

Tristan Bunnell



Global Education Under Attack

International Baccalaureate in America

PETER LANG

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Part A: Introduction to the attack

Milestones being reached

The recent history of the International Baccalaureate (IB) has been one of organizational achievement and statistical milestone. In so many different ways, the IB has ‘far surpassed the expectations of its founders’ (Tarc, 2009a p.1). The Geneva-registered ‘IB’ (formerly called the IB Organization, the IBO, but re-branded in 2007) celebrated its 40th Anniversary in 2008, after four decades of rapid yet largely ‘un-planned’ global growth (see Bunnell, 2008a). The May 2010 IB Diploma Programme (IBDP) examination session saw the 100,000 candidate-mark hit for the very first time (fittingly for a curriculum committed to global peace, a student in Sarajevo was officially acclaimed as the milestone achiever). The United States (US) alone ‘housed’ almost 57,000 candidates for that exam session (compared to just 12 in 1968).

The month of July 2010 saw the 3,000th ‘IB World School’ milestone achieved when Brown Academy of Chattanooga, Tennessee, came on board the ‘project’ and joined the other 1,000-plus schools across the US. The 4,000th programme had appeared 25th June 2011 when the Taihu International School in China was duly authorized. The IB was officially educating 1,000,000 children by March 2012. The 2,000th IB school in the ‘IB Americas’ region (IBA) appeared in April 2012 when the South Texas Business, Education and Technology Academy became IBDP authorized.

Projecting ahead, the IB Middle Years Programme (MYP) looks set sometime in 2013 to reach the 1,000-school milestone, followed by the IB Primary Years Programme (PYP), possibly in 2014. The lesser known PYP was first discussed at a European Council of International Schools (ECIS) conference in Rome in 1990, and was labeled the International Schools’ Curriculum Project 3-12 (ISCP) in 1992. Therefore, the year 2010 was technically its 20th Anniversary. On top of all this, a fourth programme, the IB Career-Related Certificate (IBCC) went ‘live’ in September 2011 (but was only available to those schools currently doing the IBDP).

Not surprisingly given this pace of growth, the IB has undergone substantial organizational change and the global centre in The Hague (one of three worldwide, alongside Singapore, and Maryland) opened in November 2011. The IB overall in mid-2012 was educating its one million children in 3,300 schools in

141 countries, and is getting ready (in terms of technology, infrastructure, and organizational operation) for serving an estimated 2.5 million children in 10,000 schools by 2020 (Beard, 2006). In other words, the IB is preparing to educate *another* 1.5 million children in an *extra* 7,000 schools by 2020. We might expect at least 3,000 of these extra schools to be in the US alone given the past and current growth rates; the May 2020 IBDP examination session could feasibly involve 200,000 candidates across America. As asserted by Tarc (2009a p.1), the IB's sense of itself as a 'growing, transnational social movement, aimed at creating a better world through education' now looks a reality, certainly in a statistical and organizational sense.

The first four months of 2012 revealed an interesting set of growth trends; towards America and away from Europe, and Australia. This period saw 122 schools gain IB authorization. Of these, 50 were in the US, with a further seven in Canada and five in Mexico (i.e. exactly half were in North America). Fifteen were in India. Only three schools were located in Europe (two in Spain, and one in Sweden) and just two were in Australia. At the other extreme, the biggest economies in Africa (Nigeria and South Africa) started the year 2012 with just five IB schools between them. Half of the African continent (23 countries) remains an IBDP wilderness, whilst a further twelve countries there have only one school. The 2010 exam sessions (May and November combined) involved just 16 students in Namibia, plus a further 39 in Malawi. Numerous other countries had less than 100 candidates; the May 2010 exam session involved just 38 students in Bulgaria, and a further 29 in Ireland. As the IB grows, it becomes noticeably more US-centric. As it grows more US-centric it attracts more critical attention in that country and this tension forms the background to this book.

Tensions appearing

Beyond the crude growth figures and jubilant statistical milestones there is an emerging series of complex tensions and challenges appearing (see Bunnell, 2010a; and 2011a) which require more attention and understanding. Greater growth leads inevitably to more critical analysis and closer observation. At the same time, with maturity comes anxiety- there is much evidence for saying that the IB has begun to undergo a form of 'mid-life crisis', with internal (i.e. sympathetic) observers questioning growth, direction, and future developments.

Some academic observers have begun to show a high degree of cynicism; one assertion made (Lauder, 2007) is that the initial idealism of the IB has been

over-taken by social and class interests associated with globalization. The publisher John Catt Educational Ltd (based in Woodbridge, Suffolk, England) has thus far published three books (with one more in the pipeline), each thematically about ‘taking the IB forward’. The first, titled *Taking the PYP Forward* (edited by Davidson and Carber, 2009) was followed by a book about the MYP (edited by Hayden and Thompson, 2011a), and then a third one, about the DP, (also edited by Hayden and Thompson, 2011b). At the same time, the IB itself has published a book (edited by Walker, 2011a) examining the challenges facing the programmes. Within each of these four books is found high degrees of concern and anxiety plus frustration. In particular, a retrospective analysis is critical of the lack of ‘depth’ (rather than ‘breadth’) of the programmes. As reflected on the ISCP by MacKinnon (2009 p.164):

...something of the original zest and pragmatism of the project has, necessarily, been lost in its transition to being the PYP...

Aside from the lamenting of the ‘original zest’ and ‘revolutionary thinking’ (MacKinnon, 2009 p.164) that apparently marked the early years of the IB programmes, it is clear that many people would like to see the IB (now) move beyond growth *per se* towards a deeper and more balanced level of operation. A decade ago, Wilkinson (2002, p.192) was commenting that:

For all its many and undeniable successes, international education is still searching for an overall coherent sense of purpose and direction.

It would appear from a reading of the aforementioned books that this comment is still especially true of the IB programmes. In particular, a form of ‘growth skepticism’ (Bunnell, 2011b) has appeared, with commentators questioning whether, and how much further, growth can be ‘managed’. Indeed, there are some educators who are so concerned they would like to see a moratorium on growth, although the IB has thus far managed to maintain a very high degree of ‘quality control’. The notion of the IB facing ‘challenges’ (and opportunities) is now very well established, as noted by Walker (2011b, p.2):

International educators and the IB are facing new challenges and opportunities as globalisation metaphorically shrinks the distance and difference between nation states.

In IB planning parlance (e.g. IBO, 2004; IBO, 2006a), growth is leading to greater ‘impact’ and ‘influence’, which sounds good, but there are downsides to this; the IB is desperately attempting to maintain ‘quality’ (i.e. reliability and consistency of assessment) and trying (in its own words) to ‘keep ahead of the

growth curve' whilst being 'fit for purpose' (see Bunnell, 2011c). In the words of one leading commentator (Bagnall, 2010 p.124), the IB is constantly trying to 'out-think' itself. This book explores an under-looked 'side-effect' of growth and 'impact', involving a vitriolic and potentially damaging 'attack' on the IB in America, the new 'home' of the three main programmes (see Bunnell, 2011d).

This book is essentially a substantially extended, and up-dated, version of a paper (written sometime in 2007 and) published in March 2009 in the (peer-reviewed) journal *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* regarding the IB in the US and the emerging educational 'culture war' in that country (see Bunnell, 2009). My paper, which is still (to the best of my knowledge) the only one that has addressed the topic in any depth, had revealed how the IB has undergone rapid growth and largely unhindered expansion over the past four decades. Moreover, my 2009 paper had shown how far the IB has moved beyond its initial Northern European nexus and now has a relatively large presence in America (especially the MYP, and the IBDP), and especially among public schools rather than private (and rather elitist) 'international schools', the original founding base. Moreover, the IB has attracted a growing band of opponents who sense an 'alternative agenda'. According to one key critic (DeWeese, 2004) the IBDP has become 'a United Nations (UN) program designed to create a generation of Americans educated to believe in a system of global government'.

By October 2011 almost exactly half of all the globally branded 'IB World Schools' were in the US and Canada; the US accounted for almost 40% and Canada housed a further 10%. Spahn (2001 p.117), in the earliest book published dealing exclusively with the growth and development of the IB in America (and now complemented by Mathews and Hill, 2006), ended positively by stating that the IBDP has 'found its place in the United States', but he probably did not believe that, given the current statistical situation, we should expect at least one million 'IB Learners' to be situated there in 2020.

The regional director of the now defunct IB North America (IBNA) association seemed justified when he rather prophetically stated 'we may now be at the tipping point' (quoted in *Newsweek* magazine by Wengert, 2007), implying much future growth (as explained by Malcolm Gladwell, 2002). Others (e.g. Uy, 2007) at this time were also correctly predicting future further growth in the US.

Beyond the now very evident North American 'imbalance', the growth of the IB has become much more politically and socially problematic, attracting a complex mosaic of opposition from an array of conservative thinkers. Literature

now accepts that the growth of the IB involves inherent ‘complications’. As noted by Paul Tarc (2009a p.126) in his Peter Lang published book about the IB titled *Global Dreams, Enduring Tensions*:

The opportunities afforded IB by its reputation, approach, and overall access comes with complications. These complications centre both on how IB is envisioned by its key spokespersons and how IB is perceived and used in the wider world. (Tarc, 2009a p.126)

My 2009 paper in the *Discourse* journal was one of the first to address a special ‘perception complication’, the one held by some conservative advocates and agencies in the US that the IB is ‘poisoning’ schools, and is fundamentally ‘anti-American’, ‘un-Constitutional’, and even ‘un-American’. Put bluntly, for some people across America, the IB is simply not *needed* or *welcome* (at least not in public schools). Tarc (2009b) had created a framework for envisaging the growth and development of the IB within four key time-periods, but he had also created within the narrative a three-fold set of ‘enduring tensions’, which he described (Tarc, 2000a p.7) as being ‘embedded’, and that have affected the IB since the first ‘period’ of activity (he termed this the ‘Creation and Experiment 1962-73’ phase). This book builds upon one of these three ‘enduring tensions’, the *citizenship* tension (the other two being the *curriculum* tension, and the *operational* tension), neatly summarized in a review of Tarc’s book as occurring when:

...national systems may have different priorities from those of an international education, and a national understanding may be at odds with an international understanding. (Charleston, 2010 p.331)

This tension has been further conceptualized (Osler, 2011) as existing where ‘citizenship education’, which typically focuses on the nation and citizens’ supposed natural affinity to the nation-state, is challenged by ‘cosmopolitans’, who propose instead a form of ‘global education’ which encourages a primary commitment to fellow humanity and planet Earth. In America this issue divides ‘traditionalists’, who identify ‘global education’ as ‘un-natural’, and liberal-leaning ‘globalists’ who (alongside the humanistic aspect) see it as essential for America’s future competitiveness and economic well-being.

The battle-ground for this issue has become ‘Middle-America’ (which senses the demise of the middle-class and the ‘American Dream’) and the protagonists have emerged as being primarily parents (mainly suburban ‘moms’) and disgruntled tax-payers i.e. ordinary citizens, not academics or politicians.

Understanding the tension

The following quote (dated 11th April 2011) from a prominent website (*truthaboutib.com*: TAIB) helps to set the scene for discussion about the IB as a ‘controversial’ ‘international body’ with a ‘globalist agenda’ which has emerged over the past four decades as the world’s major provider of international curricula (Anttila-Muilu, 2004), and which since 2009 has resided in well over 1,000 schools in the US:

Ozark (*High School, Missouri*) parents received a phone call earlier today inviting them to a school board meeting... For the past several months, quality in education has revolved around the controversial International Baccalaureate, an international body with ties to the United Nations with a globalist agenda that is clearly anti-American... (<http://www.truthaboutib.com/usschooldisputes/ibinozarkmo.html>)

This book traces and explores this attack. The direct ‘path’ is easy enough to identify e.g. the *Goals 2000: Educate America Act* (passed 31st March, 1994) had six goals included one stating ‘every adult American will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy’. However, the indirect ‘path’ is harder to follow. The ‘traditionalists’ opposition to ‘global education’ in America can be traced back to 1989 (at the end of the ‘Cold War’) and a controversial speech by Dr. Shirley McCune (at that time the Senior Director of Mid-Continental Regional Educational Laboratory). McCune, a guest speaker at the Governor’s Conference on Education called by President George H.W. Bush, and held in Wichita, Kansas, asked for schools to engage in the ‘transformation of society’ and referred to the ‘social change function of schools’ (see *Brave New Schools* by Kjos, 1995). McCune had said:

What we’re into is the total restructuring of society. What is happening in America today...is not simply a chance situation in the usual winds of change... (it is) a total transformation of society...You can’t get away from it. You can’t go into rural areas, you can’t go into the churches, you can’t go into government or into business and hide... Schools are no longer in the schooling business, but rather in human resource development...we have an opportunity to develop the kind of society we want. (<http://www.oregoneducation.org/edquote.htm> 11/2002)

Also in 1994 came the federal education funding bill ‘HR6’, which authorized a single organization, the *Center for Civic Education*, to write the federal education standards for civics and governments. In the words of one key IB critic, Allen Quist:

It is an outrage that an American government textbook this radical is authorized and funded by federal law...The textbook and the national standards upon which it is based should be relegated to the trash heap of the other failed utopian dreams. (<http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f-news/1370010/posts>)

The specific battle against the IB in American schools can be traced to an event a decade after McCune's speech. One of the first attacks against the IB came at W.T. Woodson High School in Fairfax County, Virginia, where in 1999 a committee of teachers, parents and students had voted 15 to 10 to reject a planned IB programme. This was 'a full-fledged anti-IB revolt' (as described in Chapter 27 in *Supertest* by Mathews and Hill, 2006 p.131); to some parents 'IB looked a scam or at least an uncertain quantity'. This was a significant point in time for the IB in America; the Dwight School in New York, founded in 1872 by Dr. Julius Sachs, whose family established Goldman Sachs, became in 2000 the first school in the US to offer the 'continuum' (i.e. all three IB programmes together). In other words, this year saw the first school in America fully adopt the IB as a 'system' of programmes.

The year 2006 was a definite 'peak' period of attack (certainly in terms of press coverage) and the events at the Upper St. Clair High School in Pittsburgh (see Walters, 2006) probably came as something of a shock to many IB supporters:

Police had to be called to the normally genteel high school after the district meeting broke down in chaos as almost 1,000 pupils and parents who wanted to save the IB heckled the board...Since the vote, one of the board members who opposes the IB and calls its internationalist, pro-egalitarian ideals 'Marxist' has received death threats. (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/>)

This book aims to 'make sense' of this situation (as much as anyone can do this task objectively, or rationally), within the historical context that America is politically becoming increasingly more conservative (Mattson, 2008). This process has been a long-term one:

It is conventional wisdom today to proclaim that Americans have become more conservative over the past decade. (Chafetz and Ebaugh, 1983 p.275)

This book explores the philosophical and political back-ground to the attack on the IB in the US, which is heavily influenced by the thinking of the Michigan based conservative historian Russell Kirk (1918-1994), who linked his ideas especially to Edmund Burke (1729-1797), the Irish-British supporter of the American Revolutionaries. Kirk espoused the traditional American conservative

commitments to a non-imperialistic foreign policy, minimal government, rooted communities, and social hierarchies (see Lora, 1971; and East, 1984).

As revealed by my 2009 *Discourse* paper, the attack against the IB is coming from a variety of conservative (properly named paleo-conservative: see Scotchie, 1999; Ashbee, 2000) agencies, who exercise a peculiarly American form of conservative thought which supports tradition and nature, and is extremely hostile to the notion that (federal funded) schools should *transform* the American child from ‘national citizen’ to ‘global citizen’. Moreover, they see such transformation as *un-natural*.

Put simply, the role of schools should be a traditionally-based one, with each child developing according to the ‘laws of nature’, and each developing their own individual set of thoughts and values (i.e. not shared values or a pluralist world-view). Furthermore, there is a view held by paleo-conservatives that most children in America do not *need* a ‘global education’ since they will always live and work within a traditional localized setting.

Another leading paleo-conservative thinker (alongside Kirk) was Samuel Todd Francis (1947-2005), an editorial writer at the *Washington Times* who often espoused controversial (realist/reactionary/racist) views on immigration and ‘topics of the day’, and who had expressed his views about the IBDP on an anti-immigration website, *VDARE.com* (Francis, 2004). Francis’ writing in general reveals much about paleo-conservatism, especially the belief that America is not an ‘idea’ or ‘project’ but instead is a concrete culture rooted in its own history with its own set of beliefs, institutions and values (i.e. America has its own unique ‘identity’). Within this context, the IB is a ‘threat’, both as an (European-initiated) ‘institution’ and as a ‘value system’. Francis created (24th February 2004) a 14-point ‘Statement of Principles’, of which Statement 4 refers specifically to education:

We also oppose the ‘imperial bureaucracy’ that imposes unconstitutional administrative decrees in such fields as business, agriculture, labor, and education that tyrannically interfere with personal liberty and dignity, private property, the sanctity of the family, and ethical conduct. (<http://conservativetimes.org/>)

The paleo-conservative ‘movement’ may seem ‘hidden’ to many observers but it has its own mainstream. The John Birch Society is a prominent paleo-conservative organization, founded in 1958 to promote the idea that the US is a *constitutional republic* not a *democracy* (or an *Empire*, see Buchanan, 1999).

The leading periodical is the *Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture*. This is published by the Rockford Institute, founded in 1976 with a stated mission to:

...defend and advance the principles of a free society and to preserve the institutions of the Christian West: the family, the Church, and the rule of law; private property, free enterprise, and moral discipline; high standards of learning, art, and literature. (<http://www.rockfordinstitute.org/>)

Many paleo-conservatives (especially parents) often seem concerned about the pace of educational change in America and feel that more consultation is required. Put bluntly, many parents in America have lost *trust* in public schools to deliver the (morally high standards of) education they *expect and want* for their children. This helps explain why approximately two million children in the US are home-schooled, and this number has been rising by 15-20% each year (Bauman, 2001). For some American parents, public schools have become *unnatural* and *un-trustworthy* venues for educating their children. The notion of the IB being involved in a long-term conspiracy to induce ‘global citizens’ and introduce a federal curriculum is a further key theme of the attack and is worthy of its own study.

An important topic

The topic of ‘anti-IB attack’ is becoming an important one and requires a greater amount of attention and understanding. The IB has been criticized in the US as a ‘Swiss-based’ programme and a needless duplication of Advanced Placement (AP). It has been accused of being opposed to American and Judeo-Christian values, whilst having ties to ‘Marxist’ organizations (Kerlik, 2006). The largely secular set of IB programmes is argued by some to be undermining American sovereignty and nationalism. DeWeese (2004) has attacked the IB as a UN programme ‘poisoning US education’. The underlying theme linking all this criticism is the notion that the IB is beyond American ‘control’; it is *supranational* not just *international*.

One teacher at a school in Michigan newly authorized to offer the IB DP had expressed concern at having to overcome ‘the perception that IB is anti-American’ (Lackey, 2006). This situation may all seem very bizarre to many observers, especially IB-supporters, teachers, and non-Americans. Even Americans probably under-estimate the extremity of the emerging paleo-conservative

polemic against the IB. Micklethwait and Wooldridge (2004 p.11) pointedly say that:

Most Americans still do not realize how extraordinary their brand of conservatism is.

One immediate framework for discussion argues the paleo-conservative attack on the IB in the US can be conceptualized as revolving around two key areas of controversy. This dual-factor analysis comes from the assertion by Falk (1993) that two forms of globalization are emerging. One is a top-down power process, involving the long-term and deliberate creation of a New World Order (UN-governed and US-led), whilst the other is a bottom-up process, involving the creation of a One-World Community (popularized by ‘the earth is flat’ metaphor). In a sense, the paleo-conservative attack on the IB is coming from both angles, and is therefore ultimately a fundamental attack on the forces of globalization. In this context, it defies any coherent attempt at resistance. It is certainly difficult to deal constructively with an attack that so fundamentally disagrees with an educational development. It has startlingly been announced by DeWeese (2004) that:

The International Baccalaureate program should be ripped from the classrooms of America, defunded, and thrown upon the same ash heap of history where the former Soviet Union and other despotisms can be found. (<http://www.newswithviews.com/>)

A key emerging accusation is that the IB is ‘anti-American’. This has become a core theme of the ‘attack’ and is another example of how deeply entrenched the opposition to the IB really is. Consider the following comment written by *Teachers Against UN Indoctrination* (19th May 2010):

IB’s clearly stated mission is to teach global government, aka, world government. This is on its face anti-American since we are a constitutional republic and we reject world government. This program is a scam whereby the UN takes your tax dollars and controls your schools and indoctrinates your kids at the same time. IB should be booted from American schools and the UN booted from America. Write your Congressmen and ask they defund the UN. (<http://www.educationnews.org/>)

These comments (certainly to outsiders) probably seem absurd. It is therefore tempting to dismiss the attack on the IB as ‘irrelevant’ (or peripheral), but it is important to fully grasp the geographical scale of IB activity in America. To put the presence of the IB there into some sort of geographical context, consider that if the States of America are sub-divided as ‘countries’, 15 are (correct March 2012) within the top 34 countries.

These combined accounted for 68.5% of all IB schools worldwide. Three States (California, Florida, and Texas) would appear in a list of the top six ‘countries’ (below Canada, UK, and Australia). These six geographical areas alone accounted for almost exactly 1,000 IB schools (30.4% of worldwide presence). In purely geographical terms the attack is *important*.

To reinforce this point, consider the fact that in February 2012, 39.3% of all ‘IB World Schools’ were located in the US. This figure as a proportion is rising fast- it had been 39% in September 2011, 37% in June 2007, and 35% the year earlier. The ‘imbalance’ towards the US would be even greater if it were not for the fact that most schools there offer just one of the IB programmes. The US accounted for exactly 1,500 IB programmes in February 2012, 36% of all programmes worldwide. If each IB school America was to offer the ‘continuum’ it would increase the total number of programmes by 60%. In this context, the attack on the IB in the US probably does *matter*.

Furthermore, there is the potential for this attack to accelerate in America. The 2012 Republican nomination campaign revealed a new line of attack within the ‘Tea (Taxed Enough Already) Party Movement’. The *teaparty911.com* website calls on Party members to ‘fight’ the IB:

If you are concerned about your school’s participation in the secret IB program apparently being sponsored by covert federal government actions go to the IBO website and see if your school is a World School. If so get organized and go fight it with the school board. It is also a fight that the Tea Party and other patriotic organizations can take at the state level by attempting to pass legislation outlawing IB type programs in our schools. (<http://www.teaparty911.com/>)

The main opponents to the IB in the US have become more visible since 2009 plus more vocal (and seemingly better organized) but the exact philosophy behind the attack requires greater scrutiny, ultimately from academics and commentators based in America. In particular, the attack on the IB in the US needs to be more closely linked with socio-economic factors, such as middle-class ‘angst’ and frustration, beyond being viewed simplistically as a politically-oriented issue. The notion that this is an attack within a hyper-globalist lens (Held et al, 1999) of globalization is correct (e.g. the IB is historically linked to UNESCO) but this line of analysis is too simplistic; the links between the IB and the UN are well-known, yet over-exaggerated by opponents.

A much wider lens of inquiry is required. The ‘global dimension’ in education, including the introduction of IB programmes in American schools, came about partly through a rapid succession of policy-making decisions which has

reacted urgently to global events (e.g. the ‘9/11’ terrorist atrocity) and global developments (e.g. China’s entry on the global trade stage). For some people, this has been rushed and non-negotiated (and can even realistically be viewed within the ‘shock doctrine’ thesis, as articulated by Naomi Klein, 2007). The IB is also becoming dragged into a wider social discussion about the nature of the ‘American Dream’ and the decline of access of the middle-class to this route to success. Not everyone can have access to the IB and this is problematic; the IB may wish for greater access but it will never fully *satisfy* the demand. In one sense, this is intentional. As noted by Bagnall (2010 p.102):

The IB is not aimed at the ‘large scale market.’ The ‘academic capital’ enjoyed by IB diploma holders is the more potent for this scarcity value.

Furthermore, the IB can never fully meet the needs and attention of all the different constituents (or stakeholders):

And as the programme is taken up by a wider range of constituencies, so too are questions asked as to how it can satisfy all those constituencies without some feeling overshadowed by others. (Hayden and Thompson, 2011c p.21)

At the same time tax-payers who are denied access are subsidizing others who have it; there is evidence (e.g. Lucas, 2005) of the IB programmes acting as a ‘school within a school’, serving only a very small grouping of students. This is destined to emerge as a source of tension and frustration, especially in light of Smith’s (2009) Doctoral study revealing that IBDP graduates (compared to AP graduates) felt more prepared for college study, and experienced more long-term job benefits. There is evidence that the IBDP offers an *advantage* in later life, which gives the programme potential as a ‘positional good’ (a product or service whose value is a function of their ranking in desirability by others, in comparison to substitutes).

This book is offered by this Northern European-based writer as a useful reference point for discussing the emerging attack on the IB in America but it cannot be expected to fully fill the void. One point that does need enforcing is that this attack does have its own political/philosophical framework and so does deserve treating with some degree of respect. The opponents of ‘global education’ in general cannot be merely dismissed as ‘crazy’ or ‘paranoid’. The radicalization of opposition to the IB supports the view that ‘America as a whole is a more conservative place...and the whole world needs to understand what this means’ (Micklethwait and Wooldridge, 2004 p.11). I hereby pass the ‘baton’ to an American-based researcher.

Part B: The background to the attack

The mainstreaming of ‘global education’

Understanding ‘global education’

‘Global education’ is a complex and controversial area of schooling and instruction, involving differing models of implementation within schools (Becker, 1979). A useful framework for conceptualizing what is meant by ‘global education’ is provided by Kniep (1986) who suggests such an education has four key features. Firstly, it involves the study of diverse human values. Secondly, it involves a study of different economic and political systems. There is a further study of global issues and problems, plus the study of the history of contact and co-operation among people, cultures, and nations. Such an education thus requires knowledge within both a national and international context. It also requires knowledge of how other people (in other countries) act and think.

A second model comes from Case (1993) who proposed that ‘global education’ involves two key dimensions. Firstly, there is the need for acquiring knowledge of the world and how it works. Secondly, there is a need to gain an orientation of the world (i.e. gain a view of how the world thinks and acts). Put together, these two dimensions should help students cope with emerging global realities. A third framework for conceptualizing what constitutes a ‘global education’ comes from Alger and Harf (1985); such an education requires a mixed knowledge of global values, transactions, actors, procedures, and mechanisms.

Kilpatrick’s (2010) Doctoral study into the implementation of ‘global education’ in two schools in Massachusetts (including one IBDP school) identified such an education as involving teaching ‘competencies’ including the ability to communicate and navigate in foreign situations and speak a foreign language, as well as ‘attitudes’ such as tolerance, cross-cultural understanding and interest in other cultures. It is worth noting that there is some concern over the reality of practice of this dimension of education; recent studies (Niens and Reilly, 2012) in Northern Ireland have shown that ‘global education’ may fail to overcome engrained cultural divisions locally and may perpetuate cultural stereotypes globally.

George Walker (the IB Director General, 1999-2006), in a revealing speech to the IB Nordic Schools in Stockholm (9th September 2005), had outlined his vision of what a ‘global education’ involves (all of Walker’s speeches can be found at <http://www.ibo.org/dg/emeritus/speeches/>). He gave a listing of six themes. According to Walker (2005a), IB students need to learn about ‘communication’ (how to access information), and ‘negotiation’ (how to persuade others to compromise or change their minds). Students need ‘political awareness’ (understanding different priorities of other countries), and ‘cultural understanding’ (recognizing that other people have a different ‘mindset’). An IB-type ‘global education’ also involves a study of ‘global issues’, and a ‘criteria for truth’ (how to judge what is wrong or right). Walker implied that these themes are hierarchical, when he said that:

I have learned that to be on the first rung of the ladder of international education is not enough. The best educated workforce is no longer just internationally aware. It has an understanding of the major influences that have consigned the concepts of the independent nation state, national company and national economy to the history books. I have learned that students need to be globally aware. (<http://www.ibo.org>)

The notion that a ‘global education’ involves being ‘globally aware’, not just nationally or internationally aware, is a contentious point to some conservative Americans, as this book will discuss.

The need for ‘global education’

The history of ‘global education’ in Britain has been traced back 30 years (Hicks, 2010). However, the past decade has seen a major paradigm shift in some countries with regards to the aims of education which has placed a greater emphasis on the need for ‘global education’. This shift has occurred as life in general has become more globalized. Globalization as a phenomenon has manifested itself as an increasing interconnectedness and interdependence of people, organizations, and countries across national borders (Meyer, 2007). As noted by Snyder et al. (2008 p.3) in the opening sentence to the book *Living on the Edge of Chaos*:

In the last decade it has become increasingly clear that life today is global on many levels, both personally and professionally, and that the twenty-first century will indeed be earmarked as the first age of global living for the masses.

The terrorist events of September 2001 in New York, and the suicide attacks on London’s transport system in summer 2005, added substantial weight behind the

need for educating for social and community cohesion, and the need for children to not only understand about other people (acquiring ‘knowledge’) but also ‘what other people think of us’ (becoming ‘knowledgeable’). As stated by Tarc (2009a p.93):

In the post-9/11 era marking the contemporary moment of IB in the world, making sense of globalization in all its dimensions has become a more necessary task.

Governments have subsequently pushed this ‘need’ onto the education policy making agenda. As stated in the Abstract of Keller’s (2010) Doctoral Thesis on the attitudes of IB students:

It is becoming increasingly clear that citizens and workers are needed who possess global perspectives and cross-cultural tolerance. The task of creating these globally aware workers has fallen to educational institutions. (<http://gradworks.umi>)

The British government’s 2004 document *Putting the World Into World-Class Education* stated in the Foreword that: ‘Developing and maintaining a world-class system begins with understanding the world in which we live’ (DFES, 2004). The *Education Act* 2002 had stated that the school curriculum in England should prepare children for later life in a globalized and multicultural life. The *Diversity and Citizenship Curriculum Review* in 2007 stated that the school curriculum in England should teach children how to live and deal with people of differing cultures and backgrounds.

It should be said that there are educational commentators (e.g. Woodhead, 2009) who question the ‘myth’ that we live in a ‘knowledge economy’, and there even exists a thesis that a whole generation of children have had a ‘wasted’ education (as articulated by the British sociologist Frank Furedi, 2009) which has focused on politically-oriented ‘fads’ and ‘social engineering’ rather than the development of an intellectual curiosity:

Education has become a battlefield on which often pointless conflicts are fought. (Furedi, 2009 p.1)

This sort of Marxist-Libertarian-Humanist thought fits surprisingly well with the traditional view of schooling as propagated by many paleo-conservatives. At the same time, there are accusations of ineffectiveness in terms of schooling practice. As asserted by Standish (2008 p.29):

While students are learning about global citizenship and global ethics, there has been no critical interrogation of the educational and social implications of these concepts.

Alongside the growth of perceived need for educating for global citizenship, community cohesion, and global awareness, there is now a view that countries such as US and England are ‘falling behind’, or at least being ‘caught up’, by emerging nations such as China and India (i.e. the notion that the ‘world is flat’ as put forward by the New York journalist Thomas L. Friedman, 2005). This creates a need for greater competition *and* co-operation. Again, to quote Snyder et al. (2008 p.9):

What is emerging is a picture of global co-operation, rather than competition, with many of the world’s players being new to the global scene.

This development has strengthened the need for inter-cultural competency, and global-work preparation. Together, policies aimed at labour flexibility (‘neo-Fordism’) have been joined (see Brown and Lauder, 1996) by policies aimed at promoting national competitiveness (‘post-Fordism’). Schools, policy-makers, and curriculum designers have been placed under pressure to create (quickly) a format for educating children to be ‘global citizens’, culturally aware (and literate) and competent to compete and co-operate with other cultures, beyond being merely ‘national citizens’. In other words, education has been placed under pressure to *transform* the child not just *transfer* knowledge, whilst schools are now closer involved in the *construction* of the global worker (Resnik, 2008), beyond the *instruction* of the national citizen. Moreover, we are told this is an *urgent* need, defying organized opposition and formal discussion.

