Do International Baccalaureate programs internationalise or globalise?

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This paper attempts to show that International Baccalaureate (IB) programs contribute to a process of internationalisation, not globalisation. As necessary background, a definition of international education, with particular reference to UNESCO, and how each of the three IB programs fits that definition is outlined. Holistic and transdisciplinary elements of the programs are specially considered followed by a discussion of the terms “internationalisation” and “globalisation” and how they might be applied to the international education programs of the IBO. The paper concludes with a section on whether the IBO is imposing a western model of education on the world, in particular on non-western cultures which adopt IB programs.

International education, internationalisation, globalisation, transdisciplinary education, holistic education

INTRODUCTION

The impetus for this paper came from reading Paris’ (2003) contribution to the International Education Journal entitled “The International Baccalaureate: A case study on why students choose to do the IB.” In the “Theoretical Framework” section of his article Paris made important observations about the IB diploma program and saw it predominantly as contributing to a process of globalisation with the potential to usurp national cultures and values. This paper extends that debate. It includes reference to the other two programs of the IBO and comments on the related issue that the IB diploma program is not in tune with holistic learning “as experienced by many cultures, even indigenous cultures” (Paris 2003 p.235).

The discussion begins with an attempt to define international education since that is what IB programs claim to offer. A brief description of each program (primary, middle years and diploma) includes an identification of their transdisciplinary aspects – this is treated separately for the diploma program. This is followed by a discussion of globalisation and internationalisation as applied to IB programs. The paper concludes with a discussion of the extent to which IB programs represent a western-dominated educational paradigm that might conflict with education values and practices in non-western countries.

WHAT IS INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION?

National public and private schools can, and do, offer excellent international education programs – the latter is not restricted, as was once implied, to international schools with a multicultural student body only. An “internationally-minded” school (see Hill 2000) embraces the above international education components. It is the attitude of mind reflected in both the teaching and administration of the school, rather than the cultural composition or location, which is important.
A curriculum imparts (or causes students to discover) knowledge, and develops skills and attitudes. Most national programs have always included elements which oblige students to know something about the geography and history of other countries, artistic expression from other places, and to learn another language. Alone, these aspects do not constitute an international education, above all if they remain at the level of knowledge only. Students need skills to interpret knowledge which, in turn, leads to the formation of positive attitudes about people whose origins are different from theirs – this is fundamental to the concept of international education at the school level.

The aims of international education were reaffirmed by a UNESCO 1996 (p.9) declaration from the International Conference on Education (ICE), Geneva, 1994 attended by ministers of education of member states. The aims are to develop:

- a sense of universal values for a culture of peace,
- the ability to value freedom and the civic responsibility that goes with it,
- intercultural understanding which encourages the convergence of ideas and solutions to strengthen peace,
- skills of non-violent conflict resolution,
- skills for making informed choices,
- respect for cultural heritage and protection of the environment, and
- feelings of solidarity and equity at the national and international levels.

It is significant that this declaration was accepted by ministers of education representing, of course, national education programs. UNESCO’s wish has always been that national education systems would inculcate these elements of an international education. Note the use of the words ‘respect’ and ‘feelings’ which are attitudinal traits implying values – the culminating aspect of an international education. Note also that each of the above elements, with the exception of the first, can be applied to topics and issues within national borders; when they are applied to topics and issues beyond the nation, they enter the realm of international education.

The Report to UNESCO of the International Commission of Education for the Twenty-First Century (Delors 1998) identified four pillars of education: learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together, and learning to be. The pillar which underpins international education more than any other is “learning to live together” and it requires, on a global scale, a high degree of intercultural understanding and empathy.

The essential elements of an international education are:

- understanding cultural identities across national frontiers,
- knowledge about global issues and the interdependence of nations,
- critical thinking skills applied to trans-national issues and world cultures, and
- an appreciation of the human condition around the world.

There are degrees of intercultural understanding that move from the cognitive to the affective domains: from knowledge about other cultures, including language, to skills in speaking other languages and critically analysing the reason behind certain behaviours, to empathy for those of another culture (which does not necessarily mean that we agree with all that the culture represents). The term ‘intercultural literacy’ (see Heyward’s 2002 analysis of the literature) has been coined to explore this complex field. Heyward’s model of the development of intercultural
literacy includes degrees of cross-cultural engagement (via friendships and ‘living in’ rather than ‘living alongside’ another culture), language proficiencies, the skill of analysing multiple perspectives, and identity.

