

GLOBAL, EUROPEAN, OR LOCAL CITIZENSHIP?

The Discursive Politics of Citizenship Education in Central and Eastern Europe

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The story of international schools in the Central and Eastern European Schools Association (CEESA) is one piece of a modern educational narrative mirroring larger geopolitical shifts and changes over the past 60 years. The sixteen schools in CEESA share a unique experience of moving from a Soviet to a post-Soviet geopolitical space where international politics have shaped, and continue to shape, each school's curricular emphases. As a result of the blurring of geographic, ethnic, and religious barriers inside classrooms in the post-Cold War years, CEESA schools reflect both the development of an international perspective on education and the history of American political hegemony in Europe. With student bodies diversifying in the schools, global citizenship education has become not only a reality in CEESA curricula but also a necessity.

Most of the CEESA schools began under the auspices of the U.S. Department of State during the Cold War. They were intended to help enforce

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America's role as the Western superpower. The British initiated similar schools for similar reasons. As more international schools continued to be established around the world and the Cold War began to wane, the ideas of education for global citizenship evolved to meet the needs of an increasingly international and diverse student body. The identity and purpose of the CEESA schools straddled historical foundations of American influence (often times keeping "American" in the school's name), contemporary ideas of global citizenship education, and the oft-neglected influences of local conditions. These strands have mixed over time, creating schools with a wide variety of missions.

Drawing on the analysis of 16 mission statements of the CEESA schools and reflections of 65 survey respondents, this research explores three questions: How do mission statements in CEESA international schools reflect the ideals of global citizenship? How do teachers and administrators perceive the place of CEESA schools in a "European" frame? and How do teachers and administrators at CEESA schools perceive global citizenship education when compared to the mission statement of their school? This research examines the notion of "European citizenship" and places the discussion of "global citizenship" in a Central and Eastern European context. Moving beyond the wish list of global citizenship features, we hope to explore how the idea of global citizenship has emerged and is implemented in Central and Eastern Europe. By comparing the rhetoric of global citizenship with the perception of how global citizenship is taught in schools, we will begin with an exploration of the conceptions, misconceptions, and practices of "European" and "global" citizenship in Central and Eastern Europe.

THE HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

The emergence of American international schools—that is, schools influenced by U.S. political and military departments (including Department of Defense Dependent Schools [DoDDS], Department of State Schools, and Embassy Schools)—had a particular *raison d'être* to support U.S. missions and increase American influence overseas. In the aftermath of the Second World War, the U.S. government, under the supervision of the Departments of State and Defense, began increasing its U.S. presence abroad in the form of embassies and military bases. As diplomatic missions increased in number and size under the Kennedy administration, a growing need for American style education abroad emerged, voiced most loudly by civil servants with children (Miller, 2000, p. 10). Similarly in line with the pragmatic reasoning behind the creation of the International School of Geneva (ISG; to support personnel of the League of Nations!), U.S. civil servants abroad required more "American" services in the 1950s and 1960s. As a

result, these schools originally had a student body comprised mainly of the children of U.S. civil servants and military personnel.

The increase in "American" schools abroad is also directly linked to the geopolitics of the time. The tense relationship between the U.S. and the USSR began a game of positioning in non-aligned countries. Embassies and military bases aimed to influence societies to be sympathetic with American values, ideas, and politics. To support these embassies and military bases, schools were needed for the children of American civil servants and military personnel. Therefore, America not only used education as a means to enforce cultural hegemony but also used the souring relationship with the Soviet Union as justification for increased diplomatic missions, which underscored the growing economic hegemony of the U.S.

By 2008, the State Department supported 196 schools in 131 nations (United States State Department, 2008). These schools can be roughly categorized into two types. The first and most common type of school is the community school. These schools are owned and managed by the parent body, not the U.S. State Department. The other type is embassy schools. These are generally smaller schools located within the confines of embassy grounds. Typically, U.S. supported schools are likely to move from direct support and management by the U.S. government to a more community-based model.

American (and British) overseas schools present a specific strain of internationalism. They were largely concerned with the education of their own personnel and citizens abroad. These American schools are representative of a vision of unilateral internationalism and generally offer a curriculum exported or transferred from their home countries (Cambridge & Thompson, 2001; Thompson, 1998). In other words, American schools abroad have been primarily concerned with educating and instilling of American citizenship for citizens residing abroad. Such schools can be said to be "encapsulated" in that they deliver a curriculum of transplanted citizenry (Sylvester, 1998) and isolate the students from local culture (Pearce, 1999). This model of schooling has been exported globally: of the 1,724 schools listed in the International Education Handbook, 933 are overseas national schools (Findlay as cited in Pearce, 1999).

From "American" to "International" Schools in Central and Eastern Europe

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, coinciding with the independence of the Warsaw Pact countries, increased the presence of U.S. Department of State missions in the former Soviet Union. As a result, American children in these countries increased as the U.S. increased their diplomatic presence. The need for "American" education grew once again to meet the needs of this growing U.S. presence abroad. Like most growing American

Overseas schools, and in the practice of the Office of Overseas Schools, it was at this time that most of the schools moved from an embassy model to a community based system most likely because of the increase in school numbers, making governance and management too burdensome.

