

Seeking Cosmopolitan Citizenship:
A Comparative Case Study of Two International Schools

A Summary of Comparative Results

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By

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Cosmopolitan Citizenship and International Schools

The process of globalization has presented scholars and educators with dilemmas regarding the preparation of youth as citizens of their nations. As migration patterns diversify the cultural fabric of societies, and as economic trends spur interdependence among nations, some scholars argue that schools must enable students to reflect upon “multiple, nested, and overlapping” civic identities, entailing membership to their culture, their local communities, their nations, and the world (Kymlicka, 2004, p.xiv).

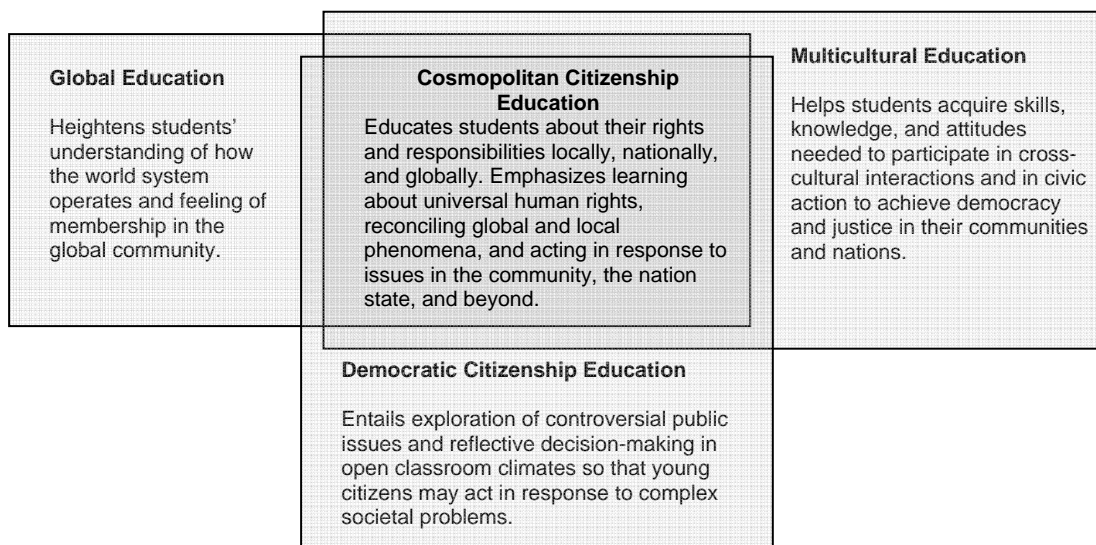
In this study, I investigated how international schools’ social studies programs prepared youth for cosmopolitan citizenship. Cosmopolitan citizenship reflects theories forwarded by Appiah (2006), Heater (2002), and Osler and Starkey (2005), who contend that individuals can foster cultural, local, national, and global affinities as they develop an understanding of their roles as citizens. Cosmopolitan citizens (1) recognize that every person is entitled to universal human rights (2) possess the ability to reconcile global phenomena with local conditions, and (3) develop capacities to promote equality and social justice in their communities, their nations, and beyond (Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Myers, 2006; Osler & Starkey, 2005).

Although the general public still regards cosmopolitan citizenship as unconventional, for years, scholars from various perspectives within the social studies – global, multicultural, and democratic citizenship education – have advocated for education reflective of cosmopolitan principles. Similarly, scholars of international schools – schools that cater to culturally diverse student populations and educate students for global understanding – have speculated that the curriculum, teaching, and learning in such schools can foster multicultural and global education-related aims (Pasternak, 2002).

In 2005, a Consensus Panel comprised of scholars from various social studies perspectives identified three variables that educators “must pay special attention to” if schools are to prepare students for cosmopolitan citizenship (Banks et al., 2005, p.16). First, they contend that students need to explore multicultural and global content highlighting important public issues. Second, they advocate for pedagogy that engage students in issues and that promote reflective decision-making. Third, scholars call for open classroom climates where students feel free to express divergent ideas.

I sought to extend current knowledge of civic preparation by examining how social studies programs in two international schools reflected *cosmopolitan citizenship education*, a theoretical framework that entails recognition of students’ multiple identities, the integration of educational approaches from convergent social studies perspectives, and attention to the triple variables of content, pedagogy, and classroom climate. Figure 1 depicts cosmopolitan citizenship education as a convergence of the social studies.

Figure 1. Cosmopolitan civic education as convergence of social studies perspectives.



Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to describe the content, pedagogy, and climate of social studies classes in two international schools – one in Atlanta, and another in Hong Kong. Further, I sought to compare the extent of cosmopolitan citizenship education in the two settings. Three questions guided the investigation: 1) In what ways do teachers' beliefs correspond to their classroom practice relating to democratic citizenship education, global perspectives, and multicultural content? 2) What do students perceive they are learning about citizenship, global perspectives, and multicultural content? What are students' perceptions of classroom pedagogy and climate? 3) To what extent do the implemented curriculum and students' perceptions in both settings reflect cosmopolitan citizenship education?

Methodology

I used a concurrent triangulation model of mixed research methods to address the study's questions. A mixed method approach is an appropriate model, because the theoretical perspectives that I draw upon have in turn drawn on qualitative and quantitative traditions to describe content, pedagogy, and climate. In triangulation model, qualitative and quantitative data are collected simultaneously, analysis involves comparison and integration of data, and convergence can result in well-validated findings.

Settings

I purposefully selected two international schools that would provide information-rich settings. Piedmont Academy is located in Atlanta, a historical center of the U.S. Civil Rights movement, and home to an increasingly diverse population. Bayview School is located in Hong Kong, a city in China with a legacy of British colonial rule. As evidenced by their mission statements, both schools aspire to cosmopolitan ideals:

Those who thrive in and contribute to this world will have a solid sense of who they are, and respect for who others are, as individuals, as members of a group, as citizens of their nation, and as members of a global community. They will have a rigorous academic preparation and a passion to become the best they can be and to help others achieve their best (Piedmont School Profile, p.1).

Dedicating our minds to inquiry, our hearts to compassion, and our lives to service and global understanding: an American-style education grounded in the Christian faith and respecting the spiritual lives of all (Bayview School Profile, p.1).

Both schools enroll half of their population from students holding US passports, but reflect the ethnic majority of their host countries. In Piedmont, most students are Caucasian, while in Bayview, ethnic Chinese.

Piedmont Academy follows the International Baccalaureate curriculum, a program that adheres explicitly to the “cosmopolitan” civic ideal (IB Continuum, 2006). Analysis of IB and Piedmont documents revealed specific provisions for achieving the school’s stated aims. These provisions include a holistic approach to education, encouragement of community, provisions for flexible pedagogy, and an issues-centered approach to learning. The IBO mandates that at the high school level, Piedmont Academy adheres to a rigorous college-preparatory program. To qualify for the IB Diploma, students are required to take one course in each of six academic groups: language one, second language, individuals and societies, experimental sciences, mathematics and computer sciences, and the arts. The program also requires students to complete three main components: a collective strand of Theory of Knowledge courses, Creativity-Action-Service (CAS) activities that enable student participation in citizenship-related projects in the community and abroad, and an extended essay. The extended essay project offers students the opportunity to investigate a topic of special interest and familiarizes students with independent research and writing skills.