Cultural identity is not static: it moves over time and defines itself, in part, by the way it interacts with other cultures. It links closely with an appreciation of the human condition on a global scale. At an extreme, monocultural level, individuals will only see worth in their own cultures and be suspicious of, and even antagonistic towards, others. At a truly intercultural level, individuals attain a transcultural identity, which enables them to shift effortlessly between multiple cultures, at least in their thinking (Heyward 2002 p.17). This is in line with the Lebanese writer Maalouf (2002) who urges us to see a thread of cultures with links to our own or a “multiplicity of allegiances” each with valid points of view. When cultural isolation occurs, it can lead to humiliation, or to being manipulated to feel humiliated. With the right inducement, humiliated people retaliate.

Knowledge about global issues such as lack of fresh water, protection of the environment, maintaining or replacing natural sources of energy, alleviating pollution, economic inequities in trading, and HIV/AIDS, brings out the interdependent nature of global issues. The need for international cooperation and understanding multiple, often competing perspectives becomes apparent.

Critical analysis engages students in reflection on the interpretative nature of knowledge. It makes them aware of the validity and limitations of their own points of view and the extent to which they are influenced by the norms of the cultures to which they belong. As a result, biases may be retained, revised or rejected based on a serious attempt to understand others’ perspectives. The application of critical thinking skills to trans-national, cultural issues, with a view to suggesting solutions, might be illustrated with reference to the fourth aspect of international education.

The nature of the human condition is that there is still an astonishing level of poverty in many countries, deaths through famine and conflict, human rights abuses, and a western suspicion of Islam ¹ as a breeding ground for terrorist activity. Unfortunately terrorism is now an international issue that requires careful analysis. Maalouf’s explanation is that terrorists perceive the most developed western countries as contributing to, rather than alleviating these problems. They feel humiliated and “represent” the oppressed through their acts of violence. This is one point of view. Students would need to explore others.

After this brief overview of international education, the next section attempts to indicate how IB programs interpret the concept of international education, and to what extent they adhere to the description of international education above.

THE NATURE OF IB PROGRAMS

Part of the genesis of the IB diploma program during the 1960s was a reaction against the emphasis placed on rote learning and didactic teaching. The new program, like the Middle Years Program (MYP) and the Primary Years Program (PYP) that followed much later, promoted a pedagogy of inter-active class discussion and critical thinking skills, which would recognise a range of perspectives on any issue, particularly global issues. Intercultural understanding and respect for human dignity were threads that ran through the subjects, more apparent in some than

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¹ Of course, the vast majority of Muslims condemn violence. However, as has happened with Christianity over the years, and more recently in Northern Ireland, a minority of people are willing to use religion as a scapegoat for their own political ends.
in others. Preparing students for life-long learning was also important. At the same time, the new program had to satisfy the most stringent university entry requirements so that it would become a recognised passport to higher education, thus facilitating international mobility.

For the IB diploma program, all students must choose a subject from six major discipline areas: a first language, a second language, mathematics (including information sciences), experimental sciences, individuals and societies (humanities), and the arts or another choice from one of the previous groups. Three subjects must be taken at higher level and three at standard level. All students must also complete an extended essay (4,000 words), the theory of knowledge course and creativity, action, service (CAS). These components emphasise respectively research skills, critical thinking skills, and the development of the whole person. The first official IB diplomas were awarded in 1970. In March 2006 there were 1,373 diploma schools in 121 countries.

The MYP, for children from 11 to 16 years, covers the five years of secondary education prior to the IB Diploma Program. It consists of eight major subject groups that must be studied during five years: a first language, a second language, humanities, technology, mathematics, sciences, the arts, physical education. Five “areas of interaction,” or transdisciplinary themes, are at the core of the MYP and find their expression through the traditional subject areas: approaches to learning, community and service, health and social education, environment, and homo faber. It is holistic, developing the whole person cognitively and affectively. In March 2006 there were 491 MYP schools in 64 countries.

The IBO offered the PYP in 1997 for children from 3 to 11 or 12 years of age. Six themes – who we are, where we are in time and place, how we express ourselves, how the world works, how we organise ourselves, sharing the planet – provide the framework for exploring traditional subject areas through transdisciplinary units of study with titles such as “children’s rights” and “fresh water in the developing world”. The emphasis is on inquiry and the approach is holistic. Identified concepts, skills, attitudes, action, and knowledge provide the structure for purposeful exploration. In March 2006 there were 259 PYP schools in 61 countries.

The IBO’s mission statement of 2003 reads as follows:

The International Baccalaureate Organisation aims to develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect.