With the opening of borders came not only U.S. civil servant dependent children but also children of other embassies, as well as U.S. and international corporate families. By 1991, the emergence of transnational corporations and the increased flow of services and money across borders had resulted in a highly mobile transnational capitalist class. Student bodies in international schools became larger and more diverse as the number of Americans declined in proportion to international students. In 1998, 97,734 students were enrolled in international schools. Miller (2000) breaks the total enrollment down: "29,199 U.S. students (30%), 31,425 host-country students (32%), and 37,110 third-country students (38%)" comprised the 180 American-sponsored schools abroad (p. 13). Today, only 33,361 out of 121,970 students (27%) in international schools are U.S. citizens (United States State Department, 2008), a decrease of 3% from 1998.

As a result, U.S. schools abroad began to shift from their original intention—providing education for U.S. civil servants on missions (both diplomatic and military) abroad (what can be called a unilateralist approach)—to resemble more closely the international school systems set up for international institutions (what can be called a multilateralist approach) like that of International School of Geneva. Both unilateralist and multilateralist approaches, nonetheless, stem from similar origins: a predominantly Western education model. Thus, U.S. political and military agencies, changing student bodies, and the context of the local community in which the school resided influenced American schools abroad.

The evolving terminology used to name the U.S. international schools reveals a shift away from "American" education abroad for U.S. children to a multilateralist approach with a focus on "international" education for children from various countries like that devised by ISG in 1924. The shift coincides with the declining numbers of U.S. citizens, as a proportion, enrolled in the international schools. Early U.S. schools were generally called "American" as a way to emphasize American values, philosophical orientation, and specific curriculum, putting at ease parents who wanted an American education while abroad. The American School of Warsaw, for example, was founded in 1953 and continues to use "American" in its name. The International School of Prague and the International School of Helsinki were both founded by the British Embassies in their country, and the British and the Americans jointly founded the International School of Belgrade. Still, they represent the more "encapsulated" and "unilateralist" approach towards internationalism compared to the International School of Geneva. Mathews' (as cited in Hayden & Thompson, 1995) notion of schools as

neither "internationalist" nor "globalist" but as ideology-driven and market-driven suggests that it may be that American Overseas schools in CEESA are moving from an ideological focus to a globalist one in the search for a larger market of students.

As the make-up of the student body diversified, the terminology evolved from "American school of" to "American International School of," suggesting a discursive move away from U.S. supported schools for children of U.S. civil servants to a more diverse, international population. The most recent movement by some of the schools is away from any mention of "American," emphasizing "international" more fully. The international school in Krakow, for example, changed its name from the American School of Krakow (founded in 1993) to the International School of Krakow in 1998. Even when the name remains the same, schools have asserted a "multilateral internationalist" focus through philosophical vision statements such as that articulated by the American School of Warsaw (2009):

The American School of Warsaw, a private, non-profit, PK-12 school, was established in 1953 predominantly to serve the American community in Warsaw, Poland. *While this remains a major focus of the school's mission, time and events have created the need for a more international view.* With the development of democracy in Poland have come diverse international interests and new opportunities for the resident Polish population. While firmly based in an American educational system, the school has evolved, broadening its focus to meet the needs of the changing community. Complementary elements from other educational systems, such as the International Baccalaureate (IB) program of studies, have been incorporated. (emphasis added)

Other schools have embraced both "American" and "international" values as shown in this assertion by the American International School of Budapest (2009):

We embrace the *American philosophy* of education and its approach to teaching that emphasizes critical thinking skills, creativity and inquiry-based learning. We deliver an *internationally focused* curriculum that encourages open mindedness, tolerance and cross-cultural understanding. (emphasis added)

Although it offers the three IB programs, the International School of Belgrade (2009) comments: "The school implements a *modified American curriculum* combined with international educational practices" (emphasis added).

All of the above statements reveal the complex situation CEESA schools faced. The contexts, although varied for each school, maintain three major factors of change for international schools. First, the number of international schools increased during the Cold War, specifically along the Iron Curtain. Second, the percentage of non-U.S. citizens' enrollment after the

Cold War grew. Third, terminology moved away from “American” in many of the CEESA schools’ names. Taken together, these factors coincided with a new emphasis on international aspects of the schools’ existence. International schools began to champion their “internationalism” instead of their “Americanism” as a form of legitimacy. Content, missions, and values began to shift away from “U.S.-centric” to more “global-centric” ideas. International schools shifted from the American educational needs abroad to global educational needs desired by not only U.S. civil servants but also foreign nationals and international third parties.

Although the College Boards Advanced Placement program is evident in “American Overseas” schools throughout the world, the adoption of the IB diploma program for high school graduates in every school in the CEESA region reflects both the impact of a globalist credentialism and the desire on the part of schools to appear more international and consequently attract a more diverse student body. This suggests a move away from unilateralism towards multilateralism and from being ideology-driven to market-driven and towards a “created” curriculum rather than an “exported” one in the form of the IB diploma (Thompson, 1998). This new global emphasis, however, is not monolithic, and before any analysis of our findings of the CEESA schools we need to explore the meanings of global citizenship.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: THE DICHOTOMY OF INTERNATIONALIST AND GLOBALIST PERSPECTIVES

International schools are comprised of different understandings of education and reflect the internationalist/globalist dichotomy. On the one hand, the internationalist orientation focuses schools on the moral development of the individual, the importance of service, the promotion of peace and understanding, and cultural diversity. The globalist perspective, on the other hand, influences schools to align with global values and norms of the neoliberal international order and are often tied to a market-driven philosophy (Cambridge, 2002). The IB, for example, promotes the values of individual development, intercultural communication, and peace while at the same time provides a branded curriculum aimed at credentialism and the transnational capitalist class (Cambridge, 2002). The IB represents aspects on both sides of the dichotomy.

