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# **Global Citizenship: Changing Student Perceptions Through an International Curriculum**

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**Abstract**

The extent to which education has a long term impact on the way students view themselves and the world is a key question, not least when curricula with an international character claim to develop attributes aligned with global citizenship. To our knowledge there have been few, if any, longitudinal studies that assess the impact of curricula that make such claims. Examining students' and alumni perceptions of an experiential element of one particular curriculum designed with this aim, the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme, we found that some of the most marked effects stress individual benefits. This raises questions about the potential of an international curriculum, such as that explored here, to disrupt existing attitudes and behaviours in such a way as to make a sustainable better world for all.

**Keywords:** global citizenship; international education; longitudinal educational outcomes; experiential learning

## **Introduction**

The literature on global citizenship, and on curricula related to it, is burgeoning. That this literature should be achieving prominence is not surprising. The combination of the development of the global economy and communications has made policy makers and educationists increasingly aware of the interconnectedness of the world. In this context, global citizenship weaves together the future of young people with the future of the world, prioritising this relationship through education that encourages students to "participate in, and contribute to, contemporary global issues at local, national and global levels as informed, engaged, responsible and responsive global citizens" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 16).

Implementation of ideas associated with responsible global citizenship has come to young people through various curricular vehicles. Oxfam's (1997) widely-available development education programme included a curriculum for global citizenship, later updated (Oxfam, 2015), to "equip learners for critical and active engagement with the challenges and opportunities of life in a fast-changing and interdependent world." (Oxfam, 2015, p. 5). More recently, the OECD (2018) has identified intercultural education, global citizenship education and education for democratic citizenship as key factors of global competence for an inclusive world, and has developed tests on 'global competence' which seek to assess students' understanding of global issues.

While the nation state remains the primary unit for citizenship rights and obligations, it is becoming increasingly apparent, as indicated in the studies above and critiques of the post-Westphalian world, that there are public goods and issues relating to social justice that transcend national boundaries (Fraser, 2017). For example, the currently most high profile global public good relates to climate change, which in turn raises questions about social justice for those who are most likely to suffer its consequences. There are, however, limitations in seeking to translate into practice what might be learned in the curriculum.

These limitations include that the costs, benefits and responsibilities of citizenship are primarily located in the taxes, laws and regulations of the nation state. As such, and in the absence of global forms of taxation to fund, for example, the maintenance of the Amazon, the material basis for citizenship resides in the nation state. As David Miller (2000) has argued:

Those who aspire to create transnational or global forms of citizenship have failed to understand the conditions under which genuine citizenship is possible. Either their aims are simply utopian, or else what they aspire to is not properly described as citizenship. (Miller, 2000, p.81)

Practice in supporting elements of global citizenship then becomes extremely complex. The material constraints and opportunities lie in the nation state: yet, there is nothing more material than climate change. There is a paradox in this. A curriculum for global citizenship demands students transcend the limits of the nation state; in this sense, there is an element of idealism in global citizenship. In turn, this makes the effects of a global citizenship curriculum, as in the case of the environment, highly uncertain. Nussbaum (2019) makes a similar point, noting that the allied concept of cosmopolitanism has not addressed the material constraints relating to social justice.

This leads to a further point. The notion of global citizenship is time-dependent, where time is linked to material conditions. As Maria Balarin (2011) has noted, the awareness of responsibilities for global public goods and justice is related to poverty. In her study of the favelas of Lima, Balarin found that young people had no interest in issues of global citizenship because poverty had framed their view of time as being in the present. It took all their time to survive. Yet global citizenship education must necessarily be about future responsibilities and entitlements, especially in relation to the environment. This suggests that formal curricula related to global citizenship might only change the views of those who are

sufficiently affluent to consider the future. This in turn can lead to the charge that curricula for global citizenship are designed for the relatively privileged. If we are to see how effective such curricula are, it follows that we should first make such judgements in relation to the privileged, the argument being that it is they who are in the position to act on the changes that global citizenship awareness might demand. Of course, it could be argued that it is precisely the privileged who would most likely reject the social justice demands of global citizenship because they are more than comfortable with the status quo. What this discussion points to is complexity in the possible outcomes that a global citizenship curriculum might elicit.