To this end the IBO works with schools, governments and international organisations to develop challenging programs of international education and rigorous assessment.

These programs encourage students across the world to become active, compassionate and lifelong learners who understand that other people, with their differences, can also be right. (www.ibo.org)

The statement refers to knowledge, skills and attitudes (“caring,” “compassionate,” “respect”) that support an holistic education and are very much in line with the previous section’s discussion of international education. “Intercultural understanding” requires students to analyse their knowledge about cultural identities to arrive at respect for, but not necessarily agreement with, others.

The text of IB program curriculum guides contains ample evidence of aims, objectives, content and teaching approaches that develop critical thinking skills, an understanding of cultural identities, an appreciation of the interdependence of global issues, and an awareness of the human condition. The following examples are from IB diploma subjects other than literature, languages, social sciences and the arts, which more obviously promote intercultural understanding.

The IB diploma economics guide refers to the commercial inter-dependence of countries and the need to consider different solutions in different cultural circumstances. In business and
management “students should be able to make sense of the forces and circumstances that drive change in an interdependent and multicultural world” (*Business and Management* IBO 2000, p.3).

The first aim for the experimental sciences is to “provide opportunities for scientific study and creativity within global contexts which will stimulate and challenge students” (*Chemistry IBO* 2001, p.6). The moral and ethical implications of scientific advances are explored. The first stated aim of all mathematics programs is to “appreciate the international dimensions of mathematics and the multiplicity of its cultural and historical perspectives” (*Mathematics Higher Level IBO* 2001, p.5).

One of the key aims of the compulsory theory of knowledge course is to “identify values underlying judgements and knowledge claims pertinent to local and global issues” (*Theory of Knowledge* IBO 2001, p.5). The curriculum guide abounds with topic questions such as:

- “What might this Ghanaian proverb mean? ‘If the frog tells you that the crocodile is dead, do not doubt it.’” (p.9)
- “What is the role of culture and language in the perceptual process?” (p.10)
- “Is it correct to think that what constitutes [good logic] varies from discipline to discipline and from culture to culture?” (p.14)
- “Is the scientific method a product unique to western culture, or is it universal?” (p.19)

In March 2006 the total number of IB world schools was 1,765 in 121 countries: 80 of these teach all three IB programs and 198 teach any two programs. Buenos Aires, with 33 IB schools, has the largest number of any city in the world. Today 47 per cent of all IB world schools are public with no tuition fees. The largest number of public schools is in North America, then the Nordic countries, the United Kingdom, The Netherlands, Spain plus a small number elsewhere. IB programs are gaining increasing attention by Australian education authorities with a small number of public schools already authorised by the IBO, particularly in South Australia where Adelaide has the largest number of IB schools (24) of any city in the country and the second largest in the world. The Queensland Studies Authority formally recognised the IB Diploma Program in June 2005; this allows IB diploma holders also to qualify for the award of the Queensland Certificate of Education from 2007. The University of Melbourne, in cooperation with Wesley College and the IB Asia-Pacific regional office, has been offering a Graduate Certificate in International Education for teachers interested in the PYP from 2005.

**HOLISM AND TRANSDISCIPLINARITY IN THE IB DIPLOMA PROGRAM**

Miller (1991 p.3) has described four characteristics of holistic education:

- development of the whole person at cognitive and affective levels,
- benefiting from relationships through mutual respect for the beliefs and values of others,
- gaining life experience through internal growth, understanding and learning, and
- critical self-evaluation.

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2 Curiously Heggan (quoted in Paris 2003 p233) states that Adelaide is the second largest city for IB schools after Quebec (presumably the author meant the city and not the province with 109 schools, otherwise we would not be comparing like with like). IBO statistics in March 2006 indicate that there are 24 schools in Adelaide and six in Quebec city, both behind Buenos Aires.
According to the president of the International Centre for Research in Transdisciplinary Studies, the term ‘transdisciplinarity’ in education refers at once to links from one subject to another, topics that can be treated across subjects, and the idea that ‘unity of knowledge’ assists us to understand our world (Nicolescu 2005). There may be some similarity between ‘holism’ and ‘unity of knowledge’. This is not the place to explore or challenge these definitions; they are accepted for the purpose of this paper.