Bayview’s secondary school curriculum, which subscribes to the Advanced Placement (AP) Program for juniors and seniors, has facilitated most graduates’ (>90%) entry to U.S. universities. In 2006, 87% of Bayview’s senior class took AP courses (Bayview Profile, 2007). Bayview high school students take four units each of English, social studies, mathematics, science, and foreign language. They also take one unit of world religion. Although community service is not required for graduation, nearly half of all students volunteer and are actively involved in service, which includes working with the underprivileged, the elderly, and the physically and mentally handicapped, as well as teaching English to local students. Bayview’s high school curriculum integrates social studies and English within a humanities program, which necessitated merging of the English and social studies departments in the late-1990s. Although teachers were initially against the integrated humanities format, they later came to appreciate how studying history alongside literature extended students’ depth of understanding about authors, historical time periods, and various literary genre. The integrated format paved the way for the introduction of specialized, elective courses within the humanities, such as Broadcast Journalism, Peace Studies, and two classes that integrated service within the humanities – Humanities I in Action and Service, Society and the Sacred. Importantly, these classes resulted

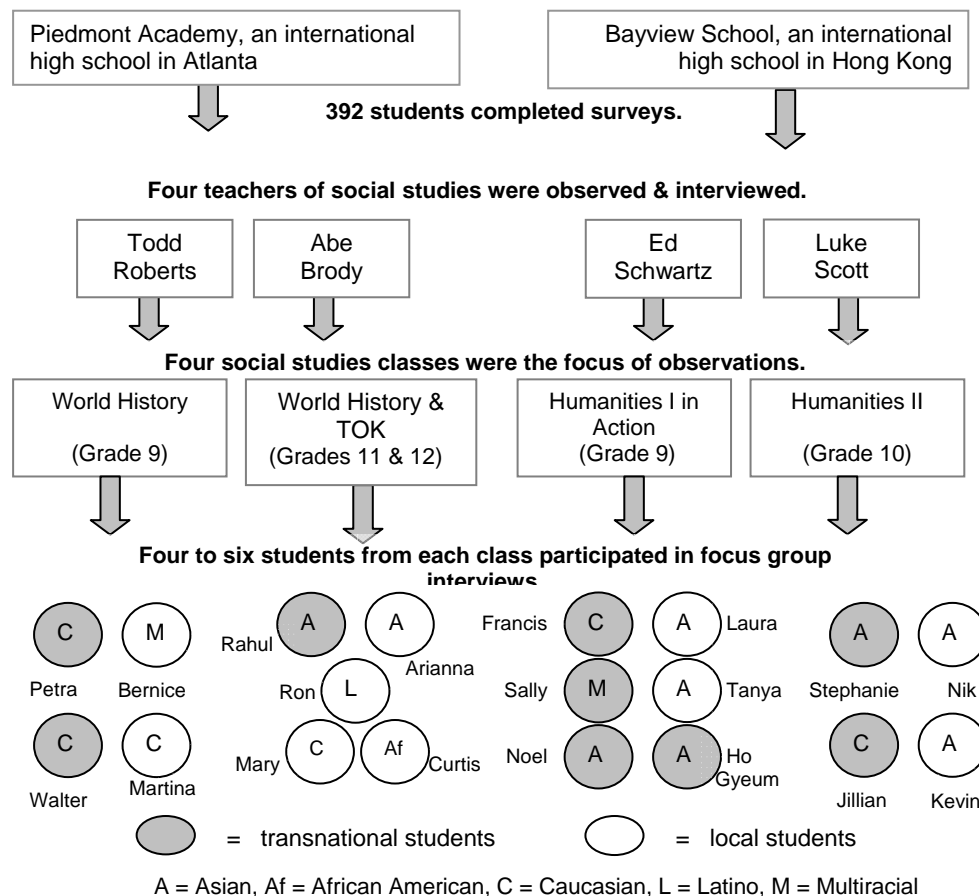
from teachers' initiatives and the administration's willingness to accommodate courses proposed by veteran teachers.

Participants and Data Sources

I used an informal form of community nomination, asking administrators to nominate teachers in leadership roles and with extensive experience in teaching social studies. At Piedmont, I was referred to the first teacher, Abe Brody, who taught 12th grade World History and an integrated social studies class called Theory of Knowledge (TOK). Abe nominated the second participant, Todd Roberts, who taught 9th grade World History. At Bayview, I asked the administrators to nominate similarly exemplary teachers. They nominated Ed Schwartz, who teaches a 9th grade social studies class called Humanities I in Action, and Luke Scott, who teaches Humanities II to 10th graders.

I interviewed teachers about their beliefs about citizenship and teaching social studies. I observed their classes at least 10 times each, utilizing a peripheral role (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2002). Focus group interviews with 19 students provided another source of data. Participants were determined through demographic data relating to ethnicity, national status, and years in an international school. Figure 2 depicts the participants of the study.

Figure 2. Setting and participants of the study.



Aside from interviews, I collected documents such as class syllabi, teacher-made tests, and handouts (Perakyla, 2005), and administered a survey ($N=392$). The survey measured students' perceptions of multicultural content, global perspectives, teacher pedagogy, citizenship, and classroom climate. The survey contained 71 items that allowed students to respond to statements on a 6-point Likert scale. Demographics of survey participants appear in Table 1.

Table 1

Demographics of Survey Participants

	Grade Level				Gender		National Status	
	9	10	11	12	F	M	Local	Transnational
Piedmont Academy	31	77	37	31	96	80	(US) 67	109
Bayview School	145	19	12	40	112	104	(HK) 153	63
Total	176	96	49	71	208	184	220	172

	Years in International Schools				Ethnicity				
	< 2	3-4	5-6	6 <	African Amer.	Asian	Cauc.	Latino	Multi-racial
Piedmont Academy	30	38	23	85	17	8	125	10	16
Bayview School	24	25	36	131	--	129	51	1	35
Total	54	63	59	216	17	137	176	11	51

Finally, I used a researchers' log to note evolving themes, and to reflect on my role as a researcher. Table 2 summarizes the data sources. Note that to address Question 1, I drew on qualitative sources, while to address Questions 2 & 3, I used qualitative and quantitative sources.

Table 2

Summary of Data Sources

Question	Qualitative Data					Quantitative Data
	Teacher Interviews	Documents	Class Observations	Student Focus Groups	Research Log	Student Survey
Q1: Teachers' beliefs & practice?	X	X	X	X	X	
Q2: Students' perceptions of content, pedagogy, and climate?		X	X	X	X	X
Q3: Cosmopolitan citizenship education?	X	X	X	X	X	X

Data Analysis

I analyzed data in three phases, reducing the database into a small set of categories using a constant comparative model. I began with analysis of interviews. Following inductive analysis, field notes and documents were coded based on categories from interviews. In the second level, I refined categories to minimize duplication. In the final stage, for Question 1, I created new themes to describe relationships between categories. I summarized conclusions based on qualitative data and wrote individual portraits of the four teachers' beliefs and practice.

The study's second and third questions called for integrating quantitative data at the second stage of analysis. For question 2, I looked at descriptive statistics of the four classroom-based variables and compared the two settings through ANOVA of various measures (content, pedagogy, and climate, as well as cosmopolitan citizenship). Also, to explore scholars' contentions about multiple identities, I conducted a regression analysis between three variables in the citizenship scale – local, cultural, and national identities – to determine relationships with global identity. I compared themes from student data to descriptive statistics from the survey. I then created new themes to illustrate student perceptions of content, pedagogy, and climate. I also compared themes relating to civic identity to results from the multiple regression, and created themes to describe student perceptions of multiple identities.

The third question examined how schools reflected cosmopolitan citizenship education. I conducted a second multiple regression based on cosmopolitan citizenship as a convergence of social studies. I looked at the four classroom-based variables as predictors of cosmopolitan citizenship education. I discussed answers to the third question through new themes reflective of teacher and student data. Finally, I looked at patterns across the sample, and for each school, to create comparative portraits of cosmopolitan citizenship.

Findings

For purposes of this report, I highlight similarities and differences from the examined settings as gleaned from quantitative findings and thematic analyses of students' and teachers' perceptions. I begin by presenting results from each school.

Piedmont Academy

I first visited Piedmont in the spring of 2005 and remained in the setting intermittently for two and-a-half years. I observed Todd Roberts' and Abe Brody's classes 38 times from 2005 to 2007, conducted focus group interviews from December, 2007 to January, 2008, and administered a survey in December, 2007. Six teachers (10 classes) in Piedmont Academy participated in the survey ($N=176$). I calculated descriptive statistics to determine mean ratings of multicultural content, global perspectives, classroom climate, teacher pedagogy, cosmopolitan citizenship education, and multiple identities. Table 3 presents the means of scales.

