of self and identity (as cited in Urry, 1998, p.6). In this context, the ways in which the media produces both images and information can lead to 'distortion', but also offers the chance to turn the world into 'a visible public stage', where individuals can image different opportunities for themselves, and connect to others around the world, even if only voyeuristically. Today, it is possible to bear witness to both the joys and the suffering of others around the world, allowing both a superficial engagement and an opportunity for connection. In this way, globalisation is perhaps the biggest driving force of global citizenship education, but individuals also play a key role in driving the concept into the education realm. Indeed, the concept of global citizenship also has a place in the imaginaries of many individuals. As the boundaries between the real and the imagined continue to dissipate, we are bearing witness to an unprecedented imagining of individuals and communities, united in possibilities, hopes, and dreams, moving in global flows and scapes.

Drawing upon Benedict Anderson's conceptualisations of the nation as an imagined political community that is both 'inherently limited and sovereign' (1991, p.6), Appadurai (1996, 2000) declares that the imagining of borderless communities reflect the modern condition, with increasing numbers of individuals and communities imagining shared opportunities and futures. Appadurai reflects on the analytical trope of disjuncture, warning us that new forms of cultural economy must be viewed as complex, overlapping and disjunctive. For Appadurai, the 'central feature of global culture today' is the endless interplay of sameness and difference, which includes both positive outcomes and (with more emphasis) the destructive struggles of homogenizing states and particularizing of ethnic movements.

For both Anderson and Appadurai, individuals increasingly appear to live in 'imagined worlds': unreal and imagined spaces where they are able to position themselves and their relations with others in a way that subverts local spaces and restrictions. Although the imaginations of individuals continue to be mediated by the confines of the communities and circumstances in which they live, Appadurai (1996) talks about the growth of this imaginary realm, and the development of both individual and collective imaginings. Appadurai terms the merging of these imaginings communities of sentiment: spaces in which intersections of opportunity can unite individuals 'to imagine and feel things

together' (p. 8). Migration, international law and erosion in the sovereignty of nations are highlighted as negative outcomes of globalisation, yet increased technology; work, transport and infrastructure have also led to connectedness and a vision to imagine and pursue opportunities. There is perhaps no better way to understand Appadurai's conceptualisations of shared spaces and communities than reflecting upon the current movement of peoples. 2015 and 2016 have sparked levels of migration not seen since the second World War. Imagined realms of possibility, shared across and within communities, offer the chance for something more: escape, survival, dreams, and futures.

With many individuals now sharing dual and multiple nationalities, either in the form of citizenship or of connectedness to additional cultures (Carter, 1997, 2013), the changing condition of our world necessitates a set of values that do not ignore the complexity of the transnational condition (Appiah, 2006), and within this paradigm the concept of global citizenship offers an imagined response for individuals and communities. Global citizenship is not 'real' *per se*; none of us have a global passport or political association of all nations across the globe. But where global citizenship intersects with citizenship narratives, with the rights associated with national identity (Shachar and Hirschl, 2007) is regarding the sense of belonging afforded by sharing in the rights of sovereign nations. Global citizenship therefore builds upon the notions of belonging and connectedness associated with citizenship theory, developing from the constructs of cosmopolitanism and transnationalism. Again, returning to Kant's universal history and cosmopolitan law constructs, global citizenship offers a conceptual way for individuals to acknowledge the shared connectedness of members of the human race, and in doing, acknowledge an 'inherent sense of globality' or 'consciousness of the world as a single place' (Robertson 1992, p. 132). Subsequently, as society becomes more connected, either through a shared desire to remedy societal problems or through widespread and universal provision of social capital (Marshall, 2011) so too does the manifesting of global identification and global citizenship.

Global citizenship is seen to extend beyond individual positionality, and prompts us to reflect on the actions of the nation state, our local forms of governance, and ourselves as political actors. Yet in contrast with many of the idealised definitions and enactments of global citizenship as described by recent researchers, Kant's vision of the cosmopolitan ideal is complex in its modern-day translation to the field of global citizenship. Indeed, there are many parallels in the uses of global citizenship within the cosmopolitan world, and Kant's

concept of cosmopolitan law. One example is the ways in which the 'hospitality' offered within and across borders subverts the opportunities and positioning of individuals, and problematises the notion of a global community with shared responsibility. For Kant, hospitality is seen as the rights afforded to strangers to be spared hostility when entering another's territory (Benhabib, 2004; Cheah, 2006). Yet entering another's territory without the risk of persecution is somewhat contradictory with notions of global citizenship as a utopian ideal. Indeed, Kant's positioning is particularly problematic for those who dream of connectedness that extends beyond the borders of the nation state, the opportunity to participate politically on both local and global levels and exist within and beyond the current realms of possibility. Kant speaks of hospitality, but he also acknowledges that those seeking refuge can be turned away, as long as rejecting individuals seeking 'hospitality' will not lead to death. Kant speaks of the cosmopolitan right to travel as separate as the right to make a new nation a permanent home (Benhabib, 2004). Yet adherence to such ideals are challenging in modern times, where forced migration, displacement, statelessness and rejection of desperate refugees are increasingly common (Cheah, 2006). As such, the cosmopolitan ideal has become both increasingly unattainable for those without adequate capital. Furthermore, fear of migration, religious difference, and cultural norms mean that although Kant's hopeful cosmopolitan ideal is perhaps the most influential upon the development of global citizenship, we must consider its possibilities and limitations: allowing some of us to dream of more, and some of us to engage in a way that marks concern for others- but only at our choosing, with little chance for reciprocity and equality for all.

This is an important point, as there are now many thousands of people on the move, and more are to come. However, if we also consider the experiences of refugees and the buttressing of nation state borders, there has been a growth of non-citizenship spaces, including refugee camps and detention facilities, which strip detainees of rights afforded to citizens. This bolsters a separation between citizens and 'others'. In this context, it is useful to consider the interpretation and positioning of global citizenship in light of increased mobility, migration, displacement and transnationalism. Just as information and communication technology has allowed us to be more connected than ever before, technologies of movement allow these individuals to consider other possibilities. We see a globalisation of the desire to move, taking the forms of global tourism, labour requirements, and the globalisation of economy. We are all becoming migrants; migration is becoming a norm. So what meaning does global citizenship have for those individuals who do not self

committedly declare themselves to be global citizens, and become global citizens of circumstance rather than election? As a political and legal concept, citizenship is linked to the idea of the nation state. But in the age of globalisation, older categories of citizenship as tied to the nation state are subject to transition and change. The role of the welfare state and neoliberalist policy also means that being a good citizen is about self-investment and self-value. Yet as Birdsall, Meyer and Sowa (2013, p.2) note, the politics, rules, and institutions of cooperation among nations have not kept up with the demands from global citizens for changes in the global political order:

> Whether norms and policies can make the global politics of managing the global economy more effective, more legitimate, and more responsive to the needs of the bottom half of the world's population, for whom life remains harsh, remains to be seen. There is some cause for optimism, however: citizens everywhere are becoming more aware of and active in seeking changes in the global norms and rules that could make the global system and the global economy fairer.

For those with access to adequate capital, citizenship is up for sale, and belonging to a new country can be as simple as a process of investment, employment, or even participation in education. However, although there is an increased awareness of the potential for global citizenship to operate as bound to notions of collective good, 'the economic bias of globalisation' means that 'taking responsibility becomes yet more difficult' (Bauman, 2001, p. 52). This is particularly the case as this economic emphasis on the collective good has been promoted by the media, corporations, and the broader market. In this context, the forces driving global citizenship can be both beneficial and harmful. As Dobson (as cited in Andreotti, 2014) argues, the globalisation of trade also creates ties based on 'chains of cause and effect that prompt obligations of justice, rather than sympathy, pity or beneficence' (p. 178). Here, as Andreotti (2014, p3) notes, 'the concepts of a 'global citizen', interdependence and world-wide interconnectedness that often accompany unexamined notions of a common humanity in global citizenship education' are challenged by Dobson (2005), who asserts that hegemonic global citizenship narratives do not 'take sufficient account of unequal power relations' (Shiva, 1998, p. 231 cited in Dobson, 2005, p. 261):

> The 'global' in the dominant discourse is the political space in which a particular dominant local seeks global control, and frees itself of local, national and

> international restrains. The global does not represent the universal human interest, it represents a particular local and parochial interest which has been globalised through the scope of its reach. The seven most powerful countries, the G7, dictate global affairs, but the interests that guide them remain narrow, local and parochial.

Citizens are frequently urged to 'think globally and act locally' – but individual citizens have little choice in the matter. Beck (2000) argues that local citizens of nation states are caught up in the processes of globalisation whether or not they act consciously. The neologism 'glocalisation' is adopted to reflect the idea that globalisation and localisation 'may be two sides of the same coin' involving a process of 'world-wide restratification' which establishes a new socio-cultural hierarchy on a worldwide scale. Globalisation and localisation are not only two aspects of the same thing, 'they are at once the driving forces and expressions of a new polarisation and stratification of the world population into globalised rich and localised poor' (Beck, 2000, p. 55). It is this complexity and uses of narratives surrounding global citizenship that make understanding the concept so problematic and threaten to undermine some of the more altruistic motives of agencies attempting to enact global citizenship education.

Agencies Promoting Global Citizenship and Global Citizenship Education

The normative use of cosmopolitanism as a historic form of global citizenship is not the only enactment of the broader concept of global citizenship itself. Indeed, in the cosmopolitan form of 'global citizenship' originally discussed by Kant, we see an iteration of global citizenship that is perhaps more destructive than productive in modern incarnations, that focus instead on community responsibility. Organisations such as UNICEF, Amnesty International, and Oxfam have clearly moved away from cosmopolitan imaginings in order to advocate responsible forms of global citizenship within social and educational realms, and in this latest iteration, global citizenship aims to support shared responsibility in a way that marks meaning and difference to those affected by injustice or inequity. It also allows for connectedness between organisational and individual forms of global citizenship.

On September 25, 2015, the United Nations General Assembly formally adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Among the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that aim to end poverty and hunger, protect the planet, and ensure prosperity and

equity for all, is Goal 4 — Ensuring inclusive and quality education for all and promoting lifelong learning. Within this goal, target 4.7 specifies education for global citizenship: By 2030, this target outlines an aim for all learners to 'acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development' (Sustainable Development Goals, United Nations, 2015).

Global citizenship education (GCED) within the SDGs reflects the efforts of many other organisations, but across organisations, global citizenship education is most often considered to be as a form of civic learning that involves students' participation in community projects that aim to address global issues of a social, political, economic, or environmental nature. As outlined in the SDGs, global citizenship education relates to a form of 'global consciousness'; a consideration of the moral aspect of global issues, and the development of 'global competencies', or skills meant to enable learners to participate in changing and developing the world. The UN, UNESCO, Amnesty International and Oxfam have all drawn upon global citizenship narratives in their campaigns, with social media widely used to promote social change and shared responsibility. In addition, campaigns run by private foundations around the world, including the prominent Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, and regional and international organisations, have all aspired to the development of global citizenship in education. Oxfam's guide for schools within the United Kingdom reflects the desire to encourage participation for the greater good, and more recently, the Program for International School Assessment (PISA), run by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) has added a cultural competence assessment to measure items associated with global citizenship education competency. It appears that global citizenship education will continue to be elaborated by educational and social agencies around the world.

At the same time, the principles of global citizenship have also been used by corporations as market forces, and these forces drive the need to understand global citizenship education in new ways. Neoliberalism and new forms of capitalism drive the notion of market logic, or understanding where markets belong, as discussed by Sandel (2009). Indeed, understanding where market logic comes from is central to the moral notion of global citizenship and global citizenship education, particularly in understanding the ways in

which global citizenship is positioned. Today, the principles of global citizenship are widely used by corporations operating as broader market forces, and the corporate positioning of global citizenship is increasingly evident (Shallcross & Robinson, 2006).

The idea of global citizenship, and often interchangeably, the concepts of cosmopolitanism and transnationalism, are reflected in advertising campaigns for banking corporations, mining companies, clothing companies, and insurance companies (Scherer & Palazzo, 2008; Shallcross & Robinson, 2006), promoting products through the prospect of 'belonging' to a wider global community. Global citizenship is used to sell; and is now reflected in advertising campaigns from Walmart and its interest in the international corporate market, to a globalisation of economy in which banks such as HSBC draw heavily on the idea of cosmopolitanism and of belonging to a global community[5] to promote goods and services. The result is an embracing of market logic, in which social and political formations are in conflict with the altruistic discourse of global interconnectivity.

These multiple interpretations of global citizenship and global connectedness extend to the education realm. Accordingly, as educational organisations and systems increasingly work towards supporting a cosmopolitan middle class (Ball, 2003), global citizenship education has become increasingly appealing. Thus, as global citizenship education becomes increasingly popular amongst policy makers, practitioners, and educational systems and sectors (Dill, 2013), global connectedness is also used for marketing and promotion. Google 'global citizenship school' and a myriad of schools promoting the motives of global citizenship appear. Global connectivity is now seen as an opportunity, to expand from an exhausted local market to a global market (see Marx, 2001).

But as Sandel (2009) warns, it is such market logic that crowds out moral value in a variety of ways and, in so doing, changes the meaning and purpose of goods and their assigned values. For the concept of global citizenship, capitalism and market logic is central, but is increasingly viewed in consumptive terms, but not with reference to moral possibilities. Thus, when considering the impact of agencies on the achievement of global citizenship education, there is also a growing sentiment of the notion of global citizenship education as a hegemonic construct driven by western forces (see Andreotti, 2014; Spivak, 1990). Demaine (2002, p.6) differentiates between globalisation from above and from below, arguing education is implicated in both:

[5]See : https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/film/hsbc_global_citizen

> Globalisation from above involves those market-oriented tendencies that are dominated by transnational corporations and international banks operating in collaboration with leading nation states – typically the G7. Globalisation from below involves those social forces, movements, voluntary, non-government organisation that seek to promote 'global civil society'; a community beyond the territorial state committed to human rights, economic fairness, social justice and environmental sustainability. It is tempting to regard 'education' as best placed on this side of the equation, but it must be borne in mind that international bankers and the managers of transnational corporations are also the beneficiaries of 'education'.

Global citizenship, as a way to connect to others around the world and be a part of something bigger, is presented as a desirable and elite way to connect with the world around us. If we look also at research examining the corruption of public goods and community organisations as a result of neoliberalism (see Putnam, 2001; Sandel, 2010), the uses of global citizenship by agencies positions the concept as both aspirational and open for misuse by market actors that seek to benefit from the promotion of connectedness.

Global Citizenship Education in Australian Schools

Education is influential in connecting individuals, cultures and communities across borders (Hanson, 2008; Papastergiadis, 2000; Vertovec, 1999, 2009) and acts as 'major driver of the global mobility of people, especially from developing countries to developed English-speaking countries' (Rizvi, 2009, p. 269). In Australia, global citizenship education continues to build on the tradition of multiculturalism. While multiculturalism is centred on the cultural and linguistic diversity within the nation state, global citizenship education is often linked to increased student mobility, transnationalism, and programs and practices that mark opportunity for students to directly engage with the global, rather than the local. Yet global citizenship education also operates as an invention aligned with neoliberalism, and as a dividing concept outside and within schools. Specifically, global citizenship education – within the IB, affords Australian students with an enviable pathway to future tertiary engagement and individual opportunity (Rizvi, 2010).

As Tarc (2011) has iterated, the conditions of possibility in transnationalising spaces of education have rendered education, and in particular international forms of education, to

be increasingly desirable and useful. Today, education plays a critical role in raising awareness of global issues that impact upon society today (Davis, Evan and Reid, 2005; Lapayese, 2003; Su, Bullivant and Holt, 2013), and is increasingly seen as a means in which to support the imaginings of individuals across borders. Yet the terrain of education is not only about the provision of a holistic education that allows students to learn about the world around them, it also offers opportunity for augmented post school trajectories, especially those that lead to increased chances of high quality tertiary participation and achievement. It is in this context that the use of global citizenship becomes complex as it attempts to acknowledge both established cosmopolitan orientations and respond to the transnationalising aspirations and dispositions of the globalised world. As a result, global citizenship education is increasingly espoused as a pathway to 'bring shared values to life' (United Nations, 2014), and curricula reform efforts have been undertaken in order 'to achieve better national alignment with, and positioning within, the knowledge economy, and to meet the human capital demands of the globalised markets in 21st century capitalism' (Marginson, 1999, as cited in Doherty, 2009, p.3).

Yet national curriculum reforms continue to be negotiated locally and driven by national agendas (Henry, Lingard, Rizvi, Taylor, 2001; Savage and O'Connor, 2014) despite their enactment taking place in transnationalising times. While the introduction of the Australian National Curriculum (ACARA, 2015) acknowledges a need for Australian students to have increased access to a curriculum that fosters and encourages diversity (ACARA, 2015), it is also important to reflect upon the changes that have taken place in Australian education policy during the course of this thesis. Perhaps most relevant to the broader discussion of global citizenship education in Australia in the period of focus upon Asian-Australian relations, known as the 'Asian Century'.

In 2012, 'The White Paper; Australia in the Asian Century' (2012) saw the first real effort of the Labour government at the national level to strategically direct and focus Australia's position within the Asian region and included a central focus on national education policy in response to reforms such as the much publicised Gonski report (2011). As the White Paper noted, 'Australia will be a more prosperous and resilient nation, fully part of the region and open to the world' (p. 5), reflecting the efforts of the Australian government to connect Australia to Asia. As noted above, these goals are primarily educational in nature, and reflect the desire for young Australians to share connection with our Asian neighbours. By 2013, the emphasis upon 'the Asian century' was a renewed source of focus for the

Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership (AITSL), who looked to the development of Asia literacy in the context of the Australian curriculum (p.5):

> For Australian students, Asia literacy is defined in *The Melbourne Declaration* as the capacity 'to relate to and communicate across cultures, especially the cultures and countries of Asia. The Australian Curriculum describes Asia literacy as teaching and learning that provides students with a knowledge of 'Asian societies, cultures, beliefs and environments, and the connections between the peoples of Asia, Australia, and the rest of the world' and 'the skills to communicate and engage with the peoples of Asia so they can effectively live, work and learn in the region'.

The Asia Education Foundation (2016) has also reiterated 'the need to build demand for studies of Asia, Asian languages and the development of intercultural understanding' (p.6). This focus upon language, culture, engagement, and the environment mirrors many of the elements proponents of global citizenship education also advocate for. However, much like the complexities involved with enacting global citizenship education, the realities of global connectedness, and in the context of Australia in 2012, Asia literacy remains elusive.

The requirement for building capacity in Asia literacy applies as much to teachers and school leaders as it does to parents, students, and the general community. Against a backdrop of controversy over school funding, education reforms, and sliding PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) scores for Australian students, the aims of the Asia century remain to be achieved. In particular, the development of key skills that seek to prepare students to be Asia literate, in particular language and increased student achievement, have witnessed the aims of the Asian century as difficult dream to realise, as Mascitelli and O'Mahony (2014, p.540) discuss:

> The White Paper's ambitions for national education, from early childhood to tertiary education, are acknowledged as forming the building blocks to access the benefits of the Asian Century. Recent Government reports… have concluded that our schools are failing in many of the basics but especially in language, literacy and numeracy (Gonski Report, 2011). School reform is required across the entire system and that system is charged with the aim of placing Australia in the top five schooling systems in the world by 2025. At the same time many of our Asian neighbours (the Shanghai region of China, South Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong) already have a world class school system… While this might suggest that the educational aspirations

> in the White Paper are beyond our means, school performance in the area of languages is even less promising. Australia's first ambassador to China, Stephen Fitzgerald has described Labor's promise of providing Asian language classes for every school student as a delusion… This being the case, the cultural and structural changes destined to occur within our school system under the White Paper are unlikely to be achieved.

In addition to the structural challenges of Australia's education system, it is also worth considering the policy context for the enactment of curricula in Australian schools. Australia's federalised education system continues to evolve, and the movement towards a privatisation of the school system continues to intensify. Against a construct of neo-liberal narratives of school choice, the 'anxious middle classes' have been enabled to pursue 'strategies of closure'' (Ball, 2003, as cited in Doherty, 2009, p.3) around privileged spaces and elite markets of 'educational distinction' (Ball, Bowe & Gewirtz, 1996). Indeed, availability of individual choice has become a 'micro-mechanism for macro-level class reproduction' (Ball, 2003, p. 15), where the availability of school choices has effectively 'produced a stratified market that reinforces relative class position' (Doherty, 2009, p.3). In consideration of these privileged enclaves, we now see parents and their students increasingly positioned 'within a social network … against a background of material and social differences' (Ball, Bowe & Gewirtz, 1996, p. 93). Although parental choices have seen stratification within different educational settings (Ball & Vincent, 1998; Teese, 2000), we now see an increased awareness amongst both the choice of school, and the curricula that is offered within it. Teese and Polesel (2003, as cited in Doherty, 2009, p.4) draw our attention to the class implications of curriculum choice, emphasising the ways in which particular kinds of knowledge are valued above others within the Australian education system, ultimately widening the gap in social structures and educational inequalities.

Returning to the idea of global citizenship in education, it is now useful to consider the different imaginings of global citizenship in schools, and the ways in which the different definitions of global citizenship are mediated and enacted within Australian schools. These tensions exist in reference to both the national curriculum and the International Baccalaureate in Australian schools, where positioning of curricula as local rather than the global (Casinader, 2015) warrant attention. Such concerns became public after the 2014 Review of the Australian National Curriculum, commissioned by the Australian

Government's Department of Education and Training (2014) and carried out by conservative educationists, Kevin Donnelly and Kenneth Wiltshire (2014). In the review, concerns over Australian education's shift towards a more diverse curriculum were highlighted by the reviewers, who espoused a restricted Judeo Christian, Westernized view of knowledge and learning that privileged a very specific and confined focus on the local over the global or the transnational. Subsequently, although the Australian Curriculum reflects an effort to acknowledge and support students for a changing world, it is still a national, rather than transnational curriculum, and it can be seen as a 'protective reinforcement of a community centred on Euro-American conceptions, in which 'Western' principles dominate at the cost of acknowledging 'the Other'' (Casinader 2015, p.31). Such concerns over global narratives and resultant curricula in Australian education echo both the criticisms of the rise of the International Baccalaureate in the United States, as articulated by Bunnell (2014), and broader political concern over the notion of globality in Australia.

However, concerns over global citizenship education are not unique to the Australian context. Nancy Fraser (1992) spoke of a 'democratic public', amidst a host of exclusions and assumptions, and in the education realm, the outcomes of inclusion and exclusion are overt- some flourish, while others do not, and inequality permeates education the world over. The fantasies of free speech, and the capability of all citizens to debate offer a premise for schools who wish to include the notion of global citizenship, yet these fantasies are created in social spaces, and binaries emerge as a result. Curricula, pedagogy and schools are viewed as vehicles for a better future, tied to the ways in which citizenship is imagined. But while citizenship is both tied to the nation state and transcends it, global citizenship is connected to a wider social imaginary, educating about others (Dobson, 2003; Marshall, 2011). Global citizenship and the cosmopolitan imaginary harbour hope, but also provokes connotations of neoliberalism, social divisions, marginalisation, and stereotyping, particularly in post-colonial forms (Andreotti, 2010).

Although the concept of global citizenship is not new, as discussed, there have been increasing calls for students to develop a set of global or transnational competencies (Noddings, 2005) which will prepare them for participation in an increasingly connected and interdependent world, filled with cultural difference and diversity. While studies have examined national citizenship education as a foundation in most education systems, there is increasing emphasis in Westernized spaces of education upon the notion of global

citizenship in education (Hahn, 2015, Ramirez & Myer, 2012). Accordingly, over the past decade, as Schattle (2008) notes, academic and extracurricular programs that aim to promote global citizenship or create global citizens have flourished in English speaking nations, with such initiatives evident in schools, universities, and private organisations. Specifically, while increased connectedness may have led to enhanced interest in the concept of global citizenship (Carter, 2013), the application of global citizenship narratives in education has been steadily increasing since the 1970's, particularly in English speaking nations such as the United States (Schattle, 2008) and Australia. As Schattle has observed, in university study, extracurricular holiday programs, and school tasks within the United States, global citizenship narratives have often been linked to enhanced knowledge of the world, and student understanding of their place within it (2008, p.94).

For transnationalising spaces of education, the uses of global citizenship narratives have become increasingly evident as a response mechanism to the changing culture of schools and their students (Andreotti, 2006), as well as a way for education providers to capitalise upon the mobility of individuals (Tarc, 2011). In light of the dichotomy between the interpretation of global citizenship narratives, Martha Nussbaum (1996) has perhaps provided the most compelling argument for the importance of global citizenship in universities, emphasising the need for an application of the Socratic vision of the 'examined life', for students to participate in overlapping political, ethnic, religious, linguist, historical, professional, and gendered circles (p.6-7). Nussbaum (1996, p.6-7) offers the idea of 'world citizenship' as a means by which to widen access to education, while creating communities of shared responsibility and identity:

> Our task as citizens of the world, and as educators who prepare people to be citizens of the world, will be to "draw the circles somehow toward the centre", making all human beings like our fellow city-dwellers. In other words, we need not give up our special affections and identifications, whether national or ethnic or religious; but we should work to make all human beings part of our community of dialogue and concern.

Returning to the notion of global citizenship as a way to mitigate intolerance (as discussed by Lyons et al, 2012), social policies and perspectives in developed nations continue to be underpinned by global citizenship narratives that celebrate diversity and multiculturalism (p. 361-2). Efforts to promote social initiatives that respond to difference are well served by

the education realm: in this space, schools operate as places where great amounts of linguistic and cultural diversity are evident, where students display connections to various parts of the world, as well as to constructs such as religion, that transcend national boundaries and reflect and acknowledge a myriad of dispositions. Subsequently, some spaces of education are now actively attempting to accommodate cultural diversity and affirm diverse student identities, with programs and curricula choices now promoting facilitation of global understanding (Oxley & Morris, 2013). In this realm, the imagined value of belonging to a broader global citizenry is also being increasingly used to appeal to and engage students and thus, global citizenship and international education are increasingly seen as highly useful, not only by students, but also by schools, universities, employers and organisations (Tarc, 2011). Capitalising upon the perspective of international forms of education as desirable, universities and schools have now moved to embrace the notion of global citizenship education, as advocated in recent research (Andreotti, Jeferess, Pashby, Rowe, Tarc & Taylor, 2010; Tully; 2008). Extending from conceptualisations of cosmopolitanism and more recently, global citizenship in social and political forms, global citizenship education continues to grow. Davies (2006), one of the most prolific researchers in the area of global citizenship in education, often cites the Oxfam framework (2006, as referenced in Tarc, 2012) for global citizenship education in response to the concept of the individual as a global citizen.

Although a comprehensive and agreed upon definition remains elusive, Oxfam's framework is commonly used as a reference in school curricula and practice. It is therefore important to consider that although Oxfam's principles for global citizenship education are often referenced in the field (Andreotti; 2006; Tarc, 2011; Tully; 2008), adherence to such a politically driven mechanism is not the only means by which schools can promote global citizenship outcomes. Indeed, the promotion of practices and mechanism that support the use or development of global citizenship education is acknowledged in a number of programs, most prominently offered in the United States (Lewin, 2010), the United Kingdom (Ibrahim, 2005; Mannion, Biesta, Priestley, & Ross, 2011) and in Australia, with the policy objectives of the Australian government linking both students and institutions 'across the borders of nation states' (Vertovec, 1999, p.2).

But as Clarke and Savage (2017) note, the lack of clarity around what global citizenship really is, and how it can be taught or attained, poses significant problems for researchers, policy makers and educators who seek to further develop global citizenship as part of a more

global approach to schooling reform. As the authors illustrate, understanding global citizenship is problematic for at both a policy and practitioner level, and it because of the disparate interpretations that global citizenship remains an unachieved and intangible ideal. Clarke and Savage's research is perhaps the timeliest commentary on the problematic nature of interpreting and enacting global citizenship, and the complexities in achieving the humanistic goals that global citizenship narratives seek to explore.

Broadening the Policies of Multiculturalism

In Australia, global citizenship is also tied to multiculturalism, in that both make connections to notions of interculturality and interdependence. In multiculturalism, the local is brought into a conversation related to the global, and the logic of interculturality on a national level extends to the broader notion of global citizenship. However, attempts at GCE in Australia cannot be understood without knowledge of Australia's multicultural society and some of the successes and challenges our multicultural national project has experienced in the past forty to fifty years.

As Kymlicka (2004) notes, Australia is one of the most multicultural societies in the world. Since the 1970s, the introduction of multiculturalism has helped to maintain an ethnically diverse society and encouraged social cohesion, however, multicultural policies and ongoing immigration have also led to issues such as racism and discrimination. It is therefore significant to examine the issue of multiculturalism in Australia, in order to understand the ways in which integration and social responsibility, issues shared with global citizenship narratives, continue to manifest in Australian society today.

After World War Two, a number of migrants from European countries arrived in Australia and it was significant to manage the diverse population with different languages and backgrounds (Galligan & Roberts, 2004, p.73). Australian governments focused on assimilation in the 1950s and the 1960s under the White Australia Policy and have started to address multiculturalism to minimize inequalities and maintain cultures of ethnic groups in the Australian society since the early 1970s (Abbasi-Shavazi & McDonald, 2000; Ang & Stratton 1998; Galligan & Roberts, 2004; Poynting & Mason, 2008). Compared to North America, and most closely, Canada, Australian multiculturalism is less formal; however, the ideology of multiculturalism has been applied to official policies since 1973, when the Labor government enacted the first non-discriminatory immigration policy (Wieviorka,

1998). As a result, the 1978 Galbally report, which emphasized the importance of ethnic minorities' cultural maintenance without discrimination, marked an important policy shift (Cope et al., 1991; Krieken, 2012).

The overall aim of Australian multiculturalism was the development of cohesive society reinforced by diverse cultures (Galligan & Roberts, 2004). Economically, the multiculturalism intended to improve trade relationships between Australia and other countries especially Asian countries by utilizing migrants' linguistic and cultural potentiality (Wieviorka, 1998). Australian multiculturalism has been not only for an ideology, public service for ethnic minorities, and economic interests but also for a prescription of the national identity rebuilding after the White Australia Policy (Ang & Stratton 1998; Galligan & Roberts, 2004). From the mid-1970s, assimilation became implausible, and the introduction of multiculturalism led to increasing ethnic diversity (Cope, Castles & Kalantzis 1991). The number of European migrants especially from the United Kingdom has decreased and the number of migrants from non-English-speaking counties such as China has increased rapidly (Abbasi-Shavazi & McDonald, 2000; Hartwich, 2011). By the 1990s, approximately three quarter of the annual intake of migrants were from non-English-speaking countries (Abbasi-Shavazi & McDonald, 2000), and as a result of social transformations, the issue of social integration and cohesion became a central discussion at policy level (Cope et al., 1991). Cultural diversity in communities especially between dominant Anglo Australian communities, and newly formed Asian groups produced conflicts, and in turn, high levels of unemployment in Australian society reinforced the conflict more that native-born people criticized migrants , who they worried would 'steal' their jobs (Poynting & Mason, 2008, p.235). Further, and although Australian multiculturalism had become a key component of national policies, certain opponents to multiculturalism began to appear on the political stage. In the 1990s, politicians such as Pauline Hanson[6] supported a return to a more homogeneous society, demanding an abolishment of multiculturalism, backed by a significant numbers of supporters (Ang & Stratton 1998; Bulbeck, 2004). John Howard, who was Prime Minister from 1996 to 2007, also did not support multiculturalism (Joppke, 2013; Poynting & Mason, 2008).

Thus, and although since the 1970s Australian multicultural policies have contributed to enhanced social integration, the Australian Government has continued to focus on

[6] Pauline Hanson is a right-wing politician. Pauline Hanson's extremist views on race, immigration and Islam have been widely discussed in Australia (Gibbs, 2001)

patriotism by respecting Australian citizenship instead of promoting multiculturalism. Like the United States and parts of Europe and the United Kingdom, a trend towards nationalism has been evident since the mid-2000s (Joppke, 2013; Moran, 2011), largely provoked by the terrorist attacks on 11th September, 2001, in the United States of America. As a consequence, tensions towards Muslim migrants and social cohesion and anti-migrant movement continue to occur internationally, but also in Australia (Batrouney & Goldust, 2005; Joppke, 2013; Tavan, 2009). Eligible migrants who pass the Australian citizenship test must embrace the 'Australian way of life', which indicates national belonging through official language proficiency and knowledge culturally, socially, and politically (Vertovec, 2010, p.91). In turn, multicultural policy in Australia has once again become more assimilative and superficial, with racism and Anglo privilege surfacing once more (Dunn & Nelson, 2011).

However, attitudes towards Australian multiculturalism differ across genders, ages, education, and cultural backgrounds. Although over eighty percent of people in Australia perceive benefits from cultural diversity, many individuals also purport negative attitudes towards the government, particularly in regard to financial support for the cultural maintenance of ethnic minorities (Chiswick & Miller, 1999; Markus, 2011). Anglo-Australians in particular tend to recognize multiculturalism as a threat, rather than a benefit, while migrants from non-English-speaking countries support multiculturalism, immigration, and cultural diversity (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010).

Today, although Australian society has become multicultural and legislation and multicultural policies have continued to evolve, attitudes towards immigrants, and responding politics, have replicated the power of 'white' privilege (Forrest, Lean & Dunn, 2016; Mellor, 2004) , and this white privilege is still apparent. In Australia, 'white' privilege still exists and discrimination and prejudice to ethnic minorities from native-born populations still occurs (Ang et al, 2006), provoking a chain reaction of racism in Australian society. Indeed, many Anglo Australians still perceive ethnic minorities as less desirable migrants when compared to those with similar cultural backgrounds (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010; Hage, 2002).

Returning to the notion of global citizenship, the policies of multiculturalism are an important consideration in the barriers to enactments of global citizenship in Australia. Indeed, with the continuing presence of racism, and the rise of populist parties such as *Pauline Hanson's One Nation,* who often seek to capitalize upon perceived neglect of local

interests, anxieties over the use of globally oriented discourse and even the term 'global citizenship' continue to rise, as discussed by Hans Schattle (2008, p.157) in his case study of former Australian Democrats[7] party leader Meg Lees:

> It's a term that best would be described as selectively used, because it's so easy to misinterpret– not being Australian, or being more un-Australian or anti-Australian or whatever, rather than thinking globally... It would be very easy during an election campaign to basically imply that by looking globally, you are not thinking nationally; you are not thinking about your own people; you're worrying too much about others...

Hage (2014) states that Australian racism is not always overt but more casual that is difficult to point out and exist in everyday life. Therefore, multiculturalism in communities is a significantly complex issue, but there are gaps in the degree of multiculturalism acceptance, and racism causes cultural separateness in communities. Nationalism and jingoism are also important concerns, and these considerations are crucial background elements when reflecting upon the enactments of global citizenship narratives in Australian education spaces.

Cultural diversity and difference cause separateness between ethnic groups (Ang et al., 2006), and while younger generations tend to show positive attitudes towards multiculturalism and cultural diversity, many young people have experienced racism in their communities in daily life, resulting in a considerable paradox (Ang et al., 2006). In schools and education spaces in Australia, reproductions of racism and 'white' dominant culture are often standard, and racism remains a considerable issue in Australia (Dunn & Nelson, 2011), and one of the biggest reasons that the policies of multiculturalism have not yet achieved their desired goals. Nearly seventy percent of secondary students have experienced racism at school (Forrest et al., 2016), and everyday racism at school is also augmented by the curriculum, which continues to reflect the value of the white dominant culture and the teachers' normalization that 'white' is the norm (Rahman, 2013). There are implicit rules, standards, and expectations which construct students' learning procedures and communication in classroom and at school grounded on the 'white' dominant culture

[7] The Australian Democrats is an Australian political party in existence since 1977. It was Australia's largest minor party from its formation in 1977 through to 2004 and frequently held the balance of power in the Senate during that time. It was formally deregistered in 2016 for not having sufficient members.

(Rahman, 2013). These hidden standards force to assimilate indigenous and migrant students into the dominant culture, belief, and values and potentially lose their original identities.

Further, nationalism in Australian schools in inherently linked to racism and reinforcement of culture and status. In Australia, children continue to experience racism, and schooling is regarded one of the political procedures to reinforce the 'white' dominant culture and values over indigenous and ethnic minorities' cultures (Forrest et al., 2016; Rahman, 2013). And failing to connect with local people inside and outside of the campus renders many international and transnational students frustrated in Australia. International students are more likely to experience difficulty in adjusting than local students; however, this is not only because international students lack interaction with local people but also negative interaction with local students (Gunawardena & Wilson, 2012). Indeed, studies have reported that young people from non-Anglo backgrounds often perceive that they are not fully accepted by the Australian mainstream culture (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010). Gunawardena and Wilson (2012) suggest that this negative interaction is not caused by lower English language skills of international students, but because the relationships between Anglo-Australian students and international students are affected by the historic White Australia policy and Anglo privilege. Yet in spite of all we know about multiculturalism and education in an era of diversity, currently education policies have failed to respond to the demands of multiculturalism, perhaps driven by policies that seek to exclude the other, echoing Andreotti's (2011) warning against an 'uncritical approach to multiculturalism':

> [Uncritical approaches] reinforce ideas of surface culture …, which result in the cultural or 'ethnic' homogenisation of groups of peoples, foreclosing hybridity and heterogeneity in both northern and southern cultures and identities…. although this approach to Southern cultures can create the potential for respect for (generally homogenous) Southern perspectives and ontologies, it does not open the possibility for the attribution of equal worth to 'different' individuals, social groups, ontologies and/or epistemologies, as the parameters for validity and usefulness of knowledge/ontologies and notions of deservedness are associated with an idea oft associated with an idea of progress that is seamless, linear and (Western) knowledge driven. (p. 153)

It is perhaps because of continued ethnocentrism and white privilege in Australia that critical and morally productive global citizenship education is needed more than ever. Indeed, despite increasing levels of student connectedness and shared interactions, much of the teaching and learning that continues to take place in Australia focuses on local issues and interests (Casinader, 2015), rather than developing the construct of what Rizvi and Lingard (2010) term a 'global imagination'. The notion of such imagination proves a useful point from which to analyse the imagination of individuals and groups in specific spaces, such as the Australian education realm. Here, developing an understanding of difference alongside a 'global' perspective is critical for students and is 'no longer a luxury but a necessity for survival in the new millennium' (Pike & Selby, 2000, p.2), so that individual 'views of the world are not ethnocentric, stereotypical or otherwise limited by a narrow or distorted point of view' (Evans & Reynolds, 2004, p.7). However, neoconservative responses of policy makers, regarding education and curriculum choice, continues to impact upon the interpretation and enactment of international curricula such as the International Baccalaureate, resulting in significant obstacles in relation to the use of global citizenship discourses within the education space (Casinader, 2015; Hickey, 2015; Zajda, 2015; Zajda & Henderson, 2015).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have reviewed relevant theory and research pertaining to the notions of political, social and educational forms of global citizenship in the education realm and situated my research amongst contested views on what global citizenship is, and what it can be. I have also considered the way in which global citizenship is being promoted by agencies and corporations, as an aspirational for a return to community, and at the same time, as a tool of market forces. In this context, education, as a public good, has taken up the call for global citizenship education to respond to the connectedness of humans, and the disruptive forces of neoliberalism. Yet understanding the concept of global citizenship in schools remain unclear, and thus, global citizenship remains an abstract, philosophical idea, as Clarke and Savage (2017, p.405) discuss:

> Despite widespread support for the development of global citizenship, and even though an abundance of policy ideas and educational practices associated with it have emerged, wildly different definitions and understandings of the concept exist. There is also significant uncertainty regarding the distinction between global

> citizenship and other related concepts such as 'cosmopolitanism' and 'intercultural understanding'. To a certain extent, such contention is to be expected, given the broad framing of the term, however, it also has the potential to cause significant confusion for policy makers and educators attempting to transform 'global citizenship' from an abstract construct into a set of concrete, observable practices.