Paris (2003 p.235) feels that the IB diploma program is compartmentalised “rather than opting for a holistic approach to education, as experienced by many cultures, even indigenous cultures.” He attributes this to the demands of western universities who determine entrance criteria based on the compartmentalisation of knowledge. It is true that the IB diploma program is the more “traditional” and the more compartmentalised of any of the three IB programs because the IB diploma must defer to the entry criteria of universities world wide (although it has also been successful in changing those criteria in a small number of cases). Many higher education institutions remain quite traditional. So, curriculum innovation within the IB diploma program has to be undertaken prudently.

However, in spite of the demands of universities, there are holistic and transdisciplinary features of the diploma program. The compulsory theory of knowledge (TOK) course explores and compares knowledge claims across the major discipline areas and across cultures using critical thinking skills. It is often delivered by teachers from different subject areas sharing their perceptions with the TOK class. TOK encourages staff to identify links with other subject areas when teaching their own subject. The content of TOK goes beyond western thinking as the example above has already shown. There is also a group science project that must be done as part of internal assessment across two physical sciences or a physical science and one other subject. This promotes cooperation amongst students working in a group and develops an appreciation of the connectedness of knowledge. Compulsory creativity, action and service (CAS) takes place as a regular activity and often involves creative action and service elements occurring at the same time. CAS contributes to holistic education as it develops the whole person through experiential learning, encouraging empathy and respect for others and critical self-reflection.

Finally, the IBO has developed three transdisciplinary diploma subjects at standard level that have been piloted by a small group of schools before they are adjusted and placed on so-called ‘open offer’:

- Text and Performance (literature and the arts),
- Ecosystems and Societies (humanities and experimental sciences), and
- World Cultures (humanities and the arts).

Paris (2003, p.242) rightly points out that the IB diploma program is not a pathway into vocational education. However, during the latter part of 2004, the IBO commenced two pilot projects with national authorities in Finland and Quebec to explore the offering of some generic IB courses that would lead to more specialised vocational programs. This includes the development of a vocational theory of knowledge course which emphasises the inter-relatedness of learning.

All IB programs encourage students to understand that knowledge is usually inter-related, reciprocally influential and mutually supportive 3.

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3 The IB program guides and details on the philosophical and pedagogical underpinnings (the series A basis for practice) can be downloaded from www.ibo.org
GLOBALISATION AND INTERNATIONALISATION APPLIED TO IB PROGRAMS

Paris (2003, p.235) defines globalisation as an imposition “of ideas involving a dominant-recessive relationship. Internationalisation occurs when there is a sharing of ideas, where ideas are utilised, agreed upon, and mutually accepted.” In the same vein, Vidovich (2004 p.444), with reference to Taylor et al. (1997), notes that ‘internationalisation’ refers more to multi-lateral relationships between nation states, whereas ‘globalisation’ focuses on the supranational level and tends to be interpreted as an ideology which privileges market approaches to public policy making. Gough (2003, p.54) confirms Paris’ distinction between internationalisation and globalisation when he says:

… producing a global knowledge economy in/for an internationalised curriculum field can be understood as creating transnational spaces in which local knowledge traditions can be performed together, rather than trying to create a global common market in which representations of local knowledge must be translated into (or exchanged for) the terms of a universal discourse.

The negative connotations of the term ‘globalisation’ are reiterated by Smith (2003, p.36):

So it is that globalisation is fraught with various new kinds of identity crises, ranging from eroding senses of national identity to unprecedented losses of indigenous languages and cultures under the homogenising pressures of global capital.

Smith’s paper is an exposé of three forms of globalisation commencing with radical liberalism in the 1980s, which then led to reactions of accommodation or resistance. The third globalisation is an emerging world-wide dialogue about sustainable human development for the future, which the author hopes will lead to internationalisation as defined above.

Walker (2004, p.78-79) also discusses three theories of globalisation that coincide quite nicely with those of Smith although they were arrived at independently. “Hyperglobalists” see the nation states subsumed by single, overarching world policies. As Walker notes, this means, in educational terms, that the IBO would be offering a single system of education that is not only validated across the world but is used by all the world – that is, globalised – in the same way that the World Trade Centre attempts to develop a global trading system. “Global sceptics” (the resistance movement in Smith’s model) do not like world systems and see the importance of regions and countries working in harmony. From this perspective, IB programs assist internationally mobile parents to educate their children and provides an interesting alternative in schools in some national systems but it does not supplant any national system. The third group, “transformationalists,” consider how global trends might transform what is national and local without losing the national identity. IB programs have influenced the educational offerings of a number of governments 4 and not detracted from their distinctiveness.