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics for Piedmont Academy

Content, Pedagogy, and Climate										
Teacher	Grade and Subject	N	Classroom Climate		Multicultural Content		Global Content		Teacher Pedagogy	
			Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Brody	History 12	13	5.21	.59	4.02	.45	4.36	.61	4.76	.63
Roberts	History 10, 11, 12	78	5.30	.51	4.81	.66	4.68	.70	4.99	.59
ATL3	History 10, 11, 12	55	5.19	.35	4.89	.65	4.65	.67	4.84	.71
ATL4	Geography 10	12	5.21	.36	5.10	.44	4.91	.60	5.10	.61
ATL5	History 12	12	5.10	.63	4.52	.86	4.24	.89	4.30	.82
ATL6	Geography 12	6	4.22	1.10	4.60	.51	4.90	.55	4.13	.50
Total		176	5.20	.56	4.77	.68	4.64	.70	4.86	.67

Cosmopolitan Citizenship and Multiple Identities										
Teacher	Cosmopolitan Citizenship		Cultural Identity		Local Identity		National Identity		Global Identity	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Brody	4.31	1.10	5.10	1.20	4.70	.50	4.92	.45	5.08	.79
Roberts	4.67	.84	5.74	.74	4.50	.89	4.70	.82	5.15	.70
ATL3	4.75	.72	4.78	1.10	4.26	.94	4.47	.88	5.16	.57
ATL4	5.00	.66	5.02	.89	4.29	.92	4.39	.85	5.21	.75
ATL5	4.75	.87	4.65	.77	4.60	.88	4.67	.78	5.25	.60
ATL6	4.19	.65	3.92	1.75	4.17	.56	4.33	.73	4.63	1.42
Total	4.68	.82	4.76	1.09	4.42	.89	4.61	.82	5.10	.70

Descriptive statistics indicated that Piedmont students perceived their classrooms to have open climates ($M=5.20$). They also reported moderate levels ($M>4.00$) of multicultural content integration, the exploration of global perspectives, teachers' use of multicultural pedagogy, and experience of cosmopolitan citizenship education. Among measures of identity, students reported a strong sense of global identity ($M=5.10$) and a moderate sense of cultural, national, and local identity, with local identity yielding the lowest value among identity measures ($M=4.42$).

Analysis of responses to an open-ended survey item, "Please share any thoughts on how being in an international school has helped you become more aware of your membership in your culture, your country, and our world," yielded four themes: a culture of diversity and respect, local/global discrepancies, an international/ un-American curriculum, and service.

Out of 116 Piedmont students who chose to respond to the open-ended item, 92 made references to cultural diversity and respecting diverse viewpoints. One 11th grader noted, "Having been educated at Piedmont for the last 14 years, I've certainly been taught about cultural, religious, ethnic, and other forms of diversity and the value of such variety" (SC:2). My own observations at Piedmont Academy affirmed students' comments. On its logo, the school name was rendered in four languages: English, French, German, and Spanish. Every week, two different flags were hoisted next to a school flag and a United Nations flag, at a prominent position in the front of the school's parking lot. At 12th grade assemblies, which were held twice

a week, I often marveled at slideshows featuring the school's far-reaching activities. The debate club participated in a competition in South Carolina, while the MUN team had just returned from Bruges and the Hague.

Piedmont's corridors showcased a sense of community and involvement among students, faculty, and staff. I sometimes saw teachers holding 20-minute advisory classes as they sat with students on benches positioned beneath student-created artwork. During these sessions, teachers and students would go over the day's schedule or discuss any upcoming events. Sometimes, after meeting with their advisory group, teachers would consult with individual students who needed to go over a test, wanted to ask questions about an assignment, or asked to borrow one of the teacher's books. A student council election poster showed two boys smiling under the slogan, "A Greek and a Turk... We'll make it work!" Lockers, which lined either side of the building's well-lit hallways, were posted with personal greetings from friends or reminders from the school counselor. Actually, the term 'locker' is a misnomer in this case, because none of the students used padlocks or any other device to secure their possessions. As one teacher pointed out, the school's motto, "Respect all, value all" captured the sense of mutual trust that Piedmont strove for its community to embody. A 10th grader explained how the value of respect became ingrained in her own ethos:

Going to an international school has without a doubt helped me become more aware and more tolerant towards people who differ in culture, religion, and/or traditions from me. Respect is particularly a key value of my school, and the constant reiteration of respecting each and every person has surely impacted our manner of behaving as a student and as a person (SC:11).

Aside from the evident harmony that permeated Piedmont Academy, the school's hallways gave indications of a community seeking to reconcile its local ties with the ideals of global understanding. Next to a computer-printed banner that read, "Why is international education important?" was another that inquired, "Do you know your place locally?" These questions echoed a theme that emerged from student responses, indicating discrepancies between students' experiences of global issues and local issues. Among open-ended responses, 57 responses, or about 49% of Piedmont survey-takers, commented that they were exposed to global perspectives or global issues, and about 18% commented that they had limited experiences connected to their own culture or the local community. One Piedmont junior noted, "Being an international student has ironically made me more aware of what is going on around me on a global scale yet has made me less aware of my immediate locality" (SC:3).

Additionally, Piedmont students characterized their education as international and not focused as much on American history. A 12th grader explained how mandated policies and teacher interest affected the extent to which teachers dealt with the history of the United States: I feel I have learned about my own culture, but only where basically required by Georgia law. The teacher I had then had a personal interest in the area where we live, and so, we learned a lot about American culture and history. This year, since we are in IB history, we have to follow a governed curriculum, and because of this, we don't have the time to spend discussing things that are off topic...(SC:5).

In contrast, 20 European students (about 17%) mentioned that at Piedmont, they were able to learn about their cultural heritage. One student emphasized that his Piedmont experience “(has) helped me learn more about my heritage which is German. I would not have had that chance if I was not in an international school” (SC:44). Germans and French students mentioned particularly that the language program at Piedmont helped them maintain their cultural and national identities; however, several African-American students at Piedmont noted that the school did not focus on their cultural heritage:

At this school we mainly hear about the cultures of other countries, or Europe (a lot), or vague U.S. history. Sporadically, we talk about the culture or religions of other countries, but a lot of the time I feel like we don’t even acknowledge African American history, not even during Black History Month (AF:9).

One Piedmont 10th grader wrote, “I think that a large flaw in the school system here... is that we are very focused on learning about European history. I think that the school should also educate us about our own countries and the country's accomplishments” (SC:12).

Importantly, 16 students, or about 14% mentioned that their experience at Piedmont created a distinctly global culture that entailed a focus on human rights and perhaps a perspective geared towards internationalism or world citizenship:

Having been educated at Piedmont for the last 14 years, I've certainly been taught about cultural, religious, ethnic, and other forms of diversity and the value of such variety. Of course, I've also, through contact with other cultural and political perspectives, come to associate myself as a world citizen rather than one of either the U.S. or Germany. Hence, I have little appreciation remaining for my own heritage (especially the American side) and instead hold internationalism in highest regard (SC:2).

Finally, about 7% of respondents cited the benefits they derived from participating in service activities through the CAS program. “One thing I really like about Piedmont is the stress it places on service...I found that it was one of the most enjoyable things in my life and that it has made me much more aware of global issues” (SC:19). The school’s Worldwide Webpage further testified to the civic involvement of Piedmont’s students both locally and internationally. For example, a number of Spanish-speaking students at Piedmont established a partnership with a local primary school to tutor young Latino students. The club’s Web site emphasized that the club was established by students and run by students. Upon studying about landmines in Africa and Southeast Asia, students at Piedmont organized “International Students Against Landmines,” a club that spread information and raised funds for organizations that sent aid to threatened areas. International Students Against Landmines has since expanded to other international schools worldwide (TII:6).

In sum, observations and student perceptions of Piedmont Academy’s school context illustrated a school community that honored respect for the diversity brought by students from diverse cultures. Although service activities provided avenues for students to respond to issues locally and abroad, students described their school as distinctly international and un-American. They also cited discrepancies between the global ethos inculcated by the school, which perhaps skirted the cultures represented in the Atlanta community.

Bayview School

I conducted interviews and observations at Bayview in October, 2007, for the duration of four weeks. I daily observed the classes of two teachers, Luke Scott and Ed Schwartz, interviewed students from their classes, and administered a survey to students in 12 classes. Table 4 shows the means of scales for the Bayview School.