However, the form and pace of this educational development has not been welcomed by some people and it is the nature of opposition (to ‘understanding’ globalization, and the immediate need for greater ‘global education’ in schools) that has emerged in America that forms the basis of analysis for this book. For some people, this shift is not only coming too fast (and without proper consultation) but is not *needed* and not *invited*. In the case of some American conservatives, as will be explored in this book, ‘global education’ also is not *natural* and defies the fundamental laws of nature.

The IB Mission Statement aims to ‘develop’ inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who can help to create a better and more peaceful world. However, not everyone sees the role of education in such a transformational manner. For some people, schools should concentrate on traditional methods (not fads) and exert old-fashioned values (not post-modern ones), allowing the child to develop their own sense of identity in a natural (not progressive) way. This fundamental dichotomy of opinion forms the basis of this book.

The growth of ‘global education’

Education for global citizenship has been openly argued to be a goal of education in the US, although it is accepted to be a complex and contested area of schooling (Shultz, 2007). As cynically asserted by Furedi (2008 p.9):

Making children feel good about themselves has been one of main objectives of US schools during the past three years.

A strong case has been put forward over the past decade that the US must provide an educational response to globalization, making the curriculum more relevant to the globalized world that (some) children will enter (Stewart, 2007). The State of Ohio, for instance, has made globalizing its education a priority (Howe, 2008), and it is interesting to note that this State in 2012 had more schools offering the programmes of the IB than France, one of the first countries to recognize the initial IBDP way back in December 1967. The State of Illinois alone had almost 1,000 citizens sitting the IBDP May exam session (93% of schools there are in Chicago, and 93% of these are public ones). Fox (1998a p.74) had remarked how the Commissioners of Education for Florida and California had paid tribute to the IB in their States and it is no coincidence to find that they in 2012 led the way in terms of student numbers sitting the IBDP examinations.

Interestingly, five American States did not have any IBDP activity, and in a further 17 there were less than five schools involved in the May 2008 examinations. A ‘Big Five’ had emerged: the States of Florida, New York, Virginia, Texas, and California accounted for 40% of schools in the US involved in May 2008. As Beard’s (2006) presentation showed, the growth of the IB has always been in some areas more than others, and what has emerged are ‘hotspots’ e.g. Warsaw, Buenos Aires, Adelaide, Quebec, and Singapore, to name but a few parts of the world. Thus, several areas of America have also become IB ‘hotspots’ of activity, after decades of relative ‘obscurity’ (Cech, 2007). Chicago stands out, and there are (in February 2012) 33 globally branded ‘IB World Schools’ in that city, the same number as in Turkey, and in Norway. There is the same number of IB schools in Colorado Springs (13 schools) as can be found in Greece. Even supposedly ‘conservative’ Houston, Texas, has as many IB schools as Brazil (16 schools).

In total, there were (in February 2012) 1,300 globally branded ‘IB World Schools’ in the US, constituting almost 40% of the world total. The May 2008 IBDP examination session figures revealed how the State of Virginia had more IB schools than the whole of Africa and the Gulf Region combined (IBO, 2008).

Florida alone that year possessed the ninth largest bloc of IB schools worldwide. In August 2011 the MYP was fast approaching the 500-mark in the US (see Bunnell, 2011e).

This development across America is both a complex and problematic phenomenon. It has been remarked (Suarez-Orozco and Qin-Hillard, 2004 p.1) how globalization defines our era, and that ‘education is at the centre of this un-chartered continent’. Furthermore, these same authors note how ‘we have barely started to consider how these accelerating trans-national dynamics are affecting education’. However, it is clear from a study of the attack on the IB that the case for the globalizing of education in some States has not always been well articulated by policy makers (or School Board members) to parents (and tax-payers) who now openly question the cost and need.

The IB, as the major supranational curriculum, and operating under Swiss Law, without government control or regulation, can clearly be framed within a hyper-globalist attack. This approach argues (Held et al, 1999) that the autonomy and sovereignty of nation-states have been eclipsed by the processes of globalization. Adherents of this globalization thesis identify the emergence of a single global economy transcending and integrating the world’s major economic regions. The IB, covering schools across 141 countries, and 48 States in America, clearly fits within this thesis in theory.

The IB in 2012 operates in a very different world from its 1960s base. The IB(O), was registered in Geneva in 1968 but had initially begun there four years before as the *International Schools Examination Syndicate* (ISES) under the Presidency of Jean Siotis, lecturer in international law at the University of Geneva. As the name (ISES) implied, what began for the diverse body of ‘international schools’ has now moved firmly into public schooling territory, which sounds ‘positive’ but is problematic in the context of the US where 92% of IB schools are now state-provided (i.e. tax-payer funded) ones. The IB has also moved away from just offering a pre-College education and has been joined by the MYP, and a primary programme. The initial IBDP operates in a more ‘cluttered’ field and has been identified by the Academic Pathways to Access and Student Success (APASS) project as one of nine ‘pathways’ in the US (Kim, 2006).

The developmental history of the IB can be linked to peak periods of globalization activity. One historical framework often quoted in mainstream ‘global education’ literature argues we are presently in the ‘third era’ of globalization (Friedman, 2005). An alternative framework was developed in the 1920s by the

Russian economist Nikolai Kondratieff (see Mager, 1987; Shuman and Rosenau, 1972). Beginning about 1800 this model would pinpoint that the emergence of the IB in the early 1960s coincided with the 'K4' wave, whilst the current exponential growth of the IB is associated with 'K5', the fifth 'long wave' of globalization, each spanning approximately 50 years, and the current one beginning sometime around the fall of the Berlin Wall (in 1989).

The current 'K5' wave of globalization, characterized by the post-Fordism features of flexible specialization, open markets, and hyper-individualism (Waters, 2001) has facilitated the growth of the IB from a bloc of 300 schools in 1990 to a bloc in 2012 encompassing eleven times more. On a more provocative note, this period also saw commentators (e.g. Eackman, 1991) begin to talk of 'educating for the New World Order' and this offers clues as to the nature of the emerging political 'attack' on the IB.

Spahn (2001 p.117), writing at a point in time when there were only about 300 IBDP schools in the US, ended his book about why and how schools (he had surveyed three) in America had adopted the IBDP by stating that factors there 'points towards a surge' in the growth of the programmes. His optimism was proven correct for a number of complex reasons. Alongside the dramatic events of '9/11', the growth of the IB in the US can be viewed within the assertion that a globalizing world is now the context within which education policy makers are framing nation state educational policy (Bottery, 2006). The case has also been stated for 'global education' being integrated into the daily curriculum, rather than a one-off activity (Swiniaski, 2006).

It has been noted how educational policy in countries such as England has a propensity at present for asserting certain prefixes such as 'inter' and 'multi'. The 'reigning philosophy' of the 'inter'-regnum (Hartley 2007) is very evident in education policy making in England and the US where schools are being encouraged to adopt a more 'inter'-national dimension of teaching, and general ethos. 'Global education' in countries such as Britain has been deliberately 'mainstreamed' over the past decade (Ibrahim, 2005). In September 2001 the Scottish Executive Education Department published *An International Outlook*. The DFES (Department for Education and Skills) set out its vision for such an 'outlook' in education in England and Wales three years later. The *DFES 2004 International Strategy* proposed three key goals, the first of which is: 'Equipping our children, young people and adults for life in a global society and work in a global economy'.

The mainstreaming of education for intercultural understanding in countries such as Scotland, England and parts of the US has emerged as state-funded schools in many parts of the world have mirrored post-modern social transformations, such as multiculturalism, that have challenged the provincial notion of common values and created a cosmopolitan society, internationalist in thinking and nature (Elkind 2001). However, not everyone has embraced 'post-modern' thinking, as this book will prove. The US in the early years of the millennium has focused more on global citizenship and the future competitiveness of its workforce whilst the revitalization of schools in a part of the US has shown (Cucchiara 2008) how they were 're-branded' and promoted to parents as being more suitable than before. It has been shown (Combleth, 2007) that the terrorist events of 2001 have shaped curriculum practices in schools in the US, and external trends and events do coincide with changes in classroom teaching.

Of course, not all countries have 'mainstreamed' 'global education', and the geographical spread of the IB reveals much about the scope and nature of globalization trade and politics. Globalization skeptics are cautious about the hyper-globalist character of globalization. The spatially concentrated pattern of economic interdependence suggests that globalization is primarily a phenomenon largely confined to the major OECD nations (Held et al, 1999), and the empirical evidence shows this is true of the three main IB programmes. An analysis of the global spread of the IB reveals much regional disparity, whilst the Eurocentric reality of the 1970s has become a definite North American one. In fact, the claim by the IB to be a 'global player' (Hill, 2005 p.33) is wholly questionable.

At first glance, the number of IB schools seems thinly spread around the world. However, this figure masks two significant facts. Firstly, the IB is heavily concentrated *across* the world; almost two-thirds of schools in February 2012 were located in just four (Anglo-centric) countries (e.g. US, Canada, England, and Australia). Secondly, the IB is heavily concentrated *within* the world; in August 2009 just seven regions of North America (California, Florida, Texas, Virginia, Colorado, Quebec, and Ontario) accounted for almost one-quarter of IB schools worldwide (610 schools). California and Quebec on their own held almost one-tenth of the schools worldwide. At the other extreme, in February 2012 just two percent of all schools were located in Africa. As IB growth there is virtually static, this polarization is rapidly growing.

The IB itself has undergone a major paradigm shift, as a growing confidence has led to it concentrating more on the 'transforming' of the child, beyond merely transmitting knowledge. The IB has certainly adopted a much more mature

and ambitious sense of its own mission during the current ‘K5’ wave of growth. Walker (2007) stated the IB had successfully passed its short-term aim of providing an international qualification. As noted by Marginson (2009), five decades ago the main body of literature about ‘global education’ was largely informed by psychology, but in general the literature has become more politically-oriented and socially critical. The past decade in particular has seen a move towards applying social, cultural, and political theory, viewing the children undertaking the IB programmes more as self-determining human agents (of social change) rather than transitory (and socially passive) players undergoing mental and cultural pressures. Brohier’s (2011) Doctoral Thesis about ‘internationalizing the curriculum in Australian schools’ recognized such a paradigm shift when stating that:

One could argue that the IB Diploma has changed from a system that was concerned with objectives and measurable outcomes (as well as being idealistic) to one that prioritizes social vision, a focus on interactions, a shift from (simply) teaching to learning, emphasizing interpretation, meaning making and thinking, and treating learners as subjects rather than objects. (Brohier, 2011: Abstract p.viii).

These developments, the mainstreaming of ‘global education’, and the shift towards viewing children as ‘subjects’ (and workers) that will work and compete with emerging nations, rather than just being seen as national ‘objects’ (and citizens), is problematic and it is this issue that forms the back-drop to this book.

Background perspectives on the attack

Background reading to the ‘attack’

The paleo-conservative attack on the IB in the US has generally received little scholarly attention, notably aside from Chapter 44 in Mathews and Hills’ (2006 p.201) book *Supertest* where it is stated that:

They (*the ‘attackers’*) said they sensed a leftist, ultra-liberal bias that might lead IB students to accept without question the rightness of a future world ruled by one government.

Jay Mathews has emerged as a prominent ‘defender’ of the IB in the US. Mathews is an education reporter and online columnist with the *Washington Post*. His column *Class Struggle* appears weekly on the online version of that

newspaper (e.g. Mathews, 2010). He published in 1998 his book *Class Struggle: What's Wrong (and Right) with America's Best Public High Schools*. His rating system for US High Schools (termed the Challenge Index), is used annually by *Newsweek* magazine to rank schools, and IBDP members frequently 'top' the listing (which is disputed by some IB opponents). The 2011 listing had no less than five IB schools in the 'top 10' (Stanton College Preparatory, Jacksonville, Florida, came fourth), and there was a total of 18 'IB World Schools' in the 'top 100'.

More recent scholarly reference to the attack on the IB in the US has been made by Parmenter (2011) when critically examining the creation of the dominant academic discourse of global citizenship education. Also, Meister's (2011) Doctoral study on the IB Mathematics course in Kentucky has raised the topic. Catherine Doherty's (2010) paper presented at the International Basil Bernstein Symposium, Griffith University, Brisbane, 30th June to 3rd July 2010, had also noted the issue. The IB's George Walker (2011a) edited book (*The Changing Face of International Education*) had a chapter by Ian Hill (2011 p.127) which made reference to the attack in the US, stating (arguably even under-stating) that 'the IB does not sit well with all stakeholders in the US public school system'. Interestingly, one recent paper (White, 2012) made reference to the attack whilst arguing the (counter-)case for IB in Catholic schools:

The International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme provides an academically challenging curriculum that when combined with moral and religious formation prepares graduates of Catholic secondary schools to succeed in college and to live as Christian citizens in an interconnected global society. (White, 2012 p.179)

This writer makes much use of Micklethwait and Wooldridge's (2004) book *The Right Nation: Conservative Power in America* (both are British journalists, not American). It is worth mentioning a few other useful texts here as they form useful background reading to understanding the nature and scale of American conservatism. The attack on the IB can be conceptualized within the framework that modern conservative ideology arose in countries such as America as a reaction to the French Revolution and its impact upon traditional society. The Dublin-born Edmund Burke, a fierce critic of the French Revolution, was the first spokesman of the conservatism that appeared. Nisbet (1986) in his book *Conservatism: Dream and Reality* argues that modern conservatism throughout the West can be seen as a widening of Burke's indictment not only of the French Revolution, but of the larger revolution we now call 'modernity'. The 'attack' on the IB thus involves a uniquely American brand of traditional conservatism,

founded on Burkeian political thought about individual liberty, and the view that governments should cooperate with citizens. In this respect, the attack on the IB has its origins in the British conservative view saying that tradition, rank, and continuity should be upheld (Whitney, 2001). Crowe's (1997) book explores the legacy of Burke. This legacy is expressed most deeply in the writings of Russell Kirk himself (1953; 1957; 1974).

To reiterate, this topic is quite complex and requires some background reading. Quist's three books (1999; 2002; and 2005), plus that of Kjos (1995) directly attack 'global education', and often the IB. There are several useful books on conservative America which emanated in the 1980s (e.g. (Rusher, 1984; Sorman, 1985; and Blumenthal, 1986) and the 1990s (Lind, 1995; Frun, 1996; and Hodgson, 1996). Schneiders' (2003) account of *Conservatism in America since 1930* offers a good long-term historical background, as does Guttman (1967).

Texts exploring the 'rise' of the American Right include Rusher (1984), Himmelstein (1990), Nash (1998), and Edwards (1999). Balz and Brownstein (1996) give an insight into the zealotry aspects of American conservatism, as does Viguerie (1980). Peele (1984) helps to complement the listing whilst Feulner and Wilson (2006) shed light on the neo-conservative (rather than paleo-conservative) agenda. There are three books published in 2010 worth reading as offering background to understanding the 'Tea Party Movement' (Farah, 2010; Lepore, 2010; and Zernicke, 2010). Alternatively, Sarah Palin (2011) has her own version of events in *America by Heart: Reflections on Family, Faith and Flag*. A good version of the Movement's philosophy is found in Foley's (2012) book. Constitutional law professor Elizaeth Price Foley creates a framework for arguing the Movement has three core principles: limited government; unapologetic US sovereignty; and constitutionalism originalism. This book makes it very clear that the 'Tea Party Movement' is a Libertarian one, neither Democrat nor Republican.

Russell Kirk may be a vague historical figure to many readers. Wesley McDonald's (2004) book is a good introductory one, focusing more on Kirk's legacy, whilst Pafford's (2010) book has a focus on Kirk's beliefs.

Weaknesses of the attack

It is worth making reference now to a few significant facts about the operation of the IB programmes, which will help to put the 'attack' in America into a more realistic context. The 'attack' typically makes reference to the 'IB program' (sic)

as though there were a single educational programme in existence. In fact, this has not been the case since 1994 when the MYP was ‘adopted’ by the IB. The three initial programmes of the IB (the PYP also came from within the loosely-termed ‘international school movement’ and was ‘adopted’ three years after the MYP) came together in 1997 to form what is now viewed as a globally branded K-12 ‘continuum of international education’ (IBO, 2002), although only around 5% of all schools have ever offered such a full set of programmes at any one moment in time. Put bluntly, the IB ‘continuum’ has never caught the imagination of more than 150 schools, and these are mainly of the ‘international school’ (i.e. a natural base) variety, although it is probably too soon to dismiss it as a ‘failure’.

The relative lack of IB activity at a pre-High School level in the US is shown by the fact that by 2012 only 350 American schools offered the PYP and a mere 15 others offered the International Primary Curriculum (IPC). The relative lack of IB activity at primary level has undergone little critical analysis, yet commentators such as (Ebbeck, 2006) argue that the teaching of a global perspective should start in early childhood. Ukpokodu (2008) was critical of the knowledge of the ‘outside world’ of young children in the US, compared to South Africa. Some States, like Wisconsin, have made ‘global education’ a strong part of the primary curriculum, otherwise it is argued (Heilman, 2008) that elementary-aged social studies in the US is largely non-global in its outlook. Myers (2006) is even critical of social studies in US classrooms in general, stating that the entire educational system remains resistant to global perspectives. Gillespie (2002) is quite dismissive of the goals of ‘global education’ in American schools, identifying a definite lack of coherence.

Interestingly, the PYP, pedagogically a ‘framework for learning’, with its basis in Ernest Boyer’s notion of ‘human commonalities’ and transdisciplinary themes that act as ‘tools for inquiry’, has attracted very little attention from IB opponents who still aim most of their venom at the IBDP. Furthermore, the attack on the IB has had (perhaps surprisingly) little religious discussion although as one might expect with regard to a secular-oriented set of educational programme, there is sometimes a religious extension to the claims.

It is worth stating early in this book that most children who have access to the IB have *minimal* exposure. Some quick statistics here will reveal the context of this assertion. Fifty-eight countries had less than ten of their citizens entered for the May 2008 examinations, revealing the lack of impact that the IBDP has in many countries, beyond America. Large parts of the world, largely with strict

national curricula in place, remain in 2012 relatively untouched by the IB, including countries such as Italy (17 schools), Japan (14 schools), and France (10 schools). Only 11 schools across the whole of the US undertake the three programmes together (correct February 2012).

In other words, the prospect of the IB gaining access to a child *throughout* their schooling (especially in the US) remains extremely remote. The Copenhagen International School (CIS) has been a ‘continuum’ school since 1998 and children began to ‘graduate’ there in 2010 that had undergone all three programmes at that school. However, to the best of my knowledge, only five or six CIS children have actually had the ‘full’ IB experience. Furthermore, 83% of IB schools globally offer only one of the three programmes, and 60% offer just the DP (note: these figures have remained fairly constant since 2005). Therefore, the vast majority of children worldwide who have access to the IB have it for only two to five years of their schooling, and the ‘IB experience’ constitutes perhaps less than one third of their entire lifetime at school. Nevertheless, to some people, the IB poses a ‘threat’ and should be ‘removed’.

As noted already, no more than one percent of schools in the US has ever offered the three IB programmes together. This is not an American phenomenon; there are only a further two ‘continuum schools’ in England (both ‘international schools’), and another five in Australia. The emergence of this type of education as being a branded product has led to the rise of the ‘Big Mac and a Coke’ analogy, however as this writer has pointed out before when discussing the IB in England and Wales (see Bunnell, 2008c), the analogy should perhaps be one of a ‘Big Mac *or* a Coke’ since few schools in practice take up the option of the ‘meal’.

The MYP in mid-2011 still largely operates outside the ‘IB continuum’ paradigm. Almost two-thirds (63%) of all IB schools do not offer the MYP, and this rises to 78% in Latin America. In North America, 88% of all schools offer a single programme. Almost exactly half of all MYP schools worldwide offer it as a *single* (stand-alone) programme. Thus, the theoretical notion of the IB as a ‘system’ of education defies reality; the IB exists in many countries as a series of stand-alone programmes.

It should be stated quite clearly at this point that the IB carries with it a ‘positive’ image among many Americans (both parents and educators). The attack discussed and cited within this book is in spite of research showing the IBDP to be a rich and worthwhile experience for American students (Taylor and Porath 2006), and argued in *Time* magazine to be a programme for bringing the US ‘out

of the 20th Century' (Wallis and Steptoe 2006). But, beyond the mainstream, the growth of the IBDP (with support from federal government), and the recent growth of MYP, is linked to the idea that the government is 'secretly' imposing a national curriculum and a 'unified system' of education, violating and undermining local control of schools and learning.

The European geographical origins of the IB can be understood by the fact that the curriculum and assessment centre is located in Cardiff, Wales. For this reason, the IB programmes are always prone to being viewed 'Eurocentric', and this was also initially true of the spread of schools. Today the global spread is undergoing a different movement, especially towards North America, and it is the emerging complications of this development that forms the focus of this book. Within this context, it is perhaps surprising the attack on the IB in the US had not manifested itself earlier, and from within other countries. But, the geographical operation of the IB contains an explanation for this. The global story of the IB, certainly since 1971, has been one of double-digit compound growth although this was looking by early 2012 to be stalling considerably in countries such as England.

Beneath the crude growth figures though lies an interesting story, involving huge expansion in certain parts of the world, and especially among public schools in parts of the US such as Florida and Chicago, and Australia (especially parts of southern Australia such as Adelaide). Intriguingly, South American countries such as Ecuador, Peru and Colombia have become recent IB growth 'hotspots'. Sub-Saharan Africa and the entire Middle East, by contrast and as already observed, remain IB 'wildernesses', as do European countries such as France, Scotland, Ireland and Germany. What this means, in practical terms, is that the IB poses a 'threat' in very few parts of the world, and probably never will. In other words, we may never see such an 'attack' on the IB outside of America.

One writer (Morone, 2003) has explained how American history has involved a constant succession of crusades against 'foreign forces' such as communism, alcohol, terrorism etc. The 'crusade' by some people against the IB and its form of 'global education' can therefore be viewed as just another extension of a long-standing historical tradition; the IB poses a 'threat' and must be attacked. According to Micklethwait and Wooldridge (2004 p.20):

...the tradition predisposes Americans to see the world in terms of individual virtue rather than in terms of the vast social forces that so preoccupy Europeans.

Thus, whilst England saw fit to embrace a ‘global dimension’ in the classroom following the suicide terrorist attacks on the London transport system in July 2005 (e.g. the *Diversity and Citizenship Curriculum Review* in 2007 stated that the school curriculum should teach children how to live and deal with people of differing cultures and backgrounds), some Americans see such developments as federal (i.e. Washington D.C.) interference. In other words, it triggers the crusade against ‘big government’. This is not to say that the introduction of a greater ‘global dimension’ in classrooms in England has not been controversial; the notion of curriculum development as a mechanism for promoting the interests of the state rather than that of citizens has been used (Pike, 2007) in relation to the implementation of citizenship studies in British schools.

The radicalization of opposition to the IB does seem to support the view that ‘America as a whole is a more conservative place’ (Micklethwait and Wooldridge, 2004 p.11):

Not only has America produced a far more potent conservative movement than anything available in other rich countries; America as a whole is a more conservative place...the center of gravity of American opinion is much further to the right...

In England, for instance, the IB has come under attack for lowering standards (Garner, 2007) but there has been no concerted conservative backlash. Drake (2004) had warned of the potential for cultural dissonance, and it is in the US that this has seemingly realized a political form and shape.

A read through Debra K. Niwa’s 21-page testimony against the IB titled *IB Unraveled* (first written July 2009, updated March 2010) is essential reading for any researcher of the ‘IB attack’ and reveals the full complexity of anti-IB sentiment. There are (from my analysis, and in no particular order of preference) at least six core elements of attack evident in Niwa’s document (which can be found at TAIB website). Firstly, the IB is an unnecessary waste of (scarce) money and resources. Second, the IB is part and parcel of a long-standing conspiracy to undermine (and dumb-down) American education and introduce a federal curriculum (the ‘seamless web’). Third, the IB is a UN (and UNESCO, and European) agent. Fourth, the IB is about undermining American values (as recognised in the Declaration of Independence) and replacing them with universal collectivist values (as displayed in IB Learner Profile). Fifthly, the IB is a Marxist programme (especially Theory of Knowledge). Lastly, the IB wishes to *transform* children into irenic supporters of social justice, and ‘agents of social change’.

These six core points (seemingly random, but actually inter-linked) are raised repeatedly in anti-IB rhetoric in both letters to the press and online blogs attacking the programmes. Perhaps we should not try to read too much into this sort of analysis. Much of Niwa's narrative can be dismissed as exaggerated or just plain wrong (e.g. 'Peace education is core to IB programs' p.17). Some of it is difficult to conceptualize (e.g. 'Social justice is a core part of International Baccalaureate' is used to justify the claim that the IB is a Marxist programme). Some of Niwa's comments require further justification (e.g. 'the study of US history is undermined by IB programmes' p.15). Some of the attacks on the IB are seemingly more 'personal' than 'political'. For example, Peyton Wolcott's 'Life at the Top' blog concentrates on attacking the expenses and life-styles of the IB Administration, reinforcing the notion that the IB programmes are unduly expensive and a waste of tax-payers money.

Some of the attack is political propaganda attacking President Obama. Take, for instance, the following quote from Lisa McLoughlin in a guest column in the *North Lake Tahoe Bonanza* (3rd February, 2010);

IB is nothing more than a political ruse to indoctrinate students by a foreign entity that is an arm of UNESCO...IB is a bigger part of its socialist political agenda to dumb-down our public schools and make them subservient to IBO's ideology to create 'global citizens' and a New World Order. Do not be swayed by globalist rhetoric and 'educationese' espoused by elitists...Americans are waking up...and tired of seeing our hard-earned dollars being wasted on programs that don't work. (<http://www.tahoebonanza.com/>)

The IB becomes more 'visible'

As seen above, some 'Americans are waking up' to the IB. The attack on the IB has intensified much since 2004. A string of critical articles had begun to appear about the IB in the US, both in the popular press and on the internet, accusing it of being fundamentally 'un-American'. The 'IB World' had doubled in size between 2000 and 2004, and thus had become much more 'visible'. The IB itself had launched a strategic planning process in 2004, and had begun openly discussing issues affecting the future development of its programmes (IBO, 2004). Moreover, a critical discourse had begun generally over the direction and nature of the growth of the IB. This all seemed to be part of a distinct 'second era' (Wallace, 1999) for the IB, one characterized by maturity and reflection, following a long period of largely unhindered growth (Bunnell, 2008b).

The explanation for the attack can be partly easily explained by any general observer. The IB is an unusual educational ‘project’ with a profoundly idealist ‘agenda’ stretching back to the peak of the Cold War, alongside a constructivist pedagogy. In other words, it is not immune to a conservative (‘right-wing’) attack or long-term conspiracy thinking. The IB has its roots in comparative education, as it evolves from different national systems of education, plus it has roots in the more ideologically-inclined dimension of ‘global education’. Thus, Alec Peterson (1977) identified the IBDP as a form of ‘applied comparative education’. The IB, with its challenging and irenic Mission Statement (or ‘agenda’, depending on your point of view) to ‘create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect’ openly claims to be ‘definitely the most international programme on offer’ (see speech made in South Carolina by the ex-IB Chair of Board of Governors, Monique Seefried, 2005).

However, in spite of a controversial growth pattern over the past decade the IB still receives relatively little critical attention. Part of the reason must be that it has become a difficult area of education to holistically chart and reference. In order to grow among new markets the IB has undergone enormous innovation and experimentation. The IB since 2006 (when the current Director General, Jeffrey Beard took over) has grown enormously both as a set of ‘programmes’ and as a ‘brand’. Indeed, some educators (especially among the Academy for International School Heads organization: AISH) now openly question the wisdom of such growth, although the emerging issue of US ‘imbalance’ has not (yet) been vocally aired. The IB authorized 438 programmes in 2009 alone (Beard and Holloway, 2010), an average of eight per week. Such growth had begun to worry some educators e.g. Mott (2009, p.19), who directly accused the IB of being ‘intoxicated by quantitative growth’.

The IB’s ‘agenda’ has certainly been strengthened since 2004, and become much more visible. Not surprisingly, the conservative attack on the IB has also become more visible and vocal since that point in time. The IB now offers a 10-point ‘Learner Profile’, intended as ‘the IB Mission Statement translated into a set of learning outcomes for the 21st century’. The IB has subsequently been described as a major form of outcomes-based education that is moving towards a critical curriculum (Corbett, 2007). One recent positional paper about the IB by George Walker (Walker, 2010) concluded the Learner Profile’s listing of outcomes (e.g. principled, risk-takers, balanced, open-minded) do indeed reflect the ‘strong Western humanist foundations of the IB’ and the listing is perhaps not appropriate for certain parts of the world (e.g. South East Asia).

However, this listing of ‘values’ has come under attack from opponents, not in Thailand or China, but in the US (see TAIB website for Michael Barry’s presentation):

The IB believer profile serves the purpose of a religious creed or confessional statement. The purpose of the program is not to identify or study international-mindedness, but to produce it in program participants in whom it was previously absent. There is a certain missionary zeal in this objective. (<http://truthaboutib.com/>)

Such a listing of ‘values’ is indeed problematic (see the paper by Wells, 2011). Viewed as a form of ‘habitus’, a process of practices and dispositions, the IB Learner Profile could help give children ‘a feel for the game’ (Bagnall, 2010 p.19). Put together, a brand with logo and an ‘outcomes profile’ gives the IBDP a potential value in the market-place and this sort of analysis that has led to it receiving a more critical lens of inquiry over recent years, and even from commentators who are generally ‘supportive’ of the project (e.g. Cambridge, 2011). Tom DeWeese (2004) indirectly criticises the IB Learner Profile when he says:

With the UN-sponsored International Baccalaureate (IB), instituted at the middle school level, American students will be taught a curriculum that stresses code words such as human rights and social justice, but which in practice the UN has never successfully been able to implement or enforce. Many of the members of the UN are some of the world’s worst dictatorships, guilty of the worst abuses of human rights and social justice. (<http://www.unwatch.com/td032204.shtml>)

Amidst the growth, the IB has tried desperately to maintain a sense of ‘community’ since 2006 and has been involved in numerous initiatives to (deliberately) promote greater awareness and (inadvertently) create a sense of ‘class consciousness’ (Bunnell, 2010b). In April 2006, the idea of a ‘community theme’ was conceived and the first one, titled *Sharing Our Humanity*, was officially launched in April the following year. It lasted until April 2010 (but was not seemingly replaced). Since 2006 there has been a subsequent ‘whirlwind’ of technological and pedagogical developments as the IB aims to consolidate its image and attract new markets. In 2007 the IB began its ‘Digital Space Initiative’ (DSI), intended to create an online, web-based ‘virtual community’. In March 2008 enrolment began for the first online courses, offered by the Virtual High School, as part of the Diploma Programme Online project. In April 2008 the IB launched its ‘Community Theme’ website. In October 2008 the IB launched the first ‘global lesson’.

The current context of the attack

The emerging concerns

Much has happened in America since my 2009 *Discourse* paper was (written) and published and it is worth bringing events up-to-date. Put bluntly, the social and political environment in the US has become markedly more ‘anti-IB’ whilst the paleo-conservative movement has become noticeably more ‘organized’. It is not unusual for the attack to make use of the term ‘socialism’, probably in the context of US Presidential election developments since 2009. The concept of ‘global versus American citizenship’ has become a bigger and less peripheral topic for political discussion in the US since Democrat Presidential candidate Barak Obama made a historic speech, before a crowd of 200,000 people, in Berlin (Thursday 24th July 2008). In his opening statement he said:

I come to Berlin as so many of my countrymen have come before. Tonight, I speak to you not as a candidate for President, but as a citizen- a proud citizen of the United States, and a fellow citizen of the world.’ He went on to say that: ‘Yes, there have been differences between America and Europe. No doubt, there will be differences in the future. But the burdens of global citizenship continue to bind us together. (<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/07/24/us/politics/24text-obama.html>)

This speech caused immediate concern among some opponents (e.g. Blum, 2008) who deride the notion of ‘global citizenship’, and support instead the idea that a citizen of the US is an ‘American’ first and foremost. In this respect, the IB (and its focus on global citizenship) is seen by some as ‘un-American’. The Quist family coupling have attacked the IB as a Geneva-based curriculum (which it is not) offering the teaching of ‘world citizenship’ rather than ‘our own American citizenship’ (Quist, 2006a). Allen Quist (2002) had earlier attacked the ‘seamless web’ (directly involving the IB) as a federal (i.e. national) curriculum *enforced*. Within one of his books, Quist (2002 p.11) remarks that:

Many citizens are beginning to notice the profound changes taking place in America’s system of education.