Within the mission statement of the IB, McKenzie (1998) identifies a focus on both the process and the product, revealing aspects of pan-nationalism, multi-nationalism, and trans-nationalism. At the same time, the IB may represent a “hyper-globalist” trend towards a single educational domain, as it supports an international curriculum unfettered to any nation-state (Cambridge & Thompson, 2001). Very few international schools operate outside the neoliberal system, and even early proponents of the internationalist view operate without offering a certified product. Many interna-

tional schools, therefore, claim to have internationalist values, while pursuing the globalist agenda in practice (Cambridge, 2003).

Alternatively, international schools share no recognized philosophical foundations; rather, they represent *ad hoc* efforts to educate international students (Bartlett, 1998). Meanwhile, Mathews (cited in Hayden & Thompson, 1995) suggests that the dichotomy of schools is not that of an “internationalist” and “globalist” divide, but is rather distinguished between the “ideology-driven” and “market-driven” perspectives. This suggests that school mission statements in general may be driven more by contextual factors in their locality (e.g., influenced by political pressure) than specific philosophical foundations.

Citizenship in a Time of Globalization

The complexity and interrelationship of globalization and citizenship as reflected through education is by no means universal or common across cultures. The conversation regarding global citizenship reflects three options: as a global brand, as part of international schools, or as the development of all young people around the world (Walker, 2002). The reality of globalization is at times questioned (Hirst & Thompson, 1996) and impacts aspects of modern life in different ways (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Peraton, 1998). The difficulty of global citizenship education arises around the term “citizenship” because it is difficult to define on the national level, let alone the global level.

It should be pointed out at the onset that “globalization” (defined below) did not begin in 1924 when ISG opened its doors to international civil servants’ children. Rather, globalization can be viewed in five “scapes”—ethno-scapes, media-scapes, finance-scapes, ideo-scapes, and techno-scapes (Appadurai, 1990)—that have worked collectively, individually, and inter-relatedly at various times in different societies. Whenever one or more of the scapes span *Westphalian* geographic borders, some form of globalization occurs (Tilly, 2004). The spread of “American” schools abroad is an ethno-scape, an ideo-scape, and a finance-space because people, ideas, and money flowed from one nation (the U.S.) to other nations (in this case, central and eastern European nations). The notion of citizenship and the implications globalization has had on citizenship, alternatively, are much harder to conceptualize. This section outlines the major discussions occurring over the notion of citizenship and then the key types of global citizenship education.

Any discussion of globalization’s impact on citizenship and education must begin with the challenge to the nation-state—what Carnoy and Rhoten (2002) call the “heart of the relationship” (p. 3) of globalization and educational change. The power of the nation-state on the international level has decreased by the rise of non-governmental organizations. These new

actors help spread Appadurai's (1990) five scapes around the world just as nation-states and international organizations (World Trade Organization, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, etc.) have done and continue to do. Wing-Wah Law (2004) suggests, as a result, "nation-states no longer serve as the exclusive source of legitimacy for political activity, nor do they dominate the discourse of citizenship, which tends increasingly to be stripped of national characteristics" (p. 225). The nation-state still matters, but the new, non-state actors have pushed the limits of "citizenship" into new spaces.

The new spaces of citizenship include, as Law (2004) points out, three options: (1) a reduced need of the nation-state, that is to say, the shared common history and symbols typically identified with a nation have reduced in importance for the identity of an individual in a particular geographical area; (2) a widening concept of citizenship to include groups beyond the nation-state, including world ecology and religions, and the vast economic interdependence of the world, something Delanty (2000) calls "civic cosmopolitanism;" and (3) an increased need of the nation-state because it remains the main unit of analysis in the international order. The three spaces "citizenship" has been pulled into are not uniform or universal, and do not happen individually; rather, different emphases of citizenship depend on the context in which "citizenship" is being applied. In international schools, "citizenship" is closely connected to the latter two ideas: a widening concept beyond, but also a re-affirmation of, the nation-state.

The impact of globalization on education has been shown in three ways: financial, labor markets, and educational terms (Carnoy, 2000). Governments feel pressure to reduce financial spending on education while at the same time increase the number of secondary schools and tertiary opportunities for students to compete in the global labor markets. Seeking foreign capital is often tied to the need for higher skilled labor and thus more highly educated students. Now that international comparison occurs, nations have started emphasizing math and science curriculum, standards, and testing. These combine in certain ways to construct the way in which nations understand contemporary schooling.

Placing educational reforms on a national level in the contexts of nations vary not only between national but also local levels (i.e., schools; Rhoten, 2000). Moreover, these educational reforms do impact, in both positive and negative ways, content beyond the math and science emphasis. With a decrease in spatial and temporal boundaries between nations, a new space exists for citizenship to be conceived in a larger context than simply the nation-state. However, the increasing emphasis on math and science education as a result of greater accountability in many school systems has reduced the role of civic education in some schools. Global citizenship education is

but one educational reform from globalization's impact on citizenship and educational change.