There is a further point to be made about the education of the relatively affluent. While not all affluent societies have been subjected to the tenets of neo-liberalism, where this is the case there are questions to be raised about how the responsibilities of global citizenship are conceptualised. It is well established that the doctrines of neo-liberalism are predicated upon what may be seen as an extreme form of individualism (Foucault, 2008) which in turn emphasises individual rather than collective responsibility for key features of economic and social life (Rose, 1989). How then will those who have been raised under the regimes of neo-liberal governmentality view their responsibilities with respect to global citizenship?

There are a range of levels at which the awareness developed by a curriculum that aims to promote global citizenship might affect practice. It may come through attempts to change national policies such as school students walking out of lessons, to the formation of Green political parties. By the same token, practice might be conceived at the personal level in terms of adopting veganism or being assiduous about recycling. These latter cases will always be related to broader policies and systems. As such, assessing the impact of such a curriculum will not be straightforward. But it is an attempt that we need to make, given the high stakes in terms of what global citizenship addresses. Failure to do so could be taken to imply that curricula promoting global citizenship are, at best, developed in hope and at worst

could be seen as a form of virtue signalling. Here we should note Durkheim's (1972) view on the significance of education:

We need to believe that our actions have consequences which go beyond the immediate moment .... Otherwise they would be too insignificant: scarcely a thread would separate them from the void .... Only actions that have a lasting quality are worthy of our volition.

There is a further methodological consideration that we need to take into account, if we are to assess the nature of the consequences of such curricula. This concerns the longitudinal element of judging their effects. The difficulties here relate to the accuracy of the memories of alumni of these programmes as to their effects, and to the way their subsequent careers and lived realities may intervene to compromise or promote practice with respect to their experience of such curricula.

Of no less importance is consideration of the complications arising from lack of consistency in terminology and the associated need to define terms. Marshall talks of educationalists 'drowning in a sea of seemingly similar terms [including] global citizenship education ... international education ... [and] education for international understanding' (2015, p. 108), terms which have emerged through different traditions but conceptualise largely similar aims. While recognising the difference in detail that may be found in different contexts, we take here the concept of global citizenship as being characterised by Oxfam's notion of a global citizen as someone who 'is aware of the wider world and has a sense of their own role as a world citizen; respects and values diversity; has an understanding of how the world works; is passionately committed to social justice; participates in the community at a range of levels, from the local to the global; works with others to make the world a more equitable and sustainable place; takes responsibility for their actions'. (Oxfam, 2015). Global

citizenship education can thus be thought of as any form of education or curriculum that explicitly aims to promote in students the development of such attributes.

In this paper we seek to explore the notion of global citizenship in the context of one particular international curriculum, the International Baccalaureate (IB), which shares an underlying aim, closely related to that of Oxfam, of ‘developing inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect ... [and who] become active, compassionate and lifelong learners’ (IB, 2016).

### **The Study**

The International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme (IB DP) is a pre-university programme offered and recognised worldwide as part of a continuum including also the IB Primary Years Programme, Middle Years Programme and Career-related Programme (IB, 2020a). Award of the IB Diploma requires successful study not only of six academic subjects, an Extended Essay and a course in the Theory of Knowledge, but also of the Creativity, Activity, Service (CAS) component which focuses on key elements that relate to global citizenship. CAS stresses the importance of experience, seeking to change awareness *and practice*. Data gathered in this study, which explores the impact of CAS, consists of responses from students and alumni who studied in a selection of schools offering the IB Diploma; many of these schools recruit from privileged national and transnational families and form, therefore, a salient case from which to examine the points made above.