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics for the Bayview School

Content, Pedagogy, and Climate										
Teacher	Subject and Grade	N	Classroom Climate		Multicultural Content		Global Content		Teacher Pedagogy	
			Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Schwartz	HI Action 9	18	5.29	.47	5.01	.56	4.47	.73	5.12	.48
Scott	Hum II 10	17	4.83	.57	4.63	.68	4.03	.94	4.76	.77
HK3	HI Action 9	20	5.43	.35	5.04	.42	4.78	.51	5.20	.44
HK4	HI Action 9	18	5.23	.45	4.89	.58	4.74	.59	5.12	.57
HK5	HI Action 9	20	4.97	.72	5.03	.46	4.84	.43	5.05	.56
HK6	Hum I 9	18	4.56	.38	4.64	.51	3.90	.76	4.70	.61
HK7	Hum I 9	20	4.79	.52	4.81	.60	4.04	.76	4.84	.48
HK8	Hum I 9	33	4.58	.50	4.76	.41	4.00	.63	4.34	.62
HK9	AP Econ. 12	15	4.40	.57	3.23	.97	4.02	.62	3.93	.78
HK10	Peace Std. 11, 12	12	5.46	.51	4.48	1.17	4.62	.96	4.80	.87
HK11	Brd. Jnal. 10, 11, 12	16	5.34	.36	4.88	.69	4.79	.71	5.20	.62
HK12	AP Gov't. 12	9	5.04	.41	4.32	.95	4.47	.63	4.48	.57
Total		216	4.95	.60	4.70	.77	4.40	.77	4.79	.70

Cosmopolitan Citizenship and Multiple Identities										
Teacher	Cosmopolitan Citizenship		Cultural Identity		Local Identity		National Identity		Global Identity	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Schwartz	4.65	.72	4.36	1.34	4.75	1.20	4.70	1.14	4.85	.61
Scott	4.67	.85	4.50	1.03	4.76	.98	4.76	.93	4.87	.63
HK3	4.88	.73	5.26	.77	4.98	.57	5.03	.55	5.34	.45
HK4	4.70	.57	4.53	1.01	4.76	.93	4.91	.76	5.01	.48
HK5	4.93	.52	5.13	.83	5.00	.81	5.02	.72	5.09	.47
HK6	4.67	.96	4.54	1.69	4.49	.90	4.54	.91	4.79	.72
HK7	4.78	.69	5.05	.89	4.81	.80	4.88	.77	4.99	.69
HK8	4.56	.65	4.68	1.07	4.63	.67	4.67	.65	4.77	.58
HK9	4.78	.51	4.40	1.04	5.02	.55	5.00	.65	4.90	.55
HK10	4.96	.84	4.60	1.14	4.63	.93	4.78	.73	5.19	.64
HK11	5.07	.84	5.09	.82	5.30	1.08	4.29	1.07	5.34	.65
HK12	4.00	.98	4.11	1.15	3.97	1.21	4.15	1.07	4.81	.81
Total	4.73	.74	4.73	1.10	4.78	.90	4.83	.84	4.98	.62

Descriptive statistics indicated that Bayview students perceived their classrooms to have open climates ($M=4.95$). They also reported moderate levels ($M>4.00$) of multicultural content integration, the exploration of global perspectives, teachers' use of multicultural pedagogy, and

experience of cosmopolitan citizenship education. Among measures of identity, students reported a strong sense of global identity ($M=4.98$) and a moderate sense of cultural, national, and local identity, with cultural identity yielding the lowest value among identity measures ($M=4.73$).

Analysis of responses to an open-ended survey item, “Please share any thoughts on how being in an international school has helped you become more aware of your membership in your culture, your country, and our world,” yielded four themes: religion and worldviews, an American/international curriculum, connecting the local and the global, and voluntary service. My own observations of the school paralleled students’ perceptions. As a teacher at Bayview, I had seen how the school’s strategic reform efforts had resulted in concrete changes in teachers’ religious instruction. In the 1990s, teachers conducted weekly chapel with their students, and initially, the material teachers were required to cover involved exclusively Christian texts. After the strategic initiative, a new Spiritual Life Committee spearheaded efforts to include Buddhist, Hindu, Islamic, and Jewish texts, and encouraged teachers to take a comparative approach to the study of world religions, with the view of exploring similarities. Survey responses indicated students’ perceptions that the religious component of the curriculum fostered awareness of the diversity that existed in their school:

The school tries its best to not discriminate against anyone, and also teaches us things from different cultures. For example, we have a Christian Club at school, however, we also have a Buddhist club, a Hindu club, and a Questions Club for people that do not believe in a religion (SC:37).

Aside from respecting religious diversity, 44 students (about 23% of Bayview respondents), mentioned that they learned sensitivity towards other cultures, whereas about 34% mentioned that they learned about cultural diversity and developed a global perspective.

Like their counterparts in Piedmont Academy, many Bayview respondents emphasized that their schooling experiences inculcated values of world citizenship. A Bayview senior cited awareness of current issues as a factor that facilitated membership in the world community:

Being an international student has really opened my eyes to the world and has influenced me to become more aware of the current events and conflicts that happen in different countries. The school itself has taught us about being world citizens and about respect for other countries (SC:22).

Unlike their Piedmont counterparts, who described their school curriculum as international and un-American, some Bayview respondents characterized their school as both international and American. One student commented, “most of the things we learn are related mostly to American topics” (SC:23). About 10% of Bayview respondents shared this view.

Intriguingly, about 28% of Bayview respondents — many of whom were ethnic Chinese — mentioned that their school experiences heightened awareness of their own country or culture. One Bayview 10th grader commented, “This school reinforce the values of your own country, but they put it in a more global setting, more global context...” (SC:44). Another student mentioned the school’s curricular goals as a factor that helped her maintain her cultural heritage. “(B)ayview has made me more aware of my membership in my culture in particular. I was

brought up to follow the SLRs (Student Learning Results), which include Chinese Culture. This SLR helped me understand my own traditions and beliefs” (SC:46). Additionally, unlike their Piedmont counterparts, about 22% mentioned that at Bayview, they were able to develop simultaneous awareness of local and global issues. One student noted how his schooling in general facilitated connections between global and local society, “I have a broader knowledge of universal issues and can in turn make more connections to the society and culture in which I live” (SC:43).

However, similar to their Piedmont counterparts, 12% of Bayview students indicated that their school created a culture that was distinctly international:

(B)eing in this school has allowed me to gain more exposure to other cultures and meet people from many different cultures. However, it seems sometimes like international school students have their "own" culture - that is, an international awareness (SC:17).

Walking around Bayview’s high school building, I was struck by the sense of social awareness and social action that permeated the campus. Every week, a news program written and presented by students of the Broadcast Journalism class highlighted issues that students had chosen to investigate. On one occasion, a documentary raised concern about historical landmarks that were scheduled to be demolished to make way for government-funded commercial buildings. Another broadcast featured student-reporters interviewing peers about cancelling that year’s prom in favor of a low-key celebration. Many of my former students, whom I taught as fifth graders and were now sophomores, juniors, and seniors, shared with me the various community service activities in which they had become involved. For the past two years, Elaine told me, she had been tutoring at a local Chinese school every Saturday, and Roberta exclaimed, “Our club is sponsoring a film about Darfur. Can you come and see it?” Another former student, Michael, showed me a documentary that he had created about a local drug rehabilitation center.

Student responses reinforced my observations of active service learning at Bayview. Thirteen percent of Bayview respondents mentioned the benefits that they derived from service. One Bayview 11th grader mentioned how local and international service learning activities expanded her global outlook:

When I moved from a public school to an international school my views of the world changed because I learned a lot about others. I also learned about service to the world. Bayview has a very big role in service in the world because of the number of clubs and how much the school has given and will give. This year I have joined SOS (Service on Saturday), Habitat for Humanity, and UNICEF (SC:35).