Clarke and Savage reference the lack of clarity caused by the numerous terms and concepts associated with global citizenship, and I also refer to this confusion in my own study. To move towards the set of 'concrete, observable practices' Clarke and Savage discuss (p.405) in their recent study, we can examine any number of programs and syllabus choices that aim to expand and enrich student perspectives on issues of global understanding and global citizenship. Yet the International Baccalaureate is arguably most vocal in its mission to facilitate the development of 'internationally minded', global citizens, and thus, the IB and its programs is widely viewed as one of the most desirable ways for students to experience a 'truly international' education, and an optimal site for realising global citizenship education (Davy, 2011). Thus, I have chosen to focus upon the International Baccalaureate as a site for the enactment of global citizenship. The next chapter therefore focuses upon the origins of the International Baccalaureate: as an organisation, as a series of programs, and as a mechanism for the delivery of international education and global citizenship, before moving to consider the positioning of global citizenship narratives in the programs and practices of the International Baccalaureate. The chapter closes with a discussion on the accessibility of the IB and current research into the teaching of global citizenship in IB schools.

CHAPTER THREE

Global Citizenship Education in Action

Introduction

The second chapter of this thesis explored definitions, interpretations, and uses of global citizenship, and focused on global citizenship education and its interpretations in schools. I have also raised the issue of the current trend towards the internationalisation of curricula in schools and the issues that arise as a consequence of multiculturalism, and the promotion of global citizenship education by agencies and spaces. In this chapter, I continue to explore the enactment of global citizenship within schools by focusing on the uses of global citizenship as articulated within and by the International Baccalaureate. This chapter therefore aims to provide insight into the positioning of global citizenship by the International Baccalaureate as an organisation, therefore offering a reference point for the later methodology and fieldwork chapters. To do this, I consider the background of the International Baccalaureate, before moving to consider the current social and educational goals of the International Baccalaureate. Second, I examine the programs, pedagogies and practices of the International Baccalaureate and consider the relevance to global citizenship theory and practice. Finally, I explore concepts and research relating to the uses of global citizenship by the International Baccalaureate, and consider the challenges facing schools that offer its programs.

The International Baccalaureate

While globalisation has had a powerful impact on schools, local concerns, school communities and the values of key stakeholders also play a role in understanding how schools engage with international issues and practices (Fielding & Vidovich, 2016). Recently, international agendas have raised questions about education 'within the global context and the location and representation of global citizenship in school curricula' (Osler, 2002, p. 2). Indeed, in Australia and other socially mobile nations, as more individuals retain cultural ties with their home and subsequent countries, so too does the difficulty of enacting a school experience that acknowledges the cultural diversity of students against national agendas and interests. Here, I introduce the International Baccalaureate.

The notion of an 'international' baccalaureate was first proposed in the 1920s (Hill, 2002), but the idea was not taken forward until much later. Because of both increasing numbers of families moving between nation states (Mayer, 1968), and increasing numbers of individuals seeking education in once inaccessible Western universities, the idea of an international baccalaureate moved towards reality. By the 1960s, support for the concept of an international baccalaureate 'grew from 'internationalist' ideals and the reimagining of the world as more interconnected and interdependent post World War One' (Hill, 2002, as referenced in Doherty, 2009). As Fox (1985) has also discussed, at this time, socially mobile expatriates of the League of Nations (later, the United Nations), grew anxious about the 'denationalization' of their children (p. 54), and begun to seek out opportunities that ensured mobility did not act as an impediment to later tertiary participation. Consequently, the International Baccalaureate and its origins are steeped in enhancing opportunities for the transnational children of cosmopolitan elites, as a means to increase mobility between school and university participation amongst a small but 'disproportionately influential' (Hill, 2002, p. 205) community.

For the International Baccalaureate, as Mayer (1968, as referenced in Tarc, 2009, p.12) claims, 'the key turning point for the potential success of IB occurred when the Oxford educationalist, Alec Peterson… secured a $300 000 grant from the Ford Foundation. For Peterson (1972), securing this grant was the defining moment when the IB 'ceased to be a remote vision and began to look like a practical project' (p. 13). Today, the IB is managed by a transnational non-profit organization, originally named the International Baccalaureate Organization, but renamed simply as the International Baccalaureate in 2009 (International Baccalaureate, 2016). The International Baccalaureate now has regional offices around the globe, in three separate regions encapsulating the Asia Pacific, the Americas and Africa, Europe and the Middle East. Although the International Baccalaureate has expanded, the organization's continuing mission is to 'offer and manage school curriculum for globally mobile students' (Doherty, 2009, p.6). Since its origins in the 1960s, to wider acceptance of the program as a tertiary entry certificate, the International Baccalaureate has increased exponentially.

The International Baccalaureate is now seen as one of several curricula offered

internationally that acknowledges the needs and desires of a global cohort of students, through the support of 'geographic and cultural mobility' as well as the desire to promote international understanding (Doherty, 2009). However, unlike national curricula choices offered in international settings (such as British or American curriculum taught in international schools outside of the United Kingdom or United States), the aim of the International Baccalaureate is to provide 'a truly international education' (International Baccalaureate, 2015a) that acknowledges and engages students with the world around them, through the inculcation of international attitudes and the maintenance and development of their cultural identities (Hayden & Wong, 1997, in Doherty, 2009, p.6). An ever-expanding product, which as Bunnell (2008) argues, has seen the initially Eurocentric origins of the IB spread widely within North America, the International Baccalaureate offers students and the parents the prospect of an international education, in addition to academic rigor and bolstered chances of tertiary participation.

Yet from its inception, the International Baccalaureate has continued to evolve. As Tarc (2009, p.14) considers, the IB was not only a mechanism to support student entry to university: 'although supressed in the IBO's corpus, there were no doubt larger internationalist dreams of a differently structured world, from the hopes of a more peaceful and egalitarian society of states to more radical wishes of a one-world government'. However, the spread and consequences of multiculturalism in the 1970s and 1980 saw 'neo-conservative political forces attack multicultural policies, and progressively a neo-liberal discourse pervaded economic and social policies, also affecting national education systems' (Resnik, 2010, p.1). In the 1980s and early 1990s, the International Baccalaureate as an organisation witnessed a shift from a humanist imagining to a corporate idea, and this shifting of ideals, as both Tarc (2012) and Resnik (2010) note, comprised the International Baccalaureate and the hopes for a 'different structured world' (Tarc, 2009, p.14). Here, the corporatisation of the IB saw the IB expand exponentially, but at the same time, the politics of neoliberalism and the neoliberal imaginary led to 'a multiplicity of intersecting social imaginaries' (Rizvi, 2007, p.397), in which learning and education is reframed for the purpose of 'human capital development and economic self-maximisation' (p.397).

Today, although the IB remains situated in the realm of the international, it too rests against a backdrop of tensions between internationalism, multiculturalism, and neoliberal

capitalism. Accordingly, in reflection of Matthews' (1988) criticisms of international schools as being market-driven rather than altruistically motivated, the IB as an organisation also moved further away from the 'progressive, pedagogical experiment' (Tarc, 2009, p.15) imagined by Peterson. By the 1990s, as Tarc (2009) also notes, the IB as an organisation was thoroughly neoliberalised and corporatized, with corporate representatives displacing the collaborative hopes of Mayer and Peterson. This is unsurprising, as Tarc (2009, p.81) concludes, given that the International Baccalaureate's 'articulation of values and mission often shift to accommodate the given audience'. Thus, the movement towards corporatisation and market orientation marked a fundamental shift that has transformed the International Baccalaureate as an organisation.

Programs, Pedagogy and Practices

The International Baccalaureate is currently available in more than 4000 schools around the world (International Baccalaureate, 2018), with more schools each day rushing to become recognized providers of the IB's programs. As of August 1st, 2018, there are now '6,399 programmes being offered worldwide, across 4,949 schools' (IB, 2018). In Australia, the International Baccalaureate has also grown in popularity, and there are now 157 schools offering one or more of the four IB programs (International Baccalaureate, 2015b). In its current inception, the IB offers four programs, the Primary Years Programme (PYP), the Middle Years Programme (MYP), the Diploma Programme (DP) and the Career Related Programme (formerly the Career Related Certificate). As the oldest component of the continuum, the Diploma has been offered since 1970 (Fox, 1985; Hill, 2002) and is widely accepted as a mode of university entrance (Sjogren & Campbell, 2003). However, while the Diploma Programme, taught in the final two years of schooling provides a highly competitive, globally recognized pathway to tertiary study around the world, the underlying focus of all IB programs has been to provide students with the opportunity to engage in 'a truly international education- an education that encouraged an understanding and appreciation of other cultures, languages and points of view' and supports development of 'responsible, compassionate citizens' (Whitehead 2005, p.2).

The International Baccalaureate is often viewed in regard to its 'balanced', 'integrated' and 'holistic' approach to education (Hill, 2002), which sits in contrast to national curricula that

require more specialization in the final years of schooling (Australian Council for Educational Research, 2006). As relatively new additions to the IB continuum, the primary and middle years programmes emphasize the development of individual learners, with the use of pedagogies that foster an outcome of international mindedness, promoting the acquisition of knowledge to be supported through activities such as scaffolding, debates, discursive colloquium, oral presentations, written assignments and peer collaboration (Singh & Qi, 2013). However, the Diploma Programme is more academically rigorous and often seen as a preparation course for latter university study. For successful participation in the Diploma Programme, the final two years of schooling include participation in six subjects across the areas of both sciences and humanities, including two languages – one as a foreign language, and one as the language of curricula delivery. As Doherty (2009) emphasizes, 'some of these subjects are studied in more depth than others, which allows the student a degree of specialization' (p.6). Students must also complete an Extended Essay (EE) based on independent research, a philosophical program entitled the 'Theory of Knowledge' or TOK, and a program including several Creativity, Action or Service (CAS) activities. The IB Diploma is certainly based upon core values of active global citizenship, critical enquiry and intercultural understanding (Hayden & Wong, 1997 as referenced in Doherty, 2009). Yet as evidenced, the program is also highly rigorous, and for students to be successful in attaining a 'global' education, learners must also possess the necessary skills to critically reflect and engage with processes that facilitate such local and global inequities.

The Promise of an International Curricula

The International Baccalaureate is now a global franchise (Cambridge, 2003), with the IB competing around the world with other international and national curricula. However, in a more recent move, the International Baccalaureate has expanded beyond application as a sole curriculum within schools and is increasingly offered in 'competition with local curricula, being offered to local students as well as to internationally mobile students' (Doherty, 2009, p.5). In Australia, for example, many schools now offer students a choice between the International Baccalaureate Diploma Program and an equivalent state-based leaving certificate which in Australia's federalized system, rests within the broader Australian national curriculum.

The International Baccalaureate's growing presence in the education space acknowledges the ongoing 'globalization of culture and educational practice' (Rizvi, 2008) across states, territories and sectors. Although the International Baccalaureate continues to proliferate, the original positioning of the programs within the international school sector has seen the International Baccalaureate criticised for elitism and class hierarchy (Lauder, 2007) and for making an 'international education' available only to the most socially advantaged students (Whitehead, 2005). Although criticisms against the International Baccalaureate have not focused on the global nature of the curricula as an area of detriment, there is some concern over the proliferation of IB schools, which are seen as playing a role in the reinforcement of social inequity through the provision of cosmopolitan capital that helps IB learners to stay 'ahead of the pack' (Bagnall, 2010, p.142). This may be attributed to the availability of International Baccalaureate programs, which in Australia, where this research was conducted, are predominantly offered within independent[8] rather than state schools[9]. However, concerns over accessibility and criticisms of academic stratification and elitism are also echoed in the United States, where research continues to examine access and availability of IB programmes (Donaldson, 2016). Recently, studies have focused on disparate access of minority and underrepresented students in regard to the International Baccalaureate's continuum, particularly the Diploma Programme as a pathway to tertiary participation (Tarc, 2011). Despite the International Baccalaureate's intentions 'to develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect' (International Baccalaureate, 2016), the organisation and its goals remain linked to perceived productions of advantage, rather than the opportunity to truly engage with global issues (Bagnall, 2010). Additionally, as Doherty (2009) explains, for some, the IB is now far removed from the original aims of promoting global understanding; with views of the IB Diploma Programme marking it as perhaps the most desirable academic choice for university access and participation.

International Mindedness and the Learner Profile

'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' (IBO, 2018), and the IB's positioning of 'international mindedness' is a central component in achieving these aims. As articulated by the IB, international-mindedness is a world view in which people see themselves connected to the global community, and assume a sense of responsibility to its members (humans, other living things and the planet). Accordingly, international mindedness is an awareness of the inter-relatedness of all nations and people, and recognition of the complexity of these relationships, as Drake (2017, par.7) notes:

> International-mindedness is a world view in which people see themselves connected to the global community and assume a sense of responsibility to its members (humans, other living things and the planet). It is an awareness of the inter-relatedness of all nations and people, and recognition of the complexity of these relationships. Internationally-minded people appreciate and value the diversity of cultures in the world and make an effort to learn more about them. They exhibit personal concern for all people, and this manifests itself in a sense of moral responsibility to other people, and a commitment to the values of a community. They are also aware of both the immediate and long-term consequences of human behaviour on the environment and on global societies.

The driving principle behind the IB can therefore be seen as 'education for a better world', where young people are offered a chance to develop the capacity and the motivation, to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding. And like intercultural understanding, the more recent concept of international mindedness underpins much of the work done by the IB. However, as Singh and Qi (2013, p.2) note, the IB definition of international-mindedness has changed and matured. In 2009, the definition of international mindedness was largely equated to global/intercultural understanding, however, more recent IB definitions have incorporated two more dimensions, namely global engagement and multilingualism. It is important to acknowledge that these different dimensions of international mindedness play a role in how schools respond to the need to provide opportunities, but also complicate matters because of the evolving nature of the concept. In this context, intercultural understanding remains a central element in the IB's understanding of international-mindedness, while global engagement and multilingualism are considered as contributing to its development.

These three dimensions of international-mindedness are also embedded in the IB Learner Profile, which is a unifying thread throughout all IB programmes. The LP is, in essence, the IB's mission statement translated into a focused set of learning outcomes for students to develop during their courses. Students who graduate from International Baccalaureate programs therefore aspire to be Inquirers, Knowledgeable, Thinkers, Communicators, Principled, Open-minded, Caring, Risk-Takers, Balanced and Reflective, and these traits direct educators to focus on the learning experiences that are provide for students throughout the curriculum. In the context of the Learner Profile, an internationally minded learner is above all a competent communicator, open-minded and knowledgeable. However, these qualities cannot be achieved without the remaining seven attributes, which fall into the two categories of cognitive competence (inquirers, thinkers and reflective practitioners), and disposition (principled, caring, risktakers, and balanced). Multilingualism, intercultural understanding and global engagement are also evident across the IB programmes as a developmental continuum.

Accessing the International Baccalaureate

In the Australian context, and although the IB has not written their conceptualisation of 'international mindedness' for Australia, there are many national factors that are defining international mindedness in a particular way that is distinct from the national history of the IB. In this context, the global definition of international mindedness (and indeed, considering that international mindedness is often used interchangeably with global citizenship) is often being interpreted in terms of the national challenges of Australia. In Australia, like many other countries within the OECD, the positioning of schools, and the resultant enclaves of privilege that have arisen as a result of school and curricula choice, may explain the increased desirability of programs and curricula that set students apart from their peers. In this way, the International Baccalaureate offers an opportunity for students to be differentiated from others, both within school and upon application to university. Here, Bourdieu's (1984) concept of distinction in regard to school and curricula choice considers the way in which 'cultivated disposition and cultural competence … are revealed in the nature of the cultural goods consumed' (Ball et al, 1996, p. 91). As a result, curricular choices such as the International Baccalaureate carry the symbolism of 'socially pertinent properties attached to each of them' (Bourdieu, 1984, p.19). Further, as a curriculum, the International Baccalaureate allows students to receive a global, rather than

a local education, while also gaining a pathway to overseas tertiary participation, which relates. This type of education is an attractive prospect for the socially mobile, as well as the aspirational. Subsequently, the positioning and desirability of the International Baccalaureate, as both an international and an elite curriculum, is a fascinating development, particularly in Australia. Here, the International Baccalaureate is positioned against a backdrop of efforts to augment local identities and affiliations (Hage, 2003) through a placement of 'nationalistic curriculum and pedagogy' (Rizvi, 2003, as cited in Doherty, 2009, p.3).

However, as Tarc (2014) notes, the International Baccalaureate has been attempting to expand access to its programmes beyond the base of international students and those from high socioeconomic backgrounds. As Tarc (2011) has also explained, this expansion, and the subsequent movement away from classical knowledge to global citizenship marks a radical reform for the International Baccalaureate. Further, and although the attacks made upon the International Baccalaureate offer valid points for discussion, in order for the International Baccalaureate to preserve its esteem above other programs, the IB cannot afford to be mainstreamed (Bagnall, 2010; Tarc, 2014). At the present time, the International Baccalaureate is more successful in developing students' academic readiness for tertiary participation (Tarc and Beatty, 2012) than developing global citizenship. Given the catchment of students that the International Baccalaureate traditionally attracts and the focus of the organisation itself on tertiary participation, 'the IB has built a reputation for elite, 'academically challenging' standards' (Doherty, 2009, p.5), which has resulted in the IB being associated more with stratification than holistic education.

Yet the continued criticisms of the IB as elitist may ultimately augment the credibility of the programmes as globally focused and attract a wider range of students seeking to gain academic preparedness, cosmopolitan capital and international recognition. As a curriculum inherently linked to tertiary participation (Doherty, 2009), there is indeed concern over issues of who is afforded access to the International Baccalaureate, and what subsequent advantages are made available to IB students (Bunnell, 2014). Intended or not, the uses of the IB as a form of vertical mobility over other students must be viewed in consideration of the aims promulgated by the International Baccalaureate as an organisation; particularly those that make claims to the development of international mindedness and global

understanding.

Research into the Teaching of Global Citizenship Education in IB schools

The International Baccalaureate's movement from the provision of a classical education, to a more explicit focus on education for global citizenship, has been met with much criticism on the motives and outcomes of global citizenship education in the International Baccalaureate's programs. However, concerns over the positioning of citizenship discourses in education are not new. Indeed, as Tarc (2009) notes, much tension over the construct of citizenship and nationality had been mounted in the decade after the conclusion of the Cold War. However, in the early phases of the development of the International Baccalaureate, concepts and terms such 'international understanding' were 'deployed and even downplayed by IB spokespersons so that IB was not deemed to be in conflict with 'national understanding' (Tarc, 2016, p.192). However, as Tarc further explains, the 1990s marked a shift in the perception of international understanding, and terms such as 'world citizens', 'international mindedness' and 'global citizens' began to circulate more frequently in IB discourse and the IB became more explicitly focused on internationalizing the curriculum' (p.192-3). Bunnell (2003) too has illuminated the use of global citizenship within the International Baccalaureate, which has been described by IB advocates and stakeholders as offering a pathway to the development of socially responsible and active citizens. Though global citizenship is not described as an explicit outcome of the development of these skills, activities and practices designed to construct and share knowledge about the world within the IB's programmes are also reflected in existing frameworks and pedagogies for global citizenship education (McLean, Cook & Crowe; 2008; Waldron-Moore, 2013). Returning to chapter two, where I considered the current uses of global citizenship in education, the International Baccalaureate draws upon current applications of global citizenship narratives in education, through an iteration of international mindedness and global understanding. Yet as we have discussed, the nature and positioning of the IB curriculum within elite and international schools has inherently related to student engagement with the global, rather than the local level. It is therefore important to consider the reframing of international education as global citizenship education by the International Baccalaureate and other international systems of education.

As the International Baccalaureate and its programmes continue to develop and expand beyond current realms, narratives of global understanding begin to align more closely with representations of global citizenship as implicitly linked to social justice. This is perhaps attributable to the current focus on social equity and the mitigation of marginalization within education systems such as the International Baccalaureate (Wasner, 2016), but more likely, the shift towards the use of global citizenship education is 'systematic of the awareness of the intensifying uses of international education for international and national advantage' (Tarc, 2011). Thus, the alignment between the framing of global citizenship education within international curricula such as the IB, and global citizenship education as articulated by non-government organizations such as Oxfam, is becoming increasingly apparent. To illustrate this point, I include Paul Tarc's (2011) examination of the uses of terms relating to global citizenship, within both current forms of global citizenship education, and international systems such as the International Baccalaureate. As Oxfam (2006) describes, global citizenship education is seen as comprising three key elements relating to the outcome of understanding that attempts to bridge the local and the global and promote social equity and reform. These domains are 1) knowledge and understanding; 2) skills and 3) values and attitudes. Unsurprisingly, many different curricula (including the programs of the IB) also use similar terms in reference to the development of practices linked to global citizenship. These domains have long been reflected in international education systems, as Tarc notes (2011, p.3):

> 'Critical thinking', 'argumentation', 'cooperation and conflict resolution', are desired skills for global citizenship; 'diversity', 'peace and conflict' and 'social justice' are listed as topics for knowledge and understanding; and 'self-esteem', 'respect for diversity' and 'empathy' are desired attitudes. Most of the individual pieces that make up Global Citizenship Education according to Oxfam (2006), and indeed according to other representations of global citizenship education practices, could be mapped onto the earlier education for international understanding…

Similarly, the International Baccalaureate focuses on achieving the outcomes of global citizenship through emphasis upon the development of individual traits and dispositions. The International Baccalaureate has similar expectations to Oxfam in regard to the pedagogical aims of global citizenship, but with less emphasis upon the political and social

inequities explored in Oxfam's version of global citizenship education. Subsequently, and although more narratives relating to social equity are being explored in current studies relating to the IB (Mattix-Foster & Daly, 2016; Palmer, 2016), global citizenship education as used by the International Baccalaureate continue to focus upon individual growth and responsibility (Wasner, 2016; Wright, Lee, Tang, & Tsui, 2016) in contrast to the mitigation of inequity. In the IB, it is expected that students will be inquirers, knowledgeable, thinkers, communicators, principled, open-minded, caring, risk-takers, balanced, and reflective (International Baccalaureate, 2016). Further, if we look to the mission of the International Baccalaureate (2016), which 'aims to develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect', heavy emphasis upon the enactment of global citizenship education falls upon students. As a result, global citizenship as imagined by the International Baccalaureate has more emphasis on learning than reform, as seen in Oxfam's iteration.

As I have argued in the previous section, although the use of terms such as 'global citizenship' and 'international mindedness' have become increasingly common in International Baccalaureate programs and practices, tensions between the local and the global continue to occur (Bunnell, 2014). Subsequently, although the International Baccalaureate continues to promote and thrive upon constructs of internationalism and global understanding, it is evident that the positioning of global citizenship marks a number of challenges for the IB, resulting in the production of 'opposing pressures and outcomes as 'integration and disintegration' and 'cosmopolitanisms and reactive, more enclaved nationalisms' (Appadurai, 2006; Lingard, 2000; in Tarc, 2008, p.191). These considerations are particularly important for realms such as schools. For the International Baccalaureate, narratives of global citizenship must continue to hold relevance to globally oriented and mobile students, as well as considering the experiences, desires and imaginaries of those who find themselves within transnationalising spaces of education. Reflecting upon the history and current aims of the International Baccalaureate as an organisation, the use of global citizenship education has become, and will likely continue to be, an integral component of the International Baccalaureate's practices. If we are to assume that the overall aim of the International Baccalaureate- 'to create a better world through education' (International Baccalaureate, 2016) - offers a pathway to remedying a fragmented society, the mission of

the International Baccalaureate clearly aligns with the conceptions of global citizenship discussed earlier in this paper. Yet, as we move forward, it is also worth considering that the uses of global citizenship as articulated by the International Baccalaureate are often situated within a complex binary.

Today, the IB espouses social responsibility, 'education for all', with an increasing focus on international issues and experiences. Yet as Doherty (2009) notes, although the International Baccalaureate is 'embedded and accommodated within local institutional frames, it carries a moral discourse of 'internationalism' which 'celebrates cultural diversity and promotes international cooperation and an internationally minded outlook' (Cambridge, 2002, p. 228, as cited in Doherty, 2009, p.2). Thus, the espoused uses of global citizenship within the IB are often marred by cosmopolitan idealism and disparate access. The complexity of reestablishing the public good into the private education realm, as Singh (2001) considers, thus marks challenges for integration of identities, and participation in grassroots culture (Prakash, Esteva & Watson, 2008). It appears that neoliberal market rationality has come to conquer, and there are two threads, one arising from the earlier IBO ideology around humanism and community, and the other, focused on individualism. And here, although the International Baccalaureate has a generalised and almost a global set of requirements and understandings, it recognises that the context matters. Thus, no matter how global citizenship is articulated and imagined, context has an impact upon the enactment of global citizenship narratives.

The complexity of enacting global citizenship education has already been explored in studies based in the United States (Rapoport, 2010; 2012; Thier, 2017), Ireland (Reilly & Neins, 2014), Israel (Goren and Yemini, 2016; 2017a; 2017b), and Canada (Schweisfurth, 2006) where research indicates there is a significant struggle between interpretation and practice of global citizenship education. In Goren and Yemini's (2016) work, the ways in which local and national education systems respond to political, environmental and technological changes, and remain competitive in a changing, globalised world is a key area of focus, and the authors position the International Baccalaureate and its approaches to internationalism as crucial in reforming education systems (Rizvi and colleagues, 2014). This is not surprising, as the IB is not performed in the same ways around the world and is found within exclusive English-speaking schools in non-English speaking spaces, as well as the public-school system

in the United States. Perhaps the best way of illustrating the differences in the performance of the IB is comparing the United States, where it exists largely in the public system, to Australia, where the IB is more apparent in the independent, fee paying space. In this regard, Thier (2017) has recently explored the ways in which global citizenship education can be democratized in US public schools, arguing that public schools are ripe for GCE implementation by the International Baccalaureate. However, much like other research in the field, Thier (2017) concludes with a consideration of the different ways in which school systems can support the enactment of global citizenship education, rather than providing a study of enactments.

Despite the best efforts of educators to interpret global citizenship, the International Baccalaureate can be viewed as a curriculum that recognises the global but not always the local, particularly in education contexts that are marked by complexity and changing demographics and school choice, such as Australia. These studies on global citizenship education within the International Baccalaureate are relevant, because the national locality and positioning of the International Baccalaureate matters. This is why a nation specific study of enactments is needed, and such a study is what I offer in this thesis.

Indeed, the emergence of the International Baccalaureate in Australia can be viewed as problematic, because its proliferation is not limited to international schools, the traditional realm of the IB. Unlike Australian spaces of education, international schools are not required to develop nationalistic identities in their students and aim to prepare their students to be members of a global cohort (Tarc & Tarc, 2015), and accordingly, in Australia, the relational motivations of global citizenship education also operate in a rather unique education realm, creating tensions between community and individualised interpretations of global citizenship. As Australia's federalised education system continues to reform, and the movement towards a privatisation of the school system continues to intensify, and it is in this context that global citizenship narratives face challenges between what is (neoliberal individualism), and what ought to be (community). Thus, the IB's traditional interpretations of global citizenship and cosmopolitan citizenship are to some extent at odds with more recent definitions and imaginings of global citizenship that attempt to encapsulate local values (Andreotti, 2010). Subsequently, in Australia, as the IB expands beyond the cosmopolitan realm, it remains unknown whether the promise of global citizenship can be

achieved when enacted in local settings.

Conclusion

Globalization and technological advances of the 21st century have caused a blurring of national lines, which in the past comprised the basis of a nearly indisputable model for civic identity (Beck, 2002). These societal changes yielded an unprecedented rise in the popularity of alternative, cosmopolitan identity models, (Oxley & Morris, 2013) and in response, new conceptions of the individual and society are transforming the aims and purposes of education (Vertovec, 2001; Stewart, 2007; Rizvi & Lingard 2010). Thus, education policies and practices designed to enhance the experiences of students continue to evolve. As Clarke and Savage (2017) have noted, is an emergent trend within education that has led to increased 'political and theoretical focus on schooling as a transnational space, with the goals and outcomes of education no longer limited to national concerns' (p. 405). Linked to this positioning is the desire to see education prepare students for post school trajectories and the globalised world, and here, 'global citizenship education has become a priority for the education realm (Zahabioun, Yousefy, Yarmohammadian & Keshtiaray, 2013). Yet global citizenship education remains an abstract, philosophical idea, and enacting the concept remains within education remains a challenge.

Given this backdrop, there is a distinct need to understand the ways in which global citizenship education is enacted, and particularly, how it is enacted in International Baccalaureate schools, many of which have positioned themselves as particularly aligned with the predominant (altruistic) narratives of global citizenship. To date, as Clarke and Savage (2017) most recently remind us, there remains a lack of understanding around what global citizenship is, and how it functions, in schools. This study seeks to address this gap, by exploring the ways in which two International Baccalaureate (IB) schools in Australia interpret the notion of global citizenship education and examining the challenges and opportunities schools face in enacting 'global citizenship'. So just how are global citizenship discourses interpreted and enacted in two International Baccalaureate schools? And how do these schools take advantage of mobility, diversity and connectedness in the student body, and in what ways do these elements support notions of global citizenship?

This chapter has continued to explore the uses of global citizenship as examined in chapter two, and examined global citizenship narratives within Australia, and, in International Baccalaureate programs. I have positioned my research against a number of different perspectives on global citizenship within the education realm, before moving to consider the normative positioning of global citizenship by the International Baccalaureate, and the challenges associated with local interpretations of international curricula. In doing, I have attempted to draw attention to the different uses of global citizenship education, so as to provide a base for my exploration of interpretations and enactments within two International Baccalaureate schools. The next chapter introduces the reader to the two schools studied within my research and explains my research design and methodology. Following this methodology chapter, I offer three fieldwork chapters that consider the interpretations, enactments, and outcomes of global citizenship education in International Baccalaureate schools.

CHAPTER FOUR

Research Methodology and Design

Introduction

In early 2015, after a year immersed in understanding theoretical notions of global citizenship education, it became apparent that the different forces, connections, and imaginations underpinning global citizenship remain unclear for schools. In particular, forces such as technology have led to the formation of connections, which have resulted in distinct local and global framings of global citizenship. After reviewing international research on global citizenship education, I began focusing on my own local context. Global citizenship issues continue to be relevant in multicultural Australia, and although Australian education (and in particular independent systems of education in Australia) do not provide a representative perspective of global citizenship education around the world, Australia does offer a useful context for understanding the interaction between national and global imperatives and agendas. It also offers an insight into the way in which 'global citizenship' as imagined by the International Baccalaureate, operates in independent, fee paying schools. Thus, I began searching for two independent school sites in Melbourne's southern suburbs in which to investigate interpretations and enactments of global citizenship education.

I had originally planned to work with schools that offered the International Baccalaureate Diploma Program and had been hoping for both a government and independent school, in order to compare the ways in which global citizenship is enacted within different IB schools in Australia. However, after initial consultations with several schools and my readings of global citizenship education, I realised that these final years of school were too laden with examinations for any school to be able to commit fully. I moved to approaching schools that offered both the Middle Years and Diploma Programmes. Interestingly, there are also a very limited number of state (public) secondary schools in Victoria that offer the IB MYP or DP, and I instead decided to focus upon the enactment of global citizenship within the independent realm. I eventually found two independent secondary schools willing to participant: Callan College and Bexley Academy. Located close together, but in culturally disparate areas, the schools offered an opportunity to explore the interpretation of global citizenship and respond to my research questions.

In this chapter, I describe my research design and methodology. To begin, I introduce my choice of methodology, and then method, in the form of case studies, before focusing on the research sites: deidentified and referred to in my thesis as Callan College and Bexley Academy. Here, I consider demographic and outcome data in order to provide a background to the contrasting school communities. Following this, I outline my approach to participant selection, and explore data collection methods and mode of analysis.

Methodological Considerations

Drawing upon recent research into the theoretical and popular narrative of critical global citizenship education in a market society (Andreotti, 2006, Sandel, 2010), the study is underpinned by a conceptual framework that considers soft and critical enactments of global citizenship, and also positions global citizenship and transglobal identity as dependent upon a complex and shifting social structure that has led to a constructed binary between national and international identity.

Thus, this thesis draws upon sociocultural research and has also been influenced by relevant theorists within the fields of education, hermeneutics and sociology. This thesis builds on research into the notion of imagined spaces (Anderson, 1991; Appadurai 1996, 2000), cosmopolitanism (Appiah, 2006; Brown, 2009; Vertovec & Cohen, 2002), and global citizenship in education (Andreotti, 2006; Nussbaum, 1996; Schattle; 2008; Tully, 2008) and employs case study methodology (Yin & Merriam, 2009), while drawing upon principles of hermeneutics and discourse analysis in order to understand how the phenomenon of global citizenship education is interpreted and enacted in International Baccalaureate schools.

The study uses a qualitative exploratory approach that seeks to understand and interpret what is occurring 'on the ground' in these two schools. As Stake (in Denzin and Lincoln, 2011) has argued, one of the many strengths of qualitative research rests in its aspiration to understand social practices through interpretive analysis, and a desire to illuminate the voice and perspectives of participants throughout the research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1994, Jacob 1988, Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 1994). A qualitative design also allows the researcher to undertake exploratory analysis and understand what is happening to the individuals engaged in and affected by phenomena (Erickson 1986, p. 124).

The methodology chosen provided rich, detailed description of the elements that

acknowledge and recognise learners as global citizens with a detailed focus on two schools in Victoria that offer the International Baccalaureate Middle Years and Diploma Programmes. With regard to the research questions, the study seeks to examine how schools, school leaders, teachers, and students interpret and enact the concept of global citizenship. Thus, this research aims not only to describe the social and human interactions that occur within the classroom setting and how they relate to the concept of global citizenship, but to contribute to the refinement of theory around the concept of global citizenship in order to support the development, implementation and sustainability of relevant programs and practices in Australian schools. It is also important to consider and acknowledge my own positionality in this thesis. Specifically, my motivation for pursuing this thesis, my interest in diversity and belonging, the development of particular theories and concepts have all been strongly influenced by my personal history as the child of immigrants, a self-proclaimed transnational, my 'former life' as a teacher, my progressive political beliefs, previous academic research I conducted for my Master of Education (MEd) and Master of Linguistics theses, and my interactions with other students and academics during the past five years. Methodologically, this study required me to focus not only on what is happening on the ground in each school, but also to analyse the ways in which my own positionality impacts upon my reading and interpretation of the data collected within the study.

Enactments and Dilemmas

Much of this thesis centres upon the need to better understand the complexity of enactments of global citizenship education, and those dilemmas that arise. However, it is important to note that although this thesis presents dilemmas resulting from both interpretations and enactments, the notions of enactment and interpretation are not two separate concepts but related to each other. Interpretation is an aspect of the broader processes of enactment, and should not be viewed as distinct, but as related. In this study, enactments of global citizenship education are not about primarily concerned with interpretations and practices, but also focus on processes undertaken at the school level. In this way, how processes of global citizenship education are enacted drives this thesis, in illuminating the nature of debates and discussions that are held around it.

The analysis presented in this thesis is predicated on the notion that enactments are

inherently complex and multifaceted and are guided by organisational structure and interaction. Weick (1988) defines the term 'enactment' as a representation of the ways that people, or social actors, behave within their environments. Weick notes that our actions stem from preconceptions, and it is such preconceptions that guide and reinforce outcomes and further actions within an environment. As a result, even though an enacted environment may appear to be real, the environment is shaped by the meaning individuals afford to it and is heavily guided by schema. In turn, as Weick (1995) has revisited in his later research, actors within organisational communities are guided by their own interpretations of their environment, but in doing, also impose their schematic interpretations upon others.

In the context of global citizenship education, enactment theory (see Deetz, 1982; Eisenber, 1994; Eisenberg & Goodall, 1997) offers a chance to understand the ways that schools (as organizations), understand and form their unique interpretations of global citizenship through 'enactment of interaction cycles' (Eisenberg, 1994). These interactions lead to the continuity and coordination of individuals and provide a rationale for the strategic and routine behaviour of individual members within an organisation. Thus, in this context of this study, the interactions between staff and students, as well as the IB as an organisation and a provider of texts, should in theory contribute to the development of global citizenship education within each school. Yet at the same time, the enacted environment becomes a tangle of assertions in which actions are also outcomes that establish future expectations for each school.

The web of enactments and interpretations presented in this thesis are perhaps due in part to the complexity of understanding the concept of global citizenship education. However, as this thesis demonstrates, enactments of global citizenship education within schools are not readily scripted, and there is no clear agreement over the meaning of global citizenship education and the ways it should be 'done' in schools. Instead, teachers, school leaders, and students appear to draw upon their own unique interpretations of the concept, and thus, enactments become disparate, against a state of constant evolution and reframing within the broader IB system. Here, the importance of the notion of enactment as a theoretical consideration becomes clear. Enactments offer a link between our individual cognitive processes and our environments (Weick, 1988) and afford an opportunity to understand how the preconceptions of members of each school can shape the extent to

which global citizenship education is realised. Thus, as Fiske & Taylor (1991) discuss, different actors assign significance, meaning and content to objects perceived in the environment as based on their own thoughts, behaviours, and understandings.

Within the context of this study, each member of the school attempts to 'enact' the concept of global citizenship education as based on their own schema. As a result, global citizenship education is not an organised and agreed upon concept, instead, it is muddied by multiple interpretations of organisational actors. Here, and inherently relevant to the notion of enactment theory, is the concept of dilemmas, defined as problems that offer dual and often unrelated possibilities, suggesting a state in that whatever you choose to do also has a downside. Thus, the requirements of dealing with the specificity of this context is important. In the context of this thesis, we see that enactments of global citizenship can lead to dilemmas, a consideration which underpins the analysis presented in this text. Finally, it is also important to acknowledge that this thesis, as a study of enactments, is written in a western framing of global citizenship education. If it were not, the analysis presented would be far more complex.

Case Studies

This study employs case study methodology (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Stake, 2000, & Merriam; 2014, 2009, 1998) to build an understanding of the ways in which the concept of 'global citizenship' is interpreted and enacted, and how this is revealed and reflected in schools, programs, and broader educational policies. To investigate the study's specific research questions, a multiple method research design was employed using detailed case study methodology. The research questions are framed by the desire to unearth meaning (Schwandt, 2007) and seek to understand the extent to which the diversity of learners is used within the classroom by teachers, and furthermore, the impact policy and curricula has upon the language and pedagogies teachers use in the classroom. The choice of data collection instruments and analysis techniques also reflect the ontological positioning of this study, and understand how school leaders, teachers and students 'as human beings interpret or construct' (Schwandt, 2007; p.39) the world and the concept of global citizenship within the context of their schools.

Researchers from many disciplines, across different paradigms utilise case studies in different ways. While qualitative case study research is not distinct from descriptive

studies such as ethnography, case studies allow for a more detailed focus upon a contextualised, contemporary phenomenon within specified boundaries (Merriam, 2014; Yin, 2009). In education, such phenomenon includes 'a program, an event, a person, a process, an institution or a social group' (Merriam, 1988 p.13, original text emphasised), which is defined through a unit of analysis or a boundary. As Patton (2002) clarifies, the definition of these boundaries allows the researcher to understand the broader context in which their study is positioned, in order to contribute to the 'bounded system' (Creswell, Hanson, Plano, & Morales, 2007; Merriam, 2014) that is the area of focus. Case studies are an approach that generates descriptive data and offers deep exploration and understanding as to what practices are occurring within the sites examined.

For the purpose of this study, employing multiple methods within the case study framework also supports the construct of knowledge that is not designed to be replicated, but has the potential to offer a descriptive account of the ways in which teachers, school leaders and students conceive and develop global understandings within the classroom. Case study methodology also supports the use of multiple qualitative methods including interviews, observations and analysis of relevant student work and programme frameworks. Finally, secondary analysis of relevant policy and curricula mechanisms that underpin the construct of classroom discourse are an appropriate way in which to explore the manifestation of global citizenship in International Baccalaureate schools.