Types of Global Citizenship Education

There have been four main phases in global citizenship education (Fujikane, 2003). First, education for international understanding began after the Second World War as part of the new international wave of liberalism (see Morgenthau, 1948; Doyle, 1986). Interdependence through democracy and capitalism, it was theorized, would spread if nations began to learn more about one another. By focusing on universal human rights and the United Nations system (UNESCO was a major proponent of education for international understanding), international peace would be possible. Second, the recognition of the vast inequalities around the world began a model of global education called development education. The American understanding of development education focused on education for the development of countries experiencing vast inequalities (Fujikane, 2003). The West typically saw the solution as modernization and Westernization of developing countries. Third, multicultural education emerged as a response to the increased migration across nations (an example of an ethnoscape). Nonetheless, multicultural education evolved into different understandings beyond immigration. The contention for multicultural education was to alter the curriculum in a given society to reflect the multicultural and multiracial landscape of a given nation. Last, peace education is an amalgamation of the aforementioned types of global citizenship education. One critique of peace education reveals the shift in emphasis from education *about* peace to education *for* peace, where the latter provides more agency in education than the former (Freire, 1972).

A typology of global citizenship education is hard to discern among the varied types and phases practiced throughout the world. The above types of education for global citizens emphasize values and attitudes (e.g., interdependence to achieve peace), skills (e.g., education about peace), and knowledge (e.g., understanding other cultures and nations). Any typology of global citizenship education must include these three parts.

METHODOLOGY

With an understanding of the history of international schools, including the geopolitical beginnings and the shift from "American Overseas" to "international" schools, and of global citizenship education, we now explore in more depth global citizenship education in international schools in Central and Eastern Europe. Our research follows a qualitative paradigm. It is phenomenological because we examine the phenomenon of CEESA schools from American hegemony to the post-Cold War system. It is also a

case study in that it examines the CEESA organization's constituent parts by focusing on the organization and the schools that compose it. To address the research questions, we first reviewed school mission statements and then conducted a survey for school administrators and teachers at CEESA schools.

TABLE 12.1. CEESA Schools

Name of School	Founded	Governance	Curriculum
International Community School of Istanbul	1911	Not associated with U.S.	PYP*, MYP**, Dip***
International School of Belgrade	1948	3 members appointed by U.S. Ambassador	PYP, MYP, Dip
Anglo-American School of Moscow	1949	U.S., British and Canadian government sponsored	PYP & Dip
International School of Prague	1949	Chair appointed by U.S. Ambassador	Dip
American School Warsaw	1953	Chair appointed by U.S. Ambassador	Dip
American International Vienna	1959	Sponsorship of U.S. Ambassador	Dip
American International School of Bucharest	1962	U.S. Embassy Deputy Chief of Staff as Board Chair	PYP, MYP, Dip
International School of Helsinki	1963	Parent Association	PYP, MYP, Dip
Anglo-American School of Sofia	1967	8 of 9 board members appointed by U.K. or U.S. embassies	PYP, MYP, Dip
American International School of Zagreb	1967	Chair appointed by U.S. ambassador	Dip
American International School of Budapest	1979	Sponsorship of U.S. ambassador	Dip
International School of Krakow	1993	U.S. Consul General, chair	IPC**** and Advanced Placement
International School of Latvia	1994	Parent Association	PYP, MYP, Dip
Pechersk International School	1994	Opened by diplomat families unhappy with the other options in Kiev	PYP, MYP, Dip
Tashkent International School	1994	Founded by the U.S. Embassy, UN Representative and 12 other Ambassadors	PYP & Dip
International School of Estonia	1995	Parents and 1 board member from U.S. Embassy	PYP & Dip

* International Baccalaureate Primary Years Programme
 ** International Baccalaureate Middle Years Programme
 *** International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme
 **** International Primary Curriculum

This research is based on data from sixteen schools in the CEESA region (Table 12.1). With respect to the international curriculum of the sixteen schools examined, fifteen offer the IB diploma, seven offer the full IB program, and ten offer the IB diploma with the primary years program (PYP). Of the sixteen schools requested to complete the online survey, we received responses from nine. From these nine responding schools, 65 respondents completed the survey.

The purpose of this study is to focus on a specific group of international schools, members of the Central and Eastern European Schools Association. Members of the group share many similarities. Although there are other international schools in the region, CEESA schools were selected due to group membership. If we included schools outside of CEESA, we would be continuing a long-standing debate over what an international school is or is not, a debate we wanted to avoid. Additionally, these schools reflect a small proportion of the international schools in the world, and as this study is bounded by organizational membership and geographic location, it does not lend itself to either face or theoretical generalization. As a consequence, more research needs to be done on other regions, schools that are not self-governed, and other regional associations.

Content Analysis of CEESA School Mission Statements

A typology of global citizenship education was used to compare against the mission statements to better identify how the CEESA schools perceived global citizenship education. The four phases of global citizenship education reveal different values, skills, and knowledge that made up global citizenship education. The Oxfam typology (Table 12.2) composed of three parts (knowledge and understanding, skills, and values and attitudes) com-

TABLE 12.2. Oxfam's Key Elements for Global Citizenship Education

Knowledge and Understanding	Skills	Values and Attitudes
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Justice and Equity • Diversity • Globalization and Interdependence • Sustainable Development • Peace and Conflict 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Critical thinking • Ability to argue effectively • Ability to challenge injustice and inequalities • Respect for people and things • Co-operation and conflict resolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sense of identity and self-esteem • Empathy • Commitment to social justice and equity • Value and respect for diversity • Concern for the environment and commitment to sustainable development • Belief that people can make a difference

plemented the evolutionary phases of global citizenship education previously outlined. Oxfam's work on global citizenship was intended to diffuse global citizenship education into the classroom. Their typology incorporates a wide range of areas around what education for global citizenship might include: education for sustainable development, peace education, world studies, anti-racist education, human rights education, development education, multicultural education, values education, gender education, and citizenship education (Young & Commins, 2002). Oxfam's typology further breaks the parts into key elements.

