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A Cosmopolitan Defence of International Education

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Abstract

Set within the context of a rapidly expanding international school sector, this study raises a critical concern about the danger posed to the aspirational educational aims of international schools by the growing dominance of neoliberal influences in education, as reflected in the expression of marketable and measurable instrumental goals. I claim that despite having visible goals relating to global citizenship at its core, the aim of internationality is under threat as the 'international' becomes aligned with the 'elite'. The consequence of this is the problematic and somewhat paradoxical contribution of international education to a growing global elite and increasing inequality. I seek to challenge this trend and offer an alternative, cosmopolitan interpretation of international education, which builds on existing possibilities to educate with a priority of cultivating humanity.

Primarily a conceptual study, this enquiry combines analytical and theoretical elements to reveal and clarify current expressions and understandings of internationality. Locating the study in Germany enables me to examine the role of international schools and the relationship between international and national education in a specific national context. Using critical literature review and document analysis, I expose and critically evaluate key understandings and critical themes arising from international education research, including globalisation, the internationalisation of education, and interpretations of central concepts such as global citizenship, as well as from the declared aims of international schools in Germany as shared in their mission and vision statements. Having identified cosmopolitan elements in the mission statements, I argue that cosmopolitan theory provides a strong and useful conceptual tool which can be used to underpin existing normative goals and enable a more ethically defensible vision for international education to be retrieved.

In defending a rooted, ethical cosmopolitan understanding of international education, I draw on theories of cosmopolitanism, mainly as articulated by Martha Nussbaum, also extending, and elaborating on the metaphor of concentric circles she uses to illustrate our location in the world relative to others in various communities of concern. I explicate the need for international schools to acknowledge and understand the responsibilities of their rootedness in their local, national, and global contexts. I further discuss understandings of the complex rootedness of students, drawing attention to the importance of an approach to international education which focuses on lived human experiences and the affiliations which give them meaning. In drawing the study to a conclusion, I reflect on a changing global context and how an alternative framing of international education may be able to help reclaim and

support its aspirational goals as well as disrupt current, worrying trends. Finally, I consider practical implications for the international education sector of my cosmopolitan defence of international education.

Table of contents

List of Figures

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Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Printed Name: **Kirsty Jane Fuller**

Signature:

Abbreviations

List of abbreviations used in the dissertation

AGIS	Association of German International Schools
BBIS	Berlin Brandenburg International School
CIS	Council of International Schools
CLD	Culturally and linguistically diverse
COBIS	Council of British International Schools
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
GDR	German Democratic Republic
IB C-RP	International Baccalaureate Careers-Related Programme
IB DP	International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme
IB MYP	International Baccalaureate Middle Years Programme
IB PYP	International Baccalaureate Primary Years Programme
IB/IBO	International Baccalaureate Organisation
IPC	International Primary Curriculum
ISR	International School on the Rhine
MIS	Munich International School
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
SIS	Swiss International School
SxIS	Saxony International Schools
UWC	United World Colleges

Chapter 1: Introduction

Once 'a well-kept secret' (Hayden & Thompson, 2013, p. 4), the profile of international education is increasing as the sector expands rapidly, both through an increase in the number of international schools (for- and not-for-profit, private and state funded) and in the form of schools in national settings implementing international curriculum models. Current trends suggest that by 2025 student numbers in English-medium international schools will have risen to over eight million from 4.26 million in late 2015 (Walker, 2016, p. 38). As of May 2020, the number of students had already risen to 5.97 million in over 11 thousand schools, generating over 51 billion US dollars in revenue from fees (International Schools Consultancy Research, 2020). I have been a part of this growing and changing sector professionally since 2002, as a teacher and leader in international schools in Germany. Having experienced international education as a sector which offered rich learning experiences both through and beyond the formal and written curriculum, I became interested in the almost incidental, informal aspects of education which resulted from the creation of communities and the fostering of cooperative, collaborative relationships. Yet, this dissertation is motivated by the changes I have more recently seen within international schools, which include increased focus on measurable outcomes, innovation and 'accountability for' rather than 'responsibility to'. I have become concerned about the implications of these changes on the future of international education, which has in its history and core principles elements which offer possibilities for educating in a way which cultivates humanity, but which currently appears to be on a divergent path. Additionally, I have also become aware and interested in the various contextual influences on the international education sector which must be negotiated in developing any alternative understanding of international education. Though they may not all have been apparent at the time, many of the themes that will be identified and critically explored during the course of this dissertation emerged and were shaped by my own early experiences of education and during my years of professional involvement with the international school sector. Broadly, these concerns relate to internationality (and meanings and interpretations thereof), diversity, and liberal education. Recounting critical moments and contexts of my experiences, through a professional autobiography, will enable me to establish my integrity as a researcher, with my dissertation being rooted in my life history, values, and deepest beliefs, and in the social context of my writing (Bridges, 2003, p. 2). It will also allow me to articulate my positionality as an educator, my assumptions about education, its values and purpose, as well

as contextualising the emergence of my critical concerns for the future direction of international education.

A biographical positioning

I was born, raised, and educated in Birmingham: a white British female from a working-class background. That my career path led me to teaching and leading in international schools was unanticipated, so far removed was private international schooling from my own inner-city state school experience (as student and teacher). I was not unused to diversity and multiculturalism, but in international schools I found a sector which deliberately seeks to educate within a complexity of national, linguistic, ethnic, cultural, religious, academic and, to differing extents, socioeconomic[1] diversity. On beginning my international education career in Germany, two broad experiences formed critical moments in my developing understanding of education, and more specifically international education: one relating to the curriculum, the other to the core values and aims of education. These experiences illuminated possibilities for education, which went beyond the system in England in which I had begun my teaching career at the turn of the century; a system which was characterised by prescriptive curriculum, frequent testing, and increased inspection and supervision in schools, all with a goal of raising standards (Pearce, 2013b, p. 65). More recent experiences have led me to become uneasy with trends and practices within the international school sector, but I begin first with those which reveal the values and aims which have informed my professional commitments and practice.

In 2002, having accepted a new position in an international school, I moved to Germany to teach a mixed Grade 4/5 class. I was introduced to the International Baccalaureate's (IB) curriculum frameworks, and specifically the Primary Years Programme (PYP). In the PYP I discovered an enquiry-based, holistic, and transdisciplinary approach to education, which more closely resembled my own early experiences of education as a child[2] than that practised in the schools in England where I had previously taught. This child-centred, concept-driven, liberal approach to education had at its centre the Learner Profile (IBO, 2013), a list of capacities relevant for all learners (shown in full in Appendix A), including all school community members as learners.[3] With this it promoted commitment to the development of the person through education. This early personal experience challenged the assumptions I

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[1] For private schools, fees, fee structures, subsidies and scholarships can vary significantly from school to school depending on e.g., size or location.

[2] In the mid-1980s, prior to the introduction of the national curriculum in 1988.

[3] This was not met with acceptance by all members, or even all teachers, but such was the ambition of the IB.

held about private education being for a select elite and was especially influential in my developing understanding of the intrinsic values of creativity and freedom of exploration in education. But beyond nostalgic resonance, I found that autonomy in learning was encouraged and valued, along with collaboration for building collective knowledge. 'Units of Inquiry'[4] were developed, often with student input, to maximise engagement and relevance to the students and to take into account their interests and the locality, as well as environmental issues and matters of social justice. It made space for the creation of a learning community, with students engaged in decision-making, planning, leading, working independently and collaboratively. I was 'no longer merely the-one-who-teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach' (Freire, 2017, p. 53). With this ethos we built cohesion, caring, respect and independence.

It was, however, not just the IB frameworks which shaped my understanding of education, but rather a combination of the transdisciplinary, enquiry-based curriculum along with the freedom I had as an educator to respond to the needs of the individuals in my class academically, socially, and emotionally. Practically, my school offered an English-language education for transient families with an internationally recognised curriculum facilitating transition to international schools across the globe. It also provided an alternative to the state system for local families (with an international connection or interest and the means to pay the somewhat flexible fees). Beyond this, it provided a nurturing environment for students away from their home country, culture, and languages, and/or familiar schooling systems. Student wellbeing was central, both to practice and to how the school 'marketed' itself within the locality. In addition to internationally mobile students, I worked with students for whom the local German system of education had been difficult, socially, and/or academically. Our smaller classes, alternative curriculum model[5] and commitment to caring for our students and making them feel at home were equally essential for families transitioning into Germany from overseas. The school recognised the complexities of an international school experience, which can involve movement away from home cities and countries and learning in non-dominant languages. I saw that transitions to new environments could be challenging and sometimes traumatic experiences for children and it was the care, compassion and empathy which created a positive environment in which they first felt safe and understood, and then

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[4] A PYP Unit of Inquiry is a 4-8-week transdisciplinary plan constructed around a driving 'central idea' which gives an overarching context for the unit.

[5] At that time German *Grundschulen* (primary schools) were based on more traditional, subject-based models.

could learn (and though the curriculum was part of this, the learning went far beyond). Within this context, many critical moments reinforced this understanding of education as being inextricably part of our day to day lived experiences as humans. These moments provoked further reflection on non-selective (in an academic sense), normatively driven education, and measures of success and achievement in education beyond the confines of being prefixed by 'academic'. Being a private school meant being independent from state control, which created opportunities to diverge from models of education therein. We were able to draw our own parameters of success to find it in a student feeling safe and confident enough to communicate with me firstly via hand drawn emojis, and later with me and others in German and English, after an emotionally overwhelming start to his international school life. Success was found in the committed, long-term team effort it took to support a student, with a challenging home and school life, and who in early childhood had experienced bereavement which led to an international move, through to graduation. It involved restating and defending our core values and beliefs to some in the school community who thought that this student did not belong in our school. These are just two of the experiences which helped to refine my understanding of the inherent responsibility of international schools to fully support all students who are accepted into them.

In reflecting further on the meanings and aims of education over time, my own conception (and articulation) of international education has been enhanced by the ideas of authors such as Illich (1995), Freire (1998; 2017) and Purpel (1999; 2008) who, in different ways, attend to the nature and purpose of school, education and the moral and ethical role of educators as being - and having a responsibility to be - engaged, socially and politically. In international education I gained a deeper understanding of Illich's (1995) observation that 'most learning is not the result of instruction […] but rather the result of unhampered participation in a meaningful setting' (Illich, 1995, p. 56). It was this idea of a 'meaningful setting' which was reflected back to me in the testimonies of students over the years. These have further strengthened my beliefs that educators have responsibilities to their students as individual people, and that what happens in school cannot be compartmentalised or separated from what happens in life, particularly if the aim is to educate balanced, healthy, and compassionate individuals. Freire (2017), reflecting on education as the practice of freedom rather than of dominance, observes that it 'denies that man is abstract, isolated, independent and unattached to the world' (Freire, 2017, p. 54). A sense of global and local connection and purpose was achieved both through engagement with meaningful issues and with one another in a diverse, 'international' setting which also recognised and made space for the

reality of the challenges being faced individually and collectively. A concept which I have also found to be illuminating when articulating my understandings about international education is, perhaps appropriately given my context of Germany, the notion of *Bildung*. Translated from German, *Bildung* essentially means 'education' but is also synonymous with 'formation', 'culture' and 'cultivation', making it a versatile concept. Sometimes also translated as 'liberal education' (Biesta, 2006, p.12) and 'ethical formation' (Herdt, 2019, p. 4), it combines conceptual elements of education which I have come to regard as important underpinning ideas of international education. Fuhr (2017) further describes *Bildung* as encompassing 'processes of cultivation of human capacities' (p. 3) and although it is a contested concept with multiple manifestations, in all of them *Bildung* is always expressed as 'an interest in the humanity of the human being' (Biesta, 2006, p. 99).

It is with professional commitments to ethically informed education, which reflect the values and aims I have presented so far, that I have practised education as a teacher and leader. In more recent years, I have become concerned by current trends and changes in practice in international education which seem to be compromising the values I think have made international education distinctive and worthwhile. Some of the changes reflect differences between schools and within schools, and changes in leadership can also bring new priorities and expectations of practice. Yet some changes are more systemic, altering the nature and practice of international education seemingly as schools seek to be accepted, authorised, and validated. One such change reflects the increasing use of technology. Having originally used a sprawling document which consisted of a large, interconnected grid, the IB phased in a computerised unit planner document. This change altered the planning process. Initially open-ended unit planners were a tool used to encourage divergent thinking, to plan forwards, but also to record the varied paths taken through the enquiry; subsequently the process became more linear, about completing a more product-oriented planner. In order to fulfil planning requirements reduced student input and increased teacher-oriented formalised recording was necessary, and this ultimately constrained the authentic enquiry it originally sought to encourage. This emphasis on formal recording heralded other subtle changes in how the IB presented its frameworks and the requirements schools had to fulfil to achieve accreditation. The planners have now been integrated into online information systems and planning has, lamentably, become more of an exercise in form filling than creative planning. One outcome of this, and one that I will reiterate in what follows, is that teachers who had embraced autonomy and planned with creativity, and who resisted the changes the IB was bringing in, were seen to be outdated and unwilling to move with the times.

In 2017 I attended a school leadership meeting which became a focal point for my reflection on the emphases becoming apparent within international education. A goal of the meeting was to introduce the 'Scrum Framework'. This method of managing 'self-organising teams' involves a team leader known as a 'scrum master' who supports a non-hierarchical team through a series of 'sprints' (time-specific project phases) as they 'address complex adaptive problems, while productively and creatively delivering products of the highest possible value' (Scrum, 2020). Though not unconcerned by other developments in international education, it was the scrum meeting method, developed for use in the software product development industry, with its product centred concern for efficiency and client satisfaction, which highlighted the incongruity of corporate techniques in an educational setting, one I had previously experienced and enjoyed as, liberal academia. In addition to an increased presence of corporate management techniques in school, there was an increased prevalence of 'managerial speak' and it was not uncommon to hear phrases such as 'low-hanging fruit', 'blue-sky thinking' or 'operationalising'. Educators who were not au fait or 'on-board' with using this language appeared to be seen, by some, as out of step with developments in education, in some cases dismissed as old-fashioned, leaving them no recourse to argue alternative perspectives. This language seemed to serve to distance discussion from what I had understood to be some of the core tenets of international education such as a focus on creating a caring, creative environment which valued independence and diversity of thought. These aims were being displaced by increased emphasis on efficiency and conformity to particular ways of thinking about education. What was especially interesting to me was that this orientation towards the corporate was spoken about as 'modern' and even 'progressive', and as the 'future' of international education. Furthermore, this future was presented as being 'the future', with no consideration that education does not have to follow where business leads[6] and that international schools, operating independently from state control, can set their own values and priorities.

Instead of international schools providing an alternative approach to education, different from the state's educational offerings, and based around the internationality of the school community and the curriculum, the aims and purpose of international education seem to be shifting as it embraces its role as provider of a particular product or outcome for 'clients'. These outcomes may take the form of provision of international qualifications, as a gateway

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[6] A point further complicated by the common presence of business leaders on governing bodies, who often advocate for business models of management.

to universities across the globe and subsequent employability, and experiences and resources beyond (and possibly better than) what the state is able to provide. International schools seem to have to justify the fees they charge by offering tangible outcomes. Initiatives such as creating outdoor learning spaces and further developing technology capability, whilst educationally beneficial in multiple ways, simultaneously provide and are used as marketable opportunities to promote schools' facilities, showcase their status and wealth via resources, and by implication their educational relevance and success. As a colleague observed, it is difficult to 'market' kindness and caring as desired outcomes of education in such a climate. Related to this, a further change is the increased emphasis on visible and measurable outcomes, standardisation, accountability, and levels of attainment, all driven by a reliance on data. Though intended to achieve consistency of experience, this approach risks homogenising education and reducing teacher autonomy, thereby restricting the possibilities in international education which come from the uniqueness and diversity of each class, cohort, and teacher, ultimately diminishing notions of education as *Bildung* and further compromising understandings of international education.

Critical concerns, key themes, and central concepts

Through this biographical positioning I have sought to articulate, contextualise, and develop my growing concerns for the international education sector. My central concern is that increasingly, changing emphases in schools and supporting organisations, for example the IB, are representing a version of international education which has a reduced role for what I consider to be the most laudable goals of international education, those of *Bildung* and liberal education, which foster autonomy and the education of knowledgeable and discerning global citizens. These goals, which guide the education of people who can see beyond the narrowness of their own needs and wants to care and understand enough about others to be moved to make a positive difference, are being overshadowed and diminished. They have also become harder to defend in a society, and a sector, which appears to increasingly value a narrower role for education (within it a strong focus on academic achievement) as an instrument of societal and economic success.

In addition to my central critical concern, further themes have emerged from my reflection. These will inform the dissertation to follow as I consider how the aims of international education are changing and what this may mean for its future. I will build on my observation that meanings of international education are shifting to become less about creating international understanding through diversity, and more about international (global)

mobility, recognition, and prestige. I will consider the problem of differing educational aims guiding international education, with aims to foster creativity, freedom and social justice sitting in contrast with those to advance opportunity and achievement and aimed at social and global mobility. Related to this is the concept of ethical responsibility in education: of teachers responding to students as individuals and educating and nurturing the whole person. This sits uneasily with a focus on standardisation, and on tangible, measurable outcomes. A final thematic consideration is that of context (expanded below), which relates to the location of the schools, within national and global contexts, but also institutions as private schools[7] and the challenges that this presents in terms of orientating education within them. Taken together these additional themes inform the development of understandings of the role of education in a globalised world, now and in the future.

Scrutiny of common uses of some of the central concepts, particularly cosmopolitanism and international education, and development of my own account of them, will be a key feature of the discussion to follow. However, at this early stage I suggest the following, as preliminary definitions of each, subject to further development in the chapters to follow. I have already in this chapter referred to the education I encountered in international schools as reflecting elements of liberal education and *Bildung* in the form of autonomy and education of the whole person. Throughout the dissertation, I will refer to the liberal aims of education, and liberal education, to provide a reference point for the kind of international education I am arguing for. To articulate the features of such an education more fully, I will briefly expand on key features, which will also anticipate Nussbaum's account of liberal education in Chapter 5. Liberal education as I understand it, with its attention to global justice and pursuit of human flourishing, is premised on breadth, non-instrumental purpose, and autonomy. Breadth introduces learners to a range of ideas, disciplinary traditions, and types of knowledge; non-instrumental purpose stands in opposition to education for solely extrinsic purposes including examinations and economic contributions; and fostering autonomy has a key aim of creating capacity for critical, independent thinking. With liberal aims for education, students can be educated to be free thinkers who can argue respectfully, critically, and rigorously; appreciate the richness of life, fully respect the humanity of our fellow citizens, and cultivate our own. As detailed in the biographical positioning above, the notion of *Bildung* complements and deepens this understanding of meanings of liberal education, focusing as it does on education as a process of forming the human being, and

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[7] I return to this later but note here that not all international schools are private.

cultivating human capacities. I have already begun to express an emerging sense of unease with an apparent move away from liberal values in education and contrast the aims of liberal education, and by extension, cosmopolitan education, with neoliberal aims and influences on education. Developed further in Chapter 2 within a context of globalisation, I understand neoliberal aims to be those which favour an instrumental role for education which sees it more closely associated with economic purpose. Through his dissertation I will argue that cosmopolitan theory can be used to underpin and strengthen the liberal aims of international education. Cosmopolitanism, with its central premise of world citizenship and an orientation towards others, particularly those who may be different from us, offers an ethical and theoretical way to contextualise the ideals that international education aspires to. I expand on this preliminary understanding significantly in Chapter 5 and in Chapter 6 explore both abstract and practical ways cosmopolitanism can be used to underpin understandings of international education. The concept of international education is intertwined with understandings of international schools. In Chapter 2 and 3 I will present the following standard features attributed to international schools as determined by Hill (2006) and Köhler (2012). International schools offer a curriculum not determined by the home state (whether a host country or international school); they have a culturally diverse or globally mobile student and teaching body. They have an international profile, determined for example by stating global mindedness as an aim. The concept of international education, and interpretations and meanings thereof, will be developed throughout the dissertation but I note here that international education is not limited to international schools (though my dissertation centres on them) but rather suggests a centrality of both the idea of 'being international' in both curriculum and values, and of related concepts including international mindedness and global citizenship (discussed further in Chapter 2).

Aims of the dissertation

In spite of scope for pursuing a form of liberal education that engages with the diversity that internationality in education offers, I have developed a critical concern that as international schools have become more established, their goals for education are tending towards the high-staked: those which are measurable and marketable. I return to consider this idea further in Chapters 2 and 3, where I will attribute this to neoliberal influence on educational purpose. In response to these concerns, I will proceed to defend a cosmopolitan conception of the aims of international education as a way of mitigating the critical concerns I have outlined and thus enable this sector to be developed for the future as an ethical, globally oriented yet rooted endeavour, which can honour its liberal roots and idealism. Furthermore, in order to

offer a sustainable, ethical education, one which is essential if we are to disrupt the worrying educational trends I have indicated, international education must foster and strengthen its liberal roots and resist external imperatives which move it away from these. Retaining and building on a sense of education as *Bildung*, I will articulate my preferred future within a broad cosmopolitan frame and in doing this will also argue that cosmopolitanism is able to offer a strong theoretical basis for international education.

Research questions

Two guiding questions frame the dissertation and relate to the key analytical and theoretical tasks ahead:

- What do the declared aims of international schools and the research literature reveal about current conceptions of international education?
- How can cosmopolitanism be used to provide a useful theoretical framework for developing an alternative, more normatively driven conceptualisation of international education?

In responding to the first question, I will examine what the key understandings and critical themes are as identified in the literature on international schools and in relation to the concerns I have raised. Following this, I will examine the distinguishing features of international schools in the context of Germany and German education. Placing a lens on a national context will enable me to examine the specific interrelation of international education with other sectors and allow me to establish the place of international schools within their local contexts. It will also reinforce the need for knowledge and understanding of the national context in the cosmopolitan vision for international education I argue for. Subsequently, analysing mission statements will reveal how schools and organising bodies in Germany articulate their aims and purpose and explore what this tells us about existing understandings of 'internationality' beyond my own observations. This analysis will also allow me to explore the extent to which schools express commitments to education that reflect my own professional commitments to liberal education and also early visions of international education (to be discussed in Chapter 2), as well as the possibilities they reveal for a cosmopolitan interpretation of their aims. Turning to the second question and the more theoretical element of my research, I ask which elements of Nussbaum's account of cosmopolitanism can be established as an appropriate and useful conceptual base for

alternative understandings of international education and which supplementary elements from Nussbaum's wider work on education may be drawn on. Finally, I consider how a cosmopolitan conception of international education can support the articulation of a preferred vision for the future and what implications this may have on professional practice. Having outlined the genesis and aims of this dissertation, and articulated research questions which will broadly guide the focus of each chapter, I turn now to situate my work within the greater context of international education research, and to clarify the significance of my intended contribution.

Locating my research

My dissertation is located in what Bunnell (2020) has described as an exciting yet unpredictable 'transitionary phase' for international education, one he suggests may be 'unsettling and disturbing for many actors' who 'must adjust to emerging different and problematic values' (p.767). This transition, which reflects elements of the change I have recounted, comprises a move out of what Bunnell (2008) describes as a chaotic 'first phase' (p.416), with schools characterised as being 'tribal and insular', and towards something 'more sophisticated and complex' (Bunnell, 2020, p. 766). Rather disparagingly, this first phase is described as 'ad hoc, amateurish and disordered', with parental and educator cooperation dismissed as 'quite archaic and quaint' (Bunnell, 2020, p.766). In 2008, Bunnell was anticipating a second phase characterised by being a 'more ordered, structured and outwardly professional worldwide system' (Bunnell, 2008, p. 419). In 2020, he recognises international schooling to have become 'a big business' and one which is 'no longer a peripheral, minor area of education' (Bunnell, 2020, p. 764). The implication here is that international education has become more visible and influential in global education trends. With this seemingly given as an indicator of success for the sector, the danger I see is that current narratives of international education will endure and be reproduced, with a focus on its appeal as a market-driven commodity rather than as a force for global good. My work responds to this danger in several ways, not least by challenging the imperative nature of the adjustment which Bunnell (2020) sees as necessary for educators to make as they move through this transitional phase towards a different conception of international education, one which encompasses the features and priorities I seek to question. In this dissertation I propose an alternative conception which will contribute to the body of research in four ways.

Firstly, by defending a cosmopolitan conception of international education which could underpin schools' framing of their aims and purpose and the articulation of normative

understandings of internationality relating to diversity and humanity, I am presenting an opportunity for international education to exemplify education which engages with a global world. Though, according to Tate (2016), it is the relative freedom from national constraints which gives international education greater scope for influence beyond that of its own sector, Roberts (2013) indicates that international education's connections with globalisation and internationalism should not lead to the erroneous presupposition that it is at 'the forefront of engaging with a global world' (Roberts, 2013, p. 119). He suggests that it is research in other areas of education, and pointedly, not international schooling, which have led the way in this. A cosmopolitan conception of the international also offers a way to achieve some 'uniformity' within the sector, which Pearce (2013a) suggests is one of the tasks required of research pertaining to the international school sector, which encompasses 'a huge diversity of institutions and practices' (p. xii). Furthermore, he posits that the resulting ability to make generalisations across the sector will allow theories to develop and international education practice to lead, rather than be led by practice elsewhere. Secondly, by considering cosmopolitanism (which I will show to be an underdeveloped theoretical idea in international school literature) as a conceptual underpinning for the work of the sector, we may begin to address the problematically perceived absence of one guiding 'philosophy' of international education (Allan, 2013, expanded below) and the lack of conceptual clarity therein. Thirdly, a cosmopolitan framework may take us a considerable way towards resolving the tension between differing aims of international education, which I have identified as a significant issue within the sector. At the very least, my work will draw attention to the tension and why it is problematic for the sector and provide a framework within which to build a different vision of the future for international education. Aspirational though my cosmopolitan vision of the international education sector may be, my expectations are more realistic than naïve: I acknowledge that the tension is likely to persist, and even be exacerbated, for example by the increase in profit-driven schools and I am not anticipating final or complete resolution. Finally, this dissertation will contribute to discussions about the ethics of international schooling which Bunnell (2020) sees as emerging from the 'new scene' of international education. He identifies an ethical issue stemming from his observation that many schools 'still insist on idealistic intention' in their mission statements but are compromised by the ownership and funding of schools (Bunnell, 2020, p.767). The idea that schools are insisting on maintaining an idealistic element to their mission statements offers further hope, perhaps signalling some small resistance to changes which may not be moving the sector in the most desirable direction. My cosmopolitan vision could enable international education to take control of its own narrative and distinguish itself

with a laudable focus on an ethical and educational discourse of humanity rather than one which is evolving in response to external influence on, and narratives of, education.

In pursuing these aims it will be necessary to consider the wider context and contextual shifts influencing the growth and development of international education. I have so far focused on the changes taking place within international education and schools, but will go on to locate them within wider shifts in policy and practice resulting from, for example, the influence of globalisation, regional integration (which has recently begun to be tempered by the growth of populism and nativism) and issues arising from increased global mobility and migration. The global context, which frames the present and futures of all forms of education, is also particularly relevant in locating my research, as international schools specifically align themselves with ideas of global citizenship and orientate their curricula towards global issues. Slaughter's (2008) observation that 'a succession of non-negotiable factors will test humanity as never before' (p.914) seems to have been prescient as the writing of this dissertation has taken place in tumultuous times, marked by 'unprecedented' events in global political, social, environmental and health terms. Economic uncertainty looms as a consequence of the Covid-19 pandemic, with severe recession and unemployment predicted to follow. Slaughter (2008) forecast the coming of a 'perfect storm' for humanity, consisting of 'global warming and sea level rise, peak oil and its aftermath, regional environmental collapse, economic and financial instability, and social upheavals and migrations on a scale never seen before' (Slaughter, 2008, p. 914). Global health crises, a rise in populism and divisive politics can be added to this list of challenges facing humanity. This global milieu raises immediate questions about the role international education (as one response among an array) could and should play in meeting these future challenges and how it may contribute to increasing understanding of these issues (and the inequalities they reveal), as well as what can be done to mitigate them.

Methodology

This conceptual study will draw on aspects of philosophical enquiry, with an overarching aim to 'throw light on the meanings and values of education' (Enslin, 2010, p. 1) and specifically on international education, including in the national context of Germany, within a global context of uncertainty. Kahn and Zeidler (2017) suggest conceptual analysis to be an antidote to conceptual 'fuzziness' which, when related to international education, I take to mean the challenge of creating a shared (and ethically defensible) understanding of key

and related concepts. In my biographical positioning I documented an account of the emergence of the critical concern I have about changing understandings of international education and the implications for this on practice. International education seems to be shifting in its sense of mission and purpose by moving away from some of the founding values of international education and schools, with which I identified, towards high-stakes outcomes. In response, my dissertation takes the form of an argumentative study through which I propose and defend an alternative formulation of 'international education'. I argue that, if it is to retain integrity as a normatively driven educational endeavour, it needs conceptual reinforcement and that cosmopolitanism, particularly the idea of cosmopolitan education, provides a conceptual tool which enables me to retrieve a more ethically defensible vision for international education. Such an ethical vision would see each child as an end in themselves and not merely to be schooled as an instrument of economic productivity.

The methodology used to conduct this enquiry is comprised of three elements in addition to the professional autobiography already presented: a critical literature review, a document analysis and a philosophical evaluation and defence of cosmopolitanism as a conceptual base for international education. Firstly, a critical review of the literature of international education explores key understandings, underpinning concepts and critical themes emerging from the research literature, including international education as located in the context of Germany and broader themes of internationalisation of education. It also allows me to raise and question the use and interpretation of established understandings of key concepts, and the distinctions made between the so-called 'pragmatic' and 'ideological' goals of education. Secondly, I conduct a document analysis to scrutinise the language of school and organisation mission statements and interrogate how international schools in Germany publicly express their internationality. Use of document analysis, in addition to the literature review, assists me to uncover meaning, develop understanding and discover insights related to the central aims of the dissertation (Merriam, 1988, p. 118). Mission statements, as statements of purpose, communicate the declared values and the core work of individual schools or school groups. Critical examination of these publicly accessible documents allows me to unpack how schools present themselves and their aims when they represent themselves as 'international', and to examine what they mean by 'international education'. The analysis also allows me to substantiate claims I make about the conceptual underpinnings of international education and international schools in Germany. I follow the methodology for document analysis laid out by Bowen (2009), which includes offering explanation of the

process of finding, selecting, appraising, and synthesising information (Bowen, 2009, p. 28). By conducting both thematic and content analysis I establish common themes within the mission statements and present an account of international education as they articulate it. Interrogating this account further, I evaluate how the concepts chosen, and how they are presented in the mission statements, communicate both implicit and explicit messages about the nature of international education and its dominant declared aims, values, and purpose. Furthermore, by establishing which themes are given greater emphasis by schools, I am able to draw conclusions about the themes which appear to be dominant and then contrast them with those central to the version of education I am defending. Thirdly, I critically engage with theories of cosmopolitanism, primarily the work of Martha Nussbaum, in providing an account and critical evaluation of cosmopolitanism including cosmopolitan education. This I propose as a fitting conceptual tool for underpinning the version of international education I am defending. Here, I also examine how central concepts of both international education and cosmopolitanism may be aligned. Finally, I articulate a cosmopolitan conception of international education which develops an approach to practice which in turn supports the achievement of the aims and values consistent with liberal education.

The three tools I have outlined are distinct but interrelated and complementary, each providing opportunity for conceptual analysis and elements of philosophical analysis, which thread through the dissertation. The process of analysis is complex and layered, and a significant element of it will be centred on evaluating the competing meanings and interpretations of international education with the goal of achieving 'clarification of normative perspectives on education' (Carr, 2010, p. 111) through the exploration and critique of central and related concepts. The discordance in differing understandings of the sector is characterised by the tension I have indicated, and will explore further, as lying within interpretations of international education. This tension is reflected in my own experiences of the practice of international education, in the literature pertaining to it and in the genesis of international schooling. The international school sector evolved in response to both 'ideological' and 'pragmatic' aims. The former relates to aims of achieving 'global cooperation, and the fostering of international understanding as necessary to achieve world peace' (Hill, 2007, p. 248). The latter is more closely represented by schools with the aim of educating children of traders, missionaries, and officials of the British Administration in the 19th century, and later of the increasingly internationally mobile business community (Hayden & Thompson, 2013) where the local education was deemed unsuitable. As I explore the contested and competing concepts central to international education, I will occasionally

make a distinction between related concepts, as for example with 'schooling' and 'education'. I recognise a difference between schools as institutions whose activities may include much besides education, such as social activities, childcare and meal provision, and education as an aim of schooling. My interest in this study of international education lies largely in defending the normative goals to which they aspire as educational institutions. In constructing such a defence, it is necessary to understand what 'international' is and I will therefore examine the possible and multiple meanings of 'international education'. In doing this, I will present an account of attempts of researchers within the field to define and clarify understandings of what international schools are, and what constitutes the education they offer by way of grounding the dissertation. Conceptual analysis will allow me to move beyond this and to begin to unpack some of the meanings which contribute to overall interpretations. Kahn and Zeidler (2017) suggest that sometimes we are in too much of a hurry to 'measure *it* and advance *it* that we neglect to adequately conceive of what *it* is', meaning that the central constructs in our field remain elusive (Kahn & Zeidler, 2017, p. 538). This conceptual clarification is important in a sector which Allan (2013) critically observes as having failed 'to develop a coherent multicultural pedagogical philosophy' (Allan, 2013, p. 162).

Despite the perceived absence of a guiding 'philosophy', a common factor which unites those engaged in providing an international education is that they make the concept of being 'international' central to their mission. Therefore, a central task, following Enslin (2010), is to establish and clarify the relevance and meanings of the concept of 'international' and related concepts such as 'international mindedness' and 'global citizenship', which are employed to elucidate and further clarify what 'international education' is. In addition, in interrogating these concepts, I aim to identify 'hidden assumptions, internal contradictions or ambiguities' within these concepts (McLaughlin, 2009, p. 1131) and expose effects which the term may have for international education discourse. I will, following McLaughlin (2009), extend this into evaluation of particular interpretations of the aims and purposes central to international education. This will include scrutiny of the way concepts are used and presented and examination of the assumptions on which the interpretations are based (Enslin, 2010, p. 4). A significant proportion of this work is done through the document analysis, discussed above, where I seek 'more precise meaning and goodness of fit for what otherwise may be obfuscating, vague psychological, or conceptual constructs' (Kahn & Zeidler, 2017, p. 539). Where the document analysis enables me to substantiate claims I will make about the conceptual underpinnings of international education and international

schools in Germany, the critical evaluation of cosmopolitanism enables me to argue that it provides an appropriate, useful theoretical base on which to build a preferred future for international education; an alternative to the one I foresee as being likely based on current trends and priorities. In constructing this philosophical argument, my task (once again following McLaughlin, 2009, p. 1131) is to develop a philosophical articulation of, and justification for, proposing a cosmopolitan conception of international education and the realignment of its fundamental aims and values within a cosmopolitan framework for international education.

 Spanning the methodologies outlined above is a critically reflective and speculative approach which frames the aims of this dissertation as it seeks to articulate a cosmopolitan account of international education. It was foregrounded at the beginning of this chapter in the professional reflection, in which I sought to communicate and contextualise worrying changes in the sector over time. Reflective practice, according to Moon's (1999) list of characteristics, includes observation of a problem within which moral or ethical uncertainty may exist so that informed choices about ways forward may be made; use of reflection as means of developing greater understanding, leading to a possible change in practice; and reflection as a means of considering alternative approaches to practice (Moon, 1999, p. 64). As such, this dissertation will examine the problematic nature of international education as informed by a neoliberal context, reflect on how cosmopolitanism may offer a different way of understanding the aims of international education and speculate about how underpinning international education with cosmopolitan theory may engender a change in practice, upholding liberal understandings of its aims, in the tradition of Bildung, and steer it towards greater ethical integrity.

Chapter Outline

In Chapter 1, my professional autobiography set out my positionality, established my experience of the sector and included reflections about what I have experienced in a changing international sector challenged by the tension between competing and contrasting aims. I have outlined the central concern which forms the motivation for the study, introduced key themes, concepts and guiding questions, and have given a description of the methodology used to conduct this piece of conceptual research, which includes autobiography, document analysis, philosophical analysis. I have also given a brief

introduction to cosmopolitan ideas, which will form a central part of my reimagining of international education within a cosmopolitan framework.