Case studies can both describe and explain phenomenon being explored, provide rich narrative description supported by qualitative data collection tools, and lend themselves to interpretivist frameworks as they provide insights into human interpretation and the generation of meaning (Yin, 2009, 1994). Further, by using multiple data collection analytic instruments, analysis of school, educator and classroom discourse aims to critically examine the concept of global citizenship as what Carspecken (1996) has termed 'human phenomena', that cannot be adequately understood through quantitative analysis alone (p.3).

Because of my own experience working within international schools and with the International Baccalaureate, I wanted to understand the role schools play in fostering global understanding, and challenging essentialised and nationalist discourses, but as time went on, I began to realise that although global citizenship appeared ubiquitous in education, there were no case studies or illuminations of the dilemmas for educators, or of the contestations that existed between these ideas of global citizenship and the

enactment of the concept in Australian schools. I realised that without an understanding of these challenges, international schools and educators will continue to feel helpless in translating the theory of global citizenship into meaningful forms of practice.

With these ideas in mind, I began searching in Melbourne's southeast, where eventually I found two schools willing to take part in my research project: Callan College and Bexley Academy. Located close together, but in culturally, socially and economically disparate spaces, the schools seemed to illustrate perfectly the contrasts in internationalism and diversity I sought to understand and reflect upon the dilemmas these contrasts raised.

The Research Sites: Callan College and Bexley Academy

Callan College and Bexley Grammar are both non-government, co-educational schools in Victoria. Both schools are situated south of the Central Business District of Melbourne, Australia. The schools are approximately twelve kilometres apart (approximately 20 mins by car). Yet the two schools are different, both in location and surrounding community. Callan College sits a little over 5 kilometres south of the Melbourne CBD, on spacious, green grounds with a reputation of historical academic excellence. The school is separated into a junior school, and a combined middle and upper years' campus, analysis of the latter upon which this study is predicated. Callan college also has a sister campus further from the central business zone. Bexley Academy, located on the southeast side of a major freeway, is situated in an area of Melbourne historically linked to a large proportion of Victoria's Greek community. The school is relatively small, housing students from the preparatory year through to year 12. The area in which the school is located is undergoing transformation, facing gentrification and an influx of immigrants from non-Greek backgrounds. Importantly, the affordability of the area is also becoming impacted as a result of gentrification. Although both schools are non-government schools, socio-economic data collected from the federal Index of Community Socio-Educational Advantage (ICSEA) suggest Callan is a more socially advantaged school, with 77% of students and families in the 'Top' socio-economic quartile and 0% in the 'Bottom', compared with Bexley which has 29% in the 'Top' and 15% in the 'Bottom' (see table below).

Table 1. Table of Socio Economic Indicators[10]

	Bottom quarter	Middle quarters		Top quarter
Callan	0%	2%	20%	77%
Bexley	15%	30%	26%	29%
Australian Average	25%	25%	25%	25%

However, the social and economic disparities lessen when comparing property prices and demographic data from the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS). Prices in the Callan are an average of $931,000AU and $472,000 for houses and apartments/units respectively, compared with property prices in the Bexley area, which are $945,000AU and $570,500AU for houses and apartments respectively.

As the data below illustrates, there is also some level of difference in the demographics of the communities surrounding the school, and this is important as there is limited information available on the exact demographics of students attending each school.

	Callan Area	Bexley Area	Victorian Average
% Population Born in Australia	73%	58.6%	74%
% Population who speak only English at home	53.8%	55%	34.3%
% Population who use languages other than English at home	45.7%	32.4%	20%
% Population Unemployed	4.3%	6.2%	5.4.%
% Population Employed	95.7%	93.8%	94.5%

[10] Census of Population and Housing: Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA), Australia, 2011. The Index of Relative Socio-economic Disadvantage (IRSD) is a general socio-economic index that summarises a range of information about the economic and social conditions of people and households within an area. A higher score on the index means a *lower* level of disadvantage. A lower score on the index means a *higher* level of disadvantage.

% Bachelor degree of higher	42%	30%	21%
Median Household Income ($AU per week)	$1672	$1321	$1333
SEIFA index of Disadvantage[11]	1065	1045	1010

Table 2. Key ABS Statistics of Sample Areas[12]

Of the population, there are also a number of non-native English speakers, and community language speakers in the Callan region.

Languages	*Share of Non-English languages*
Greek	4.7%
Russian	4.4%
Mandarin	4.3%
Cantonese	2.3%
Hindi	2.1%
French	2.0%
Spanish	2.0%
Italian	1.7%
German	1.7%

Table 3: Languages spoken at home- Callan area

Languages	*Share of Non-English languages*
Greek	13.5 %
Mandarin	5.4%

[11] Census of Population and Housing: Socio-Economic Indexes for Areas (SEIFA), Australia, 2011. The Index of Relative Socio-economic Disadvantage (IRSD) is a general socio-economic index that summarises a range of information about the economic and social conditions of people and households within an area. A higher score on the index means a *lower* level of disadvantage. A lower score on the index means a *higher* level of disadvantage

[12] ABS (Australian Bureau of Statistics) : 2011 data : http://www.abs.gov.au/websitedbs/censushome.nsf/home/historicaldata2011?opendocument&navpos=280

Italian	3.3%
Cantonese	1.9%
Korean	1.1%
French	0.9%
Punjabi	0.9%
Arabic	0.9%
Spanish	0.8%
Gujarati	0.8%

Table 4. Languages spoken at home- Bexley area

The above information provides a representation of the community in which both schools are situated. However, neither school is select entry or zones, and thus, both schools are open to students from outside of the local catchment zone, as long as families are able to pay the fees. Fees at the two schools differ, with Callan College positioned as a very high fee-paying school, compared to Bexley Academy[13], which requires moderate fees in comparison.

2015 Academic Outcomes

Senior school academic outcomes and post-school trajectory data also contrast between the two schools, particularly in terms of what is publicly available. Based on data reported on Callan's website, in 2015 (at the time in which other data was collected for this study), Callan students achieved a median Victorian Certificate of Education[14] (VCE) Study Score[15] of 33 (placing it in the top 100 schools for the year). Callan is also home to some of the highest achieving students in the state, with more than 22% of year 12 students

[13] Fees at both colleges are based on 2016 figures, and are available on the school's websites. However, for the sake of anonymity, specific figures have not been provided in this thesis.

[14] The Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE) is the certificate that the majority of students in Victoria receive on satisfactory completion of their secondary education. The VCE provides diverse pathways to further study or training at university or TAFE and to employment (Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Authority, 2016).

[15] Study scores calculated by the VCAA will be used by the Victorian Tertiary Admissions Centre (VTAC) to calculate the ATAR. The maximum study score is 50. Each year, and for every study, the mean study score is set at 30.

in the 2015 gaining an Australian Tertiary Admissions Ranking[16] (ATAR) of 90 or above. For those students undertaking the International Baccalaureate Diploma Program, more than 80% achieved an ATAR of 90 or above. Finally, 98% of Callan students receiving a first-round university offer. In comparison, Bexley's website offers little information about the results of students. Information gathered through the national school result database outlined that Bexley students achieved a median VCE Study score of 31 (placing Bexley within the top 200 schools for 2015), with no further information available regarding the post school trajectories of these students.

Participant Selection and Methods of Data Collection

This project involved research in Callan College and Bexley Academy over the course of three terms within the 2016 Victorian school year (March-August). Research involved two phases of in-school observations and semi-structured interviews with educators and year 10 students, accompanied by an analysis of school policy, mission and marketing materials. In this section, I explain how the student was conducted in more detail, by reviewing school and participant selection decisions and data collection methods.

School and participant selection

The study focuses on Australian secondary schools that respond to the transnational condition and offer programs that seek to develop learners into being 'internationally minded'. Accordingly, two schools that offer both the International Baccalaureate Middle Years Programme (IBMYP, undertaken during the middle years of school) and International Baccalaureate DP (Diploma Programme, undertaken during the final two years of school) were chosen to participate in the research, with students in the final year of the MYP chosen to participate in the research. I specifically selected two IB schools with culturally and linguistically diverse populations, so that global citizenship education issues

[16] The Australian Tertiary Admission Rank (ATAR) is a number between 0.00 and 99.95 that indicates a student's position relative to all the students who started high school with them in Year 7. So, an ATAR of 80.00 means that you are 20 per cent from the top of your Year 7 group (not your Year 12 group). Universities use the ATAR to help them select students for their courses and admission to most tertiary courses is based on your selection rank (your ATAR + any applicable adjustments). Most universities also use other criteria when selecting students (eg a personal statement, a questionnaire, a portfolio of work, an audition, an interview or a test) (see: https://www.uac.edu.au/future-applicants/atar)

could be explored in settings that vary in terms of gender, religious, cultural and socioeconomic demographics. In order to gain insights into a broad range of teacher and student experiences, the two sites chosen for the research are two secondary schools offering IB secondary programs: one in a diverse, mixed-income, mixed faith and disparate socioeconomic setting in the south east of Melbourne (Bexley), while the second school is an independent secondary school in a wealthy inner Melbourne suburb (Callan).

In order to compare and contrast the experiences of teachers and learners, both of the schools were selected for their engagement with migrant, transnational and/or international students, in addition to students who are from minority, prestige, community and native English-speaking backgrounds. Yet my initial experiences at Callan and Bexley were similar, to an extent. During the recruitment phases, I communicated first with the principal via email, providing a brief overview of my study, before arranging a formal introductory meeting to discuss my research. However, in each school, I arrived for my initial meeting with the principal at two different reception areas, setting the tone for the initial meetings. At Bexley, a small school easily located on a leafy green street, the reception area was simple, scattered with artefacts of students' work and religious imagery. Callan was different, it was intimidating. I had driven past Callan many times in my life, and always wondered about the lives of the students who had the privilege of attending a school of such status. In contract to Bexley, Callan housed an enormous reception area where I was greeted by the receptionist and a head teacher, who showed me to a small holding area while I waited to meet the principal. After our conversation, he told me I would enjoy speaking to participants from Callan, which he noted was diverse only in that it was 'all shades of white'. Both meetings set the tone for much of the subsequent fieldwork.

Why IB schools?

The International Baccalaureate is committed to the notion of international mindedness, and the expected outcome of its graduates as 'global citizens'. Although the Australian Curriculum and Assessment Authority has made significant efforts to ensure that students are given opportunities to engage with the world, the International Baccalaureate is perhaps the most prevalent provider of international education curriculum. It is for this reason I chose to target International Baccalaureate schools in an Australian context.

Why year 10 students?

One of the core aims of this project was to explore the ways in which each school and its local community facilitates, mediates or excludes certain experiences and imaginations for young people. For this reason, I chose to target year 10 participants, as in Victorian schools, this is a crucial transition year between the lower and senior years of secondary school, during which students must make important decisions about future education and career pathways. Year 10 International Baccalaureate students in both schools were also required to reflect on their experiences in undertaking the IB before considering whether to move into the Diploma Program or the Victorian Certificate in Education. This decision marks a time in which these young people must consider their aspirations, as well as their sense of place and belonging. Ultimately, the IB Middle Years programme was selected over the IB Diploma Programme (years 11 & 12), as it is a time of a student's schooling when there are significant opportunities for global mindedness to be fostered through subjects without such pressure of high stakes assessment. Further, in Australian schools, young people typically turn 15 during year 10. This is a time marked by huge personal and emotional development, increased personal responsibility and choices about their lives beyond school. These significant life transitions mean young people are likely to be thinking and imagining the world in new ways, influenced not only by school, family and friends, but by broader engagements in their local community or beyond.

English Language Learners

Of particular interest and necessity to this study were students who spoke English as an Additional Language or Dialect (EAL/D) and who were undertaking schooling in Victoria. English language learners come from a myriad of backgrounds, including refugee, migrant, transnational, with international and third culture affiliations, and their diverse experiences are seen as highly valuable for this study. Although many students born in Australia have travelled, share family connections abroad, or regularly connect with others across the world through social networking, EAL/D students are an extremely heterogeneous group. Further, even though the cultural heritage of these students can enrich the classroom environment, their English language skills can pose a challenge for teachers in mainstream classrooms. As the highly rigorous IB does not currently offer a separate EAL/D stream for EAL/D students, it was be of great interest to explore the role of the teacher in facilitating a classroom in which student voices and experiences are drawn

upon in the interpretation and enactment of global citizenship.

Participants

Interview participants comprised school administrators, teachers and students. Decisions about participant numbers were informed by principles of purposeful sampling, which involves choosing a relatively small number of information rich subjects who will illuminate the questions under study and provide thick, rich and descriptive data (Patton 2002). Purposeful sampling is based on the view that the 'validity, meaningfulness, and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information and richness of the cases selected and the observational/analytical capabilities of the researchers than with sample size' (Patton 2002, 245). For reliability and comparison, similar numbers of educators and students were sought in each site. 2 principals/school leaders in each school, as well as 2 IB Middle Years Program coordinators were targeted for the research. 8 teachers (4 from each school) were also asked to participate in the research. Whilst it was possible to recruit the same number of students at each school, it was more difficult to recruit educators at Bexley, due to the smaller size of the school. However, the ultimate sample size was still comparable.

	School Leaders	Teachers	Students	
Callan	2	4	30	36
Bexley	2	3	28	33
Total	4	7	58	**69**

Table 5. Participant Numbers (Interviewees)

Methods

Fieldwork involved in-school observations and semi-structured interviews with school leaders/administrators, educators and year 10 students, accompanied by an analysis of school policy and planning materials, and an examination of student work samples.

Semi-structured interviews

Within the field of qualitative research, interviews have been described as providing opportunity to engage participants in a 'conversation with a purpose' (Burgess, 1984, p. 102). As Patton (2002) notes, interviews afford a mechanism for gaining rich insights that cannot be captured through observation alone. In this study, semi-structured interviews were conducted at two separate time points with educators and students in each school. These interviews formed the central component of the fieldwork data and provided a method for gathering rich, qualitative data. The first round of interviews took place between March and June 2016, after twelve months of engagement with each school and analysis of relevant documents and policy data to provide a background for the next stage of research.

Prior to interviews with school leaders and educators, I conducted an informal thirty-minute session with participants in each participating school. Educators were provided with a list of questions that I would use the next time we met for our interviews. During each of these sessions, I talked to my participants about their lives, experiences, their thoughts on the school and the community, and briefly introduced the main ideas behind my research. During these informal discussions, I explained (in plain language) key ideas associated with global citizenship education, and its manifestations in the school space. After this introductory session, I felt that we had established rapport and that the educators involved in my study were familiar with the concepts that underpinned my study and were well prepared for the subsequent interviews. The first phase of interviews with educators were conducted one-on-one and each interview lasted for approximately 40 minutes.

The second round of interviews took place between July and August 2016 and took the form of small group interviews with students. These small focus groups were not prefaced with an introductory session; however, students were also provided with a general overview of the areas of focus, namely, what global citizenship meant to them, how global citizenship was being used in their schools, and what activities were occurring in relation to global citizenship. These questions provided a framework for semi structured interviewing. At the beginning of each focus group, the students and I looked through the central themes as a group. Drawing upon my own experience as a teacher, I explored the more complex constructs in a way that I thought appropriate for students in year 10 and took the time to get to know the students. As we read through the questions

together, I encouraged students to ask questions or request clarification over any terms or words they did not understand. This scaffolded strategy proved useful in that it allowed my participants time to consider and prepare to share their opinions relating to the key research questions. The informal nature of the sessions also seemed to have a positive impact on students who were initially nervous about the interviews. The first phase of interviews with students were conducted in groups of five, and each interview lasted for approximately 40 minutes. Interviews were used as the primary method of data collection, justified in their ability to respond to the research questions (Merriam, 2014).

Observations

Throughout 2016, I interacted with staff and students at both Callan and Bexley. Students and their teachers were collectively observed both in classrooms and in the broader school setting itself. As I had multiple participants at each school, this meant moving between different learning and interaction spaces, including the playground, staffroom, and classroom. Observations were conducted in order to understand the experiences and interpretations of global citizenship education by schools and their staff, and the responses of students. Because I was on site, I also had access to the school over the course of the day, which provided opportunity for further observations, and even though these did not form part of the formal data collection process, they supported my reflections on both schools.

Approach to Data Analysis

Merriam (2014) strongly suggests qualitative researchers employing case study methods undertake thematic analysis based on a number of key steps, thus, the analysis process I followed is provided in brief detail below, drawing upon Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis model. The specific coding scheme followed Boyatzis 1998 recommendations for code taxonomy (labelling, defining, describing and qualifying the codes), as discussed by Rubin and Rubin (2011):

Step	Description
Consideration of theory	Consideration of theoretical representations of global citizenship supports identification of preliminary themes
Identify initial thematic areas	Identification of themes drawn from relevant literature

Familiarisation	Reviewing of data to get become acquainted with data set as a whole
Initial coding	Based on consideration of theoretical constructs, data is initial coded into broad categories
Grouping	Codes are grouped within their overarching theme or factor
Revision	Themes are checked for consistency; codes need to be a representation of the theme. Themes are stabilised and given a definition.
Definition of themes	Develop meaningful codes
Inter-coding	Inter-coding process to ensure the stability of the coding scheme
Code stabilisation	Consistency check to ensure codes represented the intended themes.

Interviews were transcribed and thematically organised around the core research questions. The resulting thematic analysis was conducted in order to analyse observational, document, and interview data that seeks to understand how schools, educators, and students unpack the concept of global citizenship education. The interview and observational data were first entered into NVivo, a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software package, for coding along with document and focus group data, in order to understand significance and insights generated from the rich descriptive data gathered. NVivo was an important tool in the analysis process as it allowed me to organise my data and categorise it thematically. Drawing upon Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011)'s guidelines for qualitative data analysis, I undertook several steps in analysis of the interview, document, and observation data. First, I prepared the data by entering and formatting information (text) into NVivo, and then coding the data manually and thematically, adding specific segments of data that shared commonality in theme. After coding the data and checking data sets for consistency, I began to develop the thematic categories. Utilising NVivo allowed for greater rigour in organisation, management, and analysis than other qualitative coding methods offer (Kervin, Vialle, Herrington & Okely, 2006).

Planning, policy and marketing materials

In addition to my analysis school curricula documents and program materials, I

undertook a document analysis of relevant school policy, marketing, vision statements, and planning materials. 'Atkinson and Coffey (1997) refer to documents as 'social facts', which are produced, shared, and used in socially organised ways' (p. 47, as referenced in Bowen, 2009, p.27). As Bowen (2009, p.27) notes, document analysis 'requires that data be examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge' (see also Corbin & Strauss, 2008). In the context of my study, an analysis of curricula, program, policy, and school planning documents was undertaken in order to examine the ways in which global citizenship is imagined in each school. Drawing upon Gorichanaz and Latham's (2016) approach to holistic document analysis, my analysis of documents was useful for me in terms of providing insight to the internal workings of each school, but also gave me an opportunity to explore relevant policies and frameworks that drive the enactment of global citizenship education. As Bowen (2009, p. 32) outlines, document analysis involves a number of key steps: 'skimming (superficial examination), reading (thorough examination), and interpretation. This iterative process combines elements of content analysis and thematic analysis'. This systematic process of looking for, reviewing, and exploring themes, as well as content, is not a primary form of data in the context of this study, but assists in the triangulation or crystallisation (as discussed in the next section) of other data collection methods (Bowen, 2009; Denzin, 1970).

Crystallisation

The final component towards achieving trustworthiness and rigour in this study relates to triangulation of data. Triangulation involves cross examination of multiple sources of data, theories, and concepts, all of which aim 'remove the single voice of omniscience [and] provide a rich array of interpretations or perspectives' (Gergen & Gergen, 2000, p. 1028). However, triangulation has been challenged by some researchers in recent years, with critics of triangulation noting 'there are far more than three sides from which to approach the world' (Richardson, 2000, p. 934). In this context, crystallisation offers an alternative to triangulation which can enhance the reliability of a study. Drawing upon the imagine of crystals which 'reflect externalities and refract within themselves, creating different colours [and]...casting off in different directions' (Richardson, 2000, p. 934). Thus, the concept of the crystal highlights the fact that perception and interpretation of data are

dependent upon the way in which we see the world.

The data presented in the remainder of this thesis has been rigorously analysed, and crystallisation considers the multiplicity of voices and perspectives apparent in this study. Amongst the multiple voices in this study, I have attempted to position the voices of students centrally within this study, allowing for a dimension of crystallisation in students' own interpretations of global citizenship education. Here, I validate the analysis of data collected from interviews with school administrators, and teachers, and the perspectives and voices offered in policy and planning texts, in order to understand students' experiences in the interpretation and enactment of global citizenship education in each school. Thus, and again returning to Gorichanaz and Latham's (2016) discussion of holistic analysis, crystallisation is a fitting way to explore the complex phenomenon of global citizenship education and adds to the reliability of the analysis presented in this study.

Finally, it must be acknowledged that the study was a close and prolonged analysis of two schools, and the results cannot be generalised to other settings. However, in my choice of two International Baccalaureate schools with very different communities, I hope that the sentiments and perspectives uncovered in this study will resonate in other settings and schools, both International Baccalaureate schools and non- International Baccalaureate schools. At this point, I move from the methodology towards the integrated thematic analysis that follows, with a focus on three key themes that emerged from my analysis of global citizenship in IB schools: Interpretations and Enactments, Engaging the Local and Global, and Reconciling the Individual and Collective.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described my research design and methodology by introducing Callan and Bexley, outlining my study approach, and reviewing school and participant selection decisions and fieldwork methods. After introducing the rationale for this study (chapter one), analysing relevant literature and discussed the origins and current uses of global citizenship, and the ways in which global citizenship education is currently enacted in International Baccalaureate schools (chapter two and chapter three), this chapter has introduced the research design and discussed the methodology underpinning this study.

The remainder of this thesis focuses on the insights generated throughout the study and attempts to understand the interpretations and enactments of global citizenship education in two Australian IB schools.

CHAPTER FIVE

Interpreting and Enacting Global Citizenship Education

Introduction

In 2016, I visited Callan and Bexley many times to gain a deeper understanding of some of the complexities facing each site in relation to the interpretation and enactment of global citizenship narratives. For Bexley, examining and responding to notions of global citizenship aligned closely with the principal's goals to increase enrolments beyond the local Greek community, and position the school as 'international'. For Callan, the study offered school administration a chance to understand the ways in which the conceptual goals of the school translated into practice and evaluate the extent to which the educators were supporting the broader aims of the institute. These initial insights into the school would also support later reflection upon the schools' interpretations and enactments of global citizenship education.

This chapter focusses specifically on the tensions that exist between the interpretations and enactments of global citizenship narratives for administrators, teachers, and students in the two schools that participated in this study. The first section draws attention to the tensions between interpreting and enacting global citizenship education within IB schools. The second section considers the uses of the International Baccalaureate in Australian schools, focusing on Callan College and Bexley Academy's positioning of global citizenship education in policies and practices. The third section draws attention to the main marketing and advertising messages produced by each school that reflect their positioning of global citizenship. The fourth section explores the implementation of global citizenship education in classroom and curricula practices, while the final section considers the enactment of global citizenship education in two schools, and the associated tensions that emerge as International Baccalaureate schools negotiate and broker a global citizenship emphasis in their programs.

Data analysed in this chapter suggest that the enactment of global citizenship narratives in these two schools is a process marked by dilemma for educators, unclear not only in their classroom practices, but also their relationship with colleagues, parents, and students. It became evident that although school leaders support the implementation of the International Baccalaureate and associated global citizenship education, divergent

perspectives and understandings were evident, and overall, a lack of real enactment of global citizenship education was apparent. Some educators at each school actively embrace the idea of global citizenship education, others express anxiety, resentment, and disappointment about the ways in which the school and students are positioned as hegemonic narratives of global citizenship within the IB are hastily adopted.

Tensions Between Interpreting and Enacting Global Citizenship

A lack of clarity around what global citizenship really is, and how it can be taught or attained, poses significant problems for researchers, policy makers and educators who seek to further develop global citizenship as part of a more global approach to schooling reform (Clarke and Savage, 2017). As these authors illustrate, understanding global citizenship is problematic for at both a policy and practitioner level, and it because of the disparate interpretations that global citizenship remains essentially an unachieved and intangible ideal. Clarke and Savage's research is a timely commentary on the problematic nature of interpreting and enacting global citizenship, and the complexities in achieving the humanistic goals that global citizenship narratives seek to explore. But within Australia, the relational motivations of global citizenship education also operate in a very specific education realm, creating tensions between community and individualised interpretations of global citizenship.

Against a construct of neo-liberal narratives of school choice, the 'anxious middle classes' have been enabled to pursue 'strategies of closure' (Ball, 2003, as cited in Doherty, 2009, p.3) around privileged spaces and elite markets of 'educational distinction' (Ball, Bowe & Gewirtz, 1996). Indeed, availability of individual choice has become a 'micro-mechanism for macro-level class reproduction' (Ball, 2003, p. 15), where the availability of school choices has effectively 'produced a stratified market that reinforces relative class position' (Doherty, 2009, p.3). In consideration of these privileged enclaves, we now see parents and their students increasingly positioned 'within a social network … against a background of material and social differences' (Ball, Bowe & Gewirtz, 1996, p. 93). Although parental choices have seen stratification within different educational settings (Ball & Vincent, 1998; Teese, 2000), we now see an increased awareness amongst both the choice of school, and the curricula that is offered within it. Teese and Polesel (2003, as cited in Doherty, 2009, p.4) draw our attention to the class implications of curriculum choice, emphasising the ways in which

particular kinds of knowledge are valued above others within the Australian education system, ultimately widening the gap in social structures and educational inequalities. The positioning of schools, and the resultant enclaves of privilege that have arisen as a result of school and curricula choice, may explain the increased desirability of programs and curricula that sets students apart from their peers. Global citizenship, as situated within the independent realm, is one such 'program'. Although the community aims of global citizenship, particularly those defined by Oxfam (2009) and used in many education spaces across the world seek to combat injustice and foster equity, global citizenship also offers opportunity to incorporate cosmopolitanism into education. Thus, there are several tensions inherent in the enactment of global citizenship education in the independent realm. It is against this background that I begin my exploration of Callan and Bexley, as I attempt to problematise the interpretation and enactments of global citizenship in International Baccalaureate schools.

Perhaps most telling of the tensions surrounded interpretations and enactments of the still often unclear concept of global citizenship were my initial observations of Bexley and Callan, and the lack of overt reference to either global citizenship education or the International Baccalaureate. Looking around both schools and peering into classrooms, staffrooms, libraries, and halls gave me little idea of what went on in classrooms. There were no world maps, no photographs of student projects on global or international issues of current concern, such as the humanitarian crisis in Syria or the latest incarnation of the Sustainable Development Goals. So ahead of my discussions with staff and students, as I wondered as to the ways in which global citizenship education was approached by these two schools, I anticipated discussions of global citizenship education as an ideal for students, and for educators and school leaders, as an interdisciplinary goal, taught as a specific subject, or embedded as a central component of social studies or IB specific curriculum electives. Yet in my initial discussions with staff and students, when asked '*what does global citizenship education mean to you*'? there appeared to be a lack of understanding and clarity around the concept, and an aversion to engaging in a discussion about the interpretation of the concept. Of all the staff and students, I spoke to at Bexley and Callan, only two attempted to define global citizenship within the context of their school:

> Global citizenship is something you like, watch on television *(Student, Callan College).*

> I liken global citizenship with, so I've studied naturopathy and homeopathy… so it's more about looking at the totality so rather than just looking at one thing, understanding that often there is other triggers or other things that are involved in it. So for me, global citizenship as I see it, obviously as a world we are one and understanding that what we do can have ramifications even if we may not directly see it, even within families to societies to other cultures and things like that…I guess, allowing everyone to have their say… *(Teacher, Bexley Academy*)

If these definitions are problematic and unclear, less clear still was the ways in which global citizenship education appeared to be enacted in each school. Across my discussions with and observations of educators and students, I waited to see if there were any tangible practices, discussions, or considerations about community, and shared responsibility, and ways to action these ideals. Instead, there appeared to be an assumption that the presence of the International Baccalaureate as a broad mechanism, simply underpins the development of global citizenship education within each school:

> I think… the Theory of Knowledge (TOK) component provides some global citizenship *(Teacher, Callan College)*

> We do IB, like *think about it,* it's about global citizenship *(Student, Bexley Academy)*

> You've got to keep moving towards an ideal of best practice and that involves things like you know global citizenship and intercultural understanding and the global citizenship… what's it called, global citizenship competence? (*Deputy Principal, Bexley Academy*).

> I'm fairly hesitant about being explicit in teaching trying to teach those things, like today were going to have a lesson on global citizenship, or today we are going to have a lesson on international mindedness, or today we are going to have a lesson on being principled… *(Teacher, Callan College)*

Still unclear as to the ways in which each school understands global citizenship education, I spoke to the principals of Bexley and Callan about what they viewed global citizenship education to mean. Here, I was provided with what later appears to be a representative

insight into their attitudes towards reform, and global citizenship education as a mechanism for change, but still no real clarity on what global citizenship education means for schools:

> 'Let's be proud of all cultures, lets embrace all the different cultures that come in' *(Principal, Callan College)*

> 'I'm proud to be leading that community. Are we, you know, the exemplar of internationalism? Of course, not- we have a long way to go'... (*Principal, Bexley Academy*)

I include the above two quotes as a basis for my subsequent discussions with Bexley and Callan staff and students, but also to demonstrate the subtly disparate views and ideals of both school leaders. At times, global citizenship education appeared to be conflated with multicultural education, internationalism, and diversity, and just as Clarke and Savage, (2017) discuss in their analysis of global citizenship education in international schools, Bexley and Callan's school leaders appear to struggle to reconcile the concept of global citizenship education. Although I had by now spent only a little time with both school's administrators, the above quotes are illustrative of views that appear to permeate the two school's communities: that global citizenship education is about culture, about internationalism, about diversity, about community. But in these comments on culture, and the lack of what is known, global citizenship education is already positioned as an intangible and unclear ideal of individual that each school struggles to understand.

Corporate Statements

After my initial discussions with each school leader, it was already evident that there are numerous efforts to internationalise the school community, as a way to diversify each school, and align with the aims of International Baccalaureate texts on international mindedness and community responsibility. Yet the school spaces in which Callan's educators exist are somewhat dichotomous, as it appears are each leader's motivations for embracing internationalism.

Examining Callan's strategic plans, mission statement and documents, as well as community

data around cultural and language backgrounds, there is little overt markedness in changes to the school community over the past decade, particularly in the demographics and socioeconomic status of students. Corporate Statements, Strategic Documents, and major objectives of the school reveal key concepts of *Diversity*, *community* and *social cohesion*, and there are few overt references to global citizenship. Yet as discussed by Callan's principal, the importance of global citizenship has become increasingly evident in the previous years.

Examining Callan College's *Strategic Plan 2010-2020*, there are the usual communitarian reference to ideas around belonging, there is also an emphasis upon 'moving global citizenship forward', into a space that attempts to bridge local and transnational identities. But there is also a more critical, more responsive approach to understanding global citizenship, reflecting the notions of 'responsive communitarians', who argue that the preservation of the social bonds is essential for the flourishing of individuals and of societies (Bell, 2010). Callan situates itself as providing a holistic and academic education, evident in the school's motto, 'a *true* education'. In Callan's extensive marketing materials and strategic planning documents, this notion of true education is defined as an education experience that 'captures the richness, breadth and depth of a Callan education, and encapsulates all that is wonderful about Callan College'. Both the school motto and marketing reflect the school vision: 'a world class coeducational independent school developing the whole person through timeless principles of learning'. Although the school performs well based upon tertiary admission ranks, as a school established in 1866, Callan's academic outcomes are secondary to the historical significance of the school and reputation as a provider of a complete education that promotes students 'to know', 'to do', 'to live with', and 'to be'. Reflecting on the school operating as both a community and brand, Callan's policies and programs appear designed to augment local and transitional perspectives on global citizenship, through the sharing of success stories of students who were 'given the confidence to become global citizens'[17].

For Callan, as an independent school with a significant fee structure, there is relevance to Wood's (2014) study, which examined the spectrum between the active, participatory citizenship prevalent among high-SES participants and the passive, non-participatory

[17] This confidence is referenced in a number of school based marketing documents and promotion campaigns within and around the school itself.

citizenship characteristic of lower-SES groups. Because of their affluence, Callan's students are expected to be engaging in activities that place them ahead of the pack, echoing Bagnall's criticisms of elitism in curricula and school choice in Australia (2010), as one of Callan's teachers admits: 'if you're paying thirty thousand [dollars] a year for your child's education, you want a return on your investment, not just an understanding of other cultures'. Here, there is a sense of banal cosmopolitan in the school's engagement with 'difference', but there is also a positioning of Callan as a homogenous space, as another of Callan's teacher acknowledges:

> It's not the kind of place where you hear different languages being spoken… it's fairly Anglo in terms of that regard… not as diverse as most. You know, you're looking at the demographic [Peterston[18]] - how diverse is the local community in terms of you know, socioeconomic background? It's not an easy suburb for new migrant families to break into, obviously it's a fee-paying school so that's also going to have an effect on the ethnic background of the students. I'd say in that regard it does have an effect on the amount of diversity… in terms of the overall international mindedness of students, schools which are more diverse naturally have more global citizens.

My initial discussions of Callan's imagining of global citizenship narratives are immediately complex because of the school's perceived lack of diversity, but beneath the scepticism about the community demographics of the school, Callan's school leadership appears to be genuinely concerned about using the school's resources to improve outcomes for students who do not have the privileges a Callan education affords. Critiques of global citizenship often refer to its ambiguity and to both latent and explicit western assumptions that are often considered embedded in its core (Andreotti, 2006), yet in my initial conversations at least, it appears that Callan has made initial attempts to augment the normative positioning of global understanding and belonging. In the articulation of a decade long vision for global citizenship, Callan's vision includes critical perspectives on global citizenship reflected in the work of Andreotti (2006), who during my time at the school, is also consulted to share her research on postcolonial forms of global citizenship education with staff and Callan's leadership team.

[18] Peterston is a highly affluent and ethnically homogenous suburb in the inner southern suburbs of Melbourne.

Furthermore, my informal discussions and observations of Callan's principal and deputy principal situate global citizenship education within a narrative of inclusion, a concern for others, belonging, and global identity, echoing research around social justice enactments of global citizenship in schools (Davies, 2006; Hicks, 2010). These concerns are also reflected in my discussions with Callan's principal, who notes he is working to support the inclusion of 'Indigenous perspectives on belonging in Australian education spaces', in order to challenge the 'normative cultural view' (*Principal, Callan College*) permeating Australian communities:

> We see it [cultural normativity] playing out even in dialogue from government, that if you are going to be living in this country, then you have to fit in to a cultural norm. And I'm struggling to know what that is… its far more complex than that and we have multiple cultures with different perspectives on the same values. And really for me, the power of that in terms of the multiplicity of view and multiplicity of perspective around key human issues is something we need to explore more deeply and extract the benefit of more deeply… (*Principal, Callan College*)

In this extract, Callan's school administration expresses concern for cultural norms at play in Australia today. Concern for cultural norms can be reflected in the various forms of global citizenship education used in many schools and communities today, an issue also explored by researchers in the realm (see Brown, 2003; Pashby, 2008; Resnik, 2009) who consider global citizenship education to offer a direct response, though through different incentives, by education systems to the modern, globalized workforce, or other global imperatives.

In contrast to Callan, Bexley is a relatively small school, with modest surrounds in the outer suburbs of Melbourne. Bexley's school community is predominantly Greek in cultural heritage, and the location of the school next to the community's Greek orthodox church reflects this longstanding connection. My first visits to the school are observational only, encountering students, teachers and administrators in passing in the staff room. Teachers muse over the usual woes: student behavioural issues, challenging parents, and all the preparation accompanying the recently implemented International Baccalaureate. Most of the conversations within the school revolve around curriculum reform, and the struggles associated with the implementation of the Middle Years Program. There are few discussions over the diversification of the school, but many over the manner in which the MYP has been

implemented at Bexley. The term 'global citizenship' was absent from Bexley's more recent policies or plans, but was overt in its marketing campaigns, an observation I explore more fully in the subsequent section.

I begin my exploration of Bexley by looking through the available school data on socioeconomic backgrounds, language backgrounds, and again at enrolment data and trajectories. Callan College retains a steady stream of students from English speaking backgrounds, but their policy documents and mission statement demonstrate increased engagement, cultural exchanges, and partnerships with a diverse range of stakeholders and community members. Bexley's historical documents clearly reflect its links to the Greek community of Melbourne, but as I look over the school's website, planning documents and policy statements, I notice a shift over the past five years that is not as overt in Callan's documents. However, an analysis of key terms used in policy statements in particular, reveals an overt placement of concepts such as 'internationalism', 'global citizenship', 'international mindedness' (*Bexley Academy, 2014; Callan College, 2015, internal policy documents*) and so on, relevant to the introduction of the International Baccalaureate in both schools.

While both schools are independent and draw upon faith-based provisions, Bexley in particular appears to have moved away from a prior affiliation with Orthodox Greek culture, as two of Bexley's students discuss in the exchange provided below:

AD:	How do you feel in the school?
S:	*Mostly that the school is quite welcoming and does offer a lot for you. If there is something that the school doesn't offer they always accommodate for your needs. I believe that we all feel as though it's a good school.*
S:	There's been a drastic change in if we compare before the IB was introduced, and to now.
S:	*We've become more cultural and we've become more multicultural.*

Bexley faces more overt challenges than Callan in terms of the school community and the shifts it faces, largely attributable to the school's Greek history. One teacher at Bexley comments on these changes to the school community and tells me that 'some of the things in terms of using the social media, the networks, the advertising' means she is 'seeing increasing diversity'. Another teacher agrees there is much positivity in a shift towards a

more diverse space: 'I think it's about time, as well, I think it's about the nature of the, the size of the catchment area and the nature of the local community is changing, and I think that is filtering through' (*Teacher, Bexley Academy*).

Examining Bexley's 2008-2012 planning documents reveals a sense of communitarianism in Bexley's history, with numerous mentions in texts of 'community members', 'community responsibility', and 'shared values'. Emerging largely in response to liberal emphasis upon self, communitarianism is a social philosophy that emphasizes the pivotal role society plays in enacting and reimaging the common good. Communitarianism offers a response to liberal ideals that argue 'each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override' (Rawls 1971, p.3). Thus, the portrayal of the self creates an autonomous individual, who, outside of a formative social context – weighs various values and goods and exercises her liberty by freely choosing among them. Communitarians argue that this liberal conception, with its heavy emphasis on choice and autonomy, ignores the crucial fact that individuals are 'embedded' in societies, finding themselves affected by external forces that influence their ultimate decision (Etzioni, 2006). As a result, Michael Sandel has observed that '…the weakness of the liberal conception of freedom is bound up with its appeal. If we understand ourselves as free and independent selves, unbound by moral ties we haven't chosen, we can't make sense of a range of moral and political obligations that we commonly recognize, even prize' (Sandel 2009, p.220). Here, Sandel considers solidarity, loyalty, historic memory, and religious faith to be such moral obligations, and considers the ways in which individuals experience the force of these moral ties without choosing to be pressured and shaped by them. Likewise, although there is a strong school shift in school objectives post 2012, Bexley operates as a core part of the local Greek community, and as such, appears subject to the moral obligations of the community in which it is situated- to memory, to Hellenic culture, to the Orthodox faith. Global citizenship, at least as envisioned by Bexley, seems more comfortable in the communitarian histories of the school and its surrounds.

Both of the schools analysed in this study imagine global citizenship education in different ways, and much of this difference is dependent upon the demographics of each school. Indeed, in Bexley Academy and Callan College, we see global citizenship used as a construct for these two schools to recognise and respond to 'diversity'. Yet beyond the normative

positioning of global citizenship in these two schools, it is an examination of the promotion materials of both schools that most overtly hint at alternate uses of global citizenship. Here, we also see global citizenship positioned as a means by which to transcend the potential of the current school and its community, while seeking to attract new students through the prospect an 'international education'. The next section examines the desirability of global citizenship in the context of the IB, as a means to market each school.