After collecting the mission statements online from each of the CEESA schools' websites, each school's mission statement was separately examined and coded with the Oxfam typology. As the categories were already determined, the coding followed an *a priori* approach (Stemler, 2001) and the unit for sampling was the mission statement of the schools as well as the mission statements of the OOS and the IBO. As suggested by Stemler (2001), "when used properly, content analysis is a powerful data reduction technique. Its major benefit comes from the fact that it is a systematic, replicable technique for compressing many words of text into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding" (Stemler, 2001, p. 9). Content analysis for school mission statements has been used to better understand a school's attempt to fulfill their mission (Berleur, 1996), reason for existence (Stemler and Bebell, 1999), and their organizational goals (Nderu-Boddington, 2009). After the mission statements were separately coded, we checked for inter-rater reliability, which was calculated to be greater than 0.90, suggesting an almost perfect "strength of agreement" (Stemler, 2001).

The Survey

An Internet survey was sent to each school asking about the perceptions teachers and administrators had regarding their school's mission statement. The survey for this research was based on the *International Schools Association of Self-Assessment Instrument* (Cambridge & Carthew, 2007), an instrument designed for schools to self-evaluate their own "internationalism." Questions focused on how administrators and teaching staff perceived the mission statement of their school, with the initial questions set up in a Likert-style format. Other questions focused on administrator, teacher, student, and parent commitment to the mission statement, curricular and extra-curricular support of the school mission statement, and whether or not the school mission statement was considered international. Finally, four open-ended questions were asked regarding the respondents' view of both European Citizenship and Global Citizenship as well as any contradictions or missing elements in the school mission statements. The Oxfam typology was used again to code the interview questions.

FINDINGS

Global Citizenship Education and School Mission Statements

The findings from the examination of the school mission statements suggest that although many characteristics of global citizenship are present, they tend to be restricted to certain areas in the typology of global citizenship. As can be seen in Figure 12.1, *Values and Attitudes* were areas commonly articulated as important. The *Skills* area was the least often identified, and *Knowledge and Understanding* was identified more often than *Skills*, but still significantly less than *Values and Attitudes*. This suggests that international schools view certain strands of global citizenship as being more critical than others.

The CEESA schools are generally aligned with two of Fujikane's (2003) global citizenship educational phases: education for international understanding, and the multicultural phase of global education. This suggests that Fujikane's phases of global citizenship are not sequential or evolutionary, but rather *ad hoc* themes emphasized by particular schools. Additionally, schools in CEESA focus less on the teaching of skills for global citizenship than the teaching of an awareness for aspects of global citizenship or the transmission of values. Those teaching the skills of global citizenship are also characterized more by the phases of international understanding and multicultural education than by development or peace studies.

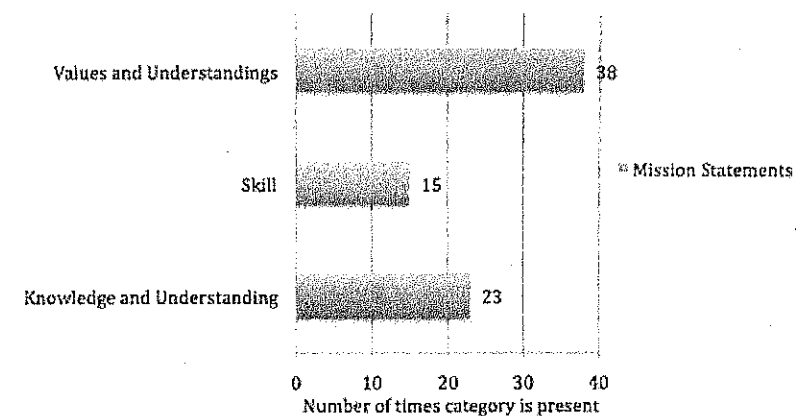


FIGURE 12.1. CEESA's mission statements coded for Oxfam's Typology of Global Citizenship Education

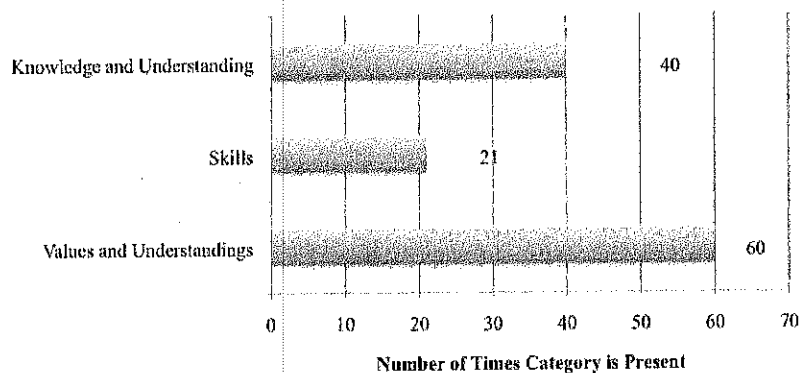


FIGURE 12.2. Frequency of elements in participant responses.