Quist (2002) reveals his personal level of paranoia by saying;

As we have seen, the education system of our nation has been taken over by those who wish to restructure all of America. Education is now dedicated to indoctrinating our children with clearly defined attitudes, values and behaviors, a comprehensive worldview that is hostile to freedom and that culminates in the dismemberment of

our nation's fundamental principles and the elimination of our national sovereignty.
(Quist, 2002 p.135)

One on-going IB 'dispute' involves Monticello District in New York State. A letter sent to the local paper from a parent at one school (published in full on TAIB website) proves just how highly politicized the attack has become:

Do you, as parents, taxpayers, and Americans want the UN teaching our youth THEIR beliefs and values? The UN promotes, SOCIALISM, not FREEDOM, certainly not our God-given rights as AMERICANS under our CONSTITUTION, which IBO would like to see disappear. They do not care for our Constitution, and by indoctrinating our children, would undermine it. (<http://truthaboutib.com/>)

Barak Hussein Obama II duly became the 44th President of the US after the elections in November 2008, taking-up office in January 2009. At the same time, conservative America had moved significantly and noticeably further to the political 'right'. Indeed, one author (Lee Harris) has even made reference to the 'next American civil war' involving populist conservatives against the liberal elite (Harris, 2010). The catalyst for Harris' thesis of an emerging American 'civil war' (a form of 'culture war') was the shock loss in January 2010 by the Democrats of Ted Kennedy's former Senate seat in 'liberal' Massachusetts. The summer of 2009 had seen a number of demonstrations by conservative supporters around America which was, according to Harris (2010 p.3):

...symptomatic of a profoundly disturbing transformation in the way Americans have normally negotiated and settled their political differences.

The House of Representatives member Michele Bachmann, who has represented Minnesota's Sixth Congressional District since 2007, and who founded the *House Tea Party Caucus*, looked set in summer 2011 to 'run' for the Republican 2012 Presidential candidacy. On 17th October 2008 Bachmann gave an interview on MSNBC in support of the presidential campaign of Senator John McCain, and in which she openly accused Obama of being 'anti-American' (presumably an indirect reference to his Berlin speech). Moreover, the pro-creationist and global warming skeptic Bachmann has close links with key anti-IB supporters, especially the *Maple River Education Coalition* (MREC). Bachmann made a good start to the 2012 campaign; she won the Ames Straw Poll hosted by the Iowa GOP on 13th August, 2011, becoming the first woman ever to win the poll. However, when the caucuses were held on 3rd January, 2012, she finished sixth (winning just 5% of the total share of the vote).

Bachmann subsequently announced 4th January 2012 that she would be cancelling her campaign (she had been due to visit South Carolina). The liberal-leaning online blog *MotherJones.com* carried an article (4th August 2011) titled ‘Why Bachmann’s Allies Hate International Baccalaureate’ (Murphy, 2011) which started with the sentence:

It is a reasonable bet that International Baccalaureate, the international advanced placement system for high school students, will not be much of an issue in the Republican presidential race. But you never know. (<http://www.motherjones.com/>)

The article then linked Bachmann (who has seemingly been quiet about her own views of the IB) to the MREC organization and the federal curriculum conspiracy theory propagated by commentators such as Allen and Julie Quist, who had testified before Bachmann’s Minnesota State senate education committee in 2006 to urge the body to strip all funding for the IBDP.

Significantly, the populist ‘Tea Party Movement’ has gathered support since 2009 and this area of American politics now (not surprisingly) nurtures the attack on the IB in the US. Harris (2010 p.7) saw this as a by-product of two key factors. Firstly, conservative America easily ‘falls prey to paranoid fears’. Secondly, ‘when confronted with any power that they see as threat to their precious independence and autonomy, they will rise up to resist its encroachments...’ This framework, paranoia mixed with defence of freedom, forms a useful backdrop for making sense of the attack on the IB in the US.

Alongside this, the high level of middle-class angst and frustration has now become much more evident in America and this socio-economic phenomenon is adding considerably to the potent political attack against the IB. It is no coincidence to note that the key attackers have been, to reiterate a point, not academics or educators but middle-class ‘moms’ (and thus ordinary tax-payers) based in suburban America. One of the very first attacks against the IB came when homeschooling ‘mom’ Charlene Sanders of Hot Springs, Arkansas had researched into the IBDP in 2001. She wrote an opinion article for the *Sierra Times* (17th October, 2001), pointing out that UNESCO had been founded by the British Fabian socialist Julian Huxley. Sanders’ (2001) attacked global citizenship as the ‘enemy within’. Another parent attacked the IB (in her local paper, *The Reston Connection*, 23rd May, 2002) as an expensive ‘white elephant’ (Geiger 2002). Geiger said in her letter that: ‘It is time to stop experimenting with our students as guinea pigs in a program that is obviously a failure’. Lisa McGirr (2001) refers to such conservative reactionaries as *Suburban Warriors*, whilst Sabato (1991) calls this use of the press in the US ‘Attack Journalism’.

The emerging protagonists

My 2009 paper had explored the complex nature of the educational ‘culture war’ emerging against the IB in the US and had revealed some of the key issues and most prominent protagonists that had emerged up until that point in time (e.g. Allen Quist, Tom DeWeese, and George Archibald). A number of different (and often inter-linked) conservative organizations and writers have been particularly vocal in attacking the IB but the same names reoccur, which is not too surprising given the comment by Micklethwait and Wooldridge (2004 p.195) that:

...the Right is much more cohesive than logic suggests. In part this is a matter of personnel. The same names keep recurring in the world of the Right.

One particularly vocal agency has been *EdWatch*, formed in 2003 by members of MREC, which itself had been formed in 1998 out of outrage about Minnesota’s radical new education system, the ‘Profile of Learning’. MREC ceased operation 31st December, 2010, and was partly reformed as *Education Liberty Watch*. The conservative-leaning *Washington Times* has also emerged as a key source of anti-IB writing and (dis-)information (this newspaper was founded in 1982 by Unification Church founder Sun Myung Moon, and until 2010 was owned by News World Communications, an international media conglomerate associated with the Church, known for its socially and politically conservative views). Consider the following editorial comment from this paper (taken from the 17th January 2004 edition):

Critics of the International Baccalaureate program at Reston’s Langston Hughes Middle School and South Lakes High School have focused on the program’s promotion of cultural egalitarianism, pacifism and what they say is its anti-Western bias.

As evident already, Allen Quist has emerged as an (academic) leader of the ‘attacker’ of the IB. He is Adjunct Professor of Political Science at Bethany Lutheran College, Mankato, Minnesota, and is a former three-term Minnesota state legislator. One of Quist’s three books, *America’s Schools: The Battleground for Freedom*, discusses the IB role in undermining American sovereignty, and contains an attack within its Appendix (see Quist 2005: Appendix D). His prominent 2006 article ‘Why IB is Un-American’ is essential reading (Quist, 2006a). The background to Minnesota’s brand of conservatism, with a discussion of Quist’s 1994 election, can be found in Rozell and Wilcox’s (1995) book *God at the Grass Roots*.

DeWeese was a candidate for the Ohio legislature in 1974. In 1988 he established the *American Policy Center*. DeWeese has a prominent chapter, on ‘why public schooling is failing’, in Haugen and Musser’s (2009) book *Education*, containing a series of papers offering alternative viewpoints. Since 1995 he has served as Editor-in-Chief of *The DeWeese Report*. George Archibald is the author of the key articles attacking the IB published in 2004 in the *Washington Times*. Archibald is a former Member of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, Canada, representing the constituency of Kings North. He sat as a member of the Progressive Conservative Party of Nova Scotia from 1984 to 1999.

The *Eagle Forum* organization has published at least five reports attacking the IB. Other key protagonists include Nancy Schaefer, of the Georgia-based *Family Concerns*, and Alan Caruba, of the *National Anxiety Centre*. Henry Lamb of the *Environmental Conservation Organization* is a further major critic. The (often under-cover) identity of other protagonists has been more widely revealed since 2009. The TAIB website has emerged as a key harbour of anti-IB literature and still has a seemingly mysterious tag-line which reads: ‘This web site is built and maintained by concerned citizens of the United States of America’. Alongside the well-established TAIB there now exists another vehemently anti-IB website, the Arkansas-based *parentshaverights.com*.

In particular, there is Lisa McLoughlin, the administrator of TAIB, and identified as ‘Mrs. Long Island’ in a speech by IB Director General George Walker (2005b). McLoughlin is also reputed to be ‘ObserverNY’, a major editor/contributor to the *Wikipedia* pages about the IB. She was narrowly defeated in her campaign to stand for the Locust Valley School District in Long Island, NY, while campaigning against the IB. The following newspaper section (from *The Chronicle-Telegram*, Lorain County, Ohio, 6th April, 2008) gives a taster of her views about the IB:

McLoughlin said the program outsources US education to a secretive, Swiss-based consortium. She said she has never been able to obtain vital facts, such as (Jeffery) Beard’s (the current IB Director General’s) salary, which would be a matter of public record if it had to be recorded on documents for tax-exempt organizations in the United States. <http://chronicle.northcoastnow.com/>

Another newspaper (*The Dallas Morning News*, 24th June, 2010) commented:

Some conservative groups have accused the program of being anti-American and costly. One critic, Lisa McLoughlin, runs a website called ‘The Truth About IB’. She argues that the IB promotes the ideology of internationalism as being more important than American patriotism. ‘This is the biggest educational scam being perpetrated on American public schools today’. (<http://www.dallasnews.com/>)

This book is thus the product of almost five years spent analysing an unlikely and little recorded occurrence; a vocal and quite vitriolic attack against the IB in the US, initially by parents (in letters to the press) and then by commentators (in editorial/opinion pieces). The historical context of this attack will now be explored more fully in the next part of this book, followed by an exploration of the politics/ philosophy behind it, exploring in particular the influence of Russell Kirk and the broader paleo-conservative ‘movement’.

Part C: The historical context of the attack

The history of the IB explored

The ‘birth’ of the IB

The history of the IB has been explored much recently (especially by Ian Hill, 2010, within a compendium of 14 articles that had appeared in the *International Schools Journal*) but it is still worth recalling as it sets the scene for understanding the attack on the IB in the US as a ‘UN-inspired’ and ‘European-devised’ set of programmes. In particular, the idealistic and UNESCO origins of the IBDP ‘project’ probably need re-stating as this aspect appears to have become the most ‘problematic’ with regard to its growth in the US. It is also worth stating that the IB from ‘birth’, like any ‘child’, was focused primarily on its own survival. There was no guarantee that the IBDP ‘project’ would take-off within schools, and thus no guarantee of financial stability beyond the initial funding. The period until 1976, and beyond, was therefore one beset by financial concerns and seeking university recognition (a task still in progress in parts of the US).

The point being made here is that the IBDP in its earliest years posed little ‘threat’ and presented a very small face to the outside world. It is only relatively recently that the IB ‘brand’ has emerged on the global stage within the context of having a more confident and assertive presence. In fact, the IB did not attempt to create a truly global brand presence until 2001, followed by a re-branding exercise in 2007; with this process has come closer scrutiny (by parents and conservative agencies) and greater critical analysis (both academically and politically).

It is difficult to specify exactly the ‘date of birth’ of the IB. A meeting of 50 social science teachers held at the International School of Geneva (often termed ‘Ecolint’) in summer 1962 saw the development the year after of the first course, in Contemporary History; according to Spahn (2001) it was at this 1962 meeting that the title ‘International Baccalaureate’ was first used. Peterson (1972 p.31) implied the year 1970 saw the ‘birth’, when he remarks on how one girl did her first year in Tehran and the second in Copenhagen. However, an arguably more practical date for the ‘birth’ of the IBDP would be June 1967, the point at which

the experiment moved into 'trial' mode proper. Moreover, it now moved beyond the classrooms of Ecolint and just the examination of Contemporary History. A total of 147 students were entered for history and geography at Ecolint, whilst students at the Atlantic College in south Wales undertook an examination in Latin and Physics. The year 1967 was therefore given by this writer (Bunnell, 2008a) as the starting point for an examination of the geographical growth of the IBDP. The year 1968 was certainly significant, and seven schools entered 349 students for this, the second of four trial-exams. The main two schools still offered 75% of the overall entrants, but the experiment finally had some sort of scale beyond just the pioneers, and more significantly, beyond merely Northern Europe.

A most striking feature of IBDP growth is its adhoc and unplanned nature over the past five decades. The geographical spread of the IBDP has relied heavily upon the marketing work of the regional offices and key supporters. The involvement of the first two schools in the first trial exams of 1967 (Ecolint, Atlantic College) is easy enough to explain. However, the inclusion the year after of schools from New York, Beirut, Tehran, Copenhagen, and Manchester (England) is more difficult, and emphasizes the rather random nature of the geographical spread. The next year, schools came on board from as diverse a field as Germany, France, Nigeria, Uruguay, and Chile.

There were a number of different reasons for this, emphasizing the fact that the growth of the IBDP has never followed a *formal* plan, which obviously undermines any notion of a *deliberate* conspiracy (a key paleo-conservative area of 'attack'). Firstly, some of the schools were involved and linked with the International Schools Association (ISA), founded by UNESCO in Paris 1951 but now based in Geneva, and its US offshoot, the International Schools Services (ISS), which had appeared four years later in 1955. Knight and Leach (1964) had asserted that membership of ISA was a sign of ideological 'purity'. ISA was the first educational NGO to be granted consultative status at UNESCO, with a mission stating that:

The ISA is a worldwide membership organization of schools that adhere to certain key principles of internationalism based on the UN Charter and the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Personal contacts are also an important explanation, and reflect the rather humble origins of the IB.

The spreading of the IBDP has always relied heavily upon the work of individuals such as H. Gilbert Nicol who became IBNA General Director in 1977, and Robert Leach, the head of humanities at Ecolint, who had visited schools (as an early IB ‘missionary’) in Asia, Africa and Europe in 1961-62 (see Nicol, 1982). The IB has always appealed to an incredibly diverse set of schools, and parents; it is asserted that the IBDP offers an alternative choice for ambitious middle-class parents in countries such as Australia (Doherty, 2009).

The exact rationale behind the need for the IBDP is a complex one and is probably best explored via the memories of key protagonists and ‘architects’ e.g. Peterson (1972; 1977; and 1987), and Fox (1995; 1998a; and 1998b). The often quoted notion that it came about through the pragmatic need for an ‘educational Nansen passport’ (Peterson, 1972) is certainly true. Many, if not most, of the ‘international schools’ at that time were ‘market-driven’ serving diplomatic and multinational corporation employees, and thus had a pragmatic need for a transferable and internationally recognized ‘leaving-certificate’. The IBDP also arose from a desire to harmonize the different national curricula and teaching methods employed in schools such as the one in Geneva (Hayden and Wong, 1997 p.351).

Hence, the rationale behind the emergence of the IBDP was remarkably localized. The history teachers at Ecolint wanted a more internationalist curriculum, plus there was a need for a programme that could unite the different communities within the school. True to its Cold War origins, it was also expected that the curriculum would have ideological, as well as pragmatic, benefits (Peterson, 1972). The IBDP can thus be seen as having offered a package of utilitarian, and ideological, as well as pedagogical benefits. This story is important to consider as it helps to understand the dichotomy of schools that have appeared since; some being pragmatically-oriented, and others being more ideologically-oriented. The end result is a fundamental compromise and reconciliation between two approaches. As argued in the Conclusions section of this book (p.116), this offers a framework for partly understanding the attack on the IB in America, as a ‘breakdown’ of this reconciliation.

The development of the IB ‘institution’

It is important to not focus on the IBDP as though it were the sole ‘IB program’ (sic). The MYP was first discussed when the International School of Moshi (in Tanzania) hosted an ISA conference in 1980. This conference, officially titled

The needs of the child in the middle years of schooling (ages 11-16), discussed developing a programme that built upon the philosophy of the IBDP based on six ‘needs’: global, intellectual, personal, physical, creative, and social. There were 73 schools worldwide when the Moshi one had emerged in 1980 as the first provider in Africa. Since then, of course, the MYP finds itself ‘sandwiched’ between the other two programmes and has moved significantly away from its ISA-base, into national schooling territory especially in the US, and leading cities such as Chicago. This city has emerged as a key ‘hub’ of MYP activity and in 2011 had the highest concentration of schools in the US. The Mayor of Chicago appointed Arne Duncan as Chief Executive Officer of Chicago Public Schools in 2001 and he has since become a key target of ‘attack’ by opponents of the IB on the TAIB website.

The PYP was formally ‘adopted’ by the IB in 1997. This period of the IB’s history overall is conceptualized by Tarc (2009) as the third one; ‘the ascendancy of neoliberal globalization’ period: 1990-2001’. By extrapolating data from IB *Annual Reviews* we can see that the PYP has grown from 134 schools in 2003 to 746 in 2010. In other words, the PYP has grown at an average rate of about 100 schools per year since 2003 (130 were added during 2009, and 70 in 2008).

As can be noted, both the PYP and the MYP were ‘adopted’ by the IB, giving rise to the fact that the ‘continuum’ was never an intended outcome as such, which further undermines any notion of the IB constituting a deliberately created educational ‘system’. However, within each there is an emphasis on a ‘general education’, seen by Peterson (1972 p.40) as:

the development of powers of the mind or ways of thinking which can be applied to new situations...

The early influences included the view expressed by Philip Phenix (1964) in his book *The Realms of Meaning* that the primary goal of a ‘general education’ is to analyze the nature of meaning. Hirst and Peters (1970) later contended in *The Logic of Education* that the curriculum should be formed around fundamental forms of thought considered central to understanding and structuring the world.

In 2007 the IB began to work (and grow) more closely and purposefully *through* partnerships with governments and organizations. For example, the IB in 2007 began working with the Aga Khan Academy programme to increase access to the wider Islamic World. At the same time, the ‘brand’ was strengthened; on 20th April 2007 the IB unveiled a new visual identity, and in the same month an ‘IB community theme’ emerged.

The IB was consciously trying to create a sense of order and cohesion. In July 2007 a paper was delivered by the Director General at the 22nd IB Asia Pacific Regional Convention in Singapore, where a seemingly new aim, regarding not 2014 but 2020, was unveiled (Beard, 2007).

In January 2008 the '*2020 Vision*' project made its first formal appearance (IB World, 2008 p.6) as an attempt to 'provide the organization with an infrastructure to match its growth'. This 'vision' revealed the IB is now getting ready for serving 2.5 million children in 10,000 schools by 2020. This development was a very significant one as it moved the IB in line with national government educational policy making in the US and in England where there is much emphasis on the children currently in primary schools but who will enter the (globalized) workforce in 2020 (i.e. the 'Generation 2020').

Thus, by 2007 the IB had emerged with a new visual identity, a new logo, a closer sense of 'community', and had been re-branded as simply 'IB' (i.e. dropping the 'O'). The IB had thus now purposefully become a *brand* rather than an *organization*. Put another way, within the framework of the work by John W. Meyer (1977), it has become an *institution* rather than an *organization*, and it was fitting that the 'IB' should drop the 'O' from its title. As stated by Meyer (1977 p.1):

Education is a central element in the public biography of individuals, greatly affecting their life chances.

Put bluntly, education is not a neutral or passive process; it creates rules, generates networks, confers skills, and creates elites. It acts as a 'system of allocation', and as a process of 'legitimation', beyond the more normal process of 'socialization' (Meyer, 1977 p.2). This may partly explain why commentators and observers in America have begun since 2007 to view the IB beyond merely being a 'set' of programmes, seeing it more as a 'system' of education.

By 2008 diverse countries such as Ecuador and Australia were publicly funding IB programmes; Ecuador by 2011 had the twelfth largest bloc of IB schools in the world, even more than Switzerland. Ecuador, along with Peru and Bolivia, seems committed to diversifying its education system through bilingual and intercultural schooling.

In July 2008 the IB announced its plans to merge with IBNA giving a more coherent and stronger organizational presence in the US. In January 2009 the IBNA region was disbanded and the IBA association appeared, headed by Drew Deutsch, an IB alumni.

In February 2009 the IB announced that the IBA would be based in Washington D.C. However, the month after it was announced that Montgomery County, Maryland, was the chosen venue and would be operational with 100 staff in June 2010. The current offices in Buenos Aires, New York, and Vancouver will continue to operate in the near term.

In January 2012, 54% of all IB schools globally were offering *just* the IBDP whilst another 13% offered it alongside another IB programme (i.e. two-thirds of all IB schools offer the IBDP). This partly helps to explain why many people in the US (and elsewhere, for that matter) refer to the IBDP as simply the ‘IB program’ (sic). But, there are enormous global discrepancies. In England, 97% of IB schools offer the IBDP whilst in the US the comparable figure is nearer the global average (at 57%). In Canada, only 45% of IB schools offer the IBDP (and 47% offer IB MYP). In Denmark, all 15 IB schools offer the IBDP. In Indonesia, conversely, three-quarter of the IB schools (26 out of 36) offer PYP. This proves that the different IB programmes (there are now, to reiterate, four in existence since the IBCC came on-line in 2011) appeal to different countries at different points in time. It is worth noting that the IBCC has already come under paleo-conservative attack (Niwa, 2010 p.2) as being linked to UNESCO’s 1989 agreement *Convention on Technical and Vocational Education*.

The global growth of the IB

The IB celebrated its fortieth anniversary on 28th October 2008 as the custodian of the world’s major global curriculum, the IBDP. As discussed in the previous chapter, this began as a remarkably small-scale (and rather randomly located) ‘experiment’. Alec Peterson (1972 p.122) had remarked that;

The International Baccalaureate project is a small-scale experiment in international education designed to solve certain very limited problems at present facing international schools. Could it lead to something more substantial?

There were just 22 IB schools, in 14 countries, in existence at this point in time. Peterson (1972 p.31) had also prophetically commented:

There is already every reason, however, to suppose that this experiment will prove successful...

The growth of the IB can be considered impressive given it relies on word-of-mouth marketing rather than formal advertising; Gazda-Grace (2002 p.84) has even described the IBDP as a ‘well-kept secret’.

The IB has also grown enormously financially over the past decade as shown by the 2009 *Financial Review*; the IB had an operating income in 2009 of \$101.6 million, which was 12% higher than the year before. The IB in year 2000 had a budget expenditure of \$24.5 million and examined 136,000 Diploma subjects, yet by 2004 it had a budget of \$45.5 million and examined 210,000 subjects.

A presentation by the IB Director General to the ECIS Annual Conference (19th November 2004) had revealed there were 1,215 IBDP schools. As it was also stated around that time that 18% were ‘international schools’ we can deduce that about 300 IB schools were such a type of school in 2004. This figure has fallen dramatically as a proportion from 58% in 1979 and is expected to be just 5% by 2020 (see the presentation by Beard and Holloway, 2010), although 3% might be more realistic given current growth trends. The initial Diploma ‘project’ has been joined by three other programmes (PYP, MYP, and IBCC), plus several subjects are offered online. In other words, the ‘project’ has certainly become something very ‘substantial’, if not ‘complex’. But, with growth has come ‘impact’; the IB has also become more controversial and, in the eyes of some people in America, ‘aggressive’, ‘unnecessary’, and ‘divisive’.

The IB was (until 2010) organized into four distinct regions. The Latin American region (IBLA) initially had very slow growth, despite the fact that Chile had been the first country in the world to legally recognize the fledgling IBDP experiment in the late 1960s, and the British School Montevideo was part of the 1969 examination cohort. This school came on board since the head, Peter Stoyle (head of school 1964-78), had studied at Oxford under the tutorage of Alec Peterson (described as a man who ‘provided the energy, the pedagogical vision, the educational stature and the administrative competence that gave credibility to the IB vision’: Hill, 2010 p.70), revealing the rather parochial and personal contact beginnings of the IBDP. Peter Stoyle later became the regional director of IBLA and was responsible for much growth in that region. Unbelievably perhaps, the IBLA regional office was established in 1982 in Stoyle’s house:

A part-time secretary was appointed. The office proper was a small room of about six square metres, but the reception area was the living room, the photocopier was housed in the utility room, and there were filing cabinets in the master bedroom! (<http://www.ibo.org/history/memories/documents/stoyle.pdf>)

The first IB school in Argentina appeared in 1973, and although this country in 2012 had the fourth largest IBDP grouping worldwide (42 schools), the initial years saw little inroads made. The IB(O) began a marketing tour of Latin America in June 1978 with the aim of creating a school in each capital city. The tour was not a success and even by the time the IB(O) had established a regional office in Buenos Aires in 1982, there were only 15 IB schools in the region, in eight different countries. However, Stoyle (1986) was enthusiastic about the prospects for future growth of the IB in the region and his optimism was proved correct, certainly in Argentina.

The IB Asia-Pacific region has not undergone the same sort of exponential growth as the others have. Fox (1998a p.74) commented that ‘there had been little interest’ in the IBDP in that region until a spurt of growth in the late 1990s in Australia especially. The first IBDP schools had appeared there in 1979. The curriculum was certainly very slow to take-off in this region, and there were only 33 schools offering it in 1990. The 100-mark was not reached until 2002. However, 2003-2005 saw an extra 50 adopt the curriculum. This can partly be explained by the fact there are now at least 100 ‘international schools’ in Thailand compared to just five in 1991 (Hanchanlash, 2004). The first school in India to offer the IBDP appeared in 1976, the first in Hong Kong in 1988, and the first in China in 1991.

The 100-mark for the IBDP was hit in 1982. By 1980 almost half of the 70 schools worldwide were located in Europe. There was concern that the IBDP was beginning to be perceived as Euro-centred and several meetings occurred. A seminar was convened in Singapore, and the issue of ‘Euro-bias’ of certain subjects was tackled at the 1982 Standing Conference of Heads in New York (Fox, 1998a). Also in 1982, a conference was held at Tsukuba University in Japan to try to promote the programme in that country. Blackburn (1983) reported on the increasing interest in the IBDP in developing countries but highlighted several barriers, and in 1984 a seminar took place in Nairobi to deal with these issues. There were at this time about 150 IBDP schools worldwide. The 200 mark was hit in 1987, at the time of the 30th Anniversary. It is interesting to note that at this time Bruce (1987) was writing in *Phi Delta Kappan* that the IB had moved out of its Swiss enclave and was popular throughout Europe. The huge expansion of the IB in the US was still very much a distant concept at this time.

The year 1990 saw the world’s 300th IB school appear. The 500-mark was passed in 1994. The 1,000-mark was reached mid-1999. The IB was advised by

consultants in 1999 that it required greater strategic planning, and a five-year strategic plan appeared. The 2,000 school-mark was hit in mid-2004.

Focusing on the number of schools entered for the May IBDP examination-session during the 35-year period between 1975 and 2009, there were 23 years that saw double-digit growth. The figures for number of candidates entered (again, during 1975-2009) make for even more impressive reading. Only five years over this period had less than double-digit growth (1983, 1984, 1992, 1993, and 1995). However, as one might expect, there have always been large regional discrepancies.

One can make much more sense of the geographical polarization using Pareto Analysis, named after the Italian economist Vilfredo Pareto, a marketing tool that adopts the so-called 'Pareto Rule' (see Westcott, 2009). This states that 20% of customers account for 80% of sales. In other words, the distribution of a product's customers, over time, tends to be quite concentrated. A few customers usually start to account for a larger proportion of total sales. This tool can be applied to the IB showing a few countries account for the majority of customers, and that even within a country, a small area can account for a majority. This helps us to better understand the concentration and distribution of the IB.

In July 2010, just as the IB passed the 3,000-school mark, a Pareto Analysis of the statistics revealed that the top 28 countries (accounting for 20% of the 139 countries in total) accounted for 86% of total schools (2,594 to be exact). This gave rise to an '86-20 relationship'. Looked at another way, the major 18 countries (13% of all countries) accounted for 80% of all IB schools. In other words, here we have an '80-13 relationship'. In this respect, the IB is more heavily concentrated among its key customers than even the 'Rule of 80-20' states. Eighty percent of schools are located in one-eighth of countries. Alternatively viewed, 111 countries accounted for 14% of schools. Moreover, there was a solitary school to be found in 43 countries whilst there were still less than ten schools in 104 countries.

This discrepancy is socially very complex. On the one hand, the IBDP now has much access to national schooling, and half the primary ones in the US is Title 1 Category (i.e. has typically around 40% or more of its students from low-income families), revealing their inner-city locations (Connor, 2008). On the other hand, the IBDP is rapidly gaining access to elite private schooling and *de facto* the future 'power elite'; described as those 'in a position to make decisions having major consequences' (Wright Mills, 1956 p.3). One in six of the 'IB World Schools' in Britain in late-2010 was a HMC member (The Headmasters'

Conference: a grouping of around 250 elite private schools). Nalley's (2010) MA Dissertation study has revealed the elite nature of many of Colombia's IB schools.

As the US is by far the biggest area of IB activity and the focus of this book, it is worth focusing more on that area. In the US (in August 2009) there were 1,039 IB schools spread across 47 States. The biggest ten (representing about 20% of the total number of States) accounted for 63% of all schools. This gave rise to a Pareto Analysis concentration number of '63-20'. The 'smallest' 36 States, at the other extreme, accounted for just one-third of all IB schools. Three States (North, and South Dakota, and Vermont) had no IB schools. In Canada (in August 2009) there were 288 schools spread across nine Provinces. The biggest two, Quebec and Ontario (representing almost 20% of the total Provinces) accounted for 64% of schools. This gives rise to a Pareto Analysis concentration number of '64-20', almost identical to that of the US ('63-20'). Furthermore, three Provinces account for over 80% of all IB schools.

It is worth focusing, at the other extreme, on Africa, an area of the world with 15% of global population, yet a study in July 2010 reveals that the IB had a presence in just 25 African countries (in other words, 29 countries in Africa had no 'access' at all to the IB). The 58 IB schools located there accounted for around two percent of world activity, similar to that found in Spain (where there are 49 schools). There are now more IB schools in Ecuador (43 schools) and Peru (20) combined than in Africa. Only six countries in Africa (Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania, Nigeria, and Morocco) have any significant IB activity i.e. more than three schools. Hence, we can identify two very distinct growth trends; the IB is becoming more concentrated in some areas (mainly English-speaking countries who have embraced neo-liberal education policies to loosen government control and promote parental choice) and isolated in others (mainly countries with a still heavily centralized educational system e.g. France).

It is also worth focusing on the MYP in isolation. The MYP has also settled into a definite Pareto Rule spatial distribution. A survey in December 2010 revealed that the biggest 16 countries (accounting for 20% of the total countries with an MYP school) accounted for 84% of the total number of schools (665 out of 793); almost a perfect adherence to the Pareto 'Rule'. Put another way, just 16% of schools existed in the remaining 62 countries (an average of less than four per country). Just three countries (US, Canada, and Australia) have 70% of all MYP schools (true in August 2011).

Of the 80 countries with MYP activity, 36 have a single school and a further 11 have just two, providing a significant marketing advantage within a monopolistic position. The IB Asia-Pacific region accounts for just 14% of MYP schools. On the other hand, there are pockets of relatively 'high' activity; Quebec has 37 MYP participants and the State of South Australia a further 25. Chicago has the sixth biggest MYP bloc worldwide. At the other extreme, the whole of Africa (in March 2011) had just 14 MYP schools, spread among eight countries (Tanzania had the most with four). Alec Peterson had lamented the lack of IB activity in Africa (Peterson, 1972 p.104) as one of 'two major disappointments in the development of the project so far' (the other involving contact with the former 'Socialist Countries', still an area of the world with little IB activity). These discrepancies suggest that the global growth of the MYP needs to be viewed more critically, and may soon come under greater scrutiny in America.