Marketing Messages

Both Bexley and Callan market themselves heavily as 'international' schools that aspire to respond to the needs of a changing world. Callan is a very high, fee-paying school, and many students from all across Melbourne travel to Callan on a daily basis, Callan also has a boarding school, which houses students from interstate and regional areas. Although there are muted references to financial scholarships, Callan's high fee structure appears to have been stable over the past decade, increasing only in line with standard economic inflation. In my analysis of policy and planning documents, the only obvious changes to the institution are the fairly recent offering of the International Baccalaureate programs, minor amendments to the countries offered for overseas trips and exchange programs (less Africa, more Europe), and the introduction of a voluntary exchange program with a remote Indigenous community school. Callan's students describe the school as having 'always been known for being quite international- especially with the boarding school'; 'and the IB. Similarly, Callan's Head of Teaching and Learning positions the International Baccalaureate as an integral component to attract international students who may share connections with other countries and cultures:

> Being an IB school, we also attract overseas families who are looking for that continuity of education and that community feel that comes from being an IB school, so I think that attracts as well *(Head of Teaching and Learning, Callan College).*

Yet, for a self-described 'international school, Callan's marketing materials offer an alarming lack of cultural diversity. One teacher describes Callan's students as 'all shades of white' in one of my first informal discussions at the school, and this perceived lack of diversity is emphasized by Callan's promotion campaigns and school website, as well as my classroom

observations. As an independent school, Callan is unable to provide me with specific linguistic or cultural data, but my classroom and school observations support concerns over lack of cultural diversity within the student body. However, as I examine Callan's planning documents and vision statements, I am intrigued by the positioning of an Indigenous community school exchange program as a means by which to engage Callan's affluent students with cultural and socioeconomic difference. The inclusion of this program is overt and repeated throughout Callan's branding campaigns as an opportunity to radically reform the social and economic structure of the school community. Several strategically placed images of Indigenous students in the school's materials promote Callan's 'exchange program', but there remains a sense that the inclusion of the program also serves to illuminate the lack of diversity amongst Callan's other marketing and strategy documents. Accordingly, in the marketing messages of Callan, there is a sense that representations of students from non-Caucasian backgrounds may be fictional, as Andreotti has considered in her work on critical global citizenship (2006, and later, post-colonial citizenship, 2010). Of course, such representations of 'diversity' may be both helpful and harmful, serving to both promote inclusion and highlight its absence.

Callan's historical positioning in the education space in Victoria renders it as an elite institution. For Callan, attracting international students has become a significant service export, and just as the Australian government has developed 'immigration and labour recruitment policies that are closely aligned with the neoliberal policy objectives of international education' (Rizvi, 2009, p. 269-270), Callan responds to an elite school community through the provision of resources and education services that aim to build social and cultural capital. Callan's head of teaching and learning emphasises that Callan's increased focus on offering international resources and programs, such as the International Baccalaureate, are attributable to the demands of a shifting (and increasingly affluent) school community:

> I think it's just that the community, that the broader local community is more increasingly Chinese. Chinese families want the best for their kids, so they are looking for an environment to provide that… *if* they can afford it… *(Head of Teaching and Learning, Callan College)*

For Callan, cultural shifts are dependent on increased access to the school community, yet

Candice's comments; that families will choose Callan '*if* they can afford it', highlights the enviable position of Callan and its students, but also positions the realities of parental and curriculum choice against the realities of a market society. Although the claims that more Chinese families are enrolling in Callan challenges educator sentiments that Callan is 'all shades of white' (*Teacher, Callan College*), the socioeconomic status of most students and families at Callan may continue to act as a barrier to diversification and engagement with Melbourne's increasingly multicultural and diverse community members. And thus, the privilege of students may have consequences for expanded notions of global citizenship and global citizenship education.

Bexley's promotional campaigns appear more 'diverse' at a superficial level, in the placement of smiling students (overtly from different ethnic backgrounds throughout its marketing materials), echoing Gerwitz, Ball and Bowe's (1995) analysis of schools strategically using colour rather than black and white images to market their products (p.126-143) and the associated lifestyle the school affords. Yet while imaginings of 'cultural diversity' are evident in Bexley's school promotion campaigns, the claims of delivering 'an international education', through the provision of the International Baccalaureate are of interest. Within Bexley's marketing discourses, there is repetition of the IB as offering a chance for increased understanding and engagement in international issues, and this provision melds with the promise of an education that offers parents and students increased opportunities to connect 'holistic' educational experiences to cosmopolitan post school trajectories.

For Bexley, global citizenship fits the agenda of international education and the policies of the International Baccalaureate, however, the 'goal of 'more than one curriculum' invokes the market model and its rubric of choice to 'attract parents', foster competition and enhance quality' (Doherty, 2009, p.8). I consider these tensions as during my third month of data collection, I decide to take a break from data collection and go to see a Spanish language film in a small independent cinema just south of the city. It is here that I see a glossy (and I suspect expensive) advertisement for Bexley Academy. What gains my interest is less connected to the fleeting reference to school achievements and VCE scores, but more centred upon the repeated emphasis upon the International Baccalaureate. It is therefore interesting to muse that Bexley's school administration has planned to promote in places that transnational people frequent, like independent cinemas showing foreign language

films, where the arthouse cinema operates as a recruiting site.

The placement of the advertisement relates to Doherty's (2009) perspective on the International Baccalaureate: 'a curriculum that was developed with cosmopolitan middle-class interests in mind, and is now being strategically deployed to engage the local middle-class consumer' (p.13). For a school like Bexley, with an established mid socio-economic group, the introduction of the International Baccalaureate creates forms of distinction for Bexley that are usually evident in 'international' spaces of education. Choosing a school because of the International Baccalaureate offers parents a 'gift-wrapped promise constructed in the media before sampling the actual product' (Doherty, 2009, p.14).

In the marketing campaigns of both Bexley and Callan, there is a declaration of the IB as the central agent in the 'internationalising' of each school. As part of this campaign, attracting international students appears to be assumed to facilitate global citizenship education, diversity, and internationalism at Bexley.

> In conjunction with the full fee international students deliberately we have brought in study tour groups, again, predominantly from China, and that was deliberate to a certain extent not just for the cultural diversity and the internationalism but also to expose our teachers to just off the boat if you like, kids from overseas *(Principal, Bexley Academy).*

This perceived correlation between internationalism and the offering of the International Baccalaureate echoes Ball et al. (1999) who found that students of different backgrounds imagine their futures differently and use their imagined futures to frame their choices with regards to their educational trajectory. In their study of the motivations behind Australian students' choice of International Diploma (IB) versus local curricula, Doherty, Mu, and Shield (2009) also found that students' social class and imagined futures played significant roles in the students' choices; specifically, they found students of higher SES more likely to imagine a mobile future and thus to select the IB curriculum so as to enable themselves to fulfil this imagined future. Yet the assumption that the provision of IB programs alone creates a 'promise' or even a 'community' has been contested in studies of international schools (Goren & Yemini, 2017a), however, offering the IB itself has been shown to yield other outcomes (Doherty, 2009), such as bolstered interest in the cosmopolitan advantages

of independent schools. The findings of these studies are reflected in the comments of Bexley's students, as outlined in the exchange below, who discuss the IB as a program that offers little more than complexity to their classroom experiences:

AD:	*Do you like the IB?*
S:	[shakes head no]: The [IB] kind of overexaggerates certain things and therefore like causing us students to not like it that much… the IB takes it to a very diff- not difficult, but complicated level, and so when they tell you to do something you look at it and you actually have to ask the teacher multiple times what it's talking about.
S:	*It's very confusing… in the sense where it's like just taken too far in certain aspects when it comes to the criteria whereas I, the normal Australian curriculum would probably be a slight bit easier.*
AD:	Does it [the IB] help you to learn about the world?
S:	*… look at for example the generation before us they didn't have programmes like this and they turned out fine. And they managed to learn about the world around them simply by going out into the world and learning.*
S:	It's a really debatable topic, because like my parents think that the school has implemented this to open our awareness to everything that's happening around us, whereas I think that it's just become a new thing or a new trend or whatever to make the school seem better than what it may be than what it appears to be
S:	*Exactly*
S:	It's [the IB] a pretty big façade if you ask me. Like the teachers- one minute we'd be in class and they'd be like *so this is what we are going to do,* the next minute it's like this automatic switch and they're like o*kay we need to start working on the learner profile* and you're kind of like, *well is it really about the learner profile or is it just for show, that you want to show?*
S:	So as you see, we have that massive thing outside the school saying IB world school, usually the teacher saying *oh there was an IB person coming to see how we work around the IB programme…* that's when they started writing everything up on the board saying you need to study this this and this study the IB programme.

These students are not foolish, and their cynicism of an 'international' program that is self

admittedly used as a marketing tactic is well founded when compared to the comments made by Bexley's school leadership team. These comments reflect the concerns of market orientation in secondary schools that define themselves as 'international', and the ways in which international systems of schooling often instil advantage and contribute to systems that privilege those who have, over those who do not (Dabrowski & Arifin, 2016). There are also echoes here of Beck's 2002 exploration of globalised, market-driven cultural expressions and the resultant banality of cosmopolitanism that arises in response. Bexley's deputy principal hints at Bexley's reliance upon internationalism as a rebranding and reimagining of the school, designed to be, and seemingly successful, in salvaging the remnants of a school with diminishing student figures and high attrition rates. There is a sense that the desire to reform Bexley is not authentic, but an overt use of the International Baccalaureate to increase student numbers through evocation of global citizenship narratives. Bexley markets itself as 'international', as a space of inclusivity and choice, but some of Bexley's teachers are concerned about the way and motivations behind the school is becoming 'less Greek', as noted in the following exchange:

T:	You can't, I mean you could put quotas in place, but I don't think that's necessarily the right way to do it either
AD:	*What do you mean?*
T:	The school is actually doing a very good job at the moment in terms of marketing and strengthening its name and kind of appealing to a broader audience…in principle I think it's wonderful [diversification of the school], like I think it's excellent that the school would become more diverse and open minded and broad. I think slightly concerned about how it's being done.
AD:	*Interesting…. in what ways?*
T:	[It's] …driven by budget and finance and an opportunity to, you know, let's get some international students and they pay a lot of money…

The emphasis upon the provision of the International Baccalaureate in both Callan and Bexley is not surprising. While national curricula respond to student mobility and iterates the need for consistency across state lines, more individuals find themselves in transnational families and communities and the desire for 'internationally recognised' education results

in increased demand for international curricula choice. In this context, the International Baccalaureate therefore becomes an important consideration in the marketing of schools and the focus of school branding, as Kemp (2006, p.12) discusses:

> Instead of the state curriculum, schools can now use the International Baccalaureate, and that curriculum has not been negotiated with the unions or the states. It is an internationally accepted curriculum with high academic standards that some students prefer to do because its assessment is recognised internationally... It also shows that schools can use curriculum to attract parents and establish a reputation for quality.

Indeed, for Bexley, increased marketing of the school and the International Baccalaureate appears to have positively impacted upon Bexley's enrolment figures. Examining Bexley's enrolment documents provides an insight into the impact that the introduction of the International Baccalaureate has had upon Bexley's solid enrolment growth over the past five years, a growth Bexley's deputy principal explores in more detail:

> Our loss of students at the end of year six has decreased, plus we are getting students who are coming in to the middle years and to the senior school. But our numbers are growing particularly through the junior school.... So, once that wave of students comes through in terms of financial enrolment security for the school it should be fine for a lot of years *(Deputy Principal, Bexley Academy).*

Bexley's deputy principal describes enrolment stability and gains, but there is little explanation for this growth. However, Bexley's financial statements and plans depict an increase in enrolments that aligns with the introduction of the International Baccalaureate, and importantly, the branding of the school as 'international', an insight Bexley's principal dismisses:

> At the end of the day it's all about word of mouth, we can market as much as we like out there and put out lovely brochures and talk about what we aspire to be doing, but the numbers would not increase here unless the word of mouth out there was strong and positive... *(Principal, Bexley Academy).*

But Bexley's students don't all agree with their principal, and there is a level of cynicism associated with the motivation for the changing school culture and marketisation of internationalism within a predominantly Greek orthodox community. Bexley's students discuss the cost associated with the IB implementation, and indeed, the enactment of global citizenship narratives as articulated by the International Baccalaureate, and Bexley, as an IB world school:

AD:	*Why do you think your school is trying to be more international?*
S:	Because they're trying to embrace different countries
S:	*It's bringing in more money.*
S:	So, what's it called, every assembly we hear [the principal] talk and it's like so what is our sister school in Greece, our sister school in Kazakhstan, our sister school in Afghanistan, how many sister schools have we got? Forget it man.
S:	*I think it's more about being together and then individual global citizens like instead of like, oh yes, 'we have this many countries in our school', its more about we can all like mend together and bond together.*
S:	Learn about or accept everything around us and yeah just be people who are willing to accept other things.
AD:	*Why would the principal have made these changes?*
S:	Money, money, money
S:	*To get money*
S:	It's all about the money, money, money.
S:	*Money more enrolments*
S:	I think it's a bit more publicity and like.
S:	*It sets them apart from other schools you know.*
AD:	You have the IB now. Do you like the IB?
S:	*Oh, forget it!*
S:	I hate it.
S:	*We've apparently been told that Callan College had the IB programme but then they got rid of it because it was too much money. So, we found that quite strange because most of us know that Callan is a very wealthy school.*
S:	When we started [school] it used to be very much cheaper and I'm sure all of us came to this school because not only was it cheap it had core values and morals that we all wanted to stand by.

Although Gillard (2008) argues for schools as spaces that produce equity and individual aspiration, schooling also 'contributes to reproducing the structure of the distribution of cultural capital' (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990), and Bexley's students situate their school as using global citizenship education as a commodity. Ultimately, Bexley's students also see their school as exploiting individuals and using international students for their economic potential, so that Bexley's students become 'objects … to be attracted, excluded, displayed and processed, according to their commercial and semiotic worth' (Gewirtz 2002, 124), exploiting the already high levels of cultural capital (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990) evident in an international, fee paying school. I discuss the concerns of Bexley students, and their positioning as 'objects' with the school principal, pausing to reflect on the marketing of the school, and the money being afforded to IB implementation as a way to create a culture of global citizenship. The school principal initially dismisses the marketing of internationalism, and states that marketing plays a limited role in the school's current branding as international, a school that is no longer local, no longer only for the Orthodox. But the principal also acknowledges he was 'brought in' to 'save a struggling school', and hints to diversification of the student body as helping the school to increase its student enrolments:

AD:	*I noticed when I was looking through old school documents that the school name has changed. Why did that occur?*
P:	The change from [Bexley] Greek Orthodox college to [Bexley] Academy was just not a change in name, it was a change in direction, a change of intent. And in a short period of time, I latched on to a strategic plan that had been developed by a consultant for the school, used basically the outlays of the plan but changed all the internals of it.
AD:	*Interesting. Why?*
P:	One of the key fundamental decisions the board made was to open up the school initially so a certain percentage of non-Greek students coming into the school.
AD:	*So, you wanted less Greek students?*
P:	Yes, we *needed* to make the school less Greek.

Interestingly, Bexley's principal's comments on making the school 'less Greek' appears to be an effective tactic to diversify the school community and raise enrolment numbers. Indeed, based on current school enrolment figures, the school's approach has saved a school on the

brink of closure. However, the heavy promotion of the International Baccalaureate may have played a role in the school changes, and the effort to reduce the Hellenic influence in Bexley. In this light, the 'selective, disciplinary and discriminatory' practices that emerge under education marketisation are 'part of the problem, not the solution' (Gillborn and Youdell 2000, 1). Bexley's deputy principal speaks to the idea that the school community has gained increased credibility through the provision of an internationally recognised certificate, as the following exchange demonstrates:

AD: *So, I have a question- who chose to introduce the IB, and why?*

DP: [Our principal] came along with the notion that we need a point of difference between us and our other competitors. So it was point of difference… which had more integrity than what was currently offered and encourage parents to stay on for the rest of the ride.

AD: *How has that changed enrolments?*

DP: We've got a number of students- new enrolments who have come from other Grammar schools, so we've got more credibility as an academic school through the being an IB world school and our VCE results have improved as well. And I think when you take parents on tours the difference between now and four years ago you know the atmosphere, the tone in the school has changed a lot.

AD: *Some of the teachers I have spoken to say the tone has changed too much, especially for those families who identify as Greek…*

DP: Well that's not the intention. You know our market, our biggest market still is people who live locally who are Greek and who have not sent their children to the school, they might have come to the school themselves in the past but then not sending their children to the school because they think it's too Greek and it's not academic. So I think that we have to present a product to the community that you know the school has changed, we are still based on Hellenic culture and Orthodox values are still important and they are the cornerstones and they've brought the school through to where it is today and it now has a stronger outward looking international focus. I mean *that's what we are trying to sell*, and you know just in the last week we've had forty-five Chinese students in the school and you know they bring a lot of colour and

vibrancy you know it changes the whole tone and mix of the school.

The rebranding of the school hints at Bexley's understanding of the demands of a market society (Sandel, 2010) but what does that mean for the traditional Greek culture that is still alive and well in Bexley? There is some consideration for the school's traditions as articulated by Bexley's teachers, but as Bexley's deputy principal notes, culture change is inevitable 'as a result of being an IB school'. Yet the loss of Hellenic influence has the potential to weaken the case for Bexley to position itself as a truly international school, and this issue of internationalism is one contested by Bexley's deputy principal:

> Look, there is a lot of things you can do in a school which help make the school look and appear to be an international school. *(Deputy Principal, Bexley Academy)*

Such strategizing reflects research on school choice and considers the tensions of education and school and curricula choice, drawing upon the theories of Pierre Bourdieu (as articulated by Savage, 2011). Reflecting upon Bourdieu, and the research of Gillborn and Youdell 2000 and Ball 2003, Savage argues that parents with higher levels of social and cultural capital are advantageously placed 'within hierarchical fields of social power to manipulate the system and ensure their child reaps maximum educational benefits' (p.44). The attitudes of Bexley's deputy principal towards community shifts support the efforts of their principal to diversify the community and provoke a less Hellenic school cohort. Yet the subtle disclosure that there are 'a lot of things you can do in a school which help make the school look and appear to be an international school' indicates that Bexley's use of global citizenship education is perhaps more effective as a marketing strategy, than a tool for focusing on international issues, students, and backgrounds.

At this point, it remains unclear as to the ways in which teachers and students are engaging with the global, and the remainder of this chapter focuses on the processes in which school students and educators assemble global citizenship interpretations as enactments. In this context, and in reference to Weick's (1988) enactment theory, enactments of global citizenship education in the context of this study are not about practices, but about processes. Thus, the question of *how* global citizenship education is enacted drives this thesis, and here, we find global citizenship education done in various ways. Against a

backdrop of corporate statements, and marketing messages, I move to examine what is actually happening in schools and classrooms, and therefore, how global citizenship education is being enacted.

Enacting Global Citizenship

As Callan's school leadership staff note, 'we've made some huge developments in that over the years in terms of the more global views you know in terms of accepting people from different countries into the community I think we do that really well. But in terms of how aware we are I think there is more that we could be doing'… (*Head of Teaching and Learning, Callan College*). Similarly, Bexley's principal school's outlines his efforts to enact global citizenship education narrative, yet like Callan's leadership team, there is uncertainty that those 'messages' have been enough:

> For about two years, we were peppering the families with different messages about globalisation every time there was a national anthem being played. Prior to that we put a flag [specific country flag] on Facebook pages, in emails to the parents we'd explain the nature of the national day [referring to Bexley's cultural or 'national days', where different countries were celebrated and focused upon], why we are doing that and to encourage them to embrace it. So, we have, we believe, done what we could to expose our parents to that… *(Principal, Bexley Academy)*

The concerns of Bexley's principal echoes studies exploring the implementation of global citizenship education in schools often focus upon the involvement of community members in relation to the embedding of critical global citizenship narratives (Tully, 2010). But Bexley's principal sees his reform as a process of necessary change in a path towards implementation of the IB and a global citizenship agenda, pushing back against a community that he sees as 'close minded', with a 'number of Orthodox families who were up in arms about some of the changes':

> There will be a proportion of the Greek background families who are very close-minded, that you know, the Greek is everything to them, why are these other kids here. But I still think by and large out there the families are supporting our direction. Because they are seeing the difference in the quality of programme, and also

> irrespective of the different cultures here, the fact that we are getting more of these kids coming in is enabling us to have more resources to strengthen our educational outlook anyway (P*rincipal, Bexley Academy)*

Similarly, Bexley's deputy principal iterates the challenges of working against 'ingrained values that are so deep, and they're like these are the cornerstones on how they think and work things through. They're so deep that they just don't, they just don't understand that there is another way to look at an issue' *(Deputy Principal, Bexley Academy).* Another teacher adds that parents in particular can derail the aims of global citizenship education: 'there are some parents and its usually a minority that seem to be louder than the majority and do a good job of it in that sense. It's hard for them to shift their identity' *(Teacher, Bexley Academy).*

Bexley's deputy principal also notes that Bexley still has 'a large Greek contingent in the school, and I think their cultural background you know, does influence the way that they think and perceive things'. This comment suggests that there is a sentiment that many disengaged Greek parents are undermining the school's efforts to introduce the students to international issues. 'I think a lot of the parents don't, I mean, they will say '*yes, we believe in learning and learning is important, school is important*', but they don't have the tools, or they don't know what to do to support to really support their son or daughters learning at home'. As Bexley's principal notes, the shift from a transnational to an international community 'is a different experience again, because it's not of the predominant background they are coming from, its predominantly Asian countries now, so yes there is a challenge there'. But there are also humanitarian responsibilities that have impacted upon the desires of Bexley's principal to make the school 'less Greek':

> About four years ago, we introduced a whole lot of Greek immigrants to the school when the crisis was in Greece….the teachers at that time were jumping up and down about the fact they had to cope with kids who spoke very little English… they were Greek background, [but] we encouraged the teachers not to speak Greek to them… we were finding that Greek teachers were falling back on their native language, but it wasn't actually helping them [the students] to develop their language skills *(Principal, Bexley Academy).*

My discussion with Bexley's principal and staff suggests that although the school is keen to

develop the idea of global citizenship, the school is very much in the emergent phases of implementing critical, genuine narratives around internationalism, and engaging a transnational space with some lack of clarity on how to enact global citizenship education:

> You know, it's a very busy school, everyone's being pulled in every direction, but it [global citizenship and globalisation] is one of our cornerstones in the strategic plan… So from a globalisation thing, these are two or three things that we as a leadership team will focus on and will resource that for our school. So therefore, the staff will be expected then to depending on what we choose to participate in that to again with the aim of strengthening the globalisation outlook of the school (*Principal, Bexley Academy).*

> It's a bit skin deep and in some way it is, but then it's better than nothing and I think …it has the potential to really grow *(Teacher, Bexley Academy).*

While newly arrived immigrants, exchange students, and internationally mobile students are already engaging with the school community, Bexley continues to be challenged by the presence and history of the Hellenic community. As a consequence of increased global mobility, heightened 'ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation states', have become evident (Vertovec, 1999, p. 2), ties that are evident in the transnational Australian/Greek community at Bexley. In addition to augmenting the prospects of a once struggling school, Bexley is also tasked with the difficulty of evolving a wary transnational space.

Participants from both schools note the challenges associated with an increasingly mobile and diverse school community. While my previous discussions with Bexley students in particular have been met with apprehension over what they perceive to be a fairly radical reform of their school community, Callan's staff and students appear better prepared for the future, and for the enactment of international agendas in the school. I return to Callan, interested to see if Callan faces the same challenges of community responses to curriculum and leadership, and again talk to Callan's principal about what Callan does to prepare their staff and students for the idea of global citizenship:

> I can speak to the various opportunities we provide for our students to get a sense of there being responsible and active members of society or community on different levels whether local national international. What the kids actually do with it, I couldn't speak as reliably on as I would like, but you know strategically what we try, we just try to provide the experience and immerse them in it in the hope that that will shape them whether, and I'm not too sure whether there is any more you can do in that regard beyond telling them what to think *(Principal, Callan College).*

Yet while there is an emphasis on the importance of leadership in supporting global citizenship and promoting diversity, there is evidence of the difficulties the staff and school community faces at Callan in facilitating global citizenship education within the school, with one teacher noting that 'I've watched different leaders come in to different parts of the school and the focus change' (*Teacher, Callan College*). Further, it appears there is some confusion amongst staff to understand ways in which to shift current interpretations of global citizenship education within the International Baccalaureate into a meaningful space, but at the same time, a sense of resignation is apparent in light of current practices:

> It may be skin deep, but then it's [the IB] doing a lot more than other programmes are doing. It's a deliberate attempt to educate our kids about what's happening. And the world's gotten smaller… when the IB started forty-five years ago its mission was still as it is now, but that mission was probably harder to achieve than it is now because you can look at global issues so much more easily, so I think that the authenticity of what they're trying to do hasn't changed… it's no easy feat to try and develop kids who are going to go out and change the world…. (*Head of Teaching and Learning, Callan College*)

The ambiguity over understanding global citizenship narratives is well discussed (Alviar-Martin & Baildon, 2016; Rapoport, 2015), and relevant to Callan and the quote above, is often framed within the school around the national, rather than the global (Engel, 2014; O'Connor & Faas, 2012; Rapoport, 2010). Subsequently, just as Goren and Yemini (2016) highlight, the form that global citizenship takes on within different realms is dependent upon the narratives that are prevalent in those settings (see also Alviar-Martin & Baildon, 2016; Wang & Hoffman, 2016).

Callan's school principal admits that there are challenges in understanding the changing space that is Callan: 'it can't be, as I began this conversation, about presuming there is a norm. There's a Callan community but this is, you can't on the one hand say *we are investing heavily in internationalism* and then say *as long as it looks like this*. As long as there is a single perspective on this. So, I'm, we are working… to explore those issues and see what kind of programmes what kind of practices are put in place to make certain that we extract the benefit of having that cultural mix'. But there are more challenges associated with teachers, as champion of the global citizenship education enactments and some of Bexley's teachers think more can be done to respond to diversity in their school:

> I think more could be done in assemblies, this for me is something with this school that's not taken advantage of is the school assembly it ends up being notices and actually it could be a really it could be an opportunity for an effective speaker to give a presentation, give an assembly just fifteen minutes but something really thought provoking, eye opening, and that's not done here and that's a huge opportunity missed. And that would make, you know the national anthem that's played at three twenty in the afternoon, put it into context and then it would become a little bit more a little bit deeper than just the superficial (*Teacher, Bexley Academy*).

The above comment reflects the importance of recognising of teacher agency in the realm of global citizenship education and considers the complexity of preparing students to engage in robust forms of global citizenship education. Reflecting upon the interplay between the IB curricula and classroom practice, the educational context in Bexley and Callan appears to have become muddied by the shift from local towards international, as both schools struggle to meaningfully draw upon 'diversity' in the enactment of classroom pedagogy. In this context, as the idea of education is 'characterized by significant levels of cultural diversity and exchange, public policy struggles to define ways of both celebrating these new conditions and keeping them in check' (Rizvi, 2009, p. 281). Here, Callan's deputy principal also echoes hesitation amongst his staff, but notes he feels practice will develop as individuals also begin to develop in terms of individuals mindsets:

> There's an adage which is very true, and that teachers only change their behaviours after they change their beliefs. So theoretically people will be saying this is fine, this is a good thing, we understand why we are doing this but actually this is somebody

else's business. I want to just keep doing what I'm doing in my world (*Deputy Principal, Callan College*).

Callan's principal admits that teachers are struggling with both the enactment of the International Baccalaureate and the global citizenship education component, and other associated programs designed to bolster cultural diversity for Callan's students:

> I don't think teachers are handling very well at all. If I look at one of the key planks that we are introducing… the Chinese immersion programme, it's going to have profound impact on Callan, not only in terms of bilingual capacity for our kids, but also around our employment profile, the nature of our classrooms, I mean if we are eventually, potentially we might be teaching physics or visual arts in Chinese. Now I think people, the way Callan works, is yeah, *we will explore this idea* and *we will adopt it as long as it doesn't impact on me*. And this is going to impact on everyone (*Principal, Callan College*).

Callan's Deputy principal is in agreement, despite comments about the 'unique' International Baccalaureate community:

> We've assumed they are all on the same page with us and we probably haven't done enough work to get them on that page, because, and that's the thing that's probably difficult for people in school leadership to do… I call it evangelising and for teachers who don't share the same values, that is off putting in itself so in a sense really what we are talking about here is for the institution to live up to its own vision… so how does the institution make sure that its vision, its values about education are being enacted. Because Callan, you know, at least on paper says *it believes in all these things* - and what does it exactly means by the things it says it believes in? And how does it make sure that the teachers within its community are actually on board? They [Callan's teachers] have been comfortable for twenty years, and at some point you've got to ask *in what ways is the school actually challenged the individual sensibilities and values of each teacher?* You know, sometimes you've got to wonder *okay if everybody can just come in here, and hang around for thirty years not doing anything particularly unique, then is it because the school simply allows everybody to just be?* (*Deputy Principal, Callan College*).

For its leaders, Callan's biggest challenge is the result of the minimal shifts the school has faced over the past two decades. There are complaints that the school is failing to hold itself accountable in responding to a changing world, which renders Callan 'stuck in the past', driven by educators who continue to support a lack of innovation and acknowledgement that the world is continuing to evolve. The realisation that teachers are not 'handling' new programs can be attributed to the extent to which support is provided from school administration, but there are also challenges in terms of teacher perceptions and practices. As Goren and Yemini (2016) note, studies dealing with teacher perceptions and practices regarding global citizenship education can be best summarized by the title of Rapoport's (2010) study of teachers in Indiana: '*We cannot teach what we do not know*'. In Rapport's study, social studies teachers teaching a curriculum supposedly aimed at fostering global citizenship reported a lack of understanding of the concept of global citizenship that resulted in an aversion to teaching it.

Similarly, Dill (2013) identifies two distinct approaches to enacting global citizenship education in schools, ranging from a focus on developing global competencies to a global consciousness approach, which are employed in different ways by teachers based upon their perceptions of their school and their students' trajectories. But according to Callan's leadership, the teachers at Callan could be perceived as somewhat resistant to the changes the community is facing: yet as their principal notes, cultural change must be organic. Further, without a global consciousness approach that stems from humanistic values and assumptions (Dill, 2013), many educators will only begin to reform their practice when they see the world differently. However, support for teachers is never sufficient, and made more difficult as the school community changes, a concern Callan's principal laments:

> It's never enough… You know, clearly if teachers aren't feeling like they are getting sufficient support then we really have got to start looking at other ways of providing tangible support for them… (*Principal, Callan College*).

Returning to Bexley, one of the year ten students agrees with the concerns outlined at Callan, particularly in regard to the issue of internationalism within the context of the IB:

> I believe most teachers are struggling, not struggling, but still getting a bit confused with it, as are the students. So, I think the teachers are trying to incorporate it as

much as they can, but because they aren't IB teachers or haven't been exposed to the programme for very long, they don't follow it as much as they are probably expected to (*Student, Bexley Academy*).

One of Bexley's teachers supports these thoughts on teacher preparedness when she tells me she has found it challenging to engage students, but rather than attributing engagement to teachers, argues that students are 'not ready' and have 'no idea': This attitude towards student readiness is notable, because as Hamre and Pianta (2001) have noted, the attitudes teachers have towards their students can greatly impact on student identities and trajectories. Indeed, from even an early stage, teachers' perceptions of their relationships with students predict a range of school outcomes (Hamre & Pianta, 2001, p. 625). Thus, it is concerning that Bexley's leadership members also holds the perspective that 'there are some students that, *they just don't get it*, and you look at them and look in their eyes and listen to what they say, and you think, *do you have the capacity to get there?*'

In addition to confirming the consequences of negative teacher attitudes towards learners upon student outcomes (Avramidis & Norwich, 2002; Hastings & Oakford, 2003), there is marked dilemma in these comments, for if Bexley's teachers and leaders see some students as unable to engage in international issues, and with the International Baccalaureate program. The International Baccalaureate has been both identified and criticised for the rigorous nature of the syllabus (Tarc, 2009), so why would Bexley mandate its implementation if it considers the curriculum and its programmes inaccessible by students on the basis of ability? Some of these challenges are likely attributable to the speed at which the IB has been implemented at Bexley, as Bexley's principal considers:

P: We became an authorised IB school in, you know, a relatively short period of time and the teachers at this school had very little PD if any… [internationalism] is not something that you know one minute you introduce IB and you're an international flavoured school because of that it takes time. Culture change will always take time.

AD: *How have teachers have responded to the implementation of the International Baccalaureate?*

P: Some of the teachers have adapted to it really well some teachers

> are still a bit reticent still trying to understand the framework to its fullest extent and a little bit fearful of that to a certain extent… there will be a small pocket also I believe that will be quite resistant because they like doing what they have been doing for many years in the past and why should they change. You have that at every school. But I think as the school continues to progress and they understand that this is the vision this is the mission this is what we are doing they will either embrace it or then they will choose to leave and go elsewhere.

My discussions with staff at Bexley meet an understanding of the complexities associated with transnationalism and global citizenship, but also hint at a lack of ability, to adequately plan and prepare for the enactment of the International Baccalaureate in their school. One Bexley's teachers tells me that the lack of preparation and understanding is 'partly to do with the work load that's involved', and a consensus amongst staff that International Baccalaureate programs are 'too academic', 'too difficult for students', and fail 'to support students with different learning needs'. Another teach notes the implementation phase 'was very stressful for a lot of people, there was a lot of expectation particularly with the authorisation last year', and that she has 'heard a little bit of whinging about it [the IB]' which has the potential to undermine other perspectives that value the IB as a mechanism for promoting international understanding at Bexley. Then there is manner in which professional development has been articulated has not engaged many members of staff, as 'people weren't interested in going overseas to do a [PD] course' (*Deputy Principal, Bexley Academy*). However, many of the teachers at Bexley attribute the lack of willingness to engage with the complexities of day to day teaching, and an unwillingness of the school administration to consider the realities of the school, as several teachers note:

> The person in charge of curriculum needs to come down to the grass roots level and not knock on your door and say where's your data. It's not about data. You haven't come to see the learning context. Come to see what we deal with on a daily basis! *(Teacher, Bexley Academy)*

> He [Bexley's school principal] hasn't been perceived to be supportive of staff, I think though there still needs to be a bit more work done in listening and that's not necessarily from the principle but from his subordinates, listening to not imposing

> on others what was done at their previous educational institutions…. I think that if someone is implementing a program they have to teach the program. It's not good enough for somebody in administration to say '*yep this I what we are doing, now do it*'. No, doesn't sit well with me you have to role model what you want… If you don't role model something, if you're not willing to jump from the office get into the classroom, write the units from scratch do the assessments from scratch, then don't impose the program on anybody…generally if you're asking how the staff feel is '*no this has been imposed on us*' and *we've had no say*. And I can see where they are coming from, and I can see where administration came from and why they had to make those decisions but yeah I think at large there are still not as many but there are still some people who are rather cynical and don't really support the cause that is Bexley. *(Teacher, Bexley Academy)*

There is frustration in both schools, where much of the blame is shouldered by teachers. Dinham (2012) talks about teachers being blamed when students fail to learn. But in Bexley, educators are also blamed when students fail to understand an international curriculum that has been implemented in haste. As a consequence, there are factions within the school where a lack of engagement and willingness to change is holding Bexley back in terms of helping students to experience greater opportunities for learning

Deepening content knowledge, improving understanding of curricula frameworks and negotiating pedagogy against educational policies and practices are some of the many issues facing teachers working with a heterogeneous student body and particularly for those working to prepare students for global citizenship outside of the classroom (Waldron-Moore, 2013). Yet as more people retain linguistic and cultural ties with their home country, so too does the difficulty of creating a curriculum that fosters 'new modalities of cultural difference and social complexity' (Rizvi, 2009, p. 281). However, as Tarc (2012) admits:

> A hypercritical stance is difficult in the space of schooling. On the one hand, the teacher needs to hold onto a sense of agency for citizens-in-the-making—the possibility that students can make a difference and that what they think matters—but, on the other hand, the teacher is weighed down with the awareness that this feeling of "empowerment" or "agency" might have little to do with learning [emphasis original]—engaging alterity in any significant way. (p. 120)

For educators at Bexley and Callan, the school community itself provides opportunities for change, but the enactment of the International Baccalaureate as a mechanism to respond to social complexity is still in its infancy and here, the attitudes of school administrators warrant pause. In both Bexley and Callan, there is an assumption that educators are ill prepared to respond to diversity. Brecher, Childs and Cutler (1993) offer an explanation for the disparate conceptualization of global citizenship evident at Bexley and Callan, noting the obvious dichotomy between global citizenship as driven by the ideals of elite cosmopolites connected by capital, and the idealized alternate: derived from human solidarity and the aspirations of individuals to create a better world. Yet within Bexley, there is the added assumption that some of the students do not even have the capacity to understand or engage with international concepts.

As Callan's middle years program coordinator notes, when educators begin to hold these views, 'you're already in a bad space… its teachers projecting their own inadequacies on the kids'. Indeed, it appears that tensions emerge when global citizenship education and international education are attempted in a compliance or hierarchical, rather than organic or aspirational manner. And it is this process that I continue to look at in this thesis, rather than an examination of the International Baccalaureate and its goals and programs. Accordingly, regardless of what the International Baccalaureate says around practices of enactments of global citizenship education, the *processes* of interpreting, enacting, and reconciling become more important. In this case, schools that find themselves in the emergent phases of adopting 'global' practices are at a crossroads, with the changes to the school requiring them to be simultaneously global and local.

Classroom and Curricula

> We are wanting to keep connections and look beyond just the exchanges and the partnerships… but what other possibilities are there to bring the world closer to our kids and to give them a broader educational experience than just sitting in classrooms *(Head of Teaching and Learning, CC).*

We have now considered some of the tensions associated with preparedness and practice in both Bexley and Callan, and the complexities between interpreting and enacting global citizenship narratives within the context of the International Baccalaureate. For Callan, the

manner in which IB implementation has occurred is less contentious than Bexley, but there are still concerns around the International Baccalaureate and some of the broader goals of Callan's 'international agenda' in relation to curricula and classroom practice around global citizenship narratives. I discuss the International Baccalaureate's ambition to unify learners through education and connection to a shared world, with one of Callan's teachers:

AD: *So do you think the IB can support the development of global citizenship as a construct?*

T: All curriculums should have broad aims and themes. But you also have to, I think, be very aware that at the end of the day it's very difficult to judge whether someone is a global citizen or not, or is international minded or not, or is principled or is caring or is you know, how do you qualify that. You can't. It's really all quantified. It's really hard to say all of these things are worthy causes.

AD: *Are there any parts of the IB syllabus you find authentic in the global citizenship discussion?*

T: The courses do have more of an international flavour. I think also the theory of knowledge component also provides some global citizenship. In the IB sometimes they refer to this as international mindedness. I certainly let that kind of intercultural understanding comes through a bit more, you know I'm fairly hesitant about being explicit in teaching trying to teach those things, like today were going to have a lesson on global citizenship, or today we are going to have a lesson on international mindedness, or today we are going to have a lesson on being principled, or caring or risk taker, *I think the kids are tuned to that kind of tokenistic box ticking of curriculum.*

Callan's teacher echoes the concerns of Van Oord (2007), and more recently Bates, (2012, p. 165) who speculates that one of the challenges of the International Baccalaureate is the overt internationalism 'at the content level… [while] thoroughly 'western' at the epistemological level'. What then is possible, in the enactment of curricula to support the global citizenship narratives positioned by the International Baccalaureate? Callan's principal notes that Callan has not been 'deliberative enough' and has 'relied pretty heavily on the IB' to foster the development of community, an idea challenged by Goren and Yemini (2016) who argue that placing international programs and students together does not

necessarily create or foster global citizenship narratives. Yet the reliance on the IB offers a change to explore the development of future curriculum and classroom practices around diversity and global citizenship education with Callan's curriculum coordinator, who recognises the 'softness' (Andreotti, 2009) of the current approaches at Callan:

> I think that we are learning that you can't kind of have uninformed enquiry… I'm not saying all of our practice is uninformed, I'm simply saying because it's an enquiry-based curriculum doesn't necessarily mean the kids are exploring the issues with sufficient rigor. So, we are doing things like introducing explicit teaching of ethical enquiry where kids are exposed to a discipline and rigor about unpacking concepts and ideas and tensions and putting some logic around their thinking looking at multiple perspectives. I think that that's really necessary in order for us to truly benefit from the power of widespread cultural diversity. So, I'm probably a little concerned about unless we do more of that, we will continue to get fluff, and kids going on holidays with their families and saying that *they've done Europe* (*Curriculum Coordinator, Callan College*).