Analyzing the frequencies using Oxfam's typology (Figure 12.2), the CEE-SA mission statements suggest that schools emphasize the values of global citizenship more than the skills for global citizenship. CEESA schools in general do not purport in their mission statements *how to be* internationally empathetic towards different races, ethnicities, or nationalities, but rather *stress the values* of empathy. The missions governing most of the schools, thus, do not try to make students empathetic or multicultural but rather teach students the values of empathy and multiculturalism. This reflects the notion that values are something to be modeled rather than something to be taught (Noddings, 2002). The same trends evident in the areas of *Knowledge and Understanding* and *Skills* are reflected in *Values and Attitudes* as well. School mission statements support the idea of international understanding through the notions of empathy and reflect the ideal of multicultural learning through self-identity and diversity. Additionally, schools are more likely to reflect the values and attitudes of development studies in supporting the values of social justice and a commitment to sustainable development.

With the obvious emphasis on values over knowledge and of knowledge over skills, it is clear the school mission statements either reflect a hierarchy of values and beliefs with respect to global citizenship or feel it is easier to instill values than it is to impart knowledge or teach the skills of global citizenship. Additionally, as stated earlier, school mission statements do not support the idea of teaching for global citizenship as either sequential or evolutionary, but instead reflect the values of the schools with respect to teaching for internationalism, multiculturalism, development, or peace.

When asked if there was anything about the school's culture or practices that contradict the mission statement of the school, the answer from the

participants was an unequivocal "no." Administrators and teachers all felt similarly. Additionally, mission statements were believed to be something to aspire to rather than a statement of what actually happens. One respondent explained:

I think everyone is trying their best. I feel we are all dedicated to the mission and we have established a school culture that supports our mission but as in all institutions we need to develop it.

Another respondent noted that the mission statements change as staff and administration change, but they generally reflect the views of the staff when updated. Mission statements were considered living documents revised with staff input on a regular basis. This was clearly seen because during this study four of the schools modified their mission statements. These evolving mission statements reflect the dominant and hegemonic views of the constituent stakeholders of the school as an institution reflecting not only the values of an ever-changing parent body, but also that of the administration and teaching staff. This in turn suggests that the mission statement needs to be seen more in the context of a reflection of staff views, and perhaps the notion of reviewing the mission statement and examining the perception of staff to it does not accurately or fully represent the relationship between the staff and the school mission statement.

When asked if there was anything "missing" or "hidden" in the mission statement, there was a wider range of responses. Respondents felt that much of the time nothing was hidden, and, at times, "is the opposite: we have too many activities, and we need to focus in and scale back a little bit." There also seemed to be a shared concern throughout the surveyed schools that schools were often too North American and Euro-centric. This concern is not limited to this region, as the functions and structures of an international school "suggests some interaction with local communities but the knowledge, skills, and attitudes models delivered are nearly always western European or North American in origin" (Pasternak, 1998, p. 257). Respondents also felt the schools did not interact with the local schools enough, service learning opportunities needed to be emphasized and extended, and differentiation of learning needed more work.

One interesting theme identified several times was the difficulty of emphasizing the international nature of the school while still celebrating diversity. This reveals a paradox from the previous finding regarding the neglect of European or national citizenship for global citizenship. On the one hand, there is rhetorical importance for global citizenship education, yet schools have difficulty emphasizing internationalism, on the other hand. It is clear that this gap between a more homogeneous view of an over-arching "internationalism" and the need to root identity in a national and cultural context is something that staff struggle with, and reflects the competing

visions of global citizenship as either internationalist or multiculturalist. This struggle has been noted by Zsebik (2000) in the assertion that schools may not even be aware of how international values dominate the conversation and suppress individual cultural identity. Cambridge (1998) suggests that the effort of international schools to emphasize multiculturalism through their student diversity shows the convergence of educational values in international schools and brands these participants as members of the transnational capitalist class. He later identifies this dilemma between the "internationalist" view and the "multiculturalist" view by suggesting that "[International schools] therefore represent the reconciliation of a dilemma between the formation of a monoculture in terms of the educational values espoused by the organization and the cultural pluralism of its teachers and students" (Cambridge, 2000, p. 179).

The Meanings of Global Citizenship

In the examination of school mission statements, participants' perception of global citizenship reflected a stronger awareness of *Values and Understandings* than that of *Knowledge and Understanding* and much more so than *Skills* (see Figure 12.3). This suggests a commonality or match in perspective by staff in international schools and their schools' mission statements. In particular, respondents did not identify skills readily in their notions of global citizenship. When they did, they most commonly mentioned the ability "to be critical." It may be the notion of citizenship in general, and of global citizenship specifically, that is difficult for international school staff to identify, agree on, or articulate. Similar to school mission statements, international school staff were more able to articulate values regarding global citizenship than the body of knowledge regarding it or the skills leading to it.

