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International education, values and attitudes: A critical analysis of the International Baccalaureate (IB) Learner Profile

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Abstract

This article provides a critical review of the way that the International Baccalaureate (IB) promotes international education and international mindedness through the IB Learner Profile. While discussing theories of values and attitudes, and the teaching of values and theories of value acquisition, the paucity of such topics in IB texts is noted. It is acknowledged that the IB is in the process of providing support for schools in their delivery of the Learner Profile, and this article is intended to contribute to discussion as to how best that might be done.

Keywords

attitudes, behaviour, international education, learner profile, values

Introduction

The literature abounds with papers that address the problematic nature of producing a single definition of 'international education' (Cambridge and Thompson, 2004; Gunesch, 2007; Hayden and Thompson, 1995; Hayward and Siaya, 2001; James, 2005; Räsänen, 2007; Simandiraki, 2006; Sylvester, 2002). However, it has also been claimed that, despite this lack of agreement on a single definition, 'international education is a field collectively understood by the academics and practitioners involved in it' (Simandiraki, 2006: 35). Although this statement seems to contradict the previous observation, in fact it contains the genesis of a means to understand this term. 'International education' names a 'field' – not a single concept. The notion of 'field' expressed here can be taken to reflect that used by Bleiklie and Kogan, who combine definitions of 'organizational field' by Powell and DiMaggio (1991) with the notion of 'social' field by Bourdieu (1988) to arrive at a concept of 'field' where 'multiple forces so clearly work together in forming the system' (Bleiklie and Kogan, 2000: 11). The field referred to when considering international

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education is broad and dynamic in terms of the educational establishments that offer this kind of education: the organizations or individuals that own or manage educational institutions or curricula, the educational bodies that set the curriculum that is taught and the students who attend the institutions which claim to offer this kind of education.

Owing to the broad range of the field of international education, with numerous types of international schools and contexts in which international education is offered, it could be claimed that one of the ways by which we can distinguish international education from national education is to consider the purpose of each. It has been suggested that international education has, as one of its goals, 'the need to be prepared for an increasingly multicultural and globalised world' (Räsänen, 2007: 58). Exactly what this means can be interpreted in two ways. It could be reflected in what may be called the pragmatic function of international education – the acquisition of skills and knowledge to cope with a global economy that demands flexibility of skills and the ability to adapt to new practices – hence international education needs to promote life-long learning (Bentley, 2000). Or it may be seen from an ethical perspective, developing in young people a set of values that, it is hoped, will further the chances of achieving world peace and greater intercultural understanding (Cambridge and Thompson, 2004: 164; Hill, 2007; Peterson, 2003). Or, it may even be seen as a fusion of both the pragmatic and ethical elements (Philips, 2002). Arguably, the International Baccalaureate (IB) as an organization aims to provide an education which complies with both the pragmatic and ethical aims of international education, and this is clearly set out in its mission statement and expressed by the attributes of the IB Learner Profile. Unfortunately, there are few if any texts that address the theoretical underpinning of the attributes of the IB Learner Profile, just as advice given to educators at IB schools to deliver the curriculum to promote the IB Learner Profile is a little lacking in detail. However, there are moves within the IB to rectify what can be considered these two deficiencies (Christine Amiss, Head of Continuum Development, International Baccalaureate, personal communication, 12 October 2010). This article does not address the basis on which the attributes of the IB Learner Profile were selected by the IB, nor does it consider the degree to which they are indicative of a western approach to education as opposed to a global approach (see Walker (2010) for a discussion of the global applicability of the attributes). The purpose of this article is to provide input to the debate concerning the theoretical basis of the IB Learner Profile by discussing the concepts of values, attitudes and behaviour, after which I will address theories of values acquisition. I will suggest that, although the IB currently provides some guidelines on how schools and teachers should promote the attributes of the IB Learner Profile, this advice tends to be lacking in detail and avoids referring to theories of values acquisition. Furthermore, I suggest that clearer instructions need to be provided to schools and teachers on how to assess the extent to which students understand, appreciate and embrace the values of the IB Learner Profile.

