Investigating the moral territories of international education: a study of the impact of experience, perspectives and dispositions on teachers' engagement with difference in the international Baccalaureate Primary Years Programme

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Investigating the moral territories of international education: a study of the impact of experience, perspectives and dispositions on teachers' engagement with difference in the international Baccalaureate Primary Years Programme

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ABSTRACT

The higher degree of global mobility and connectivities within contemporary societies has led to increasing cultural diversity within school student cohorts. In turn, the human activities and interactions within the territories and boundaries of a school have become increasingly complex. During a 2017 study of how trans-cultural capabilities are being developed and utilised by teachers of the International Baccalaureate Primary Years Programme (PYP) in Canada and Australia, one theme that emerged was the extent to which teachers felt they could or should influence their students' moral outlooks on cultural difference. Teachers often expressed spatially bounded moral views of cosmopolitanism; that is, teaching and learning about welcoming and engaging the stranger were framed within a personal, moral geography that was closely associated to defined places that were typically local-ised within the school community. This paper examines the moral geographies of PYP teachers to highlight the complexities, ten-sions, paradoxes, and contradictions embedded within the rela-tionships between inclusion and exclusion of difference in the PYP schools. These phenomena are related to a broad range of challenges that arise as a result of the complex interactions between teachers, PYP curriculum and the principles related to engaging difference.

Introduction

As societies in most countries are characterised by a higher degree of global mobility and connectivities (Rizvi, 2017), cultural diversity within school student populations has become more the norm. Consequently, the work decisions of teachers are increas-ingly influenced by their capacity to meet, absorb and respond to the complexities of values and principles that such cultural variation brings to teachers' decision-making.

Within international education, where schools seek to cater for a globally mobile and highly connected community using a globally oriented curriculum, the multiplicity of cultural boundaries and territories operating within a school is increased even further, heightening the significance of those decisions and the moral territories that teachers influence. During a 2017 study (Walsh & Casinader, 2018) of the transcultural capabilities of teachers in schools delivering the International Baccalaureate Primary Years Programme (PYP), a theme emerged in how teachers perceived their role and influence in shaping their students' moral outlooks, or what we term as the enactment of a teacher's *moral geography*.

This paper explores the complexities, tensions, and contradictions in how these PYP teachers represented these moral geographies in the actions of their educational practice, with particular focus on the relationship of these geographies to the transcultural capacity of teachers. It starts by outlining the concepts of moral geography and transculturalism, before looking at how the discourses of the teachers in this study revealed a spatial boundedness of moral cosmopolitanism in relation to their students, students' families and homes, and their schools. Instead, teachers tended to focus on developing skills that enabled them to navigate moral challenges in their work, whilst acting within wider constraints such as expectations of curriculum.

Key concepts

Moral geography

The life and work of school educators is inextricably governed and influenced by the nature of the geographical territories and boundaries within which they teach. Just as sovereign States are not just "simply bounded entities, [schools] can be seen as a fusion of meaning, power and space" (Storey, 2012, p. 28). On the one hand, their daily routine is characterised by their existence within, and movement between, the regional spaces in which they work, and the physical, built boundaries that define them: the classrooms, laboratories, school yards and all of the defined areas over which their place of work has authority, power and responsibility enforced by the teachers themselves. However, since human interaction is the basis of the student-teacher relationship, arguably the most significant territories in which teachers function are social and psychological, rather than physical. Furthermore, since schools are the core of learning communities, the territories within which teachers work extend beyond a school to the regions surrounding it, and to the people who are spatially associated with the school as a result. The PYP, which incorporates local and global issues in the curriculum, asks students to engage with territories outside the school by exploring six related transdisciplinary themes, considering how they are reflected in the world at large, and thereby shaping the global outlook of students (IB, n.d.). Consequently, the spatial realm in which teachers operate not only includes the homes of the students and the families who live in them, but also regions beyond these local communities. But tensions emerge in the extent to which and how educators navigate the boundaries between these regions.