Most of the participants suggested that the "global citizenship" typology as articulated by Oxfam might be incomplete. Well over half of respondents felt that being a good global citizen meant not only believing that people can make a difference, but also that people *must* make a difference. This notion of responsibility was a dominant aspect in the discourse. Respondents used words such as "stewardship," "conscientious," and "responsibility," and phrases such as "feeling a moral responsibility," "work towards improving the world we live in," "ability to contribute positively to the world and its people," "responsible to the people and environment, wherever a person on the globe may be," "taking responsibility for the world," and "the fate of everyone in the world and the world itself is our concern" to articulate this perspective.

Another aspect missing from the typology was the concept of cultural relativism. Respondents repeatedly asserted the idea that no one culture or nation is right. Phrases such as "develop the views to understand other countries and people," "what is best for me, may not be best for everyone,"

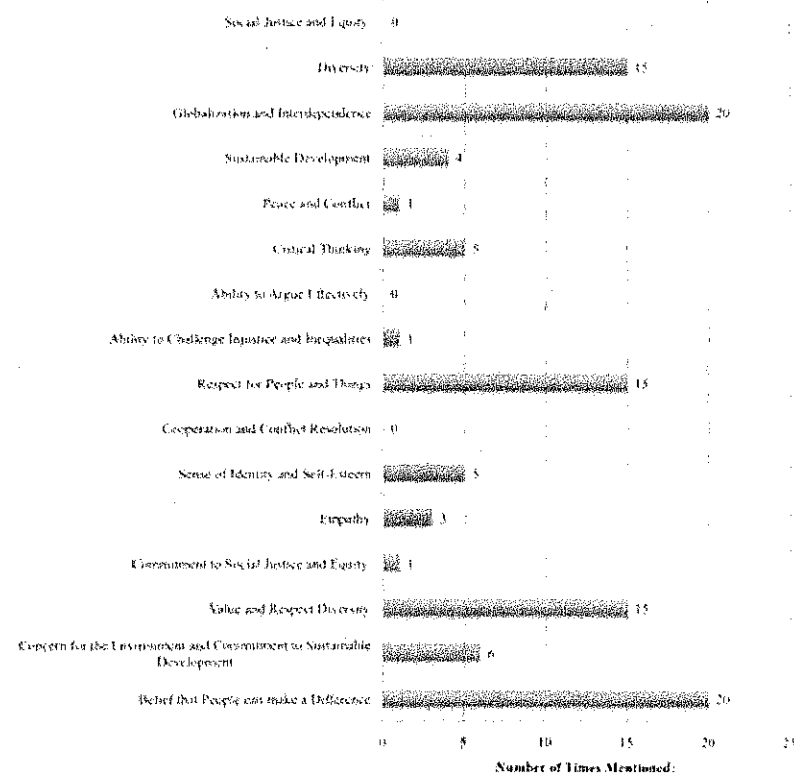


FIGURE 12.3. Frequency of items in participant responses

and "recognizing that there is often more than one right answer/solution to a problem" all identify this notion.

Global, European, and National Citizenship

Although its value was at times reflected in the teaching of modern European languages, in the teaching of history, in the exchanges and interaction during sports, and in the activities and tournaments run by CEESA, all schools participating felt that European citizenship was not actively focused on in their school. An important aspect of European citizenship for respondents was the chance for students to visit other European capitals with CEESA and to better understand their place in a larger pan-European context. Additionally, it was thought showing "a little bit of Romania" or "the

best of Bulgaria” to those unaware of the local culture better represented their own local context.

Still, some respondents thought more European citizenship education was needed. For one respondent, only the humanities curriculum covered the European community. Another more cynical view challenged neo-liberal ideas by suggesting, “In the elementary school we work with a variety of money... so the children will certainly know how to be consumers in Europe!” One respondent captured the former sentiment by saying, “We don’t actively work towards European Citizenship as such, this occurs more by default.” The phrasing “by default” suggests that by simply being in Europe, students learn to be European citizens.

This “by default” regional citizenship can be explained by the isolation felt by many international schools from the local culture the school resides in, and the home country the school is supported by. The isolation is often ameliorated through regional associations like CEESA. These regional associations suggest a strong move towards regional alliances rather than global alliances (Allen, 2002), and thus the reason why one respondent claimed: “Most of our student body is European, so much of this is inherent. It’s the global awareness that isn’t.”

The shift in terminology from “American school of” to “international school of” supports the apparent emphasis for global awareness—not European awareness. CEESA schools in general promote global citizenship more so than they do European citizenship. One consequence of achieving greater internationalism in the curriculum is the decrease of local contexts and understandings. European citizenship—not to mention Russian citizenship or Hungarian citizenship—is placed second to global citizenship. When responding to European citizenship compared to global citizenship, respondents offered the lack of “global awareness” as reason for such a lopsided focus. In other words, European citizenship happens by default for students while global citizenship does not.

From the classification of the mission statements, actions and skills governing how to be a global citizen were taught less frequently than the values or understandings of global citizenship. This converges with the emphasis of global citizenship in lieu of local citizenship. One possible reason why this happens is essential here: what it means to be a Russian citizen, for example, is much easier to describe and teach than it is for global citizenship. In Russia, it is clear how citizens can participate in government and society (e.g., voting); alternatively, there is no world government or world society, leaving the actual skills of being a global citizen abstract. What does voting look like on a world level unless one is an active member of the United Nations? It simply becomes easier to teach the *values* of global citizenship than the *skills* of global citizenship.