Similarly, Bexley's only teacher with international school experience voices her concern for the manner in which the school is attracting international students, expressing concern that 'the school's feeling its way, and there doesn't seem to be a lot of leadership from the top about how we properly integrate the students into the school' (*Teacher, Bexley Academy*).
Indeed, in several of the classrooms I observed over the course of different lessons, international students were separated into the back row of the classroom, turned to face the back wall, and given separate English language writing drills, separate from the lesson objectives provided to local students. In history, geography, and other social studies classes, I watched with interest as international students were separated at the door and sent to the back of the room. In my first observation at Bexley, during a history lesson, international students sat silently writing, while other members of the class participated in discussions around Australian culture and history.

Similarly, at Callan, in another social studies class, a small group of Chinese students were pointed towards the Learner Profile hanging in the corner, and asked to 'discuss the IB' (*Teacher, Callan College*) at the back of the classroom, while their teacher spoke to the local students about social engagement and activism. In another session at Bexley, students were

again sat at the back of the classroom, and given English language writing tasks, and excluded from mainstream classroom activities. I wonder if these observations are something of an anomaly, particularly for schools that endeavour to attract international students, and I raise the processes around classroom practice designed to support both the IB and global citizenship education with one of Bexley's teachers. 'Are there any policies in place? No. No. It's something that's done on an ad-hoc basis'! (*Teacher, Bexley Academy*).

Bexley's principal admits that 'the integration hasn't been strong because they [international students] don't know anybody and they are here for such a short period of time. We've had more success with short term international studies'. In this case, I wonder what Bexley does to acknowledge international students, and engage and include these students in the school community, an issue I discuss with Bexley's principal:

> So we've got fifty different students [students from fifty nationalities], so we will have fifty different anthems being played, and we try and play them as close to their national days as we can, and it goes into the bulletin promoting that this is what we are doing, the staff know if there is an anthem being played its reflecting that, they get an email from me prior to that saying this is what we are doing. We've tried at the canteen getting different foods being served on those cultural days, we've had some of the Indian population come in and actually make food for our kids on the Diwali festival days, so it's all about promoting at the moment, an understanding that we do have different cultures here…

The celebration of national days, foods, and songs are self-admitted as being done 'superficially at the moment', and this superficiality extends to other practices within Bexley, as Bexley's principal notes:

> The IB learner profile is pasted all around the school talking about its an international school, International Baccalaureate signage out there so it's all presenting to people that we are serious about internationalism, it is part of our agenda. (*Principal, Bexley Academy*).

Although there is a suggestion here that the promotion of the International Baccalaureate

will lead to 'a more deep [sic] understanding' as the school starts 'embedding some of these principles through the curriculum' (*Deputy Principal, Bexley Academy*), there are also echoes of banal globalism and global engagement, reflecting Szerszynski and Urry's (2006) discussion on inhabiting the world from afar. Here, the authors argue that an emergent culture of cosmopolitanism, 'refracted into different forms amongst different social groups, was being nurtured by a widespread 'banal globalism'– a proliferation of global symbols and narratives made available through popular culture' (2006, p.113).

Here, the authors' consideration of mobility and the capacity for comparison of different places is particularly relevant to Callan's students as described by their coordinator, who reflects the increases absenting from critical engagement with other spaces, and the resulting cosmopolitan relationship with other places and cultures. 'Doing Europe' by visiting art galleries and eating in restaurants sees Callan's students engage solely from afar, rather than from within. Accordingly, although the International Baccalaureate, as articulated by Callan's staff, has been positioned as a mechanism for global citizenship and concepts like 'international mindedness', the principal has noted that the school is perhaps too reliant upon the International Baccalaureate and its support for global practice. Although the IB 'gives schools something to consider that they need to be doing… thinking about it more or just you know just talking' (*Head of Teaching and Learning, Callan College*), there is also the need for identifying and fostering mindsets in the staff, as Callan's Head of Teaching and Learning states:

> … [global understanding] may be a quality we need to be looking for more in our teachers when we employ them- not just *can you teach the subject*, [but also] *what's your world view* and how might that play out in the classroom… you can put whatever lens over it you want and so you can choose to look local, national, global or not. It's what you do with what is on the page in front of you and how you expand kid's horizons. (*Head of Teaching and Learning, Callan College*).

Teachers can create myriad opportunities for learning (Singh & Qi, 2013) but reflecting upon the comments made by Bexley's school leaders and some staff about students who 'don't get it', there are distinct tensions over the interpretation of some of the goals of the International Baccalaureate, that is, to foster international mindedness:

> Let's be realistic here, in an ugly way at the end of the day teachers are going to focus

> on their fall back, which is the content they have to teach the kids, what assessments do I have to give them, I have reports to write, *oh this thing called you know being globally aware, internationally minded*, if you're innately that way inclined you're going to make it live, if you're not, unless you're supported by professional development and the school and it's an active living expectation of the school, you're probably not going to see it as more important (*Principal, Callan College*).

Although 'the IB cannot prescribe, so it gives you the freedom' (*Principal, Callan College*), the competing demands of school life have the potential to subvert the goals of the IB as an organisation. Here, there are a number of challenges for Callan's principal, who admits that 'I think there's a lot of stuff we do on the surface to promote internationalism [but]… the group I've heard complaining loudest about work anywhere are teachers. Not that they don't have a lot of work- they do have a lot of work to do- but I think sometimes the complaint is far more, I mean they spend far more time complaining than you know they could use that time actually doing the work…it's the willingness to step out of our own comfort zones'.

Students and their teachers continue to bring rich experiences to the classroom, which have the potential to impact beyond the classroom context (Cummins, 2011). Although the diverse aspirations, voices and values of students are important for educators, who influence the understandings and experiences of students, there is concern at the lack of innovation, or collaboration, in the school, and the implications this has for effective practice and student outcomes. Such concerns are valid, as diversification of classroom pedagogy is increasingly seen as a way to critically respond to student diversity (Cummins & Early; 2011; McDermott, Shelton, & Mogge, 2012; Miedema, 2012). This is a particularly important consideration for transnationalising spaces of education, such as IB schools that appeal to a globally oriented student body (Doherty, 2009). But for some of Bexley's students, discussions 'about current issues and all that stuff' are not enhanced by the 'way we learn in our classrooms', or the introduction of the International Baccalaureate. Indeed, one of the teachers even acknowledges the potential of the MYP at Bexley Academy, with some degree of cynicism:

> I think when it's done well there's, it's just fantastic because school really take a blend of both kind of a really looking appreciating their own context and also looking abroad and overseas and not just overseas but into other cultures and

> contexts and really celebrating and making the most of the diversity they've got in the school. When it's not done very well it [the IB] can be very easily just another programme…. a little bit of a joke (*Teacher, Bexley Academy*).

Yet the potential for the IB to foster student diversity in schools is enormous (Tarc, 2009), given the right conditions, programs and practices, within schools, yet tangible pedagogies that support global citizenship education within the context of the International Baccalaureate remain unclear for Bexley and Callan. As a result, the capability to evolve or even interpret the notion of global citizenship within their distinct education spaces remains diminished. Moving forward, teachers face a great challenge in addressing nationalism and supporting diversity within their classrooms. Deepening content knowledge, improving understanding and implementing effective methods that enrich educational policies and practices are some of the many issues facing schools – particularly those working with increasingly diverse students. But schools must be prepared, and it is crucial for schools to develop an understanding of student diversity, and demonstrate relevant skills and methods for working with students from different backgrounds

Conclusion

Although the prevalence of global citizenship discourse in the school policies of these two schools is comparable, the notion of altruism in global citizenship interpretation is underpinned by the marketing needs and enrolment demands that exist within the independent system. Despite the apparent efforts of administrators to drive a reform of global understanding and inclusion, understanding of global citizenship narratives appears to vary greatly across teacher and student communities, suggesting that beyond the level of school leadership, school communities interpret, enact and relate to the dominant narrative of global citizenship very differently. In both schools, marketing messages position global education against a backdrop of school and curricula choice, promoting participation with global curricula and relevant cultural practices as a way for students to gain advantage over their peers. Indeed, the tactic of positioning the school as 'globally minded' appears to be a foundational element in the drive for global citizenship narratives to be enacted, and a successful formula for increased enrolments. Ultimately, a lack of clarity around what to do, in regard to moving global citizenship education from theory to practice, suggests that participants within both schools felt that their school was using

global citizenship education not as a way to respond to student diversity, but as a means by which to market the school as elite.

From the perspective of administrators, both schools appear to have benefited from the introduction of international curriculum at the enrolment level, yet for educators and students, genuine movement towards 'internationalism' within classrooms and school communities is fraught with complexity. The tensions inherent in the perspectives and value attached to interpretations of global citizenship education appear dichotomous between administrators, educators and students, particularly in Bexley. Although students and teachers at Callan appeared to have accepted the introduction of international curriculum and practices as an organic response to school demographics and post school trajectories, some staff and students at Bexley appear to be struggling to overcome a perceived sense of loss: for culture, language, religion, and identity, and for the school and all it represents. In response to increasingly prolific messages of diversity promulgated by school administration, Bexley staff and students appear to evidence cynicism at the rationale for the introduction of international curricula, students, and expectations, and the speed at which the school has transformed.

If we look to the insights of educators and students, and indeed to the motivations for global citizenship agendas in the schools discussed in this study, the differences between the schools in terms of use and understanding of global narratives are numerous. Yet although both schools demonstrate tensions in the enactment of global citizenship education, administrators at Bexley appear to face greater resistance than those at Callan, and a greater degree of suspicion at the rationale behind the introduction of the International Baccalaureate as the curriculum *du jour*. While the differences in perspectives on global citizenship education between the two schools may not only be attributable to the perceived rapidity of reform in Bexley, but also to the lack of comparable resources between the schools, both schools appear to need increased communication between school leaders and their communities. This appears to be a crucial element to promoting understanding of the dominant narrative of global citizenship, and to support increased understanding of diversity and difference as school communities evolve. Accordingly, for school leaders, the challenges for developing a coherent school wide understanding of global citizenship are not only about supporting educators and utilising available resourcing, but about communicating the benefits of utilising and responding to a changing

school terrain.

CHAPTER SIX

Engaging the Local and the Global

Introduction

Chapter Five has examined some of the complexity around global citizenship education in schools, and has considered the disparate interpretations enactments of these processes at the school leader, teacher, and student level. Despite the efforts of both schools, my research – as reported in the previous chapter – found that teachers remain unclear how global citizenship education is enacted in classrooms, subjects, or the broader curricula. In the previous chapter, the extent to which schools struggle to clearly interpret and enact global citizenship education became increasingly apparent, but the interpretations and enactments of global citizenship narratives in IB schools hinted at the emergence of two competing strands within global citizenship education- the relational (or community focused), and the individual. As a consequence of such murkiness around enactments of GCE, this chapter focuses on some of the dilemmas that arise in schools. Amidst competing global, national, and local imperatives in IB schools, this chapter considers some of the unintended, and undesirable, consequences of attempting to enact global citizenship education.

The first section considers tensions associated with the positioning of local, transnational, and global identities as the school communities evolve, and explores the challenges that arise in local spaces as schools adopt practices they associate with global citizenship education. The second section focuses upon school responses to the diversification of school communities, and explores the creation of 'otherness' in IB schools. The third section explores the consequences of unequal power distribution between local and international students, and considers the impacts of race, class, and sexism upon student communities. The fourth section focuses on practices designed to augment opportunities for inclusion, while also considering the distance created between Australian students. The final section illuminates the tensions associated with the promotion of the International Baccalaureate and examines the perception of loss as articulated by school students.

In line with the emergent theme of dilemmas, this chapter suggests that there are many unintended consequences of enacting global citizenship education in IB schools, ranging

from the emergence of banal forms of cosmopolitanism, to social stratification and segregation between students. Indeed, as this chapter demonstrates, implementing initiatives around global citizenship education at a school site does not happen in isolation. Such initiatives or interventions on a curricula and pedagogical level are deeply complicated by factors linked to broader society, such as Australia's current complex tensions around multiculturalism, and thus, the more school specific processes, including marketing, demography and identify, and unresolved challenges around supporting diverse students' needs, begin to replace global citizenship education and its goals. Thus, while each IB school faces its own challenges in terms of building communities, difficulties associated with the 'internationalising' of their schools limit the possibility for students to retain symbolic power derived from their own heritage or culture, and the cultural identity of local and transnational students appears to be sidelined in favour of international curricula and considerations. As a consequence, some students appear now to be expected to act as 'global citizens', while watching their own opportunities for local belonging and connectedness diminish.

Becoming 'Global' in Local Spaces

> 'Other people are welcome in this space, as long as they are prepared to be like us'
> (*Curriculum Coordinator, Callan College)*

In the previous chapter, I considered the positioning of global citizenship in two Victorian schools, both of whom have committed to adopting a global perspective through the implementation of the International Baccalaureate, and the struggle to enact global citizenship education. It was evident that although both schools have committed to the principles of global citizenship education within the International Baccalaureate, there was a lack of both clarity and perhaps ability, to enact global citizenship education in robust, rather than banal forms. Indeed, the lack of clarity and direct evidence of global citizenship education in action, resulted in both Bexley and Callan apparently struggling to foster the more altruistic forms of global citizenship education reflected in IB discourses. Moving away from the still unclear enactments of global citizenship education in both schools, I now explore the dilemmas that arise from the processes of attempting to enact global citizenship education in schools.

> I think there's an incredible, I was going to use the word *tolerance* but that's not the right word, there's an incredible acceptance of anyone… doesn't matter that you come from Lebanon or that your parents might have dark skin or that you don't speak English, a really great acceptance. I think sometimes what happens perhaps for some of our Chinese students and perhaps more so our overseas students coming in is they naturally gravitate to each other because that's their comfort zone and that's their language. But there are certainly many very deliberate opportunities to engage them with the community and also opportunities to acknowledge them as a community of people as well… *(Head of Teaching and Learning, Callan College).*

Callan's school leaders perceive global citizenship, as enacted in the form of increasing diversity, as a natural progression for the school. Yet it has not been as easy for Bexley to move towards globality and an embracing of the global condition. In the previous chapter, Bexley's Principal noted that he wished for the school to become less Greek as a means to diversify the school community, and perhaps, lead to a more global, and multicultural space. For Bexley's principal, and some of its staff, it appears that there is a perception that the Greek community is too influential and trying to find a way to maintain the status quo, while also supporting engagement in international issues, appears to be challenging. Further, although the school appears to be embracing the changes to its demographics, not all of Bexley's students are comfortable with the shifts to the school community. In particular, the conversations around global citizenship and its enactments with school administration provoke reflection upon the potential for systematic reform in these two schools, moving the school into a space that acknowledges the diversity of Australian culture, and its myriad manifestations in Australia. In particular, Bexley Academy's deputy principal acknowledging that the school had tried to promote itself as an entirely different space- 'we wanted the school to appear less Greek than it was'- hint at the extent to which the school communities of Bexley has changed.

Bexley's staff note the merits of the IB as 'a framework there but it can be applied kind of according to the local context, according to the needs of the local context so that kind of flexibility to take into account the needs of local context but while encouraging an international point of view' *(Teacher, Bexley Academy)* and as providing 'the opportunity to really link into the pillar of globalisation, internationalism, international mindedness…'

(Principal, Bexley Academy). Yet at the same time, there is an awareness that the school is situated within a transnational Greek space, and accordingly, as one of Bexley's teachers describes, 'being a Greek in Australia' and an 'Australian in Greece' complicates the school's ability to internationalise.

> Although this is established by the Greek Orthodox community vocally in districts, the light was shut because it wasn't wanting to be shared, it became quite insular, whereas now the younger generation that's sort of taken the reins and running things have sort of seen the light in that sense, and realised that Hellenism is really about being inclusive and it's not about being a ghetto sort of group. I think in Australia we often head into little minority groups, and it's hard, because you want to maintain your cultural identity, but you also want to share that identity and be part of the society. (*Teacher, Bexley Academy).*

In international schools, where the IB operates, there is a focus upon global issues, and a global orientation, as discussed by Bates (2012), often free from the constraints of national agendas and policies that local schools like Bexley and Callan are subject to. But Bexley is not an international school, and its Greek heritage remains. Reflecting on the students above, there appear to be tensions around the opportunities afforded by globalisation, but there is apparent apprehension within the student body to simply give up their culture. Some of Bexley's students speak about the changes that have occurred within the school under the guidance of the new principal, whom they view to have had rejected traditional Greek culture as they have tried to become 'more multicultural', as illustrated by the following exchange with six of Bexley's Year 10 students:

AD:	*What has changed at Bexley?*
S:	Yeah, there used to be all Greek mostly, and now there's like forty something cultures at this school.
S:	*I think to get into the school you had to have a –*
S:	Greek background
S:	*No, a birth certificate, your birth certificate had to have your background on it.*
S:	It used to be a different name as well.
S:	*Really? I didn't know that.*
S:	Yeah Bexley Greek Orthodox Academy

AD: *Why did they change the name?*

S: They dropped the Greek part, because they wanted to be more multicultural and all that.

S: *Not enough numbers.*

S: They changed the name of the school…

S: *Which says a lot yeah…*

S: It's brought in so many more students, more people.

S: *It's doubled.*

AD: Are more students a good thing?

S: *Before the name of the school changed more Greek kids were coming and now you see children from other religions and other cultures and other backgrounds are coming more than Greeks because that's in a way how we are multicultural.*

S: If we hadn't changed the name, we wouldn't have made all this money

S: *For me I'm not too happy that they changed the name because the founder of this school was a Greek Orthodox priest, so they should have at least kept the same, so we can see that it was represented by the Greek community and the Orthodox community. But I'm not saying necessarily saying that its bad that our school is going international, but I would have liked to have kept that Greek Orthodoxy still in the school.*

S: I think there is a way of still having our culture and not isolating other people that aren't involved in our culture, and I think that the school fails to see that. Like, we can still sing our Greek national anthem at assembly, but I don't think that anyone that isn't of Greek culture should feel isolated because of that…

S: *Maybe just the school's bit off more than they can chew sometimes.*

S: We are supposed to be a multicultural school but yet we are still stuck in our ways of Greek Orthodox religion.

S: *[shakes head no]… the time for change is now.*

One sentiment that stands out from the students - the school has failed to acknowledge the importance of maintaining connections with the Greek community, while also developing connections with other cultural groups. In a school that promotes internationalism, the concern that existing communities are suffering is an insightful and important experience felt by many of Bexley's students. The exchange between Bexley's students also reflects

Cambridge and Thompson's 2004 analysis, which alludes to global citizenship as playing an important role in supporting students to be internationally minded (a goal shared by the International Baccalaureate). However, now that the International Baccalaureate has expanded beyond the realm of international schools, as Cambridge and Thompson note, international mindedness and cosmopolitan citizenship must be fostered alongside an acknowledgement and valuing of local and bi-local identities. Reflecting on the student perspectives, Bexley appears to fail to protect these diverse identities, which becomes particularly important to students who feel there 'will always be this fight in identity, it's this identity battle because you don't feel accepted by the larger Anglo-Saxon Australian community' *(Student, Bexley).* Indeed, amidst student perspectives on struggling to maintain their culture, there is also a sense that because of global citizenship narratives within the IB, Bexley has deliberately tried to rid the school of its historical culture and communities, in favour of international students:

AD:	What has changed at Bexley Academy over the last three years?
S:	*They've tried to erase everything Greek.*
AD:	Really?
S:	*They're trying to.*
S:	Trying to slowly.
AD:	*Can you give me an example?*
S:	For example, at Assembly we once had a Greek national anthem anymore. We don't.
AD:	*What has replaced the Greek anthem?*
S:	Just the Australian anthem.
S:	*They're going to start playing the Chinese one.*
S:	And then they have all these national days.
S:	*They put the Chinese flag up but they took the Greek one down.*
AD:	How does that make you feel?
S:	*They're favouring them*
S:	Basically rolling out the red carpet
S:	*We're just like in the distant background*
S:	For thirteen years or well ten years we've been supporting this school and now they've just thrown us in the bin.
S:	*Yeah*
S:	Miss, we've done a lot for this school, like all of us, like sport events and

everything and then these new teachers come in and they're like.. *respect every teacher…* but then the teacher just disrespects you.

S: *Let's just say when we are done our schooling we will come back here and there will be like no Greeks here. To be honest.*

S: It's like heading in that direction. Like *our school tradition is gone*.

Such a deliberate attempt to extinguish a culture seems unthinkable in 2016, particularly in Australia, a country with, up to the 1970s, a historical 'White Australia' policy, and a country that still struggles to reconcile its historical oppressions of minority cultures, and Indigenous peoples. Yet Bexley's principal willingly admits his goal is to reduce the representation of Greek culture at the school. In a school that seeks to embrace all cultures, the targeting of the Hellenic community is a vexed dilemma arising from competing global citizenship imperatives. Bexley's principal advocates for a 'less Greek' school, and in doing, denies students who share ties to both Greece and Australia the right to participate in emergent forms of community and belonging, as discussed by Sassen (2004). Here, Foucault's concept of the 'other' (1991) is useful. Similarly, Brown has argued that elites have previously used social closure to 'define the rules of the game to their own advantage' (Brown, 2013), and through 'primarily exclusionary tactics, it can also include consideration of inclusionary tactics to usurp the power base of privileged classes or social groups' (p. 695).

Furthermore, Bexley's assumption that reducing 'Greekness' will foster cosmopolitan citizenship in the school appears unfounded: studies by Brunold-Conesa (2010) and Pettigrew (2008) conclude that the cultivation of a school context that attracts students from different cultures, does not necessarily lead to organic forms of global citizenship. Instead, students are left with a dilemma of the local and the global: 'we've got multiculturalism and our original background…we can seek a balance because if we are not exposed to it [change], then all we know is the Greek tradition and multiculturalism' (*Student, Bexley Academy).*

Although educators at the school see positivity in the changes their school is experiencing, the exchange with Bexley students suggests that as their school has become 'more global', their own transnational identities have become insignificant, echoing Valenzuela and Brewer's (2011) work on subtractive citizenship. Subtractive citizenship relates to both transnational and cultural citizenship, but also denies rights, and leads to divisions between communities. Referring to Valenzuela's (1999) discussion on subtractive schooling, Bexley's

positioning of Greek students appears to have left students who still identify with their Hellenic heritage in an in between space, not quite local, but not global citizens, either. Valenzuela discusses the problems that arise when schools become subtractive: here we see a dismissal of culture, language, and community ties. Such issues of national identity, connectedness and relationships between students within International Baccalaureate schools, and examines the curricula as a means to both promote and subvert young people's relations with those who are perceived as others. Yet my discussions with Callan and Bexley staff suggest that local and global issues are seen as distinct in both schools, with the concept of global citizenship as an inclusive construct largely concerned with global issues, sidelining local considerations.

In contrast, for Callan, the shift towards a global orientation appears to have been made easier by the school's resources and high levels of student and family capital. Students tell me that Callan 'does push sort of international events' such as 'Africa day', but admit that they are not sure of the purpose of these international activities. One student describes 'Africa day' as 'African ladies come in and they were dancing and singing and everyone was dancing along with them'. I ask the student what she learnt about the continent of Africa during the day. She shrugs, noting that it was 'more enjoyment based than educational'. For students at Callan, Africa day is an enjoyable activity that focuses upon dancing, and ignores the complexities and opportunities to engage with culture, history, and conflict. Again, I reference Andreotti's work on critical global citizenship (2006; 2010), as for Callan, becoming global appears to relate to learning about, rather than from within. Callan's approach to global citizenship education, as an ethnocentric way to enjoy other cultures, echoes Kant (as discussed in Maliks, 2012) and Nussbaum's (1996) imaginings of global citizenship- as a cosmopolitan practice, but with defined boundaries. Staff at Callan agree with the concerns of Bexley's students, telling me that 'being a global citizen shouldn't come at the cost of local issues'. One teacher acknowledges that for students at Callan, it is important to consider how 'the local interacts with the global, and thus, I ask Callan's deputy principal if a genuine discussion is possible, particularly in light of the recent events around the world, and suspicion of 'the other' here in Australia:

> DP: I think that one of the things that is sad about Australian communities- is that increasingly we don't trust our neighbours…

you know, we have online communities, we don't necessarily interact with the people around us, we interact with the people that have the same ideas and interests as us online. How does that leave places? Where you live and lots of people just don't trust their neighbours, they don't know their neighbours, they don't really spend much time, don't send their kids to the school in that community.

AD: *Can we be both local and global?*

DP: Communities are about people, it doesn't matter where you live… I think it would be sad if we saw us being global citizens at a cost of actually maintaining local citizenship, because I think there are global forces at work which are increasingly putting that local community, local citizenship under pressure to create almost a homogenous culture. Localism has become something that has to be *ironed out* to kind of create a more globalised society, and I'm not sure if I'm happy with that either. I think having an identity and a sense of place is really important as a person.

AD: *So what can be done?*

DP: I think globalisation plays out on the local level. It's not something that, it always impacts locally and I think how we negotiate that, and I think communities have to kind of work out how they are going to direct that. It shouldn't just be a sense of them feeling powerless with these global forces.

Callan College extends these notions against a well-prepared school community, with administrators, educators and policies keenly aware of moving beyond idealised global citizenship narratives, to an enactment of critical forms of global citizenship. Although the schools in this study appear to want to engage with the changing demographics of students, they appear to struggle to support and utilize the existing capital within the school community. Interviews suggest that student and teacher perceptions on the internationalisation of their schools are dichotomous, with some expressing a sense of frustration or apprehension at the changing school environment. While staff at Callan seem prepared for and aware of the changes to their school community, the socioeconomic status of the school appears to have limited the extent to which the school has shifted. Perspectives of the 'internationalisation' of Bexley, which is perceived to have occurred more rapidly and

at the cost of some of the school's traditional cultural markings, suggest that students and educators have experienced a lack of voice and ownership as the school community shifts. This lack of ownership is just one of the challenges these perspectives raise for schools enacting global citizenship, and a challenge that impacts on the preparedness and associated practices of each school.

School Responses to "GGE"

My conversations with school leaders mark an overt drive to reform in Bexley, not only in the eradication of all things Greek, but in the marketing campaigns desires to attract more 'international' students. But there are different dilemmas that appear to arise as a result of school responses to what they perceive as global citizenship education. Some educators are positive of the changes that Bexley is experiencing, despite the undertones of eradication of culture, discussed in the previous section:

> *I don't want them to be coming to a school that is just one particular group,* I'd like them to have a variety of different cultures within their schooling so they are a bit more tolerant or even just gain some knowledge about what others are about and understand… so initially when I came here, it was mainly of a Greek culture, however now, there are so many more students that have no Greek background or even Orthodox background which is really beautiful to see. So that way, the kids that are here, that do come from Greece (because they did have an influx of students that did come from Greece as well), its really opening up their eyes in terms of what Australia is, being a multicultural society (*Teacher, Bexley Academy)*

But such a campaign is not free of criticism, as echoed by Bowden (2003, who admits that one of the risks associated with global citizenship is that it only benefits some of us, and so doing, deepens societal inequality and gaps (Gardner-McTaggart, 2016; Roman, 2003; Sassen, 2015). For a school with a rich culture like Bexley, the move towards internationalism appears to push students towards an alternative identity model (Bowden, 2003). Bexley is already a transnational space, with students from Australia retaining ties to their Greek heritage and community, but through my conversations with staff, students, and administrators, this form of transnationalism is being stamped out, in favour of banal cosmopolitanism (Beck, 2002).

Callan's curriculum coordinator also considers how Callan's community has shifted since the introduction of the International Baccalaureate, noting enhanced community engagement, and a willingness to engage with those who are perceived as 'others'. Callan's curriculum coordinator notes that 'diversity is a complex thing', and tells me that the shift towards engagement with difference has been gradual, but he is now 'quite happy about where we are in terms of how our kids communicate with others, whether they know them or not'.

Bexley's principal is not new to the challenge of leading a transnational community, and we talk about similar cultural shifts and demands within schools he has previously led. Bexley's principal admits that 'schools change very quickly if a new head comes in with a different philosophy or if there is a changeover of board'. Yet he is not sure if he will have the same success at Bexley, in regard to his internationalisation of Bexley, and the enactment of a global citizenship agenda. At an emergent phase of development and under a relatively new school leadership team, school administrators within Bexley Academy appear to focus on enhancing school and community diversity. Engagement with other cultures appears to be a core focus of the school, as the school emphasises the need for students to be internationally minded in order to successfully participate in the twenty first century. Yet there is great difficulty in truly diversifying the school community.

Coupled with the existing neoliberal education structures in Australia, that Angus (2009) acknowledges may increase the risk of marginalization, both schools face some very real challenges in responding to difference and diversity. While socioeconomic status, parental influence, access to capital, transnationalism, language, and culture (Bourdieu, 1986, Rizvi, 2009) can influence the experiences of students, school culture is also an important consideration in responses to diversity. One teacher notes that many of the issues that have arisen in terms of tensions over diversity are not only about the lack of formal policies promoting integration and inclusion for international students, but also about school culture, and this school culture is also evidence in the second quote below, from Bexley's principal:

> It starts from us [the staff] … if we perpetuate, if we have a culture… where we don't really value and respect one another then of course that's going to come out in our students… (*Teacher, Bexley Academy*)

> I want it to be more diverse, yes I do. I do want it to be more diverse, but at the end of the day, I want kids who are going to graduate from this school as good global citizens… the end game for me is that they gradate not just as good local citizens, but good global citizens. (*Principal, Bexley Academy*)

At an emergent phase of development and under a relatively new school leadership team, school administrators within Bexley Academy appear to focus on enhancing school and community diversity. Engagement with other cultures appears to be a core focus of the school, as the school emphasises the need for students to be internationally minded in order to successfully participate in the twenty first century. Yet there is great difficulty in truly diversifying school communities within the independent fee-paying sector. Coupled with the existing neoliberal education structures in Australia, that Angus (2009) acknowledges may increase the risk of marginalization, both schools face some very real challenges in responding to difference and diversity, and supporting students to reject negative stereotypes and nationalised discourses:

> I think the media has done a lot to force kids to feel that they have to align themselves to something, but I think parents don't help either, and you know when there's a bit of racist slurring at home (*Teacher, Bexley Academy*).

Bexley staff admit these tensions create conflict between local and international students, admitting that 'we have a lack of empathy, a lack of inclusivity' (*Teacher, Bexley Academy*) in the school, an issue that is often linked to the home environments. This perceived lack of inclusivity is at odds with the notion of global citizenship education, particular in 'international spaces' as Bates (2012) and Cambridge and Thompson (2004) have considered in their studies on international schools and global orientation.

Support and Segregation

Australia is one of the most multicultural societies in the world and introduced multiculturalism into politics and policy in the early 1970s. Although the introduction of multiculturalism has managed the ethnically diverse society and encouraged social cohesion,

the multicultural policies and issues such as racism and discrimination have been contested over the past few decades. Multiculturalism has become the key ideology in immigration and multicultural policies in Australia; nonetheless, the dominant culture has been privileged even in the educational stages. Schooling and education in Australia can be seen as the places which reproduce racism and 'white' dominant culture as the standard. These concerns are particularly relevant for migrant students, or those somehow 'othered' by Australian education spaces.

For students in 'international spaces', the attainment of an international education is largely dependent on the levels of equity facilitated by the education system of the host country, as Yates (2013) has considered. The idea of equity was explored during my early conversations at Bexley, where educators hinted at an emerging binary between local and international students, a separation that felt had been trigged by the school's eagerness to rush through international student enrolments. My discussions with Bexley's principal and deputy principal on the tensions between local and international students were marked with some anxiety: in this context, and perhaps attributable to the recent changes to the school community, concerns over separation and segregation of students appeared to be regarded as inherent in transnationalising spaces of education. Yet as I delved further into the issue with educators and students, two key issues emerged within the school. The first concerns the separation of students on the basis of language, while the second focuses on race and culture. Although many students as Bexley said international students do 'get help' students also felt there were significant 'language barriers' that prevented local students from forming relationships with international students who had recently arrived at the school:

> I think we've tried making friends with them but it's hard because of the language barrier in that you try talking to them and they can't really respond back so there's just sort of this gap… *(Student, Bexley Academy)*

> Multiculturalism is good in theory but not so good in practice. There are people on either side that want it to change, but also don't want it to change, so there's too much fighting… *(Student, Bexley Academy)*

> Yeah in a way it's a language barrier, and I think it's the fact that we're all kinda, most of us are Greek, so I think it might come off intimidating

> because you know were two different cultures mainly. But I'm sure most of us wouldn't mind like making friends with like, international students… but it's harder… *(Student, Bexley Academy)*

Teachers were also seen as struggling to support students to integrate, and as discussed in chapter five, this may partly be due to a lack of preparedness and training to support international students as the school attempts to 'bring in global citizens' (*Teacher, Bexley Academy*). However, the lack of ability to support integration was noted by students:

> Some of the teachers are just *shocking*… they don't even know the [international] students' names. They will point and say, '*what's your name again*'? Just shocking! *(Student, Bexley Academy*)

One student who had previously attended a higher socioeconomic school in Melbourne's inner southeast, felt that teachers at both her current and previous schools were not adequately able to support international students, noting that 'a lot of international kids came and the class would just slow down like crazy because none of them could understand English' *(Student, Bexley Academy*). This occurrence was felt to be one of the reasons that seating and streaming of students based on language within classrooms was now being driven by teachers:

> Like a lot of times you'll see in the classroom where international students will be put to the side and they'll say "oh okay you can work on this work, and then we are on this side…. they kind of divide us in class. So, the Asians go there, and then the normal, not normal. *The rest of us,* the rest of us, like go to the right"…. *(Student, Bexley Academy*)

The separation is notable, particularly in a school that has deliberately introduced international students as a measure to reduce Hellenic influence, and support multiculturalism and global citizenship education practices, as well as increasing enrolment figures. Richards, Browne and Forde, 2007 indicate the 'need to acknowledge diversity' (cited by Cummins, 2000, p. 148) among international students, yet for Callan and Bexley, the complexity of the changing school landscape appears to have mitigated the opportunity for teachers to prepare adequately for the difficulties associated with the introduction of

international students who are ill equipped to communicate, and ultimately, integrate.

Indeed, in my classroom observations of students being separated on the basis of language proficiency, discussed earlier in chapter five at Bexley support the perspectives of students that separation of local, transnational and international students is 'just more of a teaching technique because they [teachers] have to', and that the students are 'behind… [and] can't do the same sort of things as us' (*Student, Bexley Academy*). The lack of support for students from non-western, non-English speaking backgrounds challenges recent research into global citizenship, and if done currently, the value it offers in mitigating inequity (Andreotti, 2006; Dabrowski, 2014). Thus, equality of access in Bexley appears an increasingly remote possibility for newly arrived international students, and the dream of becoming a global citizen appears ever elusive:

> I just think the school's got too much on its plate, I think it's perhaps going too fast without having put infrastructure in place to support a lot of the international students coming in… the key issue is language and there's no coherent consistent provision for students coming without, for whom English is their second language. Or English is not a second language yet, they haven't acquired any English yet…. it's quite shambolic *(Teacher, Bexley Academy)*

Callan College shares in Bexley's challenges in mitigating separation between local and international students, the responses of school administration and students were different. I speak to one of Callan College's secondary economics teachers, about the challenge of integrating English language learners. Like teachers at Bexley, Callan staff admit that supporting EAL/D students is a challenge:

> I had to fight quite hard to try and get some support because I had some students that really struggled with their English…. I managed to get some of the tutors to come and help some of those EAL kids outside of class especially with the language, but it was something I felt that they really needed… if they managed to grasp some of these ideas and not feel like they were constantly being left behind… *(Teacher, Callan College*).

After conducting several further classroom visits and talking to international and local

students about their perspectives on inclusion and integration, I speak to the school principal at Callan, to discuss the notion of inclusion of international students who were in the emergent phases of English language acquisition:

AD:	What would you say if I told you I have international students being separated from their English-speaking peers in several classrooms?
P:	*I would be horrified if that happened, absolutely horrified.*
AD:	I have not seen *any* international students participating in classroom activities. Some have even been sat facing away from the local students.
P:	*So what we are really saying is that we've got seating and streaming occurring within our classrooms on the basis of language proficiency.*
AD:	Exactly.
P:	*Then we need to do something to change that.*

Our discussion appears to be the first Callan's principal is hearing about the issue of inclusion of international students. Although the importance of supporting the cultural and linguistic needs of English language learners in the curriculum relates to reasons of both social and educational equity (Yates, 2013), distinction between the needs of EAL and mainstream students appears to be lost between the classroom and administrative level at Callan, and thus, ignored as a part of the problem around global citizenship education imperatives. Indeed, although many of the teachers I spoke to during the course of this study demonstrated differing levels of cultural awareness and appeared capable of embedding language support within the curriculum, both local and international students appear to be struggling with integration and a comparable approach to interpreting the International Baccalaureate.

A further issue concerns separation of students within and between student communities on the basis of race and culture. As a traditionally Greek Orthodox school and surrounding community, Bexley students appeared to grapple with the introduction of international students into the school and surrounding community, but also with the notion of immigration and inclusion. My discussions with Bexley students are framed by current political events in Australia and the rise of anti-immigration movements. One student points out that the recent return of populist politician Pauline Hanson and her right-wing, anti-immigrant rhetoric, had created a space where students in Bexley could talk about 'things

they couldn't before', telling me that his hope was that 'immigration could be curtailed', and that the 'laws we have always needed' would finally be brought in to Australia. Another student argued that a move to the right would take 'Australia where it needs to go'.

My subsequent discussions with students at Bexley demonstrated that although some Bexley students acknowledged that prejudice towards international students within the classroom was 'stupid' or 'just plain racist', most students who took part in this study admitted they found international students 'annoying', 'rude' or 'entitled'. The students also told me that 'you can't stop kids' from being inherently biased towards other cultural groups. One Year 10 student at Bexley, attributed separation between local and international students as being an unwanted side effect of the changing school community, pointing out that racism was occurring because 'this school expects way too much' of the students. Other students felt that cultural differences were to blame for the lack of relations between local and international peers.

S: Some of Chinese students I think don't like us. They're a bit harsh.

S: *They're harsh. They're physical. They're very condescending. That's just because they don't understand the differences between communism and whatever Australia is. I'm not being racist but that's what they are. They just believe that their way is right compared to our ways.*

S: Yeah, I like Europeans more.

S: *Yeah same, because they relate to the Greeks.*

The tensions that appear to arise in Bexley can also be considered relevant to Van Oord's (2008) criticisms of global citizenship education in international schools, and of the issues that may arise when there are competing perspectives around popular forms of global citizenship. In communities, from the perspectives of intermarriage and community engagement, migrants from Western societies tend to integrate better than migrants from non-English-speaking countries. Additionally, Anglo Australians and migrants from English-speaking countries show negative attitudes towards cultural maintenance of ethnic minorities. Although younger and educated people in Australia are more likely to show positive attitudes towards multiculturalism, racism exists in everyday life. The main arena of racism between young people is at school. There are unwritten rules in the school curriculum which embrace 'white' privilege, values, and beliefs. Thus, international students often fail to integrate and communicate with local Australian people not only because of their lower

English skills, but because of the discrimination they face.