This concentrated growth pattern reveals the extent to which the IB finds it easier to expand where it already has a significant presence, and where there exist local 'champions' who can attract press publicity and 'sell' the 'project' to other educators. Interestingly, the 2004 strategic planning process had made reference to a situation of 'critical mass', a concentration of about 50 schools (see interview with Oliver, 2005) where 'things start to happen'. Presumably, this involves economies of scale and wider word-of-mouth marketing; the IB programmes get more publicity and the average costs of operation fall thus promoting further growth. In other words, growth has its own internal momentum. Therefore, a concentration of schools within a region of the world, or within a country, can be beneficial. Furthermore, a 'critical mass' is more likely to be able to make an 'impact'. On the other hand, there are political implications. This poses an image 'threat', creating a perception of the IB as an Anglo-centric educational product, aimed at elite schools in English-speaking countries. Furthermore, it poses a significant challenge to the current 'wider access' aims of the IB.

This geographical distribution therefore could lead to negative conclusions of a more social and moral nature and this is beginning to take form in America. Firstly, both the areas of concentration and isolation might experience excess demand, and therefore competition for places. This could become a source of tension and resentment, causing social disharmony and unhappiness; Layard (1980) noted that increased economic growth does not necessarily equate with increased happiness. This may partly help to (now) explain the (initial) attack on the IB in the US from agitated parents (e.g. Sanders, 2001; Geiger, 2002).

Secondly, the IB could emerge as an economic positional good; a vehicle for expressing superiority and perpetuating economic advantage. This gives it a potential commercial value beyond the intrinsic one. This model for social and moral tension and conflict fits well within the framework of there being 'social limits to growth', as articulated by the British economist Fred Hirsch in 1976, and as presented in my paper in the *International Journal of Sociology of Education* (see Bunnell, 2011b).

The IB looked ready in 2012 to hit its (stated in 2005) target of educating one million IB students by 2014. Its next goal (stated in 2007), to reiterate, is to be educating 2.5 million children in 10,000 schools by 2020. The exact reasons for the global disparities so evident in 2012 require scholarly confirmation, but one reason concerns the content of the IBDP curriculum. Drone (1988) had argued a need to introduce an African cultural perspective into 'the Euro-centric curriculum', and offered a plan for localizing the IBDP by incorporating the Kenyan A-Level curriculum. Ian Hill (2006a) explicitly stated the cost of the IBDP is a factor hindering its spread in developing countries. It has always been an expensive examination to adopt, in comparison to alternative curricula, and the story behind this is interesting. The financial position was so dire in 1976 that Alec Peterson wrote to schools stating that unless \$130,000 was raised, the IB project would be closed down (Hill, 2006a). A meeting of nine school heads was convened. Here, Peterson suggested schools contribute an annual subscription of 2,000 CHF, but the meeting voted for it being five times higher. The IB is still heavily dependent on this hefty annual subscription (calculated per school, not based on size of cohort), as well as the examination fees.

A further factor involves geopolitics, a topic worthy of its own study. Some parts of Europe have reported little growth. Interestingly, the Republic of Ireland has only ever had one IB school, despite its strong record of inward investment during the 1990s (Breathnach, 1998). The 'quest to de-ideologize' (Fox, 1998a, p.72) education in some of the former 'Eastern European' countries was seen as a potential spur to growth. The Slovenian government in 1990 gave funding to two public schools to offer the IBDP as an experiment, but there were in 2012 still only four IB schools in Slovenia. Fox (1998a) also implies that Bulgaria could be a potential future source of growth, yet there were only six IB schools there in 2012. Of the ex-communist nations, only Poland has any sizeable IB bloc of schools (numbering 35 in 2012). The Ukraine had just two, whilst Russia had another 18.

Political barriers to potential growth certainly still exist within individual countries. A joint conference in Belgium, attended by 19 member countries of the Commission of the European Communities, and the Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe, recommended that the IBDP be extended to state funded schools (Fox, 1998a). However, Buckheit (1995) reported on some of the obstacles to the acceptance of the IBDP by German state governments for German nationals studying in their home country.

A further significant factor affecting regional growth is that the IBDP model has the potential to be ‘cloned’ or adapted. Sen (2001) referring to Turkey, stated that the IBDP has more potential to be ‘nationalized’ than adopted. The committee for the Coordination of Education and Culture in Central America, made up of Education Ministers from the Central American countries, had shown interest in establishing a ‘Central American Baccalaureate’ modeled on the IB (Lloyd, 2004).

Another area of the world ‘awaiting’ curriculum developments is England and Wales, where A-Level has come under attack over recent years (by educators worried about ‘grade inflation’ and a general ‘dumbing-down’ of education). There has been no major movement towards the IBDP examination, although at least 100 leading private schools in England, including Eton, plus at least 20 state-funded schools were reported to be ready to abandon the A-level for the ‘Pre-U’, an alternative system examined by Cambridge International Examinations (Clark, 2006). This course (which started September 2008) bears all the hallmarks of a ‘quasi-IBDP’. The Welsh national assembly began a four-year pilot Welsh Baccalaureate in 19 colleges in 2003, and this may have tempered movement towards the IB in that country. Hence, it is the US that has emerged as the ‘home’ of the IB (and 40% of all its schools), and this phenomenon is to be explored next.

Perspectives on the IB in America

The growth of the IB in America

The year 2008 had marked both the fortieth anniversary of the IB and the fortieth involvement of the first US-based educational institution with the IBDP; the first institution in America to offer the IB was the 1947-founded United Nations

International School (UNIS), in New York, who had been funded in 1968 by the liberal Ford Foundation and offered twelve students for the second trial examination in May 1968 alongside six other schools. This school was a ‘sister’ institution to Ecolint and was the very first school in the world to fully convert to the IB.

This story in itself starkly reveals the ‘international school’ origins of the IB in the US. The IB had found an early ‘champion’ in the form of UNIS and its Director, Desmond Cole, who had joined the ISES Council in June 1965. Hill (2006b, p.62) has remarked how by 1965 ‘American support was now more manifest and official’. Fox (1998a p.70) remarked that ‘UNIS was thus in an optimum position to serve as a laboratory for the IB experiment’.

The general development of the IB in the US has been fairly well documented (e.g. Tyson, 1984). The initial marketing of the IB in the US was on a similar line to other areas of the world with ‘missionaries’ from Ecolint dispatched abroad. The first ISES ‘mission’ to the US had been in March/April 1964, while Jean Siotis undertook a ‘missionary’ expedition to sell the IB to Harvard in April that year (they had already accepted one of the June 1963 students). From June to July 1965, the Geneva school sent 16 of its own faculty to the US and Canada to sell the IB to schools. On 31st August 1965 the head of Ecolint had met up with John Sly of ISS to explain the IB.

The IB initially had little appeal in the US outside of its ‘academic United Nations’ enclave. UNIS was joined by a cadre of ‘international schools’: Washington International School; the Anglo-American School (New York); the French-American School (San Francisco); and the United World College of the American West (New Mexico). Until 1980 the rate of expansion in Canada was greater than in the US. Spahn (2001) offers two possible reasons for this, stating that Canada had no AP examination system, plus it had a ‘role model’ in the form of the Lester B. Pearson College (a United World College).

The US found its public school ‘champion’ in 1976 (see the story in *Supertest* p.108) when Dr. Mel Serisky, Principal of the Francis Lewis High School in Queens, New York, recognised the potential of the IBDP (Fox, 1998a p.73). At that same time, one of the founders of the Washington International School had pronounced, somewhat prematurely, that ‘global education’ in the US was an ‘idea whose time has come’ (Goodman, 1976). The coming on board the IBDP ‘project’ of Serisky’s school was vital as the programme initially had undergone two ‘false trails’ in the US after the Ivy League preparatory schools had failed to come on board as did the body of ‘community colleges’. Houston’s

Bellaire High School was the first school in Texas to adopt the IBDP (authorized in 1979), and had been joined in 2012 by a further 106 schools across that State.

The US had by this time acquired a powerful marketing and training presence in the form of IBNA. Also, Blouke Carus, of the Open Court Publishing Company, obtained a grant from the Hegeler Foundation to establish the IBNA regional office in New York in 1977. Fox (1998a) notes how the recruitment of schools in the US was the result of ‘energetic campaigning’ by IBNA in the 1980s, resulting in steady growth of 20% per year. The importance of IBNA is exemplified by the fact there were six schools in the US by the time this regional association appeared, out of a total of 50 worldwide. By 1977 there were seven IBDP schools in the US. In 1978 three schools in Wisconsin (Jerome I. Case International School, Rufus King High School and Wausau East High School) became some of the first public schools to implement the IBDP. By 1980 the IB was beginning to grow in the US, and there were 22 public schools on board. Positive review of the IBDP subsequently came in the US from Savage (1982). That same year, Gilbert (1982) reported on the growing popularity of the IBDP in the US and Canada, and by 1985 there were 70 schools across the US. The first IB schools in Florida had appeared in 1983 when four public schools had been authorized to offer the IBDP.

Bruce (1987) remarked on how the IB had moved out of its Swiss enclave and was popular throughout Europe, whilst Grexa (1988) in the US described the IB as a programme developed in Europe for continued study in colleges and universities around the world. This proves the huge expansion of the IB in the US was a distant concept at that point in time. The IBDP has since attracted many ‘market-driven’ schools, such as magnet schools seeking a marketing niche or schools dissatisfied with the rigour of the AP (the IB has been described by Schachter, 2008, as the ‘other AP’). The number of IB schools in America reached 129 by 1990, and 208 by the mid-1990s. There were 268 schools there by 1999.

The extent of growth in America is exemplified by the fact that the Franklin High School became the first ‘IB World School’ in Tennessee in 2000 and by 2012 there were 20 schools across that State. Lindburgh High School in St. Louis became in 1983 the first IB school in Missouri and has been joined since by another 19. The first in Ohio was Withrow International High School in Cincinnati in 1978, now partnered by 19 other schools. The IB, from this slow initial growth, now appears distinctly ‘American’. It is undeniably ‘Anglo-centric’ e.g.

just four English-speaking countries, the US, Canada, England, and Australia accounted (in March 2012) for 61% of total 'IB World' presence.

The current scale of growth is put into perspective by noting that June 2009 alone saw 25 schools in the US gain IB 'authorization' (mainly at MYP level). A good indication of the recent extent of growth of the IBDP in the US can be found within the book *Supertest* (Mathews and Hill, 2006). Here it is observed (in the Introduction, p.xii) that the IBDP was available February 2005 in 'only' 450 schools in the US. In September 2011 there were 745. In other words there has been IBDP 'growth rate' of 295 programmes over six and a half year (almost four schools per month). The growth in the US of the MYP has been even more dramatic. In *Supertest* (Introduction, p. ix) it is recorded that there 163 MYP schools in the US in mid-2006. In September 2011 there were 446. In other words, there had been a MYP 'growth rate' of four and a half schools per month. Worldwide in mid-2006 the IB was serving 1,765 schools in 122 countries. By September 2011 the corresponding figures were 3,294 schools in 141 countries, revealing a 'growth rate' of 24 schools per month (1,300 of these schools in September 2011 were in the US, with a further 310 in Canada).

Spahn (2001 p.117) had ended his book positively by stating that the IBDP has 'found its place in the United States', and he had stated that factors there 'points towards a surge' in the growth of the programme. This was certainly proved correct for a number of reasons, to be explored next.

The momentum behind growth in America

The IB was obviously helped in the US by having early 'champion' schools (e.g. UNIS, Bellaire High School in Texas, Eastside High School in Florida, Bloomfield Hills District in Michigan) who could act as role models and marketing conduits, as well as having powerful advocates in the form of the now-defunct IBNA organization, and the numerous local associations that have sprung up across America. As previously noted, the IBLA regional association, under the initial guidance of the former head of the British School Montevideo, had operated as a similar marketing vehicle. Word-of-mouth promotion has always been important for the IB, which has never formally advertised itself, and still largely relies on its image as a 'quality' provider of educational programmes. In this context, the attack on the IB in the US probably does matter since the *image* of the IB is under threat.

The IB in the US has, in certain areas, reached ‘critical mass’ attainment. There exist at least 30 IB regional associations across America. For example, The Midwest IB Association (covering Arkansas, Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, Ohio, and Nebraska) had 47 member schools in 2012. The Rocky Mountain IB Association had ten members. These groupings allow for networking, training, and marketing locally, reducing costs. In other words, growth in parts of the US has developed its own internal momentum (which sounds positive but is actually problematic since it undermines any notion of the IB ‘planning’ or ‘controlling’ its growth there). It is worth noting that in 2008 alone there were 25 IB programmes introduced in just one State (Florida) i.e. one public school was being authorized there every two weeks. The State of Ohio also added another five IB schools in 2008.

In spite of the slow take-off, the US has played a pivotal role in the IB from its inception. The role of UNIS, the first school to fully adopt the IB, cannot be understated. Furthermore, the role of American educators such as Ralph Tyler, Professor of Education at the University of Chicago, was instrumental in influencing public schools to support the IB experiment and in obtaining the initial funding of the fledgling programme from the Ford Foundation (Renaud, 1975).

A key spur to growth in the US was the publication by the National Commission on Excellence in Education of *The Nation at Risk* report in 1983, which advocated a curriculum similar to the IB. The same year, a critical report on secondary education in the US singled out the IB as a model of quality; the *Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching* published, after 30 months of research, the report *High School: A Report on Secondary Education in America* (Boyer, 1983) which advocated a public service requirement (similar to IB CAS) and a form of ‘extended essay’. Ginsberg and Lyche (2008) have stated that a ‘culture of fear’ emerged in society over the state of education at this time, and the appeal of the IB as an academically-high standard-bearer explains much of the growth in the US; one early Doctoral study (Kroll, 1984) had identified the IBDP as a ‘broad’ and ‘well-organized’ programme.

Robert Reich (US Secretary of State for Labor, 1993-97) drew attention to the emerging ‘global economy’ (Reich, 1993). In April 2000, President Clinton had signed a memorandum calling for a coordinated national policy on ‘global education’. That same month, Richard Riley (US Secretary of State for Education 1993-2001) gave a pro-‘global education’ speech in Washington D.C. Three days after taking office in January 2001, President George W. Bush reauthorized the *1965 Elementary and Secondary Act*, one of the first legislative steps by the

federal government to actively intervene in education. Four months after the momentous events of '9/11', the *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001* (NCLB) was signed into law.

The MYP was awarded a US Department of Education Grant in 2002 to help expansion (Mathews and Hill, 2006 p.123). On 12th September 2002, the US rejoined Paris-based UNESCO. This was 18 years after President Reagan had pulled out, and was definitely part of a conscious attempt to embrace 'global education'. In August 2002, Rod Paige (US Secretary of State for Education, 2001-2005) issued a Statement during the third annual International Education Week, stating the 'necessity of bringing an international perspective into American classrooms' (Paige 2002a). In November 2002, Secretary Paige made a speech at the States Institute on International Education in the Schools, in Washington D.C. (Paige, 2002b). Here, Secretary Paige endorsed a need to put the 'world back into world-class education'.

The exact appeal of the IB to individual schools in the US, beyond its initial hub of idealist 'international schools' serving the globally mobile international community, involves a complex set of issues. The following newspaper extract (from *The Greenwich Citizen*, Connecticut, 23rd February, 2011) says of the IB:

'It is a good way of delivering a curriculum,' Freund said. 'It increases retention, understanding, motivations to learn. ... I like it for the professional development, I like it for the rigor, I like it because it coincides with the direction that we're going in. President Obama talked about education and almost in the same breath he talked about innovation and what's going to continue to make us competitive in the global market. You can teach kids to be critical thinkers. (<http://www.greenwichtime.com>)

The body of IBDP schools in general today is very different from the original base. Some have adopted the IB exam to 'carve out a distinctive identity', rather than for intrinsically ideological reasons (McGee, 2003). McGee's research among schools in England seemed to imply that the IBDP offers marketing advantage purposes, and this is likely true in part of the US where parental choice is an important issue. Schools seem to adopt the MYP for a variety of reasons, and this is likely true in the US also. Research involving over 300 schools (Spelandio, 2010), suggested that while issues of implementation, marketing, branding, and the support of the IB as an external agency for quality control and professional development are acknowledged by schools as influencing factors, the most important determinant was a perceived match with the school's philosophy. Walters' (2007) Doctoral Thesis, discussing implementation in a school in

Colorado, concluded the MYP had helped the school's reputation and created a sense of pride.

The appeal of the IB (both as a set of programmes and as a curriculum *framework*) has been strengthened in the US (as elsewhere) by the notion that the 'world is flat'. Significantly, in February 2006, President Bush announced the *American Competitiveness Initiative* and committed \$5.9 billion in fiscal year 2007 alone to strengthen education. *The America Competes Act 2007* had authorized the expansion of low-income students' access to AP/IB coursework by training more high school teachers to lead courses in maths, science, and critical foreign languages in high-need schools. There is much evidence that the IB operates in 'poorer' schools in the US and is serving an 'amalgam' of children (e.g. Mendez, 2005). For example, the International Community School of Decatur, Georgia, which is a Title 1 Charter school for refugees (Ditmann, 2008) became an IB school in January 2008.

The IBDP has long been regarded in the US as the route to academic excellence (e.g. Daniel and Cox, 1992) and as a programme for the 'gifted' youth (Poelzer and Feldhusen, 1997). The 'Academy 20' research by Rose (2007) had concluded that IBDP students did better at reading and mathematics than non-IB students. The IBDP has subsequently been promoted in the US by long-standing research showing (or at least claiming) that graduates do better (and at a faster pace) at university/college than non-IBDP graduates. Duevel's (1999) study had investigated whether earning the IBDP was a predictor of success at university and beyond. Her study among twelve universities (namely: Columbia, Cornell, Georgia Tech, Harvard, Indiana/Bloomington, Purdue, Stanford, Texas/Austin, Illinois/Urbana, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin/Madison) indicated collectively that 92% of IBDP holders earned Bachelor's degrees, and 87% of these were earned in five years or less. A later report (commissioned by the IB) and titled *Perceptions of the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme* was published in October 2003. It reported that among a total of 120 Higher Education Institutions in the UK, 57% felt the IBDP conferred an advantage on applicants to university courses (IBO, 2003), when compared with the A-Level.

The academic credentials and perceptions of rigour and excellence have always been key reasons why American schools adopt the IB (Fox, 1998a p.73). A number of schools included in the 2003 *Newsweek* listing of 'America's best High Schools' were reported to be urban schools that had adopted the IBDP to 'stop the flight of middle-class students to suburban and private schools' (Mathews and Hill, 2006 p.124). According to Nigel Bagnall's research on the

IBDP in Australia and Canada, contained within his interestingly sociological perspective book (see Bagnall, 2010 p.103), the IBDP:

...rests as the only significant international university entrance qualification available to the individual wishing to gain advantage in the global field.

There have been two major reviews of research undertaken about the IB programmes (see Cambridge, 2008; and *Hannover Research*, 2010). Both reviews found much evidence of the appeal to parents and students of the IBDP being a 'passport' to Higher Education.

In spite of the huge growth since 2006 (both in terms of students and schools), the IBDP remains an extremely reliable and consistent form of assessment, and this helps to partly explain its appeal to many educators in the US, and elsewhere (i.e. there has been no grade inflation, unlike for instance the A-Level in England over the past thirty years). In percentage terms, the number of 'full point' students (i.e. those obtaining the maximum 45 points) has been very consistent, with the years 2007, 2008, and 2009 producing an almost exact same figure (between 0.18% and 0.19% of all candidates). This was in spite of a 40% increase in the total number of IBDP candidates over the period from 2006 to 2009. The number of IBDP students who achieved the maximum 45 points (42 points in the six subjects, plus an extra three points for the Extended Essay and CAS) averaged just 78 students between 2006 and 2009. The figure for May 2009 was 86 students, out of a total Diploma entry of 35,181. The proportion of IBDP candidates who 'pass' (i.e. obtain the minimum of 24 points) has also remained very consistent (it was 80.34% in 2006, and 78.71% in 2009).

The corresponding figures for the November examination session are equally as consistent. Interestingly, one school in Singapore (Anglo-Chinese School, Independent) usually accounts for at least half of all the 'full point' students sitting the November exam (this single school had 28 such students in 2011).

A survey by the IB in North America (quoted in Mathews and Hill, 2006 p.216) found the acceptance rate in Autumn 2002 of IBDP candidates at elite colleges was much higher than the rate for all applicants e.g. Harvard accepted 14.4% of the IBDP candidates against 11% more generally, whilst Yale accepted 19.5% compared to 13% of 'all' candidates. Paris' (2003) research into why students choose the IBDP showed they were aware it gave them a better chance to get into Higher Education.

In the context of education cuts this topic becomes problematic. This sort of research, partly undertaken by the IB itself, appeals to a middle-class who is keen for their children to attain 'Ivy League' admission. But, not every child can have this route to academic (and future work) success. Hence, it can lead to resentment and ill-feeling, especially at a time when public schooling is being funded to provide (some level of) IB provision.

The notion of America 'imbalance'

Alongside my 2009 *Discourse* paper, this book also expands upon a paper published in the (peer-reviewed) journal *The Educational Forum*, edited in the US by the educational association *Phi Delta Kappa International* (see Bunnell, 2011c). This paper revealed how, after an initial base in Northern Europe, the IB has undeniably found its 'home' in the US. This paper charted the growth of the IB in the US, and showed how the relative lack of activity there until the mid-1980s has turned into what statistically and organizationally now appears to be an 'imbalance'.

For instance, in May 2008, well over half the students entered for the IBDP examination was based in a school in the US (49,100 entrants in 530 schools, out of a total of 87,800 in 122 countries). In total, the former IBNA region had 66% of all May 2008 examination session students. Fifty-eight countries by contrast had less than ten of their citizens entered for the May 2008 examinations, showing perhaps the extent to which the IBDP in many countries is an 'elite' programme and has yet to make any real impact or reach 'critical mass' internal growth. The issue of a US-oriented 'imbalance' is (still) provocative, but (still) needs discussing as it has obvious implications for any curriculum that pertains to be a 'global' one, and more significantly, that relies on an image of being 'independent' of national identity. The word 'International' in this sense means free of government interference, and national identity, rather than being a reference to geographical presence, although this is obviously also true to an extent, and the IB currently has a presence in 141 countries.

In January 2009 the IBA region, an amalgamation of schools in 30 countries, made its formal appearance. It held its first Council meeting March 2009, in Miami, Florida, and has been based in Maryland since June 2010 (that State alone based 42 IB schools in February 2012, the same number as Hong Kong, and slightly more than Switzerland).

The IBA region, like IBNA, is a huge one statistically speaking; in July 2009 it accounted for 60% of all IB schools, including 68% of MYP activity, and 58% of all programmes worldwide. The IB Asia-Pacific Region, by contrast, accounted for just 14% of schools. The eventual location of the IBA base showed that the mid-Atlantic region has emerged as the major hub of IB activity in the US; in fact the IB Mid-Atlantic regional association had 140 members (within a 200-mile radius of Northern Virginia) in February 2012, making it the fourth largest bloc of schools in the world, with slightly more IB-members than Australia.

The May IBDP examination sessions since 2008 have revealed how the US (and the broader ‘Americas’ region) probably needs its own assessment centre, beyond Cardiff in ‘remote’ (and ‘internationally peripheral’) south Wales. Taking the figures forward in time, the May 2011 exam-session had shown that 55% of students (61,894) were located in the US alone (and Canada had a further 9%). It therefore seems unlikely, certainly in the long-run, that the notion of the ‘IB World’, re-launched with new logo and corporate identity in 2007, can be sustained and we may be witnessing the fundamental ‘break-up’ of the IB both as a ‘community’, and as a standardized global ‘brand’. In fact, in March 2012 the four IB programmes were re-branded as ‘sub-brands’, each with a distinctive colour and logo. This has been, in one respect, a long time coming. It does seem ironic to note that Peterson (1987 p.143) had recollected that in the 1970s it was felt that:

...if ever the number of US schools offering the IB reached 50 it might be necessary to hive off the US operation as an entirely separate concern.

Interestingly, Alec Peterson (1987 p.63) had also remarked how it was felt in 1967 that:

...the IB schools should as far as possible be equally spread throughout the world, with no one area predominating.

However, Peterson (1987 p.208) had gone on to remark (in his Chapter aptly titled ‘Issues for the future’) that there existed:

...fears that the very rapid expansion of the IB in North America would lead to ‘North American dominance.

Numerically, this issue is now becoming very evident; in early 2012, exactly 50% of all IB schools were located in North America. The US is ‘home’ to 32% of DP schools, 35% of PYP schools, and 48% of all MYP schools.

Furthermore, as noted in the Introduction to this book, 2012 saw a definite North American grown pattern emerging (with half of all authorized schools being based there). It is worth noting that Peterson (1987) had further commented that:

As far as the IBO is concerned therefore we seem to have arrived at an agreed policy that, while all manageable expansion in the use of the programme is to be welcomed, positive efforts should be concentrated on meeting the needs of the mobile international community and on maintaining within the organization a cultural and geographical balance. (Peterson, 1987 p.209).

The PYP by 2011 was emerging as the biggest growing IB programme although it has yet to make the inroads into America that the other two main ones have. In early December 2011 there were 850 PYP schools in 92 different countries. However, as is the case with all the IB programmes, there are huge geographical disparities. There are only four countries in the world with a ‘significant’ PYP presence (of over 30 schools: US, Canada, Australia, and Mexico), and 35% can be found in the US alone.

One under reported fact is that the MYP has also emerged showing a distinct North-American ‘imbalance’. Although there was an MYP presence in 80 countries in 2011, exactly two-thirds of all schools (580 out of 880) were located in the US and Canada. Moreover, almost exactly half (49%) were in the US, indicating that the MYP might begin soon to become more ‘visible’ to opponents. In fact, the MYP is becoming even more noticeably ‘US-centric’ than the IBDP; only eight countries had more than 10 MYP schools plus there were just 11 MYP participants in the entire Middle East, and a further dozen across Africa. The MYP has thus far failed (outside its ‘core base’: the US, Canada and Australia) to ‘take off’ in the same way that the DP has. There are 60 countries in the world where there is IB activity yet no MYP schools. At first glance it has a similar Anglo-centric linguistic base as the IBDP, but this illusion is clouded by the appeal of the MYP in French-speaking Quebec.

The dominance (‘imbalance’) of North America does appear to be having an impact at an assessment level. This is important as the IB relies on the ‘quality-assurance’ image of its programmes, meaning standardization and consistency (Walker, 2005c). However, there are ‘imbalance’ issues emerging. Hahn’s (2003) study of IB-published materials revealed a Western and American dominance in terms of the language used. Lewis (2006) critically noted that 62% of students who had taken the May 2005 IBDP History examination (at Higher

Level) had sat the optional ‘History of the Americas’ paper, whilst only 0.7% had done the History of Africa one.

The disparity between the numbers of students taking the IBDP examination in the three main languages (English, Spanish, and French) is widening, with French becoming almost an obsolete, and presumably uneconomical, option for assessment. In 2008 only 0.01% of schools were following the IBDP in French (just 21 schools worldwide), whilst 88% were using English. This, of course, is not so extreme at MYP level, where 15% of schools are following the programme in French, yet this figure is down from 21% in 2004.

A further issue concerns teacher training, an essential pre-requisite for ‘IB World School’ authorization. The IB website listed 257 workshop locations (from July 2009 to November 2010). Thirty percent were held in the US. A further 12% were in England, and 15% offered online. At the other extreme, only five workshops were planned to occur in Africa. This arguably reveals much about the current market for the IB and its expectant growth. The relative cost of sending faculty members to these training workshops may be proving to be a barrier to many schools, especially those in Africa.

The US ‘imbalance’ can now most definitely be seen within the organizational set-up of the IB. Since 2006 the IB has been developing a strong image of American-leadership. English-man George Walker was replaced by the Ohio-born businessman and ex-US Navy personnel Jeffrey Beard as the sixth IB Director General in January 2006 (an interesting side-note is to ask was Jeffrey Beard perhaps appointed in an attempt to try to dissipate the attack on the IB in America?). Working alongside Director General Beard, in May 2009 the IB announced that the new Chair of Governors was to be Carol Bellamy, a New Yorker who became the first female President of New York Council in 1978. She replaced Tunisian-born Monique Seefried (born a French citizen but became a US citizen in 1985), who was Chair from 2003. The IB Board of Governors was made up (in July 2009) of 17 members; including two based in Canada, and four in the US.

The timeline of the attack

Before the year 2006

As said already in this book, the timeline for the direct attack on the IB can be traced back to 1999 (at W.T. Woodson High School, Virginia). The IB's new logo in 2001 was seen as part and parcel of a global branding exercise (Cambridge, 2002). By 2002 the IB was marketing its 'continuum of international education'; the IB since 1997 has had three programmes, but by 2002 they visually constituted a 'system'. The following year was a very significant one for the IB; the then-Director General George Walker had written an article in the *International School* magazine titled 'Now for the stage of influence' (Walker, 2003).

This was about the point in time (in October 2003) that the US Department of Education announced \$11 million in 22 new grants to raise the number of low-income students succeeding in advanced courses. A total of \$1.17 million was given to six middle-years schools in Arizona, Massachusetts, and New York to become 'feeder schools' for the IBDP in low-income schools. This seemed the sort of 'influence' (in national education) that Walker (2003) had alluded to in his article.

However, it soon became very clear that not all Americans welcomed the 'influence' of an educational 'system' which has European and UN roots. Parent Jean Geiger of Reston, Virginia, told the *Washington Times* her children had been 'forced' to participate in the MYP at their school. Geiger (2003) wrote in an editorial (1st June, 2003) that 'the IB program is a political agenda masquerading as an academic program'. She stated that for the last decade the IB has been aggressively marketing its 'world-class' educational program (i.e. IBDP) to 'unsuspecting parents and students'. Geiger (2003) called the IBDP 'the perfect vehicle to implement UN goals', whilst promoting 'the subordination of national sovereignty' and the promotion of peace at all costs, including 'the appeasement of dictators'. This had clearly caught the attention of conservative agencies since the month after saw the first attack on the IB from the *Eagle Forum* (Education Reporter, 2003).

The situation reached a critical point with two articles in the *Washington Times* (17th January, 2004). George Archibald's first one (Archibald, 2004) had started by reporting how:

Critics of the International Baccalaureate program at Reston's Langston Hughes Middle School and South Lakes High School have focused on the program's promotion of cultural egalitarianism, pacifism and what they say is its anti-Western bias. (<http://www.washingtontimes.com>)

Archibald's (2004) second article about the IB, titled 'UN program takes root in US', caught the broader attention of conservative groupings very quickly. Here Archibald stated (in his opening paragraph) that:

The Bush administration has begun issuing grants to help spread a United Nations-sponsored school program that aims to become a 'universal curriculum' for teaching global citizenship, peace studies and equality of world cultures. (<http://www.washingtontimes.com>)

Archibald went on to refer to the 'constructivist' approach of the IBDP, whilst highlighting the relative 'expensive' of setting-up the programme. Less than a week later, Lamb (2004) had published an article entitled 'UN influence in US schools'. By February 2004, the IB was being denounced as an example of 'radical Marxism raising its head' (Schaefer, 2004). A few weeks later, commentaries (e.g. Salvato, 2004) were appearing on the article, openly proclaiming that a 'culture war' had begun (Shenandoah, 2004). The extreme right-wing website *VDARE.com* attacked the IB using an anti-immigration slant (Francis, 2004), arguing the IB was largely a vehicle for educating immigrants who are unaware, or disregarding, of American values. Francis opened his opinion piece by saying that:

If the country is going to have a New World Order population, which is what President Bush's open invitation to mass Third World immigration will create, it ought also to have a New World Order educational system, which the administration is in the process of setting up. (<http://www.vdare.com/articles/bush-administration-pushes-uns-globalist-school-program>)

By 30th June, *EdWatch* had published its first attack (Quist, 2004). In December 2004, an editorial appeared in *The Orange County Register* arguing the IB had a 'potential for mischief' (Greenhut, 2004). By August 2005, the *New Frontier Coalition* had published an article (Cohen Walker, 2005).