### ***CAS within the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme***

CAS requires students to engage in each of three strands, and to combine two or more strands in an extended activity known as the CAS project. The three strands are described as follows:



- Creativity: exploring and extending ideas leading to an original or interpretive product or performance
- Activity: physical exertion contributing to a healthy lifestyle
- Service: collaborative and reciprocal engagement with the community in response to an authentic need

(International Baccalaureate Organization, 2015, p. 8)

CAS experiences must fit within one or more of these strands (International Baccalaureate Organization, 2015) and, although not formally assessed, students are required to provide evidence of how their activities meet seven learning outcomes (LO) (Table 1).

[Table 1 near here]

*Table 1 Specified Learning Outcomes from CAS activities (International Baccalaureate Organization, 2015)*

A staff member with the role of coordinating implementation of CAS (the ‘CAS Coordinator’) has responsibility for reviewing and approving the students’ evidence of having met the learning outcomes; this approval is required if the Diploma is to be awarded.

#### *Research on CAS*

To date, research directly relating to CAS is scarce and spans the period between 2002 and 2016. Kulundu and Hayden (2002) and Cambridge and Simandiraki (2006) published research based on CAS specifications effective from 1996, and a further six studies were published relating to CAS specifications valid to 2008. Data for this paper was collected at the end of the 2008-2015 period (based on the then most recent set of specifications). Six of the eight empirical studies referred to above were based in the IB Africa, Europe and Middle East (AEM) region, with one in the IB Asia Pacific (AP) region, and one in the IB Americas region (IBA).

Research on CAS has tended to be small-scale, with only one study of more than 100 respondents and just two which collected data from more than one country. Homogeneity is apparent in the methodology adopted across the research to date: all empirical studies used interviews, and four combined interviews with questionnaires, with a tendency for CAS students and staff to be respondents. Research topics include evaluation of the effectiveness of CAS, either in its entirety (Kulundu & Hayden, 2002) or of one strand (Hatziconstantis & Kolympari, 2016); and implementation, either of a specific CAS element such as reflection (Perry, 2015) or institutional structures that support CAS delivery (Martin, Tanyu, & Perry, 2016). Meanwhile, Wright and Lee (2014) consider whether the IBDP ‘core’ components (CAS, Theory of Knowledge, Extended Essay) equip students with skills relevant to higher education, while the research by Cambridge and Simandiraki (2006) explored intergenerational learning, which DP students may experience if engaging with the elderly in Service activities. One small-scale study of IBDP alumni found CAS was perceived to raise awareness of social and economic issues (Lindemann, 2012), although Brodie (2014) argues that reflection on CAS activities is vital to achieving impact. More recently, pedagogical choices are argued to play a part in fostering global citizenship and international-mindedness in relation to the Service strand of CAS (Wasner, 2016), while Hayden & McIntosh (2018) questioned the transformative potential of experiential learning through CAS when the implementation of CAS is superficial, or when students’ motives tend to prioritise academic results in a competitive international higher education market.

The current, large scale, study is the first to critically examine the longitudinal impact of CAS against some of its published aims. It also contributes to the growing debates around the effect of CAS, and asks whether models of experiential learning that emphasise immediate personal experience as the focal point of learning can stimulate a transformative process which effects changes in existing frames of reference (McIntosh, 2019). Experiential learning

experiences disrupt existing assumptions through which learners understand their experiences (Mezirow, 1997), but to what extent are CAS experiences disruptive enough to change existing frames of reference? How transformative can experiential learning be in relation to some of the aims of global citizenship? Ultimately, we question whether and in what ways IBDP students can become adult global citizens whose actions contribute to creating a better and more peaceful world (IBO, 2016).

## **Methodology**

Evaluation of the impact of CAS was approached indirectly through the perceptions of those who had experienced it. Three main stakeholder groups were included in the study:

- Students studying the IBDP (hereafter referred to as students). The question here is what these students learned from their CAS experience and whether they considered it worthwhile.
- IBDP alumni; here the purpose is to assess whether there were any enduring effects of CAS and, if so, which elements (as listed in Table 1) were most significant.
- Coordinators of CAS in schools, whose views were sought on the student CAS experience.