In order to provide a cosmopolitan defence of international education, it is necessary to understand something of the history of the sector and the contexts in which it developed and is articulated. Therefore, in Chapter 2, I draw out key understandings and critical themes through examination of the development of the international school sector and its attempts to define and distinguish itself as a discrete and differentiated area of education. I also discuss some of the key conceptual underpinnings of international schooling in preparation for further conceptual work in Chapter 4, and set the sector against a backdrop of globalisation, exploring the neoliberal influences which have fuelled its growth and change. A key move in this chapter is the recasting of a debate central to international education discourse, one which considers the aims of international education which it describes as being both ideological and pragmatic. I also propose that an alternative formulation is both more accurate and more productive in terms of moving towards a preferred cosmopolitan future. I conclude by considering that, having distinguished itself from other sectors of education, international education's purposes may be better, more ethically served by being recontextualised within the broad field of the internationalisation of education.

I remain focused on the context of international education in Chapter 3, this time taking Germany as a specific example of a national context for international education. This enables me to examine perceptions of international education and the role of international schools in a distinctive local context, which contrasts with the broader and more detached global context taken in the previous chapter. I begin by offering an overview of education in Germany to frame the local educational context. I then examine the types of international schools found in Germany and consider their development as linked to economic and political changes. I return to the global idea of the internationalisation of education to explore research with a specific focus on Germany, which shows how, under neoliberal conditions, international and national education have become more closely aligned and how the concepts of 'international' and 'elite' have become linked. I also present a concerning claim that an effect of international education is that it contributes to inequality found in local communities and further foreground the idea that envisaging an alternative future for international education is necessary if such issues are to be addressed.

Chapter 4 consists of a detailed analysis of documents, specifically mission statements, pertaining to international schools and their organising bodies in Germany. My goal in this chapter is to establish what the aims and purposes of international education are, according to the schools themselves. I begin with a detailed overview of the methodology used to perform the document analysis, including the word frequency assessment. This is followed by a summary of the key observations and an analysis of key concepts and themes which emerged as central to the work of international schools. Having categorised the central themes, and tracked them through the mission statements, I consider how schools represent their internationality. I conclude that the mission statements reveal evidence of the tension identified in the literature and observed in my own experience, and that the normative aims of international education are, albeit to varying degrees, subordinated by instrumental aims. After identifying both concerns and possibilities for pursuing a more ethical version of international education within the aims of international schools, I move to consider how cosmopolitanism may offer theoretical support for normative interpretations which have become more challenging to defend in the context I expose.

In Chapter 5 I present an account of cosmopolitanism, exploring the theoretical tenets which make it an appropriate and useful framework for underpinning a more normatively driven understanding of international education. Nussbaum's (1994) cosmopolitanism, though not uncontested, offers a globally orientated view of ethical citizenship and within this an alternative framing of global citizenship, a central aim of international education. I consider how Nussbaum's visual model of the circles of affiliation, a metaphor for the relationships and responsibilities of global citizenship, may help to develop an understanding of the possibilities which exist for a cosmopolitan interpretation of international education and how it aligns with Nussbaum's vision for cosmopolitan education. I also introduce Appiah's (2006) 'rooted' cosmopolitanism as a way to complement Nussbaum's work and to reiterate the importance of the concept of rootedness to international schools, which I argue need to acknowledge their local affiliations and responsibilities as part of their internationality.

In the concluding chapter I present a review of my research and reflect on the current global context for international education as I consider possible and preferred futures for the sector. I then propose an alternative cosmopolitan interpretation, which includes examining how some of the most concerning issues raised, including the overshadowing of normative, liberal aims by high-stakes outcomes, can be addressed. My argument for a rooted, ethical cosmopolitan understanding of international education is partially framed within the context

of Nussbaum's (1994) concentric circles model which emphasises the need for international schools to acknowledge and understand the responsibilities of their rootedness in their neighbourhoods as well as their national and global contexts. A modified model of the circles forms a basis for developing understandings of the complex rootedness of students, drawing attention to the importance of an international education which focuses on what the affiliations are within those circles, as well as those moving outwards from our closest concerns. In addition, I consider the benefits of realigning concepts central to international education with cosmopolitan understandings for strengthening the normative aims and commitments of international schooling. Finally, I consider some implications for practice of building a future for international education as imagined in this dissertation.

Chapter 2: International Schools: Key understandings and critical themes

In this chapter I examine key understandings of international education as revealed by the research literature related to the international school sector. It is not my intention to provide an exhaustive review of the literature, rather to identify the main themes as well as the critical concerns articulated by researchers. This allows me to give an account of the sector, necessary in order to present a later defence of how it may fulfil cosmopolitan goals. Within this account I examine globalisation as a key context of international education, one which is driving change in the sector (and in the internationalisation of education more widely) and contributing to an increase in influence of neoliberal policy. This influence is fuelling competition between what have been described as the 'pragmatic' and the 'ideological' goals within the sector, though I will argue that alternative framings may be more productive for understanding the challenges international education is facing. The literature review would be incomplete if it did not consider wider literature on internationalisation, therefore in the final section I present international education within this discourse, which provides a context for past and future developments in international education. Having examined key issues and debates, and the state of the research literature on this sector, I conclude by reflecting on the sympathetic tone of the research towards the sector and the striking lack of controversy and critical moral debate surrounding the shifts in purpose which are acknowledged as taking place. I also outline two key critical considerations emerging from the literature review which will frame the work to follow. The first consideration is the need to address, rather than accept, the tension between competing aims; the second consideration is of both the global effects of international education and the effects schools have on their immediate, local contexts.

The literature about international schools and education centres on several interrelated themes which will broadly inform the work in this chapter (some more prominent and relevant than others). A first key area of research includes the history and development of the international school sector and the rise in popularity and profile of international education. A second covers attempts to define and categorise the international school sector, and to distinguish it from other understandings of international education. Such accounts of international education and schools also often include future possibilities. A third area focuses on analysis of central concepts related to the purpose and focus of international education, and which inform curriculum content. Key concepts within the research include

diversity, identity, the international, international mindedness, and global citizenship. A fourth area is the examination of broader conceptual underpinnings of the field, such as globalisation, which further elaborate the context of international education. A final key area focuses on the nature of international education in terms of establishing an understanding of what is distinctive about international schools, including approaches to teaching and learning, and governance and curriculum. Running through these themes are overarching notions of the context within which international education and schools have developed and operate, which is in turn interconnected with the purpose of international education. I turn first to consider the literature on early conceptions of international education.

The evolution of international education and schools: a dual purpose

The term 'international' was coined in the 1780s by Jeremy Bentham to mean 'between nations' and to describe 'increasing transactions between the growing number of nation states' (Roberts, 2013, p. 120). In this context it applied to international law, but over time it came to indicate an orientation beyond the nation towards the global, and by the early 1800s, as international trade transactions were increasing, ideas of international education were also forming. According to Brickman (1950), 'more than 30 formal plans for some sort of international educational organization [were] put forward between the years 1814 and 1914' (in Sylvester, 2015, p. 13). When applied to education, 'international' can signify a focus on languages, cultures, international understanding, and promotion of peace. Such understandings were evident in early antecedents of international schools. One example was an International College founded in London, England, in 1866 by influential people of the day, including Charles Dickens, Richard Cobden and T H Huxley, with the aim of educating for world understanding and citizenship (Sylvester, 2015, p. 14). This model of education catalysed what Sylvester (2015) labels a 'European effort' to create an international school system, which saw international secondary schools established at Chatou, near Paris, and at Bad Godesberg, near Bonn, though the Franco-Prussian War saw these endeavours cut short (p. 15). Beyond Europe, but sharing similar ideals, Visva-Bharati (a school and later international school and world university) was established by Rabindranath Tagore, in 1901, at Santiniketan in India. It had an aim of 'making a complete human being' (Visva-Bharati, 2020) and its motto, an ancient Sanskrit verse chosen by Tagore, is 'Yatra visvam bhavatieka nidam' (Visva-Bharati, 2020, n.p.), which translates as 'Where the whole world meets in a single nest'. The methods promoted not only focused on learning through experience, in contrast with those commonly used at the time, such as memorisation and rote learning, but

the school itself was 'a conscious repudiation of the system introduced in India by the British rulers' (Visva-Bharati, 2020, n.p.). Sharing a goal of educating for 'Weltburgerschaft' or 'world citizenship', Paul Geeheb opened an experimental international school in Odenwald, Germany, in 1910, with the purpose of creating 'cultured, social human beings', a goal in contention with the rising Nazi ideology (Sylvester, 2015, p. 18). The schools I have indicated above are just a select few[8] which highlight what these international educators declared they were trying to do. These early incarnations of international schools had goals which did not and were not intended to align with the goals of other forms of education, or the goals of the societies they were formed in. They were ambitious and challenging of societal and educational norms; some represented progressive ideas which stood in opposition to, and challenged what was typical, current, or expected from education. Yet, other schools were opening in response to different changes in the global landscape. The European School of Maseru, Lesotho, was founded in the late 19th century to educate children of traders, missionaries, and officials of the British Administration (Hayden & Thompson, 2013), reflecting the increase in accompanied international postings; children would previously have been educated at boarding schools in the home country. In addition, the world was becoming more economically interconnected. In 1851, for example, Britain hosted its Great Exhibition, the first of the international World's Fairs which showcased 'the wonders of industry' (Picard, 2009, n.p.) from around the world. Over half of the 100,000 exhibits were British, hinting at the additional goal of promoting British products to the rest of the world at what was a time of industrial boom (Picard, 2009). This fair, and the ones which followed, became 'links to the many attempts to view education beyond the nation-state' as they provided a meeting point for nations to confer about education (Sylvester, 2015, p. 14), and reflected the development of an increasingly connected world, one concerned with the promotion of the nation overseas.

Throughout the 20th century the sector continued to evolve in response to changing global circumstances and to serve different purposes. What Hayden and Thompson (2016) label the 'modern era' of international schooling, emerged almost one hundred years ago with the foundation of international schools in Geneva and Yokohama in 1924. International School Geneva served two stated purposes; it provided an education to the children of those working as part of the League of Nations and also promoted the possibility for people of different nations to live and work together in harmony (Tate, 2016, p. 19). Schools such as these

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[8] Sylvester (2015) provides a detailed history of the emergence of international education and schools.

fulfilled a practical need to provide coherence and continuity of schooling for the increasingly mobile post-war community of international diplomats and businesspeople (Roberts, 2013). However, such schools also had an 'ideology' of internationalism and a goal of promoting global peace and international understanding, particularly those emerging from the aftermath of World War I and later World War II.

By the 1960s, with increasing global movement and burgeoning growth in the international school sector, a need for transferable educational programmes and qualifications had been identified. This led a group of international educators, in 1968, to create the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme for upper secondary students (Roberts, 2013; Allan, 2013). Educational organisations which previously had a focus on national qualifications and curricula, began to expand into the international sector as the demand for resources grew. On one hand the development of international programmes marks the beginning of international education as a movement, as it steps out from following national curricula in international settings and offers something specifically developed to meet the educational needs of the globally mobile family. On the other it also sees the emergence of what would become an international school market, fuelled by the growth of the global capitalist movement and an increase in wealth. As they became established, international schools became more attractive to local, elite families for the English language education and qualifications they offered, leading to access to what Brummitt and Keeling (2013) describe as the 'tremendous opportunities at the world's top universities' (p. 29). This has increased demand and driven competition to the extent that the international school 'market' is now 'big business' (p. 27) with enrolment in international schools being 'increasingly dominated by the richest 5% of non-English speaking parents' who are looking for an international education in their home country (Brummitt & Keeling, 2013, p. 29). Bunnell (2020) goes as far as to suggest that the ethics of the marketplace are now 'entrenched' within international education, with international schooling now, worryingly, 'firmly placed within a politically driven lens of activity, prone to whims and fads' (Bunnell, 2020, p. 765). International education is also continuing to expand into national education systems (in both English speaking and non-English speaking nations, private and state schools), and international curricula, such as those offered by the IB, are being adopted increasingly, especially in Europe and the USA (Hayden & Thompson, 2013). The IB Diploma Programme, for example, is attractive as it is perceived to be a 'brand of distinction, as it inevitably delivers high-achieving graduates from its selective intake' (Doherty, 2009, p. 89). Brown and Lauder (2011) draw our attention to the relationship which has developed between

international schools, the top universities, and the transnational companies they feed as an example of global hierarchy. These notions of hierarchy, the politicisation of international education and the framing of it as a commodity highlight that not only have its aims evolved significantly from early iterations, but that it is in danger of becoming, if it is not already, a niche market, catering primarily for (and in some cases being funded by) the world's wealthy. Moving on from the development of schools and early aims of international education, in the section which follows I look more closely at how international education and international schools are defined.

Defining and categorising international education and schools

'International education' is a term which can be used to describe the work of a range of types of schools which in turn employ a range of progressive and traditional methods and different curriculum models (national and international). In a globalised world, characterised by migration and diversity, many schools, including state schools, are to some extent international, catering for diverse student populations and offering a curriculum different from the ones offered by local, national systems. This breadth may account for Allan's (2013) observation that much of the literature related to international education includes attempts to define what it is and to establish the sector as a distinct category of education. Yet Pearce (1994) and Hayden (2006) both question the value of trying to classify or categorise international schools, 'difficult and contentious' as it is (Pearce, 1994, p. 8), not least because of the huge diversity of schools and absence of a central authorising body (Hayden, 2006, p. 16). The absence of consensus speaks to the complexity of the task rather than a lack of attention. Allan (2013) questions why this definition and categorisation is necessary at all, and what effect it might have, suggesting a range of possible motives in response:

> to establish that international education has a distinct pedagogy; for marketing purposes in exploring a 'niche' market; to pursue an ideological belief in the virtue of internationalism as a force for peace; to establish specific school of thought for academic career purposes; as a form of taxonomy, confusing knowledge of a concept with the definition of a word; or to further commercial and economic ends. (Allan, 2013, p. 149)

These motivations reflect some of the key themes present in the literature on international schooling and introduce both the pursuit of 'ideological' aims and the positioning of international education as occupying a 'niche' market and as a tool of economic ends. The

juxtaposing of liberal educational ideals and high-stakes, measurable outcomes within the motivations also frames the tension at the core of international schooling, as introduced in Chapter 1. This tension is built into the nature of international education, as I will illustrate further, but before moving on to this, I will look briefly at some attempts to categorise and define international schools and education. My aim is not to provide a definitive or alternative definition, but as Sylvester (2015) notes, the lack of consensus on even a working definition of international education (and schools) presents complications to research efforts (Sylvester, 2015, p. 13). Therefore, I will provide a broad contextual framing, by way of an initial working definition, from an international research perspective, of the selection of schools I will focus on in the document analysis to come. In doing this I will also illustrate the preoccupation in the literature with delineating and defining the boundaries of the sector, and the potential consequences for the sector of doing so.

In 'An introduction to International Education', Hayden (2006) charts the history, growth and development of international education, of which she advocates an 'umbrella' view, acknowledging its varied and multiple contexts (Hayden, 2006, p. 7). Having set out a broad understanding, which encompasses comparative education, the remainder of the text focuses on schools which label themselves explicitly as international schools and those which may earn the label from others based on the nature of the education offered. Hayden (2006) then recounts attempts to define international schools offered by scholars aiming to develop understandings of international education as the number of schools began accelerating from the middle of the 20th century. The terminology used in these attempts was varied as researchers tried to substantiate institutions of international education: 'categories' (Leach, 1969, cited in Hayden, 2006), 'prerequisites' (Terwilliger, 1972), 'types' (Sanderson, 1981 and Pönisch, 1987, cited in Hayden, 2006) and more recently 'typologies' (Hill, 2006). The varied terminology used to organise the definitions speaks to the challenge of beginning to clarify purpose and classify schools numerous in type.

Reflecting the prerequisites outlined by Terwilliger (1972),[9] Hill (2006) focuses on three key indicators of school internationality: the programme offered, the degree of cultural diversity within the student body, and the external cultural context within which the school is located (Hill, 2006, p. 11). Having established these required elements, Hill (2006) sets out four

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[9] The enrolment of students who are not citizens of the host country; having an international board of directors; employing teachers with international experience, and adopting an international curriculum (Terwilliger, 1972, pp. 360-361).

types of international school: national schools situated abroad, offering home country programmes; national schools in the home country but offering an international programme; international schools offering international programmes (with no stated national affiliation), and finally, schools which offer the national programme of one or more countries, possibly including the host country.[10] He also includes any schools which offer what he considers to be a 'full' international programme, citing schools which offer all three International Baccalaureate programmes.[11] Hill's (2006) 'typology' is useful in that it allows for the inclusion of schools set in both international and national settings which may have missions to promote international understanding, and specifically refers to the cultural context and location of schools. It is the cultural experience of the students, Hill (2006) suggests, which determines whether a school can be considered 'internationally minded'. To establish the nature of 'cultural experience' he further categorises the students within schools as 'national', 'immigrant' and 'internationally mobile', modelling the likely experiences and interactions of each group in national and international educational settings, though he suggests that these groupings are not fixed and that the boundaries between them will 'blur' (Hill, 2006, p.6). Though Hill (2006) acknowledges that in reality students may not be so simply categorised, I nevertheless see this to be an indication of the way that students may become reduced or homogenised in the endeavour to find generalisations, something I will explore further as I consider the implications of a more rooted conception of international education, which acknowledges individual human stories.

Prior to concluding this section, it is worth considering Hayden and Thompson's (2013) three main sub-groups of international schools as they are not only often repeated, but also begin to reveal the differing aims of international schools and how the sector is evolving away from its original ideals. Type A schools, or 'traditional' international schools are those established primarily to cater for globally mobile expatriate families for whom the local education system was not considered appropriate. Type B, or 'ideological' international schools (what Hill, 2006 terms 'pure') were established on an essentially ideological basis and bring together young people from different parts of the world to be educated together with a view to promoting global peace and understanding (Hayden & Thompson, 2013, p. 5). An example is the United World Colleges, set up by Kurt Hahn specifically with the goal of developing international understanding. Finally, Hayden and Thompson (2013) list Type C schools as 'non-traditional' international schools. These serve host country nationals who

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[10] Referring to the national context/the country which 'hosts' the school.
[11] Now four with the addition of the Careers-Related programme, an alternative to the Diploma.

are the socio-economically advantaged elite of the host country and who seek 'a form of education different from, and perceived to be of higher quality, than that available in the national education system' (Hayden & Thompson, 2013, p. 5). As schools have developed, these types have merged and do not often exist in a 'pure' form. Though schools such as the aforementioned United World Colleges continue to focus on the ideals of fostering international understanding in order to avoid such conflicts as the World Wars again, others try (not unproblematically) to serve a dual purpose, upholding and promoting liberal education ideals in the form of breadth and autonomy, alongside the promotion of individual economic and social advantage. Yet others focus more keenly on the latter.

Although the number of typologies and categorisations identified by prominent researchers in the field is not in itself significant, it shows a preoccupation within the literature with defining and categorising schools within this diverse sector. Institutional diversity is reflected in leadership, organisational affiliations, local authorities within varying national contexts, all of which underlines that there is no unifying locus of authority. This diversity may explain the importance to the sector of defining itself and classifying its schools and though a legitimate purpose of this work may be to provide a basis for research into other aspects of international education, the sector's need to establish its identity so robustly may also reflect a desire to assert its credibility as it seeks to raise its profile and the value of its courses and qualifications. There is a further, concerning outcome of this inward (sector) focused preoccupation with demarcating boundaries in that it distracts it from considering and responding to the effects of the rapid changes in global education, leading to neglect of critical considerations for the sector in view of these changes. This claim will inform my argument that a more outwardly orientated, globally contextualised approach to education is necessary, but now, having established broad understandings of the sector and particularly schools within it, I turn to examine in more detail representations of prominent concepts which underpin international education.

Conceptual foundations of international education

As the literature on international schools shows, one feature which unites institutions engaged in providing an international education is the structural centrality of the concept of being international, in that schools (often but not always) make an issue of their international status within statements of purpose. The work of international schools is also informed by concepts related to the international, and these in turn are embedded within their

documentation. However, the meaning of such concepts remains open to interpretation and contestation, particularly as they are often linked with other equally complex sub-concepts. This challenge has been noted by researchers. Roberts (2012), for example, observes that 'international' and its related terms, though commonly used in mission statements, are not necessarily clear or consistent in meaning. Similarly, Gunesch (2004) finds 'no single coherent picture' of the internationalism or international mindedness that international education seeks to develop (Gunesch, 2004, p. 90). Efforts have been made to clarify and unify meanings of concepts central to international education as I will show using the examples of global citizenship and international mindedness. These concepts are present in the research literature and in material of both individual schools and curriculum bodies (for example Fieldwork International and the IBO), as well as regulatory bodies such as the Council of International Schools (CIS). Davy (2011), writing of the IB, suggests that when it comes to developing curriculum, words other than 'international' may serve equally well or better, adding nuance to understandings. The alternatives she lists include 'cosmopolitan', 'pluralistic', 'global', 'world' and 'universal' (Davy, 2011, p. 3). CIS, a global organisation with which many international schools are affiliated, developed an understanding of global citizenship through its work with schools and educators across the world. Its complex 'definition' consists of expanded descriptors under seven headings: Ethics, Diversity, Global Issues, Communication, Service, Leadership and Sustainable Lifestyle (Council of International Schools, n.d.). The level of detail given in these considered attempts to clarifying meaning appear to go some way towards challenging the idea that such complex concepts, commonly referenced in the literature, such as globalisation, cosmopolitanism and global citizenship are 'not usually carefully enough distinguished' (Deppe, et al., 2018, p. 4) though the difficulty of translating them into practice remains.

Acknowledging both the difficulty of upholding aspirational aims of international education and the possibilities inherent in the concept of global citizenship for transforming education, Tarc (2019, p. 741) tasks 'new iterations' of international education, of which global citizenship education is one, with analysing and strategically steering it so that the educative and internationalist aspirational components are not overshadowed by the instrumental. To achieve this there is a necessity for further consideration of understandings of global citizenship at a level beyond definition, and which are important as global citizenship is growing in prominence within both international and national education. It relates to dominant and predominantly western understandings of what it means to be a global citizen. In her IB position paper on global citizenship, Davy (2011) draws on Dower's (2003) notion

that citizens can make a difference in the world through cooperation and the IB Learner Profile also encourages students to 'act to make a difference in the lives of others' (IBO, 2013).[12] Yet Jefferess (2008), for example, is critical of views which presume agency with no recognition that they are influenced by privilege and power. He claims that global citizenship projects, of which international education is conceivably one, are susceptible to the 'politics of benevolence' which highlights the unequal relationship between those positioned to help (the global citizen) and those perceived as requiring help. This positioning lends weight to criticisms of international education for being western-centric, and also plays into the creation of a global (western) elite, so positioned to help the distant, less fortunate 'other', despite the ostensible ideals of global citizenship being 'diversity, multiculturalism and mutual regard' (Jefferess, 2008, p. 35). I will return to the concept of global citizenship, including as a feature of cosmopolitanism, in subsequent chapters but now turn to examine the related concept of international mindedness as one designed to communicate goals of citizenship, in greater detail.

International mindedness[13] is a phrase credited by Harwood and Bailey (2012) to Hill (2000), who used the phrase to separate international education from international schools, arguing that not all schools carrying that label provide an international education and vice versa. International mindedness is a term oft-used to describe international education's engagement with the wider world (Roberts, 2013, p. 122) and has also been described as being a central concept within, and the product of, a successful international education (Hill, 2012, p. 246). Harwood and Bailey (2012) use this phrase to try to capture the skills, understandings, awareness, and actions thought to be necessary for being a good national and international citizen. They stress the care taken to ensure universal application, avoiding simply projecting western values and exerting a form of cultural colonialism, and present the following definition, developed as a basis for monitoring and assessing development of international mindedness in students:

> International-mindedness (global consciousness) is a person's capacity to transcend the limits of a worldview informed by a single experience of nationality, creed, culture, or philosophy and recognise in the richness of the world a multiplicity of ways of engaging with the world. (Harwood & Bailey, 2012, p. 79)

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[12] See Appendix A.

[13] I provide here a brief overview. Kaiser (2019) offers a more comprehensive review of the concept.

This definition offers an overarching understanding, though Davy (2005), in a presentation for an IB approved workshop, acknowledges that international mindedness 'remains a challenging concept to define and bring alive in our schools' (p.1). Offering more concrete ideas for how it can, for example, underpin curriculum, she suggests it should include concepts including the role of culture in our lives and those of others; the interdependence of human and natural systems on our planet; the role of peace education and conflict resolution in our world; environmental awareness and sustainability, and citizenship and service as an expression of individual responsibility (Davy, 2005, p. 2). In a later paper, Davy (2011) also notes the introduction of the term 'global engagement' in IB documentation, which aims to communicate a more action orientated stance towards global issues and concludes, understandably, that 'continued discussion of terminology will benefit IB educators as they seek clarity in communicating IB educational perspectives to teachers and students' (Davy, 2011, p. 3). International mindedness as expressed in these understandings shows awareness of and efforts to avoid potential pitfalls as outlined by Jefferess (2008). Yet as the ideas are made more concrete to make them accessible, and more easily translatable into practice, there is a danger of oversimplification which may reduce and change the intended effects of education orientated towards internationally minded citizens. Rather than seeking to solidify or prescribe understandings of international mindedness, Kaiser (2019) recognises the value of interpretation of meaning at the local level. He argues that international mindedness operates in the tacit dimension, through shared awareness and recognition with features known but not necessarily identified. Though I agree that freedom of interpretation is important for schools as it plays a role in rooting understanding in a specific and individual context, tacit understanding may not be enough to address issues of competing influences on interpretation of those central values. Furthermore, in the absence of an overarching understanding of the purpose of international education more broadly, localised interpretation may rely on understandings which may reinforce rather than work to challenge the politics of benevolence at play.

A central focus of this dissertation is the idea of cosmopolitanism, which is not an unfamiliar concept within the literature on international education, and which may support understandings of international mindedness. Hayden (2006) suggests that it may be a relevant concept to include in definitions of international education, citing the work of Gunesch (2004) who proposes it as a 'personal cultural identity model for and within international education' (Gunesch, 2004, p. 251). She also cites as relevant the work of Hannerz (1992), who discusses cultural competence with regard to alien cultures (Hannerz,

1992, pp. 252-253). Certainly, these are pertinent applications, yet there is more work that the concept of cosmopolitanism can do in helping to frame the normative aims of international education and in addressing the tensions inherent in international education (as discussed above) than the authors referenced by Hayden (2006) suggest. For example, through engagement with both theories of cosmopolitanism and postcolonialism,[14] as Marshall (2011) suggests, we may address challenges of educating for global citizenship in the current global economic and political climate and overcome issues of western-centrism or even neocolonialism. Framing international education within a cosmopolitan construct will also enable a more local position towards education with a global context to be articulated and it is global context, in the form of globalisation, to which I now turn.

Globalisation as a context for the development of international schooling

Globalisation has been described as a 'multifaceted social phenomenon' (Ball, et al., 2010, p. 524) which has reach beyond the often-associated economic systems, reflecting the movement and exchange of goods, ideas, services, labour, policies, and cultural forms across the globe. Deppe et al. (2018) refer to the 'globalisation of education' as isomorphism both in policy and provision and note the global increase in the marketisation of education (Deppe, et al., 2018, p. 5). As education continues to evolve within the context of this neoliberal conception of globalisation, it is seen to be tied more closely to the needs of economic competition and the knowledge economy (Ball, et al., 2010, p. 524).

Focusing more specifically on international education, Bates (2013) has described two sub-contexts relevant for the growth of international education. The first he describes as a numerical context, characterised by the increase in demand for education by the middle class, recognition of the value of the international market for education, and the prospects for its privatisation and commercialisation (Bates, 2013, pp. 1-2). The second context is that of the globalisation of neoliberal ideologies which he sees as being committed to the reorganisation of societies and social relations (Bates, 2013, p. 2) and also influencing the development of international education. Bates (2013) signals three significant aims of neoliberalism, identified by Robertson (2008), as: the upward redistribution of wealth to the ruling elite; making the production of workers for the economy a primary goal of education, and tackling 'a public sector monopoly' on education by promoting for-profit investment (Robertson,

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[14] Though my focus is on cosmopolitanism in this dissertation, I make this reference as one may argue that it is not possible to be cosmopolitan without also being postcolonial.

2008, p. 12). These aims have significantly influenced those of international education as it has become more established. An example of this can be seen with efforts to standardise education across schools, with supra-national educational programmes and qualifications developed with the aim of providing a consistent, transferable education and access to universities across the globe. Neoliberal globalisation has led to an increase in demand for skills, knowledge, and enterprise, which has in turn resulted in increasing demand and competition for tertiary level education. Changing aims have also seen a shift in international education away from seeking to educate for the ideals of a liberal society (as distinct from and in tension with the neoliberal turn I am describing), to meeting the needs of a new target market for international schools described by Tate (2016) as 'an internationally mobile global elite' population (Tate, 2016, p. 19). Brown and Lauder (2006) observe that with multinational companies and intergovernmental agencies increasingly valuing 'cosmopolitan' graduates, national level education is no longer sufficient for the aspiring social elite. The International Baccalaureate Diploma (IB DP), said to set the 'gold' standard of international education (Walker, 2016, p. 49), is one of the programmes benefiting from being able to provide an attractive alternative for those seeking to distinguish themselves at secondary and tertiary level education in national and international education contexts.

The literature indicates that international education is increasingly influenced by neoliberal ideology, leading to a heavier focus on the instrumental purpose of education. The growth of the international school 'market' and particularly the rise in profit-making schools is no coincidence. What this means for the future of international education remains to be seen, but Hayden and Thompson (2013, pp.14-16) foresee rapid growth for 'non-traditional' (Type C) schools and consider two scenarios for the future of 'traditional' (Type A) schools. The first scenario posits the potential growth of traditional schools as internationally renowned programmes continue to be attractive to the globally mobile. The second considers a decreased need for international movement fuelled by improving technology and a concern for the effects of travel on the environment, in which case, 'non-traditional' schools will overtake 'traditional' models. However, they express confidence that, in either scenario, traditional schools will decrease in number. I consider that this will be detrimental to the sector as, of the two types (A and C), traditional schools more closely reflect the more laudable goals of international education. That no mention is made of 'ideological' (Type B) schools in this scenario planning could indicate a status quo, or more worryingly, insignificance. Of further concern, and concurrent with Hayden and Thompson's (2013) proposed trajectory for non-traditional schools, is Brummitt and Keeling's (2013) prediction

of a future for international education dominated by 'profit-making schools and school groups' (Brummitt & Keeling, 2013, p. 30). The projected rapid growth of such a differently conceived version of international education concerns me insofar as it could take the sector as a whole (if indeed it can continue to be considered one sector) further from the ideals of liberal education, and accepting education as a tool of the economy, making my hope of a sector refocused on these ideals much more difficult to achieve.

Ball et al. (2010) suggest that 'at its worst, globalisation may result in increased recruitment to elite positions among privileged groups across national boundaries' but that at its best it may also 'provide a breadth of perspective that brings an awareness of commonalities within societies and among diverse populations' (Ball, et al., 2010, p. 525). Applying this to international schools, we may consider that at their worst they merely equip privileged students to take elite international positions but at their best educate people who have an awareness of what is shared between the peoples of diverse populations, and further, that they are willing to act in a way which reflects this understanding. This dialectical issue reflects a critical concern about the distinction made between the pragmatic and ideological aims which underpin international education to which we now turn.

Recasting the 'pragmatic' versus the 'ideological' debate

Globalisation, plus growth and increasing competition within the international school sector, has seen the demand for schools to serve a dual purpose increase; this comprises upholding and promoting liberal education ideals in the form of breadth and autonomy, and the promotion of individual economic and social advantage. Both have become central to the work that international schools do, and Tarc (2019) rightly states that these two core roots continue to 'structure the meanings and uses of international in the present' (Tarc, 2019, p. 736). The dual-purpose agenda has been described in terms which have become influential in framing the discourse of international education. Such is this influence that it is worth quoting Cambridge and Thompson's (2004) formulation of the tension at the heart of international education in some detail. They propose that,

> international education, as currently practised, is the reconciliation of a dilemma between ideological and pragmatic interests. The ideological 'internationalist' current of international education may be identified with a progressive view of education that is concerned with the moral development of the individual by attempting to influence the formation of positive attitudes towards peace, international understanding and responsible world citizenship. The pragmatic 'globalist' current of international education may be

> identified with the processes of economic and cultural globalisation, expressed in terms of satisfying the increasing demands for educational qualifications that are portable between schools and transferable between education systems, and the spread of global quality standards through quality assurance processes such as accreditation. (Cambridge & Thompson, 2004, p. 164)

The goals of these inherent competing agendas, which have been labelled as 'ideological' and 'pragmatic', are embedded within the very nature of the sector and are often expressed in these terms by those writing of international education (see for example Hayden, 2006, 2011; Wylie, 2008; Kaiser, 2019). However, this influential distinction may not be the most productive way to present the issue and it may therefore be prudent at this point to reflect on how this depiction might be interpreted. Firstly, use of the term ideology itself could be seen as pejorative, tending to have negative connotations, and indicating 'a system of wrong, false, distorted or otherwise misguided beliefs' (van Dijk, 1998, p. 2). As relating to education, 'ideology' could impart negative images of an unrealistic, unachievable, and naïve idealism, though a more positive reading could see it as pertaining to ideologically driven education which seeks to educate outwardly orientated students and holds images of a better world. Nevertheless, interpretations of ideologically driven education contrast starkly with the use of the term 'pragmatic' which could be seen to imply a basis in practice over theory or to denote something more grounded and practical (over a misguided belief in an ideal) rather than speaking to the reality of it as encompassing market-driven aims of education. Use of the term pragmatic also masks, or ignores, the neoliberal ideology which drives the skills discourse within and beyond international education by normalising the role of education as a tool of economic growth, and fuelling competition between individuals, schools, and nations. Gardner-McTaggart (2016) further notes the 'weakness' of this distinction, suggesting that the term 'ideological' 'may also be used for ideologies that are pragmatic' (Gardner-McTaggart, 2016, p. 12).

It seems likely then that an alternative distinction to that between the ideological and the pragmatic could provide a more productive way to work with the competing agendas. One such alternative is to frame the tension more broadly as a pull between the normative commitments schools have, presupposing that the goal of international education is to do good by educating active, other orientated, global citizens, and the demands that 'stakeholders'[15] make for observable, quantifiable outcomes, which may be in contention

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[15] Stakeholders range from governing bodies and parents at the local level, to governments and multinational organisations at the global.

with these commitments. Gardner-McTaggart (2016) proposes that the dilemma is better expressed as one between equity (as fairness) and marketplace (instrumental factors). Tarc (2019) identifies 'two core semantic components' shaping international education as the literal/instrumental and the aspirational, which I find to be particularly pertinent to the task of international education. The former he links with cross border educational processes, and he notes the latter as being founded on a liberal humanist vision. This aspirational vision is positioned as a less nationalistic, more forward-looking and more child-centred model of education which could help make a less-violent and more egalitarian world (Tarc, 2019, pp. 736-737). Moving beyond the discourse surrounding international education and towards that of the internationalisation of education and global citizenship education (both concepts central to education across the globe), it is evident that the tension between competing educational agendas is not confined to the international sector and is documented within education more broadly. Marshall (2011), for example, like Gardner-McTaggart (2016), recognises the ideology inherent in so-called 'pragmatic' imperatives. She describes the distinction in terms of the technical-economic and the global justice agendas affecting education. Similarly, Biesta (2014), writing about the dilemma facing education in the age of the knowledge economy, frames the issue as existing between technology and economy, and humanity and the humanities, or, education which produces and domesticates or education which opens and liberates (Biesta, 2014, p. 14). By describing the practice of international education as the reconciliation of a dilemma, Cambridge and Thompson (2004) imply, optimistically, that the concepts have been successfully integrated into a fully formed concept of education. Yet each of these alternative framings illustrates, albeit slightly differently, the opposing and irreconcilable nature of normative and instrumental goals. I shall shortly return to this idea of international education as a reconciliation of opposing purposes, considering what this may look like as the sector continues to grow, and what the consequences of continuing to operate with a dual-purpose agenda may be, but will first expand briefly on further challenges to clarity of meaning.