Fundamentally, teaching and learning is concerned with human relationships. However, unlike the anonymous collections of "people" that are more frequently used

in academic studies, education is centred on the relationship between individual "persons" who are more significant geographic entities within the world space that they occupy (Adams, 1995, p. 267). Schools, like any region, are not just occupied by "people" (Adams, 1995); what happens within them is the result of conscious or unconscious decisions made by people's "intellectual or cognitive acts" (Mantello et al., 2014, p. 1803). It is these decisions that determine the nature of that school region. As "places", they are sites of human activity (Curry, 1999), a central function of which

> is to define what is possible and allowable within their boundaries. Places [and regions] are thus fundamentally normative, concerned with what is right and good conduct and where. To say 'That's how we do things here' captures a form of place-specific moral justification which is subject to spatial differentiation (Lee & Smith, 2004, p. 181).

Lee and Smith characterise this as a moral geography. Where this concept has been applied in areas such as development and social justice (Lee & Smith, 2011), and other areas of social relations and food consumption (Pike & Kelly, 2014), this paper discusses moral geography in relation to the educational work of teachers.

Equally important to this discussion is the idea that morality concerns "what people believe and what they do in pursuit of, or merely as a reflection of, their own conceptions of the right and the good" (Lee & Smith, 2011, p. 2). Neither static nor universal, morals are "social constructs" that are articulated within, and are shaped by, specific geographical territories.

In the context of this discussion, the spaces within the school environment are, in effect, political entities, reflecting "the spatial dimensions of power, dealing with political phenomena and relationships" (Storey, 2002, p. 1). However, where this educational differentiation of power is more cognitive and relationally determined within social relationships than physical places, it also means that the boundaries between the regions (whatever their nature) are themselves contested spaces. It is the perception and behaviour of those who are near boundaries who determine how a boundary influences activity around them (Prescott, 1972, pp. 55–56) – in other words, the actions of teachers and students, which are in turn determined by the morality or values that each person brings to that relationship.

It has been argued that international education programs such as the International Baccalaureate (IB), the curriculum context of the study on which this paper is based, must aim to produce students with a high level of cultural understanding if they are to achieve their goal of international mindedness (Morales, 2017). Furthermore, they have a duty to engender personal growth in the individual through an acceptance of cultural pluralism (Allan, 2003; Drake, 2004); at the very least, they must be designed to purposefully develop an inner moral geography within students.

The IB offers international education programmes to over a million students in more than 150 countries, seeking to develop "the intellectual, personal, emotional and social skills needed to live, learn and work in a rapidly globalising world" (IB, 2017a). The PYP focuses on students aged 3–12, aiming to prepare "students to become active, caring, lifelong learners who demonstrate respect for themselves and others and have the capacity to participate in the world around them". Tolerance and international-mindedness, which are moral perspectives, are key aspects of this (IB,

2017b). Without explicitly stating it, the IB seeks to foster in its students a form of cosmopolitanism that seeks to welcome the stranger akin to the moral dimension described by Banks (2008) and Appiah (2006).

Transculturalism

In this paper, transculturalism is proposed as a kind of heuristic to explore ways of navigating encounters with difference and the territories and boundaries arising in how cosmopolitism is articulated and enacted by teachers; that is, their transcultural capability. Transculturalism treats welcoming the stranger as a normal part of living with diversity, promoting a critical perspective of seeing cultural differences as a natural condition of society (Rizvi, 2011) rather than a problem to be resolved.

The concept of transcultural capability is derived from Casinader's (2014) model of cultural dispositions of thinking (CDT; see Figure 1). Cultural background, which is defined more as a mind-centred concept than a traditional ethnographic perspective, influences how people approach the process of thinking (Casinader, 2014, pp. 148–150). There are five broad thinking approaches or dispositions (CDTs) along a converging spectrum, all of which overlap and are transitional in nature. The dispositions start from two poles, one that is highly individualistic or independent in approach to thinking, while the other is collectivist or interdependent. Previous research has indicated that the more a person is exposed to globalising life experiences, the more likely it is that their approach to thinking becomes more blended and intrinsically adaptable across multiple CDTs and ways of life, and therefore, more transcultural (Casinader, 2014; 2018). These globalising experiences are not necessarily related exclusively to international travel; they refer to any life experience that exposes and/or embeds an individual in an unfamiliar cultural milieu, and could be within a city or country of residence.