The emphasis on teaching the values of global awareness shares a history with that of international schools. American Overseas Schools were partially developed to showcase American education—that is, the philosophy and values of American education (e.g., democracy). The first “international schools” were intended to showcase international values (e.g., interdependence). ISG thus reflected the philosophical foundations of the League of Nations and the International Labour Office. Historically, both American Overseas and international schools served the needs of American foreign and international civil servants, respectively. Both types of schools also serve, as they have done since 1924, the needs of the transnational capitalist class and local students interested in either a curriculum differing from their home country, or as an access point to that transnational capitalist class. International schools, in other words, share many similarities to American Overseas schools because they began from a similar history. The difference, however, is that international schools historically reflect international philosophic understandings.

Teachers, Global Citizenship, and the International Baccalaureate

The impacts of the International Baccalaureate programs go beyond curriculum. As international teachers receive very little induction regarding international education (Wilkinson, 2002), the IB programs have become the framework through which they view international education. This can be seen in the similarity between numerous statements from respondents on the IBO’s mission statement and the IB learner profile. The IB’s assertion of cultural relativism and the goal of educating students to “understand that other people, with their differences, can also be right” parallels the attitude of many respondents and suggests, as one respondent asserted, that global citizenship is about “truly accepting that the values of one’s culture and nations are not necessarily superior to those of other cultures or nations.” Additionally, the learner profile expects IB learners to be open-minded and “open to perspectives, values and traditions of other individuals.” Staffing policies are also subordinate to the dominance of the IB as well, as noted by Richards (1998):

As long as schools are solely driven by a formal curriculum, even if it culminates in such examinations as the International Baccalaureate Diploma, then staffing policies must be dominated by the need for staff with experience of both the curriculum itself and the educational culture out of which the curriculum was developed. (p. 177)

Consequently, instead of seeing the IB as merely influential, it must be seen as *a*, or even perhaps *the*, driving force in making an international school “international.”

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study clearly reveals that American Overseas schools in CEESA are moving away from the American Overseas school model to an international one. This can be seen in a number of factors: the adoption of the IB, the name changes from "American" to "International," and the mission statements reflecting a multilateral internationalist perspective.

Mission Statements, Global Citizenship and the International Baccalaureate

The philosophical underpinnings of the IB also inform, frame, and focus the values articulated in the schools' mission statements. Some schools are very clear with this understanding. Take, for example, the mission statement of the International School of Latvia: "The International School of Latvia is an International Baccalaureate World School." Others, such as the Istanbul International School, the Tashkent International School, and the Pechersk International School, make reference to their commitment to the IB in the mission statement. Unlike national systems, international school teachers require an understanding of a school's international mission (Wilkinson, 2002). The IB then has a significant effect on the teaching of internationalism in schools adopting its curriculum. The values espoused by the IB frame the conversation for teachers and also frame school mission statements.

From American Overseas to International Schools

Terwilliger (1972) suggests that the background of the governing body of a school dictates the character of that school. Of the CEESA schools surveyed, twelve of the sixteen had Board of Trustees' members directly appointed by the U.S. State Department. While the trends in nomenclature and in curriculum adoption suggest a move on the part of these schools from an American Overseas model to that of a more "international school," school governance and supplementary documentary material suggests that there is still a significant American influence in these schools.

There may be numerous reasons for this shift from a more "American Overseas school model" to a more "international" school model. First, the American Overseas School Model is moving away from a unilateralist approach to overseas education to that of a more multilateralist approach. One example of this can be seen in the founding of the Tashkent International School and its support by not only the U.S. State Department but also by thirteen other national governments as well as the UN High Representative. Second, American Overseas Schools in CEESA are becoming more market driven and less representative of the extension of American power overseas. They tend towards a more international nomenclature than an

American one. The IB is simply a localized reaction to capture a larger market. Third, this move towards multilateral internationalism (as shown by the adoption of the IB) is merely what Bartlett (1998) calls an *ad hoc* solution, with the IB representing an easier way to manage curriculum. Fourth, the adoption of a more international perspective can best be seen through a globalist perspective because the IB provides high standards, portability, and credentials for all constituents of the student body, including the children of the local elites, representatives of both foreign governments or international NGOs, as well as the transnational capital class.

As can be seen from this study, the adoption of the International Baccalaureate's programs acts as a foundation and a framework for both school mission statements and teacher perceptions of the notions of global citizenship and the values reflected in school mission statements. CEESA schools need to be seen as a reflection of the history of Central and Eastern Europe, as examples of contextualized and localized responses to global changes, and as responses to both globalization and internationalism. The story of CEESA international schools is a piece of the larger contemporary educational narrative around the globe. As student bodies diversify because of international events, schools evolve in response and in reaction. The development of a school, therefore, requires an international perspective on education and the history of the context in which the school finds itself. For CEESA, their identity and purpose straddled historical foundations of American influence, evolving notions of global citizenship education, and local conditions.

NOTE

1. The International School of Geneva (ISG) was founded in 1924 to serve the children of international civil servants working for the League of Nations and the International Labor Office (Walker, 2000; Hill, 2002). On a practical level, the International School Of Geneva served as one of many services needed to support the growing international city of Geneva and "from the start was committed to internationalism" (Sylvester, 2007, p. 18). On a philosophical level, the International School of Geneva marked the beginning of a new understanding of education: with international civil servants descending on Geneva, the mixed demographics of the school challenged the former notion of national education.

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