Recasting the dilemma facing international schools in terms which attempt to reduce obfuscations and misunderstandings of meaning in the aims and purpose of international education highlights the incompatibility of these driving concepts and the practical difficulty of marrying the juxtaposed aims within it. Using the alternative framing of normative and instrumental is a first step in being able to articulate a cosmopolitan version of international education which could underpin and strengthen its normative aims. However, in an earlier section I also noted challenges in creating a shared understanding of international education

and concepts central to it. Emerging here is an issue of how language is deployed by the sector, and schools within it, to represent international education and its aims. This is further seen in Cambridge and Thompson's (2004) use of 'internationalist' (linked with the ideological) and 'globalist' (linked with the pragmatic), which appear contrary to movements within international education, for example towards the use of 'global' to signify a deeper connection with the greatest challenges facing humanity rather than globalisation. In this vein, Tate (2016) questions the continued use of the term 'international education' itself, suggesting that it is no longer accurately representing the sector. Similarly, Hayden and Thompson (2018), in an article entitled 'Time for new terminology?', focus in on the potential challenges of interpreting 'international school' given the diversities of types of school. They tentatively posit that parents are likely 'more discerning' and interested in what the school represents educationally rather than the name, though this contrasts with earlier warnings, from Hayden (2006), about the attraction of the label 'international'. In defending a cosmopolitan interpretation of international education, I am arguing for a redefined and clarified understanding of the aims of the sector beyond mere nomenclature. To do this, I will look more closely at the language and content of schools' mission statements through which international schools communicate the aims and purpose of the international education they offer. This will allow me to develop an understanding of how international education and internationality is represented publicly, as well as where opportunities for alignment with cosmopolitanism may lie.

In the next section, I further consider the concept of internationalisation, which though present in the literature of international education, has not received the same level of attention as the related concept of globalisation. The effects of internationalisation on international education tend to be less well documented; research produced from within the sector, though it purports to be related to this global phenomenon, nevertheless appears to be relatively separated from other domains of research, with relationships between international schooling and the wider influence of internationalisation implied rather than made explicit. Yet Tarc (2019) observes that it is the instrumental agenda of internationalisation which tends to dominate under the global policy convergence of neoliberal educational reform, reinforcing that it is not only international education which has evolved in response to globalisation, with national systems across the globe also responding with moves towards internationalisation of their curricula and increased focus on global citizenship. Reflecting on what this means for international education, Tarc (2019) suggests that the sector could be considered more robustly within a context of

internationalisation. Building on this, I will now consider the internationalisation of education as a relevant and important context for international education, examining differing interpretations of it and considering implications of the internationalisation discourse on international education, as well as how international education itself may have contributed to the internationalisation of education beyond the international school sector.

Contextualising international education within the wider context of the internationalisation of education

Yemini (2017) describes the discourse on internationalisation as one of the 'most complex and multifaceted discourses within contemporary education' (Yemini, 2017, p. 171) due to the volume and meanings of related terms. Internationalisation has been described by Knight (2003) as 'the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education' (Knight, 2003, p. 2). Linked to but not synonymous with globalisation (Knight, 2003, p. 3), internationalisation has not only significantly shaped higher education but has helped to change the nature of early years, primary and secondary education contexts over the past few decades (Yemini, 2017). This process has been precipitated by the increase in regional and global trade agreements which have begun to include education as a tradeable service. Key here is that both private and state education have recognised new commercial opportunities presented by cross border education (Knight, 2008) leading to changes at policy and curriculum levels. Wylie (2008), Yemini (2017) and Tarc (2019) all indicate that the IBO has played a role in the internationalisation of education at both a policy level and within schools, though Yemini (2017) also notes that the very concept of education itself has become both more internationalised and more interconnected. Tarc (2019) refers to the 'post-cold war "internationalisation of education" movement', which he sees as accelerating into the 21st century (Tarc, 2019, p. 733). Critical of the sector, he recognises that international education has driven growth in the internationalisation of education, and that international schools have benefited from an increase in interest in and demand for internationally orientated education. Tarc (2019) reflects that what is 'most troubling' about this is how both the visions and outcomes of a liberal-humanist international education are altered or minimised by the dominance of the internationalisation discourse (Tarc, 2019, p. 740). Such reflection on the consequences of this increase in interest confirms my own disquiet about the trajectory of international education as its normative aspirations become overshadowed.

Hayden (2011), discussing transnational spaces of education from an international education perspective, suggests that there are two main strands to internationalisation of education at the school level, namely, the internationalisation of national systems and the growing numbers of international schools (Hayden, 2011, p. 211). She acknowledges that there are unintended outcomes of international education, summarising them in the conclusion of her piece:

> It is ironic, then, that schools that developed originally to promote greater social harmony and understanding between different peoples, as well as to facilitate mobility, seem to be contributing to a growing educational gap between social groups and thus to growing inequality in societies. Such issues, as well as the impact on national systems of the uncontrolled growth in international schools, would benefit from further consideration by planners and policy makers worldwide. (Hayden, 2011, pp. 221-222)

Significantly, Hayden signals concern at the growth of international schools, along with a need to consider the impact of this growth on national education systems, something which I pursue in the following chapter in the context of Germany. This expression of worry contrasts with a body of research literature which often appears positive and optimistic about the development of the sector, and references to growth and increased uptake of international programmes, seem to mark success (see for example Brummitt and Keeling, 2013). The unease at the growth and unintended effects of international education as increasing inequality is echoed by Tarc (2019), who warns that the aspirations of international education may be disrupted by the forces of globalisation which enabled it in the first place. Tarc (2019) expresses concern that the processes of neoliberal economic globalisation within education, along with the enduring legacies of colonialism, are at risk of generating outcomes which are 'exploitive, othering and mis-educative' (Tarc, 2019, p. 741). He also suggests that it is practitioners of international education (not just planners and policy makers) who 'must be vigilant that the de-parochialising core idealist vision doesn't become muted or co-opted' under conditions of what he terms 'co-dependence' with the instrumental aims of international education (Tarc, 2019, p. 740). I aim, with this research, to determine how the normative, aspirational aims of international education may be underpinned and strengthened by cosmopolitanism to provide a conceptualisation of international education which resists being 'muted' by instrumentalism. One way of beginning to focus on the aspirations and ideals of international (and internationalised) education is through adopting alternative, normative understandings of internationalisation.

Yemini (2015) posits such an alternative definition of internationalisation, which offers a way to a different understanding of both national and international education. She describes it as 'the process of encouraging integration of multicultural, multilingual, and global dimensions within the education system, with the aim of instilling in learners a sense of global citizenship' (Yemini, 2015, p. 21). With this, she aims to change understandings of internationalisation from existing ones, for example as suggested by Knight (2003), with a focus on integrating the international into purpose, function, or delivery of education, to one with a goal of developing global citizenship through engagement with cultures and languages. Yemini's definition is appealing as, she states, it is not intended to be neutral but rather aims not only to open up 'meaningful dialogue' about the very nature of education, and to focus on the learner, but also to 'establish the superiority' of these values over others, including those of 'economic efficiency, market forces, competition, deregulation, accountability, and branding', which have recently become dominant in both public and academic discourse on education (Yemini, 2015, p. 21). This stance against the use of education for predominantly economic purposes is one which seems broadly lacking in the research literature of international education, where a key task has been to characterise and categorise the sector in order to distinguish international education and schooling from other areas of education. Though the tension and dual purpose is referenced, within the international education sector the issue tends to be accepted rather than questioned or challenged, and there is less in the way of seeking to resolve the tension. In the following section, I expand on what I perceive to be a need to seek resolution of the tension as I set out the main critical considerations emerging from the literature which will underpin the remainder of this research.

Critical considerations emerging from the literature

Much of the literature reviewed in this chapter, particularly that generated from within the sector, is critically sympathetic and supportive, tending to convey a certain optimism about and enthusiasm for the international school sector and its future. The sector's credentials are inclined to be accepted or even defended in terms of how it defines itself and its claims to educational legitimacy. The authors more forthright in their criticism, such as Tarc and Marshall, write from alternative perspectives, internationalisation, and global citizenship education, respectively. In some respects, optimism may be well placed: there are indications in the literature that the international school sector has the potential to be a force for progress in social justice around the globe. As recounted, in the early days, some international schools

were sites of resistance, not afraid to challenge colonial influence and dominant ideologies of society, including Nazism. In current approaches to international education, both in the literature and in practice, there is a notable lack of moral outrage at global inequality and injustice, perhaps a legacy of neoliberal individualism. It is, however, moral outrage which Purpel (1999) sees as a necessary driver of educational transformation suggesting that 'critical rationality, personal reflection, openness and respect for varying perspectives, and good faith dialogue' laudable though they may be, are simply 'insufficient to respond to our present set of existential, social, political, economic, moral and spiritual crises' (Purpel, 1999, p. 189). Today, in schools such as the United World Colleges, aspirational goals are given precedence over the instrumental goals of education. Glimmers of positivity can also be found in the conceptual underpinnings of international education, which suggest an ongoing commitment of international education to liberal aims. However, areas of controversy, requiring further consideration, have also emerged from the literature. The first pertains to the tension between normative and instrumental goals of education and the second to the outcomes of international education, particularly its unintended and undesirable effects.

The first critical consideration is primarily conceptual and pertains to the aims driving the sector. Perhaps the most significant area of controversy, it centres on the tension between the 'ideological' and 'pragmatic' goals in international education, which I have argued can better serve the discussion if recast as 'normative' and 'instrumental'. There is need for critical consideration of whether the competing aims of international education can continue to be formulated as co-existing harmoniously if they are to drive a sufficiently normatively conceived conception of international education or whether resolution of the tension is required in order to achieve this. Cambridge and Thompson's (2004) description of international education as a 'reconciliation of a dilemma' of interests both acknowledges the nature of the differently orientated aims as competing, but also seems to indicate a successful integration by international schools. There are consequences of accommodating the tension, and absorbing it into models of international education, rather than addressing it or attempting to resolve it. For example, Bunnell (2010), using the IB as a model, has suggested that international education may be able to simultaneously facilitate economic advantage on one hand and on the other serve world peace. He considers the outcome of a conceptually divided education, suggesting that it could lead to the evolution of a third doctrine, one which lies at neither extreme, and that rather than the capitalist sympathetic to globalisation or the peace focused 'tolerant, and culturally aware' graduate, there might be 'a class who is

business oriented but socially responsible' (Bunnell, 2010, p. 351). In contrast, Marshall (2011), writing of citizenship education in the context of international education but with reference to education more broadly, draws stark contrast between the differing goals of education, taking the stance that pursuing a social justice agenda for education may be the more preferable path to follow because it has 'the ultimate goal of critical understanding and moral improvement' (Marshall, 2011, p. 197). She acknowledges that there are those who question whether it is the job of teachers, schools and curricula 'to help young people change or save the world', but in response asks whether it is their job to 'reinforce the dominant technical-economic instrumentalist agendas so controlled by the global economy, a powerful trend of materialistic consumption and the ideology of liberal-individualism' (Marshall, 2011, p. 196). Though my own position is reflective of Marshall's, I acknowledge that there may be those in international education for whom Bunnell's suggested 'third way' may be acceptable or even preferable. My concern with such a compromise, and the acceptance of international education as a reconciliation, or a third, mediatory doctrine, is that at best we may end up with what Wylie (2011) calls a 'constant struggle between ideological perspectives among constituents' (Wylie, 2011, p. 37) which includes schools and the international educational organisations which support them, including curriculum authorities. Within a context of increasing economic globalisation, international education appears to have developed a heavier focus on the instrumental purpose of education. Without specific intervention or action, this is unlikely to change as the discourse about education seems likely to continue to be dominated by capitalist notions of human capital and progress (Brown, Lauder & Ashton, 2008), which will in turn see normative goals compromised or altered by neoliberal ideology. Education may become more utilitarian and opportunities to nurture the ability of students to flourish 'as they think and act well' reduced (Cockerill, 2014, p. 14). Normative goals are compromised, altered, or become overwhelmed by measurable, market-driven goals of an international education under the influence of neoliberal ideology. With the neoliberal imperative driving globalisation and in turn international and national education, progress sympathetic to global and social justice may be difficult to achieve.

The difficulty of achieving a normatively driven concept of international education with the existing dual-purpose agenda indicates a need to interrogate the interrelationship of the competing aims more thoroughly, with an ultimate goal of developing not only clarity of meaning for international education and the concepts which help to define it, but also a more educationally and ethically defensible conception of its aims and purpose; one which centres

on viewing the student as an end in herself, rather than an instrument of the economy. This need for critical examination is redoubled by the second of the critical considerations, which is grounded in the more tangible outcomes of international education and draws attention to its unintended and undesirable effects. The literature has revealed the possibility that international education, whilst making notable attempts to establish itself as a credible and distinctive sector, has perhaps neglected to sufficiently contextualise itself within global education developments and the increasingly internationalised discourse. This consideration has two related strands, one global and one local, but both indicating a need for international education to re-examine its aims and purpose, and its intended and unintended consequences in relation to these contexts. The global strand relates to observations in the research that international education is contributing to global inequality as international schools graduate students into a growing global elite, offering as they do internationally recognised qualifications which provide access to international tertiary education, as well as developing the skills and experiences desired by multinational organisations. So attractive are these facets of education in the context of neoliberal society, that they are driving demand for internationalised forms of education, including that offered by international schools. The literature indicates that international education is not only affected by the internationalising forces of globalisation but that it has been influential in the process of internationalisation in education beyond the sector itself, as international schools operate within national, or alongside national systems of education. This local strand relates to the effects international schools have in and on their local contexts, and despite Hayden's (2011) stark observation that the very presence of international schools may contribute to a growing educational gap, this appears to be a relatively less well explored area of the literature and one I will attend to further in the following chapter.

Summary

My overarching critical concern for international education, as presented in Chapter 1, is that as international schools become more established, their goals for education are tending towards the measurable and marketable, a consequence of which is that those which nurture and educate more holistically, and which are more difficult to quantify, may become marginalised or overshadowed. At the outset of this chapter, I outlined five key themes which were evident in the literature on international education, including exploration of the history and development of the international school sector and the rise in popularity and profile of international education; defining and categorising the international school sector;

analysis of central concepts related to the purpose and focus of international education; examination of the role of broader conceptual and contextual underpinnings of the field, and research which aims to establish an understanding of what is distinctive about approaches to teaching and learning, governance and curriculum in international schools. I concluded by presenting two critical considerations, arising from the examination of themes and controversies within the literature, which will form the foundation of my research and argumentation in the coming chapters. The first consideration centred on a need to go beyond acceptance that schools must navigate a purpose between normative and instrumental goals which, often in opposition, are causing the sector to exist and operate in tension. Resolving this issue is particularly important if international education is to meet its own standards beyond the instrumental. There is also a related need to clarify the meaning of concepts which underpin practice rather than accept them as tacitly understood, as they may, albeit unwittingly, be interpreted differently and problematically within an instrumentally versus a normatively conceived vision of education.

The second, ethically rooted concern, was that the international education sector may be contributing to inequality at both local and global levels. Generally, the literature reviewed reflects a sector which, through self-examination, has sought to create a clearly defined place for itself, linked to but separate from wider connotations of international education. It seems that efforts to carve a niche for itself, to legitimise, define and substantiate itself as a separate educational sector may account for the relative lack of critique, when it comes to the ethics of international schooling, from within the sector, though there appears to be an emerging and increasing concern with this. I turn now to examine international education in the national context of Germany, where I will explore further the interrelationship between national and international education, the nature of international schools in Germany and how the internationalisation discourse and international schools are perceived from a national perspective.

Chapter 3: Contextualising international education and international schools within Germany

It is a paradox of international education that all international schools are located within a national context in addition to the prominent global one. This localised context exerts an influence on how schools negotiate their global, national, and local affiliations, as well as how they conceptualise international education and represent their internationality. In the previous chapter I raised the issue that the international school sector, despite being underpinned and guided by concepts of global citizenship, may be guilty of neglecting to look closely enough at the effects international schools have on their locality, or immediate context. One facet of this lack of awareness is observed by Deppe, Maxwell, Krüger and Helsper (2018) who state that much of the research on international schools fails to engage directly with issues of the relations between national education systems and the local education spaces in which they are situated (Deppe, et al., 2018, p. 6). In this chapter I explicate this idea further as I take Germany as a specific context for international education. Germany, beyond being the location of my own professional experience, has a diverse education provision including many international schools, which are an option for international and local families. It also has a large private school sector, offering alternative curricula and approaches to education, as well as specialised schools (for example science and technology, and sports orientated schools). There is also an openness to cultural and linguistic diversity shown in the presence of bilingual schools and kindergartens.

I begin by giving an overview of state education in Germany by way of contextualising the international education alongside which it sits. I then explore Germany as a diverse nation before moving on to an examination of the breadth of types of international schools which are located there. Having set the context, I return to the concept of the internationalisation of education from the perspective of researchers focusing on Germany and consider how this discourse has influenced both international and state education in this national context. Within this discussion I raise further critical concerns about the results of internationalisation and highlight the issues of prominence of discourses of competition, elitism, and excellence within international and internationalised education. I also draw attention to specific effects of international schools in their localities, which are implicated in undermining the efforts of German educational goals to improve and increase social integration. Following consideration of the challenges of school diversity to the sector, I conclude by suggesting

there is a need for schools to assume the responsibility of responding to the criticisms levelled at them.

Education in Germany

Germany does not have a national education system. Policy is primarily the responsibility of the 16 *Bundesländer* (states), meaning that there are regional differences. In general, kindergarten places are provided for children aged one to six, although education for this age group is not compulsory. One difference, and sometimes a point of contention, between international school early years provision and German kindergartens is that the latter are generally play based, with little formal instruction (something which is seen either positively or negatively depending on parental preference). Children begin formal schooling at six years old and in most but not all states (Berlin is a notable exception) complete four years at *Grundschule* (primary school). At 10 years old students are filtered into a selective mainstream secondary system, which offers routes through to university study, vocational training, and apprenticeships. The *Gymnasium* offers the highest possibility of academic study, with eight years of study culminating in achievement of the *Abitur*, (matriculation examinations equivalent to A-levels and Highers in the UK, and the IB Diploma). A *Realschule* education consists of five years of study culminating in the *Mittlere Reife* (equivalent to GCSEs and National Awards 4/5 in the UK, and the IB Middle Years Programme certificate or IB MYP). The *Hauptschule* also offers five years of education culminating in the *Hauptschulabschluss*, a school leaving certificate/certificate of completion. The *Abitur* provides university entrance qualifications but there is the possibility of movement between these schooling levels (from *Realschule* to *Gymnasium*, thus giving the opportunity to study for the *Abitur*). Less commonly found is the *Gesamtschule* which is the equivalent of the comprehensive school and encompassing all levels of education. The Statistisches Bundesamt (Federal Statistical Office of Germany) reports that the number of these schools tripled between 2006 and 2016, when they stood at 2,100 (Destasis, 2018a). International schools are most often considered to be *Gesamtschulen* although some do implement selection criteria.

The tiered system of German education has benefited international schools in Germany, which can become attractive to local parents where alternative options are sought for secondary education if their children do not receive a *Bildungsempfehlung* (a formal educational recommendation) for further study at *Gymnasium*. This was particularly evident

to me at one of the schools I worked in which was an *Ersatzschule*, a school which is an official alternative to a state school. This meant that we were authorised to issue primary students with the *Bildungsempfehlungen* after *Klasse* 4 (Grade 4/Year 5/Primary 6).[16] Often our school offered more (and different) 'academic' options for students who had lacked the *Noten* (grades) to study at a *Gymnasium*. *Ersatzschulen* also receive funding from the state for each student enrolled (which can give more flexibility in fee structures) and must comply with regulations for, for example, teacher qualification and pay scales, and some curriculum requirements. Not all international schools achieve status as *Ersatzschulen*; some are classed as *Ergänzungsschulen*, schools which offer a completely different course of education from state schools but are still able to fulfil the requirements of compulsory schooling. Having worked in both types of school, and in the international section of a German state school, I observed differences in the connection with the local education authorities and understanding of the German system. This highlights a further, local example of differences between international schools. The increasing popularity of international schools, if not the perceived inadequacy of the German system to cope with demand for different types of education, is evidenced by data collected by the Statistisches Bundesamt. The number of private schools in Germany increased by 81% over the period between school years 1992/1993 and 2017/18 (Destasis, 2018b). The Statistisches Bundesamt also reported the continual increase in the number of students attending private schools in Germany. In the school year 2015/16, approximately 9% of the 8.3 million pupils at schools of general education attended a private school, compared with 7% in the school year 2005/06 (Destasis, 2017). In a more recent report, figures show that one in 11 students attended one of the 5,839 general and vocational private schools in Germany. With 10.8 million students in Germany in the school year 2017/18, this accounts for approximately one million students (Destasis, 2018b). Reasons cited for choosing private schools are that they are associated with better teaching and learning conditions, including smaller class sizes and a higher number of lessons (Destasis, 2017). The latter may reflect that some German schools have shorter teaching days, with lessons ceasing early in the afternoon, allowing teachers to prepare and students to complete homework. *Ganztagsschulen* (all-day schools) are less common, therefore schools, including international schools, which offer longer hours are also attractive to parents both for academic reasons and practical reasons of childcare. The factors outlined in this section have all contributed to the growth and expansion of international

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[16] We also received the *Bildungsempfehlungen* of incoming local students though the grades were not used for selection purposes.

schools in Germany, although they represent only approximately 2% of private schools. (As not all international schools are private this figure is a very rough approximation but gives some perspective on the international school sector within the context of other private schools.) As well as attracting parents and students looking for alternatives to more traditional, local education, it has also created a competitive market within the German international school 'system'.

Internationality in Germany

Embedded within the concept of international education is one of internationality and, having unpacked the literature which attempts to clarify what international schools are in Chapter 2, I will now consider how this is expressed and understood in a German context. A preliminary analysis of diversity in Germany, which will serve to further highlight the complex and challenging nature of research within the international education sector, will also highlight the difficulties of clarifying what an international student may be and what may constitute an international school for the purposes of my own research. According to census information on the Zensus2011 website, in 2011 15.3 million people, or 19% of the population of Germany, were considered to have a migrant background. For the purposes of the census a migrant background is defined as 'all foreigners and all Germans who have immigrated to Federal Republic of Germany after 1955 or who have at least one parent who has immigrated after 1955' (Zensus2011, 2013). While having a 'migrant background' does not necessarily correspond with being an international student, this does, once again, highlight the challenge of defining clear parameters when referring to 'international' students. At the date of the last census in 2011, about 74 million (92.3%) of the approximately 80.2 million inhabitants held German citizenship. In addition, the figures show that just under 6.2 million inhabitants (7.7%) had a foreign citizenship and just under 4.3 million people held dual citizenship of Germany and one other nation. These combined totals mean that over 13% of citizens at the time had some 'foreign' or international interest or affiliation. This serves to illustrate the reality that many more schools than those listed 'officially', including German-medium schools offering state developed curricula, have 'international' students enrolled. At a time of increased migration and diversity, this complicates the idea of what it means to be an international school, if not what it also means to offer an international education. The breadth of contexts and definitions of international education reinforce the idea that contemporary education, regardless of how it is labelled, is likely to have a global or international element. The Statistisches Bundesamt reports that

fewer *Ausländer/innen* (foreign students) attend private schools than state schools with only 5.9% of all foreign students having attended private schools in the school year 2017/18, what it considers a 'deutlich niedrigere Quote' (a distinctly lower proportion) compared with 9.6% of German students (Destasis, 2018b, p. 12). A possible and partial reason was given, that 'die meisten privaten Schulen zu zahlenden Schulgeld zusammenhängen' (most private schools require payment of fees). That 94.1% of 'foreign' students attend German public or state schools, serves to highlight further the diversity of state education, and conversely shows that international education is a very small sector which is, in many cases, exclusive, occupying a small corner of the private school market yet also playing an influential role in attracting international business to Germany's cities and offering an alternative education to the state system.

International schools in Germany

According to the country profile for Germany on the International School Search website (International School Search, n.d.) which offers an overview of international schools, there are schools which offer the curricula of Britain and the USA (in English), with French, Japanese, Swiss and Czech schools also available. There are also three European Schools which serve, among others, the families of staff at European Union institutions. This variation in school type and language of instruction further indicates what I have noted from the research in this area, that there is a broad profile of schools which can be considered international and that the concept of being international is not a simple one. International schools in Germany do appear to reflect the levels of internationality proposed by Leach (1969, cited in Hayden, 2006). Leach (1969) described schools as being either unilateral, essentially involving the export of the home culture to serve the needs of overseas personnel; bilateral, concerning cultural exchanges between students of two countries; and multilateral, arising from collaboration of three or more governments or national groupings (cited in Cambridge & Thompson, 2004). The British schools associated with the Council of British International Schools (COBIS) are 'unilateral' as they state that their role is to 'advance the interests of British schools [and organisations] overseas' (COBIS, n.d.). Berlin British school, for example, cites its founding reasons as being 'to root British traditions in Germany's capital after the departure of the Allies' (Berlin British School, 2018). The descriptor 'bilateral' could apply to schools which focus on English and German. The Phorms concept, for example, is for students to use both English and German as working languages and for general communication. This method is said to enable students to 'use

both languages in a completely natural way whilst also developing an understanding for other lifestyles and value systems' (Phorms, n.d.). Whilst 'other' as used here does not limit this development to German culture or that of English-speaking nations, they are certainly prominent languages in the mission. The label of 'multilateral' is applicable to those schools which indicated that they were founded in response to growing international communities as indicated on their respective websites, for example Franconian International School (Franconian International School, 2019) and Munich International School (Munich International School, n.d.). There are also schools which have evolved to offer something different now from their origin. The International School of Hamburg is a useful example here; after beginning life in 1957 as a British Army school catering for 12 nationalities (International School Hamburg[a], n.d.) making it the oldest international school in Germany, it offers the International Primary Curriculum, International Baccalaureate Middle Years Programme (IB MYP) and the International Baccalaureate Diploma (IB Diploma) and is, at the time of writing, a candidate school for the IB Careers-Related Programme.

Although different in many respects, one uniting element for many schools is provided by membership of educational organisations, be they national or international. One example, which encompasses diverse types of schools, including state and private, English speaking and German, is the International Baccalaureate Organisation. The programmes it offers are closely tied to understandings of international education and are driving some of the change evident at local and global levels. The IB describes what is does as follows:

> The IB offers an education for students from age 3 to 19, comprising of four programmes that focus on teaching students to think critically and independently, and how to inquire with care and logic. The IB prepares students to succeed in a world where facts and fiction merge in the news, and where asking the right questions is a crucial skill that will allow them to flourish long after they've left our programmes. (IBO[a], n.d.)

According to the IB website, there are, at the time of writing, 83 IB World schools in Germany, 78 of which are authorised to offer the International Baccalaureate Diploma (university entrance programme). Eight schools offer three IB programmes catering for the full Kindergarten to Grade 12 range. There are two which have adopted all four programmes. The programmes available from the IB are the Primary Years Programme (PYP), launched in 1997, the Middle Years Programme (MYP), launched in 1994 and the Diploma Programme (DP), launched in 1968. The most recent addition is the Careers-Related Programme (C-RP, launched 2012), providing an alternative to the IB DP. In total, 55 of the

83 institutions offering the IB are private institutions. Most of the 'IB schools' have English as at least one language of instruction, and some, including Berlin International School and the Sindelfingen campus of the International School of Stuttgart offer bilingual programmes within international school models. Other schools also offer the German state programmes, or those of other countries, alongside the IB, for example the International School of Bremen.

The schools I have worked at are, or were once, members of the Association of German International Schools (AGIS), an organisation which 'represents and supports the educational and public interest of member schools and their communities by promoting and improving international education' (Association of German International Schools, n.d.). This organisation consists of (only) 23 international schools[17] and includes bilingual schools, one British International School which offers the British Curriculum alongside the PYP and DP programmes, and one Christian ethos boarding school which is also the oldest of the AGIS schools (although the establishment date of one of the 23 is unclear). The growth in international education following the reunification of Germany is also evident here, with 15 of the 23 schools having been established post 1989. The nationality of the students enrolled is something which 15 of the 23 AGIS schools place on their websites, suggesting that this marker of internationality is important. The number of different nationalities ranges from 27 at International School Um/Neu-Ulm (n.d.) to 78 at Bonn International School ([a], n.d.), a legacy of the city's former status as the capital and continuing political and economic importance.

Beyond the AGIS schools, of interest with respect to Germany's recent history, and reflecting the apparent freedom international schools have when navigating the balance between normative commitments to wider aims of education and stakeholder-driven aims, is the development of a group of schools known as the Saxony International Schools and the creation of a United World College in Germany. Despite their differences, the schools project a shared sense of responding to a 'globalised world', although the interpretation of what that global world may need from its graduates appears quite contrary. I also note that schools within both more normatively orientated, and more instrumentally orientated groups can be considered to be international schools according to the working definitions I put forward in the previous chapter. I will now turn to examine some of the differences and the differing influence of the national setting of the schools in the context of another attempt to

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[17] Current membership is available on the AGIS website.

categorise schools, this time one focused specifically on international schools found within Germany.

Using Köhler's (2012) criteria, Kotzyba, Dreier, Niemann and Helsper (2018) set out to classify international schools in Germany. Köhler's four criteria detail determiners of international schools. These share commonalities with Hill's (2006) criteria as outlined in Chapter 2. They consist of having a curriculum not determined by the home state; having a globally mobile student and teaching body; having English or other foreign language as a main teaching language, and finally, having an international profile, for example stating global mindedness as an aim (Köhler, 2012). It is when we examine the five school groups identified by Kotzyba et al. (2018) that more differences begin to emerge, with the inclusion of language such as 'exclusive' and 'excel', and of schools being run by companies, opened to attract 'global capital'. The first group identified consists of 'exclusive' schools which were noted to have long-standing academic traditions and usually church or state funded. The profile of the schools showed a tendency to excel in foreign language instruction, offering students bilingual options or the opportunity to take the IB diploma. The international in these schools seem bound to processes of internationalisation, referring beyond developing 'skills' such as a command of foreign languages to what Kotzyba et al. (2018) describe as an all-embracing 'personality'. The second group consists of state schools, which are characterised by 'a somewhat sporadic positioning in relation to the international', despite the national policy focus on this. The international in this group is represented by an emphasis on student exchanges and their commitment to students learning a foreign language and promotion of bi- or multilingual profiles. The third group includes what the authors term 'classic' international IB schools, which seems to correspond to Hayden and Thompson's (2013) 'traditional' international schools, but here the focus is specifically on those founded between 1956 and 1966 in parts of the former West Germany, catering for globally mobile families and some pupils from Germany. The fourth group consists of schools founded in the 1990s in eastern Germany and sponsored by private initiatives or associations. This group of schools is thought to have been established to 'enhance the attractiveness of these locations for global capital'. Some of these schools operate as traditional or classic international schools, although there is a noted reduction of global migration experience among the families in these schools. This group also encompasses equivalent schools in western Germany. These are those founded in the late 1990s by international companies (Franconia International School, for example, was set up to serve employees of ADIDAS). The fifth group of schools, founded primarily in the 2000s,

are identified as being operated as companies and having an educational focus on internationalism and economics. The authors note that the links made between internationalisation, as represented by language learning, and use of the term 'training' rather than 'education' of world citizens are striking features of this group (Kotzyba, et al., 2018, p. 197).

Likely forming part of the Group four schools described above, the Saxony International Schools (SxIS) website states that this group consists of 15 private schools and 12 day-care centres (SxIS, n.d., n.p.), not an insignificant number given that the AGIS group consists of 23 schools. In the declared aims of these schools, there is evidence of the tensions among the stated aims of the schools in this group. These schools are brought together under a mission and vision statement which reflects an intention to become 'world-friendly, foreign-language and future-oriented schools as directed by the increasing challenges of the labour market' (SxIS, n.d., n.p.), with bilingualism, intercultural competencies and striving for sustainability and social justice being among other less prominently discussed foundations. Although there are potentially non-instrumental elements of education reflected in the aims of this group of schools (in the orientation towards language), there is also a deference to the stakeholders, and the founding idea seems to make the fundamental assumption that the role of education is to serve the economy:

> Germany, a land of ideas and innovations as well as an economic power, will only be able to maintain its high standard of living and assert itself internationally if the skilled workers of tomorrow meet the demands of advancing globalization. (SxIS, n.d., n.p.)

The schools in this group are situated in the Bundesland of Saxony in what was formerly East Germany, or the German Democratic Republic (GDR). The website declares that the schools were conceived against the backdrop of the rapidly changing conditions after reunification, and the end of communist rule in 1989. That reunification could have led to the formulation of such a mission may have grounding in the comparatively worse situation in the former GDR than in the west. Reunification saw two countries, which had different political systems and societies for 41 years, made one. Smyser (1996) notes that despite their economies sharing some similarities prior to reunification, in well-trained work forces and export markets, it was the former GDR which suffered following the reunion. A key difference in the communist state was the centralised economy and the discouragement of initiative and decision-making. Its industry suffered as its exports were primarily to the collapsing Eastern Bloc. Production costs were high and remained so, and wages began to

outstrip productivity. After unification it was cheaper and easier to move production to firms in the west and skilled workers from the east moved to take the newly available jobs. In other cases, firms in the east were taken over by western ones and closed to prevent competition. Unemployment in the east rose and new investment was discouraged by the poor infrastructure and lack of upkeep of roads and railways, with progress further hampered by energy shortages (Smyser, 1996, pp. 258-264). Over time, and with investment this changed, yet a report by the Berlin Institute for Population and Development, published in 2015, 25 years after reunification, notes the differences and inequalities which still exist. The report 'So geht Einheit' (How unity is going) looked at 25 measures, comparing the east and west, finding that the west remains more affluent than the east: wages are higher, and property is worth more (Berlin-Institut, 2015). None of the 30 largest companies in Germany were located in the east, with only one of the most affluent cities located there (Connolly, 2015). This context is relevant to all of the schools and international schools in Germany but in terms of understanding how the context of reunification could give rise to the mission of the Saxony International Schools with its emphasis on skills appropriate for the demands of globalisation, I could surmise the importance of global connections and a high economic profile for a part of Germany which continues in some respects to suffer the consequences of the inequality that emerged after reunification. '*Ossis*' are not always viewed favourably by '*Wessis*'[18] and opinion of the east is not always positive. I began to work in a growing international school in a key city in former East Germany 13 years after reunification. I also later worked in former West Germany, in an area where British army presence ended only in 2020. I experienced differences in lifestyle, culture, and the results of a difference in wealth between East and West Germany which endures today. A further difference is that up until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, and the subsequent reunification of Germany in 1990, Russian was the predominant second language taught in schools in the GDR. In that respect it is perhaps no surprise that bilingual German-English education is seen as a way of connecting students to the global community whilst preparing them to meet the very challenges that being part of it entails. This may also go some way to understanding why international schools, particularly those with a focus on English, have continued to grow in the east of the country. This growth has happened despite the results of the report showing that it was students at schools in the east, including state schools, who performed most strongly in the 2012 Programme for International Student Assessment, or PISA tests, for

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[18] Both colloquialisms, '*Ossis*' refers to citizens of former East Germany and '*Wessis*' refers to citizens of former West Germany. The terms are still in use today, with stereotypes about each ostensibly reflecting characteristics of the former countries' capitalist and socialist/communist natures.

maths and science. Eastern states held the first five places in biology, chemistry, and physics and one to three and places five and six in maths (Berlin-Institut, 2015). I acknowledge here both the issue of PISA tests as a controversial measure of education, and as one narrow measure of educational success. Nevertheless, as an accepted method of assessing attainment, this adds extra pressure or incentive for international schools to offer a strong academic programme and good exam results to allow them to compete for and attract students.

By contrast, and at the opposite end of the spectrum from the Saxony Schools Group in terms of its normative commitments is the Robert Bosch College. It is the only United World College in Germany, located in the southwest, and one of 18 in the world. United World Colleges is a 'global movement that makes education a force to unite people, nations and cultures for peace and a sustainable future' (UWC Robert Bosch College[a], n.d.). The model of education, whilst idealistic in its goals of aiming to make social change possible, is less accessible than other international school education with students specifically selected from around the world to create deliberate diversity which allows them to learn from each other. Sustainability is promoted as a concept which runs through all aspects of the curriculum alongside the shared aims and values: International and intercultural understanding; Celebration of difference; Personal responsibility and integrity; Mutual responsibility and respect; Compassion and service; Respect for the environment; A sense of idealism; Personal challenge; Action and personal example (UWC Robert Bosch College[a], n.d.). While this college is physically located in Germany, its educational concept, along with the student body, is less rooted in the history of Germany, especially when compared with the Saxony Schools Group. The UWC approach to education creates local connections as the students of this college volunteer within their local communities with the stated aim of 'making a meaningful, positive difference and learning how to address complex problems through concrete actions' (UWC Robert Bosch College[a], n.d.). United World Colleges follow IB Diploma programmes, and although the website does state that UWC graduates 'achieve grades significantly above the world average' and are 'well received and wanted students at world-renowned universities' (UWC Robert Bosch College[b], n.d.), exceptional academic achievement is not the primary message, appearing as an addition at the end of the statement of purpose which focuses on its holistic, experiential approach to education.