The application of transculturalism to education is relatively new (Casinader, 2016). It started with the proposition that conventional teaching approaches have tended to draw from notions of multi- and inter-culturalism conceived before contemporary globalisation, when patterns of global mobility were less complex and
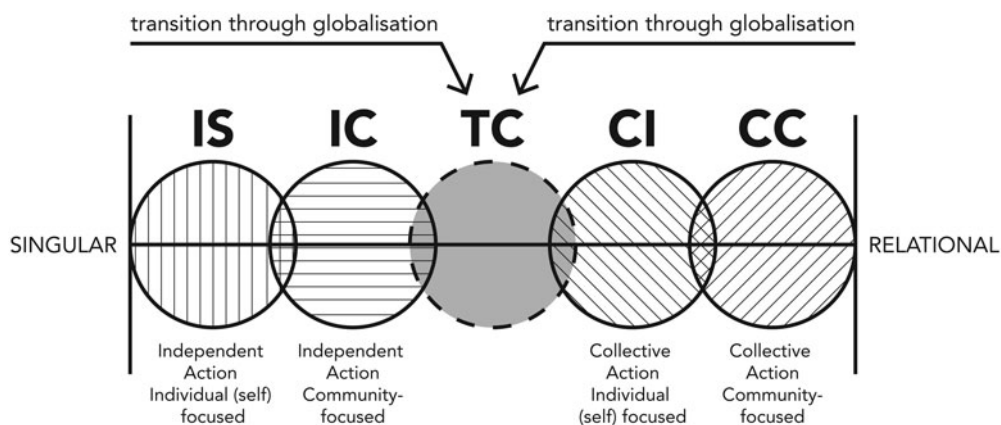

Figure 1. Cultural dispositions of thinking (Casinader, 2014. Reproduced by Permission.).

interactions between people of different cultures were less frequent. Unlike the concepts of multi- and inter-culturalism, which set up moral boundaries of perceived difference and potential conflict, transculturalism incorporates what we refer to as an enhanced *cultural extensibility*.

Geographically, extensibility " … measures the ability of a person (or group) to overcome the friction of distance through transportation or communication. It pertains to the scope of sensory access and knowledge acquisition and dispersion … " (Adams, 1995, p. 269), and has been facilitated by contemporary globalisation with its associated " … [I]nnovations in transportation and communication that reduce the time required to interact with persons in distant places [and] produce time-space convergence" (Adams, 1995, pp. 268–269). In IB terms, this extensibility translates into international- and open-mindedness, and within these, tolerance.

Implied here is a cosmopolitan perspective that is moral in nature and which moves beyond the individualistic notions of duty to a Kantian concern for "the stranger" (Appiah, 2006). It is consistent with forms of global citizenship education that seek to develop in students a capacity to "identify with peoples from diverse cultures throughout the world", while having "a deep understanding of the need to take action and make decisions to help solve the world's difficult problems" (Banks, 2008, pp. 134–135).

Method

The larger study from which this paper is drawn sought to determine and measure the degree of transcultural capability in 38 teachers working in four PYP schools (three Canadian, one Australian). All four schools used English as the language of instruction, with French taught and spoken as a second language in one Canadian school. The Australian school was an independent, co-educational school offering the PYP as its core curriculum in the primary years, as well as an optional IB Diploma education programme in years 11 and 12 alongside the Victorian Certificate of Education. The three Canadian schools comprised: one independent, co-educational school with the IB as a core curriculum across primary, middle and diploma years; and two public, co-educational elementary schools, with the IB as the core curriculum. The sample of teachers and schools surveyed were culturally diverse. Canadian teachers came from a variety of backgrounds and regions. The families and pupils in these communities had become increasingly diverse over time. Teachers and students in the Australian school were more culturally homogenous, comprising predominantly Anglo-Australian nationals.