The information from Archibald's (2004) article also quickly found its way into parental newsletters attacking the IB in South Carolina (Marks, 2005). Autumn 2005 also saw an attack launched in the US on the 'spiritual worldview' of the IB, with Spadt (2005 p.1) referring to 'an agenda for social engineering through propaganda'.

The IB(O) showed they had become aware of this attack when George Walker defiantly expressed at the time a view that ‘the clearest sign that you are making a difference is that someone has noticed and doesn’t like it’ (Walker, 2005b p.5). In October that year, the *EdWatch* conference in Minnesota tackled ‘two educational juggernauts’; ‘global education’, and the psychological testing of children.

The year 2006 and beyond

A major incident (‘complication’) occurred the month after Jeffrey Beard’s appointment as Director General in January 2006; in February 2006 the Board members at the Upper St. Clair High School in Pittsburgh narrowly voted 5-4 to scrap the three IB programmes. The Board member who moved the motion to vote out the IB stated that the ‘IB programs clearly violate local control’ (see Kerlik, 2006). Uproar ensued (according to reports) when the Board members voted during a stormy meeting that saw the three IB programmes denounced as being ‘anti-Christian, un-American and Marxist’. Objections were made to the largely secular, multi-cultural aspect of the curriculum and its emphasis on international institutions and hyper-globalist (Held *et al*, 1999) pacts such as the Kyoto protocol on global warming. It was reported (Klein, 2006) that Board members were troubled by ‘the secular, one world government ideology’. Objection was also made to the support by the IB for the ‘UN Earth Charter’ (a 2,400 word text supporting sustainable development created between 1994 and 2000). It is worth citing the article about this attack titled ‘All American Trouble’ by Joanne Walters (in *The Guardian*, 14th March 2006) more fully:

A US school district has banned the International Baccalaureate after officials condemned it as ‘un-American’ and Marxist, sparking outrage among pupils who are studying the increasingly popular diploma. A group of parents yesterday joined forces with the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) to sue the school, demanding reinstatement of a curriculum even President George Bush encourages...There was uproar at the Upper St Clair high school in a prosperous suburb of Pittsburgh last month when board members governing the local school district voted 5-4 at a heated meeting to throw out the IB... (<http://www.guardian.co.uk>)

This was said to be at least the tenth time over the previous eight years that the IB had come under attack in the US (Chute and Banks, 2006), but it was by far the most prominent. The IB at this point in time issued a fact-sheet (IBO, 2006a)

counteracting the emerging key ‘myths’. By July 2006, it was being championed the IB was ‘feeling the heat’ (Julie Quist, 2006a).

At the same time, and probably fuelling the attack, the IBDP began attracting much ‘positive’ press coverage, implying a stage of ‘influence’ had indeed begun. Sowers (2005) reported on how one High School was to join the ‘elite’ grouping of six schools in Arizona offering the ‘prestigious’ IBDP examination system, whilst Dyer (2006) reported on how a High School in Tampa was to join the other 40 in Florida offering the IBDP programmes. Florida alone at that time had the ninth largest bloc of IBDP schools worldwide. The initial federal funding of 2003 was supplemented in September 2006 with a grant of \$1.08 million targeted at 50 IBDP schools. To put this action into political context consider that the US government in 2006 was one of only five worldwide supported the expansion of the IB in public schools (alongside UK, Ecuador, Australia, and Canada).

The IB supplemented their 2006 ‘key myths’ booklet with a two-page spread in the *IB World* magazine (pages 14-15) in September 2007 dealing with the ‘ten common misconceptions’ about the IB. California had announced, in June 2007, that 56 schools statewide would receive \$1.2 million in IB grants, as a means of adding ‘rigor’ to the high school curriculum.

By this stage the IBDP was regularly being denounced in the US as fundamentally ‘un-American’ (e.g. Allen Quist, 2006). Quist ended his nine-point attack by concluding that:

The foundational principles of the United States are summarized in the Declaration of Independence and are properly called the twelve pillars of freedom. In addition to what IBO promotes, it rejects all 12 of these Declaration principles. Amendment X of our Bill of Rights clarifies that all the rights in our Bill of Rights are inherent and inalienable (as also stated in the Declaration of Independence). IBO rejects article X or our bill of Rights, however, and by so doing rejects the entirety of our Bill of Rights. International Baccalaureate is un-American. (<http://www.educationnews.org>)

Quist’s ‘Point 2’, titled ‘IB promotes world citizenship’, states that:

‘Either United States citizenship or world citizenship must have priority in our education program. Which will it be? IB gives priority to world citizenship.’

This is a complex area of concern, and the philosophy of the paleo-conservative attack on the IB will be explored in more detail in the next section of this book.

Part D: The complex nature of the attack

The philosophy of the attack

The notion of ‘culture war’

The attack on the IB in the US is essentially part of an on-going battle between ‘traditionalists’ (e.g. state-supporting suburban conservatives) and ‘globalists’ (e.g. federal-supporting urban liberals) which has intensified over the past decade in its educational format. This (geographical, social, and philosophical) ‘divide’ is exemplified in the attack on the IB by Shenandoah (2004), writing in *The American Partisan*, with the confrontational title: ‘Traditionalists versus Globalists: The War is on’. Shenandoah seemingly draws the dividing line well when saying:

While the conservative, right wing, traditionalists and the liberal, far left, socialist, globalists continue to battle it out in the media, the UN directives continue to undermine the sovereignty of the US in every area of our lives. (<http://www.american-partisan.com/cols/2004/shenandoah/qtr1/0331.htm>)

In other words, the attack on the IB in the US is as much an *anti-globalist* (i.e. anti-liberals) one as it is an *anti-globalization* (i.e. anti-UN) one. In this sense, it is partly an attack by Americans on fellow Americans. It is this aspect of the attack that probably comes as the biggest shock to many ‘non-Americans’. One commentator (Hughes, 1993) has even called for the ‘reknitting’ of a dangerously fragmented America, attacking the tribalism of both the ‘traditionalists’ and the ‘globalists’.

It is significant to note that Shenandoah was writing in 2004, just as the attack on the IB had intensified following the first batch of federal funding (in 2003), and the first major piece of attack had appeared (by Archibald in the *Washington Times*). It was also about this time that the IB published its major self-critical strategic planning document (IBO, 2004). More significantly, at this point in time it was being noted that conservative groupings in the US were tightening their grip on the educational agenda (Apple, 2004). As has already been shown, the IB has grown substantially in the US since the turn of the Millennium to the point where almost 40% of all ‘IB World Schools’ are located there.

The vast majority (63%) of students taking the May 2011 IBDP examination session were seated across America. The Mid-Atlantic coast of America has become the 'centre of gravity' for the IB, rather than Northern Europe. The IB is now undeniably making (in some States at least) both what the IB refers to as 'influence' (Walker, 2003) and an 'impact', within the local and national educational debate. Both terms (i.e. 'influence' and 'impact') sound positive and have even deliberately been aimed for by the IB (see IBO, 2004; and IBO, 2006a), but are actually very problematic.

The general counsel of the National School Boards Association has dismissed the attack on the IB as evidence of 'culture wars'. This is a common turn of phrase. Zimmerman (2002) had earlier openly commented on the 'culture wars' going on in US public schools. This 'war' is a long-standing one, but has intensified as the 'global education' agenda in the US has strengthened. Indeed, commentators have noted this 'culture war' since the 1960s (Shir, 1986), and how different sides have attempted since then to gain ideological control over areas such as the family, education, law, and politics (Hunter, 1992). Towards the end of the 1990s socio-political commentators (e.g. Wolfe, 1998) declared America in the midst of a deeply divisive 'culture war' within intellectual 'Middle-America' much of which appears to distrust the system as representing their moral beliefs. This debate has intensified, and one commentator has talked of the 'cultural war dividing our country today' (Klein, 2006). One set of commentators (DeVilliar and Jiang, 2011) have even called for this culture of conflict to cease, to be replaced by 'metacultural cohesion'.

Alternative terms have been used; the term 'values divide' has been used (White, 2003) whilst Blumenthal (2003) made reference to 'Clinton Wars'. The American historian Thomas Frank (2004) explored the rise of conservatism in his home state of Kansas, and referred to 'The Two Nations'. Frank (2004) explored the seemingly contradictory fact that some of America's poorest counties vote overwhelmingly Republican. His main explanation for this involves a thesis that identifies a 'Great Backlash' against liberal ideas and action;

This derangement is the signature expression of the Great Backlash, a style of conservatism that first came snarling onto the national stage in response to the partying and protests of the late sixties. (Frank, 2004 p.5)

This form of conservatism 'mobilizes voters with explosive social issues' so that 'cultural anger is marshaled to achieve economic ends'.

The ‘Great Backlash’ involves a number of deeply self-contradictory beliefs. For instance, many conservative Americans are pro-free market but resent globalization and free trade (e.g. NAFTA). Others are worried about ignorance among young people yet support cuts in public school spending. Within the context of Frank’s (2004) notion of a conservative ‘Great Backlash’ the attack on the IB in the US is also self-contradictory; the IB is attacked as a programme that can raise standards by people who are themselves concerned about falling educational standards.

Isserman and Kazin (2000) have also explored the culture divide as a ‘civil war’ from the 1960s, whilst Edsall (2006) refers to the concept of ‘two revolutions’. However, not all commentators believe in the notion of a ‘two-nations’ America. Morris P. Fiorina, a senior fellow at the Hoover Institute and the Wendt Family Professor of Political Science at Stanford University, has debunked the assumption that Americans are deeply split over national issues. Instead, Fiorina (see Fiorina et al, 2005) has presented a contrary picture, arguing that most Americans stand in the middle of the political landscape and are in general agreement even on the issues believed to be most divisive. Fiorina’s main thesis is that the majority of Americans are both moderate and tolerant, and that their greatest concerns are leadership and security, not values. In other words, the ‘culture wars’ analogy is a myth. However, this does not stand up to scrutiny with regard to the IB where a definite ‘divide’ exists between its supporters (some of whom are maybe cynical or skeptical) and its ‘haters’ (a strong term, but justified). As argued by Hunter (1992), the ‘moderate’ voices are usually eclipsed and there really are deeply rooted divisions within American society.

The radicalization of conservative opposition to the IB appears (in 2012) to be an American phenomenon, stemming from conservative concerns over the general funding, control, and direction of education in the US. To this extent, one would not expect the same scenario in other countries to occur. This ‘war’ (although disputed by some) was prophesized by Kurth (1994) when he stated that the next big clash of civilizations will not be between the ‘West’ and the ‘Rest’, but within the ‘West’ itself, particularly within the US.

An important point to consider is that the attack against the IB in the US stemmed initially from concerned (suburban) ‘moms’ (e.g. Geiger, 2002). There is currently a high level of angst and frustration felt by America’s middle-class. Arianna Huffington’s 2011 polemic *Third World America* reveals the extent to which the middle-class in America visualizes a steady deterioration in social and

economic life; the death of the ‘American Dream’. This is arguably symbolic of a general level of middle-class angst, towards life in America overall. A general discourse lamenting the ‘death’ of America’s middle-class can be traced back to the start of the 2007 economic down-turn (e.g. Steingart, 2006), although books have discussed the topic since the 1990s (e.g. Strobel, 1993). Citibank in 2011 revealed that there is even a word for a new marketing strategy, the Consumer Hourglass Theory, because it denotes a society that bulges at the top and bottom and is squeezed in the middle (see Harris, 2011). Dobs (2006) went so far as to identify a deliberate ‘war’ being waged on the middle-class in America.

The level of *fear* needs to be considered when trying to understand why middle-class parents might attack the IB; there is a fear that education has become divisive and some children are being left behind. This helps us understand why some parents might *resent* the IB; not every child can have access to an IB education and the ones who do can prosper. Huffington (2011 p.43) sums up this thinking by asking;

What happens when educational opportunities and the historical underpinnings of our vision of ourselves as a nation give way? What steps into the void? In a word: fear. The fear that America is in decline- that our greatest triumphs are behind us. The fear that the jobs we have lost are gone forever. The fear that the middle-class is on an extended death march- and the American Dream of a secure, comfortable standard of living has become as outdated as an Edsel with an eight-track player.

This line of thinking, saying that America is in decline and its (middle-class) traditions are under attack is symptomatic of a paleo-conservative mindset. This will now be explored in more detail.

The notion of ‘paleo-conservatism’

At first glance, certainly as viewed from outside America, the attack on the IB seems obvious enough in its political direction. Republicans in Minnesota passed an anti-IB resolution at their State Convention in summer 2005, and the dispute at the Pittsburgh high school began after four Republicans were elected to the Board in autumn 2005 on a tax-cutting ticket. However, the attack on the IB in the US is not a clear-cut political party issue; it was the Republican President George W. Bush who gave the IB the federal seal of approval, in a speech he delivered on 12th January 2005 at J.E.B. Stuart High School in Falls Church, Virginia, to promote the *No Child Left Behind* programme.

In fact, the conservative ‘movement’ attacking the IB is quick to denounce even Republican initiatives hence the often vociferous attacks on both the Republican Party (e.g. Diamond, 2006) and the Bush Jnr. Administrations (e.g. Caruba, 2007a; and 2007b). One book, written by Victor Gold, and titled *Invasion of the Party Snatchers* (Gold, 2007) attacked the 2007 *Immigration Bill* arguing the Republican Party has steadily abandoned its fundamental principles (e.g. sovereignty, the free market, fiscal prudence, private property, and small government).

The attack on the IB is partly as much an attack on federal government interference as it is the curriculum itself. Furthermore, the term ‘neo-conservative’ does not accurately reflect the nature of the ‘culture wars’ attack on the IB, since neo-conservatives are apparently relaxed about the size of the state and are forward looking in their outlook (see Kristol, 2003; Dorrien, 1993).

It is worth noting that leading paleo-conservatives such as Russell Kirk became disillusioned with neo-conservatism, and 15th December 1988 he gave a lecture at the Heritage Foundation, titled ‘The Neoconservatives: An Endangered Species’, in which he (within an anti-Semitism speech) attacked the neo-conservative movement. The protagonists of the attack on the IB are not disillusioned liberals, as are many neo-conservatives (Nuechterlein, 1996):

The neo-conservatives sprang from the very heart of Democratic America. Most of them lived in New York or Boston and made their living in academia. (Micklethwait and Wooldridge, 2004 p.72)

The attack on the IB on the other hand is coming from ‘suburban warriors’ (McGirr, 2001) in places such as Virginia, Colorado and Minnesota.

Also, the attack on the IB in the US seems to be an anti-elitist one. The IBDP in particular has a strong image of being an elite programme for young people. Monyatsi (2004) remarked that many ‘developing countries’ are not yet ready for the IB, whilst Sen (2001 p.12) saw it is a ‘socially elitist educational programme’ that ‘absorbs enormous resources’. France, despite having had one of the first schools involved in the 1969 trial exam, in 2012 had only a dozen IBDP participants. This is partly explained by the dislike of the seemingly elitist programme by the socialist Mitterrand Governments of the 1980s (Bagnall, 1994). The neocons take much of their inspiration from Leo Strauss, a German-born philosopher who complained much about the degradation of modern society yet the conservative movement attacking the IB seems more concerned about ‘big government’ and elitist (liberal) government than they are about moral decay:

Strauss insisted that the best way to save democracy from its more destructive tendencies was through an educated elite that could guide the masses. (Micklethwait and Wooldridge, 2004 p.75).

What has emerged in the US is a paleo-conservative attack on the IB, not a neo-conservative one. It is probably best at this point to describe in more detail 'paleo-conservatism' as it is term little used outside America. Micklethwait and Wooldridge (2004 p.340) claim quite simply that 'Paleoconservatives lament the passing of tradition' but this is a shallow analysis of a very complex philosophy, and 'mindset'. Paleo-conservatism, a relatively 'new' term, which has been traced back to 1984, is a political philosophy found primarily in the US stressing tradition, limited government, and anti-federalism, along with broader religious (i.e. Christian), regional (i.e. State), national (i.e. American) and Western (i.e. White) identity. Obviously, the prefix *paleo* derives from the Greek root *palaeo*-meaning 'ancient', or 'old'.

An article online by Dan Phillips (*Intellectual Conservative*, 8th December 2006) offers a good insight into what a paleo-conservative believes in:

The paleoconservative movement as we know it today synthesized and galvanized around opposition to the first Gulf War. For the paleos, that war was not our fight. American foreign policy should focus on safeguarding America and protecting American's vital national interests, not punishing acts of aggression around the world. The most prominent paleoconservative public face was Pat Buchanan. He articulated for the masses the three areas where paleos are most commonly recognized as differing from 'regular conservatives.' They were early strong opponents of immigration, a position which is now becoming in vogue. They were skeptical of the benefits of free-trade, and favored a policy of 'economic nationalism.' They were particularly weary of free-trade deals that they believed sacrificed our national sovereignty such as NAFTA and GATT. And of course, they opposed most foreign intervention. (<http://www.intellectualconservative.com/2006/12/08/what-the-heck-is-a-paleoconservative-and-why-you-should-care/>).

A paleo-conservative mindset is always very evident in literature attacking the IB, especially the attack on its multicultural and secular basis. This form of 'classical conservatism', a form of 'neo-Reaganism' (Lowry, 2005), stresses tradition, civil society and the American constitution, along with a value structure centred upon familial, religious, regional, and national identity (Gottfried, 2007). It seems at first glance different from the established conservatism of Edmund Burke and his belief in hierarchy and elitism, although it shares his distrust of the power of the state and a preference for personal liberty.

This brand of American conservatism was exemplified by University of Dallas' professor of literature Melvin E. Bradford (1934-1993), and is most notably reflected on the world stage by Presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan, founder of the paleo-conservative foundation *The American Cause*. It can't really be deemed an 'ideology' or 'philosophy' as such, a fact that manifests itself in the seemingly random aspect of the attack on the IB. This also helps to explain the relatively scant attention it has received by the scholarly education community; it defies exact classification and ideological identification. Furthermore, in a sense it is anti-politics, as explained by Dionne (1992).

Paleo-conservatives abhor what they sense to be the long-term erosion of the social, economic, and political independence and localism that characterized the 'Old Republic' (Francis, 2004). At the same time, a definite paleo-libertarian mindset, characterized by cultural conservatism and anti-federalism is very evident (e.g. Quist, 2006; Hartnagle, 2007), particularly in the attack on the IB as a foreboder of a US national curriculum. A third conservative mindset, that of anti-Jacobinism, is also apparent within the sweeping attack on the IB as a threat to American 'universal values' (Jacobinism in its modern context is a belief in centralized government). A fourth mindset, that of a phobia of pantheism (the belief that God is identical with the universe rather than being the creator of it), is also found in the religious attack on the IB as a form of multicultural education (e.g. Kjos 1995), and is especially evident in the tirade against the IB's initial endorsement of the 'UN Earth Charter'.

What all these mindsets seem to share in common is a fear of the process of mundialization (the belief in a world citizen form of globalization), hence their attack on the IB as a 'UN curriculum'. There is also a fear of a new version of multiculturalism emerging 'post-9/11', referred to by Fonte (2002) as 'transnational progressivism'. Many paleo-conservatives argue that America has lost touch with its Classical and European heritage, to the point where it is in danger of losing its sense of purpose and identity (Raimondo, 1993). They longingly look back to a period of time before the First World War and the formation of the League of Nations in 1919. This partly helps to explain their disdain for the historical origins of the IB, within 'Ecolint' which had been established in 1924 by members of the League of Nations and the International Labor Office, in conjunction with the Swiss educationalists Adolphe Ferrière (1879-1960) and Elisabeth Rotten (1882-1964).

My 2009 *Discourse* paper (rather simplistically, on reflection) had identified the attack on the IB as a result of the emergence of a rainbow of right-wing

thought that has emerged in America since the break-down of the Cold War; there is a *need* to find a new ‘enemy’. However, after much further reading and thought, I now realize that the situation is actually a lot more complex than even this and the foundations for the attack go back much further than the ‘Reagan Era’ of the 1980s (see Schulman and Zelizer, 2008). What emerges from a closer study of the attack on the IB is that paleo-conservatives express a deep sense of place and history, and feel that America is moving towards being a far more secular, homogenized, and socialized country (Scotchie, 1999). The attack on the IB often contains references to the political philosophies of John Locke, Charles de Montesquieu, and Alexis de Toqueville who all championed a much smaller, less intrusive form of government.

There is a strong sense that the US Constitution should be strictly adhered to (as argued by paleo-conservatives such as Joseph Sobran, a former *National Review* journalist). Michael Barry (at *CampaignForLiberty.com*, a body that claims to be inspired by the ‘old Robert Taft wing of the Republican Party’) helps shed some light on the constitutional ‘attack’ on the IB. He claims it is ‘unconstitutional’ since:

‘The IB program violates the establishment clause of the First Amendment’ and

‘The IB program violates the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment’.

This sort of discourse, interpreting the American Constitution literally, is a common theme in the attack on the IB in the US and is termed ‘Strict Constructionism’. It is a particular legal philosophy of judicial interpretation that limits or restricts judicial interpretation.

For readers not familiar with the US Constitution, the First Amendment (part of the *Bill of Rights*) says that:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

The Fourteenth Amendment (Section 1) says that:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Paleo-conservatives express a key sense of anti-federalism and regard the South Carolina political theorist (and 7th Vice President of the US) John Caldwell Calhoun (1782-1850) as an inspiration. Paleo-conservatives express instead (of federalism) a belief in *distributism*, a third-way (between socialism and laissez-faire capitalism), which partly explains their dislike of party politics and their belief in education being under *local* (i.e. State, or District) control.

The paleo-conservative attack on the IB in the US, exaggerated as it might seem, does have some earlier academic underpinnings worth mentioning. This offers definite nods to conservative writings such as the Austrian Friedrich von Hayek's polemic, *The Road to Serfdom* (1944); the backing of the IB by federal government in 2003 is the thin edge of a centrally planned curriculum wedge. The Chicago School of Economics argued for minimal government interference in schooling matters, as articulated in Milton Friedman's book *Capitalism and Freedom* (1962). Ironically, this book was published just as the first use of the term 'IB' was being made, mainly among social science teachers at 'Ecolint' plus Atlantic College, the boarding school in south Wales which had been founded in 1962 by the German educationalist Kurt Hahn. These two educational institutions were, of course, to form the back-drop for the IB 'project' to appear proper, in 1967.

The current state of the paleo-conservative 'mind-set' is well laid out by Pat Buchanan in his book *Suicide of a Superpower* (Buchanan, 2011). Paleo-conservatives identify two clear paths that America can follow, one of which is destructive and the other traditional (even, *natural*). Americans therefore face a stark choice. On the one hand, they can re-embrace Christianity and follow a strict moral, economic and social code of ethics. On the other hand, America can continue down the path towards becoming a more relativistic, socialistic, and atheistic nation. Buchanan (2011) begins his book with a warning from the former-Soviet Union; in his mind, America is no longer truly a (White, Christian) nation and is fast disintegrating. Indeed, Buchanan doubts the survival of the 'United' States beyond 2025. In the context of this thesis, the attack on the IB becomes a 'defence' of American *identity* and sense of *unity*.

Another leading American paleo-conservative, Mark R. Levin (2012), is equally as despondent about the future of America, conceptualizing the 'cultures war' as one between forces promoting *constitutionalism* (*America*), and those supporting *utopianism* (*Ameritopia*). In the context of Levin's (2012) thesis, the attack on the IB is a counter-attack against the *tyranny* of federal government

forcing a utopian (educational) agenda. The ‘mind-set’ of Pat Buchanan and Mark Levin reveals an influence of Russell Kirk, to be explored next.

The influence of Russell Kirk

The attack on the IB in the US is a complex one to understand (especially from a Northern European perspective) partly because it is enveloped in the (perhaps rather obscure to many) thinking of Russell Kirk, cynically labeled ‘the dean of nostalgia’ by Micklethwait and Wooldridge’s (2004 p.47). Kirk’s (seemingly old-fashioned and quirky) brand of conservatism is nicely (in my mind) summed up by the following passage from his 1952 article *Burke and the Principle of Order* (see *The Sewanee Review* 60, 187-201):

Order in society: an arrangement of things not according to an abstract equality... but founded upon a recognition of Providential design, which makes differences between man and man (and God and man) ineradicable and beneficent... (<http://www.kirkcenter.org/index.php/detail/burke-principle-of-order-1952/>)

This quote immediately identifies why many paleo-conservatives oppose ‘global education’; they reject the notion of commonality and praise instead the idea that cultures are different, or ‘ordered’. The notion that all humans are (or could become) equal ‘global citizens’ undermines the basic idea behind the ‘Great Chain of Being’ which states God has created the universe in a hierarchical order and ranked all the animals and creatures of the universe within that hierarchical order.

Kirk was a prolific author. Kirk’s main book (he wrote 26 non-fiction books, and has 17 currently in print) is probably *The Conservative Mind* (1953) in which he developed (in a huge 450 pages) his ‘ten canons of conservatism’, all sharing a belief in tradition and ‘natural’ laws of nature (Attarian, 1998). Kirk’s views on education were prominently displayed; his monthly *National Review* column titled ‘From the Academy’ (which ran from November 1955 to April 1981) described and decried the state of American education. Not all American conservatives support Kirk’s views; he was attacked as a ‘Burke cultist’ in the Oklahoma-born political scientist Willmoore Kendall’s (1963) book *The Conservative Affirmation*.

The following quote from Kirk (in his article *Ten Conservative Principles*) reveals much about his version of American conservatism, which he identified more as a state of mind rather than an ideology, or creed;

Perhaps it would be well, most of the time, to use this word ‘conservative’ as an adjective chiefly. For there exists no Model Conservative, and conservatism is the negation of ideology: it is a state of mind, a type of character, a way of looking at the civil social order. The attitude we call conservatism is sustained by a body of sentiments, rather than by a system of ideological dogmata. It is almost true that a conservative may be defined as a person who thinks himself such. The conservative movement or body of opinion can accommodate a considerable diversity of views on a good many subjects, there being no Test Act or Thirty-Nine Articles of the creed’ (<http://www.kirkcenter.org/index.php/detail/ten-conservative-principles/>).

In one respect, the attack on the IB is a deeply moral one. Central to Kirk’s moral philosophy was a dualistic view of human nature, rooted in the Judeo-Christian tradition, and later developed conceptually in the US by Irving Babbitt (1865-1933) and Paul Elmer More (1864-1937), the founders of *New Humanism*, a source of American conservative thought between 1910 and 1930 (see Brennan and Yarbrough, 1987). This school of conservative thought identifies a fundamental moral predicament in terms of tension between two conflicting orientations, namely the ‘higher self’ which seeks a life of tradition based on seeking out a transcendent good or purpose, and the selfish, morally bankrupt ‘lower self’. In this respect, Kirk saw humans as flawed creatures which are instinctively selfish and must be constrained by community purpose and tradition. In this context, parents who wish their child to undergo the IB might be deemed as being selfish; their ‘lower self’ has taken over.

The IBDP is often attacked as promoting a ‘post-modernist’ world-view. One ‘dispute’ that was taking place in 2011 concerned the Ozark High School in Missouri. The TAIB website contains a letter sent (28th November 2010) to the school from a parent (with a Doctorate in Clinical Psychology) of three children at this school, titled ‘IB psychoanalyzed’. This letter (‘The Ozark Letter’) attacks Theory of Knowledge, saying it:

...is the core to the IB program. It is re-evaluating all spheres of study through the lens of post-modernism. I have no problem with college students studying post-modernism or any other philosophy. I do have a problem with it being the default theory through which all things are evaluated and an even bigger problem with this being required of high school students. (<http://truthaboutib.com>).

This letter refers to Kirk’s book *The Roots of American Order* (1974) as evidence of what constitutes Judeo/Christian ‘traditional values’. Jones (2010) poses the question ‘What might a Burkean (sic) Conservatism look like’. He cites in his analysis Peter Stanlis, a Burkeian scholar:

...who uses the term to mean an ability to combine natural and constitutional law with a practical prudence to form a political philosophy at once consistent but almost wholly unsystematic. Society is indeed a contract, but one between God and man... (<http://www.firstthings.com/blogs/postmodernconservative/2010/09/21/what-might-a-burkean-conservatism-look-like/>).

Jones (2010) goes on to say that:

Such conservatism is an approach, a style, a sentiment, a bias – against efforts of utopianism, ideology, and the promise of a new future with little consideration of human nature. It is against the pursuit of systematic, ideological aims, such as the actions of state organized ‘unity’.

In short, a Burkeian conservative might believe in a profound respect for the bindings of society (civic institutions, religious groups, tradition, history, and constitution) and how quickly those ‘social bindings’ can be destroyed if changes are made. We can identify here the political background to paleo-conservatives attacking the IB as a federal-sponsored ‘system’ and the promise of a ‘new future’, which seemingly acts against ‘human nature’. This analysis is supported by Rauch (2008) who attacked John McCain in *The Atlantic Magazine*. Rauch (2008) argued that:

The Burkeian outlook takes individual rights seriously, and understands that civic order serves no purpose if its result is oppression or misery. It also understands that social stability, far from being endangered by institutional change, positively depends upon it. Burkeians no more believe in a golden past than they do in a perfect future. For them, the question is not whether society should change, but how. (<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2008/05/mr-conservative/6761/>).

What is very evident in the paleo-conservative attack on the IB in the US is the belief that the individual States ought to be seen as autonomous political units. This is identified by Russello (2004), writing about Kirk’s thinking, as a belief in ‘territorial democracy’; a Kirkian concept involving treating the States as not merely provinces of the federal government but as autonomous political units independent of Washington D.C.

Thus, the IB can be seen as having become embroiled in an existing tension between those who wish to treat the individual States of America as merely provinces of the federal government and those who see them as autonomous units. This concept, in turn, can be seen as a belief in the individual rights of Americans beyond universal (or national) rights. In other words, paleo-conservatives believe that *each* State should be responsible for educating *its* children.

The framework of the attack

The main ‘threads’ of the attack

As can be observed, ‘making sense’ of this situation is not an easy task. The IB is actually a much more complex educational ‘project’ than many envisage and it has become increasingly difficult to try to conceptualize holistically its growth and development. In turn, the attack emanating from the US is equally as ‘muddled’ and ‘blurred’. In some ways, this has all helped to ‘weaken’ the (power of the) attack. However, the ‘attack’ has ‘trends’ and common ‘threads’. The ‘Ozark Letter’ explicitly links the IB to UNESCO and its first Director:

I am also concerned about the influence of UNESCO on the IB program...In fact the first director of UNESCO was Julian Huxley who is often quoted in IB information. Julian Huxley was a secular humanist, socialist, and president of the British Eugenics Society. His values still permeate UNESCO and influenced IB when it was established. (<http://truthaboutib.com/usschooldisputes/ibinozarkmo.html>).

What the ‘Ozark Letter’ revealed is the complexity of the (political, social, religious, traditionalist) attack against the IB. In spite of evidence of perhaps an orchestrated attack among conservative groupings, there is little evidence of a coherent strategy. But, amidst the powerful political rhetoric, the overall conclusions are quite clear. For some ‘concerned citizens of the US’, IB is *not wanted* and *not necessary*. Put bluntly by Niwa (2010 p.21):

International Baccalaureate does not belong in US public schools.

Furthermore, Niwa contests that ‘costly theme concoctions like IB are not needed’ (Niwa, 2010 p.4). The distaste for a US ‘national curriculum’ is obviously a major plank of the attack on the IB.