The mission of the International Baccalaureate and the IB Learner Profile

The International Baccalaureate was founded in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1968 and has seen a steady and, at times and in some places, prolific expansion of schools (both private and state) which offer one or more of its programmes: Primary Years Programme (PYP), Middle Years Programme (MYP) and Diploma Programme (DP) (Hill, 2003). Universities throughout the world recognize the Diploma as providing a solid entry qualification for university study. However, the IB is the first to point out that it is not only concerned with preparing students for university, but rather aims to provide young people with an education which will also lead to

greater understanding between peoples and a more peaceful world (Hill, 2007). These aims are clearly stated in the first and third sentences of the IB mission statement:

> The International Baccalaureate aims to develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect. To this end the organization works with schools, governments and international organizations to develop challenging programmes of international education and rigorous assessment. These programmes encourage students across the world to become active, compassionate and lifelong learners who understand that other people, with their differences, can also be right. (IBO, 2008b: 3)

One of the pillars of the programmes offered by the IB is the Learner Profile, which also serves as a focus for developing a sense of continuum between the three programmes (IBO, 2006: 2). To justify the importance given to the IB Learner Profile, Renaud is referred to as arguing that:

> The responsibility of educators is no longer just to prepare good mathematicians, good biologists or good historians. The mission of schools is to prepare young people – decision makers of tomorrow – to live in a complex multicultural society undergoing a rapid process of change and opening up a new world order . . . Even more important is the acquisition of attitudes in the learning process in a context of cultural exchanges. (Renaud, 1991, quoted in IBO, 2008b: 12)

Here, Renaud could be said to give additional importance to the ethical aspect of international education above that of the pragmatic. In particular, it is of interest to note his reference to the acquisition of attitudes, which is a point I will discuss later in some detail.

The plethora of school types at which one or more of the IB programmes is offered makes features of the IB worthy of research; there is a growing number of state schools (1,845) as opposed to private schools (1,330) that offer one or more of the programmes (Matthew Wilson, Management Information Co-ordinator, International Baccalaureate, personal communication, 14 December 2010). Additional research needs to be conducted into the composition of populations of both students and teachers at the state and private schools that offer one or more of the IB programmes; which nationalities are represented in these schools and, for instance, what tends to be the distribution of the populations in them. For the moment, it can be seen that the IB presents and promotes a set of values (IBO, 2006: 1) which it is intended should be reflected in attitudes or dispositions (IBO, 2008b: 16) and that these provide a sense of continuum and cohesion for a form of international education to a student population which ranges in age from 4 to 19 years old, attends state or private schools at which there may or may not be students from a number of nationalities, where the school may or may not offer all three of the programmes and may or may not have also to cater for the demands of the national curriculum and other forms of international programmes, such as the International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE) or Advanced Placement International Diploma. The permutations of contexts in which one or more of the IB programmes is offered are multiple and complex.

The following consideration of the attributes of the IB Learner Profile will provide the basis for a theoretical consideration of values, attitudes and behaviour.

The IB Learner Profile

The IB Learner Profile consists of 10 attributes and, the IB claims, ‘is not intended to be a profile of the perfect student; rather, it can be considered as a map of a lifelong journey in pursuit of international-mindedness’ (IBO, 2008a: 2). The IB states that IB learners strive to be ‘inquirers,

knowledgeable, thinkers, communicators, principled, open-minded, caring, risk-takers, balanced and reflexive' (IBO, 2008a: 5; see Appendix 1).

These attributes, with one small change, started life as the PYP Student Profile (IBO, 2006: 1), though I have not been able to trace the rationale for these attributes in the Student Profile. Furthermore, there is no mention in IB texts of psychological or sociological theory or research to justify the claims made concerning the development of the PYP Student Profile to become the IB Learner Profile. While there was comprehensive consultation among leaders of the three programmes and other stakeholders in the IB prior to this move (IBO, 2006: 1) I cannot find documentation of points discussed, such as the decision to change 'well-balanced' to 'balanced'. This is not to say that the values expressed in the attributes of the IB Learner Profile are without worth – they sound inspiring and there may be validity in claiming that the attributes and the values they embody will enable students to become internationally minded. My point is that there should be rigorous theoretical justification to substantiate the premises on which the values for the IB Learner Profile were chosen, and research aimed at analysing the success of delivering the IB Learner Profile.