A mixed-methods explanatory sequential design (Creswell, 2003), incorporating online surveys, focus groups, and interviews, was adopted in order to gauge the benefits and challenges of CAS as perceived by those undertaking or implementing it. This paper reports the findings of the online surveys returned by current IBDP students in schools located across 89 countries, and IBDP alumni worldwide. Closed questions in the survey were analysed using principal component analysis, weighted means and multi-level modelling, and 6-stage thematic analysis was performed on open questions.

Student respondents were asked to complete an online survey to identify the activities they were undertaking to fulfil the CAS requirement, their perceptions of the programme's major outcomes, and those practices which they perceived as important in underpinning an effective CAS programme. A second online survey sought the views of the alumni group. Online survey data was collected from 8876 respondents, 7973 of whom were students in the process of undertaking the IBDP (the vast majority in their second year of study), while 903 were IBDP alumni.

Alumni were located worldwide, while students were situated in two of the three IB global regions: IBAEM and IBAP (see Table 2). The Americas region was excluded because a recent extensive study on civic-mindedness in which CAS was included (Billig & Good, 2013) drew data from schools in this region. This paper focuses on substantive findings arising from analysis of the data from the online surveys completed by two of the three stakeholder groups (students and alumni); data arising from the group of CAS Coordinators is analysed and discussed elsewhere.

[Table 2 near here]

*Table 2 Valid cases and percentages of male/female respondents for each instrument*

### ***Design of data collection instruments and data collection***

Online web-based surveys were developed with reference to relevant IB documentation. Fundamental characteristics and intended outcomes of CAS as described in the literature were analysed, and variables related to the aims of the programme were isolated. These variables determined the design of the data collection instruments and were used to populate a series of statements to which students could align their perceptions against a 4-point Likert scale to indicate definite agreement, slight agreement, slight disagreement or definite disagreement. Statements were supplemented with open-ended questions where respondents had the option

to write in prose to add further detail or explanation. The impact of CAS was understood in relation to the participants' level of agreed response. Examples included "Participating in CAS helped me to become more ... organised/independent/caring ... etc." (see Appendix 1 for full list of statements). Other statements addressed perceived benefits, challenges and motivators associated with CAS which related to the aims and outcomes of the programme. Stakeholders were also asked to identify satisfying, valuable and rewarding CAS experiences.

A link to the student online survey was sent to all IB schools in the IBAP and IBAEM regions, while the alumni survey link was distributed to the central IB alumni database and a number of schools with their own extensive IB alumni databases. It should be noted that 93.2% of students were in the second year of the two year IBDP, chosen because they had at least a year of CAS experience upon which to draw. While 57.5% of alumni respondents had completed the IBDP within the previous three years, for others the time since completing the Diploma was longer and in one case went back as far as 1979. Due to the dispersal of alumni after leaving school, their data have not been identified with an IB region.

### ***Data analysis***

Quantitative data was analysed through two main techniques: multilevel models and a comparison of weighted means (Snijders and Bosker, 1999). In order to identify the relative strengths of agreement with specific items within each of the regional groups (IBAP and IBAEM), and to be able to compare responses across the student and alumni groups, weighted means (WM) were obtained by allocating a weighting factor of x2 to the percentage of responses reporting 'Definitely Agree' and 'Definitely Disagree'. (More detailed comparison of the impact of CAS in the regions is discussed in another paper). Responses to the two 'Agree' categories were treated as having a positive value, whilst 'Disagree' was taken to be negative. Thus weighted means in the +1.0 to +2.0 range represent quite strong agreement by

respondents, and conversely  $-1.0$  to  $-2.0$  indicate quite strong disagreement. The range  $1.0 - 0$ , in both positive and negative senses, indicates less strong overall agreement/disagreement by respondents. A mean value of zero indicates no net agreement/disagreement within the group as a whole.