One radical vision for education in America came from Hoyle and Kutka (2008) who argued that in spite of sweeping reforms, there is little evidence of the educational system reversing the ‘failure’ pattern among many (poorer) children. Hoyle and Kutka (2008) presented an alternative proposal for ‘maintaining American egalitarianism’, a unified education system which would blend primary schooling with IB and AP, creating a seamless system of education. This sort of vision is exactly what American conservative agencies despise and fear; a ‘seamless web’ appearing across the entire country of curricula and instruction, undermining local autonomy and state distinctiveness (uniqueness). As noted already, together these two issues have been called ‘territorial democracy’.

A further distaste for children becoming ‘agents of social change’ is another common form of attack. One recurring theme of ‘attack’ concerns a paper written by the American educational futurist and prolific writer Harold Gray Shane (1914-1993) titled ‘America’s Next Twenty-five Years: Some Implications for Education’, published in *Phi Delta Kappan* (September, 1976). Shane was the editor of the book *The United States and International Education* (Shane, 1969). His 1976 paper is referred to in Chapter 6 of Berit Kjos’ *Brave New Schools* (Kjos, 1995). The section of Shane’s 1976 paper quoted by Niwa (2010 p.14) says that:

As young people mature we must help them develop...a service ethic... the global servant concept in which will educate our young for planetary service and eventually for some form of world citizenship.... Implicit within the global servant concept are the moral insights... that will help us live with the regulated freedom we must eventually impose on ourselves.

A key objection for opponents of the IB is obviously the notion of the ‘global servant’ being primed for ‘global citizenship’. Here we can see both an objection to improving humankind, and the perceived linkage between IB and eugenics (and Huxley). One of the ‘canons’ of Russell Kirk’s conservatism is that the laws of nature should not be ‘improved’ or ‘enhanced’. The 1970s saw another branch of American conservatism appear:

The ‘social conservatives’ (dubbed the New Right at the time)...were moved by gut issues like abortion...they combined zealotry with a rare gift for organization’ (Micklethwait and Wooldridge, 2004 p.80).

One early exponent of this ‘social conservative’ movement was Phyllis Schlafly who at one time had her own radio show titled *Wake Up America*. Schlafly wrote the Foreword to Allen Quist’s 2002 book *FedEd: The New Federal Curriculum and How It’s Enforced* and this offers a good pointer to understanding the political attack on the IB in the US; the prospect of federal interference, or the imposition of an educational ‘system’, is abhorrence. Schlafly said in her Foreword (no page numbers) that:

Our nation’s schools are fundamental to the preservation of our freedom. Whether these schools are public, private, or home schools, these institutions have always been free to pursue truth, knowledge and virtue as they have seen fit.

As said in the Introduction to this book, the very beginning of the attack can be traced back to 1989, and the speech by Dr. Shirley D. McCune titled ‘Restructuring Education’.

The section of McCune's speech that apparently offended Quist (2002) the most was the one that reads:

Our society has undergone profound economic, demographic, and social transformation—a transformation that impacts virtually every aspect of our individual and collective lives. It is the manifestation of a new era of civilization— one produced by the cumulative build-up of technological change. The information age has rapidly moved powerfully into place in the restructuring of the economy and the movement from a national to a global society. (Quist, 2002 p.11)

Here can be identified two offending concepts (to an American paleo-conservative); the notion of *social transformation*, and *global society*. A further major catalyst came in 1994, a significant year for American education, when the federal government 'took control' (in the view of Allen Quist) of the curriculum in 1994 with the passage of three bills: the *Goals 2000: Educate America Act*; the *School-to-Work Opportunities Act*; and the *ESEA Reauthorization Bill* (the H.R. 6 Bill). The latter funding Bill had proposed that:

The Secretary (of Education) is authorized to carry out a program to enhance the third and sixth education goals (of Goals 2000) by educating students about the history and principles of the United States, including the Bill of Rights, and to foster civic competence and responsibility (Title X, section 10601).

This was seen as the sign that federal government was about to tell schools what to do. As Quist (2002 p.41) goes on to say:

In 1994 the Federal government made itself the highest authority over the curriculum in the schools.

In other words, the IBDP has become (in the eyes of its attackers) part and parcel of a federal curriculum. Quist (2002 p.135) concluded his book:

The ultimate goal of the new curriculum is the establishment of a new world government which will mean the end of all our basic rights, including life, liberty and property, and will reduce us all to being serfs of an elitist, totalitarian world-state.

In Quist's (2002) book we can see an attack on McCune's speech and the roots for attacking the IB as promoting 'universal values' and a 'worldview', undermining American values and sovereignty, leading to accusations that the IB is fundamentally 'un-American'. Julie Quist was quoted in the 16th March edition of the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* (Powell, 2006) as believing the following:

Julie Quist, director of EdWatch, which is based in Minnesota ... opposes the program on ideological grounds because it teaches a sense of global citizenship which is contrary to what it is to be an American citizen. (<http://www.post-gazette.com>)

This sort of attack reveals two major threads specifically about the IB. Firstly the IB is seen as an entity beyond local control i.e. a ‘foreign’ agency unaccountable to local State or County control. In this sense, it might be seen by some in the US as being ‘un-democratic’ (e.g. how can a parent complain about the IB? Who elects the people managing the IB? What if a parent doesn’t want their child’s work marked, and assessed, in another country?). These, on the face of it, are valid questions:

Peoria Unified School District Governing Board Member X did not pull any punches last week when she...said, ‘I am vehemently opposed to this program. We’re relinquishing our control to an international organization.’ Member X said IB material in one particular section claims it is unfettered by national demands. ‘IB’s goal is to promote world government,’ Member X said, adding that it is changing children’s values to think globally, telling them what to think, not how to think. ‘In my own opinion, the IB program has no place in American education,’ she said. (<http://www.glendalestar.com/>)

Bagnall (2010 p.110) offers a useful framework for conceptualizing democratic-deficit issues involving the IB. As asserted by Niwa (2010 p.3):

Local communities pay for school district management and elect board members to govern. But when a school adopts IB (or any program from an outside vendor), the control over the content and purpose of education is transferred to private interests.

This issue places the IB within the lens of attack put forward by Nobel-Laureate Joseph Stiglitz who asserts that:

Underlying the problems of the IMF and the other international institutions is the problem of governance: who decides what they do? (Stiglitz, 2002 p.18)

The IB’s pedagogy is attacked as a force for ‘social change’ i.e. there is an accusation of ‘social engineering’, or eugenics, popularly defined by Sir Francis Galton in 1883 (in his book *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development*) as ‘the study of all agencies under human control which can improve or impair the racial quality of future generations’. Significantly, anti-IB literature in the US often makes reference to IB’s historical links with UNESCO, and its first Director-General in 1946, Sir Julian Sorell Huxley, who later acted as President of the British Eugenics Society, between 1959 and 1962. Another quote (by Emmett McGroarty, executive director of *Preserve Innocence*, an initiative of the *American Principles Project*) reveals the notion of the IB being against the ‘founding principles’ of the US:

Should we spend taxpayer dollars on a public school curriculum commissioned by the United Nations, made in Europe, and at odds with the principles of the American founding? Through the International Baccalaureate, that's already underway. (<http://www.usnews.com/opinion/articles/2011/05/26/international-baccalaureate-undermines-us-founding-principles>).

There is some evidence that middle-class parents have a right to *begrudge* other children doing the IB. Previous literature such as Ayn Rand's 1964 polemic *The Virtue of Selfishness* had argued that by looking after yourself you automatically end up doing what is best for others (thus offering a new version of 'ethical egoism'). However, that notion can be questioned. As noted by a University of Iowa Doctoral study (O'Connor, 2011) the research literature on IB schools has been clear about the (private) benefits of participation. However, what remains unclear is how and to what extent the IBDP affects the educational experience of non-IB students as well (i.e. What are the social benefits?). O'Connor (2011) conducted a qualitative study of an IB school, interviewing teachers and administrators about the IB and its impact on non-IB students. The principal finding of this research suggested that offering the IBDP benefitted non-IB students in ways that the school claimed, but 'only to an extent'.

In contrast, Mayer's (2010) study of an urban-based IBDP school in a 'Western State' had concluded the programme can operate well in a low-achieving school and can seemingly benefit a range of students. However, O'Connor's (2011) study revealed what many middle-class parents in America probably *fear*; the need to preserve the school's reputation prompted a corresponding shift of high-quality teachers towards IB. Also, the IB classes were smaller than general education classes, whilst teachers with the highest status were disproportionately assigned to teach the upper-level classes. In summary, this case study pointed at inevitable inconsistencies with the claims that the IB benefits non-IB students. Within the context of O'Connor's research (in just one school), parents might question (as tax-payers and voters, as well) the exclusion of their child from IB programmes; not every middle-class child is now seemingly on the educational fast-track to the 'American Dream'. Furthermore, some parents are *subsidizing*, through taxation, other children to achieve what they want their children to achieve. As Huffington (2011) comments:

Nothing is quickening our descent into Third World status faster than our resounding failure to properly educate our children...Historically, education has been the great equalizer. The path to success. The springboard to the middle class- and beyond...But something has gone terribly wrong... (Huffington, 2011 p.113-114).

The issue of middle-class frustration and angst has been further developed by Thomas L. Friedman (with Michael Mandelbaum) in the book *That Used to Be Us*. Friedman and Mandelbaum (2011) put forward a thesis that America is falling behind China on four key fronts: globalization; the information technology revolution; chronic deficits; and unbalanced energy consumption. Zakaria (2008) had identified a world where the ‘rest’ (e.g. China, India) overtake America, the ‘post-American world’. Within the context of this discourse, educational resources should be re-allocated, and done fast.

There is a complication to the middle-class notion of the death of the ‘American Dream’. The self-styled British poet/ philosopher Nicholas Hagger (2011) has written extensively about the ‘secret American Dream’, and what he calls ‘universalism’; a vision of the establishment of a benign World State which would establish a universal peace under which all the peoples of the Earth would flourish. In this context, the US is argued to be preparing for the *whole world* to live the ‘American Dream’.

Interestingly, Hagger (2011), who identifies seven distinct ‘phases’ of progression over 400 years of US history, makes much reference to globalizing trends and forces but (surprisingly) makes no mention of any educational ones e.g. IBDP. Nevertheless, here lays the roots for American conservatives identifying an UN-inspired ‘new world order’. Hagger (2004) had earlier identified a ‘syndicate’, presumably currently involving President Obama, ‘imposing’ world unity.

The notion of a long-term conspiracy

This leads us to consider the attack on the IB as a belief in a long-term educational and socio-economic conspiracy. The notion of a socialist-inspired ‘UN conspiracy’ is a common attack on the IB. The shift towards ‘global education’ in the US is not actually a new educational phenomenon but it has become more visible and vocal over recent years (at least since 1989). Carl Teichrib (2004) had identified a long-term movement, beginning with Nearing’s (1944) vision of a global commonwealth, and followed by Robert Muller’s (1982) vision of a ‘New Genesis’, plus Lucile Green’s vision of a ‘Governed World’, then Hitt’s (1998 p.110) call for the creation of global citizens who embrace a ‘new line of thinking’. Eackman (1991) purported to have discovered a conspiracy going back to 1965. Significantly, this is almost exactly the same time that the IBDP, a radical ‘experiment in international education’ (Peterson 1972), had appeared.

The agenda for such an education in American schools follows a similar timeline. Mirick (1946) was one of the earliest to make a case, followed by Kenworthy's (1951) argument that its 'time we gave our pupils a cockpit view of the world'. From a paleo-conservative perspective, this analysis places the IB firmly at the centre of a concerted and deliberate fifty-year long drive towards education for 'global citizenship'.

The attack on the IB thus needs to be viewed within the lens of a long-term deliberate *plan* (and conspiracy) to undermine American education, and citizens' behaviour and thoughts. Lamb (2004) identifies the formation of the IBO in 1968 as another step down the road to a global curriculum, beginning with UNESCO's 1949 textbook 'Towards World Understanding', and followed in the 1960s by Robert Muller's (former UN Assistant Secretary-General) 'World Core Curriculum'. Henry Lamb identifies such literature as undermining American successes when he said that:

No longer are American children learning about the structure of a federal republic compared to a parliamentary democracy. No longer are children learning the difference between capitalism and socialism. No longer are children being taught why the United States became the most powerful economic engine the world has ever known. Instead, they are being taught that with less than 5 percent of the world's population, the US uses 25 percent of the world's resources and produces 25 percent of the world's pollution. They are being taught that the US is the No. 1 terrorist nation. They are being taught that the rest of the world is mired in poverty because of the greedy capitalists in the United States. (<http://www.vlrc.org/articles/16.html>).

As noted already, a more recent 'step' towards a federal curriculum identified by paleo-conservatives was the federal education bill HR6, passed by Congress in 1994. This bill authorized a single organization, the *Center for Civic Education* to write the federal education standards for civics and governments. Its textbook, titled *We the People: the Citizen and the Constitution*, appeared the year after and has drawn much venom from paleo-conservatives, who denounce it as evidence of the politicization of education, and the creeping interference of federal government. Moreover, this 'vile and cancerous' (Caruba, 2004) text is seen as a deliberate attempt to indoctrinate American children 'to accept the establishment of world government'.

The opponents of the IB deeply dislike the notion that education can have 'non-academic' goals e.g. the notion that education should prepare children for work, or the workplace. This reveals the influence of the 'natural laws' of Russell Kirk (and his ten 'Canons of Conservatism').

One document mentioned by Niwa (2010, p.10) is the UNESCO 1973 publication *Towards a Conceptual Model of Life-Long Education*. Here the author, George W. Parkyn, had stated that education had two main dimensions: to prepare a child for a whole lifetime, and to influence a range of human behaviour.

The IB's opponents also dislike any notion of collectivist 'desirable universal values' (e.g. open-mindedness to change, tolerance of cultural differences) as outlined in the UNESCO 1997 report *Learning: The Treasures Within* (this is the *Delors Report* headed by the French socialist and European Union architect Jacques Delors). Niwa (2010, p.13) identifies this report as an extension of soviet central planning, citing a 1956 book about Romania by Alexandre Cretzianu which had explained that the rights of the individual were absolute as long as they coincided with the aims of the State.

The TAIB website makes direct reference to a 'socialist conspiracy', quoting often the 2006 book titled *In the Presence of Our Enemies: A History of The Malignant Effects in American Schools* by Ellen McClay (the author's real name is Gene Birkeland). This book attacks the work of UNESCO claiming a 'socialist conspiracy' in the 1950s and 1960s to infiltrate American schools. One biographical website on McClay says that:

Ellen McClay's introduction to what she considers the malignancy of UNESCO began with a controversy in Los Angeles' schools in 1951 over the rewriting of American textbooks-books which eliminated patriotism, the uniqueness of America's government, promoting instead a world super government, a program from which UNESCO not only has never deviated, but has branched into many other areas of American life such as ecology, religion, abortion (labeled population control), human rights over property rights, producing chaos in our once relatively stable society. (<http://prfamerica.org/biography/Biography-McClay-Ellen.html>).

TAIB links the work of McClay/Birkeland with the IB when it asserts it has 'discovered' the essence of the 'communist ideology':

To embrace IB without knowing about the ideology it is based upon, is like going to church without reading the Bible. Orwell had a name for it - group think. IBO may claim it promotes 'open-mindedness' and 'critical thinking', but when students lack basic information and skills, their minds will be biased by that which is presented to them by their teachers and they will be unable to think critically about much of anything. (<http://truthaboutib.com/theibhiddencurriculum.html>).

One leading advocate of an educational conspiracy theory in America is Charlotte Thomson Iserbyt, who served as a Senior Policy Advisor in the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI), US Department of Education,

during the first term (1981-84) of the 40th President of the US, Ronald Reagan. In her major book *The Deliberate Dumbing Down of America: A Chronological Paper Trail* (1999) Iserbyt claimed that changes being gradually brought into the American public education system are a deliberate and planned attempt to eliminate the influence of a child's parents (and broader society e.g. the church), and mould the child instead into a member of the global working-class in preparation for a socialist-collectivist (presumably also UN-led) world of the future (an idea given credence by Hagger, 2011).

Iserbyt's somewhat incredulous book is mentioned in the document *IB Unravalled* (Niwa, 2010 p.8) in a passage which identifies the initial federal funding of the IBDP (in 2003) as another part of the historical 'paper trail' i.e. another step towards the fulfilment of the socialist 'project'.

In particular, Debra K. Niwa attacks the IBDP (page 8) as an 'outcomes' based 'constructivist' programme. In an earlier publication, Iserbyt (1985) had attacked *Back to Basics* and outcomes-based education (termed 'OBE'), again equating it with a deliberate dumbing down process, but also linking it with the sociological educational experiment work of Harvard's social philosopher and Professor of Psychology, Burrhus Frederic Skinner (1904-1990) who had supported the notion of 'continuous reinforcement' to influence and change human behaviour. It has been asserted (Corbett, 2007) that the IBDP has emerged as the world's major OBE programme. To conclude the conspiracy theory writing, Iserbyt is also author of *Soviets in the Classroom* (1989).

This strange cocktail of conspiracy theory and anti-European, anti-UNESCO sentiment seemingly forms the essence of the IB attack and leads us to consider more fully the 'hyper-globalization' lens of attack.

The hyper-globalization attack

The attack on the IB in the US can be conceptualized within a wider globalization lens, and a useful tool for this comes from the book *Global Transformations* by Held et al. (1999). These four authors projected, against a back-drop of anti-globalization protest in Seattle in 1999, a 'three approaches' model to globalization.

The hyper-globalist approach argues that education is being globalized and standardized. At an extreme level, from a hyper-globalist thesis perspective, the IB can be viewed as a UN-linked deregulated purveyor of a franchised quality-assured product, leading to a convergence of standards and exam provision.

At the same time, ‘global education’ in general has become increasingly identified with the forces of commercialization, such as global branding and franchising. Cambridge (2002 p.231) has stated:

...schools act as the retailers of products (i.e. academic qualifications) that are ‘manufactured’ by the examination boards.

Wylie (2010 p.31) has added that:

international education can be viewed as another franchised commodity to be sold in ever-expanding markets.

The IBDP relies heavily on its appearance as a quality-assured product, conforming to consistent standards throughout the world. Cambridge and Thompson (2001) identified this as the ‘Big Mac and Coke’ dimension of ‘global education’.

On the surface, the hyper-globalist lens of approach fits well with the IB. By definition, the globally-branded ‘IB World School’ has to conform to common standards worldwide as it seeks to serve a transient body of parents looking for a familiar product. The IB is seen as ‘a reliable product conforming to consistent quality standards throughout the world’ (Cambridge, 2002 p.180). In 2007 the IB embarked on its most recent course of corporate identity consolidation, resulting in yet another logo (the third in ten years). This places it firmly within the Naomi Klein ‘*No Logo*’ line of attack, as a globally branded product. In particular, ‘international schools’ (the originators of all three of the IB programmes) are linked with the hyper-globalist thesis (Held et al, 1999), serving employees of the global economy, and thus the so-called ‘transnational capitalist class’. By definition, this type of school also has to conform to common standards worldwide as it seeks to serve a transient body of parents looking for a familiar product.

In the specific context of the US, the IB can be viewed as the precursor of greater federal interference and the introduction of a national curriculum undermining local authority. Furthermore, as asserted already, the IB is not just *international* but is *supranational* i.e. it is ‘foreign’ and beyond American ‘control’. One report dealing with the IB programmes in Oklahoma (Rahman, 2006) expressed concern about the governance of the IB, stating that the Swiss-based IB is a ‘foreign body’ and subject to UN laws and regulations. Here we can plainly identify a hyper-globalist approach. This report offered a good starting point for identifying the nature of the paleo-conservative attack.

The conservative fringe in the US abhors the idea of a ‘system’, whether it be a trade system and the feared creation of a ‘North American Union’ (e.g. Corsi, 2005), or the creation of an equally feared ‘federal curriculum’ (e.g. Quist, 2002). The IB technically became a ‘system’ in 1997 when the DP and MYP programmes were joined by the PYP one. In spite of the fact that very few schools in the US offer all three IB programmes together, the notion of a ‘seamless web’ is a common theme of paranoia for conservative groupings (e.g. Quist, 1999) which fear a conspiracy to create a national US education system.

The ‘Nation at Risk’ report had called for reforms based on standard-based curricula. In 1998, an 18-page letter sent to Hillary Clinton in 1992 by Marc Tucker (this is referred to by paleo-conservative groupings as the ‘*Dear Hillary Letter*’), was exposed as a plan to remold the entire American education system. This letter referred to a ‘seamless web’, and conservative commentators (e.g. Quist, 2002) are quick to point out that the UNESCO report *Worldwide Action in Education* did likewise in 1990.

The renewed linkage between the US and UNESCO is a crucial factor, and offers perhaps the weakest line of the conservative attack. The idea of a UN takeover of the US is not a new one, and is a constant theme for the American conservative fringe. A large number of authors over the past decade have stirred up the idea of Geneva-conspired global governance (e.g. Kincaid, 1996; and Klein, 2005). One report dealing with the IB programmes in Oklahoma (Rahman, 2006) expressed concern that the Swiss-based IBO is a ‘foreign body’, subject to UN laws and regulations. This line of attack had appeared at the Upper St. Clair High School meeting in Pittsburgh in 2006, when the Board member who moved the motion to vote out the IB stated that it ‘clearly violates local control’ (Kerlik, 2006).

The transformational attack

It is perceived by paleo-conservative opponents that ‘the IB intends to create a *particular kind* of global citizen’ (italics in original text), and is ‘central planning for all aspects of life’ (Niwa, 2010 p.21). The evidence for this might come from ‘partnerships’ the IB has forged as it attempts to grow *through* organizations (perhaps a ‘safer’ option in terms of compromising ‘quality’), and not just *with* organizations. In 2000, His Highness the Aga Khan had initiated a programme for the establishment of an integrated network of 19 schools, called Aga Khan Academies, planned for locations in Africa and Asia and with admission

based solely on merit. The first Academy began operating in Mombasa in 2003 and it is intended they will all offer the IB 'continuum'. In May 2009 alone, two Academies received IB authorization. The website of the Academies says that the schools:

'...will engrain the qualities of meritocracy and develop ethical leaders who will go on to build and lead the institutions of civil society in their countries and across the world' (<http://www.agakhanschools.org/academies/>).

This idealism came through when His Highness delivered the Peterson Lecture in 2008 (Aga Khan, 2008), and it seems very similar to the aims of the United World College movement, a key partner of the IB since the 1960s. This story helps to conceptualize another 'approach' (Held et al, 1999) to globalization (the transformationalist one) which states that 'national citizenship' is being eroded and even replaced by 'global citizenship' i.e. American 'values' are being undermined by wider universal ones. This is a complex situation in the context of the US as it involves a Constitutional (and therefore a legalistic) attack.

The former IB Director General (Walker, 2000 p.201) had asserted the need for 'education for leadership' and that 'perhaps we need a special kind of education for those destined to be the world's future leaders'. This clearly places the IB within a transformationalist thesis lens of attack. The Qatar Leadership Academy, with its motto 'shaping tomorrow's generation today' was established in cooperation with St John's Northwest Military Academy (founded 1884) in Wisconsin, US, and was authorized to offer the IBDP in March 2007. The growing appeal of the IB to the rising national and economic elite is dangerous territory as it places the programmes within the reach of opponents of the notion that a 'superclass' exists. Rothkopf (2008) claims to have identified somewhere between 6,000 and 7,000 people who match his definition of the 'superclass'. Rothkopf's main thesis is that a 'global elite' has emerged whose connections to each other have become more significant and closer than their ties to their home nations and governments (forming a 'class without a country'). Robinson and Haris (2000) have also identified a 'globalized ruling class.'

The transformationalist approach also believes that a 'third way' is possible. George Walker was reported in the December 1999 edition of *IB World* as saying that the aim was to 'convince people that international education is the education of the future'. This clearly shows a transformationalist view, believing that the IB can act as an agent of change by convincing educators that an internationalized curriculum is a sensible way forward.

Walker (2002) later added ‘meat’ to his comments when he offered a framework for conceptualizing three possible avenues for the future path of ‘global education’ (in its IB context). It can either continue down the hyper-globalist path of creating a globally branded product with internationally monitored standards. This might be deemed the ‘McDonaldization’ path. Alternatively, it could go back to basics and cater exclusively, and pragmatically, for the globally mobile business and diplomatic community. This might be deemed the ‘inner-directedness’ path.

The ‘third way’, for Walker (2002 p.215), is more visionary, if not utopian, and sees the IB using its ‘power to transform national education’. This might be deemed the ‘inclusive’ path. This helps us to explain why George Walker, in 2003, had also stated that ‘global education’ had a ‘realistic target of around 100 million students’ (Walker, 2003), and was keen to enter a ‘Stage of Influence’. Walker, of course, was not implying that this many students would be undertaking IB programmes as such, but was implying that the presence of the programmes could set an example and transform national curricula. This topic, of the IB exerting its influence and ‘experience’ to transform national education, has more lately re-appeared as a major theme within the pages of the Walker-edited (2011a) book.

This ‘third way’ does seem to exist in practice. In England and Wales, where the A-Level examination system has come under attack over recent years, there has been much IB growth, yet there are still only around 200 schools involved (and, as said already, growth there had definitely stalled by 2011). More significantly, a distinct ‘third way’ has emerged e.g. Cambridge Pre-U, AQA Baccalaureate, and the Welsh Bacc. This search for a ‘middle-way’ is not a new one in an educational context in England. A left-of-centre ‘think-tank’, the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) was calling for a British Baccalaureate as far back in 1990 (Finegold et al, 1990), whilst the concept of the ‘third way’ (Giddens, 1998) had been put forward as a concept that would lead to the renewal of social democracy.

It is important to understand what the IB means by ‘influence’ from an ideological perspective. George Walker outlined a conceptual framework for understanding this in September 2005 during his last month as Director General (after six years-service). In a speech delivered in Sweden (see Walker, 2005c) he commented on how ‘global education’ involved, in his mind at least, a three-staged over-lapping ‘model’. The first ‘stage’ of this model, the lower-order one, is ‘international awareness’, which any school can arguably deliver.

This first stage involves a certain consciousness of world events. The second stage is more deep rooted, involving ‘global awareness’. This involves an understanding of the inter-connectedness of globalization, and that decisions made in one country have implications in another. The third stage, a seemingly higher-order one, involves ‘global citizenship’. Walker (2005c) had made it very clear that this ‘stage’ involves *engagement* and not just *knowledge*. This seemed to imply a ‘stage’ where some form of community service, as offered within the IBDP and MYP programmes, was essential. It is this ‘third stage’ that presumably ‘scares’ the paleo-conservatives in the US although this is probably a far-fetched scenario in reality in most IB schools there.

It is interesting to contrast Walker’s ‘three stage model’ with the one proffered by the IB Deputy Director General (Hill, 2002 p.28). Ian Hill described how his concept of ‘global citizenship’ also comprises three levels. Alongside the utilitarian and pedagogical levels, the third one involves students becoming ‘compassionate thinkers’ who are ‘conscious of the shared humanity that binds people together’. This all seems very similar to what Gunesch (2004) called ‘cosmopolitanism’; a seemingly advanced form of ‘internationalism’. Furthermore, Zsebik (2000 p.67) offered a ‘transformative versus hegemonic spectrum’, identifying different groupings of international schools by their intellectual determinism. This model encompasses schools who ‘accommodate’ internationalism, and those at the other extreme of the spectrum offering a ‘critical’ approach.

What all these ‘models’ have in common, apart from an obvious notion of over-lapping ‘stages’, is the idea that the IB can deliver a supposedly ‘higher-order’ form of ‘global education’, based on reflection and critical-thinking. These apparently are the required tools of the ‘global citizen’ (and ‘worker’). The IB has ‘endorsed’ the work of Harvard Professor Howard Gardner, and his writings on ‘multiple intelligences’. Gardner in turn has long endorsed the IB, and in particular its emphasis on educating the ‘whole child’. He presented the 1992 Peterson Lecture (see Gardner, 1992) and was more recently interviewed in an article in the *IB World* (see Gardner, 2007). The IB became noticeably interested in Gardner’s 2006 work titled *Five Minds for The Future*. This was featured in a presentation by the IB Academic Director in 2008 (see Fabian, 2008), and it clear that this concept was an instrumental one in the formation of the Learner Profile.

This all helps to form a conceptual framework for understanding what the IB *itself* believes it can and should deliver in the way of an educational experience.

The IB believes it can offer much more than merely the ‘understanding’ and ‘awareness’ of globalization, and seemingly aims to deliver, at an ideological level, ‘empathy’ and ‘respect’, alongside ‘action’ and ‘engagement’. The IB ‘global citizen’ in this respect becomes a more ‘mature’, ‘advanced’, ‘reflective’, ‘critical’, and less ‘passive’ national citizen. Belle-Isle (1986) saw this as the ‘new humanism’. Murphy (1998 p.66), in an article in the *International Schools Journal*, had made the contentious point that teaching ‘internationalist values’ has the ‘whiff of indoctrination’ about it, but there was perhaps ‘no harm in that’ as long as an irenic class of global citizen could be ‘moulded’.

Russell Kirk makes it very clear in his work *The American Cause* (1957) that Humankind is not perfect, and should not be made to be. This helps shed a little light on the paleo-conservative view that the IB should be attacked as a *transformative* educational programme. It is relatively easy to see why the IB might be attacked as a hyper-globalist vehicle for a UN-led ‘new world order’, but this lens of inquiry, as bizarre as it is, is actually a bit of a ‘red herring’; it is the aspect of the IB being seen as an ‘agent of social change’ that it is arguably the main focus of the attack. One Doctoral study (Brown, 2006) has found that IBDP students (from two schools in Estado de México, Mexico, and Texas) revealed ‘complex, yet well-developed, perceptions of globalization that spoke of a system which privileges the powerful and leaves the developing world behind.’ American conservatism abhors the notion of education *changing* or even *influencing* the child’s way of thinking- this is simply not *natural*. In a strictly Burkeian/ Kirkian sense, it is not *order*, it is *anarchy*.

The TAIB website openly attacks the transformationalist ‘agenda’ of the IB. By linking the IB to the writings of the American cultural anthropologist Margaret Mead (1901-1978), the wife of Englishman Gregory Bateson (another anthropologist who, incidentally, greatly influenced the pedagogy of the PYP via his 1972 work *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*), the TAIB website states that:

Here at TAIB, we believe that our thoughtful, committed Founding Fathers got it right with our Declaration of Independence and U.S. Constitution and that these founding principles don't need changing. Change can work in both ways, and it is TAIB's goal to CHANGE IT BACK and undo the IB's deceitful and lugubrious attempts to change our public schools and the minds of our children. (<http://truthaboutib.com/>)

Having explored the timeline of the attack on the IB, identified the main protagonists, and revealed an underlying paleo-conservative philosophy, it is now time to attempt to flesh out some main conclusions.

Part E: Conclusions about the attack

The IB is seen as ‘un-American’

A key theme of the paleo-conservative attack is the notion that the IB promotes ‘universal’ values, which undermine ‘American’ ones. DeWeese (2004) attacked the ‘code words’ of the IB e.g. critical-thinking, social justice, and human rights. Some commentators identify this as the ‘vocabulary’ of ‘global education’ (e.g. Walker, 2002). This vocabulary can certainly be identified within ‘IB World Schools’ after the 10-point Learner Profile was unveiled, stating the core universal ‘outcomes’ that the programmes should offer. Quist (2006a) uses these ‘code words’ as evidence that the IB is un-Constitutional, and therefore fundamentally (and legally) ‘un-American’. This development was noticed by Tarc (2009a p.3) when stating that:

With a more fringe Right in the US, there is even a polemic that the IB promotes socialism and is un-American.

As can be seen throughout this book, the term ‘un-American’ is a common objection (alongside ‘anti-American’) made about the IB and this issue in particular requires further academic clarification and understanding. This writer does not profess to be an expert on the American Constitution and this is one area where such a person could contribute to the topic. One understanding of the issue is offered by Micklethwait and Wooldridge (2004 p.353) when they made the point that:

The fundamental fact about American conservatism is not just that it is conservative but that it is *American* (italics in the original version).