Although a majority of responses within the service category cited students’ increased awareness of issues such as poverty and global warming, several students cited differing views about their exposure to service. One Bayview junior commented,

We have so many chances for service, to help the poor that we are just growing more and more unconcerned about it. We understand we are among the very, very lucky few, but having so much service does not help us be aware of our membership to the world.

Along with students’ pervading enthusiasm for service, I saw how involved students were in their collegiate preparation. Stephanie, a sophomore, shared her worries about getting

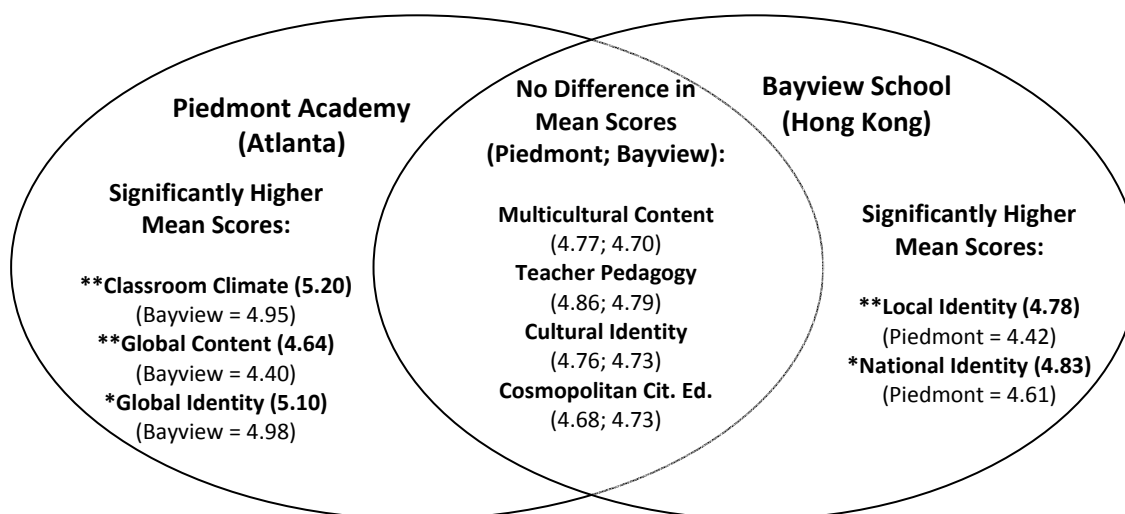
admitted to a competitive college. “My brother got into Carnegie-Mellon, so my parents really want me to keep my grades up.” It helped, she added, that Bayview required sophomores to undergo practice examinations such as the PSAT.

Like their students, teachers at Bayview showed enthusiasm for their students’ academic and personal growth. During my visit to Hong Kong, teachers prepared overseas school trips to poverty-stricken communities around Asia, arranged local trips to orphanages, or coordinated with Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) such as Habitat for Humanity. I also saw teachers meeting one-on-one with students who needed to consult about an essay or discuss an upcoming test. In sum, and similar to Piedmont Academy, students’ open-ended responses and my own observations depicted Bayview School as a community that strove to fulfill its stated missions; by implementing an American/international curriculum, fostering religious diversity and worldviews, connecting the local and the global, and encouraging service.

Exploratory Analyses of Differences

Results from analyses of variances of classroom-based variables (global and multicultural content, teacher pedagogy, and classroom climate), cosmopolitan citizenship education, and measures of identity (cultural, local, national, and global identities) are summarized in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Results of ANOVA from student survey.



*Significant to the .05 level; **significant to the .001

As shown in Figure 3, analysis of variance by school yielded statistically significant differences on the measures of classroom climate $F(1,390) = 17.69, p \leq .001$, global content $F(1,390) = 14.47, p \leq .001$, local identity $F(1,390) = 15.63, p \leq .001$, national identity $F(1,390) = 6.75, p \leq .05$, and global identity $F(1,390) = 5.66, p \leq .05$. Students in Piedmont had more positive views of their experiences of classroom climate ($M=5.20$) and global content ($M=4.64$), as well as a stronger sense of global identity ($M=5.10$) compared to their Bayview counterparts.

Bayview students had a stronger sense of their local identity ($M=4.78$) and national identity ($M=4.61$) compared to their Piedmont counterparts. No significant differences were found on the measures of multicultural content, teacher pedagogy, cultural identity, and cosmopolitan citizenship education. In other words, students in Piedmont and Bayview held similar perceptions on these measures.

Analysis of the interaction of school and national status yielded significant differences for the measures of local identity (Mean difference = $.612$, $p<.001$) and global identity (Mean difference = $.256$, $p<.05$). Pairwise comparisons by national status appear in Table 5.

Table 5

Pairwise Comparisons by National Status

	National Status	School	Mean	Mean Difference	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval for Difference	
							Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Local Identity	Local	Bayview	4.81	.612**	.130	.000	.319	.905
		Piedmont	4.19		.130		-.905	-.319
	Transnational	Bayview	4.72	.160	.141	.255	-.156	.477
		Piedmont	4.56		.141		.255	-.477
Global Identity	Local	Bayview	5.02	.115	.096	.231	-.331	.101
		Piedmont	5.13		.096		.231	-.101
	Transnational	Bayview	4.89	.256*	.104	.014	-.489	-.022
		Piedmont	5.14		.104		.014	.022

*Significant at the .05 level, **significant at the .001 level

Pairwise comparisons indicated that Hong Kong citizens in Bayview ($M=4.81$, $SD=.89$) held more positive views of their local identity compared to U.S. citizens in Bayview ($M=4.19$, $SD=.87$). Conversely, transnational citizens in Piedmont had more positive views of their global identity ($M=5.14$, $SD=.65$) compared to transnational citizens in Bayview ($M=4.89$, $SD=.58$).

Cross-case analysis

Generally, qualitative findings supported quantitative results; however, observations, interviews with teachers and students, as well as student responses to an open-ended survey question extended, and in some cases, negated quantitative findings. Affirming quantitative results, qualitative data revealed similarities across settings in terms of students' cultural identity, perceptions of teachers' enacted pedagogy, and cosmopolitan citizenship education in the school program. Interviews also supported findings that Piedmont students had more positive perceptions of their experiences with global content and a stronger sense of global identity — while Bayview students had a stronger sense of local and national identities — compared to their counterparts. Importantly, although Piedmont students reported more open classroom climates, similarities emerged in the manner by which teachers in both settings engaged students in issues-centered discussions. I also found that, despite similarities in students' experiences of multicultural content, the curriculum in each setting differentiated the extent to which teachers were able to integrate local, multicultural content with global issues.

In the following section, I discuss thematically teacher and student perceptions of multicultural content, global perspectives, and democratic citizenship education as gleaned from school-level and classroom-based analyses. I conclude by summarizing the extent to which the implemented curriculum and students' perceptions reflect cosmopolitan citizenship education.

Multicultural content. Mean comparisons yielded no significant differences in student perceptions of their experience of multicultural content. Across schools, students reported that they were exposed to multicultural content (Bayview, $M=4.77$; Piedmont, $M=4.70$), and many students shared positive comments about their teachers' attention to multicultural content. In analyzing teacher and student perceptions' of multicultural content, I found three themes: a belief in honoring diversity, emphasizing shared values, and the role of curriculum.

First, the four teachers reported honoring the diversity brought by students. Just as scholars of multicultural education exhort teachers to employ culturally-responsive pedagogy (Irvine, 1990) and welcome the cultures brought by students (Banks, 2004), participants in this study customized lessons and instruction to include students' cultural background, linguistic orientation, and national affinities. For example, as the 12th grade history class prepared for a major written project, Abe Brody included several of his students' home countries as topical options, whereas Luke Scott drew connections between Classical Greek values and Confucian traditions as his class analyzed themes from a Sophoclean play. During classroom observations, I also observed many instances when teachers encouraged students to use their home language as they processed information and discussed complex topics.