Examination of categorisations and types of international schools found in Germany from a German perspective has revealed a more prominent narrative of competition and exclusivity

than found in those presented by researchers within international education (for example Hill, 2006). As I move to consider critical tensions and issues concerning the relationship between international and national education, I will further explore the emergence of this narrative as linked to discourse of internationalisation. I will also build on the concern with which I opened this chapter, as expressed by Deppe et al. (2018), that the literature on international schools fails to engage with issues of the relations between national education systems and local education spaces. This perceived neglect of the local context echoes the concern I raised in the previous chapter that international education may have become too focused on an isolated conception of itself, giving insufficient attention to wider developments in education, or to potential ethical consequences, including its contribution to increasing global and local inequality. I will begin my consideration of the implications and consequences of the internationalisation of education, in the context of international education in Germany, with a brief return to the influential idea of *Bildung*.

The internationalisation of education in Germany: critical concerns and tensions

Until the beginning of the twenty-first century, the notion of *Bildung*, a broad, liberal approach to education, was a driver of educational policy in Germany and continental Europe. The Bologna reforms sought to achieve coherence in higher education qualifications across Europe, resulting in the displacement of *Bildung* as university curricula were 'forced to adjust to the needs of the labour market' and leading education in Germany, as elsewhere, to become much more driven by the idea of employability over *Bildung* (Fuhr, 2017, p. 11). The concern for international recognition and the changing priorities of education are also reflected in processes of internationalisation in schooling. References to the internationalisation of education are found within the body of work by researchers with an interest in Germany, writing of both international, global, and national education. As noted in Chapter 2, internationalisation is a complex idea consisting of concepts relating to the international and the intercultural. It can be defined as the integration of an international dimension into the primary functions of educational institutions and involves 'fundamental changes in the cultural underpinning of the institution's external relationships, its internal policies and structures and, most importantly, its curriculum' (Edwards & Edwards, 2001, p. 76). One outcome of the processes of internationalisation is that international education and the concept of being international have been brought to the attention of academic researchers who were previously focused on national systems and comparative education (Hallwirth, 2013, p. 183). The increase in the number of international schools has also

brought them to the attention of researchers, and the public, as they increasingly offer legitimate alternative paths of education for 'local' German students. As a result, international education has been opened to scrutiny from outside the sector. With national systems also transforming in response to processes of internationalisation, the differences between the sectors are becoming less marked as the goals of both national and international schools are converging. Commentators are raising critical concerns about the consequences of both internationalisation and the role that international schools and education play in changing the nature of education in Germany. Themes which have emerged from this relatively recent research interest include that of demand for different types of schooling; competition between international and national education institutions; the concepts of 'elitism' and 'excellence' gaining ground in the German education discourse; the connection of elitism and excellence to the international and finally, the hierarchisation which results from increasingly stratified education. I will explore each of these interrelated ideas in the following section.

A changing schooling landscape: internationality, elitism, and excellence

In Chapter 2 I discussed globalisation and the globalisation of neoliberal ideologies as contexts for the growth and development of international education. Factors influencing the internationalisation of education include recognition of the prospects for the market in terms of privatisation and commercialisation, and of increasing demand by the aspiring middle class for education, which both sets students apart and provides access to global tertiary education. International schools once provided something different from what many state schools were offering, including an English language education, and qualifications which provided a gateway to universities across the globe, but increasingly both state and independent schools within the national sector are broadening their approaches and their programmes in order to be able to meet demands for an internationalised approach to education, and to compete for students. I turn now to consider two responses to internationalisation processes in Germany. The first is the increase in the number and type of international schools within the country, particularly since the millennium (Keßler & Krüger, 2018, p. 210) and the second is the transformation of national systems and schools to reflect a growing demand for internationalised approaches to education.

According to Peter (2018, p. 58), the 'powerful discourse promoting neoliberal globalisation' of the 1990s led to an emerging discourse of competition in education, seen as necessary due to processes of internationalisation, but also as driving the

internationalisation of education in Germany. These changes in turn led to the development of a complicated relationship between international education and the German education system. In examining implications of the changing role and appeal of international schools within the German education landscape, Hallwirth (2013) makes a distinction between older, established international schools and younger international and bilingual schools. The former, she notes, were founded specifically for 'a multinational, mobile parent body' whose 'clientele is manageable and clearly defined' (Hallwirth, 2013, p. 183).[19] The latter are described as appealing to 'a wide parenting clientele who are looking for alternatives to state schools for differing reasons' (Hallwirth, 2013, p. 183).[20] This 'clientele' is further described by Keßler and Krüger (2018, p. 210) as 'professionally mobile parents working in senior management positions of global companies'. As internationalisation processes gained traction, Phillips (2002), with stark framing, suggests that international education has become an option for parents who want 'to "purchase" the kind of education and credentials that will ensure their children secure a pathway into the global marketplace' (Phillips, 2002, p. 170). As a result of the rise of interest in 'being international', an increase in value of English language skills and higher education qualifications, poor German PISA results in 2000 (Schwindt, 2003), and budget cuts to state schools (Resnik, 2012), both traditional and newer models of international schools have become attractive alternatives to state schools. Often privately run and expensive to attend, international schools are chosen by parents in 'response to economic and job market needs' and have become 'a means for social reproduction or social mobility for their children' (Resnik, 2012, p. 265). This newer 'residential' clientele, often German, is affluent, and from the middle and upper classes (Keßler & Krüger, 2018, p. 210, see also Deppe, et al., 2018). This group could be described as a 'glocal' elite or aspiring global, international, or transnational elite, but is nonetheless very much rooted in the local context.

A further outcome of internationalisation is the changing nature of German education. Peter (2018) identifies *Gymnasia* as employing two strategies to allow them to engage with what he terms the 'global order of inclusion' as they move away from a more traditional focus on classical languages and humanistic knowledge. Firstly, he notes that *Gymnasia* offer a higher number of foreign languages (than other tiers of German schooling) and that by also offering

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[19] Author's translation from original German: 'Dabei geht es nicht so sehr um jene internationalen Schulen, die oft bereits seit vielen Jahrzehnten bestehen und die für eine multinationale mobile Elternschaft gegründet wurden. Deren Klientel ist überschaubar und klar zu definieren'.

[20] Author's translation from original German: 'sie sprechen ein breiteres Elternklientel an, das aus unterschiedlichen Gründen nach einer Alternative zu staatlichen Schulen sucht'.

an international curriculum, for example in the form of the IB Diploma, they present a legitimate, exclusive, and more international alternative to the *Abitur*. Secondly, they present an international orientation through international school partnerships and exchange programmes. These moves have a twofold effect. One is to further emphasise the stratification that already exists within the German education system as it expands its educational offerings. A second, perhaps unintended consequence, is to make German schools more attractive to international families who must rethink education options if it is no longer possible to pay the fees of international schools (for example as companies restructure and change international to local contracts which no longer cover school fees for dependents).[21] Though this may refer to a very small percentage of students, it is a further example of the broadening appeal of different educational pathways and establishments for an international population, and of the way previously different schools are converging in their purpose. With internationality having become 'both the criterion and strategy of social differentiation in the competition for both educational and professional careers' (Zymek, 2016, p. 684)[22] the educational landscape in Germany has changed. Hallwirth (2013) describes a scenario where 'education and competition, school and market no longer appear to be mutually exclusive terms in the general education sector' (Hallwirth, 2013, p. 191).[23]

Having shown how international schools and *Gymnasia* have evolved in response to the processes of internationalisation, I now turn to an emerging discourse which unites them. Although *Gymnasia* operate on a meritocratic system, admitting students who can achieve the grades to gain entry, whereas international schools tend to admit those who can pay the fees, both have been criticised as forming part of the elite education system in Germany. Both types of school employ key narratives of exclusivity by using internationality as a way for students to distinguish themselves from others. This discourse is visible, for example, within the aims of the IB as it 'supports schools and teachers in providing a rigorous, high quality education' (IBO, 2020a), and through its programmes which are designed to 'encourage both personal and academic achievement, challenging students to excel in their studies and in their personal development' (IBO, 2020b). Focusing in on the meaning of the neoliberal concepts of excellence and elitism, Krüger, Keßler, Otto and Schippling (2014) note that 'excellence' in both political and academic discourses denotes outstanding

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[21] This kind of transition happens when the children are fluent enough in German and can access the curriculum and flourish socially in a German language environment.

[22] Author's translation from original German: 'Kriterium und zur Strategie der sozialen Differenzierung im Konkurrenzkampf um *Bildung*s- und Berufskarrieren geworden'.

[23] Author's translation from original German: *Bildung* und Wettbewerb, Schule und Markt keine sich ausschließenden Begriffe mehr.

performance by individuals or institutions, while the concept of 'elite', depending on political or theoretical position can vary and mean either a meritocratic competitive status, or in terms of a social hierarchy and thus inequality (Krüger, et al., 2014, p. 222).[24] They suggest that 'elite' and 'excellence' were once marginal concepts within the German education policy debate but moved to the forefront over the ten years prior to publication of their paper. They report that it is this change in discourse which has resulted in 'serious transformations' of the German education system. I have documented some of these transformations, yet further concerns become apparent as the concept of elite brings with it the consequences of hierarchy and inequality. As such, two sides of internationalisation have been identified by Zymek (2016), the first of which reflects the traditional institutions of elite formation, which are now in competition with international institutions. The second side of internationalisation is a response to, sometimes forced, global migration. I have focused so far on the former, considering the narratives of competition and elite formation which has framed international education. This framing echoes the criticisms I presented in Chapter 2 as contributing to the formation of a growing global elite. I now move away from the abstract idea of this global elite and consider the consequences of Zymek's (2016) second side of internationalisation, examining the idea of the international as a tool of social segregation and division.

'Being international' is, according to Peter (2018) linked with strategies of inclusion and exclusion, which within this context of internationalisation may act as a divide within the education system and as a mechanism for segregating those at the top of the social hierarchy from those at the bottom. As Waldow (2018) illustrates, having a high number of international pupils from low socio-economic backgrounds decreases a school's status whereas the opposite is the case for students from higher socio-economic backgrounds (Waldow, 2018, p. 250). International schools do not cater for the international populations of the cities they are in; they provide for the families who both want to and have the financial means to be a part of the community.[25] Ultimately, Hallwirth (2013, p. 183) suggests that international schools, in continuing to attract the middle classes away from German

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[24] Author's translation from original German: 'Dabei wird der Begriff der Exzellenz im politischen ähnlich wie im wissenschaftlichen Diskurs oft mit der herausragenden Leistungsfähigkeit von Einzelnen oder entsprechenden Institutionen in Verbindung gebracht (vgl. Maaz et al. 2009; Ricken 2009), während hingegen der Begriff der Elite je nach politischer Position oder differenter theoretischer Perspektive unterschiedlich gefasst wird, entweder als ein im meritokratischen Wettbewerb erfolgreich erreichter Leistungsstatus oder unter dem Aspekt von sozialer Hierarchie und damit eingehender Ungleichheit (vgl. u. a. Hoffmann-Lange 2003; Hartmann 2013)'.

[25] Not all international families want their children to attend international schools but, in my experience, some who do are prevented by the cost.

educational provisions, may become a notable 'Stein des Anstoßes' (bone of contention) in Germany as they are seen to undermine the educative task of social integration and thus contribute to societal stratification. This suggests that as state education in Germany is seeking to design and prepare schools for all forms of diversity, as they see an increasing heterogeneity in their schools, international school populations are becoming more homogenous in terms of the economic backgrounds of the families. Zymek (2016) observes that 'internationality has become a driving and defining moment in the process of historically new differentiation and hierarchisation of local, regional, national and international educational landscapes' (Zymek, 2016, p. 684),[26] and it seems that international schools, despite being relatively small in number are playing a not insignificant part in transforming the educational landscapes in Germany. One form of internationalisation sees exclusive schools refer to international character when competing for students and another sees educational institutions of excellence declare that they promote cosmopolitanism, a global exchange of knowledge and a multicultural atmosphere. Yet another form of internationalisation results from the increasingly multicultural nature of society, which has been responded to through a focus on inclusion which seeks to ensure all people have the potential to achieve academically. Recognising international schools as exclusive schools within the context of internationalisation raises questions about the purpose and aims of international schools, and whether current models are ethically or socially just. Hallwirth (2013) rather condemns international schools in their current burgeoning forms as a 'thorn in the self-image of the German school system' (Hallwirth, 2013, p. 193), both for state and independent schools, which leads me to question again whether such optimism within the sector, as noted Chapter 2, is warranted. Education appears to be driven by such concepts as internationalisation and 'being international', which according to Peter (2018), align with neoliberal discourses of educational 'excellence' and 'quality', as well as the development of appropriate forms of human capital for an international and competitive context. In such a context, meeting normative goals of educating for action-orientated, ethical national and international citizenship, and seeking to further the cause of social justice, equality and international understanding seems an even greater challenge.

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[26] Author's translation from original German: Internationalität ist damit zu einem treibenden und entscheidenden Moment im Prozess einer historisch neuen – offiziellen und inoffiziellen – Differenzierung und Hierarchisierung der lokalen, regionalen, nationalen und internationalen Bildungslandschaften geworden.

Summary

In this chapter I have offered an introduction to the education system in Germany, as a way of contextualising the position of international education within the country, presented an overview of the international nature of Germany's population and given an indication of the role that international schools may play in German society. In some respects, this role is related to the fact that they have traditionally offered an alternative education to that offered in state schools. Having reviewed the types of international schools found in Germany, I noted differences in the language used to describe international schools by Köhler (2012), compared with those presented by Hill (2006), as a stronger instrumental purpose and excellence became evident. I then examined two types in more detail in order to explore how the national context may influence development, and how the ideals and stated aims of groups of international schools can differ significantly. These differences can be grounded in historical and sociological developments within the local context of the schools. Consistent with the more broadly-based observations from the previous chapter, the stated aims of the schools in Germany appear to lie on a spectrum of skills-based, market-driven outcomes, and holistic and humanistic outcomes. I also explored some of the themes emerging around the idea of internationalisation of education in Germany, beyond the international school sector, to further contextualise changes in the aims and purpose of international education. These themes included the discourses of competition and excellence and elitism, which in turn are contributing to an increasing social and educational hierarchisation. I offered further evidence of how international schools, and German schools, may increasingly be serving the purposes of neoliberal globalisation, under the guise of internationalism, through association with and promotion of neoliberal concepts of excellence and elitism within education, and with the prevalence and seeming necessity of the notion of competition to remaining viable within a changing landscape. I concluded by relaying criticisms of the international school sector, which has been implicated in undermining the efforts of German educational goals to improve and increase social integration by drawing the middle classes away from German schools. Though these outcomes are part of a wider issue (the influence of neoliberal policies on education), that this criticism has been levelled at international schools is troubling. It also lends support to the observation that international education may be giving insufficient attention to wider changes in education, the effects of internationalisation processes and the effects of international schools on the communities in which they operate. Newer international and bilingual schools have been implicated particularly as they are specifically positioning and

presenting themselves as viable alternatives to the national systems for a diversifying clientele who want the benefits of an education which will provide the appropriate cultural capital for a globalised world. Traditional international schools are seen by Hallwirth (2013) as fulfilling a slightly different role from the newer forms of international and bilingual schools, still catering for a population for whom German schools may not be suitable or accessible. However, German schools are increasingly responding to migration, as they support and integrate students and families who do not speak German and for whom international schools are not accessible. It is conceivable and likely even that the older, established, traditional international schools are having to diversify their own approaches in order to remain relevant and attract students during a time seeing changing patterns of school choice and schooling itself. International schools must (presumably) continue to make themselves attractive (marketable and competitive) to survive, as German schools increase their offerings of internationalised education and become more experienced in dealing with diverse populations. With education seemingly increasingly driven by neoliberal imperatives which are demanding different priorities from international schools, questions arise about the future of this sector in tension. Firstly, about whether the international school sector can, will or should continue to be treated as a distinct sector as it moves into the future. Though the claims made by international schools suggest that they are offering something unique to their students, as the instrumental goals of education supersede the normative within international and national education, this distinction is becoming less clear. It is also possible that the younger international and bilingual schools are building on the reputations of older, established international schools, when in fact they are offering a very different concept of international education from one based in international understanding and world citizenship, one perhaps more driven by neoliberal imperatives of individual achievement and being a productive member of society. Secondly, questions remain about the responsibilities international schools have to the communities in which they are located, and how they may respond to the criticisms directed towards them that they are contributing to growing local inequality and disrupting attempts to increase integration.

In considering how the critical concerns I have presented may be addressed, I will, in Chapter 5, present and critically appraise Nussbaum's conception of cosmopolitanism as a foundation for a conception of international education predicated on values of citizenship, responsibility, and common humanity over academic achievement and elitism. Nussbaum (1994) draws on the Stoics' view of world citizenship which encourages people to recognise commonalities in each other, to see what is fundamentally human about them, their

aspirations to justice and goodness. Ultimately, as citizens of the world, and as educators who prepare people to become citizens of the world, we should 'work to make all human beings part of our community of dialogue and concern, showing respect for the human wherever it occurs' (Nussbaum, 1997, p. 60). With this in mind, and building on my initial exploration of how the stated aims can differ widely under the umbrella term of international education, in the next chapter I will further explore which elements of the international are in evidence within the stated missions of international schools in Germany. I will do this by conducting a broader and more systematic analysis of the mission statements of schools and organisations as available on their relative websites. My aim is to determine how different international schools in Germany express their internationality, how they represent the work they do, and the concepts they choose and use to represent international education. In doing this I will uncover tendencies, themes, and commonalities, which will allow me to establish a fuller account of international schools in Germany, and their stated aims and purposes. This will also enable me to establish a foundation on which to build my argument for a cosmopolitan interpretation of international education.

Chapter 4: Representations of internationality: A document analysis

In the previous chapter, I grounded this study of international education within a specific national context and explored both the national system of education, and types of international school found in Germany, providing an overview of perceived aims and unintended consequences of international education. In this chapter, I look more closely at the declared aims of international schools in Germany as evidenced by the information provided on their websites in the form of mission statements. Through examination of the mission statements, I establish what the major emphases of international schools and organisations are and subsequently offer an analytical description of the key themes emerging from the declared missions of the sector. My focus is on how schools structure their aims around the concept of internationality and how the presentation of the mission statements reflects meanings of that internationality. I begin by considering the role of mission statements as documents for analysis before detailing the research process and methodology: this section includes an explanation of how mission statements were selected for analysis and how schools and organisations were selected for inclusion in the analysis. I consider limitations and challenges of both the methodology and the process of analysis before presenting an initial summary overview of key themes from the analysis. I then offer analytical descriptions of the mission statements including sample quotations to illustrate how schools and organisations construct the ideas of the internationality they stand for. I conclude with a summary of how schools represent their internationality and present critical comment on three key observations: how language learning may be undervalued as a tool of intercultural communication, instead being reduced to a skill or competence; how a tension between orientations toward the self as represented by focus on academic achievement versus commitments to others may compromise normative goals of educating for global citizenship, and finally how the mission statements show a subordination of values to measurable educational outcomes. These concerns present both opportunities for, and barriers to, achieving normative goals within a cosmopolitan construct of international education. They will inform the next chapter, in which I examine how the understandings of the international I have shown may be aligned with cosmopolitanism to form an alternative understanding of international education, and one which is necessary to avoid the conceptions of it I am critically rejecting.

Mission statements as documents for analysis

Consistent with Bowen's (2009) overview of using documents as tools of research (introduced in Chapter 1), the analysis I am conducting comprises two elements. The first is thematic analysis, which involves pattern recognition within the data, in this case the mission statements, coding and category construction. I focus on language choice, using a high frequency word analysis to support the task of setting up themes as key markers of internationality. The second part is content analysis. This is the process of organising information into categories related to the central question or enquiry, which here centres on how international schools represent their internationality. The mission statements offer an insight into what is meant by 'international' in presentations of practice, beyond definitions offered in the research literature.

Having been adopted by educational institutions from business management models, mission statements have become commonplace in international education. [27] Hartley (2018) states that mission statements are important because they serve a legitimating function; they show that the organisation understands what society expects of them. Having a mission statement signals that 'the institution conforms to expectations about modern management and thoughtful governance' (Hartley, 2018, p. 2). Mission statements also represent 'efforts to codify a shared set of institutional beliefs and priorities' Hartley (2018, p. 1). They are public statements of organisational purpose or aspiration (Taylor & Morphew, 2010) and are also a way which international schools and organisations illustrate and encapsulate what is meant when they represent themselves as 'international'. In analysing mission statements, I am attaching importance to and gaining meaning from the language which is chosen to present 'international' education. This is both important and challenging given the differing conceptions and interpretations of 'international', and the difficulty in both defining and classifying international schools and international education and developing shared meaning of concepts such as international mindedness which are prominently featured in international education discourse.

Hartley's (2018) discussion of scholarly debate on the matter of mission statements in higher education draws attention to another issue of significance for my analysis. He reports that though some scholars see mission statements as representing 'an institutional creed espousing norms and values that bind organisational members', others view them as

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[27] Hartley (2018) provides a history of this development.

'perfunctory organisational window dressing' (Hartley, 2018, p. 2) or even 'rhetorical pyrotechnics' (Morphew & Hartley, 2006, p. 456). Though it is also possible that they serve a dual purpose, the latter observation serves as a reminder that mission statements are not neutral. They signal aims, purpose, and priorities to multiple internal and external audiences. They indicate what the schools and organisations stand for, their core values and what kind of education they offer to the local and international communities they serve. The statements are available to current and prospective parents, students and teachers, local and international communities, local education and government authorities, local and international businesses, and also accrediting bodies and curriculum bodies. Some international schools, state and private, receive subsidies from the local government based on student numbers, meaning that schools may need to market themselves, partially, through their mission statements to attract students. Similarly, many international schools are private schools, reliant on the collection of fees to cover their operating budgets and must present an attractive educational package to their intended audiences.

In my experience (mostly, though not exclusively working in traditional international schools) mission statements are written and reviewed by groups of school community members who are trying to create and communicate a shared understanding of what the school is aiming to achieve. Though it is also increasingly common for school websites to be designed in conjunction with marketing professionals, the language chosen reflects and is shaped by priorities or at least intentions within the school. I have known statements to be reconfigured prior to accreditation visits, for example by the Council of International Schools and the International Baccalaureate, to better reflect the (changing) expectations of these authorities. Such expectations may include having a mission statement. For example, the IBO Standards and Practices requires the school's published statements of mission and philosophy to align with those of the IB (2014). As Tate (2012), discussing international education notes, words have consequences, and they frame and shape our understanding in particular ways. With mission statements this shaping works inwardly to the community and outwardly to interested or connected parties, each statement in turn being shaped by the context within which it is interpreted. The terminology used in the mission statements not only serves to create shared understanding of core concepts of international education; meaning can also be created and interpreted from the way concepts are connected and where they are placed in the mission statement (for example whether at the beginning or end). The language we use to represent educational priorities is important: the mission statements are created to convey aspirations, yet they are also open to interpretation. My analysis will focus

on interpreting and decoding understandings of internationality and the priorities and aims of international education, including assumptions which may be reflected by word choices. These assumptions may not be fully articulated yet still create and shape international education discourse.

The school selection process

A key task in selecting schools for inclusion in the analysis was compiling as complete a list as possible of international schools in Germany. I used a combination of educational organisations already known to me, which list schools belonging to their networks of schools, including the IB, and the Association of German International Schools (AGIS), and the education sections of a number of websites aimed at people moving to Germany. One website, Expatica (n.d.), a website for 'expatriates', claimed that as of 2015 there were as many as 164 international schools in Germany, though I was unable to verify this. Expatica is one of four websites which offer information to non-Germans in Germany, the others being Toytown Germany, an English language community website, How to Germany, a resource for 'expatriates', and the Expats Guide. These websites offer listings of international schools although the sources of their information are not clear. As such, I used the information they provided to cross check listings found in other sources. John Catt's Guide to International Schools 2018/19 offered the most complete single listing of schools, having the added benefit of not focusing on particular types of institutions affiliated to particular curriculum bodies or school networks. It listed 96 international schools in Germany (John Catt Educational, 2018), slightly more than the IB which listed 84 schools offering one or more IB programmes (IBO[b], n.d.). There were 25 schools listed on the IB website which did not appear in the John Catt listing, meaning that in total I had a pool of approximately 120 schools for analysis. I approximate here because in visiting the websites of the listed schools, I found that at least one school on each list had closed. In cross checking this initial list with organisation/network websites and the non-educational websites, I found and added a small number of additional schools.

While the International Schools Guide listed French schools and bilingual French/German schools it did not list any of the (at least) five Japanese schools I was able to find. Similarly, a number of Italian, Greek, Spanish, Czech and Russian schools are listed on Expats Guide (n.d.), which presents international schools by city, although these do not appear in the John Catt guide. My aim was not to produce a complete guide, nor to fact-check or critique, but

to highlight both the diversity of schools and complexity of the sector, and the difficulty in finding a complete and accurate list of international schools. This speaks to the involvement of a multitude of overlapping organisations, with no single governing body and in turn reminds us that the sector and the information is dynamic; schools open, close, and change membership of various organisations.[28] I experienced further challenges during the collection and selection process, which I will expand on briefly.[29] Schools were listed differently and inconsistently in the different sources (sometimes kindergartens were included with the school, sometimes they were listed separately; sometimes the German name was given, sometimes the English; schools with multiple campuses were sometimes listed as one school and sometimes separately). I judged it to be extraneous to my task to unpick these complexities and used the collated lists to collect as many mission statements as possible, giving me a wide but not exhaustive sample. Noting these difficulties does however serve to further highlight the challenges of both constructing definitions of international schools and international education and of researching the sector.

Having compiled a list using the combination of resources detailed above, the final selection of schools was made based on two further points. The first was that the schools should fall into one of the categories of 'international school' according to the definitions presented by Hill (2006) and Köhler (2012). I restate an amalgam of their categories here briefly for reference, having outlined them each more fully in Chapters 2 and 3, respectively. International schools included in the analysis are deemed to be those which offer a curriculum not determined by the home state (whether a host country or international school), those which have a culturally diverse or globally mobile student and teaching body, and schools with an international profile (for example stating global mindedness as an aim). Both Hill (2006) and Köhler (2012) also mention having English as a main language of instruction. Therefore, the final criterion I applied in the selection of schools was having mission statements, or information about the selected programmes or curricula, available in English. Though this may have meant that some German-medium schools may have been excluded from the analysis if their additional languages of instruction did not include English, it does allow for the inclusion of schools which have websites with partial if not complete translations into English and those which are affiliated with organisations which

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[28] For example, both State International School Seeheim-Jugenheim and Heidelberg International School were once, but are no longer, members of AGIS.

[28] This also excluded the other nationally affiliated schools I was able to find (for example the Japanese schools) which had information only available in the home language (and sometimes German).

have information about education provisions available in English, for example the IB and Round Square, (I will expand on this point below). Applying these criteria further narrowed the selection, meaning that 71 schools (see Appendix B) were included in the analysis. Four of these schools did not have individual mission statements, but rather relied on those provided by the organisation they were affiliated with. For this reason, in addition to school mission statements, I also analysed the mission statements of 14 organisations (see Appendix B) in order to determine their view of international education. These organisations are those which support, guide, and regulate the works of the schools. They include curriculum bodies, accrediting institutions, and school groups, where several schools operate under a collective name and/or mission. The mission statements from these organisations also provide additional insight into how the aims of international education are described, as well as supplementing, or to an extent and by implication substituting for, school mission statements where individual ones are not provided (for example some of the Phorms schools, and the St George's British Schools). As noted above, these substitutions were particularly relevant for the German-medium schools (where the primary teaching and learning language is German). These are predominantly schools for whom the 'international' label comes primarily from the teaching of the IB Diploma alongside the *Abitur*. Although it is more usual for these schools to have a *Konzept* (concept of/approach to education) which is written only in German, they must, in opting for an IB programme, also have a mission which aligns with that of the IB as shown, for example in the Programme of standards and practices (IBO, 2014), and the Guide to authorisation (IBO, 2010).

Document analysis: process overview

Having collected the mission statements from the 71 schools and 14 organisations included in the analysis, I consolidated them into two documents, one each for the schools and organisations. Thereafter I conducted a simple high frequency word analysis on each of the documents to give an indication of the language used by schools and organisations (see Appendix C). I then developed categories indicating general areas of focus of the mission statements using the results. Acknowledging the limitations of a word frequency analysis, I also revisited themes which emerged from the literature reviewed in previous chapters and identified language consistent with the themes. These additional words were then included in the category development. Seven initial categories emerged: those denoting or relating to an international perspective; language and multilingualism; world or global citizenship; educational values; a focus on the individual; a focus on others, and finally a focus on

learning and academic achievement. I later added an eighth category, reasoned below, which referred to excellence and elitism. To enable me to track themes through the mission statements both collectively and individually I colour coded the key words and phrases (see Appendix D) and applied the colour coding to the mission statements in the documents (see a sample in Appendix E).[30] I then tabulated the number of appearances of words or phrases relating to each category for each school and organisation (see a sample in Appendix F). The colour coding within the documents also allowed me to track the elements included in each mission statement visually. The combination of numerical tallying and visual tracking enabled me to determine the main conceptual focus of each school and organisation mission statement and the variety of concepts included.

Frequency analysis and thematic category development

My initial step in the analysis process was to conduct a simple analysis of word frequency for each set of mission statements to allow me to view the most frequently occurring words across the mission statements. This frequency analysis was performed using Textalyser, an online text analysis tool (Textalyser, n.d.). I set the minimum characters per word to three, and the number of words to be ranked to 70. The resulting analysis provided me with the top 70 most frequently occurring words, the number of occurrences, the percentage frequency and the rank for the school and organisation mission statements. For each of these I set the count to 70 to allow me to see a breadth of words, knowing that some of them would not be relevant, and to give me an overview of those which were less frequently occurring. From the 70 ranked words in both analyses, I identified the high frequency nouns and adjectives most pertinent to international education and looked for common themes. Words such as 'school', 'through' and 'children' though frequent in occurrence, were not relevant in meaning and so not included in the categorisation process. Though frequency as a tool enabled me to make useful initial observations about the words used by schools in their creation of mission statements, it makes no distinction between how the words are used and which ones are emphasised more prominently or are more significant in context than others. Taking the word 'community', which I interpreted as an indicator of an orientation to others over the self, as an example, it is possible to see differences in use and importance to meaning in each mission statement. Use of the word community in Berlin Brandenburg's statement about where development takes place, namely 'the stage, the pitch, in the pool, in the forest

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[30] I applied the colour coding by highlighting and changing the font colour of text throughout the mission statements for both schools and organisations.

and in the community centre as well' (Berlin Brandenburg International School, n.d.) differs from Berlin Cosmopolitan School's statement about how they achieve their educational goals 'through inquiry-based learning, innovative teaching, and community involvement' (Berlin Cosmopolitan School, n.d.). The latter implies a close relationship with the local community whereas the former relates to a specific location of learning (though this could also be argued to read as implying a connection with the community). Within their mission and values statements, Dresden International School uses the word community seven times to reflect how the school community operates and behaves, for example, 'Our community practices honesty and strong moral principles' (Dresden International School, n.d., n.p.). The high frequency of the word in this statement will have an impact on the overall frequency count yet in this context does not add significantly to our understanding of any importance of the role of community in the international school identity. Though the initial word frequency analysis provided me with a starting point for developing thematic categories, indicating various aspects of focus within the mission statements, a further level of analysis was necessary. Following the removal of extraneous words, I sorted those remaining into groups in order to establish and categorise the ideas expressed by just the key words. These groupings were informed by the themes in international education which emerged from the literature I have reviewed. A significant addition was made following the review of literature pertaining to the roles and perceptions of international schools in Germany as belonging to an educational elite (Chapter 3). Although the high frequency analysis did not reveal either 'elite' or 'excellence' as frequently occurring in the statements, once I widened the text search to include synonyms and related terms, a number of results were returned which indicated that these ideas were reflected in the mission statements. As a result, I added 'elite' and 'excellence' as an eighth thematic category for analysis.

The eight thematic categories I developed using the high frequency word analysis (1-7) and further thematic analysis based on the literature (8) are shown below, alongside the words, word families and phrases. (The categories with colour coding are presented in Appendix D.)

1. Words and phrases signifying an international view; 'international', 'international mindedness', 'diversity', 'culture' (intercultural, multicultural), 'world'

2. Words and phrases relating to the role of language; 'languages', 'bilingual', 'multilingual', 'German', 'English', 'immersion'

3. Words and phrases specifically linked to citizenship; 'citizen', 'world citizen', 'global, citizen'

4. Words and phrases relating to the values of international education; 'responsibility', 'respect', 'caring', 'principles'

5. Words and phrases relating to the individual; 'individual', 'self', 'personal', 'own'

6. Words and phrases relating to others; 'community', 'others', 'social', 'society'

7. Words and phrases related to learning and academic achievement; 'academic', 'education', 'achievement', 'develop', 'learn', 'potential', 'curriculum', 'challenging', 'knowledge', 'understanding', 'skill'

8. Words and phrases related to the elite; 'elite', 'excellence', high-quality', 'top-quality', 'first-rate', 'quality', 'best', 'highest'

Grouping the words into these categories enabled me to examine the high frequency words along with word combinations and phrasings which represent various aspects of international education. It also allowed me to focus in on each aspect to gain an overall impression of the declared aims of international education in Germany, as the most frequently occurring words in the mission statements offer insight into how the schools represent themselves. During the analysis it became clear that some of the words could be considered part of other categories, however, because the frequency analysis was only one part of the wider analysis, and a tool for breaking down large chunks of text into manageable, thematic groups, this did not seem to present a significant problem for the analytical discussions which I will present following consideration of potential limitations of my chosen methodology.

Challenges and limitations of the document analysis

Bowen (2009) lays out the three main limitations of document analysis as being insufficient detail, low retrievability, and biased selectivity. Importantly, he concludes the limitations of using document analysis to be only 'potential flaws rather than major disadvantages' (Bowen, 2009, p. 32). In the sections which follow I consider the limitations Bowen (2009) presents in relation to my analysis and offer an explanation of mission statements, and inclusions of variations thereof, before moving on to consider limitations of using frequency analysis as a tool and the challenges involved in selecting schools for analysis.

Firstly, that the mission statements are openly and easily accessible on the school and organisation websites is a plus for data collection. Yet by their nature they are not produced for research purposes, which Bowen (2009, pp. 31-32) suggests means that used alone they are likely to provide 'insufficient detail' to answer a research question (though this also depends on the nature of the question). I overcome this by utilising both content and thematic analysis, applied within a context of the research literature. Though the aim of my research is to form an impression of what schools mean when they choose an international identity, examining how schools do this in the context of producing text for a wide, public audience allows me to see how the contexts of international education, and the challenges faced by international schools that I examined in Chapters 2 and 3, may be reflected in such statements. Therefore, this approach has a different value from, for example, asking schools to define their understandings of the international. The issue of low retrievability was less of a concern for my analysis as the documents were, as noted, readily available although it is possible that when the mission statements on the websites are updated it will not be possible to retrieve the specific information I have used in this analysis.[31] One challenge, as noted in the introductory section of this chapter, was the diversity in the way the statements of purpose were presented and named. This means that in some cases, where either the mission statements were accompanied by value statements or where the missions were presented in other forms (for example using a word cloud or student testimony) I had to make decisions about how much of the information to include for analysis, as explained above. It is possible that this could be considered 'biased selectivity', though I explain below the steps I took to ensure as full a collection of data for analysis as possible. Another way that my selection may be biased is in the choice of schools for quotation and how I represent information in each of the various themes I discuss, although I tried to select different types of schools and to give a balanced account for each theme.