In other words, we should maybe expect that the conservative attack on the IB in the US would exert that it is ‘un-American’. In one way, the use of the term ‘un-American’ helps to unite the different agencies that have attacked the IB. As further noted by Micklethwait and Wooldridge (2004 p.340): ‘for all its wild tributaries, American conservatism clearly has a mainstream.’ The use of the term ‘un-American’ to describe the IB has become a form of ‘mainstream’ paleo-conservative comment. It allows the different agencies to appear ‘united’.

The notion that the IB can be viewed as being ‘un-American’ is an especially difficult one to comprehend for a non-American (and perhaps even for some Americans). However, it can be partly understood within the central thesis of the

Liberal-American historian Henry Steele Commager's (1902-1998) interpretation and investigation into the 'American Mind' since the 1880s, and this is offered by this writer as one viable framework for discussion.

Commager concluded that there is a distinctive way of thought, character and conduct, and it is 'the interplay of inheritance and environment, both varied and complex' (Commager, 1950 p.1). Furthermore:

...theories and speculations disturbed the American, and he avoided abstruse philosophies of government or conduct as healthy men avoid medicines' (Commager, 1950 p.8).

The distaste for the IB as a 'foreign' European-originated educational programme can be understood by Commager's (1950 p.11) comments that:

Successive generations were equally eager to spread the American idea over the globe and exasperated that foreign ideas should ever intrude themselves into America...

The dislike for the IB as a set of educational programmes that focus much on transforming the child into a future 'global citizen' can be understood by Commager's comment that:

The American rarely expected to stay put and had little interest in building for the future' (Commager, 1950 p.18).

Commager also concluded that, in general, the American mind is concerned with pragmatic issues not abstract ideas and thoughts. Perhaps here lies a key determinant of the attack on the IB- it is too *abstract* and not *pragmatic* enough for many conservative Americans. Within this context, the attack on the IB is also indicative of another American trait- the contesting of *ideas*. The Princeton University history professor Daniel T. Rodgers drew this conclusion in his book about American politics, *Contested Truths* (Rodgers, 1998). The issue of 'education for global citizenship' is now acknowledged (e.g. Shultz, 2007) to involve conflicting agendas and understandings and the attack on the IB reveals this to be true.

The attack exposes inherent complications

One obvious fundamental moral of the conservative attack in the US is that the IB programmes are not suitable for all schools, and the imposition of the major three programmes does involve a certain amount of ideological commitment. A major conclusion drawn from the attack is that the IBDP is not a straightforward

alternative to other curriculum such as AP (or, in England, the A-Level). The notion that the IB is a problematic alternative is now being picked up by conservative commentators, such as Veith (2007) who describes it as a ‘different animal’. This could undermine the future growth of the IB in the US, although as seen already, the first quarter of 2012 had shown no slow-down in growth in America.

The IB did seem correct in 2007 to be readying itself for 2020 which could see the emergence of the next Kondratieff Wave of activity, the ‘K6’ wave, perhaps facilitated by online curriculum development or the further internationalizing of national curricula, and continuing outsourcing of English-speaking services. However, within the ‘lifetime framework’ (offered by Wallace, 1999) of viewing the current stage of IB growth as ‘maturity’ following the earlier stages of ‘birth’ and ‘childhood’, it seems logical to assert that the next ‘lifetime’ stages could be one of ‘declining health’ or even ‘death’. The IB is not guaranteed to keep growing in the US (to use an American term, there is no ‘Manifest Destiny’), or anywhere else for that matter; big companies can and *do* fail.

Indeed, in early 2012 the growth of the IB did seem to be substantially slowing down in recession-hit Europe, plus Australia (and especially in countries such as England where IBDP growth appears to have maybe ‘peaked’- this issue needs further analysis beyond this book). Alarming, at the same time (in May 2012) as this writer was finishing this book legislators in New Hampshire (which had two IB schools) were discussing ‘House Bill 1403’, to prevent further public schools adopting IB programmes. The wording of this Bill reveals its paleo-conservative background:

This bill requires that school curriculum and instruction shall only meet school approval standards if such curriculum and instruction promotes state and national sovereignty and is not subject to the governance of a foreign body or organization. The bill also establishes a committee to study issues relating to the International Baccalaureate program in New Hampshire. (<http://bungalowbillscw.blogspot.com>)

As has been seen, the initial ‘public’ attack on the IB came largely from agitated parents (e.g. Sanders, 2001). Initially they questioned the cost and necessity of the programmes, but further research by these ‘concerned moms’ galvanized a political theme of attack. This is an important point to make since parental ignorance of the IB, especially of its philosophy and historical background, does seem to be a central cause of the attack. Spadt (2005, p.4) stated that many parents she had questioned felt betrayed by the school and were completely unaware of the content and aims of the IB. To reiterate, the globalizing of education

in some parts of the US has been seemingly ‘rushed’ and has perhaps not been as articulated or consulted about as should have been; there is a notion that the US is coming under global pressure (culturally and economically) and therefore children *need* to be transformed, and this has to happen *quickly*.

The history of the IB, especially the UN(ESCO)-links, is another constant issue in the attack, yet there is little the IB can do about the heritage. As Niwa (2010) states:

The UN influence on IB is problematic. What suit’s the UN is not always compatible with the US Declaration of Independence, Constitution, and Bill of Rights. (Niwa, 2010 p.19)

Teichrib’s (2004) article directly links the IB to the UN and the long-term conspiracy to bring about ‘social change’ through ‘social engineering’:

None of this would be very remarkable if the IBO were a small entity stuffed somewhere in a forgotten corner of the world - but it’s not...Simply put, it’s an organization with considerable social change inroads at the international level. (<http://www.crossroad.to/articles2/04/teichrib-engineering-social-change.htm>).

The over-riding moral of this story is that the IB does have a certain degree of historical ‘baggage’ and this does need to be conveyed to parents (and other taxpayers) *before* schools adopt the programmes, rather than relying on them researching into IB history and interpreting it for themselves. The IB does have historical links with UNESCO, plus ideologically-driven movements such as the United World Colleges. The IB did emerge at the peak of the Cold War. The IB does proffer a ‘worldview’, and it does promote ‘universal’ values. Its mission is to collaborate with agencies interested in advancing ‘global education’; hence it will continue to forge links with ‘controversial’ agencies (e.g. the Aga Khan Academies). It is a secular form of education based on a liberal-humanist tradition of instruction, aimed ultimately at the creation of a peaceful and critically-thinking ‘global citizen’.

As stated in a revealing speech in Stockholm by Walker (2005c), ‘global education’ is not just about offering good quality education; it should involve the *transformation* of the child. School Boards, and parents, need to be aware of this transformational agenda *before* they adopt the IB programmes. Failing this, the attack on the IB in the US is likely to worsen and attract a greater concentration of agencies eager to pursue their own political agenda.

The philosophy of the IB has been scantily conveyed, although Sobulis (2005) within the pages of the *IB Research Notes* (which had ceased existence the year after, in 2006) had articulated that it revolves around ‘liberal education for human rationality’, which aims to develop critical thinkers. There is much evidence of a major ‘perceptions gap’ and lack of understanding about the IB. The TAIB website carries a story about a School Board meeting (19th January 2010) in Austin, Texas, where:

Partly because of such a wide perception gap, assistant superintendent of education Betty X says the revised improvement plan calls for a new strategic planning process to begin. The plan involves forming a large group of community members over 100 strong who will work to build a consensus on IB or on one of the other curriculum models proposed (<http://truthaboutib.com/usschooldisputes/ibinbastroptx.html>).

The attack on the IB in the US has revealed the problematic legacy of the historical origins of the IBDP. The IB from the outset has been aided by organizations keen to promote social change. UNESCO finically backed (with a small grant) the meeting of social studies teachers in summer 1962 at Ecolint that started the project (Peterson, 1972 p.10). The New York-established *Twentieth Century Fund*, founded in 1919 by Edward A. Filene, an American businessman/social entrepreneur/philanthropist under the name of *The Cooperative League*, was a key IB funder 1963-68. In fact, their grant in 1963 of \$75,000 ‘made it possible for ISA to set up a special ad hoc body to investigate seriously the possibility of an international examination’ (Peterson, 1972 p.11). In Britain, the *Dulverton Trust*, established in 1949 to support peace and humanitarian research, was a key donor. The *Ford Foundation* gave in 1966 a grant of \$300,000 to fund the ISES, and provided a further \$200,000 in 1968 until 1972. The *Ford Foundation* was by far the biggest IB funder (Hill, 2010 p.58) in its inception, and provided two invaluable consultants (Dr. Ralph Tyler, and Dr. Frank Bowles).

Cathy Tyler, a writer for *Canada Free Press*, cites a letter that she penned to a newspaper (within a report titled ‘High schoolers indoctrinated by UN’s Agenda 21’) which adds much clarity to the conservative notion of IB being ‘un-American’ and ‘un-Constitutional’. Furthermore, it adds evidence to the notion that the IB is seen as undermining the ‘American Dream’:

IB is associated with United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Education (UNESCO). That alone tells me that I should be concerned when the United Nations is involved in the education of American children. IB has a socio-political agenda pushing ideas that are counter to American values and culture, if not outright anti-American. It promotes a collectivist mindset. The American Dream is based on

equal opportunities and personal responsibility, not social and environmental justice pushed by IB. (<http://www.canadafreepress.com/index.php/article/40204>).

Tyler's writing exposes a belief that the IB programmes have an 'impact' at a national level, beyond the individual. However, there are reasons to be skeptical about this approach, as explained next.

The attack defies the reality of IB operation

The IB has come under attack from both a hyper-globalist and a transformationalist approach to globalization (as articulated by Held et al, 1999). However, a third approach to globalization exists; this involves a 'skeptical approach' which argues that globalization in general is a misleading term, and makes a distinction between the forces of 'internationalization' and 'globalization'. The European Union, for example, as a customs union, facilitates free trade within the bloc but discriminates with those outside, creating two classes of countries. The resulting increase in trade within the bloc can be identified more as a process of internationalization, or regionalization. Denmark, for example, may seem at first glance a highly globalized country, yet 40% of its trade is with three of its closest Northern European neighbours (Sweden, Germany, and Britain).

Hill (2006a) posed the question: 'Do International Baccalaureate programs internationalize or globalize?' Hill believes that the IB programmes contribute to a process of internationalization rather than globalization, and the main reason why this might be deemed true is the fact that the IB relies on internal growth momentum; once a grouping of schools appear in a region it attracts further growth. On the other hand, in parts of the world where there exists a solitary school or less than five (usually about 60% of all countries), there is little chance of internal momentum. The result is that the IB exists in 'clusters'. This is why there is no 'system' as such, or even a coherent sense of any 'IB World'; Hara's (2011) Doctoral study among schools in New Zealand revealed a wide diversity of IB schools and concluded there is no such thing as a 'typical' one. Even in the US there are 20 States with less than five schools, thinly spread, and this poses a hurdle for further growth. It is only seemingly in areas of the US with a regional association presence, and 'critical mass' allowing for economies of scale, that the IB has grown strongly.

The skeptical approach thus makes use of the empirical and statistical evidence. It is interesting to note that there are 35 IB schools in Sweden, but spread across 23 cities. Even London, a centre of cosmopolitan activity, has only six IB

schools (all of the ‘international school’ variety), whilst Paris has four, a reflection of how difficult it is for the IB to take-off in highly centralized education systems. There were in mid-2012 more MYP schools in Chicago (16) than in China (15).

The long-established IBDP celebrated its 50th Anniversary (in summer 2012) as an educational ‘experiment’ (or, ‘project’) yet has undergone little critical analysis and much of the material concerning it is now rather dated. One of the most striking biases is that its global presence is often over-exaggerated. Fox (1998a) commented that it has made greater inroads into some countries than others but little attention has been given to the nature or reasons behind this. The IB has always been concerned about the regional disparity of its Diploma Programme and has constantly questioned its own claim to internationality. As far back as the early 1960s, Ecolint was dispatching ‘missionaries’ around the world. In January 1964 one teacher had been funded by a UNESCO grant to visit a school in Tehran (presumably the Iranzamin International School, who provided seven students for the 1968 trial IBDP exam). In June 1965, no less than 16 teachers were dispatched from Geneva to visit schools in Canada and the US. This story reveals much about the relatively ‘unplanned’ nature of the IB’s early history. Moreover, America was not ‘colonized’ by the IB; it was seemingly a rather random process.

The IB was born as much out of frustration with the teaching of history in a multicultural environment as it was about delivering a globally recognized school-leaving certificate. Jones (1998) made a distinction between globalization (the global pursuit of interest through unfettered capitalism) and internationalization (the promotion of global peace and well-being through international structures). Thus, from a Mission Statement perspective, the IB is arguably concerned more with internationalization *not* globalization.

In short, one can be very skeptical about the ‘threat’ posed by the IB in the US, and elsewhere. It is worth reiterating here the fact that the vast majority of IB schools (usually about 80%) offer *just one* of the three main IB programmes, greatly undermining the notion of a ‘continuum’ existing in practice. In other words, the IB has little contact with children *throughout* their entire schooling (i.e. for 14 or 15 years, from K-12). At the most, American kids probably have five years exposure to the IB (i.e. Grades 6-10), and maybe even just two (Grades 11 and 12). This provides a useful framework for asserting that the attack on the IB in the US is a somewhat *exaggerated one*.

The attack on the IB is also ironic in several different ways. The IBDP is attacked for developing irenic citizens, and peace education. However, the reality is that the IB has done relatively little in concrete terms. The IB has actually been involved with at least two conscious attempts at creating a framework for peace education, and both have been a relative failure. Since 1977 the IB has allowed Peace and Conflict Studies to be offered as one of its Standard Level 'school based syllabuses'. This course has not managed (see Van Oord, 2010) to draw in the numbers of students that it arguably deserves; in May 2008 a mere 77 students took the course, out of 48,000 candidates in total. Another element of peace education is also available within the IBDP course offerings, but is also at present a very minor player; in May 2008 a grouping of 64 students sat the Human Rights examination papers. The IB in 2012 looked set to bring these courses under the umbrella of 'Global Politics' (this issue needs following up).

The second most conscious attempt at creating a body of irenic 'global citizens' came about within the framework of UNESCO's 'Programme for a Culture of Peace'. The IB and the ISA came together in 1996 to form the International Education System Pilot Project (IESPP), with its cornerstone of peace education. The ultimate aim was to 'test the feasibility of creating an international education system' (International Bureau of Education 1999, p.2), whilst Blaney (1991) had earlier proposed such an arrangement. A batch of 22 schools from 15 countries came onboard the project, including three in the US (Nogales School District, Arizona; UNIS; Washington International School), and the schools co-operated in the development of two set of curricula; Education for Peace, and Education for Sustainability. According to Walker (2000), the feasibility of the system was never fully tested and schools were reluctant to fully hand over sovereignty. In short, both these attempts at peace education lacked the full backing of the IB and the wider 'IB World' which perhaps reveals much about the weakness of the idealistic dimension in reality, beyond the Mission Statement rhetoric.

Therefore, the hyper-globalist and transformationalist concerns of the IB's attackers should be more objectively viewed within a 'skeptical reality' lens. The IB does not constitute a global educational 'system'. It is not a UN conspiracy. In fact, its global presence is greatly over-exaggerated, even by the IB itself. Large parts of the world remain relatively untouched by IB. Even in the US itself, 55% of all IB schools are located in just eight States. To reiterate a fact, very few Americans are exposed to the IB for the duration of their schooling lifetime. One Doctoral Thesis had concluded that:

The true measure of the effect of a programme such as the IB Diploma Programme on the development of international understanding may be possible only by observation over an extended period of time. (Hinrichs, 2002 p.9)

Yet, few students are exposed to the IB for more than five years. How much of a transformational ‘threat’ can it therefore pose?

Another Doctoral study from almost two decades ago (Berkey, 1994) had revealed how the IBDP in North America has experienced two major problems: a high turnover of IB schools and a low percentage of students completing the full Diploma. On top of this, there exists a ‘skeptical reality’ in terms of implementing the IB mission. One University of Houston Doctoral thesis (Gigliotti-Labay, 2010) critically explored the notion of ‘international mindedness’ in American IB schools. The results indicated that teachers and administrators had an understanding of what ‘international mindedness’ was but, when it came to a discussion of implementation within their schools most were apparently implementing it in a *superficial* way.

This seemed to suggest that teachers and administrators are not entirely clear as to how to infuse international themes into their classes and schools and the concept of ‘international mindedness’ (as expressed in the IB Mission Statement and Learner Profile) are not clearly defined enough for practical implementation in American schools.

In reality the IB, especially the IBDP, has become a product in demand as a perceived high-quality and high-achieving curriculum for highly motivated children. This is certainly the case in the US, and one Doctoral study (Hartwell Remington, 2001) concluded that even the MYP was a strong academic programme for young Americans. The pragmatic theme was expressed by Freeman (1987) when she described to Americans in the *College Board Review* how the IBDP had been designed as a standard curriculum by which students from all over the world could meet university requirement. Grexa (1988) also described (in putting forward a case in the US for the IBDP, in the *Journal of College Admissions*) the programme as one developed in Europe for continued study in colleges and universities around the world.

The IB has begun to exert much influence in the discussions in England over the future of A-Level, yet even there the impact has been marginal with only elements of the IBDP, such as the Extended Essay, reaching the popular imagination. The MYP and PYP, on the other hand, have undergone very little discussion in that country. In fact, the IB would like to make more of an impact, and seeks to exert more influence than it presently does. Numerous journal articles

(e.g. Kugler and Albright, 2005) have cited the IBDP as a viable programme for high-achieving students within challenging school environments. Consequently, 48% of schools worldwide offer it to only half their students. Only 36% of schools offer it to all, and 31% offer it to less than a quarter (IBO, 2004).

The British educational commentator Anthony Seldon (the vocal headmaster of the elite private Wellington College, an IBDP and MYP school) stated in his 'education manifesto' titled *An End to Factory Schools*:

...the IB is not perfect- its aspirations do not always match the reality, and it can be burdensome bureaucratically- but it is the most complete system currently available in the world. (Seldon, 2010 p.34)

In spite of the use here of the word 'system', the IB does not coherently constitute a *system* as such. The IB relies on a regional rather than global growth platform, and the main three programmes are thinly spread among most parts of the world, apart from parts of North America (and smaller areas such as southern Australia, south east England, and The Andes).

Thus, the geographical distribution of IB schools reveals a definite 'skeptical reality'. The State of Minnesota, the geographical epicenter of North America, with many Scandinavian and German descendants (and a history of populism activity), has emerged as a key battle-ground of IB attack, yet there are 'only' 45 IB schools there (out of 3,200 world-wide). England has the third biggest bloc of IB schools (after US, and Canada) yet the 220 IB schools there in 2011 need to be placed within the context of there being 25,000 schools in that country. In fact, there was much talk in 2010 in the British popular press (e.g. Davis, 2010) about 400 schools by 2013 but this can now be viewed as having been over-optimistic.

Dismissing the idea of a unified global economy, the skeptical position also concludes that the world is breaking up into several major economic and political blocs (Held et al, 1999). Although the IB is (still) assessed and governed from Cardiff (this might change) and Geneva, its marketing and authorization processes operate at a regional level. The IB is not a 'Swiss-based' organization as simplistically argued by paleo-conservative opponents in the US. The infrastructure of the IB is actually quite a complex federal one. The IB in 2010 had representatives and offices in eleven countries (Bath, Beijing, Buenos Aires, Cardiff, Geneva, Mumbai, New York, Singapore, Sydney, Tokyo and Vancouver) and used to have one in Stockholm.

Although the IB was established as a Foundation under the auspices of the Swiss federal government, this hindered it in terms of developing the programme in other countries (Spahn, 2001). As a result the IB has always been reliant upon the promotional and recruitment work, and teacher training provision, of four loosely-aligned regional offices (now being reduced to three inter-competing ‘global centres’). This development (moving the centre of gravity of organizational set-up) might even, in the long-run, help to ‘diffuse’ the notion that the IB is a ‘UN’ (i.e. Geneva-based) body.

Generally, the paleo-conservative case against the IB in the US is grossly over-exaggerated and misinformed although much of the concern is real enough and requires critical scholarly attention. In other words, the attack should not be brushed aside or ‘written off’ as the work of *fanatics*, as tempting as this might seem. As remarked by Harris (2010 p.78) it would be unwise for liberals to disregard the views of conservative Americans as those of mere ‘simple-minded clowns’. The notion that not everyone is behind the educating of ‘global citizens’ requires serious analysis as the attack might conceivably occur elsewhere in the world aimed at other ‘international’ curricula. The IB is still a relatively small player in the US educational arena and its presence is easily over-estimated; only about 2% of American public high schools offer it compared to the 67% who offer AP. As admitted by TAIB:

Even with this additional political clout, out of the 96,000+ public schools in the United States, IB schools (1,310) represent 0.013%, by anyone's standards, a radical, fringe element. (<http://truthaboutib.com/ibbuyersbeware/ibininclinevillagenv.html>)

But, as well as 1,300 schools in the US, a further 320 IB schools are to be found north of the border in Canada (correct January 2012), thus in total exactly half of all IB schools worldwide are located in the US and Canada, a fact that somewhat undermines the global nature of the IB. Switzerland, the ‘home’ of the IB has 34 schools (about one percent of the global share, the same as Illinois) whilst Japan, the world’s second-biggest economy, has only another 22 IB schools.

Two of the leading academic commentators on ‘global education’, Hayden and Thompson (2000 p.9), have described the IB as a ‘burgeoning political global player’, and the organization now views itself as a global player (see article by Ian Hill, 2005 p.33, discussing the IB and ‘partnerships’). Bagnall (1994) referred to the IBDP as ‘world movement’, whilst Pound (2005) more recently talked of it ‘gaining currency around the world’. At a macro-level this is true, and the programmes are on offer in 2012 in 141 countries. However, closer scrutiny reveals a different picture.

In fact, the issue of global discrepancy has worsened since the 1980s. The 23 countries identified by the UN *Human Development Report 2005* as having a 'low human development', accounted for only 29 IBDP schools in 2005. Almost a quarter of these were in one country, Kenya. Fifty-five percent of all IBDP schools are now located in Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars' (1997) 'seven cultures of capitalism': US; UK; Sweden; Japan; Netherlands; France; and Germany. Thirty years ago, commentators began to talk of the growing popularity of the programme around the world (e.g. Nicol, 1982; Blackburn, 1983), yet in January 2012, 44% of all IBDP schools are located in North America.

The overall conclusion to be drawn from the empirical evidence (beyond the paleo-conservative hype in parts of the US) is that the IB should be viewed predominantly through a skeptical lens of globalization. The IB operates at a global level, yet it not globalized. In fact, it has moved from having a Northern European nexus of activity to having a North American one. Indeed, this localized growth of the IB is perhaps the most worrying issue at present, undermining the 'international' image of the programmes. Also, the movement of the IB towards having three inter-competing global centres of activity could undermine, even ultimately destroy, any concept of an 'IB World', something which has always been more powerful as a marketing tool rather than a reality of operation. Schools in practice operate together at a localized level leading to the conclusion that there has always only ever been a loosely connected conglomeration of 'IB Worlds'. The IB is growing in different parts of the world for different reasons and the 'IB World' in Virginia seems very different from the one emerging in Ecuador.

The attack is a 'counter-attack'

There is another way of looking at the attack on the IB in the US. To be totally objective, the 'attack' can be alternatively viewed as a 'counter-attack' within the context that the IB and its supporters can be seen as the 'aggressor'. As asserted by Goldberg (2007 p.351);

The simple fact of the matter is this: liberals are the aggressors in the culture wars. Why this should seem a controversial point is somewhat baffling. It is manifestly clear that traditionalists are defending their way of life against the so-called forces of progress.

The attack on the IB can also be construed as a ‘defence’ of freedom and an ‘attack’ on mediocrity, and conformity of thought and action (i.e. cultural authoritarianism). As noted by Foner (1998), ‘freedom’ in an American sense can be viewed as being both freedom *from* government interference, and freedom *aided* by government interference. Growth of the IB in the US can alternatively be viewed as an attack on state-side sovereignty over (tax-payer funded) educational direction and a (divisive) misuse of federal funding. Within this context, the ‘defenders’ become Lisa McLoughlin and Allen Quist, whilst the ‘attackers’ become *inter alia* the 67th US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Marc Tucker (Director of the *National Center on Education and the Economy*), Chicago Public School’s Arne Duncan, and Charles Quigley (Executive Director of the *Center for Civic Education*). In the words of Quist (2002 p.135) they are the ‘architects of this utopian dream’.

The paleo-conservatives see themselves as the ‘oppressed’, and the ‘vilified’ defenders of freedom and democracy. In American political terms, they seem to sense a ‘tyranny of the majority’ (a situation identified by the French historian Alexis de Tocqueville in his 1835 work *Democracy in America* as where a minority feels that the majority voice is suppressing their views). One attack on the IB in the US (see Lisa McLoughlin’s 2009 article on *Canadafreepress.com* website) has come about through viewing the IB as supporting the ideals of Jean Jacques Rousseau and thus advocating some form of a ‘Social Contract’ for ‘global education’. This notion of ‘Liberal Fascism’ had been framed by Goldberg (2007 p.39), and expressed as this:

According to Rousseau, individuals who live in accordance with the general will are ‘Free’ and ‘virtuous’ while those who defy it are criminals, fools or heretics. These enemies of the common good must be forced to bend to the general will.

Here we have one simple framework for understanding the paleo-conservative attack on the IB; it is a case of the ‘heretics’ attacking the ‘general will’ of the IB and the ‘majority’ view of the ‘globalists’.

McLoughlin (2009) also showed her contempt for a text adopted by the IB for the first ‘community theme’, titled ‘Sharing Our Humanity’. This ‘theme’ was based upon six topics adapted from the book *High Noon: 20 Global Problems, 20 Years to Solve Them* by the Luxembourgian economist Jean-François Rischard (2002). This development seemed at the time symptomatic of an attempt to consolidate the diversity of the ‘IB World’ and to ensure a more consistent and standardized product. However, to paleo-conservative opponents of

the IB, this seemed an attempt to create some form of global regulatory framework for ‘global education’.

One piece of writing by McCune (1991) that caught conservatives’ attention came when she referred to ‘the movement from a national to a global society’ (quoted in Quist’s 2005 book *America’s Schools: The Battleground for Freedom* p.12). Julie Quist doubly attacked the IB as teaching ‘world citizenship’ rather than ‘our own American citizenship’ (Julie Quist, 2006b). As was stated by Walker (2005b p.7) in his significant Address to the IBNA Annual Regional Conference, in Montreal in July 2005 (a rare example of the IB publically exposing the emerging attack in the US), weak central direction in the US ‘inevitably leads to a stronger influence from other interested parties’, and it means there are ‘more people to convince’.

The attack could accelerate

There are several reasons to suppose that the attack on the IB that has emanated in the US over the past decade has got much further to ‘run’. Beyond the US, there are signs of a possible backlash against the ‘global dimension’ in education, and possibly the IB, occurring in England, the country housing the third largest bloc of IB schools. In June 2008 the independent think-tank *Civitas* attacked the ‘corruption’ of the school curriculum in England, stating subjects like History and Geography were victim to political correctness, and had been hijacked by fashionable causes such as global warming and the ‘global dimension’ (Furedi et al, 2008). The underlying thesis was that academic knowledge and content has been undermined (and even ‘dumbed-down’) by the promotion of wider government social goals. This comes close to being linked to one aspect of the attack (the transformationalist one) on the IB in the US. Interestingly, one early commentator (Bennett, 1991) had attacked ‘global education’ in the context of international schools as trivializing education and promoting a ‘safe’ form of learning.

The IBDP now has much access to national schooling (to reiterate, 92% of IB schools in US are public ones). Mayer’s (2006) University of California Doctoral case study examined the development and outcomes of the IBDP in two contrasting high schools, one serving a community relatively disadvantaged according to a wide range of social and economic indicators, and the other being at the other end of the socioeconomic spectrum.

Mayer's (2006) study found that the IBDP was able to significantly raise the academic performance of low-income, Latino and African American student participants. The students who completed the IBDP at this high school both aspired to complete a four-year college education and had the necessary academic course work to do so.

However, these figures and research findings seem to be 'masking' broader ethnic and socio-economic discrepancies, still to be voiced in concerns over the IB, but which could theoretically lead to a more 'left-leaning' attack in the near future. The ethnic breakdown of IBDP candidates in the US in the May 2005 exam session was 70% Caucasian, 13% Hispanic, 10% Asian, and 7% Afro-American. The 'best statistical profile of IB students' (as quoted in Mathews and Hill, 2006 p.216) came from an IB survey of 1,041 US graduates in May 2001. This revealed that 7% said their socioeconomic status was 'high', whilst 80% saw themselves as 'middle income'.

The attack on the IB in the US has attracted little formal assessment or inquiry. My 2009 paper in the *Discourse* journal seemingly remains the single example of critical analysis although it now appears rather simplistic in its approach. The attack on the IB has gathered much pace since 2009 and become highly politicized within the 'Tea Party Movement' encroachment on American politics and the election of President Obama in 2010. The attack is symbolic of the broader 'culture war', and the more general 'ideological war within the west' (Fonte, 2002), that has been generating in America over the past few decades. In a sense, the IB has inadvertently got caught up in a political battleground, both over the direction and control of education, which has been gathering pace in the US since the early 1990s. At the same time, social and economic tensions have added fuel to the paleo-conservative backlash against the IB; the 'American Dream' is under threat as a middle-class reality.

As already noted, the political 'scene' in America has become noticeably more 'conservative' since my 2009 *Discourse* paper appeared. The Republican Party presidential primaries in 2012 revealed the level of conservative distrust for federal-imposed 'mass education'. One candidate, Rick Santorum (who home-schooled all his kids) openly regards public schooling as creating an 'unnatural' environment i.e. where different cultures and types of children 'mix' together. In other words, many American conservatives seem to regard home-schooling as a more 'natural' setting for their children to be educated, denying the very existence of a 'post-modern' world.

As noted by Harris (2010 p. 70), some American conservatives have a dislike for even the notion of universal education (as pioneered by Massachusetts in 1852):

Today most of us simply regard the American system of public education as part of who we are, but it played no role in the Founding Fathers' vision...

The IB sits in 2012 squarely in the lenses of the 'Tea Party Movement'. To get a flavour of the potential (and actual) attack, consider the following section of a statement (7th June 2010) titled 'IB Program is UN on steroids' by Bev Eackman of the *New Hampshire Tea Party Coalition*:

The IB is UN dogma on steroids, and redistribution of wealth is an overriding, subliminal theme. The biggest difference between the American creed and IB is that our Declaration of Independence insists that government is beholden to the people; it does not exist to protect itself. This view puts teeth into any notion of inalienable, individual rights, which is one reason socialist-leaning schools here at home gloss over the Declaration- as if it were Thomas Jefferson's unsolicited opinion. (<http://www.nhtepartycoalition.org/tea/2010/06/07/ib-program-is-un-on-steroids/>).

The IB now often comes under direct attack from supporters of the 'Tea Party Movement'; one letter (on TAIB) from a 'concerned Ohio mom' to her local School Board says that:

After exhaustive study, I can now say that the IB, though admittedly benevolent and enriching on the surface, is a veiled affront to any that espouse patriotism, family values or Judeo-Christian faith. That the entire concept is based on Western-HUMANIST principles that warrant an Eastern revision (from my research at IBO.org) should alert, not just Tea Party members; but anyone who acknowledges our inalienable right to choose (if we are so inclined) God & Country. (<http://truthaboutib.com/aparentsplea.html>)

Interestingly, a 'new' theme of attack has begun to emerge in 2012; public schools 'forcing' students to undertake an IB course rather than offering a variety of programmes to suit different academic achievement. TAIB have picked up on this as being 'anti-American', saying that:

Requiring taxpayers to fund student "membership" with a foreign organization and forcing ALL students to not only join, but enroll in a course that may be far beyond their capabilities is about as INAPPROPRIATE as a public school can get. (<http://truthaboutib.com/breakingibnewsviews.html>)

The following newspaper citation (from *newsday.com*, Long Island, 1st January 2012) gives evidence for this line of attack:

South Side High School in Rockville Centre pushed inclusion a step further this school year, requiring all 11th-graders to take the toughest literature course offered—no matter what their academic standing. Principal Carol X said school officials want to elevate standards for everyone, so they're offering only one English class: IB Language and Literature, Higher Level. (<http://www.newsday.com>)

This issue is a controversial one; one major American study (Tai and Sadler, 2009) has concluded that inquiry-based constructivist learning (as practiced by the PYP especially) is not suitable for *all* types of students.