The importance of the Learner Profile in the three IB programmes is referred to in every guide or major document that the IB publishes (IBO, 2008a: 4). However, I would suggest that there is a lack of clarity concerning the nomenclature when referring to concepts included in the Learner Profile; the IB uses the terms 'attributes', 'set of qualities' and 'set of ideals' which seem to express 'values', while the 'descriptors' used to explicate these terms seem to equate with 'learning outcomes' (IBO, 2008a:1). In addition, while 'the attributes of the profile express the values inherent to the IB continuum of international education' (IBO, 2006: 1), it is not clear how these values, attributes, ideals, aims or learning outcomes are to be applied or reflected in actions, and it is even less clear how the IB or schools evaluate the efficacy of their application by students. The delivery and monitoring of the success of teaching the attributes of the Learner Profile is left to schools, with the IB stating that IB programmes are based on a high level of trust in teacher 'professionalism' (IBO, 2008b: 7). Such a sentiment is laudable and one would hope most teachers would strive to comply with it. However, there seems to be an anomaly here. The IB requires monitoring of student work in the MYP, for instance, to ensure that appropriate tasks are being set and assessment criteria are employed in keeping with the philosophy of the programme. And the work of Diploma students is assessed by IB trained examiners and moderators to ensure that academic standards are applied consistently. If there are checks on the academic rigour of IB programmes in schools, why does the IB not have a mechanism to fulfil this role where the attributes of the IB Learner Profile are concerned, bearing in mind the importance it attaches to these attributes?

I will focus here on one of the terms used when discussing the attributes of the IB Learner Profile, that of 'values', and consider some theoretical accounts of the relationship between values and attitudes (re. Renaud above) and how these can be manifested in behaviour. The focus on the three concepts of values, attitudes and behaviour arises from what can be considered three functions of the IB Learner Profile:

- It is pivotal to the curriculum: 'these are values that should infuse all elements (of the programmes)' (IBO, 2008a: 1)
- It promotes a certain attitude: 'an embodiment of what the IB means by "international mindedness"' (IBO, 2008a: 1; Renaud, 1991, quoted in IBO, 2008b)
- It leads to a kind of behaviour: 'the IB espouses the principle of educating the whole person for a life of active, responsible citizenship' (IBO, 2008a: 1).

A brief consideration of theories of psychologists, sociologists and educational psychologists relating to 'values', 'attitudes' and 'behaviour' will be followed by consideration of theories of values acquisition, and discussion of how the IB does (or does not) provide guidance for teachers on how to teach or interact with students in a way that incorporates the attributes of the IB Learner Profile.

Values and attitudes

Values

Questions concerning the nature of values – when they are learned, how they are taught, who should teach them, the order in which they should be presented – as well as the relationship between values, attitudes and behaviour, are raised by several authors (Coombs-Richardson and Tolson, 2005; Hofstede, 1998; Rokeach and Ball-Rokeach, 1989; Shea, 2003; Umaschi, 2005). There is no single definition of the term 'values' (Australian Government, 2005: 8; Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004: 362; Hofstede, 1998; Schwartz et al, 2001: 521; Tesser and Shaffer, 1990: 488) but it does seem that definitions tend to fall into two general categories: a desirable end state which an individual may consider preferable to others, or a source of inspiration to work towards achieving a goal (Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004: 380). If the former has more validity, then values remain a passive construct, while in the case of the latter, they are instrumental in guiding attitudes and behaviour (Coombs-Richardson and Tolson, 2005; Schwartz et al., 2001; Tesser and Shaffer, 1990). It is this notion of values which probably interests the International Baccalaureate and educationalists more widely, where 'as well as nurturing intellectual development, education must help individuals identify, and adopt, personal and social values that they can call on to guide the decisions they make, their relationships, work and life as a whole' (Drake, 1999: 2). Under this remit, the propagation of certain values becomes a powerful and potentially controversial tool. What are the different types of values, and which ones should be selected? Whose values are to be promoted and why? Where are values acquired and developed – in the home or at school? Are values universal or indicative of a culture's perspective of what is important in the world? I will attempt to provide answers to some of these questions, though several lie outside the scope of this article.