Secondly, I have stated that I will analyse 'mission statements', yet the diversity of the schools is reflected in the diversity of the statements. These guiding statements differ in prominence on the websites although many are found in 'About Us' sections. In many cases they are called 'mission' statements, and in some cases they are also combined with 'vision' statements, which communicate what International School Stuttgart (n.d.) describes as their 'aspiration'. The wording is not consistent, and mission is sometimes replaced with other indicators: for example, aims, goals, beliefs, philosophy, principles, values, objectives,

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[31] This is entirely possible given the timeframe of the writing of this dissertation.

concept, criteria, mandate, and purpose. For schools belonging to the Round Square network the mission is communicated via the acronym IDEALS, representing Internationalism, Democracy, Environment, Adventure, Leadership and Service (Round Square, n.d.). One school, International School Hannover Region, supplemented their mission with a comprehensive set of 'commitments' relating to providing an 'international education', a 'creative learning environment' and a 'caring environment' (International School Hannover Region, n.d.). These statements vary in style and length. Some include student and teacher testimony (International School Augsburg[a], n.d.) or guiding, inspirational quotations (Independent Bonn International School, n.d.). Others are very short, for example, the Kämmer International Bilingual School mission consists simply of a word cloud including words describing the environment and education, such as 'dynamic', 'reliable', 'intercultural' (Kämmer International Bilingual School, n.d.). Berlin Cosmopolitan School (n.d.) and Strothoff International School (n.d.) are examples of concise mission and vision statements of one or two sentences (the latter also includes reference to the IB Learner Profile for further guidance). I have included all varying formats and lengths in my analysis, concluding that they fulfil the role of statements of purpose, providing an insight into 'international' schooling and education.

Limitations of frequency analysis

The frequency analysis conducted here forms part of the broader process of document analysis yet is not without its own limitations. It offers no context and therefore cannot offer any account of how the terms are used and prioritised within the mission statements, or how the terms are combined to create meaning. Despite these possible limitations, it is nevertheless a useful tool for determining the most frequently occurring words used throughout the selected school and organisation mission statements and for providing a starting point for the construction of broad categorisations of key themes within them. I further mitigate potential drawbacks of a frequency analysis by utilising this as only one part of my methodology. Alongside the frequency count, I scrutinised the mission statements to establish how the main themes are expressed and combined. This was essential in developing a fuller understanding of how schools are presenting themselves and how some of the underpinning concepts are presented and used in the mission statements. Key to my conceptual analysis is developing an understanding of how schools represent their internationality and determining which aspects of it are expressed most strongly within the mission statements.

Indications of normative commitments and instrumental aims within the themes

A prominent theme in this dissertation is the tension existing within ideas of international education, between the aspirational goals, which tend to align with liberal conceptions of education, and the instrumental, which align with neoliberal aims (including elitism). As I created categories created from the language used in the mission statements, alignment with the two differing views of education also began to emerge. Non-instrumental, liberal conceptions, such as the value of a broad educational knowledge and experience, are based on the cultivation of the human being. Such normative commitments can be seen in the categories concerning values, citizenship and social engagement, language and communication skills, and international mindedness and diversity discourses. Instrumental, neoliberal aims are reflected in the elite and excellence discourse, academic success and achievement, and the individual. As discussed, the discourse surrounding the international is a complex one and during the analysis which follows I will note, with examples from the mission statements, how 'international' is used to indicate both diversity and global citizenship, but also how schools use the concept closely together with potentially conflicting concepts, for example of 'excellence' and 'elite', which alters how the concept may be perceived.

Summary of key themes in the school and organisation mission statements

The high frequency words offer an insight into themes which reflect how international schools describe themselves. Most schools, approximately two thirds of the mission statements, included elements from at least five of the themes with a few including all eight to some extent. I now present a summary of the themes represented in the mission statements, describing what the schools as a whole claim about themselves through their aims and reflecting a perception of international education in Germany. I note that I am not assuming that schools are necessarily achieving these declared aims. In reviewing the mission statements I have developed a picture of international schools as places which seek to develop students to achieve their potential, value academic achievement, provide and 'ensure high academic challenge' (International School Hamburg[b], n.d., n.p.).They 'enable students to become lifelong learners' (International School Hannover Region, n.d., n.p.) as they 'develop the skills, knowledge and understanding to prepare students for the 21st century' (International School Mainfranken, n.d., n.p.) and 'master the challenges of the future' (Metropolitan School Frankfurt, n.d., n.p.). International schools are places which value excellence in different forms and offer the means to achieve it. Some schools offer 'an

excellent international education' (Leipzig International School, 2018, n.p.) while others focus on 'providing excellent facilities & resources' including a 'highly-skilled' teaching staff (Thuringia International School, 2018, n.p.). There is a focus on 'high standards of performance and behaviour' for staff and students (International School Campus, 2018, n.p.). Responsibility, respect, and care are the most prominent values expressed, relating both to the individual and developing the self, as well as to the communities these individuals form. Service is a concept sometimes used in conjunction with this. Students are encouraged and supported 'to take on social responsibility' (Swiss International School Kassel, n.d., n.p.), 'personal responsibility and integrity' and 'mutual responsibility and respect' (UWC Robert Bosch College[a], n.d., n.p.). As Bavarian International School indicates, responsibility in these forms 'sets the foundation for a balanced lifestyle and encourages service to others, our community and our environment' (Bavarian International School, n.d., n.p.). Care is used variously to describe the community, for example as 'a caring and supportive environment' (International School of Düsseldorf, n.d., n.p.), and aspirations for students 'to become confident, caring citizens of the world' (International School Augsburg[b], n.d., n.p.). Often linked to the statements of value above, international schools recognise, promote, and celebrate the linguistic, cultural, religious, and social diversity in their communities. They foster 'empathy and integrity to nurture a caring responsibility within a diverse cultural community' (International School Stuttgart, n.d., n.p.). They note that it is the 'rich diversity of [their] teaching faculty and local community that reinforces the value of open-minded, lifelong learning' (Swiss International School Friedrichshafen, n.d., n.p.). Schools also employ curricula which develop 'knowledge about themes of global significance and importance and which is respectful of a culturally diverse student population' (International School Hannover Region, n.d., n.p.). Teachers and students alike come from different countries and bring 'diverse international experiences with them which enrich school life' (Swiss International School Stuttgart-Fellbach, n.d., n.p.).

International schools use their diverse communities as springboards for promoting and teaching international mindedness, expanding the sense of community to reflect the interconnected nature of the modern world. They promote 'the development of responsible, ethical citizens in an ever-changing global society' (International School of Bremen, n.d., n.p.). Community is a prominent theme, seen in reference to school communities, local communities, and regarding a global society and connected global world in the form of community in different contexts. International mindedness is woven into the curriculum 'by exploring […] diversity of culture, language and experience while gaining insights from the

unique perspective of [the] German host culture' (Bavarian International School, n.d., n.p.). Curricula also reflect the local context of schools. Some schools expand on the idea of community and international mindedness and have goals of educating global citizens or citizens of the world. Schools seek to educate 'curious, socially engaged, globally minded people' (Stiftung Louisenlund, n.d., n.p.), 'intellectual and mature world citizens' (Cologne International School, 2018, n.p.), 'responsible, ethical citizens' (International School of Bremen, n.d.), 'active global citizens' (Dresden International School, n.d., n.p.), and 'responsible, internationally-minded citizens' (International School Ruhr, 2018, n.p.). International schools have the goal of educating their students to think beyond the local and national though they are also rooted in their localities. Finally, achieving fluency in more than one language and learning through other languages is regarded as one way of broadening international and intercultural understanding and also as 'the key to an abundance of opportunities in life' (Swiss International School Ingolstadt, n.d., n.p.). Schools also 'facilitate the acquisition of languages and understanding of culture by communicating in English and by providing instruction of German and other languages' (Bavarian International School, n.d., n.p.). Some schools enable students to 'acquire a firm command of a second language at a native level' (International School on the Rhine, n.d., n.p.) or achieve 'excellent command of mother tongue and foreign languages' (European School Munich, n.d., n.p.).

The summary I have presented of international education in Germany is reflective of the optimism I have observed in the writings about the international sector, instrumental goals are represented but the hopeful, aspirational elements are also clearly present. What is apparent on reading the mission statements with the colour coding in place is that not all schools represent all eight themes and, where they are included, they are represented differently and with differing priorities, some more prominent than others. Schools are not declaring identical missions, which is an indicator of the autonomy which exists for shaping and directing international education. However, it also reinforces the diversity and divergence of schools in the sector, and the challenges of thinking of it as one sector at all. Taking this into account, in the deeper analysis which follows I will offer sample quotes from schools and organisations by way of illustrating how some of the key claims are framed and framed differently. Throughout the analysis I will focus on how schools signal their internationality, and which concepts they use to do this. I will also consider the possibilities which emerge for building a cosmopolitan interpretation of international education as I interrogate the composition of the mission statements further.

Analysis of expressions of internationality within the mission statements

In my initial theme categorisations, I grouped the concept of 'international' with diversity, culture and multilingualism as representing an international viewpoint or outlook. However, the idea of internationality is one which, along with being definitive of the sector, is also connected to each of the other themes. Therefore, in the sections which follow I will examine the ways that schools signal their internationality both through their use of the word international and how the meaning of the international shifts when associated with the concept of international mindedness, citizenship and the discourse of elitism and excellence. I will subsequently explore the way that languages and bilingualism are referred to as functions of internationality, and look more closely at how schools use discourse about academic achievement and their values to construct their statements of purpose, and what this means for understandings of the 'international'. My intention here is not to present a definitive account of the international but to build a picture of what being international is both declared and implied to mean. I will offer examples of these terms in context to illustrate how meaning is constructed within the context of the mission statements and what the implications of this may be for international education in Germany.

Citizenship, academic achievement, and excellence

Whether or not there is an appropriately complex, shared understanding of what is meant when it comes to describing the work of international schools, the word 'international' continues to be used by a high number and a wide range of schools and organisations. Unsurprisingly therefore, 'international' was one of the most frequently occurring words in the mission statements of both the schools and the organisations. 13 of the 14 organisations[32] referred in some way to the idea of internationality, though they did this to differing extents, and in different ways with some overlap. In a few cases, such as AGIS, the term international education was used but not expanded on, giving very little indication of what 'international' means for the organisation in this context beyond the basic understanding, between nations (Association of German International Schools, n.d.). Five organisations, including the United World Colleges (2018) and Round Square (n.d.), include reference to the international through terms such as 'developing international understanding', 'international mindedness' and 'intercultural communication'. For example, the International Primary Curriculum (IPC) states that 'each thematic IPC unit includes an international aspect, to help

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[32] School groups, curriculum bodies and organising and accrediting bodies.

develop a sense of international mindedness' (International Primary Curriculum, n.d., n.p.). Four further organisations place the international nature of their curriculum and qualifications with global recognition and prestige. Cambridge Assessment states that its 'international curriculum sets a global standard for education, and is recognised by universities and employers worldwide' (Cambridge Assessment, 2018, n.p.). The Phorms mission states that they offer a 'prestigious diploma which provides access to international universities' (Phorms, n.d., n.p.). Similarly, the IB positions itself as working 'with schools, governments and international organizations to develop challenging programmes of international education and rigorous assessment' (IBO[c], n.d., n.p.). In these statements, the idea of the international curriculum appears to be bound to ambitious standards of academic achievement and global access. The Swiss International School group, in addition to statements of academic rigour, also includes reference to a 'diverse and engaging school environment that simultaneously fosters an awareness of the wider world and a relationship to their immediate environment' (Swiss International School, n.d., n.p.).

The use of the idea of the 'international' was similarly prevalent and varied within the mission statements of the schools, though approximately half of the schools sampled (35 of 71) made either no or little reference to their internationality. International School Braunschweig-Wolfsburg and International School Neustadt, for example, made no reference beyond the 'international' in the school name. Others used an 'international curriculum' (Fintosch Multilingual School, 2018, n.p.) and 'international learning experience' (International School of Bremen, n.d., n.p.). Yet others relied only on presenting a 'diverse student body' (Swiss International School Berlin, n.d., n.p.; Dresden International School, n.d., n.p.) and their 'intercultural community' (St George's Schools, n.d., n.p.) to communicate their internationality. The Phorms bilingual model schools, and other schools which identified as having a bilingual profile, tended to focus on language over internationality (or bilingual as representing the international) in their mission statements, although two of these schools recognised the international and diverse context the education takes place in. Though there were often similarities in the wording of mission statements of schools within the same school groups, an exception is the Swiss International School group. Some of the schools in this group stated a stronger commitment to education for international mindedness, others focused more on providing an intercultural experience and international staff.

The group of schools I identified as having a lower incidence of language with a focus on internationality in the mission statements includes a broad range of types of international school. It includes, with example institutions given in brackets, British international schools (Berlin British School and the St George's schools), German schools offering an international pathway (Obermenzinger Gymnasium and State International School Seeheim-Jugenheim), schools with bilingual models (Josef-Schwarz-Schule and other Phorms model schools) and traditional model international schools both older (Dresden International School), and finally newer schools (International School Augsburg, Metropolitan School Frankfurt). Within the group of schools offering limited reference to internationality, there was variance in how it was expressed. Dresden International School, including several of the key themes, states itself to be 'a diverse community that empowers innovative and collaborative learning. As learners, we are prepared to be multifaceted, self-sufficient individuals who contribute to society' (Dresden International School, n.d., n.p.). Equally as concise, yet additionally conveying a sense of the importance of community involvement, Strothoff International School expresses commitment to 'teaching and understanding through study, action and service to develop the whole learner. We support everyone's unique potential to become responsible members of their communities' (Strothoff International School, n.d., n. p.). These differ significantly from the mission of International School Rhein Main which states that,

> ISF will be recognized as a provider of top-quality education to a highly diverse student body. It will strive to help all students achieve their full potential, prepare for success in college, equip them with the ability and desire for lifelong learning, and strengthen their civic, ethical, and moral values. ISF will maintain high standards of efficiency and accountability throughout its operation. (International School Rhein-Main, 2018, n.p.)

In phrases such as 'full potential', 'top-quality', 'highly diverse' and 'high standards of efficiency' the sense of the international which comes through in this mission statement references the elite and excellence elements of the international discourse, different from those which emphasise diversity, community, and active citizenship. Though this example has a particularly high use of language which echoes a neoliberal discourse without significant reference to what signals its internationality beyond this, other schools combine these contrasting ideas. Thuringia International School is one example. It offers an 'exemplary internationally-recognised education based in the English language that enables students to fulfil their potential as active learners and empowered individuals who are able to promote positive change in the world' (Thuringia International School, 2018, n.p.). I note

here the primary placement in the mission statement of 'exemplary' and 'internationally-recognised' ahead of 'positive change in the world'. This contrasts with the primary placement by the Metropolitan International School of offering children 'a setting in which they can enjoy learning and can develop into happy and successful citizens of the world' (Metropolitan International School, 2018, n.p.).

So far, I have documented a breadth of expressions of being 'international', in both the mission statements of organisations and schools which have a lower occurrence of related terms in their statements. This breadth is also found among the schools which presented mission statements with multiple or expanded references to internationality in some form. In these mission statements phrases relating to 'international mindedness', 'international understanding', 'intercultural communication' and 'global citizenship' were frequently used. Swiss International School Friedrichshafen aims to offer an 'internationally-minded education' and also describes its students as 'responsible, global citizens' (Swiss International School Friedrichshafen, n.d., n.p.). The mission statement of the Swiss International School (SIS) umbrella organisation states that their intention is 'that SIS students graduate as global citizens with a strong sense of their origins' (Swiss International School, n.d., n.p.). Here we also see the idea of the student located both in the local and global. Some schools, such as Munich International School (MIS), use ideas of global or world citizenship in place of 'international' in any form. The MIS mission statement, for example, focuses on the intention for its students to become 'ethical, globally-minded contributors, and healthy, well-balanced individuals who will thrive and make a positive impact in a complex and changing world' (Munich International School, n.d., n.p.).

Most schools referred to either world or global citizenship, intercultural understanding, diversity, or culture in some form, though as noted many did so only to a limited extent. Several of the schools which did not focus on these concepts in their mission statements belonged to the bilingual model Phorms group. I will focus on the role of language as a function of expressing internationality in a subsequent section, but what is interesting to note about the Phorms mission statements is that along with being highly values focused, some of them also make rare reference to socioeconomic accessibility, stating that 'means-tested school fees reflect the social diversity in our school community' (Phorms Frankfurt City, n.d., n.p.; Phorms Frankfurt Taunus, n.d., n.p.). An additional school had a notably short mission and vision statement but linked to the IB Learner Profile (as other schools also did) which does reference these goals. A small number of schools expand on the meanings of

some of the concepts they introduce, building further on ideas which appear to offer a clearer path towards cosmopolitanism interpretations. Heidelberg International School for example, states that international mindedness is a 'journey from self to others' which begins with open-mindedness (Heidelberg International School, n.d., n.p.). In this idea we begin to see glimmers of how Nussbaum's (1994) circles of affiliation may be usefully applied to ideas of purpose of international education. The statement concludes with a 'collaborative commitment to peaceful and sustainable action worldwide' (Heidelberg International School, n.d., n.p.) which also reflects elements of the IB frameworks. The Council of International Schools (CIS) is one of two organisations (the other being the Swiss International School group) to refer specifically to global citizenship.[33] The inclusion of concepts such as world or global citizenship in the mission statements could be interpreted as a claim of the aspirational kind. However, as noted, one of my aims in interpreting the mission statements is to examine the way schools connect concepts. In its mission statement Bonn International School states a goal to 'empower and inspire students to achieve their full individual potential and become responsible global citizens' (Bonn International School[b], n.d., n.p.). With the placement of the idea to inspire students to achieve their full individual potential at the beginning of the statement, it could be read that individual achievement is both the most important goal and a prerequisite of becoming a responsible global citizen. This changes the idea of global citizenship as an aspirational goal and connects it with the more instrumental. The statement goes on: the school aims to provide an innovative, 'internationally-recognized education' (here we see the excellence discourse emerging) 'within a compassionate multicultural community' (Bonn International School[b], n.d., n.p.), which reads as a passive descriptor rather than an active aim. Over half of the schools opened their mission statements with aims related to either the international, academic or, in a smaller number of cases the elite. For example, Berlin Brandenburg International School opens with 'BBIS is here to provide a leading international education that inspires students in a pursuit of lifelong learning and excellence both in and out of the classroom' (Berlin Brandenburg International School, n.d., n.p.), and International School on the Rhine with 'ISR's mission is to be recognized as a provider of top-quality education to a highly diverse student body' (International School on the Rhine, n.d., n.p.). Many schools which indicated the international first, followed with aims of challenge or achieving excellence. For example, Franconian International School, which opens with its aims to

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[33] Presented in Chapter 2 as consisting of seven elements: Ethics, Diversity, Global Issues, Communication, Service, Leadership and Sustainable Lifestyle (Council of International Schools, n.d., n.p.).

'foster international-mindedness through a challenging curriculum' (Franconian International School, 2018, n.p.), thereby associating international mindedness with academic rigour rather than, for example, values of open-mindedness and consideration of others. The relationship between the concepts of citizenship, academic achievement and excellence are woven into the mission statements in complex, interconnected ways. The primary placement of concepts relating to being international and to academic achievement signals a prioritisation of these goals, over those which have secondary placement in the statements such as being 'responsible members of communities' and having a 'positive impact'. These ostensibly normative goals are vulnerable to interpretation, where within the context of high-quality education they become associated with, for example, making economic contributions to society. I will take up this theme in a subsequent section and the following chapter, but now turn to analysis of the role of languages and bilingualism within the mission statements.

Languages and bilingualism

References to language in the mission statements were found in approximately one quarter of schools analysed, in both those with bilingual German-English models and those with either English or German as the predominant language of instruction. Language teaching, or language acquisition, in international schools is a complex area itself. It encompasses interrelated areas of learning in a non-dominant language, second language acquisition, mother tongue support and development, and the role of language in intercultural understanding. This complexity is reflected to an extent in the differing ways it is treated in the mission statements. In some cases, the reference to language was informative of the functional nature of language in the school, for example the Obermenzinger Gymnasium mission states that it offers 'a bilingual track (German-English) for pupils who are already fluent English speakers' (Obermenzinger Gymnasium, 2018, n.p.). Alignment with the IB Learner Profile attribute of Communicators, which focuses on the ability to communicate confidently and creatively in more than one language and collaborate with and listen to the perspective of others (IBO, 2013), was evident in some schools. This can be seen in the broadening of the types of language which can be used as tools of effective communication, as exemplified by International School Hannover Region, which aims to promote 'good communication skills in more than one language, including the languages of science, mathematics, technology and the arts' (International School Hannover Region, n.d., n.p.). By contrast, in some mission statements language acquisition is specifically aligned with

developing intercultural understanding and facilitating a global view. Swiss International School Friedrichshafen suggests that 'the two school languages, English and German, provide the foundation for this insight into global issues' (Swiss International School Friedrichshafen, n.d., n.p.). Its sister school, Swiss International School Ingolstadt, draws on a quote from Wilhelm von Humboldt to summarise the importance they place on language learning: 'Language is the key to the world'. The mission statement goes on to state that 'learning more than one language is the key to an abundance of opportunities in life' (Swiss International School Ingolstadt, n.d., n.p.). This suggests a rather more instrumental purpose for the individual than providing insight into global issues and other cultures. This also further contrasts with the mission of the St George's Schools group, which places more emphasis on the role of English. While they suggest intercultural communication, mutual respect and understanding as prerequisites for successful learning, they go on to suggest that it is this 'combined with fluency in English' that is the 'best possible preparation for the future in a globally connected world' (St George's Schools, n.d., n.p.). Finally, there is also connection drawn between learning languages and academic provision and achievement, as well as opening a path to global mindedness as exemplified by Stiftung Louisenlund: 'A cornerstone of a high-level academic education must be the learning of one or more languages and for global mindedness to be a matter of course' (Stiftung Louisenlund, n.d., n.p.).

The differing ways in which language is referred to within the mission statements reflects the wider normative-instrumental dichotomy. It also reflects a tension which Byram (2010) suggests also exists within the discipline of language learning and teaching, though he makes the distinction as between 'educational' and 'functional/utilitarian' purposes. The analysis also reveals potential tensions within this wider concern, which are worthy of further consideration in relation to cosmopolitanism. One potential issue is the focus on English and German. Whilst the prominent and dominant role of English within international education is understandable, because of its own development as a western construct combined with consequences of globalisation, the prominence of German reinforces the idea that international schools are inevitably rooted in the national. Carder (2013) suggests that international schools should, however, provide a linguistic environment 'which is socio-linguistically a level playing field' (Carder, 2013, p. 86). There is certainly reference in the statements to 'other' languages. The Bavarian International School, for example, aims to 'facilitate the acquisition of languages and understanding of culture by communicating in English and by providing instruction of German and other languages' (n.d., n.p.). Although

'additional languages', 'foreign languages' and 'mother' or 'native' tongues are referenced by Cologne International School (2018, n.p.) and European School Munich (n.d., n.p.), it is not clear from the claims made within the mission statements that students with minority mother tongues (Persian or Hungarian for example) are provided for. This is perhaps understandable given the nature of the statements and the specificity of the information, but it nevertheless appears that this element of language provision is not articulated as being part of the essence of international education. What the statements do show is that there are schools which claim a commitment to bilingualism, particularly English-German, and schools which claim to make connections between culture, language and understanding and communication. What is less clear is the value placed on languages which are not part of the dominant culture of the host country or of the individual school community. Carder (2013) warns that unless schools take a proactive stance to remedy issues of mother tongue provision, 'generations of CLD [culturally and linguistically diverse] students will suffer the consequences of being treated like second-class citizens, losing fluency and literacy in their mother tongue, and not being given proactive teaching in content-area subjects' (Carder, 2013, p. 87). Carder's (2013) warning may raise a question about the ability of schools, which appear to have aims rooted in a national or at least a western construct of language education, to effectively meet the needs of a diverse population. More importantly for the purposes of this dissertation, it raises questions about how (and whether) the perceived linguistic dominance is one appropriate to the cosmopolitan interpretation of international education that I will defend. It also raises questions about the role of multilingualism and its place in constructions of internationality.

The expressed aims relating to the role of language indicate a strong rootedness within the national context and a positive leaning towards learning German, though English was often the language emphasised, and reflects the importance of language for successful intercultural communication and citizenship in Germany. Schools which emphasised German and English tended, unsurprisingly, to be those which identified as bilingual as a representation of their, perhaps limited, internationality. It is conceivable that the intention with this profile is to orientate (and market) them towards families who may be seeking an alternative to the German system and/or an international element to education through English acquisition, but who also want to retain a strong connection with German. Traditional international schools also place an emphasis on German language skills along with mother tongue development but there are a number of schools whose mission statements prioritise and promote English, including International School Rhein-Main (2018) and Thuringia

International School (2018). Such a focus on English in some models of international education could potentially compromise a cosmopolitan version of international education because it hints at wider issues of linguistic hierarchy, and the potential othering of speakers of non-dominant and minority languages within communities. Whether there is sufficient focus on 'minority' languages to overcome the criticism that international schools are 'caught up in the idea of the nation state' and do too little to cater to multiple as opposed to national identities (Hughes, 2009, p. 124) also remains questionable. The intimation in Hughes' (2009) criticism is that nationality is embedded in a cultural hegemony whereby the language and culture of certain, dominant, ethnic groups is privileged, and the reality of diversity is distorted and reduced to celebration of national difference. I note here that focusing on a celebration of difference as a representation of internationality is something which, in my experience, was a feature of international education, though more recently schools have moved to utilising language which better reflects the complexity of international schooling. Only Taunus International Montessori School made a feature of 'celebrating' difference within its mission statement stating that it 'gladly celebrates events from around the world' (Taunus International Montessori School, n.d., n.p.). The mission statements more commonly expressed a notion of difference couched in the language of values; respect for others or responsibility to others, both those within school communities and in the wider communities, a theme to which I will shortly turn. The purpose of foreign language teaching being to achieve communicative competence is, according to Byram (2010), the 'dominant, contemporary assumption' about language learning, and one which neglects the richer, more complex cultural dimensions (Byram, 2010, p. 317). Though there are some indications within the mission statements of this wider cultural and intercultural purpose for language learning (across the contexts I outlined at the beginning of this section), it does not yet appear that the possibilities of language learning are fully articulated in representations of internationality. This is, however, a potentially significant component for a cosmopolitan interpretation of international education.

The individual, values, and the global and local community

Throughout the mission statements there are references to both provision for the individual, as well as the role of the individual in community life and society more generally. When included these are often positioned alongside the (slightly more prevalent) references to membership of community, both local and global. The values and underlying principles of the schools were also often found in combination with respect and responsibility which were

particularly prominent in the word analysis, (only 13 of the 71 school mission statements analysed made no reference to these concepts). The Swiss International School group mission statement offers an example of the combined aims. The aim of this school group is to support students in establishing their own 'cultural, linguistic and social identity' that they,

> develop into committed individuals with a strong sense of personal responsibility for their actions; relate to other people, languages and cultures with openness, willingness and respect, and think and act as global citizens and members of their local community. (Swiss International School, n.d., n.p.).

The Bavarian International School, under a heading of 'Assume Responsibility', states its intention to 'build a strong sense of personal and social responsibility that sets the foundation for a balanced lifestyle and encourages service to others, our community and our environment' (Bavarian International School, n.d., n.p.). In these examples the individual is represented as being linked to their role in society. Other schools focus on academic provision and development of the individual without reference to any relationship with the community. For example, the International School Hannover Region states a commitment to international education through a series of actions, the first of which is 'creating a school culture which is open-minded toward the views, values and traditions of individuals and their cultures'. It goes on to 'supporting each student to achieve his/her individual potential', 'emphasising the importance of physical and mental balance and personal well-being' and 'teaching students to reflect on their own learning and to analyse their personal strengths and weaknesses in a constructive manner' (International School Hannover Region, n.d., n.p.). These representations of the individual seem focused on personal and academic development and are implied as important in the work of schools. However, it is also possible that these claims are made for promotional purposes, appealing to parents, whose greatest concern may be less altruistic and more centred on the wellbeing and success of their own children. Phrases conveying the goals of reaching 'full potential' (International School Hamburg[b], n.d., n.p.), or 'unique potential' (International School Augsburg[b], n.d., n.p.) are fairly prevalent in the mission statements and are (presumably) attractive to parents who may, as the literature suggests, be looking for a way to bolster their children's chances of success in a competitive, global environment. Although phrases such as these are not without aspirations of the normative kind, the relatively high focus on academic achievement in the

mission statements signals prioritisation of these goals of achieving academic success, and an emphasis on this rather than the more normative goal of the education of good human beings. The need to be attractive to parents reminds us that the mission statements serve a dual purpose: to represent the aims and ideals of an international school education and to persuade potential parents that a particular school is the right choice for their children and (in the case of fee-paying international schools) worth the fees required to attend it.

It is worth noting at this point that all IB programmes share a core of ten attributes forming part of the Learner Profile, which represents 'a broad range of human capacities and responsibilities that go beyond academic success' and which represent the belief that striving to embody these 'can help individuals and groups become responsible members of local, national and global communities' (IBO, 2013, n.p.). The Learner Profile is a central part of all the IB programmes and is an integral part of the curriculum whether a school offers all or just one of the programmes. What comes with the IB, whether chosen primarily for its academic rigour or its liberal aims, is an implicit goal of educating for world citizenship, beyond what may be stated explicitly in the mission statements. Several of the attributes listed in the IB Learner Profile[34] (IBO, 2013) encourage reflection of both external (societal) and internal (personal), and local and global matters consistent with a cosmopolitan view. Caring is one of the attributes which featured in the mission statements of 17 schools (most of them IB schools) and one organisation (unsurprisingly the IB). Some related to offering a caring learning environment, others however, including International School Augsburg, state the aim to educate 'caring citizens of the world' (International School Augsburg[b], n.d.). When considered alongside the meaning of caring as elaborated on in the IB Learner Profile, which details 'empathy, compassion and respect' (IBO, 2013, n.p.) further cosmopolitan possibilities begin to emerge as the reflection of some cosmopolitan values becomes apparent. The extent to which these elements are embedded within the teaching and learning which occurs in international schools cannot be measured by the mission statements, just as the mission statements themselves do not necessarily reflect practice. That these values are a core part of the IB, and that there are 83 IB schools in Germany, indicates a potential starting point for developing a cosmopolitan interpretation of international education. However, the conflicting aims of the normative and the instrumental which are documented as being central to international education and are apparent in mission

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[34] IB learners strive to be inquirers, knowledgeable, thinkers, communicators, principled, open-minded, caring, risk-takers, balanced and reflective. Each attribute comes with a short descriptive paragraph, see Appendix A.

statements are also evident within the IB's own aims. The IB has what Bunnell (2011) describes as a 'radical mission' to create a more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect (Bunnell, 2011, p. 167), yet it also offers its schools access to challenging programmes and rigorous assessment (IBO[c], n.d., n.p.) so even in the face of such possibility there is evidence of neoliberal influence, which may be too dominant for schools and organisations to resist.

Summary

In this chapter I have examined the claims schools make about international education through close analysis of the mission statements in terms of the categories I determined based on the initial word analysis. I have also analysed the content of the statements, looking at how the key words and categories are presented, and the concepts which take precedence and are emphasised. The themes which emerged from the content analysis (including the frequency analysis) covered the international as represented by diversity, multi- and interculturality; languages and bilingualism; an orientation to others and the various community contexts; values of international education and schools; global citizenship; an orientation toward the individual and self-development; academic achievement and learning, and finally elitism and excellence. In analysing the themes within the context of the mission statements the complexity of the 'international' was highlighted as it became clear that placement of the concept within the statement and how the concepts were used in combination with each other made significant alterations to how the mission statements could be perceived and interpreted.

Through this analysis of 71 school and 14 organisation mission statements, I have seen that each end of the instrumental-normative spectrum is represented, with most schools falling somewhere between the extremes. This spectrum reflects the central tension of this dissertation, as schools negotiate the instrumental and normative construals of international education, not only in constructing mission statements, but in everyday practice as teachers balance the competing demands. Schools such as Heidelberg International School (n.d.), State International School Seeheim-Jugenheim (n.d.) and International School Ruhr (2018) have missions which emphasise normative aims whereas Bonn International School ([b], n.d.) and International Schools on the Rhine (n.d.) and International School Rhein-Main (2018) highlight the instrumental. The range is unsurprising, and consistent with observations made following the examination of literature about the sector, as presented in

Chapters 2 and 3, which as well as exploring the tension, also considered how internationalisation of education globally has changed understandings of international education. The analysis has revealed conceptual complexities, which reinforce the idea that international education is itself complex and contested, also exposing differences in how international education may be interpreted and presented. The examples I have selected are illustrative of the differences between schools and their varying representations of international education. They also show how potentially competing concepts are woven together in mission statements to form an apparent harmony which in practice may be difficult to realise. Also noteworthy was that though, as indicated in Chapter 3, Hallwirth (2013) saw a difference between the role of traditional international schools and newer international and bilingual schools, viewing the latter as more likely to attract students away from the German system, it was these types of schools which tended to have mission statements which did not utilise the language of the elite and which had a more prominent focus on school values. This may indicate that traditional international schools have normalised a language which represents a neoliberal discourse while other schools have maintained more ideals focused mission statements (even when the school model or type reflects a more instrumental grounding).

I will now briefly outline some of the key issues the analysis has revealed which will need further consideration in my defence of a cosmopolitan view of international education, and include the role of language learning, a tension between orientations toward the self and the community, and the subordination of values to measurable educational outcomes. Firstly, language viewed as a way to break down barriers and increase and improve intercultural communication through developing knowledge about other cultures and histories, including through literature, contrasts significantly with views of it as a skill, or competence. In the latter, it is reduced to giving access to international qualifications and entry to global society and workplaces and though it may also improve communication, the educative value is reduced. Gao (2006) states that 'language learning is culture learning' (p.59) and Byram (2010) notes the significance of both linguistic and intercultural competence for '*Bildung*' and 'politisches *Bildung*'.[35] Scarino (2010) also draws attention to understandings of language as a social practice, in which 'genuine communication takes place among people as social beings within their own life-worlds and trajectories of experiences', beyond narrower views of it as a 'structural grammatical system' (Scarino, 2010, p. 326). These

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[35] Political *Bildung*.

views indicate a potentially significant role for language in intercultural education and therefore for cosmopolitan interpretations of international education. Secondly, there is a tension between the self, in the form of individual academic achievement, and an orientation towards the varying communities. The neoliberal self, for example, would be focused on investing in her own qualifications to become internationally competitive and a high earner, though this would not preclude her from also being committed to community and global citizenship. Finally, values took primary position in very few of the mission statements, giving way to a focus on academic achievement, and while this may not be concerning in itself, the additional close combination of language reflecting excellence appears to be indicative of education which makes academic success the dominant aim, more highly valued than others. Internationality understood in this way and supplemented with bilingualism and internationally recognised qualifications signalling quality and international mobility, means that students graduating from international schools are intended to be better able to compete for employment. If this tendency towards elitism dominates, it poses a significant challenge to developing a cosmopolitan outlook. Choo et al. (2017) describe the challenge to teach 'the requisite skills and knowledge to compete in the global marketplace and at the same time imbibe cosmopolitan sensitivities towards multiple and marginalized others in the world' (Choo, et al., 2017, p. v). This challenge is one which I think has the potential to compromise the ability of international education to follow a cosmopolitan path. The more concrete nature of skills and knowledge-based teaching is attractive precisely because its outcomes are measurable. This is appealing to those being held accountable for educational progress and those comfortable with traditional measures of progress. Skills and knowledge also have a specific role to play in the neoliberal function of education. These factors can make it difficult for the fostering of cosmopolitan sensitivities to take priority, particularly as they are often a secondary consideration, something also reflected by Choo et al (2017).

As I move on to begin the process of constructing a defence of a cosmopolitan view of international education, I will build on the indications of an intent to educate for global citizenship with values which reflect the cosmopolitan ideal of the world citizen. With this, there seems to be the potential for cosmopolitan ideals to form a larger part of the central ideas of international education. Yet while the inclusion of concepts such as world or global citizenship in the mission statements seemingly fulfils Tate's (2012) desire for better, more complex representation of international education, and offers cosmopolitan possibilities to the sector, these concepts are also vulnerable to being interpreted through a neoliberal lens

and without sufficient complexity. It may be that the apparent alignment of mission statements with elements of neoliberal discourse, including excellence and elitism, and individualism, will ultimately have the power to undermine the other endeavours and compromise efforts to include and achieve normative goals. However, in the following chapter I will present Nussbaum's (1994) version of cosmopolitanism, including her four arguments for pursuing cosmopolitan education, in order to challenge and address the issues I have presented.