The fact is that education will remain a national or regional priority. It was because of national sovereignty concerning education that UNESCO decided not to take the IBO under its wing in 1976 (Peterson 2003, p.97). UNESCO has a ‘definition’ of education as the reader has seen above, but it is encouraged, not imposed, and it leaves much room for national curriculum content and pedagogy. Underwriting any one educational system, even an international one, would have

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4 Here are three examples. In 1989 the subject “Systems of Knowledge,” inspired by the IBO’s Theory of Knowledge, was introduced into the Maltese national curriculum. In Switzerland a “Travail de Maturité”, based on the IB diploma Extended Essay, was introduced in 2001. From 2002 a new elective called Knowledge and Inquiry, inspired by the IB Theory of Knowledge course, has been offered in Singapore.
been politically difficult as well as technically impossible to implement (given the large discrepancies of resources between developed and developing nations); it would have been outside the remit of UNESCO, which is to promote cooperation and best practice between its nation states. IB programs do not seek to supplant or over-ride national systems; national (government and private) and international schools choose to do them or not. IB programs are developed by sharing ideas amongst practising teachers and curriculum writers from different corners of the globe and program committees, representing different cultures, make collective decisions about curriculum, assessment and pedagogical approaches.

The IBO provides extensive published material, on-line support and teacher training workshops around the world for all its programs. Paris (2003, p.235) sees this as globalisation with a potential danger: a homogenisation of educational ideas which subsumes cultural and national diversity. The MYP and PYP have very little prescribed content – they offer rather a pedagogical framework in which skills to be developed are identified – so they are more amenable to the inclusion of national or local content. The diploma program is the most prescriptive in terms of content; even so, a degree of choice is given within some subjects. More importantly, deference to cultural diversity is one of the planks on which all IB programs are based. The IB diploma history course is based on the premise that the same historical event will be seen through different cultural and national lenses which can lead to quite varied points of view. Each year the history examination paper has a question asking students to analyse critically two different texts written by historians from varied cultural backgrounds about the same event.

WESTERN DOMINATION VIA IB PROGRAMS?

Paris (2003, p.235) states:

Fundamentally, each culture that chooses to run with the IB-DP [diploma program] potentially relinquishes its values and practices of education in exchange for those of the western world. From this perspective, the IB-DP is very much a process of globalisation rather than a process of internationalisation.

Paris is right in that the IBO promotes a style of international education that requires an open-minded, inter-active teaching approach and the development of critical thinking skills, neither of which sits well in some non-western cultures. But is it true that a non-western culture that adopts an IB program virtually relinquishes its values and educational practices? Yes and no. The following comments are based on this writer’s experience during 12 years of professional visits to schools and ministries of education in many different countries.

No one culture adopts an IB program. The situation is more nuanced. It is individual schools that are approved to offer IB programs, not any particular culture as such. As Paris (2003, p. 234) has noted, state schools at the local level have the autonomy to offer an IB program in highly decentralised national systems like the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia. An international school will have a large mix of cultures; these schools usually choose IB programs because they accommodate different cultural viewpoints without imposing any one of them. Most national schools – private or state – will have a preponderance of students from the culture(s) found in the country, or the particular part of the country, together with some students from other cultures. It is in national schools where we usually find a dominant culture.

In the Middle East, for example, a number of national private schools in Bahrain, Jordan, Lebanon, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates have adopted the IB diploma program. In these schools the majority of students are from the country itself or neighbouring Arabic nations with a smaller number of students from India and Pakistan. There are few students in these schools from a western culture. Why did these schools adopt the IB diploma program? They did so in order that
their students could improve their English, could qualify to attend universities in North America, the United Kingdom or Australia, and could develop intercultural understanding. These students and their parents represent those of the national culture who see value in international connections and moving beyond their own frontiers. They do not relinquish their national culture to do so; they adopt Maalouf's (2000) “multiple allegiances” approach to other cultures. They have an enriched, international cultural perspective in which their own culture is an important point of reference for understanding the others. Now this already requires an attitude open to other ideas. Within any one culture there is rarely a uniform set of behaviours except for honoured traditions. The test of openness is to see how people react to behaviour and ideas from other cultures … and this openness depends very much on upbringing, education and experience. All developed countries have pockets of their populations, some of them isolated from the main urban centres, who are suspicious of so-called ‘strangers’ coming from the next town or province, not to mention coming from another nation. They cling to local traditions and are not interested in other perspectives. Their view is strengthened when the government education program is parochial. They would not adopt an IB program in their schools. Others of the same national culture are curious about different customs and prepared to meet with strangers, to learn of new ideas, and to empathise. It is those parents who enrol their children in an IB program.