An online survey and semi-structured interview were utilised to gather and analyse both qualitative and quantitative data. The survey combined two existing approaches to determine an individual's transcultural capability: the mixed method methodology used to develop the afore-mentioned CDT model; and the Community Field Experience model developed at the University of British Columbia (Andreotti, McPherson & Broom, 2015) to assess the cultural impact of practical placement experience in an indigenous community on pre-service teachers.

In order to determine the transcultural capability of teachers, the survey sought to identify within the four school case-studies: the individual cultural disposition of thinking of teachers; patterns of teacher cultural dispositions of thinking, both within each school, and comparatively, in terms of the degree and nature of transcultural capability; the individual and collective personal and professional profile of teachers; and the reasons for the patterns of transcultural capability using these teacher profiles (Walsh & Casinader, 2018).

Since much of the data gathered was in the form of the participants' own words, the evaluation of the beliefs and dispositions of the teachers was based primarily on self-reporting in both written and oral testimonies. In order to minimise researcher bias, these testimonies were interpreted using analytic codings derived from the afore-mentioned CDT model. The patterns and conclusions revealed by the codings were established through use of Dedoose mixed methods software.

The interviews investigated the degree and nature of teachers' transcultural capability, as well as the relationship of this to their teaching of the PYP. The semi-structured nature of the interviews provided more in-depth investigation of teacher biographies and what we are refer to as the moral territories and boundaries of teacher attitudes towards tolerance, international mindedness and action as defined in the PYP. Discussions explored if and how individuals responded to their travel experiences, whether personally and professionally. They further probed teachers' moral geographies by focusing on the IB principles of tolerance and international-mindedness through hypothetical ethical scenarios seeking to understand how they educate students who have encountered "the Other". Teachers were presented with a number of moral scenarios, one highly local and others more global, and asked to comment on the social and cognitive locations of the boundaries when dealing with them. The first one was as follows: "a student is downtown with her parents and sees a homeless person. The homeless person asks the student for money. The student approaches you (as her teacher) the next day and asks you what she should have done. How would you respond?" The next scenarios concerned responding to global issues such as racism, terrorism and climate change. Following the scenarios, teachers were asked: "How *should* we live and *should* we be teaching students how to live?" and if and how they would guide students to take action on these issues. We were seeking to understand how openness and tolerance as moral standpoints were taught in PYP classrooms.

These moral perspectives were investigated not to identify or advocate a particular belief-system or world view, but rather to determine how teacher attitudes towards these concepts may or may not be defined within the various regions of their particular schools, communities or professional practices – whether or not these were demarcated by built and/or psychological boundaries. For example, virtually all teachers described a passion for social justice, but there were substantial differences in how they conceptualised its realisation through the PYP within specific communities and boundaries. From these observations, we sought to describe and analyse the spatialised nature of the PYP teachers' moral perspectives as they pertain to teaching and learning and transcultural capability; that is, the degree to which such perspectives and guidance to students were confined to specific places within the school

Table 1. Cultural dispositions of thinking according to school (numbers of teachers).

School	CI	TC	IC
School 1	3	5	1
School 2	2	5	3
School 3	2	3	4
School 4	2	6	2
All schools	9	19	10

community. Consequently, the geographical concept of moral territories is used to understand the *boundedness* or *delineation* of the regions of cognitive and social action implied in teachers' responses; in other words, was their teaching of transcultural concepts confined to certain physical or psychological spaces.

Findings

During the interviews, it soon became apparent that there were different degrees of permeability in the moral boundaries perceived by teachers in respect of their role and ability to shape their students' responses to the local and global ethical challenges presented to them. Most teachers saw themselves as enabling students to find their own way through encounters with difference using an inquiry-based approach, while only a few took specific moral stances in relation to how students should action. Furthermore, teachers often expressed spatially bounded moral views of cosmopolitanism; that is, teaching and learning about welcoming and engaging the stranger were tied to places that were typically localised in a moral geography. Transcultural capabilities were sometimes constrained by such moral geographies associated with certain places and structural constraints, shifting the nature of these spaces from one of mere objective school function to one of a subjectively imposed ethical outlook. Instead of reflecting the characteristic permeability of a transcultural boundary, one that is accepting of multiple cultural connectivities and encouraging of interactions across it, there was a reversion to the perceived normative use of power in order to control or influence activity within a region, such as the school.