Chapter 5: Establishing Nussbaum's account of cosmopolitanism as a conceptual underpinning for international education

In this chapter I present Martha Nussbaum's version of cosmopolitanism and consider its potential to underpin a conception of international education that enables it to strengthen its liberal roots and ideals and in turn to resist the dominance of neoliberal imperatives which are currently driving its development. Nussbaum's defence of cosmopolitanism, despite having been initially constructed in 1994, is growing in importance as the divisions resulting from globalisation and global inequality worsen. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, international education has been implicated in contributing to this growing inequality at both global and local levels. International schools offer an education to an internationally mobile 'clientele', yet in order to remain viable international schools in Germany must also attract local students (the families of whom are often members of the local socio-economic elite), drawing them away from other forms of schooling and reducing diversity (particularly socioeconomic diversity). A further consequence of current models of practice is the resulting contribution international schools make to a growing global elite. Commentators such as Zymek (2016) and Peter (2018) have described how the idea of 'the international' has become a tool of social segregation and division between those at the top of the hierarchy and those at the bottom, with international schools playing a role in the stratification of education at local levels in Germany. If international education is to have a future more committed to equality and less driven by neoliberal imperatives, then addressing these criticisms is essential.

One step towards addressing the undesirable consequences of international education is through the reinterpretation of concepts central to international education, such as citizenship and the values of responsibility and respect, within a cosmopolitan frame of understanding. Throughout this chapter I pay attention to the idea of world citizenship as a major concept for both international schools and cosmopolitanism, and develop understandings of the local and the global as communities of concern. I begin by setting the context of Nussbaum's seminal paper 'Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism' (1994) and restating key conceptions of cosmopolitanism within it. Following an examination of Nussbaum's account of cosmopolitanism, I go on to explore responses to this paper and key criticisms of it, considering the implications these may have for interpreting international education within a cosmopolitan frame. Thereafter, I present Nussbaum's four arguments for a cosmopolitan

approach to education with world citizenship placed as a central aim, showing how the aims she outlines for education may both provide a useful lens for examining the tension I have indicated and a base for a reimagining of international education. Following this discussion, I consider the revisions Nussbaum made to her original argument in 'Towards a globally sensitive patriotism' (2008), where she moves to create a role for what she terms 'purified patriotism'. In this section I examine implications her apparent shift in position may have for my proposal of Nussbaum's cosmopolitanism as a basis for building a preferred future vision of international education. Finally, I introduce Appiah's version of cosmopolitanism as one complementary to Nussbaum's ethical cosmopolitanism, particularly her revised view, which also helps to address the critiques and potential drawbacks of Nussbaum's treatment of cosmopolitanism. Also an ethicist, Appiah (2006), focuses on the importance of both local affiliations ('rootedness') and difference, which may have specific implications for international schools which, in addition to their international identity, are also rooted in particular national contexts. This idea sets the context for Chapter 6, where I examine further how both Nussbaum's ethical cosmopolitanism and Appiah's, also ethical, rooted cosmopolitanism could support and strengthen future conceptions of international education and schooling, through clarification of central concepts, and also enable it to overcome some of the criticisms I have discussed.

Nussbaum's cosmopolitanism

In 1994, Martha Nussbaum authored the essay Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism in response to Richard Rorty's op-ed piece of the same year. Rorty was himself responding to the National Conversation on American Pluralism and Identity project launched by Hackney, which was aimed at bringing diverse groups of people together. The intention was to have a discussion about what holds people together as a country, about 'shared values in a heterogeneous society, about common commitments in a society that contains […] divisions of race, ethnicity, nationality, and religion' (Hackney, 1997, p. 14). Rorty's (1994) response was to make a renewed appeal for national pride and a sense of shared national identity, which he presented as 'an absolutely essential component of citizenship'. His nation-centric stance led Nussbaum to become concerned at the lack of attention to how America was connected to the rest of the world. Instead of what seemed to be a choice between a politics of national identity and one based on difference, Nussbaum (1994) saw an opportunity to look beyond the nation, towards what is shared as 'both rational and mutually dependent human beings' (p. 3). She criticised the project as 'inward-looking' as she called for

recognition of the commonalities of humanity and a wider allegiance, one stretching outward beyond the nation. The global climate and national context have moved on in the 26 years since the National Identity project and the responses to it were generated, yet Nussbaum's response remains relevant. She has, furthermore, been credited with 'single-handedly' rekindling interest in cosmopolitanism by catapulting it to the forefront of social science and education debates (Ayaz Naseem & Hyslop-Margison, 2006, p. 51). Cosmopolitanism has subsequently informed educators in theorising teaching and learning as a response to 'increasingly globalised relationships and responsibilities' (Stornaiuolo & Nichols, 2018, p. 1). In contrast with much of Nussbaum's other work, Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism is a short provocative piece, containing starkly outlined challenges to nationally bound views of allegiance designed to promote thinking about the nature of allegiance and affiliation in diverse societies. The resulting criticisms and critiques have targeted several aspects of Nussbaum's conception of cosmopolitanism, including challenges to the apparent opposition of patriotism and national affiliation, and the suggested western-centric nature of the arguments for cosmopolitanism and of its related educational facets which leave it open to postcolonial critiques. I shall expand on and respond to these criticisms within this chapter, acknowledging that though some extend understandings of cosmopolitanism, others are both weaker and less relevant to my argument.

Criticisms notwithstanding, this paper marked the beginning of a timely resurgence of interest in the centuries old, contested, and controversial concept of cosmopolitanism. Timely because this paper was written and published in a rapidly changing world, one which would shortly see a more integrated global economy emerging and be transformed by the ubiquitous availability of mobile phones and the internet. These developments would in turn increase the connectedness of people whose lives would previously have been far removed from each other. These changes have had both positive and negative consequences, but the current events I highlighted in the introduction to this dissertation, including the rise of populism and nationalist groups in politics, give an indication that division in western society is increasing, as is inequality, within and between nations, across the globe. Oxfam (2020), putting inequality into stark perspective, reports that the poorest half of humanity live in poverty, on less than $5.50 a day, while the number of billionaires has almost doubled in the last ten years, with them accruing more wealth than 4.6 billion people who make up 60 percent of the planet's population (Oxfam International, 2020). Martha Nussbaum believes, along with other proponents, that cosmopolitanism could be an effective way of overcoming

such problems humanity is facing, enormous though they are. Nussbaum (1994) argues for an outward-looking cosmopolitan orientation, rather than an inward-looking nationalist or patriotic orientation and in doing so anticipates a need but also an increased ability to know and understand the lives of others. Her cosmopolitanism asks that people recognise and respond to moral obligations to the wider community of humanity, rather than only the one we were born into by chance.

Nussbaum's (1994) cosmopolitanism centres on defending a cosmopolitan (over a patriotic) view of citizenship. She begins her argument by asserting the morally dangerous and subversive nature of an emphasis on patriotic pride as endorsed by Rorty (1994). Patriotic pride, she suggests, is in danger of undermining some of the more 'worthy goals' of patriotism, for example those which seek national unity regarding moral ideals of justice and equity (Nussbaum, 1994, p. 3). Nussbaum posits that even the patriotic goal of national unity could be better and more appropriately served by the cosmopolitan ideal, which is one of allegiance to the worldwide 'community of human beings' (Nussbaum, 1994, p. 3). She argues that this wider allegiance constitutes a more international basis for political emotion and concern and is based in what we share as rational and mutually dependent human beings. The concept of patriotism did not at first appear to be directly relevant to my arguments for a cosmopolitan interpretation of international education, partially due to its problematic past in the context of Germany but also because it relates to attachment to a home nation which could sit awkwardly with ideas of international citizenship (in the practical terms of living in a country other than one's home country rather than in the abstract sense of world citizenship). However, there are two points of interest which require discussion. The first is that patriotism, certainly less political connotations of the idea of love for one's homeland, is a complicated but not irrelevant idea in the context of international schools. People's nationality, language and culture can all be brought into focus, generating an almost nostalgic patriotism, or connection to the home country, sometimes becoming more important as people seek to establish and understand their identity in a new culture. Equally, connections are formed to the host country and such affiliations cannot be explained by patriotism alone. The second point of interest is the parallel which can be drawn between the inward-looking patriotic pride, which concerns Nussbaum (1994) for its lack of concern for what is beyond the nation, and the observation I have made about the inward-looking nature of international education which, as it has both sought to define and to legitimise itself as a sector, has lost sight of problems of inequality generated beyond its own sector borders. As

I examine Nussbaum's stance on patriotism, and criticisms of it, I will further explore the elements of cosmopolitanism which could help to change the current future trajectory of international schools.

In developing her cosmopolitan ideals further, Nussbaum draws on classical writers in presenting a cosmopolitanism for a globalised world, acknowledging the ancient origins of this concept of citizenship. I will summarise these origins here because although commentators, such as Hayden and Thompson (2013), correctly locate the growth of international schools as a consequence of globalisation, the cosmopolitan aspirations of these schools, where they exist, can also be traced to a much more ancient ideal. Connecting international education with ideas which existed before modern connotations of globalisation may also help to realign ideals with something more grounded in human development. Furthermore, despite having been formulated centuries ago these principles have a contemporary ring to them, and I will explore how they may apply to international schools today. The term cosmopolitan itself dates to the fourth century BCE with early conceptions developed initially by the Cynics and taken up by the Stoics. Diogenes, one of the founders of Cynic thought, declared himself to be a citizen of the world, refusing to be defined by his local origins or group membership, opting instead for more universal aspirations and concerns. This image of world citizenship was developed further by the Stoics who saw humans as living in two communities: that of birth and another, a community of human argument and aspiration. The second of these was thought to be a more fundamental source of our moral obligation. It is humanity, with its ingredients of reason and moral capacity which is, according to their teachings, owed our first allegiance and respect. This builds on the rationale that where one is born is simply an accident and that 'any human may have been born in any nation' (Nussbaum, 1994, p. 4) and, based on this idea, Nussbaum (1994) suggests that neither differences in nationality, gender, class or ethnic membership should be allowed to form barriers to disrupt the fellowship of humanity (p. 4). Throughout her essay Nussbaum strongly emphasises the importance of allegiance to the whole of humanity. However, she also argues that in becoming a citizen of the world, one must not necessarily give up local identifications and special affiliations, providing as they do a richness in life and forming part of our identity (Nussbaum, 1994, p. 4). These special affiliations are recognised and incorporated into one of the key elements of Nussbaum's version of cosmopolitanism, adopted from Hierocles' model, which is that of a series of concentric circles. Hierocles presented the individual as located within a series of

circles with the self at the centre, followed by immediate family, extended family, neighbours and local groups, fellow city dwellers, countrymen and continuing outwards to the whole of humanity. The circles represent the many affiliations, identities, loyalties, and responsibilities of the individual. In this model, the task of the citizen of the world is to reduce the distance between the circles, drawing them towards the centre, thus making our concern and responsibility for all humans more like that for our fellow city dwellers. This definition of world citizenship and the concentric circles metaphor give rise to points of interest with regards to international schools, one relating to interpretations of intentions, as presented in the mission statements, to educate for world and local citizenship and the second relating to interpretations of the stated values which are different from the cosmopolitan ideals Nussbaum prefers. Though in some statements there was obfuscation through combination with seemingly antithetical concepts, there is some indication in the international school mission statements of an intention for international schools to educate for some form of global citizenship and for creating citizens of the world. These sentiments are visible within the inclusion of the values of responsibility, respect, and care, which extends to include both local communities and an expanded global community. In seeking to educate well-rounded, compassionate, and responsible citizens, international schools show concern for the local, for example through learning German, the language of the national context. They also show some implicit acknowledgement of a need for concern which goes beyond the local. However, the instrumental intent visible within the mission statements can mean that citizenship is interpreted within a context of achievement and societal productivity rather than as a normative outcome. Additionally, the notion of responsibility can easily be interpreted not just in the sense of being a responsible citizen but more expansively as taking responsibility for alleviating the plight of 'the other'. Though these inclusions can be taken to indicate a positive orientation to concepts of global citizenship, further clarification of the meanings of these terms is needed to avoid criticisms that they mask a position of western privilege and wealth. This issue is one I shall return to in the course of this chapter and the next, where I will suggest how the concentric circles can usefully be applied to international schools as a model for understanding the ways in which citizenship can be understood in the context of a cosmopolitan vision for international education.

In drawing her article to a close, Nussbaum returns to the words and works of Diogenes, Marcus Aurelius, and Tagore. She concludes with observations about the process and

consequences of becoming a world citizen, suggesting that putting right before country and universal reason ahead of national belonging is a lonely business. Following Diogenes, she observes cosmopolitanism as a manner of exile 'from the comfort of local truths, from warm nestling feeling of patriotism' and from 'the absorbing drama of pride in oneself and one's own' (Nussbaum, 1994, p. 6). Though the language and the sentiment here is strong, there are elements which echo something I reflected in my professional biography, that educators who have taken up the challenge of trying to defend earlier iterations of international education are simply perceived to be out of step with the educational demands of the time. It could therefore be said that as a result of expressing these views they experience something akin to the loneliness Nussbaum (1994) associates with becoming a world citizen.

Responses to Nussbaum's original presentation of cosmopolitanism

Some of the responses to Nussbaum's essay were critical of specific elements of her formulation of cosmopolitanism, others focused on the concept of cosmopolitanism more generally. Key themes for the criticisms include drawing attention to alternative, more positive and less polarising views of patriotism and national affiliation (Barber, 1996; Falk, 1996; Bowden, 2003), and the importance and relevance of other, more local commitments (Appiah, 1996; 2006; Bok, 1996; McConnell, 1996; Putnam, 1996). Other criticisms focus on arguing the impossibility or meaningless nature of world citizenship in the absence of a world state (Himelfarb, 1996; Walzer, 1996), as well as the absence of an Aristotelian influence (Falk, 1996; Himelfarb, 1996) that would potentially undermine the use of cosmopolitanism as a basis for building an alternative vision of international education. Some of these criticisms are less pertinent to my argument here, for example education premised on patriotism, and those pertaining to the existence (or not) of a world state and systems of global governance, though I note here the growth of global educational institutions, cooperation and governance which are relevant. Likewise, in proposing an alternative future for international education, I am working with aims, ideals, and possibilities which can lead to practicable changes of policy and practice within schools. This renders the criticism of being unreal and utopian less relevant.

Therefore, though I will acknowledge criticisms which relate to these issues, they will not form a major focus. By contrast, the idea of other, multiple, and more local commitments is one of particular interest for international education, as these can become more important in the absence of a primary national affiliation promoted within the international education

'system' but also because international schools are, albeit acknowledged to greater and lesser extents, each rooted in a national context. I will begin here with responses on the topic of patriotism, one of Nussbaum's central themes. Although patriotism is not a primary concern when considering the premises of international education, it relates to the complexity of the idea of citizenship, global or national, and to the affiliations and circles of concern for international families and school communities.

Stance on patriotism

Nussbaum's central concern in Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism is with negative elements of patriotic pride rather than patriotism as a sentiment in general. Nevertheless, Falk (1996) is worried by Nussbaum's apparent encouragement of polarisation between national and cosmopolitan consciousness and suggests that both patriotism and cosmopolitanism can share common commitments to refashioning conditions for the humane state, region and 'a decent, inclusive globalism' (p. 60). This is something which Nussbaum (2008) addresses later in 'Towards a globally sensitive patriotism' where she makes an apparent shift in her position on patriotism. This shift is reflective of the position of Bowden (2003) and Appiah (2006). Bowden (2003) suggests that both paradigms alone have flaws which make them potentially dangerous (p. 246) and attempts to reduce the long-held dichotomy between national affiliations and cosmopolitan sentiments to see if they can in fact complement each other and become 'bedfellows'. He states that 'the possession of a global consciousness need not inhibit one from expressions of patriotic pride, or even a love of one's country' (Bowden, 2003, p. 245). This convergence of patriotism and cosmopolitanism is one which is central to Appiah's (2006) formulation of cosmopolitanism and he is therefore also concerned with Nussbaum's argument against patriotism. He suggests that the nation, however arbitrary it may be considered to be in cosmopolitan thought, should not be discarded in moral reflections precisely because national affiliations matter to people and that this is a reason to defend the nation, the state and all of the smaller circles in which humans live: countries, towns, streets, professions, crafts and so on. He states that the right to patriotic citizenship should be defended by cosmopolitans (Appiah, 1996, p. 29) but also stresses that 'no local loyalty can ever justify forgetting that each human being has responsibility to each other' (Appiah, 2006, p. xv). In the context of international schooling, Appiah's perspective is interesting as national patriotism and citizenship are not necessarily dependent on or connected to each other, yet both can be important aspects of identity and belonging.

Appiah (2006) details two intertwining strands at the heart of cosmopolitanism. One strand, universal concern, focuses on the idea that we have responsibility to others beyond both familial ties and shared citizenship. The second, respect for legitimate difference, focuses on the need to take the value of particular human lives seriously (not just human life in the abstract) and this requires us to take an interest in what makes these lives significant. Key here is that regardless of obligations to others, people have the right to make their own choices which can mean that these two ideals clash. This acceptance of difference, and the acknowledgement that this difference can cause tension (and conflict at micro and macro levels) leads Appiah (2006) to see cosmopolitanism as the challenge of and 'not the solution' to overcoming the issues facing humanity as a result of globalisation (Appiah, 2006, p. xiii). Appiah (2006) tells us that it is a mistake to resist talk of 'objective' values suggesting that some values are, and should be, universal and some are, and must be, local. As there is no hope of reaching a consensus about how to rank the values, the model of conversation as a way to bridge difference between ways of life is reiterated. International education is one area where these conversations can happen; where a cosmopolitan approach, and an outward-looking, compassionate, and human perspective, can be encouraged. I take this up in the final chapter where I will reiterate the need for international education to respond to the difference it 'celebrates' rather than seeking to homogenise and universalise, as Appiah warns us against.

I move now to the more general criticisms of Nussbaum's cosmopolitanism, particularly relevant for education, which fall into three broad categories of criticisms of cosmopolitanism, as identified by Stornaiuolo and Nichols (2018). They are its western orientations and Eurocentric and Enlightenment foundations; its presumptions of a shared and agreed universalism, and views of cosmopolitan individuals as detached, wealthy, and rootless dilettantes (Stornaiuolo & Nichols, 2018, pp. 4-5).

Western, Eurocentric and Enlightenment based

Nussbaum's choice to centre her cosmopolitan stance on Diogenes the Cynic and the Stoics against Rorty, whose call for patriotic pride draws on Aristotle's view of people as political animals, is one which has drawn criticism. Bowden (2003) sees this 'exchange' between Nussbaum, and Rorty, as 'indicative of the nature of the debate that has run through different epochs of recorded human history' (Bowden, 2003, p. 236). Central to the Stoic line of argument is the desire for individual autonomy whereas the Aristotelian line of argument is

based on the premise that human beings both desire and require a grounding in community in order to achieve 'the good life'. While it may be fair for critics such as Falk (1996) and Himmelfarb (1996) to note the lack of Aristotelian ideas in Nussbaum's cosmopolitanism (though the circles model does centre individuals within local affiliations) his work is certainly not absent from her work in general. Her capability approach, for example, favours an Aristotelian and Marxist conception which sees human beings as political animals who want to live together well and with justice, but with a view more inclusive to all members of society, suggesting that the purpose of social cooperation is rather 'to foster the dignity and well-being of each and every citizen' (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 202). The omission perhaps indicates Nussbaum's desire to make a strong argument for a cosmopolitan approach to citizenship over a patriotic one. This is concurrent with Putnam's (1996) feeling that Nussbaum is 'overreacting to Rorty' (p. 93) in the promotion of universal reason which Putnam, like others, including Appiah (2006) and Bok (1996), sees to be located historically but, importantly, also culturally. However, Papastephanou (2013) may disagree, as she suggests that Nussbaum's selection of Stoicism, from all the conceptual history of cosmopolitanism available to her, is arbitrary. Furthermore, she argues that Nussbaum 'elevates it to *the* concept of cosmopolitanism. And she offers no argument (let alone a compelling one) why this should be the case' (Papastephanou, 2013, p. 168). Investigating whether Stoic cosmopolitanism is defensible in modern formulations of cosmopolitanism, Berges (2005) concludes that the emotionality of Diogenes' statement may have been overestimated and his declaration about being a citizen of the world was likely less noble and more detached, a show of strength rather than worldly sentiment. Nevertheless, her conclusion is that while Nussbaum's use of the Stoics is not tenable, there are other 'more plausible' arguments within Stoic thought that are defensible. In her most recent work on cosmopolitanism, Nussbaum (2019) presents a much broader historical grounding of cosmopolitanism as she investigates both 'the attractive ideas inherent in the cosmopolitan tradition, but also its intellectual and practical problems'. This reinforces the idea that in responding to Rorty (1994), Nussbaum's intention, with Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism, a relatively short piece written in a style different from her usual more 'academic' style and register, was to provoke thought and debate, and thus raise the profile of cosmopolitanism as an alternative to popular and dominant discourses of the time. It offers a starting point for a complex and developing idea rather than a final formulation, particularly when considered with the hindsight of Nussbaum's work since.

Cosmopolitanism and its companion, the tenacious notion of world citizenship, is a survivor (Appiah, 2006, p. xii). Nussbaum (1994) argues that it is also an ideal more adequate than more localised permutations for our contemporary, globalised world. Cosmopolitan ideas have endured throughout the history of the west, forming the basis of the work of many Christian intellectuals (Appiah, 2006). Both Nussbaum (1994) and Appiah (2006) remind us that notions of cosmopolitanism have also underwritten some of the greatest moral achievements of the European Enlightenment, including 18th century works by Kant, Wieland, and Voltaire, as well as the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man, making it a stalwart of western philosophy. Yet, postcolonial critiques of cosmopolitanism question its primarily western and Eurocentric orientation, which endures despite a lineage which can be traced through many cultures, as well as Indian, Persian, Muslim, and Chinese philosophies (Stornaiuolo & Nichols, 2018). Even positioning cosmopolitanism as a possible antidote to the consequences of globalisation, as I am doing, could be seen to be taking a particular dominant, western view of both globalisation and cosmopolitanism, one which sees it operating, as Mignolo (2000) describes, 'from above'. He sees globalisation from above as laying 'claim to the heterogeneity of the planet […] economically, politically, and culturally' (p. 721) and sees a world where there are those who plan and execute global projects, and those who must live with them. This is the case even when the noble goal of the cosmopolitan project is to achieve what Mignolo (2000) terms 'planetary conviviality' (p. 721). He gives two examples of such projects. The first is Christianity, bound to the European Renaissance and colonial modernity. The second emerged from the European Enlightenment and comprised the intent to civilise the world in the model of the European nation-state, also bringing in a new model of colonial modernity. Cosmopolitanism, in its hegemonic western forms, is not able, according to Mignolo (2000) to counter globalisation 'from below', which is a globalisation which reflects the experiences of those on the planet who suffer the consequences of the global economy. He suggests that a critical cosmopolitanism or 'cosmopolitanism from below' is necessary for this as one which considers how bound to colonialism modern conceptions of cosmopolitanism are. This would comprise a heterogeneity of perspectives, in a context of discussion. Alternatively, a 'rooted' cosmopolitanism, such as that formulated by Appiah (2006), could also address the need to recognise and take into descriptive account people's lived histories, positive and negative, and everyday realities of negotiating multiple commitments. In his work, Appiah (2006) takes a similar, historical view of cosmopolitanism as Nussbaum (1994), and one which also makes space for patriotism as representative of more local affiliations. Appiah's position is

complementary to the one Nussbaum (1994) originally defended but also provides an account of the importance of rootedness (of which he considers patriotism to be a form). Appiah's work is therefore able to offer something to international education which recognises the value and importance of a multiplicity of affiliations, for example to the home- and host-nation/s on a large scale, and home- and host-towns and schools on a smaller one. Though this was acknowledged by Nussbaum (1994) to be ultimately lacking in her work, the notion of multiple affiliations is not incompatible with her original articulation of cosmopolitanism. These affiliations (and sometimes the lack thereof as I shall later discuss) are characteristic of international school life. Writing in response to Nussbaum (1994), Appiah (1996) suggests that the cosmopolitan patriot can conceive of a world where everyone is a rooted cosmopolitan, both attached to a home of their own, complete with their own cultural particularities, and able to take pleasure from different places which are home to other, different people (Appiah, 1996, p. 22). This idea of difference, along with rootedness, is central to Appiah's conception of cosmopolitanism as it celebrates the fact that there are different ways of being (and is reminiscent of the cherishing of particularity seen in the tradition of *Bildung*). It is also something which could serve to underpin models of citizenship in international school concepts and develop ideas of global citizenship in ways which acknowledge the challenges international education faces as both a western construct and one which also tends towards serving and/or creating an elite.

Before drawing this section to a close, it is worth briefly considering the significance, for my argument, of the criticisms of cosmopolitanism as being western, Eurocentric and Enlightenment based. In the context of Germany, education is set against a backdrop of Christian Enlightenment history, with a history of *Bildung* which stems from both classic Greek humanism, which stands for the idea of *paideia*, and the antique Roman rhetorical tradition (Fuhr, 2017, pp.3-4). International education is itself also underpinned by western and Eurocentric ideas, yet Tate (2016) suggests that having a western-centric approach is only problematic if one is unhappy with such foundations (p. 26). Furthermore, he states that a Eurocentric approach, and one which highlights the traditions and histories of the particular national context, is 'desirable' for schools in Europe, but also notes the importance of introducing students to non-European histories and literature (Tate, 2016, p. 25).[36] I am suggesting a more nuanced approach to international education than this, recognising that the diverse communities of international schools are formed by the coming together of

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[36] Tate (2016) also discusses further the legacy of Liberal Enlightenment for international education.

individuals with their own personal, cultural stories. However, it is worth noting that historical and geographical location are influential factors in the very nature of society and education. What seems to be of greatest import is to know and understand these influences, to be critical of them, which is something which Nussbaum (1994) argues is a benefit of cosmopolitan education. Prior to examining the arguments Nussbaum makes for cosmopolitan education, in the section which follows I will consider responses to her conception of cosmopolitanism which claim it to be based on presumptions of shared universalism and which view cosmopolitans simply as detached dilettantes.

Presumptions of a shared universalism

Some critics see the cosmopolitanism ideal that Nussbaum presents as unrealistic and unattainable. Himmelfarb (1996), labels it 'utopian' in both its unrealistic assumption of a commonality of aims, aspirations and values, and its 'unwarranted optimism' (p. 76). Despite Nussbaum's argument that it is a cosmopolitan view which will open our eyes to the realities of human experience outside of the most local of our affiliations, Himmelfarb nevertheless suggests that cosmopolitanism actually obscures unwelcome facts and the reality of the world in which many human beings reside, concluding that despite its 'nice, high-minded ring', cosmopolitanism is in fact a 'perilous illusion' (Himelfarb, 1996, p. 77). Other critics refer to the cultural elitism which they claim is promoted; Gutmann (1996) for example, concludes that the global community is at best an abstraction and at worst an ideal which advances elite American cultural ideals. Along with claims that Nussbaum avoids the issue of power, Wallerstein (1996) suggests that her version of cosmopolitanism obfuscates the class dimensions that distinguish social and educational opportunities. Here again the criticisms made of cosmopolitanism can also be aimed at international education which makes claims to educate responsible, other-orientated individuals whilst simultaneously excluding some of those who do not have the socioeconomic means to access education at an international school. Writing specifically of international education, Weenink (2008) observes that upper middle class parents aspire to models of cosmopolitan education as part of social reproduction strategies and ways of providing their children with a competitive edge in a 'globalising social arena' (Weenink, 2008, p. 1092). Reflecting on versions of cosmopolitanism, Ivanhoe (2014) acknowledges that there are 'less desirable' forms, existing 'among well-to-do, privileged, politically unengaged global elites (...) who have few or weak ties to any nation' (Ivanhoe, 2014, p. 24). Building on the idea of weak national affiliation, another critic of Nussbaum, Bok (1996), makes a bold assertion that children

deprived of a culturally rooted education find it difficult to experience any allegiances at all and who risk developing a 'debilitating sense of being exiled everywhere with responsibilities to none save themselves' (Bok, 1996, p. 43). These criticisms and concerns regarding cosmopolitanism have endured, with some reminiscent of Calhoun's (2012) labelling of cosmopolitanism as the 'class consciousness of frequent travellers' (p. 106). This view of cosmopolitans and cosmopolitanism could present a stumbling block to my argument that cosmopolitanism may offer a way to substantiate some of the key conceptual underpinnings of international education, especially given the criticisms that it is contributing to a global elite. However, not all of the criticisms of cosmopolitanism presented have the same strength of argument. The issue of cosmopolitanism relating to an illusory global community has lost impact over time, with increased migration and technology creating less abstract understandings of these communities. Equally, utopianism is something which, in determining a more ethical way forward for international education, is welcomed rather than criticised, and less problematic in contexts such as mine, where the aim is to use the ideas of cosmopolitanism to create a vision of international relations based on humanity. The criticisms of cosmopolitanism as propagating cultural elitism and obfuscating class dimensions are more concerning; visible within them are the issues of international education's alignment with neoliberal conceptions of excellence and elitism, the exacerbation of inequality at local and global levels, and the possibility that it is educating inward-looking, self-interested, and detached people. However, in assessing the suitability of cosmopolitanism as an underpinning for international education it is important to distinguish between whether the criticisms are aimed at fundamental understandings of cosmopolitanism or, as with the latter, at neoliberal understandings of cosmopolitanism and international education against which I am arguing.

It is not just critics of cosmopolitanism who recognise the negative aspects of some interpretations of cosmopolitanism. Appiah (2006), himself a proponent and advocate of the possibilities of cosmopolitanism, acknowledges the challenges that even just modern connotations of the term 'cosmopolitan' itself can conjure. Wallerstein (1996) is unarguably critical of what he terms a 'self-congratulatory' cosmopolitanism, yet his perspective has the potential to develop understandings of international education and move them away from fulfilling an elite, neoliberal agenda which is overwhelming the normative goals. He suggests that the stance of 'citizen of the world' is a 'deeply ambiguous one' which can be used just as easily to sustain privilege as undermine it (Wallerstein, 1996, p. 124).

Wallerstein (1996) goes on to argue convincingly that a far more complex understanding is needed. He suggests that instead of learning that we are citizens of the world, we need to learn that 'we occupy particular niches in an unequal world, and that being disinterested and global on one hand and defending one's narrow interests on the other are not opposites but positions combined in complicated ways' (Wallerstein, 1996, p. 124). Though I would question whether disinterested globality is an inevitability, this expanded definition does serve to remind us that, when dealing with contested concepts, ideas - unless clarified and refined - can be compromised by different, sometimes superficial, sometimes loaded interpretations. Further to this, in the case of international school mission statements, the integrity of concepts which have more potential to help schools to fulfil normative goals is compromised by combining them, for example, with the language of elitism and excellence. Schools use what could be considered the language of cosmopolitanism as they present claims to be educating for world citizenship, for example in promoting 'the development of responsible, ethical citizens in an ever-changing global society' (International School Bremen, n.d.), yet there is a lack of clarity and wider contextual grounding of meaning.

The issues surrounding cosmopolitanism (as with international education) are complex ones and it is not necessarily constructive to reduce them to generalisations. Some of the criticisms I have detailed are dismissive of the possibilities that cosmopolitanism holds, perhaps not understanding or acknowledging that there may be both a need and a reason to be hopeful about opportunities to develop cosmopolitan values and ideals. This does not mean that there is not work to be done in overcoming the challenges presented. Appiah (2006) does acknowledge there are challenges associated with understanding cosmopolitanism differently, Ivanhoe (2014) explains that there are versions of cosmopolitanism, not all of them appealing, and Wallerstein (1996) calls for a more complex understanding of some of the key concepts. Ultimately, what these observations lead me to is the consideration of which refinements or conceptual alterations of Nussbaum's original articulation of cosmopolitanism are most viable and most likely to assist in interpreting the idea of the international for international education as I contest neoliberal conceptions of it. Challenging though the criticisms and potential negative consequences of insufficiently articulated interpretations may be to overcome, developing appropriately complex, ethically grounded understandings of both cosmopolitanism and in turn international education could result in a more positive, normatively grounded future for international education.

In contesting prominent conceptions of the international, part of my task is exploring Nussbaum's work in order to present a defensible concept of cosmopolitanism as a way of understanding an idea of the international which can inform an articulation of a cosmopolitan future for international education. As an initial framework for my formulation of international education, Nussbaum's treatment of cosmopolitanism, though problematic in some respects, is illuminating. The core concept of shared humanity and acknowledging a moral responsibility which extends beyond our closest affiliations is one which resonates with core, normative understandings of international education. In addition to this relevance and appeal, the clarity and usefulness of the visual model of the individual as circles within various communities provides a metaphor for lived relationships within international communities (as noted I will develop this further in the final chapter). Of significant interest, and directly applicable as a point of reflection and concern is the attention she pays to the role of education, and it is to this that I now turn.

Nussbaum and cosmopolitan education

Writing of the thin concessions made to cosmopolitanism by supporters of nationalism in both politics and education, Nussbaum (1994) notes that alongside shared national allegiance, a commitment to basic human rights is an important component of 'any national educational system' (p.2). She acknowledges that this commitment and such a shared goal may bring nations together. However, she also asks whether it is enough for students to be taught that they should respect the rights of those living elsewhere if they also learn that they are 'above all' citizens of the United States. Concluding that it is not enough, Nussbaum outlines her belief that in addition to the necessity of learning about their own nation, students should also learn about the wider world in which they live and the successes and failures of both. (In international education, the wider context or the national context may be considered before individual home nations, however the principle is the same: looking beyond the immediate context.)

Within her broader argument and in a later work, Cultivating Humanity, which stands as testament to the development of her ideas, Nussbaum (1997) offers a classical defence of liberal education. Focusing on skills related to humanities disciplines but accepting that these are not the only skills required for 'intelligent citizenship' (Nussbaum, 1997, p. 11) she argues that education should seek to free students' minds from narrow bounds, through the development of three capacities. First is the critical examination of one's own traditions,

based in the Socratic tradition of self-examination; second is the ability to see oneself as bound to humanity beyond local loyalties as a world citizen, and third is narrative imagination,[37] the ability to imagine and seek to understand alternative cultural narratives (Nussbaum, 1997, pp. 9-11). In Cultivating Humanity, Nussbaum (1997) connects liberal education and cosmopolitan citizenship. She presents the USA as having more fully taken up the idea of a broad liberal approach to education in its higher education system, an approach which develops the whole human being for the function of citizenship (Nussbaum, 1997, p. 9), making it ideally positioned to advance such an agenda. There is an assumed context of the nation as the common, organising component of education here and therefore some translation is necessary when considering what Nussbaum's vision for education might look like in an international context, where there is not the same sense of the nation, though this national context plays a role in shaping the work of international schools.

Returning to Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism, Nussbaum (1994) argues that education should adopt the cosmopolitan stance first proposed by the Stoics, who equated good civic education with education for world citizenship.[38] This stance recognises the interdependence of human beings and their communities although it does not seek to deny the importance of the fundamental rights of individuals, which would not be conducive to education or democratic deliberation. Nussbaum offers four arguments, based on those put forward by the Stoics, for making world citizenship a central focus of education over democratic, national citizenship. Her arguments are particularly relevant to building an argument for a cosmopolitan understanding of international education and, following the outline below, I will consider the implications of them for international education as I have presented it so far.

Nussbaum's first argument is that cosmopolitan education enables us to learn more about ourselves, breaking down the barriers we erect to protect our preferences as 'neutral and natural' rather than reinforcing the 'irrationality' and 'false air of moral weight and glory' that more patriotic leaning education encourages (Nussbaum, 1997, p. 4). Put simply, she tells us that ignorance of the world equates to ignorance of the self. Secondly, when we

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[37] Based on the Stoics' belief that an essential task of education is a vivid imagining of the different.