Importantly, students and teachers considered the diversity of cultures represented in their schools as a rich source of learning. A Piedmont student's comment, "Interacting with people from other ethnicities and cultures has taught me to be less judgmental and more open-minded. Now, I approach new people with a different point of view than before," captured a recurring opinion expressed by teachers and students alike. Moreover, teachers mentioned that their schools' missions of respecting diversity served as a motivating factor in their integration of multicultural issues. They emphasized that students' differing cultures expanded their classes' collective knowledge, and allowed for issues to be approached from multiple points-of-view. At Bayview, teachers also cited school aims of expanding students' awareness of world religions as an additional guidepost for incorporating multicultural content. Clearly, the schools' explicit valuing of diversity, as evident in goals of maintaining and using a diverse student population as a source of learning, supports scholars' contentions that diverse communities offer an environment "that produces active engagement, requiring students to think in deeper, more complex ways" (Kurlaender & Yun, 2001).

Aside from welcoming the cultural diversity brought by students, Banks (2004) underlines the importance of constructing a democratic community "with an overarching set of values to which all students will have a commitment and with which all will identify" (p.12). Although I found that teachers honored diversity, I also observed that they emphasized the values shared by their school community, such as "global understanding" (Bayview Mission, 2007) or "respect all, value all" (Piedmont website, 2007). Teachers reminded students to reflect on commonalities, be it students' connections with the human community or themes that recurred throughout history. For example, by connecting pre-Civil War debates about Southern

U.S. states' rights with grievances aired by the Sunnis in Iraq, Todd Roberts encouraged his students to view the plight of cultural minorities as a challenge confronted by many societies. Ed Schwartz, by framing lessons around philosophical worldviews, allowed students to consider their personal identities as linked to the collective human experience.

Across focus groups and survey responses, I found students who recognized that their schools subscribed to a distinct culture and mindset that entailed both global awareness and respect for diversity. However, some students mentioned that their schools developed "an international school culture" that in some cases, failed to reflect their own culture. This may explain moderate scores for the statement, "In this school, I have learned about my own religious, ethnic, or cultural group" ($M=4.33$). Interestingly, I found that transnational and Third Culture students mentioned that their schools' and teachers' attention to culture allowed them to feel comfortable about their own cultural identity. As one Bayview transnational student noted, "By learning about other cultures and realizing how different their's is from ours, we get a clearer picture of our own identity as a 'foreign alien'" (SC:18). Yet, a number of African American students in Piedmont mentioned that they learned "a lot" about European cultures, but that their school did not "acknowledge African American history" (AAC:9). One African American student mentioned a prevailing tendency to view race and culture from a color-blind perspective. "I, for one, don't see the world as other people in a public school might. I really don't see color, people are people and coming into this school made me realize a lot more people see it like that" (AAC:14). Curtis, an African-American participant from Piedmont, expressed appreciation for how his school and peers allowed him to develop his own identity, unrestricted by societal expectations (F3:18). Although these students cited the benefits of a shared global awareness, findings indicated that Piedmont's school culture perhaps skirted cultural nuances and de-emphasized the cultural heritages of American ethnic minorities. As Todd Roberts mentioned: "I may be generalizing, but the school community tends to think that Americans are Americans, and there are no cultures within... They don't understand that there's a difference between an Asian-American or African-American" (TI1:7).

A final theme reflects the role of curricula in teachers' capacities to integrate multicultural content. At the school level, I found that curricular intentions affected the extent to which students learned about specific cultures. In Bayview, for example, students recognized an explicit goal of learning Chinese culture, which represented the school's ethnic majority and location. Not surprisingly, an analysis of local students in both settings indicated that Bayview student identified more strongly with their local identity compared to their Piedmont counterparts. At the classroom level, I found that curricular intentions affected the extent to which teachers integrated multicultural content to reflect transformative and social action approaches (Banks, 1993). The data indicate that, as teachers encouraged students to view issues from varying cultural perspectives, to consider the professional and national backgrounds of authors of texts, and to evaluate the reliability of sources, teachers integrated multicultural content for purposes of transformation. Teachers provided students with opportunities to learn "how knowledge is constructed" and included "powerful concepts, multicultural themes, and multiple perspectives on a variety of ethnic and cultural groups" (Dilworth, 2001). However, subject-specific curricula differentiated teachers' abilities to incorporate multicultural content for the purpose of social action. Ed Schwartz installed social action and service learning as integral components of Humanities I in Action (HIA), whereas Abe Brody cited the focus on content

included in History 12 examinations and the relegation of service to co-curricular activities as factors that limited his ability to integrate social-action geared multicultural content. Thus, the differing curricular goals of these two classes may account for the difference in student perceptions of multicultural content in the teachers' classes (Schwartz, $M=5.02$; Brody, $M=4.02$, $p=.000$).

Global perspectives. Quantitative analyses yielded significant differences in students' perceptions of global content (Piedmont, $M=4.64$; Bayview, $M=4.36$, $p=.000$). Similarly, on the cosmopolitan citizenship education scale, Piedmont students reported more inclusion of human rights, more attention to their rights and responsibilities as world citizens, and more confidence in their ability to act in response to issues internationally than did Bayview students. In contrast to school-level survey results, I found no significant differences in students' stated perceptions of global content in the four classes that I observed and interviewed. Three themes characterize students' and teachers' perceptions of global perspectives: instilling perspective consciousness, examining global connections, and difference in stated global intentions.

A theme that resonated across classes was that teachers' instruction drew from their beliefs of instilling a global perspective in students. Specifically, teachers sought to build students' "perspective consciousness," or "awareness on the part of the individual that he or she has a view of the world that is not universally shared" (Hanvey, 1976, p.5). Through strategies such as questioning the predominantly global outlook of Piedmont's community, Abe Brody challenged students to view their school's "groupthink" from an outsider's perspective. Todd Roberts encouraged his students to approach historical issues through varying national perspectives, and ultimately, achieve what he termed a "historical, global view," which he characterized as "an objective standpoint" (TI:5). Student perceptions, as shared by focus group participants from both schools, indicated that they developed global awareness through such experiences as examining their philosophical worldview, writing a universal belief statement, applying enduring lessons of the Greek Classical period, or examining issues through a human rights framework. Thus, teachers' similar attention to global perspectives may explain quantitatively similar results on the global content scale across classes.

A second theme involved examining global connections. Just as global education scholars (Anderson, 1976; Diaz et al, 1999; Hanvey, 1976; Merryfield, 1996) underline the importance of learning about global interdependence, the four teachers encouraged students to examine global phenomena and make links between distant societies. For example, when Luke Scott and his students tested the applicability of the rule of law, they began by examining the U.N. Convention on the Rights of Refugees. This framework laid the basis for examining how refugees in Hong Kong and other societies faced challenges in the form of racial discrimination, unfair labor codes, and sub-standard living conditions. Similarly, as Ed Schwartz and his students scrutinized the crisis in Darfur, they looked at the roles played by national governments and international organizations in sustaining or alleviating the situation. Ultimately, students were able to link a demand for fuel to the Chinese government's refusal to act against the Sudanese government.

Because I did not observe differences in the amount of global content across the four classes, I wondered if Piedmont students' perceiving more global content as reported on the survey may be attributed to differences in stated intentions at the school level, the third theme of

integrating global content. For example, I found that the IB Curriculum used at Piedmont made explicit references to instilling students' identification with the world community. The IBO's *Program Standards* stated: "The school promotes international-mindedness on the part of the adults and the students in the school community" (p.2). The *Criteria for International Education* reflected the school's goal by stating, "The prevalence of discrimination, racism in all its forms, abuse of human rights, famine, poverty and environmental destruction, require a much greater understanding of what internationalism means in terms of our planet and its inhabitants." Further, the school's provisions for an issues-centered approach to learning about global problems became evident in teachers' organization and implementation of course material. In contrast, the Bayview school mission characterized itself as a school that provided "An American-style education grounded in the Christian faith and respecting the spiritual lives of all" (Bayview Mission, 2007).

Reflecting the difference in curricular intentions, Bayview student participants tended to describe their school curriculum as "American," whereas their Piedmont counterparts characterized the school curriculum as "international," and in some cases, even characterized their studies of the United States as a study of that nation in relation to other countries. Several Bayview students echoed their peers' opinions. One freshman commented, "I think, because this is an American-system based school that it mainly focuses on the U.S. However, it talks a lot about the world around us and I get in contact a lot with world issues facing human beings today" (SC:37). The contrasting curricular intentions (American versus international curriculum) may account in part for the significant difference in students' perceptions of global content.