The prejudice directed towards the international students also echoes the binary between 'us and them', as considered by Hage (2003). In Australia, citizenship and nationality debates have the potential to reflect dangerous monocultural and monolingual perspectives, paving the way for an insular, even paranoid, version of Australia (see Hage, 2003; 2009). Tensions arising from religious, cultural and linguistic difference are increasing, and populist movements thrive on the government's treatment of asylum seekers, reduction in foreign aid, jingoism and xenophobia. Indeed, for young people whose opinions and views are shaped by the community, social media and their peers, education offers a way of challenging the negative views increasingly evident in Australian society. Australia's education system provides access to many opportunities, and attracts students from around the world. Importantly, education and schools can reinforce dominant norms and the status quo – but they can also challenge negative discourses.

As such, the interactions that take place in schools give students a unique opportunity to deepen their understandings of the local and the global, and – within this – develop a mindset that supports diversity and difference. Yet Callan's curriculum coordinator sees the construct of prejudice and racism in Australian schools as 'very much an adult problem that we hand over to the kids and somehow, they are socialised into thinking certain forms of discourse are not for polite company… so we never really call things as they really are… that's where we create the problem'. In this context, and although schools can offer an effective and sustainable way of ensuring our young people understand diversity rather than viewing difference as something to be feared, Callan's coordinator admits that schools like Callan often fail to explore and contest essentialised narratives.

In contrast to the attitudes evidenced by Bexley staff and students, and perhaps attributable to the school's advantaged position and high socioeconomic cohort, students at Callan acknowledged it would not be 'socially acceptable' for students to be wilfully ignorant or unaware of difference. One student at Callan admits to me that 'if you chose to be ignorant to issues around the world, like, that's sort of thing it would be pretty difficult…. you're much more likely to be looked down upon' by other students within the school and the school community. Another teenager in the class agrees that racism is 'not unacceptable at

all- and really looked down upon' at Callan, and the sort of thing that 'no-one did or said'. However, several of their classmates did not agree, and that racism is part of Callan's hidden culture, much like sexism and discrimination, as illustrated in the following exchange:

> *S:* I kind of think that when it comes to like people who openly say obviously racist and obviously sexist things in say discussions where we are all kind of talking about views and its more taken seriously then it is shut down. Like if someone went *oh you know I support One Nation*[19], everyone would be like *what are you doing*. They would think you are hilarious.
>
> *S:* *I think that we have so much diversity and we are so diverse I mean and we are very I think we are all very open minded like I don't know if it's like just we just have a good bunch of people, but like I feel like we are all very open minded and we can all like see if something is wrong…*
>
> *S:* I don't agree… like I've heard a lot of sexist and racist comments, like at different points that no one really says anything… they kind of just awkwardly laugh and pretend it didn't happen.
>
> *S:* *[nods] The boys were so disrespectful to them to the point like they weren't human beings they were like walking things. They were just there to be like looked at.*

Racism exists, but many students seem to accept it as 'part of life'. One international student agreed that racism was always going to be a part of the school culture: 'personally, I haven't received any racist comments or whatever… I grew up in China and my parents always kept telling me that racism is… well not something you should ignore, but just accept it, because like sort of discrimination and racism is never going to disappear no matter what you do' (*Student, Callan College*). Another student had grown up in Australia but who self-identified as 'Brazilian' agreed that racism was an issue, but an accepted part of life at Callan:

> Among the students there are comments and stuff about people…. if you say something about a culture most likely you are going to offend someone in your year level, or like, someone will know somebody so people are generally quite careful.

[19] **One Nation** is a right wing populist party in Australia that was founded in 1997 by Pauline Hanson. In 2015, One Nation changed its name to *Pauline Hanson's One Nation*. Pauline Hanson's views on race, immigration and Islam have been widely discussed in Australia (Gibbs, 2001)

> But you're always going to hear racist comments and usually it's the minority of people and it's just ignored and shut down- but it doesn't mean it doesn't happen. (*Student, Callan College*)

One student's comment that 'people are generally quite careful' suggest that prejudice does occur at Callan- but not overtly. Subsequently, the different perspectives on racism and prejudice as discussed by the students at Callan suggest that some students encounter instances of segregation in different ways. Students point out to me that 'it's [racism] consistently getting better… but I think it's something that… like you can try and stop it [racism] but there is always going to be someone, it is always going to happen'. This acceptance suggests that those students who are not directly impacted by prejudice or discrimination appear to normalise its occurrence within the school setting, as one student concluded: '[racist comments] are made in the classroom that everyone… kind of awkwardly laughs at… or pretends they didn't hear'.

The positioning of the transnational students at Bexley is problematic within the realm of global citizenship enactments. For those who remain connected, like Bexley's Greek students, Nail's (2015) discussion on migration is of relevance. As Nail notes, migrants have to be made into citizens, rather than being citizens by virtue of their birth. They are seen as 'the other'. In this realm, if we look to issues of citizenship through the perspective of migration, we challenge what we assume to be associated with citizenship. Political fixity and citizenship are disrupted by migration. Migration then acts as both against and contrasted with the notion of citizenship, and citizenship becomes the point of reference, relating to Nail's discussion of 'fixity' (2015). At Bexley, the extension between migrants and refugees differentiates those who submit to or challenge the border spaces established by the nation state, relating, and in this context, the policies of assimilation, interpretation, and multiculturalism treat migrants as temporary fixtures, as something to be tolerated, as an 'other'. These sentiments are relevant for Bexley and its positioning of Hellenic culture and community.

These consequences of global citizenship enactments, coupled with the challenges of multiculturalism, are also concerns for Callan. Callan's MYP coordinator admits there are unexpected outcomes of global citizenship education within the school, admitting that he 'can see some gradual integration taking place…. but for the most part what you see are two different communities, you know, sharing the same space but living

somewhat different lives in the space' (*Curriculum Coordinator, Callan College*). Instead of creating a community of students who can share and learn within a global community, a desire evident in both Bexley and Callan's programs and practices, we see a fragmentation of the ideals of global citizenship education, for both local and international student identities.

Inclusion and Distance

Both Andreotti (2006; 2010) and Tully (2008) have attempted to problematise modern conceptualisations of global citizenship education in an effort to move from soft to critical forms of engagement with difference in education spaces. However, to such extent, the differentiation between the global and the local may be an outcome of the binary formulation assumed by the dominant narrative of global citizenship, a construction that sees a separation and segregation between 'local' and 'international' narratives and identities.

For students like those at Callan, who have access to high levels of economic capital, cultural diversity is seen as foreign, as an unattainable concept that exists beyond the realm of their school. A 'lack of opportunity' for engagement with cultural diversity in an interesting predicament, though perhaps one that is socially constructed within the home. Engagement is superficial, as one student describes in his reflections on his community, inclusive of 'lots of French and Belgian friends… and because I play rugby I have lots of Fijian and Islander friends which is yeah, good for multiculturalism. I also have some Asian friends from Brisbane[20] and stuff life that' *(Student, Callan College).*

Perhaps more overtly than Bexley's transnational Greek students, Callan students see global citizenship narratives around engagement with diversity as abstract, as a theory rather than a practice, reverberating a common criticism of the cosmopolitan position of many forms of global citizenship education. It is perhaps in response to this 'dilemma', that has led to Callan's development of a Remote Indigenous Exchange Program between Callan students and a remote homelands school in the northern Australia, engineered to create the type of opportunities to engage with diversity that Callan students feel they currently lack.

Callan's school promotion materials focus heavily on a newly implemented exchange program between Callan students and a remote community school in Western Australia.

[20] Brisbane is the capital of Queensland, a state in Australia's north east

The paid (and voluntary) exchange program is well publicised and many of the teachers I had already spoken to had mentioned the program as one of Callan's key efforts to remake relationships with Indigenous communities. Indeed, in passing, a brief conversation with the head of teaching and learning, sparked my interest in understanding the shifts that had occurred in regard to the inclusion of Indigenous communities:

> Four years ago, I said [to my students] '*what do you think an Indigenous person is*' and it was, you know, '*a person in a loin cloth and a spear*'... and then we had some Indigenous kids in the classroom with them with baseball caps on and playing the computer games and then '*what do you think now*'- and it was like, '*they're just like me*' *(Head of Teaching and Learning, Callan College)*

These comments suggest that Callan's efforts to support connections between remote Indigenous and students at Callan perceive and engage with Indigenous students as something entirely 'other', as discussed by Andreotti (2006; 2010) in her studies on critical and post-colonial global citizenship education. Students are influenced by their educational experiences, but teachers are also affected by Western style learning experiences (Ballard & Clanchy, 1997, p.9). Forrest et al. (2016, p.633) propose that 'white' middle class teachers can be actors to promote and maintain white privilege and hegemony but at the same time, can also be actors to transform the school environment and encourage multicultural and anti-racism policies.

These comments hint at the ongoing debates around Indigenous politics in Australia, that have long been dominated by the concept of reconciliation and acceptance, as discussed by Dodson (1997), and also the role of educators in confronting cultural diversity and racism at school (Gunawardena & Wilson, 2012, p.28). I move from my conversation with teaching and learning to a discussion with students who had participated in the program. Interestingly, I was only able to find female students who had volunteered for the paid program, with several female students telling me it was not a popular activity with male students. Alice, an extroverted sixteen-year-old who travelled regularly to Italy with her parents, was the first to tell me about the program, having recently returned from visiting the school in Western Australia:

> So two of us just got back two days ago and we go up to [the Remote Indigenous

> Exchange Program) which is in the Kimberly's for three weeks and learn about the communities the people and live with the local students because Callan have a school up there and it is the most incredible experience… learning about all these different cultures and these different kids who are our age but have had such different experiences to us and how we can connect with them so that's just Callan being the only school who does that is just amazing… it makes me so proud to think that our school will really take that step and help us build that bridge.
> *(Student, Callan College)*

For students, the program and experience of engaging with the other was marked, yet I also sensed some anxiety amongst other students in their reporting of their experiences in the Remote Indigenous Exchange Program to me, an eagerness to iterate the impact it has had upon their lives: one student told me it had changed 'her perspective on being Australian', while another student in the same class struggled to articulate what exactly it was about the program that had been so impactful: 'thinking about all that stuff and it's like, really, like *good*, to see like *the differences* and like *how they grew up* and I think it's like, *really good*' *(Student Callan College)*. These glowing endorsements of the program and the optional paid visits to remote community schools suggest that students don't appear to consider the complexity of the program, or the problematic history and positioning of Indigenous peoples in Australia, but rather, one that offered opportunity for Callan's students to build further cultural capital.

Although Callan appears to see itself and its community as operating in a space that supports inclusion of Indigenous communities, the exchange program between Callan and the Remote Indigenous Exchange Program acts less as a mechanism for engagement and inclusion, than a 'soft' act of responding to historical transgressions and addressing contemporary social and political inequalities. The framing of the program appears to have had a positive impact on the lives of the students who had participated. Student sentiments seem to focus upon learning *about* difference (Andreotti, 2006), rather than learning to engage and build connections. The perspectives of Callan students suggest that the relationship between Callan and their Remote Indigenous Exchange Program has enabled students to learn about Indigenous communities, but not understand current inequities and attempt to use their advantage to respond to these inequalities. In an apparent veering away from critical issues of power (see McLeod, 20011; McLeod and Thomson, 2009),

dispossession, and justice, students used words such as 'incredible' and 'amazing' to tell me about being part of the exchange program, and suggested the program's potential to make connections with Indigenous communities.

Callan students seem unaware of the lives of Indigenous students and their cultures both in the Territory, but also locally in Victoria. None of the students spoke about the experience of Indigenous students on the Callan campus. This suggests that for students at Callan, narratives around Indigenous involvement focus away from non-Indigenous people and ignores the role of white Australians in in past and current conflicts with local (rather than remote) Indigenous communities. At a historically situated institution such as Callan, the positivity of the students was an evident contrast to my own personal and professional discussions when working as a teacher, many of which recognised the complexity marking Indigenous relations in Australia today. Based on my conversations with students, it seems that Callan has not discussed the more critical discourses around Indigeneity in Australia, as Dodson (1997) has explored, reflected in the following exchange between the principal and myself:

AD:	*How has the Remote Indigenous Exchange Program been received?*
P:	There's a rump of white Anglo-Saxon people parents… that have been very vocal about what this looks like. There have been some staff who have been, I think they're afraid of this. We've had instances of staff having not handled having large numbers of indigenous kids on campus.
AD:	*Why is that?*
P:	I think there is an absolute lack of understanding for a start and maybe that's nobody's fault but ours…

Both administrators acknowledged that the program had been a success for Callan students visiting Western Australia, but suggested that there were a number of challenges. The curriculum coordinator admits that Callan is 'very good on the rhetoric about different ways of knowing, and different ways of being and that sort of thing, but we are still at the stage of acknowledging that as a reality, we haven't yet made the next step into going beyond acknowledging'. If we are to look to educational, economic, and social trends, as explored by Pechenkina & Anderson, 2011, the trajectory for Aboriginal people in Victoria warrants

pause and reflection, and moving beyond the rhetoric to a critical engagement with local forms of citizenship is critical. Lack of preparedness and understanding appear to be real concerns for Callan.

As Callan's MYP coordinator tells me 'we've had the Aboriginal kids from the Remote Indigenous Exchange Program_also here, my view is we haven't been as prepared for them as we could have been… and I'm not too sure that in terms of how we work with our own staff to get them ready for this'. The comments that staff have 'not handled' large numbers of Indigenous students suggest to that educators are facing both cultural and linguistic barriers in their encounters with students from homelands schools. Yet as I continued to talk to educators about the relationship with Indigenous students and communities, some teachers expressed feelings of being overwhelmed, not so much by the presence of the students, but by the program itself.

Some teachers expressed a lack of understanding as to the relationship between Callan and the Remote Indigenous Exchange Program, noting they had 'no idea where the Remote Indigenous Exchange Program connection came from', and questioned its development over other programs. However, educators also stated that they realised 'Aboriginal communities are not easy to kind of get into' and that Callan found 'an opportunity and went for it'. For some teachers, there were also concerns as to the motivations for the relationship with the Indigenous community school. One teacher, who had been vocal in previous informal discussions as to the programs and practices of Callan college in regard to Indigenous students, became visibly agitated when we discussed the Remote Indigenous Exchange Program. He told me he felt conflicted by Callan's connection to the Remote Indigenous Exchange Program, particularly as he had personally spent time working in remote in Indigenous communities, and was concerned about the tokenism of the program:

> Look my view on this is, because… you know I've been out in a place in Northern Territory… when I found out that Callan was working with these students in WA[21] there was a part of me that felt, well hang on a sec what why wouldn't you build the relations here in Melbourne and then kind of move out. And there's some people who are fairly cynical about it, think oh well it looks good on all the brochures and

[21] Western Australia, a large state in the west of Australia, where the remote Indigenous community school that Callan has an exchange program with, is situated

> all that, and it's a faraway place and it has picturesque view of what a remote or Aboriginal community is like. My experience from working in the community that I was in, was that the kids there would just kind of, to come to somewhere like Melbourne would be a culture shock type experience I would be, I don't think it would be all together helpful…. is there somewhere closer that they could build those relationships? *(Teacher, Callan College)*

For educators, Callan's relationship with a remote community school in a far-flung area of Australia is problematic, and misses the opportunity to impact upon local communities. The external nature of the connection between Callan and the Remote Indigenous Exchange Program , which appears to operate for many students as an act of tourism, not inclusion, renders the relations between Callan and Indigenous communities as a process that Phillips (2014) describes as a 'self-perceived normative whiteness in relation to race, benevolence, power and biopower' (p.1). Despite the connections between Callan and the Remote Indigenous Exchange Program, Callan appear to be struggling to move the program to a more meaningful space, in a way that could embed Aboriginal knowledges, epistemologies and philosophies within the school, and find ways to remake relationships with local Indigenous communities. Although teachers appeared to be troubled by the fact that Callan had seemingly failed to consider the local opportunities to make relationships with Indigenous Victorians, educators were also vocal about the potential harm that the Remote Indigenous Exchange Program exchange program posed to Indigenous students. Because of the remote setting of the school, one teacher told me he thought Callan was taking 'a big risk' in bringing students to a city like Melbourne, a risk that outweighed any potential benefit to Callan's students during their visits to Indigenous schools. One teacher appeared staggered at the continuation of the program, particularly for a school with status like Callan, supporting the Head of School's comments that teachers appeared to be unprepared for Indigenous student visits:

> These kids, what would happen if something happened to these kids down in Melbourne, what would the press do? They would crucify a school like Callan.
> (*Teacher, Callan College*)

The conflicting perspectives of school administration, educators and students suggest that at Callan, there continues to be a disconnect between understanding current transgressions

and contemporary inequalities in contemporary Indigenous/non-Indigenous relations in school settings. Coram (2009) warns of seemingly progressive frameworks which do little to recognize the notion of the 'other', and for some teachers, the potential exploitation of the 'picturesque' Indigenous community of Remote Indigenous Exchange Program possess the potential to harm students and Callan itself. Yet the struggle to move away from exploitation is a complex one, in part because of the enactment of the vast possibilities that decolonizing practices offer.

Bexley's deputy principal also notes that although there is a connection to a 'college which is a boarding school there and I think there is Aboriginal children there', schools like Bexley often don't 'do very much in that area [Indigenous programs/exchanges]', because visiting Indigenous communities can be 'a real eye opener' and 'a bit of a shock' for students. Yet building relationships between Indigenous communities and recognizing the complex narratives of Indigenous perspectives in education, despite calls to 'include' and 'engage', continue to be heavily influenced by the epistemologies of Western culture (Andreotti, 2010; Kerr, 2014). Thus, for Callan and Bexley's teachers and students, an acknowledgement of the complexity of the issue in order to promote a meaningful discourse around the past, present and future, as discussed by Tuck & Yang (2012) may be more meaningful than adopting programs which when enacted, often reinforces inequity, as Ahmed (2007) has explored. However, as Bexley's deputy principal concludes, schools still aren't doing enough to address critical engagement and understanding of Indigenous students and communities in Australia: 'after all this time there's so many resources that have been thrown, maybe thrown isn't the right word, at the problem and nothing much has really changed'.

Promotion of GCE and Lost Opportunities

Both Bexley and Callan advocate narratives of global citizenship as a way of understanding the world, and each school positions itself as offering myriad opportunities to learners, not least of which is the curriculum choice of the International Baccalaureate. In both Bexley and Callan, school leaders speak of a desire to see a reform of the local and the traditional, to a sustained transnationalising of the two school spaces. But in Australia, we face increasing diversity, and as our society changes, so too does our capacity to include and support the voices of others.

Indeed, there appears to be discontent amongst students over the changes to the

distribution of power that has occurred as the IB has been phased in. Bexley students are eager to tell me about their perspectives on their ability to access 'international' elements of the school's programs, and their school's use of resources. Students talk about the school spending 'way too much on advertising', with promotions for the schools 'everywhere': 'on the radio, on billboards, and on banners:

S: And the principal is? [gestures, signalling 'who knows!']

S: Yeah, he goes overseas and does some [marketing].

S: Oh yeah.

S: So Miss, we pay school fees for him to go on holidays. That's legit. And also the school's like getting more students every single year.

S: Miss another thing that happened, we used to have a trip to Greece like every single year.

S: Oh yeah.

S: They stopped that now.

AD: Why was that?

S: Because of the crisis.

S: Kalamana [a Hellenic school in Melbourne] go to Greece every single year.

S: Stupid.

S: Yeah. So everything gets trialled on us. And we're getting treated like…

S: Yeah we get treated like crap.

S: We've never been outside Victoria.

S: We've never had the opportunity, never.

S: And they stopped the Greece trip as soon as we were going to be in the next year, year six.

S: You know we didn't have the primary school captain. They stopped it.

S: We had nothing.

S: What would you like to have instead?

S: Lots more opportunity.

S: Fairness.

S: Yeah. Opportunities.

Although Bexley school leaders espouse the desire to cater to different groups within the broader school, for some of Bexley's students, there is a perception that international

students, who are able to pay higher fees, are advantaged, echoing the fears of Waters and Brooks (2011, p. 158), who note that 'international/transnational forms of education would seem, on the whole, to reproduce and bolster pre-existing relations of social privilege'. For Bexley, mobility and transnational relations are further complicated by the distribution of power among status groups, reflecting the theories of Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) and later, Van Zatan (2003). And although it is likely that many of the comments raised by the students in the extract above were likely generated in home environment, the statements of Bexley students reflect the concerns of many parents: outcomes. Parents invest heavily in their children, and achievement depends greatly on the cultural capital that has previously been invested by family members (Bourdieu, 1986).

Bourdieu speaks of the seminal role culture plays in constructing societal and individual hierarchies of power, and thus, for these students, travel and in particular, experiencing a cultural trip to Greece, where many of the students' cultural heritage lies, can be seen as a deprivation of symbolic power. Just as Marx (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006, p.70), argues the importance of economic capital for the individual and society, Bourdieu's discussion of the different forms of capital as a contributing factor to social stratification can be applied to the students at Bexley. But the perceived dismissal of heritage and experiences of citizenship also appears to create boundaries around 'norms' of citizenship and a perceived impact of inequity. Resentment over the now-shelved Greek trip may not only about culture, but about the opportunities the students and parents at Bexley anticipated to have received before school fees begun to rise. Reflecting on discussions with Bexley students, the contrast between perceptions of opportunity and access to symbolic power are overt.

Callan faces different challenges to Bexley. It is an elite school, and its students are aware of their access to capital as facilitated by participation in the IB. As Bunnell (2011, p.166) has noted, the IB 'is rapidly gaining access to elite private schooling and de facto to the future 'power elite', and at Callan, there are major consequences for social groupings (Ball, 2013). Thus, the desire for global citizenship education, and the perceived opportunities it affords, is hardly surprising in such an elite independent school, where it is recognized that experiences and opportunities augments global prospects. The students at Callan talk enthusiastically about their excursions to remote Australian Indigenous communities, their engagement with 'homelessness and other stuff with education value' (*Student, Callan*

College), which students perceive as examples of being global citizenship education, despite such examples also being more closely associated to banal cosmopolitan practice, as discussed by Beck (2002). Reflecting the statements of students, Tarc (2012) has relevantly expressed his doubts over activities associated with global citizenship education: 'I am not criticizing acts of helping or of charity but of how these actions get interpreted as necessarily educative, productive or as representing social transformation' (p. 120).

Callan's MYP coordinator does not attribute blame to the banal forms of global citizenship education discussed above, in which superficial engagement with others from different cultural backgrounds shirks our responsibility for constructing meaningful enactments of global citizenship education in schools:

> I'm not too sure what our teachers themselves do in that regard in terms of a curiosity about what is going on… I think we can be insular sometimes. And there is, you know, a case of strategic amnesia around these matters, because… yes we want our kids to be involved in community, and giving service and it all seems to come from supposed altruistic space, and so here, these poor people who need to be helped and somehow their poverty is natural… there is nothing that is constructing that, because to have to deal with that would mean we'd have to go back and remind ourselves how their poverty has been constructed… (*Curriculum Coordinator, Callan College).*

The sentiments of students are that Callan students have many opportunities for both local and global engagement because of financial resources and access. One of Callan's students notes that 'a lot of other schools do have opportunities that we do just not to the extent… ours will be more advanced and more better than the others… a lot of people they wouldn't have the right budget to get a lot of like the stuff that we would be able to get' (*Student, Callan College*). In this moment, the student acknowledges the extent of Callan's resources, and her positioning of Callan students in the broader educational context echoes Bourdieu's conceptualizations of symbolic and cultural capital, as explored by Elliot, 2010, who examines interrelated structures of power, class, hierarchy and privilege and educational achievement, retain relevance today, particularly in regard to the education system (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006, p.70).

But despite the vast resources available to Callan, the homogeneity of the student body is

perceived to be a challenge in the promotion of global citizenship education, and much of the 'curiosity required to engage in perspectives on differences is lost in the business of elite schooling' (*Principal, Callan College*). Indeed, there is a perception that the business of independent schools means that students don't always have an opportunity to engage with individuals who are different, as demonstrated in the comments of two students:

> State schools are really diverse, like I know my friend's school has so many different, like, ethnicities than Callan. Like Callan just by the nature of being a private school like a lot of people can't get in… (*Student, Callan College*).

> I think a lot of student lead things would be a lot better in state schools because those students would have knowledge about their own cultures as well whereas at Callan, I think apart from the international students, we kind of we basically have to outsource a lot of our stuff like that! (*Student, Callan College*).

The differences in achievement between students from different social classes directly relates to their access to capital, and this is of relevance when we compare the opportunities afforded to Callan and Bexley students. It is interesting that students in Callan feel somehow disadvantaged by their lack of access to diversity, while Bexley students feel a sense of loss at what they perceive to be an introduction of difference at the expense of their own opportunities. Yet the differences, perceived or real, in the positioning of local and international students as disparate in some way, bears witness to lost opportunities, and a binary between students and community members.

Conclusion

My interviews with staff and students at Callan and Bexley reveal a dichotomy of sentiments related to both opportunity and of loss. Yet my discussions with students and staff at Callan and Bexley also provide evidence of a lack of understanding of the potential for newly formed, shared spaces between local, transnational, and international students, within each school's settings. As global citizenship education is introduced and evolves at both schools, how to navigate the complexity of a space marked by change and transformation against a backdrop of IB remains unclear. For students at Bexley, a perceived influx of international students renders them frustrated at a perceived loss of opportunities and cultural

engagement to their once homogenous context. If we are to examine the experiences of international students at both Bexley and Callan, based on discussions and importantly, observations of the classroom and school, marginalisation and a lack of linguistic provisions offered within both schools fail to cater to international students, limiting their access to content and any meaningful opportunities to form relationships or participate in the life of the school.

Reflecting upon the introduction of the International Baccalaureate at both schools, the curriculum and the quest for enacting and creating global citizens appears to simultaneously limit access to curriculum and staff 'support' for international students on whom both schools rely for sustenance, growth, and reform. Accordingly, for both Bexley and Callan, a critical consideration of citizenship, belonging, and inclusion is paramount. In order to understand the dilemmas facing students who feel wronged, it is perhaps worthwhile considering the often 'taken for granted' boundaries that create conditions for exclusions for the contours of citizenship, as outlined by schools operating as institutions. Indeed, the relationship to Foucault's concept of 'otherness', presumed as a public space in which connections with others are common, appears to be one of the most common dilemmas for young people in these two Victorian IB schools. Thus, validating the perceived sense of loss amongst established communities may help these schools to understand and respond to the desires of many, to retain connection to what the school has always been, but can no longer remain.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Reconciling the Individual and the Collective

Introduction

In Chapter Five, I examined the ways in which global citizenship education are interpreted in two IB schools, and considered some of the challenges teachers, students, and schools face in enacting the complex and multifaceted forms of global citizenship, that consider cosmopolitan, marketing, school, and student identities. It was found that both schools benefit from the introduction of an 'international curriculum', yet there are tensions between the interpretation and enactment of global citizenship narratives at each site, in that different individuals imagine and interpret global citizenship in different ways. Thus, global citizenship education becomes so conflated by other issues and concerns that its altruistic goals become compromised. School administrators see global citizenship as both a tangible ideal and a fortuitous and marketable construct. Teachers see the more altruistic aims associated with global citizenship as possible to envision, yet problematic to achieve.

The tensions surrounding the enactment of global citizenship narratives continued to be a focus in Chapter Six, which extended the interpretation and enactment of global citizenship education, and considered the dilemmas surrounding 'local' and 'global' relationalities in two International Baccalaureate schools. Reflecting upon the introduction of the International Baccalaureate at both schools, administrators, teachers, and students discussed the complexities of introducing an international curriculum into a local, and sometimes transnational, space. While some students see positive opportunities in the programs and practices offered by their schools, other students feel alienated and disregarded, and all too aware of the 'taken for granted' boundaries that create conditions for exclusion. School-sanctioned separation and segregation between local and international students was evident, both in spatial and relational ways. In Chapter Six, one critical tension in the positioning of global citizenship in IB schools arose: while global citizenship narratives aim to foster equality in education, in practice, programs related to global citizenship also drive social advantage and contribute to the development of banal cosmopolitanism in schools.

Both of the previous chapters have drawn attention to two competing strands that emerge in the International Baccalaureate's discourse of global citizenship: on the one hand, while

the IB promotes relationality and collectivism in its policies, the focus on the development of the individual fosters (and reinforces) advantage and privilege. There are tensions across these two strands, and a lack of clarity on how they are related. And as we have begun to examine in the previous two chapters, an unyielding assumption exists that schools will organically navigate and resolve these tensions within their unique contexts.

This final chapter of data analysis reflects upon the ways that these strands of the individual and the collective, and the relationship between the two, are interpreted and negotiated. This chapter suggests that the relational strand of global citizenship education has become increasingly secondary and even sidelined under the hegemonic forces of market ideologies that emphasise the individual. Ultimately, this chapter demonstrates the ways in which global citizenship narratives within two IB schools are underpinned and undermined by imperatives around the preparation of students for a market society and discusses the complexity of resolving these dilemmas.

The first section of this chapter explores the ways in which the programs and practices associated with global citizenship education in two Australian schools are underlined by market orientation and the changing values associated with a market society, and importantly, the extent to which the commodification of education has become normalised. In this section, programs associated with global citizenship education are positioned as up for sale and, as this selling becomes a way of life, global citizenship education is seen by schools (and some students) as offering a competitive advantage in a market society. The second section examines the ways in which global citizenship and international mindedness are constructed by the International Baccalaureate. This section argues that although the IB, as an organisation, advocates for relational constructs of global citizenship education, a program focus on cognisant thinking leads students to brand themselves in elite cosmopolitan ways, ready to compete in a global market society. The third section explores the attitudes and aspirations of students in IB schools, and considers the challenges for students who attempt to engage with social and relational forms of global citizenship while simultaneously grappling with individual aspirations and post-school trajectories. The fourth section considers the difficulty of relationalities in a society where connections between individuals are increasingly transactional, driven by economic self-interest. The final section focuses on the extent to which individual, economic self-interest, and competition in a market society has become hegemonic, and explores the dilemmas associated with banal forms of cosmopolitanism and global citizenship education as

positioned by the International Baccalaureate. This final section also examines the extent to which schools recognise these tensions, and the resultant dilemma of what is, and what ought to be for schools, educators, and students in regard to global citizenship education.

Global Citizenship Education in a Market Society

The programs and practices associated with global citizenship education in Australian schools are underlined by market orientation and the desirability of 'global' forms of education, and there are numerous tensions that arise between local and global narratives within 'international schools'. Enacting and implementing global citizenship education are indeed problematic because of the competing priorities that occur in independent schools with changing student demographics. However, the broader challenge of enacting global citizenship education in a world where global citizenship can be used as a mechanism to promote individual advantage as well as foster relationships, is perhaps the most significant tension of all. Subsequently, market societies, and the impact markets have upon education spaces, is an important dilemma to consider when we question the realities of achieving the goals of global citizenship education.

Today, the market is being defined in civilizational terms. Market society has reframed individualism away from liberalism to its market conception, where we witness a shift from liberalism to neoliberalism, located in market logic instead of social logic. The movement from a market economy to a market society, is reshaping the aspirations of individuals. This is significant as a market economy is a valuable and effective tool for organizing productive activity. A market society is different: it is a place, a way of life where market relations and market incentives and market values come to dominate all aspects of life (Sandel, 2009). A market society sees a movement from the transactional rationality of a market economy, to a reimagining of relational rationality. Indeed, market rationality has become the way in which schools are viewing global citizenship education. Selling is now seen as a way of life for schools, as well as students. Yet globally minded education, as outlined by the International Baccalaureate, is simultaneously presented as a means by which to build relationships and community belonging. Accordingly, there are tensions between the notion of global citizenship as a collectivist practice, and the changing values associated with a market society (Sandel, 2009).

Sandel's research looks at the moral implications for a society where virtually everything is for sale and where market economy is used to allocate everything from health, to education, to public safety, and criminal justice, and in doing, prompts us to re-examine attitudes, values and norms which govern social and civic life. As Sandel notes, there are very few services or goods which one cannot buy in a market society: twenty-four/seven access to your doctor, admission of your child to a top US university, fast track at airport security. Sandel also describes new ways of making money if you cannot afford the services mentioned above: one can rent space on one's body to advertise; or serve as a human guinea pig for a big pharmaceutical company. Even young children are compensated, given the example of children in Texas being compensated to read. Conversely, the list of what money cannot buy is short, and as Sandel argues, there is no real price that can be paid for developing and sustaining authentic friendships and connectedness to others.

Drawing upon the above examples, Sandel argues that the commodification of social goods is compounded when markets are no longer inert, and notes that social interactions and goods can be corrupted as a consequence of the debasement of their moral value. Such commodification creates greater inequality and stronger possibility of corruption by not only putting price on goods but also altering attitudes towards certain type of goods. This, in turn, raises the need to look closely at these goods and try to find different ways to value them without stripping them of their moral or political value. Importantly, Sandel argues that civic duty must not be treated as private property and as such cannot be given monetary value. Where such commodification takes place, it is highly likely to create greater inequality and corruption, which in turn jeopardizes the existence of orderly society. Yet the wider market society impacts upon a range of areas, including education, and here, the notion of global citizenship education becomes relevant. Indeed, reflecting on Bexley and Callan's interpretations of global citizenship, and their use of global citizenship education within the IB for competitive advantage, seems to reflect Sandel's concerns around the debasement of moral values in a market society.

Global citizenship is positioned by both Callan and Bexley as reflective of their responsibilities to the broader community, as a way for students to understand their role in the world and respond to the needs of those in less privileged enclaves. Yet at the same time,

the schools see themselves as manifestations of internationalism in education, and as extensions of the cosmopolitan ideal. For both schools, the cosmopolitan 'way of life' in Australia's independent system situates the schools as facing both opportunity and dilemma. The schools function as elite yet accessible, rich in diversity and also operating at a superficial level of engagement with the thorny issues around citizenship, belonging, and identity, creating opportunities for communities at the same time as promising high tertiary admission scores. As Riddle (2014, par.5) notes, 'the neoliberal position on education is that it is a private benefit, measured in terms of economic and social attainment.... this positions parents and their children as consumers, while schools, universities and education itself become commodities'. As educational competitiveness between systems and sectors becomes increasingly visible in the political and public domain, expectations around school quality grow. And in a market society, competitiveness is problematic for independent schools seeking to achieve the more altruistic aims of global citizenship education.

For schools like Callan and Bexley that offer the IB (alongside several well-intentioned community building programs), students are encouraged to think of themselves as individual members of a community, echoing Sandel's discussion on bearers of a shared history (Sandel, 1981). At the same time, in both schools there is an emphasis on enabling an experience for students where 'becoming' a global citizen is seen as a desirable pathway to connections and enhanced post school experiences. For Bexley and Callan, global citizenship fits the current agenda of international education- to connect students to their world- as well as responding to the policies of the International Baccalaureate, by offering students a chance to 'engage' with the surrounding community, and with others that are 'different'. But tensions surround these visions of community, and engagement with others during the schooling process is heavily undermined by the realities of a market society. Both schools exist within the realm of the independent system, a system often underpinned by neoliberal attitudes towards education, as Yates considers in her 2013 discussion on educational competitiveness and equity.

Callan is a high fee-paying independent school with a strong history of cultivating 'excellence' and delivering high performing students to universities across Australia and overseas. But the neoliberal position on education is perhaps most evident at Bexley, a school that admits to being driven by market orientation. I refer here to Bexley's use of

global citizenship education, and indeed the International Baccalaureate, in addition to Bexley's unique programs, which Bexley's principal sees as driving enrolment, as a way to 'set the school apart' *(Principal, Bexley Academy)* from its competitors.

In this context, Bexley offers a number of opt-in, fee paying programs to local and international students, that aim to encourage students to develop skills in leadership, collaboration, and team work. These include camps, overseas trips, and community engagement programs. Interestingly, Bexley also offers the controversial Arrowsmith Program, a program now offered in more than twenty schools around Australia. This program is run by a private, Canadian based company, and claims to use neuroplasticity exercises to change children's brains to overcome issues such as dyslexia and dyspraxia and improve memory and reasoning skills. The Arrowsmith program is opt-in, costing more than $4000 per year, a fee paid for by the parents of participating students. The program is designed to support students with additional learning needs, and students spend their time in a combination of parallel and integrated classroom activities. But there are concerns around the true values of the program, an insight I am afforded as I talk to some of Bexley's students about their perspective on the Arrowsmith program:

S:	My parents think that the school has implemented this [*Arrowsmith*] to open our awareness to everything that's happening around us, whereas I think that it's just become a new thing or a new trend or whatever to make the school seem better than what it may be.
S:	*And I think that with coming with that we feel as though our education gets neglected because the teachers need to put focus to other people.*
AD:	In what ways?
S:	*I think a lot when the international students came you had to really beg for teacher's attention in that sense.*
S:	Or there's this new programme called the Arrowsmith Programme where some kids go and they do their…
S:	*If they have a learning disability.*
AD:	And you think because of these 'other' students, your education is suffering?
S *(together)*:	*Yeah yeah yeah.*
S:	There is no balance.

The comments above indicate that for some of Bexley's students, students with extra learning needs are perceived as an impediment. There is evidence of the extent to which Bexley's students are impacted by school level competition, but there is also a more sombre undertone, in which the differences of students are sidelined by individual competitiveness. In addition to concerns being raised around the actual impact of brain training programs on cognitive function (Kable et al, 2017), the Arrowsmith program echoes Sandel's (2009) concerns over the corruption of goods. Indeed, a paid program designed to help students with learning difficulties is perhaps one of the most illustrative examples of the degradation of moral values in a market society, where parents are paying twice to support the learning needs of their children: both to go to a private school, and to access differentiated learning programs (regardless of their effectiveness).

In addition, the program is perceived as a trend by Bexley's students, as yet another marketing tool for the school. But in considering the program as a trend, Bexley's students fail to understand the challenges of students who struggle to learn, and there is little empathy for their peers who participate in the Arrowsmith program. Indeed, as I have discussed in previous chapters, there is a strong perception that some of Bexley's students perceive those who are different, and require extra support, to be detrimental to their own success. The positioning of students against each other, at one student's learning at the expense of another's, demonstrates the extent to which neoliberal approaches and commodification of education practices can impact upon young people.

Callan also offers a number of optional, paid for programs to encourage students to 'become global citizens', as noted in the schools' marketing materials. Students describe the extent and breadth of Callan's programs and practices that are 'about celebrating all the cultures and countries and everything like on that continent obviously'. There is also the perception that there is a 'push' for 'going on exchange- whether it's school organised or whether you do it outside of school', and pressure to opt in to the paid 'French tour to Lyon, and they offer a Spain tour, and they used to do a Kenya trip'. One further example is Callan's flagship Remote Indigenous Community experience program, a three-week exchange program occurring between opt-in fee paying Callan students, and Indigenous

students located in a remote school in Western Australia (as discussed in more detail in the previous chapter). As Callan's marketing materials note, '… since 2010, 212 students have completed the 3-week Induction Program. This includes both Melbourne [based] and local students'. The program is promoted across the school for its ability to 'engage students in two-way learning', with marketing materials sharing insights from Callan and Remote Indigenous Community experience students. One student within marketing materials iterates that the exchange 'made me step out of my comfort zone and try different things like travelling overseas to China' while another focuses on learning 'Indigenous' skills. Another 'big part of the program is experiencing work on a cattle station. We visited Four Mile Cattle Station and learnt how to tag, brand, vaccinate and run cattle'. Another student concludes that the exchange 'was a great experience that made us more aware of Indigenous Australians' lives and what their environment is like compared to ours'.