General values

Schwartz et al. suggest there are ten 'motivationally distinct value constructs or types: Achievement, Benevolence, Conformity, Hedonism, Power, Security, Self-Direction, Stimulation, Tradition and Universalism' (Schwartz et al., 2001: 521) and that these can be realized by a total of 57 value items (Spini, 2003) which, it is argued, are recognized in approximately 70 cultures around the world (Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004). Exactly what is meant by 'recognized' is not fully explained, but the implication seems to be that these values are present in many cultures. While some of the value items that reflect the value types are similar to values which are contained in the IB Learner Profile (viz. 'broad-minded' and 'daring'), it seems that the majority are not. Accordingly, one is encouraged to consider the extent to which the values encompassed in the attributes of the IB Learner Profile are to be found in cultures throughout the world, or if they are largely based on a western liberal humanistic tradition of values.

Another taxonomy of values is grouped under the terms 'terminal' and 'instrumental'. These have been used by Rokeach to measure the priority that people place on different values in the

United States of America. According to Rokeach, values 'are capable of being weighed and arranged against one another to lead to a very large number of permutations and combinations of value hierarchies' (Rokeach and Ball-Rokeach, 1989: 775). This may be the case, but it is not clear in a review of this research whether the population that took part was able to place two or more values in the same position, offer a value of their own choice, or not assign a rank to a value, which are weaknesses of research involving ranking. Bearing in mind these provisos, the findings of the research suggest that some values can be rated of greater worth than others. In the IB literature the relative weighting of values in the Learner Profile is not addressed, and one is left to wonder if there is a preferred hierarchy for these values on the part of the IB in different cultures, or as held by students at different stages of their development. Similarly, one wonders if teachers who deliver the IB worldwide have a similar hierarchy of values, and if this is relevant to how they teach and to elements of the hidden curriculum. I suggest that research is needed to assess the degree of importance accorded to the values in the IB Learner Profile by teachers, students and others in the school community.

Values in education

Although there is some doubt as to whether teachers should teach values to students and, if they do, how they should do so (Sprinthall et al., 1994), it nonetheless seems that it is as much an essential part of teaching to inculcate children with positive values at school as it is to imbue them with the knowledge and skills that they will need for a life of work (Arthur and Revell, 2004). In fact, Ball suggests that education 'is about asking questions all the time, competence and capability, the formation of character, the knowledge not of facts, but of values' (Ball, 1995: 25). And Halstead and Taylor claim that 'the role of the school is two-fold: to build on and supplement the values children have already begun to develop by offering further exposure to a range of values that are current in society . . . and to help children to reflect on, make sense of and apply their own developing values' (Halstead and Taylor, 2000: 169). Beck also argues that students need to be encouraged to be critical of the knowledge with which they are presented so that they are able to establish which (and whose) values are being promulgated (Beck, 1993). However, just as there is debate concerning the type of knowledge that needs to be imparted, and the skills that need to be developed in children at school (McCombs, 2004), so there is controversy concerning which values should be promoted and how to deliver those that are selected.

Decisions made concerning the content of the curriculum and the emphasis placed on values chosen may have a crucial effect on the type of education offered to students (Tate, 1999); a curriculum that largely focuses on national issues on the one hand, and values that do little to emphasize empathy on the other, is unlikely to foster greater understanding between people of different nations, while a curriculum that draws on input from a variety of nations and that promotes values aimed at promoting a greater degree of tolerance is likely to have a better chance of educating children to develop intercultural awareness and to form positive relationships with people from other countries. Such seems to be the argument of proponents of 'international education' (Philips, 2002). However, it seems increasingly to be the case that curriculum content and the values promoted in schools are less and less a basis on which to draw a distinction between 'national' and 'international' education, if they ever were. It has been suggested that elements of international education are being taken up by national education systems, in addition to which there are a growing number of state schools in the USA and the UK which now offer one or more of the IB programmes. If students are in a class that prepares them for an international qualification, such as the IB Diploma, but they are in a school that is part of a

national system, are they experiencing an international education or a national education? Whose or which values – 'international' or 'national' – do these schools promote? It is beyond the scope of this article to address these questions.