Moral territories and boundaries

The survey findings showed that the majority of PYP teachers were either transcultural or one CDT away from it (see Table 1). Three schools had at least half of the sample cohort designated as being transcultural. School 3 had a higher percentage of more individualistic thinkers (IC) and a lower ratio of transcultural teachers than the other schools that was linked to the school's particular cultural environment, in which the student body was relatively homogenous. In contrast to a more collective approach that a culturally diverse environment can nurture, more individualistic thinking is more likely to be reflected in teacher practice within such a learning environment – even where the Principal of the school sought to establish clear policy goals towards the development of deeper social and cultural understandings within the wider school community. Nevertheless, PYP teachers in all four schools tended to

demonstrate a general transcultural mind-set characterised by an openness to difference aligned with the PYP principles of tolerance and international-mindedness.

One of the external territories identified in a number of the interviews was the home, which was largely seen to be distinct from school with a clearly defined psychological boundary separating the two spaces. The home, and the views of parents/carers within them, was a key site that teachers deferred to for background views. In response to the ethical question about homelessness, one teacher would: "first want to know what their parents had told them because I think that's something that happens at home and I think different families would react differently…" (Teacher Respondent). The teacher was "a very firm believer in what happens at home … I often say that … 'mummy and daddy are the boss at home'" (Teacher Respondent). Another teacher did not feel that it was their "duty" to give a moral response, but rather "it would be enough to say, 'You need to talk to your Mum and Dad about that'" (Teacher Respondent). For these teachers, the boundary between school and family was a clearly defined one that was seen as impermeable and not to be transgressed.

In another scenario, teachers were asked to respond to hypothetical situation in which a child in their class is racist to another child and it is evident that the perpetrating child acquired the attitude and behaviour at home. How would the teacher respond? One teacher proposed moving beyond the boundaries of the school, requiring "a conversation with the parent" (Teacher Respondent). But many participants did not see their influence as extending beyond the school, both literally and figuratively. A similar view emerged in relation to bigger ethical questions about responding to big picture issues, such as climate change:

> I support environmental stewardship and doing the right thing with our students sorting garbage and litter and all that [in school], absolutely, we teach kids to do that. But how far do our arms stretch? … how far it carries is dependent on the students and on the families and beyond (Teacher Respondent).

This view of the school as the main site was echoed in the responses of other teachers:

> by trying to show that you care about things, whether it be the environment, caring about equality, caring about people who have less than you, caring about one of those or just feeling down, I do believe that you are showing children one thing and your hope is that it's being supported at home. I can't control what's happening at home, but I can control what's happening in my classroom (Teacher Respondent).

One discussion explored how a teacher would respond to profane language used by students that was picked up from home: "I'd go and speak with them personally to say: 'You're around a school, we expect people to abide by our code of conduct and part of that is that we're using respectful language'" (Teacher Respondent). Behavioural codes were recognised and enforced within the schools, clearly identifying political boundaries of authority. Several teachers highlighted how their own professional conduct served as a model for students. But most teachers were also not inclined to promote a particular moral position, even within the security of their own region of control. The boundary of morality was seen to exist in the classroom itself on a person-to-person basis, and in some cases, was not located even at the boundary

of the school grounds. There were many examples of teachers stating that it was not their place to use their own values or beliefs when teaching students and their job was to "open doors" to different perspectives.

Some teachers recognised that they bring certain moral viewpoints to their teaching but drew on the diversity of their students to bring different perspectives, rather than shifting over any boundary of thought on their own. One teacher thought that "every teacher brings their own beliefs and values" and "often your job is not to put those forward" but rather to "share different perspectives". The teacher's role is to honour the different morals, family values, different and community values while "also showing them that there is a range of different ways of looking" at a given moral issue and "presenting that there are alternatives" (Teacher Respondent).