Multilevel analysis was used to identify those factors most consistently associated with a positive student perception of CAS benefits and outcomes. Principal Component Analysis (PCA) was first employed to create a composite variable to measure student perception of CAS benefits and outcomes. A series of multilevel models were then fitted, using this composite variable as the outcome and a set of items, taken from the student survey, as explanatory variables. Selected first were those variables judged to have an association with curricular outcomes in theoretical terms. A set of models were fitted to identify those predictors that established a statistically significant correlation with at least five of the seven outcomes. All analyses were carried out using MPlus (Muthén & Muthén, 2005).

Qualitative data pertaining to stakeholders' perceived outcomes of CAS from selected open-ended questions in both online surveys was thematically analysed using the six-stage Braun and Clarke (2006) method. Double coding, which recognises that qualitative responses can be coded under more than one theme, was employed to preserve the complexity of open responses. Responses about CAS activities were coded, revised and refined into over-arching themes to make explicit important issues that were otherwise implicit in the data. Themes emerging from this analysis are presented in Table 3. Student and alumni responses regarding perceived outcomes from CAS activities were also thematically analysed. Themes emerging from this analysis are presented in Table 4. The quantitative and qualitative analyses were conducted separately before being synthesised.

## **Results**

Consideration here of activities being undertaken to fulfil CAS is followed by findings about the impact of CAS, then the benefits and challenges of undertaking CAS, before variables are identified which significantly influence the perceptions of stakeholders. Consideration will also be given to the extent to which findings suggest that this element of the IB Diploma is contributing to meeting the IB aims and, thus, to supporting the development of global citizens as discussed above.

### ***What activities are being undertaken to fulfil CAS?***

Open questions allowed students to list all the activities they had engaged in for each strand and the CAS project, and a thematic analysis identified further themes (Table 3). Activities undertaken by students generally complied with the requirements made clear in IB documentation and, given the range of schools and cultural contexts within which CAS is undertaken, the interpretation of the programme seems remarkably consistent across the two IB regions. Thematic analysis also indicated the prominence of the school in orchestrating CAS activities, effectively increasing the onus on the school to engage students in activities which support them to develop an international outlook and, arguably, decreasing the likelihood of disrupting existing attitudes and behaviours.

[Table 3 near here]

*Table 3 Summary of themes of activities students are undertaking to fulfil CAS*

### ***What do stakeholders perceive to be the impact of CAS?***

Levels of agreement were used as indicators of stakeholders' perceived impact of CAS. Positive perceptions of the programme are reported here prior to perceived challenges, followed by variables with an impact on the outcomes of CAS.

*CAS develops the IB Learner Profile*

The IB Learner Profile is a set of ten attributes intended that all students of any IB programme should become: inquirers, thinkers, knowledgeable, communicators, principled, open-minded, caring, risk-takers, balanced, reflective (IB, 2020b); attributes that are arguably those desirable in any global citizen (as discussed above). Weighted mean calculation of responses also reflects the pattern of differing strength of agreement with regards to the impact of CAS participation on development of Learner Profile attributes (Figure 1), with the strongest levels of agreement on the left.

[Figure 1 near here]

*Figure 1 Weighted mean values for the Learner Profile attributes, by stakeholder group*

Figure 1 shows that the student group has stronger levels of agreement across all the attributes than do alumni. Interestingly, though Coordinator responses are not considered in detail in this paper, the strongest agreement across all attributes is from this group of teachers. One explanation could be that these results reflect levels of personal investment, with Coordinators closest to CAS in their daily life and alumni furthest from it. Development as thinkers and inquirers were attributes perceived to be least developed through CAS by all stakeholder groups, whereas becoming better communicators and more open-minded were accorded the highest levels of agreement. The uneven development of Learner Profile attributes may be related to the types of CAS activity being undertaken:

- in *Creativity*, performance activities were extremely popular and were largely undertaken in groups, such as school productions, choirs and orchestras;
- many students reported '*Action*' (the descriptor previously used for this strand before it was replaced by '*Activity*') being fulfilled through team sports; and
- *Service* activities almost entirely involved working with other people.



It is not unreasonable to suggest that students' perception of themselves as open-minded and good communicators is related to the emphasis across strands on group activities and mixing with people other than their peers.