A further reason why the attack on the IB might accelerate is financial. A current key aim of the neo-liberal agenda is to reduce government spending. The global recession since 2007 has substantially added to the claims for lower state spending. Beginning with Greece in December 2009, with a 10% cut in overall government spending plans, a succession of countries (Spain, Portugal, Hungary, Ireland, and Britain) have announced savage austerity measures.

It was reported in February 2009 that 36 States in the US had cut education, or had proposed such cuts. One of the first reports (Toppo, 2009) on how the US's economic downturn since 2007 could affect education found that States would probably cut an estimated 18.5% of spending over the following three years, equivalent to an \$80 billion drop that could eliminate 574,000 publicly funded jobs. In March 2010 the Board of Education in Kansas City voted to close 28 of the 61 schools (Reid, 2010).

This situation leads to a possible line of attack as the IB is a relatively expensive programme to implement. Hernando County, Florida, which had expected to offer it in 2008-09, was reported to be spending \$121,000 over three years to start it (Ramirez, 2006). Three High Schools in Beaufort County District, South Carolina, offer the IBDP. Of the district's 5,400 High School students in 2004, only 60 actually received an IB Diploma, yet it cost \$125,000 to offer the courses. Spahn's (2001) study of why schools in the US had dropped the IBDP, found that only 12% had found it too costly, however this is likely to be a bigger issue in some other (poorer) countries. The cost of sending teachers on training conferences is a major issue. The 2007 IBDP conferences (in English) for the IB Africa/Europe/Middle-East region were mainly held in Greece, although schools in Africa had a chance to send teachers to Ghana. It is very common for teacher workshops in Europe to be held in extremely costly Zurich.

The issue of relatively high cost of the IB has two problematic effects. It transfers funds away from other schools and it leads to tough decisions over which ones should host the programme given that only a select body can be afforded. Parents at a school in Minnetonka, Minnesota, raised objections to their District spending money on opening an eleventh IB school, yet at the same time cutting the education budget overall (Stursa, 2005). This could lead to resentment by parents, and increase competition between schools for limited funds. Moreover, it is bound to lead to populist politics. As discussed by Rasmussen and Schoen (2011), populist movements have always arisen in times of economic hardship and uncertainty. The 1970s proved this thesis to be correct (see Schulman and Zelizer, 2008).

The attack is a fundamental one

Further major conclusions can be drawn by a study of the paleo-conservative attack on the IB in the US. The ‘culture wars’ exemplifies the ‘Right Nation’ (Micklethwaite and Wooldridge, 2004). America is a more conservative nation, and the attack on the IB is a fundamental one. Although the ‘conservative establishment’ in the US is a fragmented and diverse grouping, lacking coherent ideology or philosophy, it is united in its sense of fundamental belief. In short, the IB is deemed as wrong and must be displaced. It is fundamentally ‘un-American’. This point may seem a blunt one but is an important one to understand as it defies resistance and rationalization. We need to ‘make sense’ of it, but perhaps Walker (2005b) was right to partly dismiss it. I will let the readers of this book make up their own mind on this issue.

This ‘culture wars’ development in the US is wholly explainable within an academic (not a political) context by the assertion that ‘global education’ in its ‘international school’ and ‘global dimension’ level involves a fundamental reconciliation between two contrasting approaches (Cambridge and Thompson 2004). It has long been identified that there are two types of schools offering the IB (e.g. Peterson 1972 p.19). On the one hand, there are those who are ‘ideology-driven’ (Matthews 1989) seeking to offer a transformationalist (Held *et al* 1999) approach to education. On the other hand, the main bulk of schools offering the IB have been identified as ‘market-driven’ (Matthews 1989), seeking to offer a more pragmatic form of education transferable between countries and universally acceptable to college of higher education.

Haywood (2002) identified two ‘strands’ of IB schools; those with a ‘pragmatic rationale’ and those with a ‘visionary ideal’. This dichotomy now seems implausibly simplistic in its nature, and school missions can arguably be quite ambiguous in nature anyway. This dichotomy can alternatively be conceptualized as an attempt to ‘serve two masters’ (Simandiraki, 2005). On the one hand, the IB can be seen to be promoting an ideal of behaviour and character and universal values (Gellar, 2002). On the other hand, the IB can be viewed as a provider of a global quality-assured and branded certification process to an elite group of candidates. In this sense, it can be viewed as a facilitator of economic supremacy, within a global unregulated system of education. Both dimensions can be attacked within a hyper-globalist lens.

These ‘twin aspects’ (Hayden, 2006) of ‘global education’ are rarely found in the extreme or ‘pure’ form, outside perhaps the realms of the dozen-strong United World College movement, or at the other extreme, the 413 French overseas schools. In the US, arguably only UNIS and the 1966-founded Washington International School are perhaps ‘pure’ variants. For most schools, these ‘twin aspects’ involve a fundamental dilemma, involving the reconciliation of the two approaches.

It has traditionally been perceived that the dilemma was faced by schools on the ‘ideology-driven’ side of the spectrum, as they sought to reconcile the need to meet the needs of the market they served and the need to compete with other institutions offering a similar product. However, for some schools the dilemma might be approached from the opposite direction. It is theoretically feasible for a school to adopt one of the three programmes of the IB for pragmatic or marketing reasons, but later become unable to reconcile the idealist and ideological framework, and historical legacy of the IB (such as its founding links with UNESCO). In this context, one could articulate a view that several of the Board members of the Upper St. Clair High School in Pittsburgh, for example, found themselves unable to reconcile the fundamental dilemma as identified by Cambridge and Thompson (2004). For whatever reason, the dilemma had not surfaced before at the school, certainly not in the public arena. It is likely the Board members were unaware of the history of the IB.

Lastly, there are wider implications for international curriculum development. The IB is the largest and most well-known provider of curricula frameworks involved in ‘global education’, but other forms do now exist, and are growing in stature. They too could attract the attention of paleo-conservative agencies.

For example, the IPC, which began in 2000 as a curriculum for the small bloc of Shell-company schools (see Bunnell, 2010c), now involves over 1,000 state-schools in England alone. The moral of the attack in the US is that an international curriculum is likely to attract nationalistic opposition, especially when it receives state (tax-payer) funding. A book by leading American economist Jeffrey Sachs has argued the case that global problems require global thinking and that more interconnectedness is needed in a ‘crowded planet’ (Sachs, 2008). The IB is well placed to offer a viable solution to this debate, but the topic will continue to meet resistance if the events in the US over the past few years are anything to go by.

‘Global education’ is un-natural

One major conclusion to be drawn from the attack on the IB in America, and one which has broader ramifications is that some people regard the globalizing of education as *un-natural*. This topic needs clarification and research beyond this book but, in short, a diving-line is appearing between supporters of the IB who deem ‘global education’ as *necessary* (although they may question its direction and sense of purpose), and paleo-conservative opponents of the IB who do not see it as *natural*.

The concept of creating (or constructing) the ‘global citizen’ is inherently problematic in the sense that it involves purposefully developing a pre-conditioned ‘mindset’, and set of shared ‘values’ and ‘dispositions’ (e.g. the ‘IB Learner Profile’). However, this violates the strictly traditional and ‘natural laws’ of conservatism in many different ways. Russell Kirk’s first (out of ten) ‘canons of conservatism’ (<http://www.kirkcenter.org/index.php/thought/>) is that there exists an enduring moral order (also see Chapter 3 in Dunn and Woodard, 1996). One school (Ambrose School, Boise, Idaho), set up as a Christian Charter Academy, expresses its opposition to the Humanist/Progressive ‘moral system’ of the IB, which apparently contradicts with its own Classical Christian viewpoint. In reference to the IB Mission Statement, the school takes the stance that:

Of course, nothing in the IBO’s statement is directly objectionable...However, these phrases are euphemisms that mean much more than they say. They represent post-modern ideas that permeate the educational environment and reject a divine standard of Truth in favor of personal truth, God’s goodness in favor of social relativism, and Beauty in favor of personal preference...The IBO’s values are more in alignment with the Humanist Manifesto which represents the moral system of progressives.

(<http://www.theambroseschool.org/documents/parent-insights-documents/a-perspective-on-the-international-baccalaureate/>)

Burke's 'fifth canon' adheres to the principle of variety (i.e. all humans should think differently), which clearly undermines any notion of 'shared values'. His 'sixth canon' stresses the belief in imperfection (i.e. humans are not perfect and should not be made to be so). The 'ninth canon' stresses the need for prudent restraints upon power and upon human passions (i.e. the construction of a body of 'global citizens' will lead to despotism and is un-democratic). The tenth and last 'canon' states that permanence and change must be reconciled (i.e. 'global education' requires discussion and must be tempered in a democratic society):

The conservative, in short, favors reasoned and temperate progress; he is opposed to the cult of Progress, whose votaries believe that everything new necessarily is superior to everything old. (<http://www.kirkcenter.org/index.php/detail/ten-conservative-principles>).

The 'traditionalists' take special objection to the claim made by 'globalists' (e.g. Levintova et al., 2011) that 'global citizens are made, not born'. Arguing that 'global education' is an elusive concept to operationalize, Levintova et al. (2011) discussed how they organized a 'global summit on sustainability' for between 200 and 400 students every Semester, in an attempt to generate 'global decision-making' skills. Such an activity is an anathema to many Russell Kirk-supporting conservative Americans who regard it as un-necessary and un-natural.

The following Russell Kirk quote, again from his *Burke and the Principle of Order* (1952) article, helps to start signing off this book:

After the order of God, Burke implies, comes an order of spiritual and intellectual values. All values are not the same, nor all impulses, nor all men. A natural gradation teaches men to hold some sentiments dear and others cheap. Leveling radicalism endeavors to put all emotions and sensations upon the same level of mediocrity, and so to erase the moral imagination which sets men apart from beasts... Physical and moral anarchy is prevented by general acquiescence in social differentiation of duty and privilege. (<http://www.kirkcenter.org/index.php/detail/burke-principle-of-order-1952/>)

In this context, to reiterate, 'global education' promotes *anarchy* not *order*. Put another way, it promotes *mediocrity* not *natural gradation*. This is one way of 'making sense' of the complex paleo-conservative attack on the IB, and the topic (I hope) is now ready for further research and discussion.

Part F: The broader implications of the attack

The implications for the IB

It is now time to consider the broader implications. One issue that springs immediately to mind is that the continued growth of the IB will not occur without a dichotomy of opposition. That is, internal opposition (by educators *concerned* by growth) and external opposition (by conservative agencies *disturbed* by growth). The attack on the IB in America has revealed a political and sociological ‘limit’ to growth i.e. at some point in time greater growth in a country will lead to greater scrutiny and investigation. As asserted by McKenzie (2011 p.167):

Influence is related in many ways to access...but it needs also to consider realistic limits and bounds.

The notion that growth of the IB (in the US and elsewhere) has ‘limits’ has been voiced by some concerned educators, including this writer (see Bunnell, 2011b). However, the topic has not fully been discussed. The growth of the IB in its original (largely hidden, and modest sized) ‘international school’ habitat *disturbed* few people. As noted by Tarc (2009a p.24):

Within the field of multinational international schools of the 1960s, the term ‘international understanding’ is not contentious.

But, the growth of the programmes in public schooling has raised a greater level of awareness and investigation. Here it *is* contentious and so the IB has been placed under greater scrutiny and attracted a wider lens of inquiry. In one respect, this is healthy and positive; the mission of the IB arguably requires access to a wider section of people. Here the IB has the *opportunity* to exert influence. As discussed already, the IBDP in particular has had much influence over A-Level reform in England. But, there are ‘limits’ to how far this ‘impact’ can go. In particular, public funding is problematic. The paleo-conservative agencies in America are happy for rich globalist liberals to pay for their child’s education but are not prepared to subsidize it, or have it thrust upon them. This is a ‘stormy’ situation, neatly expressed by Richards (2011 p.44) when referring to the IBDP:

Without abandoning the basic principles at the heart of the diploma, it must be acknowledged that there are some storm clouds on the horizon.

The IB will keep coming under attack as long as it retains an idealistic sense of mission (which presumably it will although future organizational ‘reform’ could feasibly see a more corporate Mission Statement appear). A key plank of paleo-conservative thought is that since human nature is limited and finite (and inherently flawed), any attempt to create a human-made utopia (through educational reform, for instance) is headed for disaster and potential carnage. Instead, they look towards tradition, family, customs, and religious institutions to provide guidance (hence, many prefer home-schooling). In this context, the IB’s idealist and irenic Mission Statement is seen by paleo-conservatives as futile and dangerous, doomed to failure.

A possible line of counter-attack might be for the IB to reassert the fact that the emphasis has always been on promoting the national identity of the ‘IB Learner’ first, before the child should learn how to adopt an international outlook. Peterson (1972) had referred to the concept of ‘patriotic education’ where a child can adopt an international outlook which will in turn aid its nation state of birth. The Aga Khan Academies seem to have adopted this outlook, as practiced by the United World Colleges. In other words, the IB does not promote the undermining of national identity and instead it has always promoted ‘intercultural understanding’ as a complementary ‘skill/mind-set’ for the national citizen. Put another way, IB programmes are intended to complement not replace national programmes (as stressed by Tarc, 2009a p.26). Somewhere along the way this issue has either been neglected or overlooked by paleo-conservative opponents who prefer to attack the IB as intrinsically ‘un-American’ and ‘anti-American’. DeWeese (2004) shows this to be true when he attacks the IB by saying that:

They (Children) will not learn about the values that have sustained the United States of America and which make it a magnet for freedom-hungry people around the world. Instead, the curriculum teaches about the failed system of socialism...the program is committed to changing children’s values so they think globally, rather than in ‘parochial national terms, and from their own country’s viewpoint...’
(<http://www.intellectualconservative.com/>)

A major and profound statement to make is that that the IB has found its home in the US but it is not *at home* there. What I mean by this statement is that America is clearly not a *natural* home for the IB, whereas the ‘international schools’ of Northern Europe (and Geneva) in the 1960s more clearly were. The IB has to work harder to convince people in America that it should be accepted.

The notion that America as a nation state has its own identity, institutions and history (i.e. sense of uniqueness) fundamentally undermines the central pillar of ‘global education’, which states that citizens globally have commonality (as pedagogically most stressed by the PYP). The issue of ‘Whose values?’ lies at the heart of the attack on the IB (e.g. Niwa, 2010 p.12); the IB promotes ‘universal’ values that are rejected by some as ‘foreigner’ (even ‘immigrant’) values.

One issue that needs consideration (and research into) is that the IB can create divisions and tensions *within* schools, and across communities. As expressed in a letter on the TAIB website sent from a parent to her school District Board:

Political leanings are so very heated and divisive right now. Occasionally, the reaction that I (and others) have received for our skepticism has been very unpleasant. To hear that such treatment may be coming from the top is disappointing and disheartening. I fear that purchasing this product for only a portion of the district splits our collective concerns and creates natural division, acerbating and enflaming the effects of an already heated debate.’ (<http://truthaboutib.com/aparentsplea.html>)

This greatly complicates the issue of IB and its ‘enduring tensions’; the implementation of IB programmes can be divisive, inflaming tensions within the school/local community. Niwa (2010), alongside stating that adopting the IB was akin to an American school ‘jumping off a cliff’, also commented that:

Substantial tax-payer dollars are spent on IB programs that strain school budgets, sever local prerogatives, incite divisiveness in communities, and alter the content and purpose of education. Is IB necessary or justified? (Niwa, 2010 p.1)

Here lays a major growth dilemma for the IB. Should it focus on gaining broader access (to more students) within existing schools and across regions or maintain a growth pattern among new schools in new areas? Put another way, should it aim for geographical ‘depth’, or ‘breadth’?

The issue of middle-class ‘angst’ greatly complicates the notion of limiting growth of the IB in America. Indeed, the fact that demand is likely to always exceed supply puts pressure on the IB to *increase* its growth strategy in America. Failing this, the IB programmes (especially the IBDP) will always be a route to success for a minority of students in public schools, but being subsidized by the parents (i.e. tax-payers) of other children. This is a recipe for division, frustration, and anger.

The implications for ‘global education’

One way forward for making greater ‘sense’ of the situation might be to consider that the attack on the IB in the US can be viewed within the historical context stated by Resnik (2009) that in the 1970s and the 1980s multicultural education spread in many countries, however, in the mid-1980s the ‘golden age’ of multiculturalism came to an end. Neo-conservative political forces have lately attacked multicultural policies and progressively a neo-liberal discourse has pervaded economic and social policies, whilst also affecting national education systems. Within this context, the attack on the IB in America over the past decade from ‘conservative’ agencies is not too surprising.

It seems startling to say this, but perhaps what we are actually witnessing in the attack on the IB in the US is the ‘death’ of ‘global education’ as a historical *fad*. It has been claimed (Sachsenmaier, 2006) that the study of ‘global history’ (an early curriculum venture by the IB in 1962) is finding it difficult to exist in an age in which universalism have long come under attack from many different directions. Trends in education do come and go (e.g. multicultural education, comprehensive schooling), and perhaps ‘global education’, and international curricula, may prove in time to have been a ‘Cold War/War on Terror’ phenomenon. Learning how to ‘make sense of events’, and ‘understanding the views of others’ have become key aspects of education in this post-modern age, but there is no guarantee that this will remain a priority. The ‘2020 Generation’ has become key future players in the role of maintaining national competitiveness in a ‘flat world’, but what of beyond ‘2020’? The current economic recession has led to calls for more protectionism and less integration. Even the membership of economically integrated blocs such as the 17-member ‘Euro-zone’ is under strain as countries such as Greece and Ireland deal with crippling debt problems. Others have huge unemployment problems; Spain in mid-2012 had 45% of its youth out of work.

The situation seems historically very similar to the financial crisis (‘Panic’) of 1893 which led to a deep American recession, caused by ‘a rise in the price of commodities’ and ‘growing luxury leading to excessive expenditure’ (Stephens, 1894 p.117). Perhaps this sort of predicament will facilitate a change in sentiment towards ‘global education’ as a *natural* form of schooling as countries begin to focus more on domestic needs, domestic jobs, national debts, and national identity. One only needs to look at the (serious) discussions in 2012 about independence for Scotland to see such a nationalistic scenario emerging.

The movement in England towards revitalizing the notion of British Citizenship in schools (as recommended by the Crick Report in 1998) may prove a pointer towards the future in other countries also.

There is evidence of growing criticism of ‘global education’, beyond the assertion by conservatives such as Goldberg (2007 p.22) who see it as ‘an ideology of good intentions’, or others such as Quist (2002 p.103) who see it simply as ‘indoctrination, not education’. This criticism is coming not only from conservative agencies but also from Marxist-Liberalist-Humanist writers too (e.g. Furedi, 2008). One such writer (Williams, 2008 p.73) has commented that:

Nowhere is the green indoctrination of our young more prevalent than in the education system.

According to government inspectors, geography is the worst taught subject in England and pupils are not being taught about important global issues (Marley, 2008). A government Inspection Report published in May 2008 was critical of the teaching of sustainability in British schools and stated (Ofsted, 2008 p.25) that ‘Although all the schools visited referred to global issues, they did not approach these systematically’.

The ‘value’ of critical thinking, an important aspect of IB, has been openly questioned. A book published by the London-based Social Affairs Unit (edited by Anderson, 2005), argues the ‘old’ virtues (e.g. prudence, love, and courage) were genuine ones, whilst the ‘new’ ones (e.g. being environmentally-friendly, critical-thinking) often fall into the category of being merely slogans or empty rhetoric.

It is worth provocatively adding that in a world where (according to the UNDP 2011 Human Development Report) children in 44 countries have an average schooling duration of less than five years (i.e. the same time-period as the MYP involves), the teaching of ‘global education’ is somewhat of an educational ‘luxury’, if not an extravagance. Topics such as ‘sustainability’ and ‘global citizenship’ are unlikely to be priority discussions in schools in Sub-Saharan Africa where life expectancy in 2011 averaged 54.4 years (compared to 78.5 in the US and 83.4 in Japan).

It is worth going back to the discussion about the possible advent of ‘K6’ in 2020, or beyond. The study of Kondratieff Wave Theory shows us that globalization passes through ‘phases’, each averaging 50 years (and lasting between 40 and 60 years in duration).

Assuming the current 'K5' Wave occurred in the 1980s (facilitated perhaps by the financial de-regulations of the 'Big Bang' in 1986, or the 'fall of the Berlin Wall' in 1989) we can deduce that the current phase of globalization 'peaked' around the years 2000-2005 (the current global economic crisis began August 2007) and is now expected to reach the 'Winter' stage around year 2015, bottoming out in 2020 or 2025. In other words, the most rapid growth of the IB (between 1995 and 2010) in America has occurred at the 'peak' of the current Wave of globalization. But, we might expect to see a stagnation period from now on. Interestingly, one commentator (Gordon, 1998) foresaw the down-turn of the current K-Wave beginning in 1999, so this shows there is no consensus figure for changes in phases.

What is true, though, is that economic down-turns usually lead to growth in conservative (protectionist, anti-foreigner, anti-immigrant) sentiment (see Sandbrook's, 2011, analysis of the recession of the 1970s). As this writer was finishing this book, the French 'National Front' party had won a record 18% in the first round of the 2012 Presidential elections (religious nationalism is on the rise also: Juergensmeyer, 2010, as is Islamic fundamentalism). The current political scene seems to show that the traditionalist/populist paleo-conservative attack on the IB in the US might be expected to intensify.

The implications for education in general

To close this discussion, it is worth thinking more broadly about the attack on the IB in America. What does this situation tell us about education in general? It is clear that some Americans outright reject schools as suitable venues for their child's education. This mindset appeared during the 2012 Republican nomination campaign when Rick Santorum claimed home-schooling was a more natural process and environment for his kids, whilst the mixing together of children in a large school with those of other religions and cultures he deemed un-natural. His disdain of public school came through when he was quoted (in Hibbard, 2012) as saying that:

'Yes the government can help,' Santorum said. 'But the idea that the federal government should be running schools, frankly much less that the state government should be running schools, is anachronistic. It goes back to the time of industrialization of America when people came off the farms...and into these big factories, so we built equal factories called public schools. (<http://www.huffingtonpost.com>)

One major conclusion to be drawn from the attack on the IB is that there is a major dispute occurring in America, and elsewhere, over what schools are meant to *do*. As asked by Claxton (2008): ‘What is the point of school?’ The answer to this question draws little consensus thinking, especially within a ‘global education’ context. Furedi (2008 p.5) notes that:

Competing claims made on the curriculum reflect confusion and an absence of consensus about how to socialize children.

Part of the problem is that the ‘agenda’ of ‘global education’ is a complex one with differing agencies having differing priorities and concerns. As voiced by Marshall (2011 p.182):

These calls cover a wide range of different agendas, including sustainability, internationalization, economic integration, skills and knowledge for the global economy, and social justice and equality.

The situation is complicated further by the fact that there is (in 2012) record high global youth unemployment. The notion that all children will enter a global labour market is a fragile one in many contexts, although IB graduates do seem better equipped to cope with the emerging needs of global Capital and fulfilling the ‘Capitalist Plan *for* Education’ (see Bunnell, 2011g). As stated by Tapscott (2011):

Our youth are under deep stress. This spring, more than 1.6 million students graduated from American colleges and universities. Many will simply join the swollen ranks of the unemployed. (<http://www.huffingtonpost.com>)

The paleo-conservative agencies seem to regard schooling as a natural base for a simpler, more traditional-based form of education, which produces *national* citizens who have knowledge of customs, history and national identity. The ‘globalist’ supporters on the other hand believe in the transformational role of schooling; children in America need to be *trained* and *prepared* for being competent global workers and citizens (although, as noted above, not all will find a job). Marshall (2011 p.183) makes reference in this context to ‘post-national’ education.

What is more, this need is seemingly an urgent one and requires immediate action, stifling proper discussion, consultation and negotiation. This is deeply problematic territory. For instance, the *Jakarta Post* (9 June 2010) reported on how an anti-corruption curriculum would be applied in every subject in schools in Indonesia to ensure that children entering the workforce in 2020 would be pro-competition. This sounds laudable, but is it really the role of public schools

(and not society, parents, or the Church, or the Scouts)? What will need to be taken *out* of the curriculum in order to fit this type of educational goal in? Is this a ‘corruption of the curriculum’ (as argued by Furedi et al, 2008)? Will this make them more ‘employable’? This is where the topic of ‘global education’ requires much further discussion beyond the remit of this book, and beyond the fringes of American conservatism.

Part G: Research and analysis required about the attack

Summary

The previous chapter discussed the issue that ‘global education’ and IB programmes have been growing over the past decade both as a factor of the peak periods of the current ‘K5’ phase of globalization, and the perceived need for constructing ‘global workers’ by 2020. As stated by Walker (2011b p.11):

The IB is not just affected by globalization, it has become a part of it.

However, this growth is not necessarily sustainable due to the simple fact that it rests on one main premise; the world will continue to become more and more integrated (which is not a historical reality). The world in 2012 is very different from the one that the IB grew out of fifty years ago, and the world in five decades time will be very different also. The attack on the IB in the US can therefore be viewed as a possible sign that a ‘winter’ stage of the ‘K5’ cycle might be being reached politically, which will eventually see less integration and less global trade (which was seen to be falling in 2012: Elliott, 2012). In other words the perceived need for ‘global workers’ beyond 2020 may diminish, whilst educational programmes aimed at facilitating globalization might seem less desirable (or less needy, or too costly). Over time, programmes such as the IBDP might be viewed as too expensive, too divisive and not necessary. This analysis raises three key (inter-linked) questions about the future growth of IB and the direction of attack in America, to be identified next.

What exactly is the main aspect of the attack?

The attack on the IB is complex and multi-dimension. The IB counter-attack tackled the eight key ‘myths’ (IBO, 2006b) that had been seemingly randomly conveyed by Archibald (2004). Quist (2006a) drew up a list of nine issues, focusing mainly on an alleged UN bias of the IB. The Pennsylvania-based *Commonwealth Education Corporation* the same year (Education Advocate, 2006) offered a more coherent framework for ‘Understanding the IB’ within a ‘Seven Cs’ model. However, this model dealt mainly with alleged administrative and pedagogical issues. This complexity of concern makes assessment of the attack

difficult to evaluate and rank. Each agency and writer seems to have a different priority of attack.

This raises questions for discussion that are difficult to answer at present. For instance, will the creation of inter-competing global centres (in Maryland, The Hague, and Singapore) help dissipate the attack on the IB as a Geneva-based entity? To what extent might the appointment of more Americans to the IB administration (alongside Jeffrey Beard and Carol Bellamy) help reduce the notion the IB is 'anti-American'? Would changes to the Mission Statement help reduce the idealistic/ideological aspect of the attack? Would a reduction in fees (more subsidy, or scholarships) help to dissipate the attack on the IB as an expensive and divisive set of programmes? Would a greater emphasis on American literature and history help to reduce the pedagogical attack?

What are the boundaries to the attack?

Viewed within a Kirkian/ Burkeian lens of inquiry, the attack is a fundamental one (i.e. 'global education' is simply un-natural) and therefore defies rational resistance. However, how far can the attack go? The growth of the IB in 'international schools' and within other private schools in America appeared to be 'acceptable' to conservative opponents. The growth in public schools, on the other hand, seemingly has 'limits' as does tax-payer funding. The notion that growth can have 'social limits' has been explored by this writer (see Bunnell, 2011b) but I was referring mainly to the Middle East (e.g. Dubai) where a three-tier pricing model has appeared with some IB schools costing ten times more than those offering a local (or Indian) curriculum. The rise of middle-class angst in America shifts the attention of 'social limits' to there, with the IB becoming a greater 'positional good' and source of envy and resentment. Although there is evidence that America's middle-class is shrinking in size (Foster and Wolfson, 2010) the IB can never grow fast enough to meet growth in demand, causing frustration and divisions in society (as articulated by Hirsch, 1976).

This socio-economic analysis has much further scope to be expanded in an American context. There is a sense of feeling that (after five decades of operation) the IB deserves and needs more discussion and research. As asserted by Hayden and Thompson (2011a p.13):

Each of the three IB programs merits extensive research in terms of the role it plays in encouraging the development of suitable skills and knowledge for the global future of the adults of tomorrow.

One report (Hannover Research, 2010 p.6) which summarized the ‘current trends’ in IB research had concluded that:

Due to the crucial relationship between success in the DP and the transition to higher education, almost all of the existing research relating to IB education looks exclusively at the DP. (<http://isminc.com/documents/research/students/International-Baccalaureate-Programs-2010.pdf>)

How far the attack on the IB is a fundamental one requires greater investigation. The ‘limits’ to IB growth also requires further research, as does the broader sociological analysis of the effects of growth. The study by O’Connor (2011) raises some interesting questions about the effect of the IBDP operating alongside alternative programmes. The notion that the IBDP is ‘sucking in’ resources (i.e. it is a divisive use of tax-payer money) is deeply problematic and could seriously worsen the attack against the IB in America.

What alternative models of growth are acceptable?

The attack on the IB in the US has occurred as the IB has undergone rapid numerical growth (doubling in total number of schools worldwide between 2000 and 2004 alone), and reaching the 1,000 schools mark alone in America in 2009. The numerical growth looks set to continue, with for instance perhaps 100,000 candidates in public schools across America sitting the May 2015 examination session. However, there exists scope for discussing alternative models of growth of the IB in America, and elsewhere. Would this be more acceptable to opponents?

Walker (2011b) put forward the notion that the IB might enter a third phase of growth after the first two (initial growth in ‘international schools’ followed by growth in national schooling) had been completed (see my review of this book: Bunnell, 2011f). This phase might be one of collaboration, with the IB using its networks, experience and knowledge to help individual schools and national systems develop and introduce their own, localized, form of ‘global education’:

In the third phase, schools will be seeking to become ‘international’ in ways that best suits their particular circumstances and their different communities, and they will be looking to the IB, perhaps less for its programmes and more for its advice, support, development opportunities and recognition. (Walker, 2011b p.16)

Walker (2011b p.15) also states that a reduction of fees is not a long-term reality for a non-profit organization such as the IB, and the answer to greater growth and ‘access’ lies in a ‘combination of more indirect approaches’ (e.g. teacher

training, school accreditation, consultancy work). This framework fits well with Walker's (2007) earlier speech about 'contact' to 'connections' (i.e. the next stage might be one of 'collaboration'). In this context, the IB can exert 'influence' (Walker, 2003) and have an 'impact' (see Walker's, 2005b, speech in Montreal referring to an 'impact function') without major numerical growth of schools, students, or programmes. Put another way, the emphasis of growth will be on greater 'quality' rather than mere 'quantity'. The notion of the IB 'sharing' its resources rather than 'taking' might be slightly more palatable to some American opponents. At the same time, this might worsen the transformationalist attack on the IB, with opponents viewing the programmes as posing an even bigger 'threat' than before.

A further complication is that there is noted to be a growing anti-American bias and nationalism emerging in countries such as Turkey (Grigoriadas, 2010), and this might weaken the appeal of the IB in some countries. One commentator (Krastev, 2004 p.5) has remarked:

The terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, however, sharply punctuated the end of the 'American century'. Indeed, the era we are now entering may well come to be recalled as 'the anti-American century'.

The paleo-conservative attack on the IB could easily exasperate this sentiment. The situation in America is a complex one and not easily dealt with, but it requires some thought in terms of understanding and response. This book is offered by this writer as a starting point for a fair and rational discussion.

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