While the research referred to previously considers values as abstract concepts in relation to general situational contexts, the work of Coombs-Richardson and Tolson directly considers values in an educational context. These authors observe that Rokeach 'found the top four terminal values for education to be a sense of accomplishment, self-respect, wisdom and freedom and the top four instrumental values to be responsible, capable, broad-minded and intellectual' (Coombs-Richardson and Tolson, 2005: 266). They go on to suggest that these values 'are considered important for realizing well-informed, tolerant and achieving individuals' (Coombs-Richardson and Tolson, 2005: 266). This may be the case, but it seems that there is insufficient evidence on which to base such a broad generalization, just as it is not clear whether the nature of the population selected is such as to suggest that the priority of these values may be applied universally.

Attitudes

There seems to be general agreement among educationalists that the teaching of values in any kind of educational system should be reflected by students demonstrating attitudes or behaviour that are indicative of these values. Similar to the concept of 'values', there is no universally agreed definition of 'attitudes' (Olson and Zanna, 1993). According to Bagozzi and Burnkrant, there are three ways of defining 'attitude': a multidimensional or three-component view, in which affective, cognitive and conative components are present; a single-dimensional view, which focuses on the affective component; and a third or intermediate position where affective and cognitive components are taken into consideration (Bagozzi and Burnkrant, 1979). In an attempt to provide a universal point of reference, Olson and Zanna suggest that:

> most attitude theorists agree that (a) evaluation constitutes a central, perhaps predominant, aspect of attitudes, (b) attitudes are represented in memory, and (c) affective, cognitive, and behavioural antecedents of attitude can be distinguished, as can affective, cognitive and behavioural consequences of attitudes. (Olson and Zanna, 1993: 119)

In the discussion which follows this claim, some evidence is provided by citing various authors, but there is little evidence that 'most attitude theorists' would agree with them. What does seem apparent is that there is a complex interrelationship between what people feel about an issue or object, what they think about it and how they may behave towards it (Bagozzi and Burnkrant, 1979; Olson and Zanna, 1993). The complexity of the interrelationship is further tempered by the degree of influence of the attributes of attitudes. Olson and Zanna postulate that there are three attributes of attitudes that can affect the extent to which attitudes can be reflected in perceptions or behaviour:

(1) Accessibility: 'the ease or speed with which evaluations can be retrieved from memory predicts the influence of those attitudes on subsequent perceptions of and actions toward the attitude object',
(2) Strength: 'strong attitudes serve as important sources of identity, resist most attempts at change, and exert widespread effects on perception and behavior'.
(3) Ambivalence: 'ambivalent attitudes are conflicted evaluations – attitudes that contain both positive and negative elements'. (Olson and Zanna, 1993: 122, 123)

Of relevance here are the notions of *when* attitudes are acquired and *how* they are acquired. It has been suggested that there is relatively little research into when attitudes are developed, but conditions such as when one expects to have contact with an attitude object/issue, be asked about an attitude and have lots of knowledge about an attitude object/issue can lead to attitudes being formed (Olson and Zanna, 1993). But this just suggests the conditions under which attitudes can be formed; it does not provide us with insights into how to promote the expression of attitudes such as those associated with the attributes of the IB Learner Profile.

Concerning how attitudes are formed, it has been suggested that 'repeated exposure to stimulus results in heightened positive evaluations' (Olson and Zanna, 1993: 127). In practical terms this could mean that the more teachers refer to, for example, different cultures in the world, the more students are likely to form positive attitudes to them. While this may occur in some circumstances, it has also been pointed out that overexposure to a stimulus can lead to boredom, in addition to which there is some evidence for the hereditary passing on of attitudes (Olson and Zanna, 1993) which may or may not reinforce the attitude that is being focused on in the classroom. In short, even if teachers and schools are supportive of the attitudes inherent in the IB Learner Profile, there is no guarantee that these will be acquired by students; and, even if they are acquired, there is no guarantee that the students will develop strong, accessible links to the attitudes so they can be transformed into palpable demonstrations of behaviour.

The link between values and attitudes

The International Baccalaureate suggests that the development and promotion of values in students can lead to changes in students' attitudes and dispositions, leading to greater intercultural awareness and thereby greater chances for world peace (IBO, 2006: 5). I will now consider the research evidence supporting values being expressed as attitudes.