*CAS participation has holistic benefits*

Qualitative analysis of alumni and current students' responses confirmed the quantitative findings that CAS participation helped students become more participatory, more adventurous, better organised, more open-minded, more mature, more tolerant and caring, and to have broader perspectives, increased self-knowledge and more understanding of people, as well as improved leadership skills. However, benefits extending beyond those identified in curricular literature emerged for both alumni and students (Table 4), suggesting that the effects of CAS may be greater than those of the sum of its parts. Alumni identified benefits to their personal development *and* well-being, with changes and benefits identified by students also falling into these categories.

[Table 4 near here]

*Table 4 Emergent themes identified, by alumni and by students, as changes and benefits*

In the well-being category, students saw CAS as a 'stress-buster' – a term used by one of the students, and adopted here to code responses describing CAS activities as welcome amidst intense academic study. Amongst final-year IBDP students, this aspect of CAS activities, along with the 'fun' of them, may have assumed particular importance when study-anxiety was growing prior to final examinations.

*CAS brings enduring benefits to IBDP students*

Findings showed that CAS may result in long-lasting benefits to participants. Thematic analysis of the enduring benefits of CAS reported by alumni identified, *inter alia*, personal development

including development of resilience, transferable skills, realisation of self or potential; improved well-being; benefits from trying new experiences; and a new sense of responsibility in the community. Three of these themes result in benefits to the individual, with only ‘responsibility in the community’ being clearly directed towards others. This raises a question about the extent of impact of CAS, both on those communities directly involved in student activities during the Diploma years and on those communities in which alumni act in adulthood. In contrast to the IB’s aim to encourage people to become active in improving the world, its alumni perceived the impact of CAS to bring largely personal benefits. This is a point to which we shall return in the light of the discussion about individualism and global citizenship responsibility.

### ***What do stakeholders perceive to be the impact of CAS?***

Levels of agreement were used as indicators of stakeholders' perceived impact of CAS. Positive perceptions of the programme are reported here prior to perceived challenges, followed by reporting variables with an impact on the outcomes of CAS.

#### *CAS is worthwhile*

Using PCA, levels of student agreement were high when asked whether they found CAS activities worthwhile (Creativity 83%; Activity 85.5%; Service 87%) and, across 79 of the 89 countries, there was a 70.8% level of agreement amongst students either slightly or definitely agreeing that CAS is a valuable use of their time. Students in only 10 countries, all in the IBAEM region, reported fewer than 50% levels of agreement with the same statement. Results of qualitative analysis also found that AEM students appeared to be more negative in their evaluation of CAS than did students in the AP region. Explanations for this phenomenon suggest complexities that require further research in order to consider how, for instance, the

influence of growth in numbers of IB schools in the AP region may compare to practice in many of the more well-established IB schools found in the AEM region.

### *CAS develops personal attributes*

Across both populations, CAS was perceived to have a positive impact on many personal attributes. Students' levels of agreement ranged from 73.9% (that CAS helped them become curious and questioning) to 89.9% (that CAS helped them become communicative and collaborative). Although alumni strength of agreement was weaker than that of students, they were largely strong: from 66.2% (CAS had helped them become more aware of their responsibilities to the environment) to 83.7% (CAS had made them more communicative). Two attributes, however, attracted relatively low agreement from alumni: only 50.7% slightly or definitely agreed that participating in CAS had helped them become more aware of economic issues, and 48.2% that it had made them more aware of political issues. Across both stakeholder groups, breakdown of responses by gender shows women to be consistently more positive, though differences are small and not statistically significant. Overall, results suggest that stakeholders strongly perceived participation in CAS to develop a broad range of personal attributes in students.