[38] The Stoics offered three reasons: First, that the study of humanity is valuable for self-knowledge, Second, this view enables us to solve our problems more effectively. Third, the cosmopolitan stance, or the *kosmou politês*, has intrinsic value, recognising what is most fundamental to humanity and is thus worthy of acknowledgement and respect (Nussbaum, 1994).

educate for world citizenship, we make greater headway in solving problems which require international cooperation. Nussbaum holds that a cosmopolitan approach to education would provide an appropriate background for global interactions as there is both recognition that the future of nations is intertwined (in both positive and negative ways) and there is respect for differing perspectives and traditions. Thirdly, Nussbaum proposes that a cosmopolitan approach to education leads to the recognition of the real moral obligations we have to the rest of the world. Failing to educate for such global understanding means educating 'moral hypocrites' who use the language of the universal yet exist in the limited and confined universe of the nation. She gives the example that children should be troubled by the fact that universalisation of the living standards enjoyed in the United States could lead to ecological disaster and that consideration should be given to the rights of others to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness – and that it is knowledge which enables us to deliberate those rights. Her final argument for a cosmopolitan approach to education is that it enables us to make a consistent and coherent argument based on distinctions we can defend. She returns to arguments for a patriotic defence of shared values which should bind us together across boundaries such as ethnicity, class, gender, and questions why these should not cross 'morally arbitrary' national boundaries and borders. She goes further, suggesting that by upholding borders as a way of uniting citizens in shared values, we are in fact depriving ourselves of any principled way of arguing that other 'internal' boundaries should be crossed, thus undermining the patriotic project.

Aligning cosmopolitan education and international education

It is Nussbaum's specific attention to education which make her ideas about cosmopolitanism attractive as an underpinning for a new, or at least differently focused conception of international education. The four arguments for how national education can benefit from becoming cosmopolitan offer a way to look at how international education may measure up to her ideas of education for world citizenship, and also how international education might be interpreted within a cosmopolitan framework. They also offer a starting point for examination of potential tensions and issues in any application of a cosmopolitan approach to international education as it currently exists. Declarations of commitment to educating for global citizenship, to developing bilingualism and global-mindedness, and to upholding and encouraging values of being responsible, showing respect, caring and being principled, present opportunities to develop cosmopolitan understandings of international education. Inclusion of these concepts in mission statements suggests that it would be

difficult for international school students to remain ignorant of the wider world and alternative world perspectives in a range of disciplines, both within the curriculum and the wider experience of the national and international community. Students in these schools are experiencing education connected to but not necessarily formulated to fulfil national goals and expectations. (Exceptions arise with schools devoted to the education of their nationals abroad such as the British International schools referenced in the previous chapter.) International school students often live in a national context different from their home nation and are being educated in culturally diverse environments where the opportunities for breaking down barriers exist, and the incentive is there to build inclusive schools which are not bound by the morally arbitrary borders that Nussbaum hopes cosmopolitan education will help to break down. Additionally, opportunities exist within international schools and their networks, both in curricular and co-curricular activities, for interaction and problem solving between students. This includes, for example, direct experience with international organisations such as the Model United Nations, which exemplifies Nussbaum's ideas about cosmopolitan education providing the experience and understanding of difference as a way of making progress in solving problems which cross national borders and require international cooperation. Similarly, an internationally orientated curriculum provides an opportunity to develop understanding of the effects of our lives and choices on those of others which will help to develop a sense of moral obligation to the rest of the world. It seems that the opposition between patriotic and cosmopolitan education made in the 1994 article has become less pertinent, yet, though the ignorance that Nussbaum (1997) feared would result from an education with a patriotic focus may not be quite as blinding, neither is it yet as enlightening as a cosmopolitan outlook may hope to achieve.

Within the mission statements of international schools in Germany there is evidence of elements of Nussbaum's projected outcomes of an education premised on world citizenship. Respect for differing traditions, international cooperation (something also modelled in international school classrooms daily); understanding of the moral obligations we have to others, often communicated using the idea of 'responsibility' and the development of shared values which cross national borders. However, I also have concerns and see tensions which precipitate the need for both caution and further examination. The first issue concerns critical examination and centres on whether international schools, which have been implicated in contributing to inequality within the communities in which they exist, are exercising the criticality necessary to reflect on their own role in society and whether they could

legitimately claim to promote responsibility, local or global. A second is that by aligning with an agenda of excellence parents and students are separated from others who are not able to access the same kind of education. Speaking the dominant language of the school, and/or of the host country also may translate into a kind of cultural superiority. Communications sent out in these languages are accessible only to some, and those families who cannot read those languages can become othered. A third, related issue, is that without careful and specific attention, an unintended outcome of international or cosmopolitan education, both built on western ideals, could be that what is western becomes assumed to be neutral and natural. In terms of international education as I have described it, this could mean the difference between educating the globally minded, socially responsible citizen, and contributing to the creation of a global elite. Reframing international education within an alternative conception of ethical and rooted cosmopolitanism may help to overcome this problem by clarifying understandings of key and contested concepts in an attempt to challenge and change the undesirable outcomes of international education.

Nussbaum (1994) concluded that it is not enough to prioritise national citizenship above all else, and though international schools in most cases do not do this, prioritising world citizenship is not without challenges. As my analysis illustrated, in the international school mission statements the concept of world or global citizenship was frequently combined with those relating to academic rigour and the elitism discourse which are prevalent in expressions about international education in Germany. Even when global citizenship is prioritised above national citizenship, where the concept is lacking sufficient complexity and clarification, the idea can be corrupted by combination with other, more instrumental concepts. It is therefore not enough for international education to declare that it prioritises world citizenship; it is necessary to develop clear and contextualised understandings of meaning. This includes developing a criticality of the role of international education within the sector and particularly in schools themselves, as well as of how concepts such as global citizenship can obfuscate power relationships and perceptions of the non-west and non-dominant cultures. It also requires understanding of how more local affiliations may be of benefit to conceptions of international education, to make the sense of responsibility more connected to the outward-looking realities of international education, not just the inward-focused conflicted ideals. I will return to these concerns and problems, along with what cosmopolitanism may offer by way of help in overcoming them. At this point however, it is pertinent and necessary to acknowledge that Nussbaum subsequently both revisited and revised her ideas from the

initial 1994 paper. Having chosen her work as the basis of a conceptual underpinning of international education, I will explore the significance of the revisions for my choice. It is also worth noting that her revisions also further reduce the impact of some of the criticisms I have outlined, particularly by bringing patriotic sentiment explicitly together with a global outlook.

Nussbaum's cosmopolitanism revisited

In her 2008 essay Nussbaum revisits the relationship between patriotism and cosmopolitanism when she introduces her notion of a 'globally sensitive patriotism'. Reflecting on her previous 'tentative endorsements' of cosmopolitanism, she labels patriotism as 'Janus-faced', describing it as outward-looking on one hand, in its calling of the self to duties for others, recognising the need to make sacrifices for the common good, and renewing the effort to fulfil promises of equality and dignity which are inherent in national ideals. It can also be inward-looking and becomes a way of distinguishing selves from 'outsiders and subversives' (Nussbaum, 2008, p. 79). In Nussbaum's original reading of patriotism, the most dangerous aspect was that it served to define the nation against its foreign rivals and can be used to whip up 'war-like' sentiments against them (Nussbaum, 2008, p. 79). This offers clarification of her original perspective, with patriotism as being bounded and particularistic rather than her previously preferred cosmopolitanism which is global and universalistic. Nussbaum notes ways in which her ideas have changed as she moves towards endorsing a 'purified patriotism' through which a nation does not put its own needs above others and focuses on the suffering of humanity wherever it arises. No longer endorsing cosmopolitanism as a correct comprehensive ethical position, she signals a move away from the Stoics' comprehensive doctrine of rejection of particular attachments. The dark side of this rejection, Nussbaum (2008) notes, is an uprootedness, leading to the experiencing of life as a series of meaningless episodes which are 'destructive to the human personality' (p. 80). Now rejecting a rootless cosmopolitanism, she instead frames 'an uneven dialectical oscillation within ourselves as we accept the constraints of some strong duties to humanity', and then consider the extent to which we as human beings are entitled to devote ourselves to particular places and people we love (Nussbaum, 2008, p. 80). She proposes this to be her 'current comprehensive ethical position' (p.80), one which makes room for patriotism, particularly one which accepts the constraints of global justice.

Papastephanou (2013) describes Nussbaum's conceptual handling of cosmopolitanism as 'inflexible' and suggests that it subsequently traps Nussbaum's political thought, forcing her to deal in either/ors rather than more nuanced formulations (Papastephanou, 2013, p. 168). This leads her to conclude that Nussbaum now places patriotism in the position of priority for education. Nussbaum (2013) has subsequently distanced herself further from her initial position on cosmopolitanism, citing as reasons the inability for a cosmopolitan to also be politically liberal due to the comprehensive theory of choice and the apparent debarring of cosmopolitans from giving personal, national and other forms of local attachment more than derivative value (Nussbaum, 2013, pp. 473-474). As Papastephanou (2013) notes, this reflects a position concurrent with those of Nussbaum's critics, some of whom I have cited previously in this chapter. The language used by Papastephanou (2013) to describe Nussbaum's changing position, that of 'renouncing' and 'discarding' cosmopolitanism, reflects what she sees as Nussbaum's strong movement away from cosmopolitanism to the opposite pole of patriotism, and her being forced to do so by having initially set up such a strong dichotomy between the two sentiments. This change in position is important, particularly with regards to using Nussbaum's cosmopolitanism as a basis for outlining international education and consideration must be given to the implications of these changes. Yet, in both papers, Nussbaum has endeavoured to highlight that her difficulties lie with negative connotations of patriotism as she mediates between the options for educational and political approaches to citizenship. This does not appear to be acknowledged by Papastephanou, whose critique perhaps overstates the nature of Nussbaum's changed stance.

Enslin (2011), writing of education for global citizenship, advises those weighing cosmopolitanism and patriotism as competing terms for citizenship education to be wary of Nussbaum's apparent turn. Firstly Enslin (2011) questions the weight Nussbaum now attaches to the nation as a basis for domestic and global solidarity. Secondly, she cites growing inequality within nations such as the UK and USA as reason to question the willingness of citizens to show solidarity in sharing of domestic resources even in the face of shared history which creates a basis for solidarity. Finally, Enslin acknowledges the significance of the examples given by Nussbaum to substantiate her change of priority, drawing as Nussbaum does on speeches made by influential leaders including Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. (Nussbaum, 2008, pp. 87-93). Nussbaum uses these to exemplify 'how bold projects requiring sacrifice derive support from moral emotions directed at the nation and its history' (Nussbaum, 2008, p. 87). Yet Enslin (2011) also notes that the

influence of these speeches is not limited to citizens of their respective nations, and stretches beyond borders, serving to inspire people of any nation who embrace Gandhi and King's ideas. Ultimately Enslin (2011) deems it possible to continue to endorse Nussbaum's earlier formulation of cosmopolitanism for her work on education and global citizenship, applauding Nussbaum's recognition of the internal oscillations between our local and global affiliations and suggesting that there are pressing issues more deserving of criticism than Nussbaum's work. She sees the challenge of 'countering the influence of neoliberal versions of statism and their restricted conception of solidarity' (Enslin, 2011, p.99) as formidable. This formidable challenge is one which I believe to be necessary to take up in countering neoliberal influences within international education and I, like Enslin, will, in the main, be endorsing Nussbaum's earlier stance on cosmopolitanism for the purposes of international education.

At a time of global connectedness, it seems erroneous and counterproductive for Nussbaum to shift her focus onto the nation as a main unit of reference in terms of affiliation, especially given the current state of global affairs. Cosmopolitanism is presently of even greater importance as a possible antidote to increasingly inward-facing, nationalistic stances. Appiah (2006) tells us we have now come to a point in time where each of us can realistically imagine contacting any other of our seven billion plus conspecifics to send that person something positive, be it a good idea; a radio or medication, or something negative; a bad idea, pollutants, viruses (Appiah, 2006, p. x). The possibility, opportunity, and responsibility to gain knowledge of our fellow humans' lives is arguably greater than ever before, both through the availability of information and the multicultural nature of many communities. With that, seeking to achieve the cosmopolitan ideal becomes both more necessary and more possible. Barber (1996) however, in his criticism of Nussbaum's earlier work posits that 'no-one lives in the world of which cosmopolitans wish us to be good citizens' (Barber, 1996, p. 33). Though Nussbaum did not claim that they did, I would suggest that students and staff of international schools do live in a cosmopolitan world. This is a world which brings together people from different but not disparate places and exposes them to new languages, religions, and ways of life whilst showing that human needs and wants are essentially the same. This commonality is a fundamental part of Nussbaum's stance on humanity and therefore her argument for cosmopolitan education and citizenship. Even before we begin to consider more specifically what kind of education international schools offer, including in terms of development of cosmopolitan citizenship, this international environment, in

bringing new cultures and experiences closer, can be said to help individuals to draw the rest of humanity closer. As I have outlined, this is not without its challenges, however where they do arise, the international school environment could serve well, as Appiah (2006) would suggest, to open the conversations needed to understand other perspectives (p. xix). Although if we interpret Nussbaum's more recent stance on education as Papastephanou does, seeing primary placement of patriotism, using Nussbaum's work could become problematic, in arguing for an interpretation of Nussbaum's work over time, it is possible to endorse some of the key ideas despite the critiques.

International schools are located within national contexts but also have the possibility to transcend national boundaries, both practically with international curricula and figuratively by creating international communities. In Germany, international schools are responsible to local authorities, to greater and lesser degrees, for a variety of matters relating to education and must also comply with legal requirements, for example for attendance and safeguarding. Equally, it is common for curriculum content to be designed to reflect the location of the school and school calendars often mirror those of 'local' schools (here we might imagine them to share a circle of affiliation). National context has a key role in shaping individual schools and the education they offer but this is different from having a primary focus on patriotic citizenship, which Nussbaum denounces in education in the USA. I have noted the complexity of the idea of patriotism within an international context yet there are indications within the declared aims of the international schools that there is a place for a perspective of rootedness, or elements of globally sensitive patriotism, which Nussbaum later favours. This is evident in the level of importance given to languages, both of the host-nation (indicating the importance of language for active and effective civic participation) and the home-language/s (representing the importance of maintaining connection with the home-nation and culture, as well as being the most effective way to develop literacy in additional languages). An element of rootedness is also reflected in humanities curricula, where the local context plays an important part in determining the topics of study. Therefore, if we take instead Enslin's (2011) more measured response to the changes Nussbaum makes in her rejection of a rootless cosmopolitanism, it allows space to consider the place and role of the nation in education for citizenship. It also opens discussion about what citizenship means in an international education setting and ways of preventing international school students from being left as rootless citizens or detached dilettantes. Papastephanou (2016) expresses concern for a cosmopolitanism she describes as 'the cultural preferences or the enrichment

of the lifestyle of a global class' rather than a cosmopolitanism which instead conveys 'an ideal about humanity's relation to the variegated localities that composed it and to the environment' (Papastephanou, 2016, pp. 3-4). As well as echoing some of the initial objections to Nussbaum's (1994) articulation of cosmopolitanism, her concerns for cosmopolitanism reflect my own for international education which could be seen as contributing to the creation of a new class of global cosmopolitan elite and to a widening gap between rich and poor, thus exacerbating the great asymmetries of power. These have, according to Nussbaum (2006), increased resistance to the solution of key issues of global justice (p. 92) rather than contributed to using global knowledge and understanding to move towards solving these problems. As discussed in Chapter 2, there is little sense of controversy within the sector surrounding international education's ongoing efforts to serve a dual-purpose agenda and it is therefore feasible that international education is currently part of the problem rather than the solution. I remain sceptical that sufficient balance can be achieved between these two opposing goals and argue that international education needs to realign its priorities in order to remove the stranglehold of neoliberal influence on it. If graduates of an international education do not realise the notion of shared humanity, understand the nature of their responsibility to others having had the privilege of an international education, or fail to connect with, or become disconnected from their roots of any kind, international education could be judged to have served only an instrumental purpose. It also highlights the importance of Nussbaum's more recent move towards rooted cosmopolitanism, and a need to understand and clarify the idea of rootedness and citizenship within international education.

Towards a cosmopolitan understanding of international education

Through previous chapters I established an account of international education, exploring the extent to which schools reflect the liberal, normative aims of international education I am arguing are more educationally laudable, and which should therefore be protected from the influence of prevalent instrumental aims. After evaluating competing meanings and interpretations of international education, I concluded that resolution rather than acceptance of the tension between these differing aims is necessary if a more ethical future is to be achieved. Accepting the tension would likely see a continuation of current models which reflect an influence of neoliberal policy and instrumentalism. The urgency of my task in reimagining international education as a normative, cosmopolitan project was highlighted in Chapter 2 in the acknowledgement (by Hayden, 2011) of possibilities that the presence of

international schools increase inequality, and in Chapter 3 where international education was presented as elite, along with other schools in Germany, and as contributing to hierarchisation of education and socioeconomic division.

In this chapter I have sought to establish more explicitly whether Nussbaum's account of cosmopolitanism can be adopted as an appropriate conceptual base on which to build an alternative vision of international education. In both Chapter 4 and the current chapter, I have aligned the conceptual bases of both cosmopolitanism and international education, concluding that reinterpretation of international education and its related concepts within a cosmopolitan framework is possible. Such reframing would support a turn away from tacit understandings of central concepts such as international, international mindedness, and global citizenship, which are vulnerable to corruption from wider instrumental influences on education, and towards clarity and shared meaning. In seeking clarity of meaning, I am not prescribing, or advocating for prescribing meaning, rather proposing that concepts be interpreted within a theoretical framing of cosmopolitanism. This is not an uncomplicated task but is one which honours the vast complexity of contexts which influence international education, and one which both allows and requires interpretation for specific contexts. The importance of contextual specificity is underscored by combining Nussbaum's overarching approach to cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education with Appiah's concept of rooted cosmopolitanism. In combination these theoretical constructions offer the opportunity to address criticism of international education as insufficiently grounded in its local contexts and highlights the potential negative effects of failing to engage with the local and the global beyond the international sector. Having justified the use of Nussbaum's cosmopolitanism, in combination with Appiah's concept of rooted cosmopolitanism, the task which remains in my construction of a cosmopolitan defence of international education, is to present a speculative, philosophical articulation of international education as interpreted within a cosmopolitan framework.

Summary

In this chapter I have explored Nussbaum's treatment of the concept of cosmopolitanism, including her arguments for making world citizenship a central goal of education. Having examined key areas of criticism and taken into account Nussbaum's shift towards endorsing a rooted model of cosmopolitanism with her purified patriotism, I have concluded that Nussbaum's work provides a relevant and substantial platform on which to base a

cosmopolitan defence of international education. Several areas of criticism levelled at her work in the 1990s diminish in power when examined both from an international school perspective and several decades later, but the volume of criticism that Nussbaum's 1994 paper drew is testament to its significance. The criticisms levelled at cosmopolitanism as an unattainable ideal or the claimed utopian nature of cosmopolitanism do not diminish the salience of her defences of cosmopolitan ideals in education. Furthermore, if a utopian goal is appropriate anywhere, surely it is appropriate for imagining a future for education. Barber (1996) suggests that Nussbaum's work understates the thinness of cosmopolitanism, suggesting that it 'offers little or nothing for the human psyche to fasten on to' (Barber, 1996, p. 33) and goes further to suggest that global citizenship requires such high levels of abstraction and disembodiment that most people will be both unwilling and unable to raise the levels necessary to meet the task. Yet, international schools, flawed though they may be, offer an environment - a reality rather than an idea - which is able to ground understanding of what it means to be cosmopolitan. Both examination of the criticisms, and Nussbaum's defence of a cosmopolitan approach to education have also highlighted issues within international education and challenges which require reconciling for a cosmopolitan interpretation of international education to be achieved. In the concluding chapter I will explore changing contexts for international education and the effects that these may have on the sector. I will then defend a philosophical articulation of international education as underpinned by cosmopolitanism. In doing this I will use the model of the circles to look more closely at how a complicated, rooted version of cosmopolitanism, with well-developed conceptions of global and local citizenship and responsibility, could support an alternative, more ethically defensible version of international education.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In the preceding chapters, I developed an argument for, and defended, a cosmopolitan interpretation of international education which is able to clarify and reinforce the normative goals of international education. I did this using the methodology of an initial professional autobiography followed by document analysis, through which I examined representations of internationality within the mission statements, and conceptual analysis of competing and contested concepts. Throughout the dissertation I built on and developed understandings of the central concepts, preliminary definitions of which were introduced in the first chapter, including international education and cosmopolitanism and the related concepts of liberal education, *Bildung*, and neoliberalism. Enveloping my work in a reflective, forward looking philosophical approach also enabled me to consider the implications of the likely continued dominance of neoliberal imperatives within education and how conventional and dominant understandings can be challenged, and alternative visions shaped, underpinned by philosophical framing and conceptual reinterpretation. More specifically, I have argued that by conceptualising international education within a cosmopolitan framework, the influences of dominant neoliberal imperatives can be mitigated through the strengthening of aspirational, normative goals which exist within the stated aims of the schools yet are in tension with instrumental aims. By aligning existing aims with cosmopolitan rather than neoliberal understandings, the sector can be guided towards a more ethical, globally, and also locally orientated future and better honour its liberal roots and educational idealism.

In this concluding chapter, I begin by revisiting my research questions and presenting a summary of the conclusions I have drawn throughout the dissertation. I then reflect on a vision of international education underpinned by cosmopolitan ideas and principles, and in doing this return to key issues, themes and concepts arising both from my analysis of themes represented in the literature of international education and the document analysis. Subsequently, I defend an alternative cosmopolitan interpretation of international education which includes an illustrative redevelopment of Nussbaum's model of concentric circles. Finally, I consider implications of adopting my proposed conceptualisation of international education for professional practice.

Revisiting the research questions: summary conclusions

My research emerged from the changes I perceived in the priorities and roles of international schools in Germany over the course of my professional involvement. It reflects my

experience of practically negotiating the tension which exists between the instrumental outcomes of an education which has become a desired commodity, and normative commitments to education for international understanding. In pursuing this interest, this research was framed by two key questions:

- What do the declared aims of international schools and the research literature reveal about current conceptions of international education?
- How can cosmopolitanism be used to provide a useful theoretical framework for developing an alternative, more normatively driven conceptualisation of international education?

In addressing the first question, I examined both the key understandings and critical themes arising from international education research and the declared aims of international schools in Germany as shared in their mission and vision statements. I concluded that though current conceptions of international education continue to reflect normative, aspirational aims, the wider neoliberal context is exerting an influence which sees normative goals compromised, and more instrumental aims take priority. Furthermore, I found that international education, though nominally globally orientated, may have become too inward-looking and sector focused, missing potential opportunities to contextualise itself within wider discourses of internationalisation which it has also been influential in perpetuating. Simultaneously, as research emerging from national contexts indicates, the role of international schools appears to be changing as the meaning of 'international' shifts to become part of the emerging elitism and excellence discourse. A consequence of this shift is the contribution that international schools are seen to be making to increasing educational inequality, as well as socioeconomic segregation, in their local contexts. This effect is further undermining local education efforts to achieve increased cohesion and integration. Problematic for the future of international education, these changes undermine some of the declared aims of international schools and compromises the liberal aims of international education. As a result, the outcome of my research is that I am critically rejecting conceptions of internationality which do not express an adequately cosmopolitan understanding of the international.

Addressing the second research question, I considered how cosmopolitanism could be used to underpin an alternative, more ethically defensible conceptualisation of international education and schooling, which would enable it to overcome the challenge of a central tension between its instrumental and normative aims. Following critical analysis, I

concluded that Nussbaum's conception of cosmopolitanism, supported by Appiah's notion of rootedness, offers an appropriate and useful theoretical basis for defending a cosmopolitan construction of international schooling. A cosmopolitan interpretation of international education offers a path to conceptual clarity on global citizenship and international mindedness. Insufficient criticality risks issues of enduring conceptual 'fuzziness'[39] whereby mission statements convey ideas of internationality, which is linked, for example, with elite schooling, academic excellence and English language learning, rather than the national, cultural and linguistic diversity it could represent. Utilising the model of the concentric circles further offers a way to conceptualise the affiliations and responsibilities of international schools, and the possibilities for international education which exist within a cosmopolitan construct. These possibilities, which I will explore below, include creating space for reflection on underpinning concepts from a rooted, yet globally aware, position, and for notions of *Bildung* and ideals of liberal education to flourish. Ultimately, a cosmopolitan interpretation of international education is necessary in order to meet the normative goals of education which are present in the mission statements, and to avoid a dominant expression of instrumental goals of education with which they are in tension. Prior to presenting a philosophical framing of international education to illustrate how cosmopolitanism can usefully be applied to overcome the problems I have highlighted here, in the section which follows, I will consider how a likely trajectory for international education has been changed by a developing global situation, and how this may benefit and increase need and desire for alternative models of education.

Changing global contexts: implications for international education

International education, up to the end of 2019, looked likely to continue to be influenced by neoliberal education policy and economic growth. In Chapter 2 I referred to the 'predictions' made by Brummitt and Keeling (2013) and Hayden and Thompson (2013). These included, respectively, the possible 'domination' of profit-making schools and school groups (Brummitt & Keeling, 2013) and growth in international schools more generally due to persisting demand for programmes representing a 'gold standard' of international education (Doherty, 2009, p. 86). My analysis in Chapter 4 showed that in international schools, expressions of internationality have become bound to neoliberal interpretations of education and that mission statements reflect a normalising of neoliberal language. Even though my aim with this dissertation was to present an alternative, it was difficult to imagine another

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[39] I refer here to Kahn and Zeidler's (2017) idea as introduced in Chapter 1.

probable scenario in the context of such dominant and pervasive global policy. Even the possibilities, raised by Hayden and Thompson (2013), of a decrease in demand for traditional international schools due to a change in international movement because of environmental concerns and technological advances seemed to be at best a long-range projection. Yet, in 2020, a pandemic caused by a new virus changed and, at the time of writing is still changing modern life. The times are repeatedly described as 'unprecedented' and as such the repercussions could see what was likely to be a continued neoliberal influence become just one possibility amongst others. In the section which follows I give a contextual overview of a changing and uncertain global situation which is likely to have a significant effect on international schools across the world. Thereafter I will consider what changing global priorities may mean for international education before presenting a vision of international education informed by ethical, rooted versions of cosmopolitanism. This alternative vision would enable it to eschew some of the criticisms and concerns I have discussed throughout this dissertation and summarised above.

The UK government has referred to the Covid-19 virus as a 'great leveller' (Milne, 2020, n.p.), transmitted regardless of wealth or status. Yet Wade (2020) reminds us that pandemics throughout history have laid bare the inequality within and between nations across the globe, reinforcing that it is the poorest and most vulnerable in our societies who are at greatest risk of consequences of the virus whether health related, social or economic.[40] Amidst speculation about whether post-Covid-19 will see the end of neoliberalism or a gradual return to 'normality' there is an additional 'levelling' perspective which indicates that the pandemic could precipitate societal change which would see a reduction in the 'deep-seated social injustices and inequalities' it has exposed (Hartog, 2020, n.p.). Though not inevitable, Scheidel (2018) indicates that a pandemic is one of four events in history which has proved to effect change resulting in greater equality.[41] Historically, according to Wade (2020), pandemics have influenced societal inequality by undermining or reinforcing existing power structures. Scheidel (2020) suggests that the longer the Covid-19 pandemic continues to disrupt the global economy, which may be determined by the time required to widely administer a vaccine, 'the greater the potential for radical equalising change' (cited in Hartog, 2020, n.p.). So far though, in the UK and across Europe, the limits of the market have been exposed: the importance of strong state intervention and strong public healthcare systems have been highlighted. What the outcome of this pandemic will be remains to be

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[40] Including global recession, unemployment, and famine.
[41] War, state collapse, and revolution are the other three.

seen and will depend on the actions and choices of individuals but change in some form seems inevitable. Scheidel (in Hartog, 2020) suggests that for transformation in society to be achieved, only a small increase in the percentage of people who believe that something needs to be done is required for new ideas and policies to become mainstream. This is echoed by Bregman (2020) who states the need to 'bring the ideas that were once so radical to the centres of power' (n.p.) with everyone having a role to play. An opportunity exists for us all to act to create a more just and equal future.

International education remains bound to economic and neoliberal formulations of globalisation and the processes of internationalisation it has engendered. This has made the disentangling of the normative aims from instrumental aims difficult, yet international education could face a larger challenge as the effects of the Covid-19 pandemic play out. Lent (2020) suggests that they could lead to 'an inversion of […] neoliberal norms' (n.p.) which could signify significant change for a sector which has benefited and grown as a result of neoliberal policy. There will be practical challenges related to changing economic circumstances. The prospect of recession is one which is likely to be problematic for international schools in Germany, and elsewhere, as individuals and businesses are affected by changing economic circumstances. At the global level, there may be a reduction in international companies sending personnel overseas due to health and safety concerns and cost-cutting in the face of possible rising costs of air travel. Systems set up to enable remote working during border closures and lockdowns may continue to be a preferable option. There will also be further potential consequences if national economies reduce their dependency on long supply lines dependent on overseas suppliers of manufactured goods, parts, and commodities. At the local level, individuals may face employment uncertainty and increased socio-economic hardship meaning that, for some families, international schools may no longer be an option. A decrease in enrolment means a decrease in revenue from fees and although this could threaten the survival of some schools, the sector in general is likely to endure. Though international education may be altered by these potential changes, demand for international education may remain. Parents may still wish for an international education for their children even if companies and families become less mobile, as is evident in the popularity of international education in national contexts. As discussed in Chapter 2, international schools have evolved over time to survive and meet changing demand. At the time of restricted movement during lockdown and ongoing need for social distancing, further adaptation became evident: online learning, even with very young children, started to become normal, and teachers continue to adapt to and adopt new ways of communicating

with their students. It seems reasonable to wonder if online international schooling might be something which becomes both possible and desired as schools find ways to adapt to further changes in demand which may arise as the effects from the current situation become known and understood. Though the international education sector will be affected by the changing global situation, the implications will not be universal. In Germany it is conceivable that things will not change fundamentally, certainly compared to other parts of the world which may have had less robust economies and a less successful national response to the pandemic, and that we will see a return to the pre-pandemic neoliberal agenda. This would see schools continue to negotiate their own paths between the instrumental and normative, within a broadly instrumental approach to education. However, a changed and changing global society, which has seen acts of altruism and cooperation, and shared human experience, may offer hope to my ethical, rooted cosmopolitan vision for international schooling. What might seem like utopian views and ideas are perhaps now more appropriate and more necessary than before. As we stand at the edge of possibility for significant change, cosmopolitan understandings of education are more urgently needed. It is possible that increased cosmopolitan sentiments will emerge in general, along with increased receptiveness to them, as people seek to help and understand those most affected by the economic and health implications of Covid-19. Heightened awareness of the possibility for effecting environmental change has also become apparent as a result of decreased human activity on the planet. A changing global context may provide receptive and fertile ground for a new view of international education, and it is my preferred future for international education to which I now turn.

By framing international education within a model of an ethical, rooted cosmopolitanism, based on Nussbaum's conception of cosmopolitanism and cosmopolitan education, supplemented by Appiah's sense of rootedness, there exists the possibility to overcome the issues I have exposed as occurring within and arising from current models of international schooling. Possibilities exist, and can be seen within curriculum frameworks and values statements, to focus on and achieve goals of educating for global citizenship, yet these have been insufficient. Much of the work needed is in questioning the ethics and effects on schooling of neoliberal dominance and reframing current understandings of key concepts in cosmopolitan terms instead. A more nuanced understanding is necessary because, as the mission statements showed, the normative goals expressed by international schools already reflect cosmopolitan concerns in aims such as education for world citizenship, respect for those different from us, and taking responsibility for those outside of our immediate spheres

of concern. Yet, as discussed in Chapter 4, they are often compromised and altered by the instrumental goals they are connected with, all within a broadly neoliberal understanding of education. As discussed in Chapter 5, this leaves international education vulnerable to criticism that it is contributing to growing a global elite, educating graduates who resemble the cosmopolitans Calhoun (2012) describes as frequent flyers, and Stornaiuolo and Nichols (2018) as detached, wealthy and rootless dilettantes, who, at worst, in not being connected to any particular place, have allegiance only to themselves. The challenge is to shift the discourse of cosmopolitanism within international education towards a more constructive one of ethics and rootedness, which offers both a more nuanced and grounded approach to understanding international education. Contextualising the goals of international education within a cosmopolitan rather than a neoliberal framework could support the redirection of the international narrative towards one which emphasises a normative understanding of the wider concept of internationality. In Chapter 4 the instrumental aims were identified as those focusing on academic achievement and ultimately employability, and which reflect a discourse of elitism and excellence. The normative goals identified in the mission statements were broadly categorised as relating to global or world citizenship; languages and bilingualism (though this was often expressed in instrumental terms); values, including respect and responsibility; and the individual and others in the local and global community. I concluded that most schools, in expressing their aims, lay somewhere between the extremes of an instrumental-normative spectrum, which reinforced both the tension in the aims and the differences in the profiles of schools all of which can be considered international. The variance in types of schools makes it challenging to present one approach which will neatly encapsulate the aims of all schools, however achieving homogenisation is not the goal here, rather to offer an overarching approach which allows and encourages individual interpretation. If, as Appiah (2006) suggested, we see cosmopolitanism as the challenge and not the solution (Appiah, 2006, p. xiii), it can be taken as a starting point for international schools to reflect on their core aims. The application of the cosmopolitan framework therefore becomes relevant, albeit differently, for all. This is important because, as I discussed in Chapter 4, many schools already have elements of cosmopolitanism within their aims. The challenge is to value and prioritise them. I now turn to outline how a more robust cosmopolitan interpretation of the interrelated key categories of aims can support the more ethical and rooted future for international education and begin to shape a new understanding of internationality. This understanding is one based on normative understandings of diversity, culture, and cosmopolitanism, and one which separates itself from the

internationalisation discourse which has seen international education married with conceptions of elitism, excellence, and competition.

Framing international education within rooted, ethical cosmopolitanism

Nussbaum's (1994) conception of cosmopolitanism, including the model of the concentric circles, provides a framework for understanding the normative aims of education. It also offers a way to understand the responsibilities schools have to their various communities as well as the roles of individuals within these communities. In addition, both being mindful of the key capacities for citizenship (critical examination of one's own traditions; seeing oneself as bound to humanity as a world citizen; and actively seeking to understand alternative cultural and ethical narratives through narrative imagination) and applying them to underpin core aims of international education, open possibilities for building a strong, liberal base for international education. Further to discussing how the concentric circles can be usefully applied to international education, I will also consider, following Appiah (2006), how visualising international education as conversation to bridge difference may not only offer a way of emphasising its key normative aims, but also provide a challenge to the need for standardisation, acknowledging that schools have unique communities and therefore different starting points.

I stated, in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, that a paradox (and therefore a challenge) of international education is that all international schools are located within a national context, and that this context exerts an influence on how schools negotiate their global, national, and local affiliations, as well as how they represent their internationality and conceptualise international education. While some schools, particularly German schools with an international curriculum and bilingual schools which have a high commitment to German language learning, have a strong connection with their locality, many international schools, particularly traditional ones, have become more affiliated with the global international education community. The global or international context is implied in the branding of the school, but by positioning and viewing international schools as located at the centre of the concentric circles, attention can also be drawn to its most localised contexts, important within the wider context of humanity. Figure 1 shows a model of the circles modified to reflect this positioning of international schools as rooted in a locality, as well as in the global community.
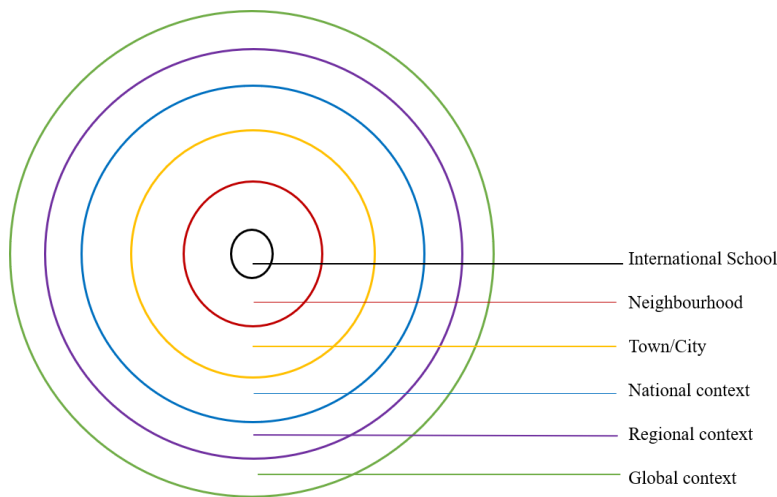
Figure 1: Concentric circles

Cosmopolitanism calls for allegiance to a humanity which stretches beyond the nation, asking us to recognise and respond to the wider community of humanity. The circles as depicted in Figure 1 offer a point of reflection, with a different starting point depending on whether schools are more locally or globally orientated, for considering the roles and responsibilities to those within each of the circles of affiliation. The circles offer us several ways to look at international education, move thinking away from a simplistic local-global spectrum and contextualise different spheres as relative to and not different from each other. Furthermore, they depict the global community of humanity as encapsulating the others whether they be schools, individuals, or the concept of international education itself, reinforcing the notion that they are both rooted in a locality and part of the global community. Taking this view, international schools cannot be (or aim to be) responsible global citizens without also being responsible local citizens. In arguing for international schooling which has at its centre a core ethical aim based on 'how people should live and live together as they make their lives in cooperation and reciprocity with others' (Cockerill, 2014, p. 14), the circles reinforce the idea that it is not only distant others that are referred to here. International education can therefore reasonably be envisioned as education which has responsibilities within the spheres of closest affiliations, including the school community, neighbourhood and town or city, but also reaching across to those further away.