There appear to be at least two distinct views of the relationship between values and attitudes. On the one hand, values are seen as 'simply generalized attitudes' (Kristiansen and Zanna, 1991: 472) while, on the other, the two concepts are clearly delineated with 'values as higher order beliefs concerning imperatives to action, and attitudes as evaluative beliefs that determine preferences' (Kristiansen and Zanna, 1991: 472). It is also suggested that attitudes are bipolar: an object or issue, such as one's feelings about abortion, smoking or capital punishment, is seen either positively or negatively, while 'values are inherently positive, varying only in terms of their importance' (Kristiansen and Zanna, 1991: 472; Rokeach and Ball-Rokeach, 1989). According to this view, there is a clear distinction between values and attitudes, but what seems to be questionable is the extent to which values affect or influence attitudes and their expression. According to Maio and Olson, attitudes can be seen to have four functions, and it is largely through one of these that values are expressed. The four functions are:

(1) 'utilitarian', where the attitude holder is concerned with making the most of positive elements in his/her environment and minimizing the negative elements;
(2) 'knowledge', providing the individual with meaning about him/herself and in relation to the environment;
(3) 'ego-defensive', promoting values that protect the individual from stress; and finally
(4) 'value-expressive', which embody values that are central to the individual and the notion of the self. (Maio and Olson, 1995: 267)

Maio and Olson suggest that values only 'have significant relations to attitudes' (Maio and Olson, 1995: 269) when an attitude is developed and formed precisely with the intention of expressing that value. In other words, the formation of attitudes that enable the individual to express a value is a conscious decision motivated by the attitude holder's evaluation of an object or issue (Petty and Wegener, 1998). For example, a child's anti-smoking attitude, indicative of a value of wanting to safeguard life, becomes indicative of this value when s/he wants to protect the life of a relative or friend who is a smoker. What remains an unknown element here is what the 'spark' is that ignites this desire to have an attitude and the willingness to persevere in expressing the attitude in the face of what may be, at times, virulent contrary opinions or indifference. Perhaps this is one of the questions that come to the fore when we consider how schools and teachers go about promoting the IB Learner Profile and how and to whom students express attitudes, reflecting the values that the International Baccalaureate considers so central to the experience of international education.

Having briefly considered some definitions of values, attitudes and behaviour, and how these interrelate, I will now look at more practical concerns of theories of values acquisition and the teaching of values, as well as the IB position regarding these and its Learner Profile.

Putting the IB Learner Profile into practice

The IB Learner Profile as a template

In recent IB publications several guidelines are given concerning the way in which the IB Learner Profile is to be interpreted and put into action. First, it is reinforced that the attributes are as applicable to all adults in the school as they are to students, and that school leaders, staff and parents should model the attributes (IBO, 2009: 31). Furthermore, in order for the attributes to be adopted by different stakeholders in the school, they need to be adapted to their context so that there is a sense of relevance of the attributes to the different members of the school community (IBO, 2009: 31). The IB also seems to be conscious that additional support needs to be given to schools and teachers for putting the IB Learner Profile into practice; a Learner Profile forum is available via the IB's Online Curriculum Centre, on which teachers can post observations or questions about the Learner Profile (IBO, 2008a: 4). In addition, the IB is developing a web-based Learner Profile teacher resource, where schools can post samples of how they put the Learner Profile into practice (Christine Amiss, Head of Continuum Development, International Baccalaureate, personal communication, 12 October 2010). However, the IB seems to accept that, while some schools will find it relatively easy to ensure that the attributes of the Learner Profile will be modelled by teachers and delivered through the curriculum, other schools will find it more difficult to promote these attributes (IBO, 2006). The IB goes so far as to state that 'for some schools the introduction of the Learner Profile will necessitate a major shift in direction' (IBO, 2006: 2). The exact nature of this 'major shift' is not discussed or developed further; nor is the type of school that may find it necessary to make such a shift.

Theories of values acquisition, the teaching of values and the IB Learner Profile

Relatively little research has been undertaken into when children learn values or the conditions in which they do so (Silcock and Duncan, 2001), and even less into the reasons why children change, and the conditions which cause them to alter (Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004). Needless to say, research

needs to be conducted into these areas, but here I will consider some of the theories that address these issues, and then consider notions as to how values can or should be acquired.