### ***The challenges of CAS***

Respondents were asked about the challenges they associated with CAS. For many students CAS was perceived to be time-consuming, with both students and alumni disliking onerous reflection processes. Some complained that CAS made them engage in a strand they disliked, requiring personal challenge or making them tired. Quantitative analysis of the extent of this discontent found that, in both alumni and student populations, there was a persistent ambivalent minority. 26% of students responded that CAS had not prepared them for their future life, and 19% that it had not prepared them for university, while only 18% of students slightly or

definitely agreed that participating in CAS had changed their behaviour. 21.6% of alumni slightly or definitely disagreed with the statement 'I find CAS activities worthwhile', with around a fifth of respondents thus able to identify little or no worth in CAS. These findings raise important questions about the impact of CAS on effecting long-term changes in IB students.

### ***Limited long-term effect of CAS***

Quantitative analysis indicates that students and alumni had high, though differing, levels of agreement that CAS participation develops a wide range of attributes. Students reported levels of agreement of over 70% for all attributes. Alumni reported levels of agreement between 60% and 83% for all but two attributes, as noted earlier. Both groups' highest levels of agreement were that CAS developed the same four attributes – becoming more 'communicative', 'willing to accept new roles', 'willing to accept new challenges', and 'collaborative'. Such attributes might be considered personally advantageous, transferrable skills that will enhance employability.

The groups shared relatively low levels of agreement that CAS helped them become more 'aware of responsibilities to the environment', 'critical in my thinking', 'internationally-minded' and 'curious and questioning'. Alumni had weaker levels of agreement than students on two areas particularly relevant to the ideas of global citizenship expressed earlier. Firstly in the role of CAS in developing international mindedness, the IB's key concept suggesting the development of global awareness, 79% of students agreed or strongly agreed that this had been developed by CAS, compared to just 66% of alumni. Furthermore, while 76% of students slightly or definitely agreed that CAS made them 'aware of responsibilities to the environment', only 61% of alumni did so.

The impact of CAS is thrown further into question when considering the relatively weak impact on changes to behaviour and attitude. 'My world view has changed' and 'my behaviour has changed' attracted levels of agreement at 61% and 58%, respectively, for alumni, but only 38% and 18% respectively for students, suggesting that it takes time for the benefits of CAS to be developed. In the highest levels of agreement with respect to the enduring benefits of CAS, 78% of alumni regarded it as having had an impact on their learning about life, the world and other people – a high rate of agreement suggesting that, seen retrospectively, the impact of CAS in forming attributes in keeping with a global outlook may need time to emerge.

However, the numbers in the alumni sample was skewed to recent graduates of the IB Diploma Programme. More than half had completed their Diploma studies in the two years prior to the survey. In order to examine the effects of CAS several years after DP graduation, a sub-set of the alumni sample was selected to analyse responses of those who had completed the DP between 2000 and 2012. If aged 18 on completing the DP, these respondents would have been between 21 and 33 years old when completing the survey. It was hypothesised that a programme which had effected deep and lasting change would produce adults whose responses reflected principles that the programme aimed to instil, with changed world view and attitudes, in particular responsibility to the environment, and ultimately that behaviour would be perceived to have changed. The data challenged this hypothesis, with fewer than a quarter definitely agreeing that CAS had changed their world view (Figure 2).

[Figure 2 near here]

*Figure 2: alumni (2000-2012): 'As a result of participating in CAS my world view changed' (3 non-responses)*

The perceived success of CAS in changing attitudes was similarly moderate, with only slightly more than a quarter of alumni in definite agreement that CAS had changed their attitudes (Figure 3).

[Figure 3 near here]

*Figure 3: alumni (2000-2012): 'As a result of participating in CAS my attitudes changed' (3 non-responses)*

Meanwhile, definite agreement that CAS had raised awareness of the environment was limited to a quarter of respondents (Figure 4).

[Figure 4 near here]

*Figure 4: alumni (2000-2012): 'Participating in CAS made me more aware of my responsibilities to the environment' (5 non-responses)*

Of course, it could be argued that amongst students studying an *international* baccalaureate a keen sense of responsibility to the environment would already have been nurtured, and the additional perceived impact of CAS would therefore be minimal. However, that there are groups of respondents who persistently strongly disagree on the impact of CAS cannot be overlooked and raises important questions about the extent to which the programme can effect lasting changes. This point is further emphasised when considering responses to the perceived extent to which CAS led to changes in alumni behaviour (Figure 5).