Yet within the marketing materials, that there is limited acknowledgement of Indigenous students and the value of their own cultural contributions, such as language, belief structures, or even an understanding of engaging with non-Western forms of education. This silence, as Giroux (2011) has noted, may be attributed to the broader ideologies of the school and its stakeholders- in this case, Callan and its students, who situate the exchange program as observing 'the other' without regard for inclusion and valuing the diversity associated with students with the inner circle. As Jaworski (1993) has argued, such omissions may also be tactical in nature, an argument relevant to the notions of 'corruption' as articulated by Sandel (2010). Sandel considers the corruption of social practices as a form of degradation, as a devaluing of 'goods' or social practice. Thus, if we are to consider Callan's program as designed to operate as a mechanism to promote relationships and reduce inequality, the paid nature of the exchange may then function as a form of corruption, as a 'selling' of engagement with other students, a disrespectful act of placing a price on social relations. In this context, as Sandel argues, the consequences of capitalism mean that exploitation is endemic, and for Callan's students, participation in the Remote Indigenous Exchange Program, although designed to foster social capital, may also come at a cost to the culture and relations with Indigenous students. Interestingly, for Callan students, despite the provision of programs designed to support engagement with difference and cultivate meaningful responses to inequity, there is a somewhat detached connection to inequality in Australia, and a feeling of helplessness. One student resignedly admits that 'people don't

often want to be in the situations that they are in, just due to certain circumstances it happens, and you know what can we do'? Such a banal approach to engaging with local challenges in Australia is further illustrated in the discussion below:

S: We have a lot of like casual clothes day and everyone brings in a dollar for, like, different problems... not just overseas but like here as well. Like, I'm pretty sure we did one for like homelessness and all of that.

AD: Is there more emphasis on local or global issues?

S: Not to downplay Australia's issues... we do have issues in Australia but there are countries with... more, sort of, intense issues. So, while we need to pay attention to issues at home... the homeless or problems like that and things with our government, we need to pay attention to things that are happening internationally... because they are problems and sometimes bigger problems than our own.

For Callan's students, a banal form of cosmopolitanism emerges, where this is an ignorance of local issues, and where global concerns sideline national challenges. The use of Callan's Indigenous programs echoes Sandel's (2010) fears about the loss of community and the corruption of relationships, and reflect the concerns raised by Robert Putnam (2000) in his examination on the decline of social capital in the United States. In line with Sandel's 2010 exploration of community within a market society, Putnam examines the importance of community organisations in the development and maintenance of social capital by elaborating on Bourdieu's three forms of capital: economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. Putnam describes social capital as the interactions, relationships, and connections among individuals, which result in reciprocity, trust, and cooperation. However, drawing upon these notions of social capital, for Bexley's students, as the school demographics have changed, there is hesitation to include others within the established spaces and there appears to be a resultant decline in the bridges and bonds between students. As a result, for Bexley's students, there are limited connections among individual students within the school, particularly those who are perceived to be 'different'.

One of Callan's teachers also admits that there is some disregard for the global and local

narratives articulated by the school, but this is because:

> They're [the students] are very busy, the kids here… you kind of forget that there are all of these other activities that they are continually engaged in. And then on top of that being expected to be a global citizen and then you know partake in some kind of community activity… *(Teacher, Callan College)*

Here, there is acknowledgement that there are tensions between engagement with community, and preparation for post school trajectories. Yet the relationships we cultivate drive collective responsibility and shared concern for our societies is born out of a focus on responsibility to our communities (Sandel, 1996). For Callan, Sandel's perspective on communitarianism and the corruption of altruistic practice lends itself to global citizenship narratives within the IB, where community relations and collectivist practice take precedence over the individual desire to attain and sustain advantage across social spaces such as education. Yet for Callan's educators, echoing Klein's (2001) sentiments, the IB and its international focus offers 'the selling of a way of life' (p.7) rather than the construct of relationships. Further, the 'goal of 'more than one curriculum' invokes the market model and its rubric of choice to 'attract parents', foster competition and enhance quality' (Doherty, 2009, p.8), and undermines the IB's intent to develop community-minded individuals.

Of relevance here, is the inability that both schools face in their efforts to develop morally productive forms of global citizenship. During one of my final conversations with Callan's school principal, it was noted that for young people growing up in Australia today, 'the world… doesn't feel as certain. And the changes which are happening in terms of a globalised world… the idea you go to uni, you get a job, you'd be able to buy a house. All of those things are really no longer potentially a reality for a lot of kids' (*Principal, Callan College*). Here, the realities of economic instability, job competition and deregulated tertiary systems mean we have become a market society where we are left with no choice but to interact with the market. Thus, while the aims of global citizenship as located by International Baccalaureate schools offer a chance for global understanding, hegemonic narratives, market rationality, and individual aspirations continue to undermine the goals of schools.

If we assume that global citizenship education has become ubiquitous, we continue to

see the concept reduced to banal forms. Yet a morally productive form of interpreting and enacting global citizenship education *is* possible. The empirical realities of consumerist global citizenship see schools increasingly driven by market logic, but these realities also see instances of moral reasoning in the community that hint at future possibilities. Schools are not choosing to function as market actors, but their positionality is being driven by the acceptance of education to influence the outcomes a market society. But a market society is not only a society, but rather, a civilisation. In the context of this study, the two schools see themselves as being driven towards the goal of creating market citizens, but marketisation is much deeper than our choice to participate in this society.

In a market society, competition has become a key part of individualism, and the competition in schools and between students in amplified by the availability and proliferation of school choice in Australia. Thus, the reactions and responses of students presented in this section may seem disconnected from the realities of education in Australia, but in a market society, individualism take precedence over collectivist and relational notions of community-based constructs such as global citizenship. In this context, if we consider the consequences of a move from market economies to market societies in education, it is also relevant to consider the role that International Baccalaureate schools in Australia play in creating market societies where education comes with advantage, and at a price. I explore the implications of individualism in the IB in more detail in the following section.

Individualism and the International Baccalaureate

The previous section noted the extent to which competition can disrupt the relationships between students, and the focus of their schooling years. Today, competition has become a key part of individualism, and neoliberal individualism drives markets. Yet as Michael Sandel (2010) has repeatedly argued, we live at a time when almost everything can be bought and sold. Global citizenship education, and all that it can offer, is no different. We now exist in a society where almost everything is for sale, and as many of our interactions and relationships become fragmented, we exist together, but apart. In this context, the International Baccalaureate is well positioned to 'respond' to the perceived decline of social capital in our society. But in Australia, the IB can also sustain neoliberal advantage in Australian schools, existing largely in the independent realm in the

secondary school years.

Early in my interviews with Callan staff, one of Callan's teachers shared his concerns about the validity of the IB and its use in the school, and the lifestyle the IB promotes: '…you look up online about the IB as an organisation and look for criticisms of it, that's probably the number one… it's a money-making venture' (*Teacher, Callan College*). Indeed, schools around the world recognise the value of the International Baccalaureate, and the possibilities to cultivate capital and enhance student enrolments through the provision of the IB. This commodification is augmented further in the secondary stages of school, with the Diploma Programme most highly valued, offering a pathway to tertiary study in numerous countries around the world. The recognition of the IB as the curriculum of choice threatens the holistic and equitable goals purported by the IB, and such amplification and access to post school trajectories means that in spite of the IB's goals to develop 'a better world through education' (IB, 2016), we cannot ignore the ways in which the International Baccalaureate as an organisation contributes to neoliberal individualistic interpretations of global citizenship education. Accordingly, neoliberal individualism is the key focus of this section, and perhaps the most important point in understanding the challenges in enacting global citizenship education in IB schools.

Neoliberalism now drives individualism in schools. Indeed, neo-liberal theory situates those individuals that derive from disadvantaged backgrounds as being 'allowed' to compete in both the education market place and beyond (Brown, 2013, Peters, 2011, Ball, 2012). The 'neo-liberal imaginary' (Ball, 2012) sees this as being acceptable, not as creating a deficit model where positional competition and 'what you lack in comparison to your peers is what you are judged by' (Brown, 2013: 682). As Ball (2012) notes, there is an assumption, within the neoliberal imaginary, that success will only be achieved by elite children, as actors with social and elite community connections. And relevant to the International Baccalaureate, the neoliberal imaginary limits the forms of social and cultural capital reproduction that can be achieved.

Neo-liberal education through such policies as competition and marketization have considerable amounts of risk attached to them, but such risk is potentially circumvented if a child is educated independently. The justification of using the private sector is also clear, if it enables parents to buy for their children courses that are not widely available in the state sector. This form of individualism also prepares students to compete in a

market society, while separating community members and individuals from each other. Yet this society has also become the sum of individuals in competitive relations with one another, where students are encouraged to brand themselves, and develop self-interest as competitive entities. It is this neoliberal individualism that Putnam (2001) criticises in his studies on the demise of community.

In the context of neoliberal individualism, it is clear that although Bexley and Callan have some level of cultural, economic, and social disparity within their school communities, the International Baccalaureate appears to operate in ways that affords many students opportunities to be more competitive and prepared for university than their peers not receiving an 'international' education. In both Bexley and Callan, the International Baccalaureate and its programs are positioned as a marketing tool, and as a way to 'set the school apart' (*Principal, Bexley Academy*). The desirability of the International Baccalaureate offers many schools an 'edge', as Bexley's principal noted, contributing to enhanced numbers of international and local students in schools. Many of these students seek out the IB rather than the school; unsurprising as the IB offers a unique ability to respond to both national and global forms of citizenship, premised on constructs of internationalism (Doherty, 2009), and 'international-mindedness' (International Baccalaureate Organisation, 2018).

At a glance, the International Baccalaureate appears to be ideal for schools attempting to develop global citizenship narratives in the two schools considered in this study. This is seen not only as relevant to the possibilities the IB offers in regard to tertiary participation, but also as a way of expanding the cognition and understanding of students. Callan's head of teaching and learning notes that the 'IB sells itself as the child in the centre and international mindedness around it', and the focus on core values of active global citizenship, critical enquiry, intercultural understanding, and languages (areas also discussed by Hayden & Wong, 1997), support the goals of Callan's globally mobile student population:

> The IB opens our students' minds more to those possibilities… they are more likely to consider things in a different light, than someone who has had a more narrow [sic] experience. I think that's a given rightly or wrongly, but when you talk to people that have been through the programme whether you know they got the highest ATAR, or they got to Harvard, or they're following their dream, that they do talk

> about the programme very warmly in terms of what it was able to offer them… The fact that they have to do community service component are all things that are points of difference to other opportunities… *(Head of Teaching and Learning, Callan College)*

These opportunities are largely supported by the heart of the IB, the 'Learner Profile' (LP). The IB describes the LP as 'a long- term, holistic vision of education that underpins all three programmes and puts the student at the centre of everything we do. The learner profile is the IB mission statement translated into a set of learning outcomes for the 21st century' (International Baccalaureate, 2016). The LP consists of ten key values attributes 'valued by IB World Schools' that underpin the collective goal of the organisation and its programs: 'to develop internationally minded people who, recognising their common humanity and shared guardianship of the planet, help to create a better and more peaceful world' (International Baccalaureate, 2013).

Yet the notion of 'international mindedness' itself suggests there is a problem that has been created. Indeed, the 'mindedness' component itself can be seen as cognitivist, and highly individual, rather than social or relational. Despite the community language, individual perspectives appear to take priority, and the idea of communities is not problematised. Further, the development of 'international mindedness' overlooks internationalisation as a process and focuses instead of the internal mindedness of individuals. This view appears to be embedded within IB's own logic of global citizenship education, despite the fact it has focused on community service. Here, the IB aims to serve rather than build, thus operating exclusive to the community. Hence, the community building aspect of the IB is lost in the emphasis on individual cognition.

Alongside these relational interpretations of international mindedness that connect to cosmopolitan forms of global citizenship, the International Baccalaureate is positioned as 'a school curriculum that has positive impacts on its students (value-adding with its global brand of distinction), its schools (recapturing the drifting middle class) and the larger educational system, (demonstrating how alternatives can work in a market)' (Doherty, 2009). Although the IB works to promote community and connectedness, the privileges associated with IB participation is not lost on Callan's students, as the following exchange demonstrates:

S: The International Baccalaureate is what *everybody* does, and it's where the higher intelligence goes and [the local curriculum] is kind of the fall back if you can't do IB.

S: *[nods] Choosing IB just drained out everyone who did it, who wasn't interested in school.*

S: It's not like every other school doesn't do VCE, but it's like if you're not going to do IB, like *why*?! Like do you not have the grades?!

This is a very telling transcript, highlighting the way students see the IB as an elite form of education in the upper secondary years. And Callan's head of teaching and learning agrees with Callan's students, noting that although 'the IB doesn't like to sell it [their programs] as more difficult programme, there's no doubt that it's a tougher programme… kids that are more academically able choose it' (*Head of Teaching and Learning, Callan*). Similarly, when I ask Callan's students about global citizenship, the sense of community responsibility and relationships is sidelined by individual concerns.: 'the IB, more so than other courses, sort of like *pushes* you towards being a global citizen, especially since you have to learn a language and then there's certain things you have to do … you do your CAS hours, and… it's more recognised overseas' (*Student, Callan College*). Another student agrees: 'I want to study overseas… I think it's really good [the IB] because it's easier to get into other schools'.

As such, the IB is utterly marketable, and translates into overseas opportunities and chances for students to build their individual capital. Callan's students and staff acknowledge the International Baccalaureate is the choice *du jour* for the academically inclined, for students preoccupied by their own post school trajectories and opportunities for market advantage. The perspectives of students reflect Gill's (2003) discussion of globalisation and the commodification of social subjects in the era of neo-liberalism, which in the context of Callan's students, reflects pervasive forms of tokenistic global citizenship education and banal cosmopolitanism, as discussed by Beck (2002). As a reminder of the undesirable forms of cosmopolitanism, Beck describes 'banal cosmopolitanism' as the product of globalized, market-driven cultural expressions, and of the experience of 'globality' as embedded in everyday life.

Expanding on Beck's concept of banal cosmopolitanism, Gill notes that one of the most disconcerting elements of an 'emerging market civilisation [in its globalising] form, is that it tends to generate a perspective on the world that is ahistorical, economistic and

materialistic, me-oriented, short term and ecologically myopic' (2003, p.118). Thus, despite the International Baccalaureate's efforts to promote international mindedness and global citizenship, the curriculum operates as a means of market advantage for students, and in the context of Callan, the International Baccalaureate is produced 'as both attractive and repellent: attractive in the ambitious sights it sets, and the promise of advantages to reap beyond graduation; repellent in the way it discourages certain types of students from choosing it, which in turn makes it a more attractive enclave to those it fits' (Doherty, 2009, p.72). But Bexley's students don't seem to 'fit' this mould so seamlessly, as several of Bexley's teachers notes:

> There has been a lot of resistance to it [the IB] ... but not necessarily because of the internationalisation (*Teacher, Bexley Academy*)

> They don't see it as worthwhile, they don't see it as a concrete qualification that will be a paving stone to an Australian university, or to university... the perception is that it's quite different in style to the VCE [so] *what's the point, why bother* ... I don't know if it's kind of a conservative view about, you know, the Australian way. I'm getting myself in knots aren't I, because of this kind of mix of the Greek community, it's kind of always been a bit international, it's always been looking to a different country it's just, you know, not very diverse in its international thinking... (*Teacher, Bexley Academy*)

Part of the rejection of the IB by some students and educators appears to be attributable to the preference for obtaining the local Victorian Certificate of Education (or VCE, the certificate required to graduate from secondary school), rather than the IB Diploma. But there is also a cynicism of the opportunities afforded by the International Baccalaureate, as demonstrated in the following exchange with Bexley students:

S:	*Because I haven't gotten anything out of it. I dunno if others have.*
S:	I don't even know what I am doing still.
S:	*Miss what's it supposed to teach us?*
S:	Two terms later. Still doesn't.
AD:	*Are your teachers preparing you for life outside the classroom?*

S: But we are still in school!

S: *I also think that it's gotten to a point where nobody actually cares about the International Baccalaureate programme*

S: Especially because we are doing the VCE, we are not doing the IB, like to finish it, we are doing VCE because all of us prefer to do VCE instead of IB [DP].

AD: *Why do you prefer to do the VCE?*

S: It [the IB] really throws us off… it wasn't until last year… that we actually got the full [IB] programme and we had to follow it properly and it was really just out of nowhere… I think I speak on the whole with everyone else- we don't like it at all.

S: *In a way, I don't think it will prepare you that much, because I feel as though top universities for example, they won't care if you did the MYP, they will care if you are able to get into their school and do what is asked. They won't care if you've done some top-notch programme, can you do the work yes or no. And that's what they want.*

Yet the logic represented in the extract above is flawed, there is some naiveté in the comments made by Bexley's students pertaining to tertiary participation, particularly when compared to the insights of Callan students, many of whom who appeared eager to go overseas to attend university. There is also a sense of resistance to the international, of loyalty to the local system. One of the reasons for this resistance is considered by one of Bexley's teachers who notes it's 'really only been quite recently that I've heard about some of the complaining that's gone on about the MYP and I'm not quite sure. Is it resistance to change full stop? I don't know if I can really identify it's a resistance to going international'… (*Teacher, Bexley Academy*).

Callan's students see the world in the ways described by Michael Apple (1999, 2001): as an ever-expanding market place that provides opportunities for 'studying in Italy', 'work overseas', and a 'lot more career paths'. At Callan, there is a sense that students see the International Baccalaureate as a means to an end, and this perspective dictates their attitudes towards global citizenship education as leading to individual gain, rather than relational outcomes of schooling. However, Bexley's students oppose the International Baccalaureate and reject it as a measure of advantage, instead, for Bexley students, the IB operates as an impediment to local tertiary participation- an erroneous understanding.

Here, the Bexley students appear ill informed, particularly when contrasts are made between the Callan students' savviness with understandings of what the IB is and what it offers, and Bexley students' misconceptions. Indeed, some students from Bexley noted that 'compared to what we see from the international students we are so far behind' and attributed this to the lack of transparency surrounding the IB and its implementation at Bexley. Interestingly, these attitudes also appear to arise from a failure to understand the system in which the IB operates, and to recognise the way in which the neoliberal model quietly undermines the objectives of the IB in secondary schools.

In the two schools explored in this study, the positioning of the International Baccalaureate subverts the curriculum from notions of collectivism and shared responsibility to a tool that can enhance or impact on post school trajectories. The next section elaborates on these ideas and considers the complexity of enacting global citizenship narratives as positioned by the IB, at a time when individual aspirations and attitudes have the power to thwart collectivist practices and engagement.

Attitudes and Aspirations

> The ATAR [the Australian Tertiary Admission Rank, used for entry for university in Australia] has a very singular perspective and view point which I think can sometimes cast a shadow which is way too large and dark over what schools do… (*Principal, Callan College)*

> I want to leave this school obviously with memories with our peers, but I want to go well last year of school year twelve… (*Student, Callan College*)

The International Baccalaureate provides schools with a sophisticated curricula model that aims to facilitate the development of global citizens. Yet as a highly rigorous pathway to future study, there is a distinct tension between the idea of community building and the privileging of self. As the two quotes above illustrate, there is desire for connectedness and belonging within the student body of International Baccalaureate spaces, but the importance of developing social capital through relationships (Putnam, 2000) falls to the wayside beneath a looming awareness of the need to achieve academic success. Furthermore, while

schools can often operate as spaces where people from different socioeconomic backgrounds and cultural communities can come together, imagined communities (as discussed by Benedict Anderson, 2010) in Australian schools, are also created within the realm of school choice. The resultant 'imagined communities' are driven by connections to others with shared aspiration, and heavily by the aspirations of family members, as one teacher from Bexley notes:

> Their [students] association with their families are very, very important to them… their mateships are also very strong [to] the aspirational families, educational, aspirational families that go into tertiary education to become doctors and lawyers and architects and engineers…. (*Teacher, Bexley Academy)*

The associations mentioned above, and the resultant communities that emerge, exist at a time in which economic insecurities construct a type of 'narrative coherence' (Ball, 2003, p.173), in which parental aspirations lead to an assumption that the trajectories of families will continue. In this context, narrative coherence may witness parents seeking out environments that support competition, and curricula choices that offer the chance for advantage within a market society. Educational rhetoric, as positioned by the International Baccalaureate and exemplified by the schools in this study, further augments the perspectives of parents. In Australia's education system, competing neoliberal agendas, stratification, and the reality of participation within a market society continue to iterate the notion that 'private is good, public is bad' (Giroux, 2004). Just as Marx (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006, p.70), argued the importance of economic capital for the individual and society, Bourdieu reflects on different forms of capital as a contributing factor to social stratification. Furthermore, his conceptualizations of symbolic and cultural capital (Elliot, 2010, p. 235), in relation to interrelated structures of power, class, hierarchy and privilege and educational achievement, retain relevance today (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006, p.70), particularly in regard to the independent education system in which Callan is situated.

For some of Callan and Bexley's students, there is a heightened awareness that expectations to achieve academic success derive from heavily invested parents. One student at Callan tells me that students face 'high expectations', another admits 'it's so hard [being a Callan student], it's such a challenge'. While other students note that 'expectations depend on your family background, definitely' (*Student, Callan College*), there is a consensus that the

expectations upon students within independent schools leave little chance for relationships. Instead, there is a focus on belonging to a perceived community that offers advantage, with simultaneous expectations that students must return on the investment of their parents, as the following discussion between Callan's students demonstrates:

S: ...they [my parents] definitely push me a lot at school, because they are like, 'we have given you this opportunity, and we worked really hard to get you here, we want you to take advantage of everything that you get...

S: My parents when I say if I ever ask to miss a day of school they... like added it up and it's something like $150 dollars a day

S: My parents did that too.

S: Because if you have to work so hard to get your parents to send you here, that if you don't make the most of it then my parents would be like, 'well if you're not going to make the most of it you're going to the closest public school'.

S: Oh yeah.

S: Because we are trying so hard to like, send you here.

S: My mum is like, every time I want to take a day of school, she is like 'well give me a hundred and fifty dollars'.

S: Pay me a hundred and fifty dollars

S: Yeah exactly.

AD: Do you feel pressured to achieve good grades?

S: They [my parents] do appreciate good marks, but it's also like if I don't do so well it's not like they are disappointed... they kind of just expect me to produce results because of the school I go to.

S: I feel that this school is a lot more extreme than my old school and don't know if my school was just not bad or this school is extreme...

These comments reflect Bourdieu's 1986 discussion on differences in academic achievement between students as deriving from different social classes in relation to their access to capital. Subsequently, in addition to motivation and ability, scholastic achievement depends greatly on the cultural capital that has previously been invested by family members (Bourdieu, 1986). Thus, the price put on the educational experiences of independent school students appears, as discussed in the first section of this chapter, to corrupt (Sandel, 2010) the purpose

of education, that is, to build social cohesion and capital. Callan's students recognise their role as market actors, prepared by their parents for a market society, and expected to yield a return on the investment of parents. Yet although students are being told that there are expectations, and that you must pay through the use of social capital to compete in the market, the relationship between expectations and aspirations are unclear. In this context, Callan's students face a form of commodification through their education, and it is unclear what aspirations the students have for themselves, to do well in the competitive market. Parental expectations are crafted in competitive market teams, and students appear to become market actors, as individuals become market rationality. In addition, as Sandel (2009) warns in his own analyses, there are hints at inequity at Callan, and a resultant perception of hierarchy between students in the independent and state systems in Australia:

> You will find there will be a sector in Melbourne who thinks that Callan kids are a bunch of snobs, and in year twelve there are girls who are rude and you know there are boys that are disrespectful… obviously we've got a biased opinion because we go to Callan and it's great and it's this and it's that, but it's [stratification] everywhere *(Student, Callan College).*

> It's the same everywhere, back in the UK we have two schools next door to each other: the private school kids and the state school kids. There is kind of this hierarchy that isn't really there… but people perceive that it's there (*Student, Callan College)*

Callan's students attempt to explore notions of 'diversity' and, the idea of 'opportunity' as afforded to Callan students. Yet one student challenges her peers, noting that 'even if we say we have friends are in state schools, they are all like us, inner south, and rich'. Another student nods, arguing that '[here] you're just supposed to you know, sit around and have money and wear the newest clothes and everything' (*Student, Callan College*).

Understanding the function of individualistic communities within Callan College is not only attributable to family investment, as Bourdieu (1986, as cited by Richardson, 1986, p. 235) admits: 'it is impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory'. Particularly for very high fee-paying schools like Callan, the independent

space creates a context where the simultaneous expectations of parents, and the 'internationally minded' goals of the International Baccalaureate, mark dilemmas in interpretation and use of IB narratives. Thus, for students, the privatised nature of these education spaces has the potential to subvert genuine opportunities for community building because of the stratified space many independent schools exist in, as Callan's MYP Coordinator posits:

> The independent school space is an interesting space in its own right. I think we make all manner of assumptions, instead of saying, you know, look we are preparing kids for a particular world, to succeed in that world to be able to actually help shape that world in ways that it needs to go…as far as I'm concerned education has to be subversive if it's going to do anything useful around here. You know if it's not if you can't subvert a status quo that we are unhappy with then why are we bothering might as well keep the kids at home because the system will simply replicate itself… (*Curriculum Coordinator, Callan College)*

Callan's principal considers the tensions associated with the 'utilitarian ATAR through to university' within the independent realm, and, within International Baccalaureate schools as problematic for the education realm. There is a sense of frustration with the system, and the challenges for doing morally productive forms of global citizenship at the same time as responding to the demands of neoliberalism and school choice. Thus, although both Bexley and Callan offer the International Baccalaureate as a 'point of difference', viewing the IB as a curriculum that bridges the binary between the local and the global in order to enhance relationships and connectedness, while also offering the possibility of an academic transition to post school tertiary study, is inherently difficult:

> I have seen examples of kids self-selecting because they want to *challenge themselves*, because they want to do all these other things, and *engage with the world*. I've seen kids in various other places who they probably haven't passed the IB, but they say *look it's the best experience I could have got, you know I didn't get the diploma but that's secondary, the actual learning that I undertook, the experience itself sets me up for so many other things.* Whilst you know, here we are driven by the ATAR score and that sort of thing, I know there are a lot of those kids who you know would have done the IB wherever you placed them (*Curriculum Coordinator, Callan College*)

As the comments above indicate, Callan's educators are hopeful for all that is possible with the International Baccalaureate, but the reality for independent schools like Bexley and Callan, is that the IB operates within a market society, where parent selection of the IB must function as somehow advantageous, not only as an educative experience. Indeed, as many students in this study discuss, achievement in the final stages of school takes priority over 'very significant cultural diversity, a more holistic interest in the purpose of curriculum programs and other programmes at [Callan] in order to shape a young person' (*Principal, Callan College*).

Yet there is warranted hysteria around the role of the ATAR in Australia, and the implications for students who fail to gain a high ATAR are valid cause for concern. Dramatic changes have taken place in the Australian higher education sector over the last two decades. The student body has continued to diversify with the uncapping of undergraduate places and the provision of government funding to increase the inclusion and support of students from under-represented groups. Since the *Bradley Review of Australian Higher Education* in 2008, policy changes to remove the cap on undergraduate student numbers has led to significant increases in enrolments with domestic enrolments exceeding one million students in 2014 (Baik et al, 2017). Among school leavers, participation rates have more than doubled in the last two decades (Norton, 2016), but at most institutes, an ATAR score of 70 was deemed to be the minimum score required to an Australian university (Knipe, 2013).

The next section attempts to understand the dilemmas that arise as a result of the driving aspirations and attitudes of students and their families against relational global citizenship narratives. It is evident that as individual attitudes and aspirations take precedence over community belonging and engagement, community building and the maintenance of social capital is an increasingly complex ideal for schools and their students.

Community and Self

Citizenship is no longer associated only with rights (as Arnot, 2009 has noted) but, as presented in the form of global citizenship education, is linked to belonging to a community,

as citizen or member. As such, it operates as a way of feeling and being. The positioning of global citizenship in schools therefore raises questions in relation to citizenship in education, as a political category with effects, and rights than can be taken away. Citizenship is multiple and various, and offers a privileged position for at risk groups, represented in the language of 'belonging'. When we discuss community, it is important to acknowledge the imagining of community in a cosmopolitanism realm. Indeed, cosmopolitanism denotes a certain outlook on the world, a social and cultural condition, a political project, a political subjectivity, an attitude, and finally, a practice or competence (see Vertovec and Cohen, 2003). These ideas are extended by Appiah who examines two distinct interpretations of the concept:

> One is the idea that we have obligations to others, obligations that stretch beyond those to whom we are related by the ties of kith and kind, or even the more formal ties of a shared citizenship. The other is that we take seriously the value not just of human life but of particular human lives, which means taking an interest in the practices and beliefs that lend them significance (2006, xv).

These two distinctions challenge banal forms of cosmopolitanism, recasting the possibilities of community in global citizenship discourse. Werbner (2008) elaborates on Appiah's work in his discussions of a cosmopolitanism that is grounded in ideas of tolerance, inclusiveness, hospitality, personal autonomy, and emancipation. This new form of cosmopolitanism also shares links with communitarianism, and like the forms of global citizenship outlined by Nussbaum (1996; 2009), challenges the perspective that cosmopolitanism is elitist. But while cosmopolitanism continues to be perceived by many as individualistic, communitarian principles overtly reject the principles of liberalism, a theory which holds that each individual should formulate the good on their own. Instead, communitarians examine the ways shared conceptions of the good are formed, transmitted, justified, and enforced. Hence, their interest in communities (and moral dialogues within them), the historical transmission of values and mores, and the societal units that transmit and enforce values – such as the family, schools, and voluntary associations (including places of worship), which are all parts of communities.

Bexley is very much situated within one such established community, where the roles and responsibilities of community are predicated by individual contribution. But there are

challenges for Bexley, as one of Bexley's teacher's notes: 'the whole process of integrating, if they're [international students] not properly integrated then we won't kind of really feel, see the benefits of it'. For Bexley's teacher, evolving a 'tighter knit community' and shifting established attitudes appears to be increasingly difficult. 'It takes a little while to get your head around that I think'. I ask why this resistance may have occurred. 'A misunderstanding of the MYP? Maybe the school could have done a bit more educating, educate the parents a bit more'... (*Teacher, Bexley Academy*).

The acknowledgement that the school has failed to communicate the opportunities afforded by the International Baccalaureate is significant, as it renders the experiences of students in Bexley as opposite to those in Callan, the latter of whom see the advantages that the IB brings. It also sets the scene for the dilemmas that result when community aspirations are positioned against (rather than alongside) individual opportunities for connectedness. Further, this positioning of individualism at the expense of community no doubt develops into student views of relationships, creating a transactional relationality that fails to promote moral and cultural solidarity. In transactional relationships, individuals participate in activities purely for themselves, not for the sake of the community. Accordingly, friendships and interactions are premised on individuals only doing things for each other when the expectation of reciprocation exists. And although transactional relationships are often common amongst students, a transactional relationality is normalised by the use of the International Baccalaureate in both Bexley and Callan.

The implications of transactional relationalities have been explored in detail by Stephen Lee (2014), who presents a case study of unauthorised migrant relations with citizen workers in the United States. Lee argues that unauthorised or illegal workers suffer from a lack of solidarity and connectedness to citizen workers because of the transactional reality of their lives and their interactions. Indeed, as Lee notes in his reflections, the construction of a transactional relationality limits 'acts of solidarity' which 'signal a commitment to the values of mutuality, reciprocity, and community, and which increases the likelihood that a migrant will successfully integrate into society' (p.226).

Lee sees transactional relationality as an impediment to the formation of social and economic bonds amongst 'unauthorised' and citizen workers much in the way that the schools in this study position their students as distinct in some way, from other

community members, and each other. Echoing Lee's warnings, social and economic capital can disrupt the potential for individuals to bond. In this context, a transactional understanding of others can inhibit students from forming bonds with others outside of their immediate educational spaces, as well as each other. Economic pressures and the demands of the market see students view each other as competition, and the competitiveness of young people today in drawn upon by schools and the International Baccalaureate.

Earlier in this chapter, I examined the implications of individualism amongst young people in International Baccalaureate schools: as school spaces shift, we also see a tension in the *use* of school and curriculum, as a mechanism to cultivate advantage. It is also apparent that the relational narratives of global citizenship, as articulated by the International Baccalaureate, can be subverted by post school concerns not restricted to local communities, but also extend to migrant and transnational families. Australia's education system is increasingly desirable to international families (Rizvi, 2009), and indeed, in 'international schools' like Bexley and Callan, changing culture, values, and priorities of parent communities can drive and reform school culture, as Callan's principal outlines:

> There are some quite radical shifts occurring for Callan… we have seen a really significant change in demographic… [Callan] began as white, Anglo, middle class, to a point where now [it] sits in a very heavy concentration of first, second, third generation Asian families with a particularly high Chinese concentration. And so, what you're seeing is a much greater percentage per capita of kids with Asian backgrounds… you're seeing a much more utilitarian use of curriculum by those families particularly within the VCE to access tertiary programs. It is a very utilitarian view of the education process (*Principal, Callan College*).

The above comments acknowledge some concern over the use of the curriculum at Callan, echoing Ball's (2003) analysis of neo-liberal narratives of school choice (Ball, 2003, as cited in Doherty, 2009, p.3). In relation to private and public goods, education is increasingly a private good, and in privileged spaces like Callan, school functions as an elite market of 'educational distinction' (Ball, Bowe & Gewirtz, 1996). Ball (2003) sees the availability of individual choice as a 'micro-mechanism for macro-level class reproduction' where the availability of school choices has effectively 'produced a stratified market that reinforces

relative class position' (Doherty, 2009, p.3). There is also concern that within such privileged enclaves, parents and their students have constructed a 'social network … against a background of material and social differences' (Ball, Bowe & Gewirtz, 1996, p. 93).

Yet Callan's principal also identifies concerns over the construct of culture within Callan, and those individuals and imperatives that drive school demands and priorities. Here, there is relevance in the work of Benedict Anderson (1983), and more recently Craig Calhoun (2002). While Anderson presents nationalism as a way of imagining and thereby creating community, in which the nation 'is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship' (p.49), yet Calhoun extends Anderson's imagining of community by considering the complexities associated with the cosmopolitan imagining of citizenship (2002, p.212):

> Clearly, neither the interconnectedness nor the diversity of the world brings pleasure to everyone. Growing global connections can become a source of fear and defensiveness rather than appreciation for diversity or sense of ethical responsibility for distant strangers. Globalisation can lead to renewed nationalism or strengthening of borders- as has often been the case since the 2001 terrorist attacks.

In the above quote, Calhoun highlights the implications of the cosmopolitan imaginary, and the thin line between community and nationalism. As a consequence of new forms of nationalism, and increased patriotism in the wake of the September 11 attacks in New York, Calhoun emphasises that awareness and fear of 'bad nationalism' has resulted in the construct of relatively thin identities. In this context, Calhoun notes that 'cosmopolitans and constitutional patriots may presumably orient themselves to multiple spheres of action, from the very local to the global' (p.171), but with little critical engagement and tangible community involvement.

Such tensions in the construct of social imaginaries are also evident at Callan and Bexley, where binaries still function between student and parent communities, and indeed, the role that the curriculum plays in the construct of communities. In this context, Calhoun's concerns that social imaginaries, as articulated in the construct of cosmopolitanism (and indeed relevant to global citizenship) are becoming restricted to elites, and meaningful only

in relation to the nationalism of others (2002, p.171), is an idea echoed in conversations with Callan's MYP Coordinator:

> My view is that people are who they are, in the context they find themselves. But some of this stuff is about basic human transaction and we need to be explicitly clear and overt about the fact that learning to live positively with all cultural groups on this planet is a basic human responsibility, and if you can't do it in places like schools, then I don't hold out much hope for the planet to be honest (*Curriculum Coordinator, Callan College)*

The comments of Callan's leadership staff suggest that there is an acknowledgement that enacting robust forms of global citizenship are problematic in that we are at a point that a prescriptive approach in schools is needed for broader society to achieve its community goals. The comments also echo the sentiments of Sandel (2010), who notes that equitable societies require a strong sense of community. Yet there seems to be limited understanding of the ways in which the IB, and indeed schools and educators within the independent realm, can cultivate a sense of community, and of shared responsibility, within both Bexley and Callan. Thus, in view of these perspectives, and if we recognise community building as a relational aspect, what then exists alongside the market society? Sandel (2010) and Putnam (2000) recognise these dilemmas, but it is up to schools to determine how these complexities play out. The final section of this chapter considers what is, and what ought to be, for practices such as global citizenship education within a market society.

What is, and What Ought to Be

At this stage, it appears that the schools presented in this study are not able to entirely enact global citizenship education, and there is uncertainty as to what can be done to achieve moral forms of global citizenship- that is, forms of global citizenship that balance individual aspirations with community engagement. The positioning of international programs and practices, and indeed the IB, in these two schools, is underpinned by both individual and collective perspectives on what global citizenship can offer, and indeed, broader responses to globalisation. But the consequences of globalisation have numerous dimensions, as outlined by Thomas (2005), both positive and of detriment, and can create opportunities for connection and individualism. However, it remains unclear how

Bexley and Callan recognise this tension. I reflect upon the potentials of global citizenship education when I return to Bexley, and talk to Bexley's School principal about what he thinks his school can achieve in a world with so many external pressures:

> Nine times out of ten when they [young people] turn on the television, turn on the radio, enter social media, what they are getting is snapshots of sensational media which are portraying globalisation in a negative way, so it's no wonder that they are coming out with attitudes like that. Their parents will also… [say] *look what's happened over here, you know it's the Muslims causing this issue*! We know it's happening, our job as a school is to give them balance and understanding of actually what is happening, and not to bring in political persuasions that individuals may have but to portray it in the most objective way that we can, because nobody is talking about the wonderful collective outcomes that are generated through globalisation, all the good news stories, very rarely does that come out… so that I see is the role of the school… to promote hope in our kids in of a much better world…really peace and harmony within a multicultural world that we are living in… (*Principal, Bexley Academy*).

Bexley's principal attempts to acknowledge the realities of the world in which students live, but notions of 'peace' and 'harmony' are still imaginings in the current Australian landscape, where fear of others is very much apparent (Hage, 2009). Never before have we had so many opportunities to connect and communicate with different cultures and languages, both inside and outside Australia. Our society has become increasingly multicultural, enriched by the aspirations of migrants, transnationals, displaced peoples, and technology. Yet too often we are told that the world is foreign, different and dangerous. It is the view often promoted by the current Australian government and reflected by the media and community. Political rhetoric and the rise of nationalised sentiment poses a challenge to what it means to 'belong'. Indeed, the absence of belonging is evident in Bexley's student community, as students discuss the 'buzz words' their school has used to introduce ideas around global citizenship with disappointment and resentment:

S: You're human.

S: *We are all one race.*

S: Equal, equality.

S: *That's a big word.*

AD: What does it mean to you?

S: *It's all a joke.*

S: It's *just* a joke.

Bexley's students appear to reject their principal's vision for a multicultural world. For Bexley students, the promises of globalisation and its opportunities appear to be both 'a myth' (Veseth, 2005) and 'a broken promise' (Stiglitz, 2002), a promise that their school, and their own opportunities, would be enhanced by the introduction of the International Baccalaureate and its associated programs and policies. Furthermore, and relevant to Andreotti's (2010) analyses on the Eurocentric interpretations of global citizenship narratives in education, Bexley's conceptualisations of modernity, globalisation, knowledge and 'being' have important implications for the enactment of global citizenship education.

I attempt to reconcile the student perspectives on 'equality' within Bexley against one of my first discussions with Bexley's deputy principal, who admitted to me that 'there is [sic] a lot of things you can do in a school which help make the school look and appear to be an international school'. Such strategizing by Bexley's school leaders reflects the phenomenon of school choice in Australia and considers the tensions of education and school and curricula choice, drawing upon the theories of capital as discussed by Bourdieu (as articulated by Savage, 2011). Reflecting upon Bourdieu, and the research of Gillborn and Youdell (2000) and Ball (2003), Savage argues that parents with higher levels of social and cultural capital are advantageously placed 'within hierarchical fields of social power to manipulate the system and ensure their child reaps maximum educational benefits' (p.44). This type of manipulation is what Sandel (2010) warns us of when considering the ways in which the education system has been corrupted by inequality. As some students gain advantage, inequality deepens, and the chances for equal opportunity become diminished, despite the desire of students and educators to do and be something more:

> You really need to put it into practice that you are a multicultural school, and I feel that the IB programme…that they've got advertising outside the school… we are into

> this multicultural idea, like ways of learning, and then just saying '*oh today's the national day of Vietnam because you have to…' (Teacher, Bexley Academy*)

> You know, if you're going to say we are a multicultural school and we are very welcoming, which we are… try and go deeper into the other cultures that are at the school. Make it more apparent more evident that we are a multicultural school and give us some knowledge on it… (*Student, Bexley Academy*)

This extract offers an interesting student perspective that aligns to the voice of the educator that precedes it, and this view appears to contrast with broader student dissatisfaction with the IB and global citizenship education, and the rebranding of the school. Yet in this one dissident comment, there is also hope for Bexley to move towards morally productive forms of global citizenship education, and to add meaning to the current enactments of global citizenship education.