Another acknowledged some tensions in their role as a teacher: "Are we in the business of teaching morals? I guess some morals, yes … like often when you think of morals sometimes being connected to religion and beliefs, not always but sometimes." In teaching the

> morality of the global citizen … Everything I teach them is 'So what does it mean to live peacefully when you've got these wars over oil that are affecting climate change? … and … do they realise their impact and how they can change the world?' (Teacher Respondent).

Another teacher responded in a similar vein:

> … who's to say that I have the right to say what is right? … however, there are certain things that I feel are important about [such as] we don't cause harm to others … but I'd rather focus on making the world better by making our own choices based on what we believe … based on gathering the information, questioning the information and being able to determine … how it will affect others (Teacher Respondent).

Teaching how to navigate difference

Most teachers similarly focused on the teaching of empathy and skills to navigate encounters with the boundaries presented by difference, such as critical thinking and problem solving. Responsibility for navigating difference and its attendant moral challenges were thus directed at the relational aspects of the students' lives, typically seeking to understand and empathise with the plight of the homeless person:

> rather than focusing on whether they should or shouldn't, it's more trying to understand why the person would be asking for the money in the first place … . Could it be that the person doesn't have a home, or doesn't have a job, or actually does have a home and does have a job? … Because … there are so many different points of view, and I think we're just so quick to make a judgment without realising the possibilities (Teacher Respondent).

Another example affirmed a reluctance to teach a given moral view:

> I hate 'should-ing on' anybody, so, 'You should have done this or you should do that', so … I would hope a teacher would want to open a conversation about, 'What did you think you would want to do in that situation?' … Oftentimes, kids this age will bring up the, 'It was a hobo who came and said this to me' and I'd want to make sure that you break through that barrier of, 'Okay, wait a minute, this is a human being you're talking about, let's not throw that label on them' because I just today addressed that on the

playground… the more teaching in the moment that you can do [the better] (Teacher Respondent).

But again, this teacher saw the student home as a key location, saying "I'd want to be respectful of [the child's] wishes as well, so if mum and dad said 'no', then who am I to tell them what they should do?" (Teacher Respondent).

Asked directly whether morality is taught, one teacher cautioned that "you need to be careful in stapling leaves on the plant, instead of allowing them to grow" (Teacher Respondent). Another Canadian teacher appealed to empathy as a means of navigating difference, by encouraging students to ask "if you were in his place – what would you like the stranger to do? Would you like this help? Would you like to receive it?" (Teacher Respondent).

Most teachers saw their role as providing students with "the skills for themselves, so to make meaning of the world around them, to critique what's coming at them and to understand how they can be resilient in the face of challenges" (Teacher Respondent). In harnessing "resilience and critical thinking" one teacher was similarly "very hesitant to put my personal values onto anybody else, I like students to form an opinion for themselves about what they should do to live right" (Teacher Respondent).

Despite the fact that the IB PYP specifically challenges students and teachers to push back against existing boundaries of thought in many areas – in other words, to be transculturally adventurous – common to all these examples is that most teachers were either unwilling or disinclined to do so. They saw a certain form of security in maintaining a physical and psychological stance within the territories of their perceived control and were not willing to look to shift the mind-centred boundaries, as encouraged by the PYP. Instead, they were more attuned to giving their students the tools needed to do so, if they so wished, and building relationships within the classroom rather than beyond it.

Taking action and responsibility

For those teachers who showed that they were willing to deconstruct boundaries of difference with a transcultural approach, the willingness to push against existing moral boundaries, or to not be concerned about meeting them if one arose unexpectedly, was an enacted commitment to what they perceived as the mission and goal of the PYP within their school. Their extensibility was built partly on a professional obligation to do what they were employed to do, but also on a personal commitment to not be professionally limited by any hesitancy to address moral questions that might arise. It was their duty to foster a readiness and capability in students to take on action and responsibility, and to promote the moral purpose of this course of action within the sampled schools; they had no need of a set of professional rules to encourage them to do so, for "caring… people need no rules" (Rolston, 2002, p. 76). Instead, they saw the opportunities offered by teaching about moral dilemmas in a narrative context (McPartland, 2001), in which they engage with the "geographies of everyday life" (Morgan, 2001, p. 289) and "… an education which encourages

discovery, evaluation and appreciation of one's very existence in the world" (Hernando, 1998, p. 174).