A second possible explanation for differences between schools with regards to global content may stem from the cultural diversity of student populations. Many focus group participants from Piedmont noted that their school community had a considerable number of Europeans and Americans, while in Bayview, two thirds of the population was ethnically Chinese, and the curriculum stated clear provisions for focusing on the local culture as well as global awareness. A third explanation may stem from the subjects taught in the classes I sampled for the student survey. At Piedmont, the survey was administered to world history and geography classes, subjects that focus on global issues, whereas at Bayview, sampled classes included a number of Humanities I classes that dealt with Asian culture. Finally, it is also possible that the days I observed lessons were not typical of what occurred over the total course.

Democratic citizenship education. The Consensus Panel for Citizenship and Diversity (Banks et al., 2005) underscored the importance of exploring issues in depth within climates where students feel free to express views, even if those views go against the teacher's or prevailing opinions. Both quantitative and qualitative findings revealed aspects of teaching and learning that resonated with the panel's principles. I elaborate on democratic citizenship education by discussing two themes: using issues-centered teaching in a climate of community and applying reflective decision-making.

Analysis of responses to the Classroom Climate scale indicated that Ed Schwartz's and Todd Roberts' students perceived classroom climate to be more open than did peers in their respective schools. Yet, despite quantitative similarities in Mr. Roberts' and Mr. Schwartz's students' perceptions of climate, focus group participants and observations yielded differing

styles with which each teacher created open classroom environments. Todd Roberts' students said that their teacher refrained from disclosing his own opinions and dedicated discussions to exploring different sides of issues. Meanwhile, Ed Schwartz's students said that their teacher shared his opinions, but used his opinion to solicit reactions from the class. In this vein, the case supports scholars' observations of the variety of ways in which teachers can create issues-centered and open climate classes (Hahn, 1998).

Importantly, Piedmont students reported that they experienced more open classroom climates ($M=5.20$) than did their Bayview counterparts ($M=4.96$). Although classroom observations did not provide insights to the differences in student perceptions in classroom climate, document analysis indicated that the IB curriculum posited the "development (of) a climate of open communication and careful expression of ideas, attitudes and feelings" (IBO Program Standards, p.3) as an explicit aim. Student responses to the open-ended item also indicated that a higher percentage (9%) of Piedmont students commented on teacher instruction and classroom climate, compared to Bayview students (4%). As two Piedmont students noted, "This school is commonly referred to as 'a bubble' in which students and teachers feel free to express ideas and opinions" (SC:3). "I think that our teachers really make a conscious effort to make sure we are able to express our opinions and make our own opinions instead of just telling us what we should think" (SC:11). In this vein, the case of Piedmont Academy exemplifies scholars' observations that when the over-all culture of schools support the discussion of issues, an open classroom climate is more likely to materialize (Hess, 2002). However, cultural factors such as perceptions of teacher authority or child-rearing may likewise have differentiated student views of the climate that prevailed during classroom discussions. For example, respect for authority is highly regarded within Chinese societies, and a substantial percentage of Bayview students identified themselves as Hong Kong citizens and ethnically Chinese.

At both Piedmont and Bayview, community building was a dominant feature that characterized teacher instruction. At Piedmont I found that the school posited "building community" as an overt goal. Also, Piedmont teachers' long-term relationships with students reinforced students' awareness of their roles as citizens within the school community. As Abe and Todd mentioned, they were familiar with their students' abilities and personalities because they had taught some students from 6th grade onwards. Familiarity with the students helped build a pastoral relationship that clarified the school's expectations of students' civic roles and responsibilities in their daily life. Abe noted that when students were encouraged to apply their responsible citizenship to the local community, they responded positively to the challenge. For example, Abe mentioned that the school's vice principal received a phone call from a local restaurant owner. "Thirty or forty kids went to the same restaurant before the prom. They called to say how pleased they were about how respectful the kids were, how well they worked with each other, and how they didn't disrupt the entire place" (AI2:8).

Through their behavior and pastoral relationship with students, the four teachers helped inculcate in students their responsibilities as citizens of the school and the wider community. Even though none of the teachers mentioned their role as models for young citizens, I observed that Abe, Ed, Luke, and Todd provided examples of democratic living (Dewey, 1916) as they interacted with their students. Abe listened to students' ideas and respected their opinions, even if these seemed to contradict a lesson he was presenting about race (AO8:3). Similarly, Ed

prodded his students to explain their thoughts so that he could understand their opinions about China's position on Darfur. On many occasions, I saw teachers exert extra effort to accommodate and build rapport with students, be it by being available during breaks to provide one-on-one feedback on an essay, or by taking time to discuss issues that were particularly meaningful to students.

Aside from building a climate of community, teachers' beliefs about and practices for democratic citizenship emerged as they engaged students in reflective decision-making. Teachers enabled students to engage in the first dimension of reflective decision making: evaluating the dependability of information about social problems (Engle & Ochoa, 1988). Moreover, through teachers' utilization of different classroom strategies, students achieved skills necessary to make knowledgeable decisions about complex issues, the second dimension of Engle and Ochoa's model. Luke required students to evaluate sources as they formulated and defended their opinions about refugees' rights, while Todd used role-play as a stimulus for students to form arguments, collaborate with peers, and make judgments about a historical personality's actions. Ultimately, students showed understanding of the conflict surrounding historical issues, and laid the basis for dealing with issues in the future. By building a climate of community, which included respecting students' opinions, creating an atmosphere of compassion and collaboration, and practicing democracy in their instruction, teachers contributed to the development of students' commitment to democracy as a way of life.

Teacher pedagogy. Comparison of means on the Teacher Pedagogy scale yielded no significant difference between schools and among the four observed classes. Three themes resonated across the four teachers' pedagogical implementation: encouraging higher-order thinking, exploring enduring themes, and emphasizing writing. Students said that their teachers utilized a wide repertoire of strategies that challenged their higher-order thinking. Luke Scott's students cited the use of contemporary movies to draw analogous elements to Classical Greek works, skit presentations, and different group configurations to discuss issues. Abe's students engaged in "four-corner" debates, used sources on the Internet, such as NPR, and viewed historical documentaries to evaluate the reliability of sources. Todd Roberts' students engaged in role-play and "rotating" debates, and brought current events articles that they related to historical topics, whereas Ed Schwartz's students engaged in service learning, explored global issues and current events, and synthesized their experiences to formulate a worldview.

All four teachers organized content around broad, enduring themes that allowed students to explore links between personal experiences and content. Be it the recurring theme of an individual's quest for meaning, or the feasibility of universal values, teachers and students navigated content in ways that helped students apply their understanding to contemporary issues or their daily lives. Interestingly, like participants in Marri's study (2005), teachers challenged students to synthesize their understanding through writing activities. Students cited class discussions and daily lessons that required them to use higher-order thinking skills as preparation for tackling short essay and more complex written assignments. In many cases, these writing assignments required students to explore issues through divergent perspectives, evaluate various sources, and make judgments based on synthesis and analysis.

Cosmopolitan citizenship education. An over-all purpose of this study was to determine the extent of cosmopolitan citizenship education in two international schools. Descriptive statistics demonstrated that students held moderate views of cosmopolitan citizenship education over-all ($M=4.71$). Although quantitative analysis revealed no significant difference in student perceptions between schools (Bayview, $M=4.74$; Piedmont, $M=4.68$), qualitative analyses illuminated how the implemented curriculum and student perceptions reflected the principles of cosmopolitan citizenship. In the following section, I focus on the three principles that undergird cosmopolitan citizenship education.

The first principle of cosmopolitan citizenship education entails students' learning about universal human rights. Item analysis revealed that Piedmont students reported studying about human rights more than their Bayview counterparts, and school-level and classroom-level data supported this finding. The varying ways in which teachers tackled the crisis in Darfur illustrates this point. At Piedmont, I observed the Model United Nations team conducting a U.N. assembly with several sixth grade classes in order to educate them about the crisis. The students organized a whole-day activity presenting the crisis as a violation of human rights on a massive scale. By the end of the day, the various student committees presented their solutions to the Darfur crisis. They prefaced their solutions by citing various U.N. conventions, and proposed comprehensive response plans that involved cross-national collaboration as well as the participation of various U.N. agencies such as the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees and the use of peacekeeping forces. Watching the Piedmont students that day, I was reminded of Abe Brody's comments, that at their school, the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights "just seems to make sense."