By placing schools at the centre of the circles, I am reinforcing the need for schools to be aware of the effects they have on their localities in response to the criticisms, raised and discussed in Chapter 3, about the possible negative effects of international schools on their immediate localities, for example socio-economic hierarchisation, which in turn connects to the elitism discourse. As responsible, ethical institutions schools should be concerned with

this and seek to work more closely with local education authorities and initiatives to overcome these issues which currently undermine the values of respect and responsibility schools aim to develop. When we view schools within the abstract context of the circles, questions arise about what the circles represent in reality. The challenges I outlined in Chapter 2 regarding how to define international schools and the differing priorities expressed in the mission statements in Chapter 4, are indicative of international schools as different from each other and having uniquely constituted communities located in diverse neighbourhoods. A goal of cosmopolitanism is to see commonality rather than difference and yet it is a mistake to universalise or reduce this idea to one which does not acknowledge the nature of the difference. Though international education is based in western constructs of education, and it can therefore be reasonably assumed that parents make an informed choice to educate their children within this tradition, international schools can also reasonably be expected to provide an education which is aware of its own roots, able to take a critical stance towards them and to understand their role and responsibilities in contributing to and sustaining inequality (as well as overcoming it). This is a central idea in developing ideas of cosmopolitan global citizenship that challenge those dominant within western understanding of global citizenship, which has a tendency towards conceiving the role of those within western nations as benevolent providers of help to less fortunate others. Though for international schools global citizenship can mark an attitude of being in the world, it can also appear to be premised on the belief that agents have responsibility to make a better world. In the latter, notions 'of aid, responsibility, and poverty alleviation retain the other as an object of benevolence. Here, the global citizen is somehow naturally endowed with the ability and inclination to "help" the Other' (Jefferess, 2008, p. 28). However, Appiah (2006) suggests that ethical action does not begin with what we can do to help a dying child, rather with an understanding of why the child is dying. Having endorsed Appiah's cosmopolitanism approach to global citizenship, Jefferess (2008) suggests extending this and poses a question: 'Why is it that certain people, or institutions, are in the position to help or "make a difference" and how is that position related to the reasons why the child is dying?' (Jefferess, 2008, p. 35). By asking difficult questions, meanings of global citizenship in international education can begin to be reinterpreted within a cosmopolitan frame of understanding. This in turn creates implications for practice which I shall consider in the following section. I now turn to consider the possibilities for reframing conceptions of international education, with the individual international school student at the centre of the circles.

Cosmopolitanism gives us a starting place to overcome the complex challenges of orientating an education which is simultaneously local and global by focusing on commonality and humanity. International education gives us the opportunity to examine and learn about both what constitutes circles of affiliation for individuals, classmates and community members, and the responsibilities within and across them. Jackson (2019) argues that developing understanding of what is in each of the circles should be prioritised over issues of affiliations across the circles because it offers a way to know about and be part of the spheres in a way which is meaningful and connected to students' experiences. Placing the individual at the centre of the circles precipitates reflection about which affiliations form the inner spheres for international students, and it is here that there is additional complexity, particularly regarding affiliations which interact with concepts of nationality and national allegiance, but also related to planned length of residence in Germany. The various identities, loyalties and responsibilities may not fit neatly into a local–global dichotomy: a student with Spanish nationality (and strong Spanish identity) who has a Venezuelan mother and a Portuguese father, has much more complicated 'local' allegiances when compared to local German students attending an international school in Germany for example. However, I am not suggesting that allegiances for host nation students are by comparison simple: 'local' students may have one German parent and a parent who is a German citizen of, for example, Turkish or Russian descent. This idea is further illustrated when considering religion, for example for German citizens who are Muslim in a predominantly Christian country. Such diversity underscores the great variance in international school community membership and highlights the opportunity which international schools have to educate both for understanding of what is in each of the circles, and for the commonalities which engender the moral responsibility to others in more distant circles. Using the concentric circles model in this way supports an account of how international education can educate for ethical citizenship by recognising that each person is rooted in their own, personal context and simultaneously in a shared physical context, and at the same time shares basic human needs and wants with those in the outermost spheres. Visualising affiliations in this way also further reduces the false dichotomy of the local-global spectrum.

Finally, by modifying the circles (Figure 2) to show how the individual circles intersect, I can emphasise how the international school environment places students within the inner spheres of one another's lives, bringing experiences, knowledge and ideas which would normally be distant into much closer spheres. In just one classroom there is richness of tangible diversity: an Arabic speaking refugee whose family fled Syria taking a German surname; a Japanese student, new to Germany who speaks no English; an American student who is outside the US for the first time; a German student who has attended the same school since kindergarten; a bilingual Kenyan student whose parents are students, and a British student whose parents are international school teachers who have moved regularly.
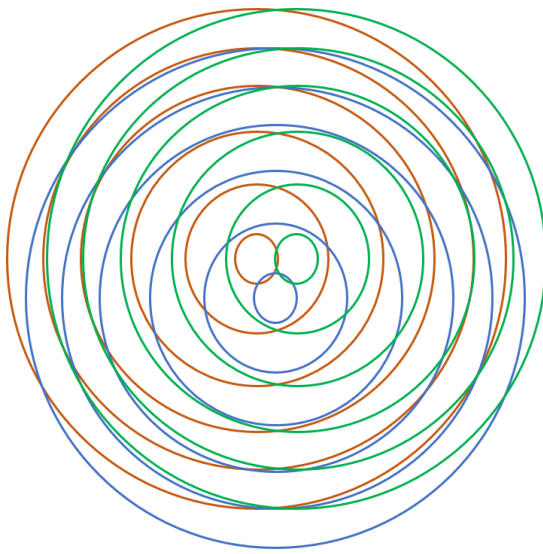

Figure 2: Intersecting concentric circles

In international schools Figure 2 represents a reality rather than an ideal. If schools endorse instrumental internationality through prioritising and promoting academic excellence and subsequent employability, of which standardisation of experience and outcomes have become part, it will be impossible to build on the rich opportunities for educating for humanity that international education brings to understand the lives of other individuals (not a collective 'other'). However, by framing international education within the context of rooted cosmopolitanism and making educating for cosmopolitan citizenship a valued goal, we can facilitate conversations (to return to Appiah's idea about the function of cosmopolitanism) about what is within each circle, and how we can bridge differences across our spheres of affiliation. Each school is unique and by visualising international education as conversations to bridge difference the opportunities to build understanding of difference and foster commonality can be recognised in context. This framing also emphasises the roles of languages and bilingualism in schools as ways of understanding others from new

perspectives and, with regards to German, as ways of being a citizen, over those of social mobility or elitism. The idea of international education as conversations does not undermine or replace the focus on academic achievement but makes space for relationships and emphasises the importance of these for educating for world citizenship and for framing and contextualising the traditional, subject-based curriculum. In the introduction to this dissertation, I noted differences I have observed as international education has changed over the past two decades. In my first class, a Swiss-Brazilian student who already spoke German and Swiss-German, Portuguese, English, and some Spanish was having lessons in Dutch, alongside her Dutch friends because she wanted to be able to communicate with them, and know them, in their mother tongue. As the international school business has grown and schools and curriculum bodies have sought to become legitimised and standardised the space for educative experiences such as these, which exemplify elements of cosmopolitan education, has been reduced. The opportunity to engage in narrative imagination, the ability to imagine and seek to understand alternative cultural narratives (Nussbaum, 1997, pp. 9-11) has decreased or become more formalised. Reframing international education within a rooted and ethical cosmopolitanism offers the ability to reduce lack of clarity in central concepts and reinforces the power of the normative goals of schools to form the basis for a liberal conception of education which values and centralises humanity but also the child as an active participant in their own education.

The proposals I have made provide a view of how cosmopolitanism can be the starting point for international schools to reject neoliberal narratives of education and reassess and realign their central principles and conceptual interpretations with those of ethical, rooted versions of cosmopolitanism. Further possibilities exist for this within the broader scope of Nussbaum's work, as I suggested in Chapter 5, by adopting her capabilities approach. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to offer detail here but is worth mentioning briefly as a possible route for further work, particularly as relating to curriculum development and support. Consisting of a framework of ten capabilities,[42] the capabilities approach was crafted with the goal of enabling people to have opportunities to lead a life of flourishing, with the freedom to decide for themselves if and how they pursue such ends (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 88). This core tenet of the capabilities approach can be deployed to reflect and extend cosmopolitan interpretations of responsibility and cooperative rather than benevolent

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[42] Life; bodily health; bodily integrity; senses, imagination and thought; emotions; practical reason; affiliation; other species; play, and control over one's environment, both political and material (Nussbaum, 2019, pp. 241-243).

approaches to global citizenship. Moving beyond the overarching cosmopolitan interpretation of international schooling, it offers a way to reconstruct approaches to curriculum and to further challenge the encroachment of the neoliberal approach to results driven practices, as the curriculum is increasingly geared towards 'hard' skills and away from nurturing 'softer' skills and those focused on personal fulfilment, development of the self and those necessary for the sustenance of democratic societies (Cockerill, 2014, p. 13). Such education is not necessarily one which promotes flourishing or compassion for others, which will influence the attitude graduates take out into the world. Adopting the capabilities approach as a framework to underpin the curriculum, leadership, and development of culture in international schools can serve as a balancing force and reminder that education has a fundamentally important role to play at the global level in achieving social justice and at the individual level, with education retaining 'the capacity to form the human person' (Freire, 1998, p.39). Graduates of international schools, by virtue of their privilege, have the potential to be influential in the world. If they experience an education grounded in cosmopolitanism and capability development, rather than competitiveness or measured achievement, they are more likely to engage with the issues of the world on a more personal level, feeling a connection with their fellow humans and responsibility towards them. Building on this, in the section which follows, I will consider implications for practice of the reframing I have suggested and how it may be achieved.

Implications for professional practice

The cosmopolitanism I have proposed and defended offers international education a way to move forward, as a united sector with a guiding 'philosophy' previously deemed missing (Allan, 2013). It offers a way to resolve the tension between the instrumental goals and the more laudable normative aims, which ultimately causes conflicting priorities for practice within international schools. I have argued that cosmopolitanism provides a conceptual framework which would allow international schools to prioritise their normative aims and increase their value in supporting their work in educating responsible, ethical, and rooted world citizens with freedom from the constraints of instrumentalism. The overarching cosmopolitanism ideal, that of the notion of worldwide allegiance to the community of human beings which stretches beyond our local concerns, provides a fundamentally moral grounding for education. Having considered how key concepts can be reinterpreted to develop a more appropriately cosmopolitan understanding of the international, I now take cosmopolitanism as a starting point once again, this time for reflection on the implications

of such a moral orientation towards humanity for international education and how it may translate into professional practice.

In the biographical positioning I presented in Chapter 1, I reflected on the difficulty of defending what I have framed as the normative, aspirational, liberal aims of international education against those representing the dominance of neoliberal values in education and in society. Beyond experience, my analysis has shown that many international schools in Germany (to differing extents) are also, whether implicitly or explicitly, promoting instrumental readings of internationality through their mission statements, by conflating ideas of the international with instrumental aims of education. These statements are designed to attract students and parents, and, in some form, revenue which then must be justified, often through quantifiable resources and results. Organisations such as the IB have tried to centralise normative curricular elements and promote liberal understandings of international education through professional development and other published materials such as position papers, but these seem over time to have been superseded by the scale of challenge of breaking with standardised curricula and measurable outcomes (for both the schools and the organisations) when demand for 'accountability' is increasing. The scale of the challenge should not be underestimated and because of this, and for any change to be effective, despite the difficulty it entails, the greatest opportunity and hope may still lie with individual educators and school leaders in the form of a 'bottom-up' ethical cosmopolitan movement, which would require significant reflection on the responsibilities of educators.

One responsibility which comes from taking a cosmopolitan approach to international education is for educating the whole person as a unique individual and simultaneously as forming part of diverse communities. This requires aims and understandings of education which stretch beyond the formal, written curriculum and individual achievement in academic terms, and which resist and reject the homogenising effects that striving for consistency and standardisation risks. I have shown that values are made explicit in school mission statements, with respect, responsibility and care featuring prominently, providing foundations for building cosmopolitan education on and around human individuality and difference. However, I have also shown how, within a sector driven by neoliberal, instrumental imperatives, the normative meanings of even these values can be diminished, if not lost, when combined with agendas of excellence and elitism. I am conscious that the theoretical framework, and outlined responsibilities for educators within this framework, are therefore not likely to be sufficient alone in engendering the change I hope to see.

One way of moving beyond the theoretical into the practical is to use the circles, reinterpreted within a context of international education, to underpin curricular and co-curricular planning and decision making with a goal of creating a meaningful setting for particular rather than generalised cohorts of students, and a central focus on developing knowledge and understandings of our responsibilities as located within and across multiple circles. I preface the brief speculative examples I will offer by acknowledging that these are not new ideas in international schools, rather their value has been reduced having become overshadowed by agendas of standardisation and assessment and/or framed within models of benevolent aid which reinforce perceptions of inequality without necessarily addressing them. By considering a curriculum rooted in a locality and in humanity, opportunities can open to develop both local and global understandings as part of the rich diversity of affiliations which constitute international students' circles. By rooting the curriculum in both a physical locality and within a context of human experience, what is within the inner circles can be explored from a position of commonality, and that commonality can be drawn upon to build understanding and respect, whilst creating an environment which can explore difference both within and across the complexity of the circles of affiliations. Engagement with culture in the locality of individual schools establishes a connection with the host country. It both enriches and roots the curriculum, but also opens discussions of citizenship and what it means to inhabit a specific place, as well as how interactions across circles broaden out to what it means to inhabit the globe in a community of humanity which has evolved systems of, for example, philosophy, arts, religion, and literature. Studying German history for example opens conversations about the interconnectedness of nations and the effects of their actions and interactions.[43] Knowledge of the host country language and culture also enables participation in German civic and cultural life. Literature, classic or contemporary, presented as human stories can focus on fostering empathy and developing insights into the lives of others rather than potentially alienating young readers by leading with issues which may be difficult to relate to. These learnings are transferable beyond specific national settings and can foster relationships and understandings which may challenge the undesirable outcomes of rootlessness sometimes associated with cosmopolitanism.

Beyond the taught curriculum, experiences, exchanges, and partnerships (all of which can be considered forms of conversation) can both provide a way of crossing the circles (and

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[43] In addition to 20th century German history (a path of study important for students in all sectors of education in Germany) it could be expanded to include Germany's colonial activities in, for example, Burundi, Rwanda, and Tanzania (formerly German East Africa) which could open the way for wider study of colonialism and its far reaching and enduring effects.

learning what is within them). School partnerships can tend to be premised on aid, which focuses relationships on difference in the form of inequality and begin from a point of 'othering' which undermines a goal of developing respect for 'legitimate' difference. In order to avoid these pitfalls of the politics of benevolence, Enslin (2011) advises that it is when the educational impact for both parties is considered first that partnerships can offer opportunities for genuine, egalitarian exchange and learning on both sides. This premise is relevant whether the partnership or exchange is within the school community, local organisations or those located more distantly. Though parental and educator cooperation has been described as 'archaic and quaint',[44] this is a model of partnership which can enrich experiences across the circles. German speaking parents[45] can be a source of support for international teachers who may not have fluency in the language[46] or knowledge of the local area. With such support, engagements with local organisations and experiences can be facilitated, which can in turn support a wide range of themes including the environment and sustainability, and theatre and the arts. Likewise, partnerships with international parents (and students) can bring perspectives beyond the local and beyond those of the often-dominant western ones. Key is that these partnerships, fostered within a context of *Bildung* and respect for relationships, be given time to develop. This way exchanges are given their value and humanity, and the pitfalls of them becoming tokenistic, superficial exercises avoided. Making the circles central to planning could enhance educators' awareness of relevant contexts and affiliations, enabling them to connect to students' identities and experiences rather than depersonalising and homogenising classroom experiences and curriculum content. Enriching the curriculum in this way is part of the wider responsibility of educators.

Recognising pedagogy as a moral and political practice, Giroux (2004) sees it necessary to hold educators 'accountable' for 'the images of the future they deem legitimate' (p. 38). I am suggesting that teachers should instead hold themselves (and ultimately their schools) 'responsible' by considering the possibilities for the future of international education driven by a normatively informed vision over an instrumental one. In the light of such reflection, questions, such as whether educators are (or should be) content to put into practice educational policies and practices which at worst 'reflect and facilitate structured inequality, rationed dignity, rationalized privilege, and self- righteous hierarchy' (Purpel, 1999, p. 188), can be asked. In the context of my vision for international education, and with reference to

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[44] Bunnell (2020) as referred to in Chapter 1.

[45] And teachers, though the challenge is always finding time to create meaningful cooperative projects beyond school trips.

[46] I noted in Chapter 4 the complex cultural possibilities which language can open.

my interpretations of the circles of affiliation, teachers have a responsibility to understand the physical, social, cultural, and political contexts of their work. One way of doing this is by undertaking critical examination of the underlying drivers which have become 'neutral and natural', to use Nussbaum's (1997, p. 4) term, in international education. A prudent starting point for taking up the challenge of cosmopolitanism as a way to frame international education which prioritises its normative goals is recognition of and reflection on the role of neoliberal narratives of education in shaping the aims, and ultimately practice, of international education. The challenge for individuals in schools and organisations is to expose and interrogate dominant narratives of international education, to disentangle the concept of internationality from instrumentalism, and to shift the emphasis onto and increase the value of the normative goals. An ethical and rooted cosmopolitanism provides the framing of this alternative vision of education and the concepts which underpin it, but central to the realisation of this change is individual educators, whether they work at the classroom, leadership, or organisation level, taking responsibility for the outcomes of the education they provide. By opening conversations and meaningful dialogue, and involving educators in debating, deliberating, and challenging the current aims and priorities of education, values for a normatively informed vision of international education can be established and upheld at the level of practice. Doing this, particularly in the context of a rapidly changing society, brings the opportunity to make decisions and act in the interest of humanity, and to influence and create alternative narratives as social actors, rather than be buffeted by the consequences of decisions made by others or encouraged to act in ways which do not honour a cosmopolitan understanding of international education.

In taking an ethical and cosmopolitan approach, we are reminded that education is not morally neutral and as such it can either reinforce and perpetuate dominant societal narratives or challenge and seek to change them, as some early international schools did. For international schools, the task is more urgent as these schools make specific claims about their internationality, educating for world citizenship and taking responsibility. With these claims there comes a responsibility for educators to recognise, expose and be critical of the social, cultural, and political contexts of international education. This includes a need to understand neoliberal imperatives which influence the sector and that this influence manifests itself across the circles of affiliation, with implications both for how schools operate and how they interact with their global and local contexts, as well as how they respond to them. As Savage (2017) states, primarily addressing students of education but no less relevant here, 'if you do not understand the basics of neoliberalism and its impacts on

education, then you will remain largely blind to the dominant forces that underpin what happens in schools' (Savage, 2017, p. 144). Developing understanding of how schools reflect and reproduce cultural values of consumerism, materialism, competition, and hierarchy as they legitimise economic and social advantage based on school achievement (Purpel, 2008, p. 120) is part of understanding how the current global educational contexts interact with, and shape and change, international schooling. Once the wider contexts are understood, and the challenge of educating for humanity and not for the economy is taken up, it becomes necessary to take a critically reflective perspective on international education and this precipitates a need to question its fundamental priorities and aims. This questioning, reflective stance would also encompass examination of how the concept of internationality has been altered within the context of dominant narratives of education, which have emerged from neoliberal globalisation, including that of internationalisation. It also involves clarifying concepts within a cosmopolitan understanding, which changes the meanings of such key ideas as global citizenship and responsibility significantly.

Following Freire (1998), I hold that international educators cannot expect of students what they do not show themselves. This position also reminds us that it is right to reject every form of discrimination, there is no neutrality in these matters. Viewing educators as active public intellectuals underlines the importance of ethical understandings of education and what its ultimate goals should be, but also of the role of teachers in public life. Nussbaum stresses that it is an education revealing our humanity and our vulnerabilities, which will pave the way to a world of peace and global cooperation (Nussbaum, 2004, p. 47). Yet within a culture of education under the influence of unchallenged neoliberalism, educators may accept or prefer systems built on striving for academic excellence, and characterised by standardisation, selection and accountability over rectitude and a desire for each child to live a good life for themselves and others. Teaching is, for many, a way to earn money rather than a politically or socially informed professional endeavour, and as such it is perhaps more easily accomplished when the goals are measurable, as endorsed and encouraged by current models of education. My hope for the future for international education is nevertheless that it can reclaim and reinvigorate its normative goals and purpose, but without significant change in orientation to global matters, and clarity and agreement about the fundamental purposes of education, there is unlikely to be the desire for this.

Concluding remarks

I conclude by reiterating the possibilities for international education to engage with transformative, cosmopolitan educational ideals, which can support it to question and challenge the hegemonic discourses of society, and to reclaim aspirational notions of 'international'. There is opportunity for the sector to build on aims and values already expressed within the mission statements, and to resist the dominance and influence of the ideology of liberal individualism, to pursue an agenda more closely aligned with aims of social justice and cosmopolitan internationality. This would in turn realign international education more closely with key concepts of international understanding and global citizenship, underpinned by cosmopolitanism, rather than those of elitism and excellence, which have become prevalent as part of the internationalisation discourse. Failure to engage with opportunities to reframe understandings of international education would, at the very least, be a missed chance for schools to simply do better at prioritising, valuing, and achieving their more laudable, normative declared aims. Yet, I acknowledge here, as I did in Chapter 2, that there are those who may question whether it is the responsibility of educators to help young people change the world. Even if consensus were achieved that it is, Bernstein's (1970) reminder that 'education cannot compensate for society' underscores that international schools cannot reasonably or realistically be expected to solve, nor bear the responsibility for, addressing global issues of injustice and inequality. However, international schools are well positioned to choose to educate pupils to understand inequality and injustice and their causes, and to be disposed to behaviour that is sensitive to a globalised world in which they enjoy some advantages. The emphasis of international education can be refocused on educating students to be able to make informed choices about how they wish to respond to the issues the world is facing from a knowledgeable and compassionate perspective, and one which takes into account the lives of others, both close and more distant. Education may not be able to compensate for society, but this does not mean that it should unquestioningly accept probable trajectories of society (and education within it), or not orientate itself towards cultivating humanity over economy. Rather, this idea reinforces the responsibility of educators, including school leaders and organising bodies, to critically consider the external factors exerting influence on, and creating context for education, and to reflect on what they as individuals are conveying with their own responses to matters of justice and equality. Purpel (2008) considers this in an address entitled 'What matters', and perhaps by asking what really matters at a fundamentally human level, global and local,

more conversations and meaningful dialogue will be initiated, and the process of transforming education, society and the future will begin.

Though to both question dominant themes within international education, and to operate outside of them is, I have argued, an implicit moral responsibility of educators and education, the challenge to resist the pervasive influence of the neoliberal remains formidable. My hope is that by engaging with the ideals of international education, contextualised within a frame of rooted, ethical cosmopolitanism, a normatively informed iteration of international education becomes not only defensible but much more possible.

Appendices

Appendix A: International Baccalaureate Learner Profile

Appendix B: List of schools and organisations analysed

Schools' mission statements

1.	Accadis International School
2.	Bavarian International Schools
3.	Berlin Brandenburg International School
4.	Berlin British School
5.	Berlin Cosmopolitan School
6.	Berlin International School
7.	Berlin Metropolitan School
8.	Black Forest Academy
9.	Bonn International School
10.	Cologne International School
11.	Dresden International School
12.	European School Frankfurt
13.	European School Karlsruhe
14.	European School Munich
15.	Fintosch Multilingual School
16.	Franconian International School
17.	Frankfurt International School
18.	Gut Warnberg Schule
19.	Heidelberg International School
20.	Independent Bonn International School
21.	International Bilingual School Munich
22.	International Kindergarten Seeheim-Jugenheim
23.	International School Augsburg
24.	International School Braunschweig-Wolfsburg
25.	International School Campus Hamburg
26.	International School Dusseldorf
27.	International School Frankfurt Rhein-Main
28.	International School Hamburg
29.	International School Hannover Region
30.	International School Mainfranken
31.	International School of Bremen
32.	International School of Neustadt
33.	International School on the Rhine
34.	International School Ruhr
35.	International School Stuttgart
36.	International School Ulm/Neu Ulm
37.	Internationales Gymnasium Geithain
38.	Josef-Schwarz-Schule
39.	Kämmer International Bilingual School
40.	King's College Frankfurt
41.	Leibniz Privatschule Elmshorn
42.	Leipzig International School
43.	Metropolitan International School
44.	Metropolitan School Frankfurt
45.	Munich International School
46.	Obermayr International School
47.	Obermenzinger Gymnasium (Bilingual)
48.	Phorms Campus Berlin Mitte
49.	Phorms Campus Berlin Süd

50.	Phorms Campus Frankfurt City
51.	Phorms Campus Hamburg
52.	Phorms Campus Munich
53.	Phorms Taunus Campus
54.	Robert Bosch College
55.	Schule Birklehof
56.	Schule Schloss Salem
57.	St George's School Cologne
58.	St George's School Duisburg-Dusseldorf
59.	St George's School Munich
60.	State International School Seeheim-Jugenheim
61.	Stiftung Landheim Schondorf am Ammersee
62.	Stiftung Louisenlund
63.	Strothoff International School
64.	Swiss International School Berlin
65.	Swiss International School Friedrichshafen
66.	Swiss International School Ingolstadt
67.	Swiss International School Kassel
68.	Swiss International School Regensburg
69.	Swiss International School Stuttgart-Fellbach
70.	Taunus International Montessori School
71.	Thuringia International School

Organisations' mission statements

1.	Association of German International Schools
2.	Cambridge Assessment
3.	Council of British International Schools
4.	Council of International Schools
5.	Educational Collaborative for International Schools
6.	International Baccalaureate Organisation
7.	International Primary Curriculum
8.	New England Association of Schools and Colleges
9.	Phorms
10.	Round Square Network
11.	Saxony International Schools
12.	St George's Schools
13.	Swiss International School
14.	United World Colleges

Appendix C: High frequency word analysis

Frequency analysis of school mission statements

	Word	Occurrences	Frequency	Rank
1.	our	292	3.6%	1
2.	students	158	2%	2
3.	school	147	1.8%	3
4.	learning	136	1.7%	4
5.	international	82	1%	5
6.	education	73	0.9%	6
7.	community	73	0.9%	6
8.	world	63	0.8%	7
9.	mission	58	0.7%	8
10.	respect	53	0.7%	8
11.	life	45	0.6%	9
12.	well	44	0.5%	10
13.	environment	42	0.5%	10
14.	values	41	0.5%	10
15.	development	37	0.5%	10
16.	children	37	0.5%	10
17.	understanding	36	0.4%	11
18.	others	35	0.4%	11
19.	develop	35	0.4%	11
20.	individual	34	0.4%	11
21.	responsibility	33	0.4%	11
22.	through	33	0.4%	11
23.	social	33	0.4%	11
24.	skills	33	0.4%	11
25.	each	32	0.4%	11
26.	educational	31	0.4%	11
27.	child	31	0.4%	11
28.	student	31	0.4%	11
29.	support	31	0.4%	11
30.	global	31	0.4%	11
31.	every	31	0.4%	11
32.	them	30	0.4%	11
33.	English	30	0.4%	11
34.	provide	29	0.4%	11
35.	personal	29	0.4%	11
36.	self	29	0.4%	11
37.	become	29	0.4%	11
38.	academic	29	0.4%	11
39.	own	27	0.3%	12
40.	caring	26	0.3%	12
41.	learners	26	0.3%	12
42.	teaching	26	0.3%	12

43.	based	25	0.3%	12
44.	potential	25	0.3%	12
45.	people	25	0.3%	12
46.	language	24	0.3%	12
47.	German	24	0.3%	12
48.	minded	24	0.3%	12
49.	make	23	0.3%	12
50.	responsible	23	0.3%	12
51.	learn	23	0.3%	12
52.	vision	22	0.3%	12
53.	experience	21	0.3%	12
54.	achieve	21	0.3%	12
55.	knowledge	21	0.3%	12
56.	positive	21	0.3%	12
57.	principles	20	0.2%	13
58.	work	20	0.2%	13
59.	teachers	20	0.2%	13
60.	young	20	0.2%	13
61.	open	20	0.2%	13
62.	pupils	19	0.2%	13
63.	whole	19	0.2%	13
64.	help	19	0.2%	13
65.	developing	19	0.2%	13
66.	committed	19	0.2%	13
67.	citizens	18	0.2%	13
68.	different	18	0.2%	13
69.	creative	18	0.2%	13
70.	cultural	17	0.2%	13

Frequency analysis of organisation mission statements

	Word	Occurrences	Frequency	Rank
1.	our	81	2.9%	1
2.	international	47	1.7%	2
3.	school	41	1.5%	3
4.	students	40	1.4%	4
5.	schools	35	1.3%	5
6.	education	34	1.2%	6
7.	learning	32	1.1%	7
8.	world	22	0.8%	8
9.	educational	21	0.8%	8
10.	sis	20	0.7%	9
11.	children	20	0.7%	9
12.	global	17	0.6%	10
13.	through	17	0.6%	10
14.	language	16	0.6%	10
15.	teaching	16	0.6%	10
16.	learn	15	0.5%	11
17.	community	15	0.5%	11
18.	develop	14	0.5%	11
19.	personal	13	0.5%	11
20.	teachers	13	0.5%	11
21.	understanding	12	0.4%	12
22.	skills	12	0.4%	12
23.	social	11	0.4%	12
24.	uwc	11	0.4%	12
25.	respect	11	0.4%	12
26.	local	11	0.4%	12
27.	them	11	0.4%	12
28.	people	10	0.4%	12
29.	development	10	0.4%	12
30.	environment	10	0.4%	12
31.	take	10	0.4%	12
32.	CIE	10	0.4%	12
33.	make	9	0.3%	13
34.	network	9	0.3%	13
35.	goals	9	0.3%	13
36.	others	9	0.3%	13
37.	responsibility	9	0.3%	13
38.	use	9	0.3%	13
39.	developing	9	0.3%	13
40.	knowledge	9	0.3%	13
41.	Swiss	9	0.3%	13
42.	languages	9	0.3%	13
43.	based	9	0.3%	13
44.	curriculum	9	0.3%	13
45.	experience	8	0.3%	13

46.	values	8	0.3%	13
47.	way	8	0.3%	13
48.	achieve	8	0.3%	13
49.	German	8	0.3%	13
50.	day	8	0.3%	13
51.	institutions	8	0.3%	13
52.	every	8	0.3%	13
53.	class	8	0.3%	13
54.	mission	8	0.3%	13
55.	young	8	0.3%	13
56.	part	8	0.3%	13
57.	provide	8	0.3%	13
58.	English	7	0.3%	13
59.	these	7	0.3%	13
60.	internationally	7	0.3%	13
61.	where	7	0.3%	13
62.	primary	7	0.3%	13
63.	high	7	0.3%	13
64.	own	7	0.3%	13
65.	diversity	7	0.3%	13
66.	during	7	0.3%	13
67.	challenging	7	0.3%	13
68.	future	7	0.3%	13
69.	sense	7	0.3%	13
70.	support	7	0.3%	13

Appendix D: Colour coding for thematic categories

Eight thematic categories, words, word families and phrases with colour coding

9. Words and phrases signifying an international view; 'international', 'international mindedness', 'diversity', 'culture' (intercultural, multicultural), 'world'

10. Words and phrases relating to the role of language; 'languages', 'bilingual', 'multilingual', 'German', 'English', 'immersion'

11. Words and phrases specifically linked to citizenship; 'citizen', 'world citizen', 'global, citizen'

12. Words and phrases relating to the values of international education; 'responsibility', 'respect', 'caring', 'principles'

13. Words and phrases relating to the individual; 'individual', 'self', 'personal', 'own'

14. Words and phrases relating to others; 'community', 'others', 'social', 'society'

15. <u>Words and phrases related to school academics; 'academic', 'education', 'achievement', 'develop', 'learn', 'potential', 'curriculum', 'challenging', 'knowledge', 'understanding', 'skill'</u>

16. ***<u>Words and phrases related to the elite; 'elite', 'excellence', high-quality', 'top-quality', 'first-rate', 'quality', 'best', 'highest'</u>***

Appendix E: Sample text analysis

Colour analysis school mission statement: Bonn International School

The mission of Bonn International School is to empower and inspire students to achieve their full individual potential and become responsible global citizens. We provide an innovative, internationally-recognized education within a compassionate multicultural community.

• BIS is the most established and experienced International Baccalaureate school in the Cologne-Bonn area.

• Our curriculum empowers and inspires each student to achieve individual *excellence* through an academically *rigorous* education.

• An exceptional technology and campus infrastructure, wide range of after-school activities and support services enhance student life.

• BIS graduates attend *top* universities around the world because the IB opens doors.

• In a school where every child counts, each student develops the mindset of a global citizen and the competencies to succeed in a rapidly changing world.

• As a compassionate, multicultural community, we celebrate and profit from our diversity.

School Culture

The IB steers the development of internationally minded people, who recognise their common humanity and shared guardianship of the planet, who help to create a better and more peaceful world. This mission is encapsulated in the 'IB Learner Profile'. At the heart of this is the learner, our aim is to empower our learners to embrace these values and apply them to their lives outside the classroom.

Colour analysis organisation mission statement: United World Colleges

UWC (United World Colleges) is a global education movement that makes education a force to unite people, nations and cultures for peace and a sustainable future. Central to the ethos of UWC is the belief that education can bring together young people from all backgrounds on the basis of their shared humanity, to engage with the possibility of social change through courageous action, personal example and selfless leadership. To achieve this, UWC schools and colleges all over the world deliver a challenging and transformational educational experience to a deliberately diverse group of young people, inspiring them to become agents of positive change in line with UWC's core values:

International and intercultural understanding

Celebration of difference

Personal responsibility and integrity

Mutual responsibility and respect

Compassion and service

Respect for the environment

A sense of idealism

Personal challenge

Action and personal example

Today, UWC has 17 schools and colleges on 4 continents, the majority of which focus exclusively on the 16-19 year-old age group: a time when young people's energy and idealism can be guided towards empathy, responsibility and lifelong action. These colleges teach the International Baccalaureate (IB) Diploma as their formal curriculum, a qualification that UWC played a major part in developing, while also emphasising the importance of experiential learning, community service and outdoor activities.

UWC college students are selected domestically, in more than 155 countries, through UWC's unique national committee system. Selection is based on demonstrated promise and potential. In accordance with the UWC ethos that education should be independent of the student's socioeconomic means, 70% of students in their IB Diploma years receive either full or partial financial assistance, based on their needs.

UWC also runs shorter educational programmes - conducted at the campuses of its 17 schools and colleges and beyond - increasing the number of people who can have access to a UWC educational experience.

UWC fosters a lifelong commitment to social responsibility and, to date, it has inspired a worldwide network of more than 60,000 alumni, who believe it is possible to take action and make a difference locally, nationally and internationally.

Appendix F: Sample category tracking analysis

Tally of appearances of words matching categories: School mission statements

School	Red	Orange	Gold	Blue	Purple	Grey	Red <u>underline</u>	**<u>Bold underline</u>**
International School Hamburg	‖‖	0	卌	卌	‖‖	‖	卌 卌 卌 卌 ‖	‖
International School Stuttgart	卌	0	‖	‖‖	0	‖	卌 ‖‖	0

Tally of appearances of words matching categories: Organisation mission statements

Organisation	Red	Orange	Gold	Blue	Purple	Grey	Red <u>underline</u>	**<u>Bold underline</u>**
International Baccalaureate	卌	0	‖	‖	0	0	卌	0
Swiss International Schools	卌 卌 卌 卌 卌	卌 卌 卌 卌 卌 卌	卌 ‖‖	‖‖	‖	卌	卌	卌

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