[Figure 5 near here]

*Figure 5: Alumni (2000-2012): As a result of participating in CAS my behaviour changed (3 non-responses)*

The same number of alumni respondents definitely agreed as disagreed that CAS changed the way they behaved, while almost a quarter slightly disagreed. Relatively small numbers of this sub-set definitely agreed that CAS had made a strong impact on them. In sum, the limitations of CAS become clear when considering the depth and persistence of the effects of the programme after several years.

## **Conclusion**

The analysis we present here invites a decoding of the meaning of CAS experiences and prompts questions about how, whether and to what extent it translates into views and behaviour that are consistent with the notion of global citizenship. We have provided tentative data which address these questions and which suggest that a series of signals have been transmitted from the CAS programme into adulthood. We stress the term *signal*, because the strength of the signal will be moderated in the case of alumni by the reliability of memory and life experiences.

In the introduction to this paper we listed a number of other caveats that will influence interpretation of these signals. The uncertainty of transcending the nation state remains a limitation of an international curriculum seeking to produce future global citizens. It was also noted that if students are to engage in the practices associated with global citizenship – of the kind envisaged by UNESCO, the OECD, Oxfam and the IB – they would require a minimum degree of affluence to actively consider the future. However, acting on such considerations may be enhanced or compromised by positions of privilege and by a socialisation into individualism, in cultures dominated by neo-liberal regimes. The majority of respondents perceived CAS to have had a positive impact, particularly for developing individual skill sets.

The impact of CAS beyond the individual, although difficult to evaluate quantitatively, did not realise the same level of positive outcome as did the impact on the individual. Although students agreed that participating in CAS broadens their perspectives, they reported little change in their behaviour or world view as a result. Similarly, community responsibility was a less important outcome of CAS for alumni, raising questions about the extent to which participation in CAS supports students to become longer term active members of communities, whether local or global. There are also some for whom CAS had apparently negligible impact: not least because it did not equate what is worthwhile with what is formally assessed.

This study has explored changing student perceptions with respect to attributes of global citizenship within the context of one international curriculum, the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme, and particularly, the experiential element embodied in its CAS programme. Follow-up qualitative work is needed to provide the in-depth understanding that would offer further insights to illuminate the issues raised, in the context both of international curricula such as the International Baccalaureate and of other curricula with aspirations to educate the future global citizen. Although tracing the signals from programmes such as CAS to later world views and practice will always be difficult, there is clearly the need for more research to be undertaken on the longer term effects of curricula promoting global citizenship. While it might be considered that the overall levels of agreement and endorsement with respect to the significance of the CAS signals are quite high, some of the most significant effects relate to personal enhancement: perhaps related to participants' relatively affluent social background and the stress on individualism. Though global citizenship may well rest on individual activism, this research raises questions about the power of an international curriculum to develop the lasting changes that will make a better world for all.



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## Appendix 1

<b>Student survey questions relating to benefits and outcomes of CAS</b>
[Response options: definitely agree, slightly agree, slightly disagree, definitely disagree]
Participating in CAS has helped me to become more...  curious and questioning critical in my thinking communicative principled (honest and respectful) open-minded caring willing to take risks balanced reflective
Participating in CAS has helped me to become more...  compassionate confident collaborative internationally minded independent organised
Participating in CAS has helped me to become more...  willing to accept new challenges willing to accept new roles aware of my responsibilities towards other people aware of my responsibilities to the environment aware of my own strengths aware of my areas for growth
As a result of participating in CAS...  my behaviour has changed my world-view has changed my attitudes have changed
As a result of participating in CAS I...  try new things I would not try otherwise take on new challenges am better at planning and initiating activities empathise better with other people make better judgements have a better understanding of other peoples' perspectives

As a result of participating in CAS I have...

learned to persevere

developed my reflective thinking skills

increased my awareness of myself as a member of different communities

developed better interpersonal skills