In this context, social networks and norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from the connections between individuals, as Putnam (2000) explores, continue to diminish within Bexley as the school 'internationalises' and attempts to include those who are different in some way, but only with superficial exertion. Bexley is at a standstill, unable to challenge its established boundaries, and to return to established community organisations. It also appears that Bexley's students understand far more than they have been given credit for, and that their longing not to be 'left behind', while waiting for 'a conversation, just a conversation', has not been acknowledged by their school leaders.

Although Callan's school leaders assume that independent schools are more 'stable' in terms of enrolments and school leadership, yet he is unsure how to 'maximise the cultural diversity mix' in order to enhance the school community and truly lead the school into an international space. Callan's principal acknowledges that he will 'be very interested to see what the twenty first century skills PISA[22] pilot comes up with because it's kinda like the beacon of hope in many ways'. Thus, for Callan's leaders, an acknowledgement of culture marks a movement within the education realm, and an opportunity for organic

[22] PISA- Programme for International Assessment

learning:

> We really have to think quite differently about allowing kids to work with other kids because that's where most of the learning occurs. One of my favourite things to say about schools is that, you know I've heard it said that schools are places young people go to watch old people work and you know we probably do at this school you know too much for our kids. Teachers are working really bloody hard running around in circles at the behest of these kids and their families, now I don't think we are extracting the maximum learning opportunities by adhering to that kind of view point (*Principal, Callan College*)

Callan's principal argues that the curriculum should reflect 21st century skills around collaboration, problem solving and so forth. But there is also an acknowledgment that Callan is aware of the demands of the school community, and that many of the established practices exist because of parent choice. Although the existing approach to learning is maximising student engagement and diversity is challenging in a country like Australia, where the phenomenon of school choice is widespread, Callan is situated in 'an interesting space' (*Principal, Callan College*) where parent demands reduce opportunities for reform. As Callan's principal posits, society is facing 'massive change, robotics, automation, environment, changing patterns of work, I could go on, and at the same time we are seeing increasing enrolments in independent schools', and Callan cannot 'do themselves out of business'. The binary between the desires of Callan's principal to see students engage with diversity and the expectations of an elite school community is an interesting concluding point in our conversation.

A cosmopolitan vision, and all that it entails, is no longer a priority for many young people who will likely go on to face deregulated university systems, large student loans, high levels of unemployment and job insecurity. Adding to the concerns of the more privileged socioeconomic groups, are the other consequences of globalisation: migration, war, and terror (Beck, 2006). These latter issues may be more pressing for transnational, migrant, and refugee students in Australia, but inequality, as a consequence of globalisation, should be a concern for all of us, including local students. Yet for students who exist within a market society, the rhetoric of all we *should* do for each other can also be crippling for many young people, and for schools, as Callan's MYP coordinator concludes:

> Labour markets have become globalised now, so you know we've got kids coming out of school… they don't know what to do and they're up against kids who… are hungry on the world. I think in some ways we have exacerbated a lot of the problems for the young people in growing up today and then we are kind of expecting them to grapple with it and deal with it. And I also think there is a certain sense of feeling, you know the forces are so much bigger now, you're up against the political forces and the forces of corporations. You know it's not, you can't help but feel like your hands are tied behind your back… *what difference am I going to make? (Curriculum Coordinator, Callan College).*

These comments echo those of Valenzuela and Brewer (2011), who consider the complexities of globalisation, and all that it should be: opportunity for distribution of wealth, equitable access to health services, expansion of networks and the sharing of ideas. Yet globalisation, and the resultant opportunities that arise because of connectedness, are often marred by the realities of individualistic practice. In Australia, pressures on young people to participate in tertiary study often undermine the pragmatic imperatives of education, and in light of this paper, the goals of the International Baccalaureate. Callan's principal notes that 'if I had my way, university or tertiary selection would be uncoupled from secondary education. That's not going to happen any time soon. So that's the situation we live with'. Callan's deputy principal considers this difficulty as increasingly fraught within independent IB schools, particularly elite schools like Callan, where many students privilege their own post school trajectories above the more holistic aims of the IB:

> *AD:* *Can global citizenship and academic pathways ever work together?*
>
> DP: The two can do that easily. There is no watering down of academic excellence simply because you… develop the whole child as it were… it's unfortunate that the IB in Australia operates in this particular way, that somehow, we push kids into being cynical about how they make their choices in regard to their ATAR. It's unfortunate that's what happens and in a sense, nobody really values the various paths or the various components of the IB for what they are intended to be. If you went across the Pacific and went to the US for example, people look out for IB kids not so much for the subject, the actual disciplines they have studied, but because of the extra things: their

critical thinking skills, their community engagement, you know, all of those things.

AD: *But in the US the IB operates largely in the public system.*

DP: Oh you may have a point there, I mean in the US they came out and decided they were going to use the IB as a prime, you know, *strategy* to raise standards in schools… I mean here we set up a kind of equivalence, an ATAR conversion equivalence between VE and IB and its very strange… you know, we've got ourselves in a situation where if the child for some reason does not get the diploma then it doesn't matter what they've done in the six subjects. *They don't even get an ATAR*. So you know there are all kinds of 'parakill' [destructive] approaches to this [the use of the IB] that doesn't help. But precisely because of the link between university admissions and placement … you've then got kids who, you know, play to their strengths, and you can't blame them for that.

For Callan's students, building individual capital surpasses the need for societal relations, and for social capital, as explored by Putnam (2000). Furthermore, the privileged positioning of neoliberal forms of education in Australia, as Callan's MYP coordinator illustrates above, plays a part in the enactment of individualistic practices within the International Baccalaureate, a reflection one of Callan's teachers shares:

> How a school negotiates the global in terms of these big forces of change is a difficult one… what will the world look like in a few years' time… what are we training our students for, and what kind of people do we want them to be? *(Teacher, Callan College)*

This is an interesting point, particularly for schools like Bexley and Callan that rely heavily on the International Baccalaureate as a mechanism to foster and create global citizenship, but also reflects Dill's (2013, p.1) concerns around the duality of the student experience:

> Students in our schools are, on the one hand, encouraged to develop understanding

> and awareness of cultural differences that are part of their everyday experience; on the other hand, they are expected to learn skills that will equip them to compete with workers around the world for jobs in a survival-of-the-fittest global economy. This world of shrinking borders simultaneously expands our hopes for a better, more prosperous and just world, while also increasing our anxieties and fears about economic uncertainties and increasing inequalities.

Increasing our understanding of global citizenship in Australia can only help educators to implement and exploit the relational aspects of global understanding and responsibility, and thus lead the educational field 'toward more effective teaching and more applicable and enduring learning' (Kervin, et al, 2006, p. 10) within a market society. Yet as Sandel (2009) has queried, 'the question of markets is really a question about how we want to live together. Do we want a society where everything is up for sale? Or are there certain moral and civic goods that markets do not honour and money cannot buy'? As we reflect on the positioning of global citizenship against Sandel's above concerns, it becomes evident that for Bexley and Callan, the aims of global citizenship education have become rhetorical, undelivered promises of community and interconnectedness, banal forms of cosmopolitanism (as discussed by Beck, 2006).

There are many complexities associated with enacting global citizenship in International Baccalaureate schools, and these difficulties are compounded by increasing pressures upon our students, who will emerge into a very different world to that Michael Sandel and Robert Putnam recall. And thus, within a market society where everything is for sale, what transpires for both Bexley and Callan, is that practices of global citizenship education have become mechanisms for students to gain advantage through participation within the International Baccalaureate.

Conclusion

This chapter suggests that in these two schools, discourse around global citizenship education is increasingly driven by an instrumental notion of preparing students for a particular society: an increasingly competitive 'market society'. Individual interpretations of global citizenship and international mindedness appear to be embedded in the practices of International Baccalaureate but are made increasingly problematic when

positioned alongside school and curricula choice in independent schools in Australia.

Doherty (2009) has articulated the difficulties around utilising the International Baccalaureate in Australian schools and iterates the need for schools to embrace 'local and global frames for citizenship and their articulation' (p.13) if we are to see global citizenship, as articulated by the IB, move forward in meaningful ways. Both Bexley and Callan demonstrate a contrast between notions of global citizenship education: a contrast of narratives that focus on individual attributes, moral, social and economic forms of capital, and forms which are relational and focus on building community and social solidarity. Thus, although both of these conceptions of global citizenship may be found in the two schools, it is an emphasis on individualised forms of global citizenship education that appears to dominate texts and narratives on global citizenship education.

Overall, this chapter offers evidence to show what currently exists, and what is possible, in relation to global citizenship narratives, and explores the practices and interpretations that are being embraced by educators and students at the two schools. The data presented in this chapter see global citizenship narratives reduced to banal forms, yet in doing, also hint at the possibilities for a morally productive form of global citizenship education in International Baccalaureate schools, that can exist alongside a market society. Although, as one teacher notes, '[the International Baccalaureate as an organisation] could probably do a little bit more than to support schools to provide that kind of training and that kind of understanding of what it means to be a global citizen' (*Teacher, Bexley Academy*), a 'market rationality' is increasingly shaping the ways in which global citizenship is interpreted, both in terms of the ways in which schools view it, as an advantage for branding themselves, and the ways in which they organize it pedagogically. And thus, in a market society, students tend to embrace an individualized view of global citizenship, ahead of one that focuses on unequal relationalities across gender, class, race and nations. In light of these challenges, the final section speculates on the ways in which global citizenship education can prosper in a market society.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Exploring the Possibilities

This study was borne out of a desire to understand the various ways that the contested topic of global citizenship education is interpreted and enacted in schools. Having taught and researched in International Baccalaureate schools, I believed that if any program could achieve the aims of global citizenship education, it would be the International Baccalaureate, by its explicitly international nomenclature, to emphasise notions of identity and citizenship that reach beyond those typically seen in curriculum frameworks offered by nation states. Yet during my earliest days of data collection at Bexley and Callan, it was evident that staff and students struggled with a definitive notion of 'global citizenship' in these two International Baccalaureate schools, and that the goals of the International Baccalaureate had been compromised by competing neoliberal agendas.

This thesis has investigated and uncovered previously overlooked or little-recognised tensions and dilemmas around global citizenship education, through an exploration based on two key research questions: First, 'How are global citizenship discourses interpreted and enacted in two Australian IB school's? And secondly, 'How do these schools take advantage of mobility, diversity and connectedness in the student body and in what ways do these elements support the imagining of global citizenship'?

Importantly, the concept of enactments has helped to shape the analysis presented in this study, in order to generate fresh insights and new possibilities for more critical and meaningful enactments of global citizenship education. The particular use and notion of enactments of global citizenship also supports an enhanced understanding of how schools do global citizenship education, by considering not only interpretations and practices, but also the processes of enactment that exist at the school level. Accordingly, this study has found that the interpretation and enactment of global citizenship education narratives in IB schools is a process marked by the complexity of the conditions of globalisation, cosmopolitanism, and indeed, the broader market society. In this context, it appears that teachers, students, and administrators who understand the concept of global citizenship education in different ways, have allowed themselves to become market actors and passive consumers of global citizenship education. As education has become increasingly commodified, the longings of global citizenship education become problematic, leading to

global citizenship education being dismissed as 'absurd', as Dower (2002) has noted. Indeed, were there a better harnessing of students' experiences and understandings of mobility, a greater appreciation and valuing of diversity, and greater sense of connectedness between students and their learning, notions of global citizenship might indeed be possible. Instead, the schools appear to squander the cultural diversity of their students, and thus, are reduced to market actors who appear unable to enact the more altruistic aims of global citizenship education (as articulated by the IB) within their classrooms and their schools.

Secondly, as the two schools struggle to clearly interpret and enact global citizenship education, disparate interpretations and enactments of global citizenship narratives divide and distance students from one another, and ultimately result in two competing strands of global citizenship education- the relational and the individual. Here, in an analysis of the contradictions between market-driven and socially-orientated education spaces, the study finds that some of the consequences of privileging markets over civic participation in regard to race, language, culture, and gender, reduce opportunities to leverage diversality (as discussed by Andreotti, 2009), and reconstruct the role of the education (Luke, 2004) as a driver of commodity.

The final finding focuses on the positioning of the International Baccalaureate in the two schools at the heart of this study and considers the ways in which the IB curriculum is used to subvert the notion of global mindedness and community, moving instead towards a model of market orientated individualism. Here, it appears that the relational strand of global citizenship education has become increasingly secondary and even sidelined under the hegemonic forces of market ideologies that emphasise the individual. In recognition of the current uses of the IB in two Australian schools, and the resultant dilemmas that arise from attempting to foster global citizenship education in marketized spaces, the remainder of this chapter considers the possibilities for IB schools to recognise the existing potential of the IB. Indeed, as trends towards commercialisation of the IB appear increasingly evident, opportunities and spaces for the International Baccalaureate still exist, and symbolic language around global citizenship education may still be able to be interpreted in ways that suggest spaces for possibilities. I therefore conclude the thesis by reflecting on the ways in which the International Baccalaureate can provide a foundation to move global citizenship education forward, while simultaneously challenging the realities of the market society.

Possibilities

In its most common narrative, global citizenship education is about recognising our interconnectedness, acknowledging cultural diversity, advocating for global social justice, and acting with moral responsibility. Thus, at its core, global citizenship education is an ethical project that seeks to inspire students to understand how to live in the globalising world, in view of changing conditions. Yet in the realm of independent education, the intersection between globalisation, cosmopolitanism, and global citizenship education problematises the interpretation of global citizenship education. While globalisation is a theory about emerging conditions, it is not normative, and operates instead as a descriptive, empirical idea that describes the world in which we now live. Cosmopolitism provides opportunities for us to understand we live in and negotiate the globalised world, and global citizenship adds a final layer, teaching us how to belong in the world and how to live with each other. Yet as global citizenship education evolves, and continues to focus on the notion of belonging and shared responsibility, globalisation has resulted in increased opportunities and a rapid expansion of technological advances and employment opportunities. Global mobility has both contributed to the expansion and commercialisation of education, and we now see education operate as a tradeable commodity, rather than as a public good.

As Dower (2002) reminds us, and as I have argued in this thesis, global citizenship is an ethical project first and foremost that must exist alongside the conditions produced as a result of globalisation. And so, when considering the market forces that drive the experiences and outcomes of young people, it may appear that the ideals of global citizenship education are impractical. Yet the ethical aims of global citizenship are not necessarily beyond the reach of schools and their students and the disparate imaginings and enactments of global citizenship education presented in this thesis still highlight the need for critical, and morally productive forms of global citizenship education, reflecting Dill (2013, p.6), who has challenged the current enactments of global citizenship education, arguing:

> The longings of its [global citizenship education] proponents represent sincere hopes for a better world. But its current forms have significant limitations, which proponents have not yet acknowledged, that are problematic for its goals and purposes. Furthermore, these limitations may very well undermine its genuine

> longings. First, proponents of global citizenship education working with these Western assumptions should explicitly embrace this tradition as such—as a specific tradition with limits and boundaries—and begin to think about both the problems and possibilities of these limits.

Dill's insightful analysis reminds us that we should think about the possibilities, as well as the problems, associated with global citizenship. Indeed, as Humes (2008) argues, it 'is one thing to encourage young people to acquire knowledge about topics of global interest, but whether that makes a difference to their actions outside school is uncertain' (p. 50). Accordingly, in this thesis, and in recognition of working within the 'Western assumptions' Dill refers to, my analysis has ultimately left me wondering how we can ever achieve a morally productive form of global citizenship education that considers the complexity of the global condition, rather than the definitive form that has long proved elusive to researchers, and practitioners. Citizenship is now a moral enterprise, and whether we like it or not, global citizenship education therefore has normative dimensions. In this context, advancing more critical forms of global citizenship education that are moral in character, and leveraging what we know about others from moral rather than simplistic perspectives, seems an unachievable dream. Yet it is ultimately how schools work with these dimensions that defines the possibilities for global citizenship education. Thus, in light of the findings presented in this thesis, what are the possibilities for taking global citizenship education forward?

This study considers global citizenship education's transformative potential as a means by which to encourage advocacy, community, and promote critical thinking (Andreotti, 2006; Gaudelli, 2016; Gaudelli & Fernekes, 2004; Monaghan & Spreen, 2016; Myers, 2016). However, as Dill (2013) has argued, global citizenship education, at least in its most dominant forms, is a neoliberal project that often fails to acknowledge global citizenship education's 'moral sources' by focusing on the interpretations of the West. Whilst acknowledging both Andreotti (2006) and Dill's (2013) criticisms of western, liberal imaginings of global citizenship education, this study acknowledges that global citizenship education, at least in its most hegemonic, and sometimes banal cosmopolitan form, is not likely to disappear any time soon. And in consideration of the increasing popularity of global citizenship education within western contexts and schools, it is important to also acknowledge that the more altruistic aims of global citizenship

education are not only failing to produce in critical forms but are also compromised by broader discourses around school status and marketing.

Within International Baccalaureate schools, this results in global citizenship related initiatives within the IB marketed as a product guaranteed to provide individual benefits and advantages, although the citizenship component of the IB emphasises the collective over the individual. For both schools investigated in this study, the International Baccalaureate appears to be used as a mechanism to 'create' global citizens, through a process of engaging with a specially designed curriculum and appropriate resources. Yet throughout my discussions with individuals in both schools, I became aware of the simultaneous tension between the moral and community-focussed aims of global citizenship education, and the instantiation of global citizenship in IB schools. In school contexts where the IB is used for highly market-driven, competitive reasons, global citizenship education appears to be positioned as offering one school an advantage over another, and here, both the IB and global citizenship is seen as a tool for personal, rather than community, advantage.

Importantly, in both of the schools presented in this study, the aspirations of both students and the International Baccalaureate itself were augmented by the realities of market logic: that is, in the context of schools, market logic bears witness to a process of treating individuals within schools as market actors, where parents, teachers, administrators and students do not participate in pedagogic encounters, but in market encounters, where students are increasingly prepared for a market society. In turn, market logic crowds out the moral value of education, and marks a movement away from education as an accessible good to a private commodity. In this context, the moral value of global citizenship education, that is, the aim to foster community responsibility and connection, has been crowded out by the call of the market society, a society that recognises the IB and global citizenship as advantageous to the neoliberal individual.

Assuming the market society exists, and that we are actors within it, there are a number of key relationships between schools and the market society: there is an agreed perception of students as consumers; of teachers as consumers, and resources that are used to promote self-interest. Perhaps most importantly for this thesis, is the positioning of curriculum and pedagogy, and the way these are increasingly oriented towards shaping and creating market citizens who are going to be successful. There are a whole range of

assumptions predicated on these ideas: individualisation and individual competition is assumed a normal practice; the privatisation of Australia's education system is ubiquitous; and human creatures in this market society are increasingly people who are in it for themselves. Therefore, while it is necessary for global citizenship education to become a constructive part of the debates around power and ethnocentrism, rather than reinforcing and mitigating possibilities for diversity, the movement from market economy to market society sees global citizenship is positioned as a product that can be bought and sold by schools. Drawing upon Sandel (2009), the commodification of the concept of global citizenship education means that in its current state, global citizenship education appears condemned to fail. Consequently, altruism appears to be difficult to reconcile for the two schools presented in this study, and thus, in International Baccalaureate schools, the moral aims of global citizenship education are undermined and subsumed by the market forces attached to it.

However, as based on my discussions with students, teachers, and school leaders, I believe that returning to morally productive forms of global citizenship education within IB schools is indeed possible, although challenging. Examining the different enactments, there are many possibilities of understanding ways in which to enact global citizenship education in meaningful ways. This final chapter considers the dilemmas faced by International Baccalaureate schools in enacting global citizenship education, before considering opportunities for IB schools to return to the altruistic goals of global citizenship education.

Issues of Enactments

Throughout this thesis, I have emphasised the challenges associated with understanding enactments, rather than interpretations, of global citizenship education. Although global citizenship is a social aspiration, it is marked by complexity, particularly in the critical interpretations that move beyond banal forms of citizenship and cosmopolitanism. Yet education systems continue to focus on academic achievement and individual outcomes, at the expense of community and relationships. In both the schools that participated in this study, the notion of critical global citizenship interpretation is underpinned and undermined by the marketing needs and enrolment demands that exist within the independent school system in Australia, and this undermining disrupts the ways in which

global citizenship is ultimately enacted. Despite the apparent efforts of school administrators to drive a reform agenda around global understanding and inclusion, understanding of global citizenship narratives appears to vary greatly across teacher and student communities, suggesting that beyond the level of school leadership, school communities interpret, enact and relate to narratives of global citizenship very differently. In both schools, marketing messages position global citizenship education against a backdrop of school and curricula choice, promoting participation with global curricula and relevant cultural practices as a way for students to gain advantage over their peers. Indeed, the strategy of positioning the school as 'globally minded' appears to be a foundational element in the drive for global citizenship narratives to be enacted, and a successful formula for increased enrolments. Therefore, within both schools, global citizenship appears to be enacted in a way that ignores student diversity and agency, and instead, markets the school as elite.

This is hardly surprising, as thinking of global citizenship and belonging is complex, extending beyond citizenship as pertaining to the rights and responsibilities of individuals, towards developing cosmopolitan thinking and transglobal communities. Yet global citizenship, just like cosmopolitanism, is steeped in values that are not necessarily 'Western' (Leichtman and Schulz, 2012) and ethnocentric interpretations of global citizenship education result in banal forms of engagement with others. Similarly, Popkewitz (2008) points out that cosmopolitanism itself is a dividing practice, a system of reason that governs people and sets up systems of inclusion and exclusion. In this context, a form of banal cosmopolitanism, or a cosmopolitanism which only tacitly or superficially engages with issues of community, appears to derail the notion of global citizenship in the schools examined in this study. Thus, the schools in this study fail to disturb and disrupt the moral structures of society that work against community engagement and relational forms of global citizenship and belonging.

Negotiating Local and Global Forms

The disparate imagining of global citizenship, and the difficulties associated in negotiating marketing messages and curricula and policy directives, are problematic for IB schools who attempt to view students only as 'global' citizens. For the two schools in this study, the introduction of the International Baccalaureate added an unintended

complexity. At Callan, a high fee-paying school, becoming 'global' was seen as a natural pathway for an already cosmopolitan school clientele. Yet, at Bexley, the introduction of the International Baccalaureate, and the subsequent arrival of 'international' students, resulted in a perceived loss of opportunities and cultural engagement. Particularly for Bexley students who identified with both Hellenic and Australian culture, an acknowledged effort by school administrators to make the school 'less Greek', and more international or cosmopolitan, further limited student access to relationships or participation in the broader Greek community. However, a lack of preparedness to support the linguistic and cultural needs of the international students at Bexley, resulted in separation and segregation between local, transnational, and international students in both the classroom, and the broader school community.

Part of the complexity around the enactment of global citizenship education lies in a move from 'soft' (Tully, 2008), to critical (Andreotti, 2006; Ellis, 2015) forms of global citizenship, and these complexities are apparent in both schools. Yet the realities of market thinking challenge the opportunities for schools to move towards morally robust forms of global citizenship education. The desire for both Bexley's and Callan's administrators to create global citizens through the introduction of the IB has led to increased enrolment of international students, but access to curriculum and support for international students is problematic when students fail to engage with the community, or in the classroom. However, for both Bexley and Callan, a critical consideration of citizenship, belonging, and inclusion appears to be still in its infancy, and an examination of the 'taken for granted' boundaries that create conditions for exclusions remain unexplored.

Appiah (2006) talks of such cosmopolitan ethics as a search for universal values that could become a search for homogeneity, and in this context, global citizenship education has the potential to act as a social movement that allows new and flexible forms of participation, that may allow for a greater degree of community (as explored by Putnam, 2000; Putnam & Feldstein, 2004). Thus, a missing component of global citizenship education as positioned by the two IB schools in this study, is a broader acknowledgement of the communities of the students, and the capabilities of adolescent learners to recognise and challenge the banal forms of global citizenship. Reflecting on the conversations I shared with students over the course of this study, there was a clear acknowledgement of the ways in which students, particularly at Bexley, saw the schools

as subverting and restricting their opportunities to participate in meaningful and morally robust global citizenship narratives. At Bexley, student interviews revealed a strong sentiment that their experiences and relationships were being sidelined in favour of marketisation and promotion. Yet these considered and heartfelt insights were not heeded or leveraged, and the voices of students were drowned out by Bexley's market priorities and its conformity to the demands of the market. Global citizenship narratives can be tokenistic rather than critical (Andreotti, 2009), conforming to the hegemonic narratives associated with banal forms of cosmopolitanism. And here, community organizations like schools, demand a degree of conformity, conformity that must be challenged if we are to more towards a more inclusive society where we can learn from each other, and work with our differences, rather than against them.

Reimagining Community in GCE

Global citizenship education, as positioned at Bexley and Callan, is seen as 'up for sale' and, as this selling becomes a way of life. If this phenomenon were evident in schools generally, the IB and global citizenship would constitute the offering of competitive advantage in a market society. For Australian IB schools, individual interpretations of global citizenship and international mindedness appear to be embedded in the practices of International Baccalaureate but are made increasingly problematic when positioned alongside school and curricula choice in independent schools in Australia. Both Bexley and Callan demonstrate a contrast between notions of global citizenship education: a contrast of narratives that focus on individual attributes, moral, social and economic forms of capital, and forms which are relational and focus on building community and social solidarity. However, while both conceptions of global citizenship may be found in the two schools, and are perhaps even struggled over and much debated, it is an emphasis on individual and transactional global citizenship education that appear to be becoming hegemonic.

Reflecting on my data collection at Callan College and Bexley Academy, I observed that ways that these International Baccalaureate schools prepared their students for Global Citizenship Education. In both Bexley and Callan, the prevailing narratives were of banal cosmopolitanism (as discussed by Ulrich Beck, 2002). In these two schools, global citizenship education was positioned as the narrative of the banal consumer, as

cosmopolitan responses to consumer tastes. But global citizenship education is also undermined by the realities of the market, and despite the efforts of some educators and administrators, schools like Bexley and Callan have achieved only the production of *banal* forms of global citizenship education, not morally robust forms.

Yet morally robust forms are made problematic by the realities of the market. While Sandel (2010) argues for a return to collectivist practice, to a market economy rather than a market society, where community organisations foster altruistic engagement, and chances for real connectedness with each other proliferate. Both Robert Putnam (2000) and Sandel (2010) have rallied in favour of communitarianism as a mechanism to cultivate the connection to community that has been lost in an era of globalisation. Putnam and Sandel observe that social progressives in the US are nostalgic for the pre-Reagan era, longing for a return to community values and community organisations, much in the same way that global citizenship theorists long for a shared sense of and international orientations to justice and belonging. Yet there is no possibility of returning to a pre-Reagan community era, comparative to the more progressive multicultural policies of the 1970s and 1980s in Australia, and soft approaches to global citizenship education have become the norm. But perhaps one of the most problematic elements of Sandel and Putnam's progressive views on the dangers of markets, is the unhappy reality: it is not possible to return to a golden age. And it is here that Sandel's communitarian philosophy and politicisation of morals and values fails to consider the realities of our society today. In Australia, much like the United States where Sandel's attentions often focus, neoliberalism has created an environment/a society/a system where the commodification and corruption of goods is an ongoing reality, not a fleeting moment of historical ugliness. Thus, advocating for change can only occur within the context of acknowledging the realities of neoliberal individualism in the broader market society.

Conditions of Possibility in the International Baccalaureate

While the forms of banal global citizenship found in this study can be partially attributed to the acknowledgement of the market society, the International Baccalaureate also has a role to play in supporting the realisation of more morally robust forms of global citizenship. Schools around the world recognise the value of the International Baccalaureate, and the possibilities to cultivate capital and enhance student enrolments

through the provision of the International Baccalaureate. For both Bexley and Callan, the International Baccalaureate and its programs are positioned as a marketing tool for global citizenship education, but also as a way to differentiate the school from market competitors. The desirability of the International Baccalaureate offers many schools an edge: many of these students seek out the IB rather than the school; unsurprising as the IB offers a unique ability to respond to both national and global forms of citizenship, premised on constructs of internationalism (Doherty, 2009), and 'international-mindedness' (International Baccalaureate Organisation, 2006).

However, the recognition of the IB as an elite curricula choice appears to threaten the altruistic goals purported by the IB, and such amplification and access to post school trajectories means that in spite of the IB's goals to develop 'a better world through education' (IB, 2016), it is important not to overlook the ways in which the International Baccalaureate as an organisation contributes to neoliberal individualistic interpretations of global citizenship education. Neoliberal individualism prepares students to compete in a market society, while separating community members and individuals from each other. Yet this society has also become the sum of individuals in competitive relations with one another, where students are encouraged to brand themselves, and develop self-interest as competitive entities.

Although the IB advocates for community and relationships in its policies and practices, there is also an acknowledgement by administrators and teachers at both Bexley and Callan that the IB is used as a pathway to tertiary study, and a mechanism for cosmopolitan advantage. Thus, despite the International Baccalaureate's efforts to promote international mindedness and global citizenship, the curriculum operates as a means of market advantage for students and schools, and students are aware of this, becoming passive market actors who are driven by their own aspirations ahead of community responsibility. In this way, the International Baccalaureate is produced 'as both attractive and repellent: attractive in the ambitious sights it sets, and the promise of advantages to reap beyond graduation; repellent in the way it discourages certain types of students from choosing it, which in turn makes it a more attractive enclave to those it fits' (Doherty, 2009, p.72). Ultimately, despite the best intentions, the International Baccalaureate operates as a highly strategic program in the Australian independent school space, perfectly aligned with market realities, but so too undermining the opportunities for critical and morally robust global citizenship narratives.

It should be acknowledged that tensions that I have identified in this thesis are specific to two schools, operating within an International Baccalaureate context. The broader issues of internationalisation and international mindedness are clearly important considerations for all schools, regardless of the curriculum (local, national, international). Yet this study of these two IB schools offers a means by which a better understanding can be gained of the different discourses, dilemmas and decisions schools confront in interpreting and enacting global citizenship education for their diverse students. Further, my research has illuminated areas we need to expose around the interpretation and enactment of global citizenship education, the positioning of the IB in Australia is highly unlikely to change. Clearly, International Baccalaureate schools will not stop advertising the IB as a way to enhance young people's opportunities for post school participation, but perhaps it is possible to make it clear to parents that schools have not quite abandoned the moral notion of global citizenship, even if they don't realise how undermined this notion is within a market society.

But moral robustness in global citizenship narratives in the IB is indeed possible, although incredibly difficult to enact. Part of this difficulty related to the narrative of the International Baccalaureate, and this narrative has been subsumed by neoliberal individualism that has left the original, more altruistic language of the IB. Yet the focus on community and relationality, as positioned by the IB, provides schools with an alternate discourse that provides them with openings and opportunities by which schools might reconnect (or engage for the first time) with notions of critical global citizenship. In this context, if schools want to fully leverage the possibilities of the IB, it is possible to do so, and there is a chance to return to the original rhetoric of the International Baccalaureate, before the IB was commercialised. Schools have room to move, and there are many resources that the IB and its traditions have already given schools, which can help practitioners in returning to positive directions.

The original rhetoric, and within the context of the Diploma Programme, the dimensions of Theory of Knowledge (TOK), the Learner Profile (LP), International Mindedness (IM), and the Community, Action, Service (CAS) component provide spaces for recovering the history of the International Baccalaureate, however limited and constrained it may remain by the prevailing market logic. The TOK dimension allows individual students to reflect, and gives students opportunities to be reflective of their own conditions and possibilities and deal with issues of diversity and possibilities of reflexivity; the Learner

Profile offers possibilities for interculturalism; International Mindedness offers a tool that allows movement from individual to collective, and perhaps most important in relation to global citizenship in a market society is CAS, which offers a means by which to participate in the community and considers relationality to the school and the community. Reflecting upon these core components of the IB, it is evident that in order to move towards a more morally robust, critical notion, we don't have to go to resources or structures that don't exist. The institutional and material resources are already there.

Such resources, to reference Appiah (2006), offer a constructive mechanism for unity amongst members of the globalized world. Appiah identifies two key principles for working towards a moral and ethical cosmopolitan practice which, in the context of the IB and global citizenship education, are particularly resonant. To do this, the first principle argues that our individual obligations to others must extend beyond the traditional associations of family, culture, and citizenship. The second principle reminds us that cosmopolitanism is not an abstract concept in its relevance to the individual, and indeed, although human life is of value, the lives that individuals lead have the potential to make a great difference to our societies. For Appiah, the differences between individuals should not be viewed as problematic, but rather, as opportunities for conversations, as a way for us to build a world steeped in morality.

Schools already have the chance to create these conversations, if they recognise as resources the contributions and perspectives students bring that can establish morally robust forms of global citizenship education. These resources should not be seen as additional, but rather intrinsic, and there must be an acknowledgement that the resources offered by both the IB and students have been compromised by market logic. Although a new language of global citizenship education is not necessary, its enactment it is not sufficient, and just as conversations offer a chance to recover the history of the International Baccalaureate, teachers to be more active in fostering critical cosmopolitan learning, and the moral conversations Appiah (2006) argues for. Thus, while curriculum and pedagogic practices need to change, there is greater need to refrain from defining what children's lives are about, and instead, to focus on what is possible for students in determining the future of global citizenship education.

Towards Morally Productive Global Citizenship Education

Young people are now connected to each other in unprecedented ways, and it is through recognition of the opportunities that this connectedness affords that will ultimately shape the enactment of morally productive global citizenship. In this context, we must give children a voice and a chance to rise up within the market society. Recently, we have seen the power of student voice in the aftermath of the Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School shooting in Florida, in the United States. We have witnessed the power of students to demonstrate, to stage mass walkouts, to ask for more, to demand more from their governments, from their leaders, from their communities. We have seen students come together as they demand to be heard. We now know that young people have voices, and stories, and they deserve more than they have been given. Thus, for students, global citizenship education should be about engaging with the contradictions of a market society in order to challenge our own beliefs on the role of education, and our rights and responsibilities to each other. Students, as members of the education community, are stronger together, and will achieve more when they are given a voice and an opportunity to challenge the norms of neoliberal individualism, and of the market society that we, the adults, have helped to create. Accordingly, students must not only be passive receivers, but given a voice and a platform to grapple with the issues associated with the market society they have inherited.

In this thesis I have tried to understand the ways in which global citizenship education, in morally robust forms, can be enacted in International Baccalaureate schools in Australia. While this thesis has largely focused on the International Baccalaureate, an understanding of opportunities for us to consider or return to morally robust forms of global citizenship education is of significance to schools and systems of education around the world. Accordingly, each system needs to look at their systems to develop a set of possibilities for effective enactment. To quote Callan's curriculum coordinator, if we have 'much more diversity in the way that we deliver curriculum and programmes… we will see a much greater focus on partnership and community building… a lessening or an opening depending on your perspective, of a fixed view around what classrooms are, what teaching is, of beliefs and programmes that build this community'. Indeed, if we can achieve such a shift, we may move into an authentic space in which interpretations and enactments of global citizenship within an IB context are intertwined: a space in which we will find resolution.

Ultimately, a conversation between the International Baccalaureate as an Organisation

and IB schools, would perhaps allow for some reconciliation of the contradiction between market and socially orientated forms of global citizenship education, and provide a chance to recover the history that has been lost. Without such a conversation, it will likely remain an impossibility that schools can move beyond soft forms of global citizenship education, towards cohesive school communities that create opportunities for meaningful engagement with others and celebrates our differences. As one of Bexley's teachers noted, 'students are becoming more aware of differences within society, and hopefully we've all got something to contribute, and it's about making sure we do what we can to contribute' (*Teacher, Bexley Academy*). Thus, the need to revisit and challenge our perspectives on current forms of global citizenship education resonates now more than ever and doing so may provide possibilities for return to the morally productive forms of global citizenship education that underpin the International Baccalaureate programs.

Overall, this thesis has demonstrated that global citizenship education is an important imperative in education in a global era; not least because it has the possibilities of tackling nationalism and insularity. Drawing upon Dill (2014), the schools analysed in this study are unique, but regardless, they demonstrate the need for 'alternative pathways and possibilities for global citizenship education as it expands and evolves' (p.6). Thus, in order to reconceptualise global citizenship education as a moral enterprise, it is important to consider the possibilities. Global citizenship education may be a mechanism that encourages shared responsibility to our planet and our species, but perhaps most importantly, global citizenship education also offers the possibility for young people to care for one another, standing together to face the challenges of the market society.

Opportunities for Global Citizenship Education

As Doherty (2009) notes, the mantra of school choice is exacerbating inequality in schooling in Australia, and obsession with market-based thinking in education that can work against the very narrative of improving educational opportunities. The neoliberal perspective- that education is a private good- has seen a proliferation of school choice that has corrupted the very nature of education, from a public good to a private commodity. Yet it is in the context of market logic that global citizenship narratives in Australian IB schools must also exist.

While the appeal of the IB in Australian education cannot be understated, and although there is no right way to resolve the dilemmas associated with enacting critical and morally productive forms of global citizenship, there are opportunities for imagining global citizenship education in the future. Indeed, if we are able to support schools to navigate global citizenship education as inextricably linked to market society education, there may be a possibility for us to enact community based global citizenship narratives in a critical way, that also acknowledges the reality of the world today.

Global citizenship education can be idealistic and soft, if not engaged with critically, and taken forward. In this context, citizenship is based on the capability to engage in meaningful conversation with others, and the recasting of the social component in global citizenship is needed to grasp the changes and boundaries surrounding global citizenship narratives. We now have the choice to think of global citizenship as something closed and fixed, or as something open and dynamic, where our differences create a new appreciation of heterogeneity, that sees our differences as bridges to a broader relationality. Here, the International Baccalaureate's distinctive approach to international mindedness is relevant. Many aspects of the IB, including the Theory of Knowledge (TOK), Learner Profile (LP) and Community, Action, Service (CAS) components can contribute to the development of international mindedness, but these core components are also useful for schools to look to in the framing of global citizenship education. Through exploration, reflection, community participation, and connectedness, many of the qualities that the IB seeks to foster, we can recognise new possibilities in interpretation and enactment of international mindedness as found within the International Baccalaureate, and the related concept of global citizenship education.

As this thesis illustrates, global citizenship is as an ethical project that demands ethical considerations and deliberations, and an acknowledgement that enactments, as well as interpretations, are disparate across schools and education communities. The account of possibilities that arises from understanding interpretations and enactments helps us to understand that global citizenship is ultimately defined by belonging, understanding, and of a shared responsibility to each other. It is the notion of belonging that I find most powerful in my own imagining of global citizenship education. Our globalised world offers many opportunities for mobility, connectedness, and diversity, and education plays a pivotal role in fostering these opportunities. But at the same time, the realities of the

market society and the resultant inequalities that arise from its presence threatens the notion of belonging and of community. And at a time when so many of us are searching for a sense of community, it is the notion of belonging that may ultimately help young people to negotiate their societies and engage in morally productive forms of global citizenship.

I could conclude this thesis by focusing on the tyranny of market logic as undermining the very concept of global citizenship education, but instead, I focus on the opportunities that dilemmas of global citizenship offer the educational realm. I imagine 'morally productive' global citizenship education to be a mechanism that can support young people to critically reflect upon and understand their place in the world, while also questioning and challenging the inequality globalisation and neoliberalism has cultivated. The intentions of the International Baccalaureate reflect similar desires, although community and belonging are often overlooked in more individualistic uses of the IB. These dilemmas will not lead to the demise of global citizenship education, but rather, offer a chance to explore the possibilities. Indeed, in what appears to be bleak and socially regressive times, exploring the possibilities and acknowledging dilemmas of global citizenship education may lead us to revisit our understanding and use of the International Baccalaureate in schools, and may help to finally achieve the longings of global citizenship education in a market society.

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