Given that children's knowledge of distant places and issues is largely "… culturally determined by the adults in [their] children's lives … " (Robertson, Walford & Fox, 2010, p.32), these teachers saw it as a professional obligation to expand the horizons of their students. One teacher was clear:

> The mission of our school is learning to live well with others for a just community, and we are exposed to this, to all different sorts of issues, social and political, that we went the children to view and discuss and to take action on. And that's a big part of our school, so this is something that we do here (Teacher Respondent).

Teachers saw their students as developing responsibility to themselves, "to your community, whether it be your school community, your city, your family, and … globally" (Teacher Respondent).

Some teachers drew from the content of the curriculum as a basis for thinking about the big moral challenges of our time. One taught climate change in Grade Seven in relation to the collapse of ancient civilisations to explore individual responses to reducing the human-made "foot-print", then beyond that to communities "and then expanding bigger than that, because I think the civic piece is the bigger piece" (Teacher Respondent).

Reflecting on their role in teaching students how should people live, some teachers saw their moral purpose as a clear one but was somewhat tangled in the expectations to teach the curriculum:

> I think it's the burden that you feel as a teacher more so than covering the curriculum … Like I feel like we are teaching kids how to live beyond education … there's a lot coming at what is the responsibility of the teacher and it all falls under that umbrella of how we want kids to live (Teacher Respondent).

One key difference between those teachers who were content to stay within moral territories and those who saw those boundaries as being legitimately permeable was a distinctive commitment to the wider goals of the PYP. It was not just a curriculum to be taught, but a call to teach for active global citizenship, to problem solve and make a difference, a moral responsibility on their part. Taking action revealed some permeability between what happens in school and that which takes place beyond the classroom and curriculum. One participant said

> action is a way of the school being able to tell that students are engaged in what we're doing. So … action is responsible, but responsible for whom and for what? For me, it's more about if the bell goes at three and they're like 'great, school's over and now I can go home and never think about this stuff again', then I'm not doing my job as a teacher engaging students in the curriculum in a meaningful way … it's not this divorced school thing (Teacher Respondent).

Discussion

While there was much diversity in teacher responses, there appeared to a struggle within some teachers as to the extent and strength of their moral territories in respect of their teaching interactions with students. There were questions regarding whose

morals should be taught, or whose morals were "right", with very few teachers firstly claiming that their own moral code was valid; and secondly, that it was necessary or beneficial to use their own moral position in teaching students. Further, teaching some morals was deemed permissible whilst others were seen as imposing a view. It was noticeable that some teachers felt uncomfortable with this line of questioning and many avoided clear answers. In the context of a PYP curriculum that requires the raising of such moral discussions within the classroom, this solidity of personal moral boundaries within many who professed and illustrated many of the characteristics of a transcultural disposition (or close to it) was a distinct paradox.

The reasons for this incongruity appears to lie in the fact that the project findings identified a dichotomy between the professional and personal moral geographies of a significant proportion of the PYP teachers interviewed – even amongst those who displayed strong evidence of a transcultural disposition. Although there was almost universal praise for the PYP approach to tolerance and international mindedness, for many this was primarily a professional observation rather than a personal commitment. The willingness of such teachers to act in the mould of the PYP, rather than just espouse its inherent principles, was limited. One example of this was that most interviewees found the IB definition of tolerance to be narrow in that it was seen to refer merely to "putting up with difference" rather than being "open to and accepting of" difference. Further, when teachers were questioned on what acceptance meant in moral and practical terms, inviting them to explore the scenarios with which they were presented, most teachers saw themselves as enabling students to find their own way through encounters with difference through inquiry, but were reluctant to adopt any particular perspective, regardless of what the student or their parents might say. For others, however, it was more important to support their professional stance with personal commitment, taking specific moral stances in relation to action.