At Bayview, a service club and Bayview's parent organization sponsored a film about the Sudan crisis. I saw students and teachers who were appalled by the situation in Darfur; however, unlike their counterparts at Piedmont, teachers presented the crisis as a moral outrage, rather than a failure of human rights. Although many Bayview students, particularly those in Ed Schwartz's class, chose to write to the U.N. Secretary General and other agency heads, their responses conveyed a need to act, not out of a human rights imperative, but because of a sense of connection to those who had perished in Darfur. As one HIA student commented "When someone in Darfur dies, everyone dies." In a way, Bayview students' responses reflected the spiritual and philosophical approach that the HIA course sought for students to explore as they developed their own worldview.

During classroom observations, I also observed that classes at Piedmont dealt more consistently and explicitly with human rights compared to classes at Bayview. During Abe Brody's and Todd Roberts' classes, the discussion of human rights emerged in relation to the crisis in Darfur, Turkey's possible membership in the European Union, and water conservation in Georgia. At Bayview, I also saw instances when classes discussed human rights issues. However, with the exception of the Humanities II unit on the U.N. Convention on Refugees, teachers and students often referred to human rights through the framework of morality, just as I had observed during the film debriefing activity. Thus, the contrasting community cultures – human rights versus spiritual and philosophical worldviews – may explain the differences in which students showed awareness of the oneness of humanity.

The second principle of cosmopolitan citizenship entails students' abilities to reconcile global phenomena with local conditions. Similarly, the third principle seeks for students to act in response to issues locally, nationally, and beyond the nation state. Interestingly, analysis indicated that Piedmont reflected the global aspects of cosmopolitan citizenship, while Bayview, the local aspect, as well as the ability to connect the local with the global. Piedmont students had a stronger sense of global identity, reported having had more global content, and reported more "learning how to act in response to issues in other countries;" Bayview students had a stronger sense of local identity and learning about "how issues in our city are tied to global events." In this vein, the cases present differing examples of how schools can approach cosmopolitan citizenship education.

Across schools, a majority of focus group interviewees mentioned that the cultural diversity brought by students, the international focus of the school curriculum, service activities, and school-sponsored trips abroad contributed to the global-mindedness that prevailed in their school community. Although teachers considered the instilling of a global perspective as a necessary skill for young citizens, they also noted a discrepancy between their schools' predominantly global outlook and lack of student awareness about issues in the local community. In both Bayview and Piedmont, teachers characterized their school community as a "beautiful bubble" perhaps removed from realities of local society.

Intriguingly, I found that teachers' ties to the locality guided their instruction for relating global and historical issues to more immediate issues. Within classes taught by Todd Roberts and Ed Schwartz, teachers with ties to the locality and who noted the importance of examining current issues, I observed more instances when teachers and students related global problems or global frameworks to national and local situations. Ed Schwartz's students experienced service learning, such as volunteering in an orphanage, in relation to both China's one-child policy and reflections on students' worldviews. Meanwhile, Todd Roberts' students mentioned how their studies of the Constitution related to water rights in Georgia, as well as the global problem of water conservation. Although Todd cited the flexibility in curricular frameworks as a factor that enabled him to reconcile global and local issues with students, he also noted that Piedmont's emphasis on global understanding de-emphasized the struggles of local underrepresented groups, particularly African Americans. As Todd reminded me, the school did not celebrate Black History Month, which is a feature of many American public schools.

Aside from the teacher's local ties, the HIA curriculum at Bayview afforded students more opportunities to relate philosophical worldviews and global issues to issues in Hong Kong. In fact, Ed positioned those three components – philosophical worldviews, global issues, and local issues – as a framework for HIA classes. Given that four HIA classes participated in the student survey, the high representation of that particular subject may explain the significantly greater reporting of learning "how issues in our city are tied to global events."

Finally, the cases differed in positioning the role of service in relation to the academic program. When examining Piedmont teachers' instruction in relation to the school's intentions, what emerges is that teachers did not engage students directly in decisions to take actions about prevailing social issues. Teachers believed that the school's educational program inculcated in students a sense of activism and social justice, however, they admitted that their instruction did

not attend to advocating action in response to local or global problems. Teachers laid foundations for students to reflect on historical or contemporary issues, however, the decision to participate in social action took place in extra-curricular activities such as CAS or the Service on Saturday program. Although Bayview did not state specifically how service learning related to academic learning, the HIA class provides an example of how a number of teachers, including Ed Schwartz, were developing programs to reconcile the two curricular components. Similar to their counterparts at Piedmont, Ed Schwartz and Luke Scott expressed concern about how students sustained awareness and commitment to act in response to issues of justice and inequality.

Importantly, teachers acknowledged that teaching social studies in international schools presented dilemmas with regards to reconciling their schools' reputations as an avenue for students to participate in the economic aspects of globalization on the one hand, and the goal of cosmopolitan citizenship on the other. All of the teachers, however, reiterated beliefs in their roles as preparers of well-informed citizens who made decisions based on democratic values. "For me," Abe remarked, "It's not just about helping our kids land a job in a multinational corporation. It's also about making decisions, and wanting to make a difference (AI3:11). For Todd, the school did a "good job" of preparing students to become informed and involved in compelling public issues, especially in the global context:

I think that [Piedmont students are] going to become extremely active citizens wherever they live. They're already educated in politics at a very young age...and on top of global events as early as 14-, 15-years old. So, I have a feeling that they'll stay involved, wherever they may be. Plus the multilingual component they have. They can be involved in so much, much more opportunity than maybe you or I could have had (T1:10).

Abe and Todd maintained that preparing youth as cosmopolitan citizens entailed revisiting the applicability of the school's mission in light of local realities. Abe pointed to the fact that international school education was still evolving. "We're a very young field. I mean, we're still throwing definitions and debating what international education is... We've been discussing so much about what the concept of it is, and what it's wrapped up in. That includes citizenship" (AI1:13). Todd, however, commented that the discrepancy between the school's idealism and local realities risked presenting a naive world view that perhaps failed to prepare students for their roles as effective citizens: "Sometimes, I wonder if we create a utopia that's not necessarily teaching them how to fit into the world" (TI:11).

Ed Schwartz mirrored a similar concern. Although he acknowledged that Bayview had taken steps to integrate service learning within students' academic learning, he believed that the school clientele's social elitism and perhaps parents' expectations impeded the transforming of school culture to one of genuine social reconstructivism. "Parents, I don't think, are gonna be interested in change...and students certainly, are just kind of socialized into the elitist kind of maintaining the status quo" (LI3:7). In addition to shifting parental expectations, Ed explained that inculcating a social reconstructivist approach within school culture entailed a personal commitment from the teachers themselves. "A social reconstructivist model means that the teachers use himself or herself as a change agent, engaged in social transformation out of the classroom. And I just don't think most teachers have experienced that" (LI3:6).

As I reflected on my conversations with Abe, Todd, Luke, Ed, and their students, I marveled at how both Piedmont Academy and the Bayview School presented the potentials of educating students for cosmopolitan citizenship. Yet, each setting faced dilemmas in the achievement of cosmopolitan ideals. At Piedmont, a predominantly global outlook, a Third Culture and perhaps “color-blind” school orientation (Bonilla-Silva, Lewis, & Embrick, 2004), and the separation of service and academics risked shading students, as Todd Roberts’ observed, “from a bit of reality.” At Bayview, parent expectations and a prevalent social elitism impeded efforts for a comprehensive approach that linked meaningful social action to students’ academic development. In the final analysis, schools’ stated purposes for education; mandated policies delineating teacher flexibility, the role of standardized testing and service; student diversity; teachers’ beliefs about multicultural and global content; teachers’ beliefs about citizenship; and social class can play important roles in students’ experiences with cosmopolitan citizenship education.