IB philosophy has always championed the importance of one’s own culture in developing a multicultural perspective. A former Director General of the IBO encapsulated it this way, and at a time when only the IB diploma program existed:

> The honesty of the IB stems from the fact that we require all students to relate first to their own national identity - their own language, literature, history and cultural heritage, no matter where in the world this may be. Beyond that we ask that they identify with the corresponding traditions of others. It is not expected that they adopt alien points of view, merely that they are exposed to them and encouraged to respond intelligently. The end result, we hope, is a more compassionate population, a welcome manifestation of national diversity within an international framework of tolerant respect. Ideally, at the end of the IB experience, students should know themselves better than when they started while acknowledging that others can be right in being different (Peel 1988).

The IBO does not, however, promote infinite tolerance. Actions such as denying basic human rights and killing innocent people are not, of course, condoned for any reason. On the other hand, the IBO wants its students to try to understand what drives people to such extremes in an effort to identify the causes and suggest ways of removing those causes where this is possible.

It is interesting to note on a national scale that a number of western countries accept IB programs in their state schools – for example, United States, Canada, United Kingdom, all Nordic countries, the Netherlands, Spain, Poland, Croatia, Hungary, Australia. On the other hand, there are virtually no non-western countries with an IB program in a state school. This might indicate that the government authorities are afraid of their own national values being contaminated or diminished (which would support Paris’ claim) by an external program or, as this writer has experienced, that the quality of their own educational approach will be questioned if they introduce a ‘foreign’ program. Either way it is understandably a question of national pride.

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5 The pragmatic reasons are essential for the financial viability of the schools and are verifiable by looking at the destinations of the IB diploma graduates each year. The idealistic reason of intercultural understanding is less verifiable: it may not initially be paramount in the minds of school administrators, parents and students, but it can become an important “by-product” in their eyes as students progress through the courses.
However, Cambodia is an exception. The IBO signed a contract with the Ministry of Education in October 2003 to provide training of lecturers, administrators and teachers in “child centred” and “child friendly” interactive primary school learning based on PYP pedagogy, adapted to local conditions and needs, but not using the PYP *per se*. The training will be completed in December 2006 and is successfully done through translation into Khmer. This project is impacting on the whole of primary school teaching in the country. The lecturers, teachers and ministry of education are fully supportive and positive results have already been noticed in a number of schools. Local content preserves a national dimension, but the approach is that of dialogue, questioning and critical thinking skills, not attributes which one might readily associate with an Asian country’s education system. Is it that Pol Pot’s appalling suppression of expression and intellectual endeavour for so many years has produced an incentive to move dramatically in the opposite direction? In any case, here is a whole government system at primary level happily espousing IB educational philosophy that has been developed from a western humanist tradition of learning, but which, because of that very tradition, seeks to accommodate and validate other modes of thinking and acting.

A much smaller project, again using PYP pedagogy adapted to local conditions and undertaken jointly with the Ministry of Education, is taking place in a state primary school in Casablanca, Morocco in French and Arabic. This is regarded as a model school for action research into curriculum development and teacher training that could have more wide-ranging effects in that country.

However, it would take some careful research to see just how far the Cambodian and Moroccan ministries have been able to accommodate the western educational paradigm, particularly concerning critical thinking skills.

**CONCLUSIONS**

So, are IB programs a process of globalisation? Walker (2004 p.79) thinks not: “The IBO offers an education system throughout the world but not for the world.” International education must remain flexible enough to accommodate local educational needs if it is to exist in national systems. The relationship between national systems and international education should be one of symbiosis (as Paris 2003 p.242 notes), not one of supranational sovereignty.

The development of IB programs are based on the sharing of ideas with stakeholders. Staff from schools that have chosen to offer IB programs participate: some through membership on curriculum revision and other academic committees (such as research or professional development), others on governance committees; many teachers and school administrators become assistant examiners or workshop leaders. The IBO also consults all schools when curriculum changes are proposed. Projects to provide more access to IB-style education (as distinct from the full IB programs themselves) for those who cannot afford it have been accepted and successfully implemented, even in some non-Western cultures that wish to adopt more dynamic pedagogical models à la IBO. This changes the teaching methodology in the country but does not seem to impinge on the cultural values of the societies concerned (although this needs confirmation through research).

The IBO furnishes an un-imposed, international education whose philosophy and pedagogical approach stem from western traditions but which explores and legitimises non-western modes of expression and thought. This is internationalisation, not globalisation.
REFERENCES