Within these moral territories was evidence of a great deal of variation within the transcultural disposition. Indeed, the CDT model itself states that none of the dispositions, including the transcultural, are fixed entities; their boundaries are amorphous, "complex, transitionary and dynamic" (Casinader, 2014, p.148).). What can be observed in the findings are sub-dispositions that we term "localised transculturalism" and "globalised transculturalism". The differences between these two forms of transculturalism are founded in the type and reach of the moral territories and acted by the teachers in each group. Specifically, they differ in the *permeability* of the boundaries; that is, the degree to which teachers permit challenging intellectual exchange between them and the student, or the extent to which teachers are willing to exert their influence beyond the professional boundaries of the classroom and school into the world of the student beyond, and in particular, the boundaries of the student's home and family life.

Teachers exhibiting a localised transculturalism have strong reservations and/or resistances to engaging with the students on moral issues, and work in professional silos within the school. They are well-prepared to teach the curriculum and supported professionally, but their transculturalism extends only to that context. The degree of interaction in that moral world is essentially one-way, as the teacher is unwilling to go beyond the safe limits of the professional region to engage with the students on a personal level, either directly or through their parents.

In contrast, the globalised transcultural teachers are not bound or restrained by moral boundaries that are either impermeable or non-porous. They are still very conscious of their professional obligations, but they see those obligations as extending to the responsibility of challenging students about a range of matters, including those aspects that may reach into the home territory of the student and their family. For these teachers, their own moral territories are transculturally fluid, dynamically responding to the ethical needs of the students as they emerge and become noticed by the teacher. The interaction between the moral parameters of the teacher and the student is a two-way process, with the teacher encouraging and implementing continual dialogue between them and the student. The porous nature of the moral boundaries is not characterised by a teacher imposing a point of view on a student, but by their willingness to promote an engagement about contentious issues with the student, and if necessary, with their family (and beyond).

Conclusion

The differences in transculturalism outlined in this paper suggest that there is a tangible, philosophical challenge in understanding and navigating the moral territories of international education. Such variances imply that there are certain territorial limits to cosmopolitan openness, and an ambivalence towards ordinary cosmopolitanism that has been identified in other research (Skrbis & Woodward, 2007) which has shown that people pick and choose elements of cosmopolitanism. The findings thus shed light on the moral geographies of PYP teachers, which potentially have wider salience to educators seeking to understand how teachers conceptualise and enact (or not enact) notions of cosmopolitanism in their daily educational practice. Schools are sites in which moral determinations routinely take place, such as about what is taught and how and the behavioural boundaries enforced within and outside classes. Teachers take moral stances whether they wish to admit doing so. The hesitance of teachers to "impose" a position on children but let students make their own minds up is itself a moral position. As role models who set ethical stances and positions for their pupils, the work of teachers is not amoral, but this has implications for how they demonstrate cosmopolitanism in action. We are not advocating that teachers assume responsibility for "correcting" student beliefs and those of their families, but to propose transculturalism as a critical lens or heuristic through which to explore the values and enactment of cosmopolitanism. Rather than confront difference, it seeks to use it as an educational advantage.

In an age of increasing global mobilities and connectivities, this study has implications for geographical teacher practice, especially in relation to teaching global understanding; see, for example, Demirci, de Miguel, and Bednarz (2018). Transcultural capabilities of thinking in educators could be used to model an educational environment for students in which cultural difference is not only accepted, but embraced and normalised within school communities and across territories (Casinader & Walsh, 2015). Opportunities to develop these capabilities could be developed through teacher preparation and ongoing professional learning. This could involve reflection on the kinds of ethical questions used in the methodology of this study and the

meanings of openness and tolerance within the PYP curriculum, as well as to develop pedagogic responses. In so doing, teachers could engage in "genuine intergenerational and intercultural dialogue and argumentation …" (Morgan, 2006, p. 349) that is at the core of transformational learning.

Acknowledgement

Disclosure statement

Funding

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