Kohlberg claims that values develop in a sequence of six stages, and that values development will only occur when children are presented with 'a hypothetical or factual dilemma story' (Huitt, 2003: 4) for consideration that is in the stage of development immediately above that in which they are located (Sprinthall et al., 1994). Gilligan argues that Kohlberg's research was based entirely on males, and that females pass through only three stages of development, which consist of different values to those proposed by Kohlberg (Huitt, 2003). Irrespective of which view one holds, the general message is the same – that people pass through stages in the process of values development. For educationalists encouraging the development of values in students, it is of great importance to establish when and how children pass through these stages in order for appropriate materials and teaching techniques to be devised that will enable children not only to acquire values, but also to develop those that are being focused on to form an active part of their character.

It has been claimed that children learn values from very early on in life and that, by the time they arrive at school, they have already acquired values from family and others with whom they come into contact (Halstead and Taylor, 2000). Walker suggests that 'basic value systems are probably in place by the age of ten' (Walker, 2002: 56), though he provides no theoretical or research justification for this claim. Herman, based on his analysis of the work of Freud, Erikson, Kohlberg and Gilligan, suggests that there are two periods in which values can be formed and developed: one from birth to the onset of adolescence, when socialization is a primary means through which values are acquired, and then from adolescence to adulthood when cognition and individuation play a primary role in the development of values (Herman, 2005). This suggests that different goals need to be set, and teaching methods employed, for students in primary and secondary stages of school.

Halstead and Taylor refer to eleven methods that can be used to develop values, but these methods tend to be indicative of a theory of values education rather than associated with an approach that is appropriate for an age or stage of values development. They add that ordinary conversation with adults, and the teaching methodology used, can also convey values, even though this may not be intentional (Halstead and Taylor, 2000). This hidden curriculum and the observation that different children may respond to the same stimulus in different ways, including the possibility of gender differences (Prencipe and Helwig, 2002), imply that there is no one-to-one correspondence between a teacher's conscious or subconscious intentions concerning the values she or he is conveying and the effect that she or he has on the student(s) (Silcock and Duncan, 2001).

To date there has been little reference in IB literature to how the curriculum might be delivered through, and with emphasis on, the values inherent in the Learner Profile. There is no reference to the theories of educational psychologists on how the development of values should be promoted. No mention is made of the previous authors nor, for example, of the work of Superka et al., who suggest that there are five approaches to teaching values: 'inculcation, moral development, analysis, clarification and action learning' (Superka et al., 1976: 16). Instead, the IB claims that it will 'emphasize its [IB Learner Profile's] importance' and, under a section heading of 'what can schools do to develop the profile', lists 12 bullet points that exhort teachers and managers to place emphasis on the Learner Profile, without providing a strategy or technique that can be used in the classroom to deliver or promote one or more attribute(s) of the Learner Profile (Stobie, 2006). It may be that, in the past, the IB envisaged that the Learner Profile would be developed more outside the classroom than within it:

> The values and attitudes of the school community that underpin the culture and ethos of a school are significant in shaping the future of its young people. In a school that has a commitment to the values inherent in the IB Learner Profile, these values will be readily apparent in classroom and assessment practices, the daily life, management and leadership of the school. (IBO, 2006:2)

and:

> The learning environment in a school is the setting and atmosphere in which learning takes place. It encompasses the corridors, cafeteria, play grounds and classrooms, as well as the environment beyond the school. The learning environment of a school is critical. (IB, 2008b:16)

According to this view, it is not so much that teachers, managers or other members of the community deliver the curriculum through the Learner Profile, but that through modelling behaviour and attitudes associated with the attributes of the Learner Profile the students are somehow able to imbibe, virtually by osmosis, the Learner Profile's qualities. This presupposes that teachers, managers and other adults at the school are aware of and agree with the attributes of the Learner Profile and are able to perform actions that are a reflection of this. But can we be sure that this is what happens? And, if it does happen, how are schools to assess the extent to which students reflect the attributes of the Learner Profile? The IB states that 'MYP and Diploma schools are expected to focus on monitoring student development in light of the profile in as many ways as possible, by engaging students and teachers in reflection, self-assessment and conferencing' (IBO, 2008a: 3). While this may happen, it is unclear if there is any data or research that provides evidence for how successful schools are in their promotion of the attributes of the Learner Profile.

If theoretical consideration of acquisition of values is complex and full of contradictions, the training of teachers to deliver the different IB programmes is also problematic. It has been suggested that teachers are a crucial element in the provision of international education and that, when considering delivery of the IB programmes, 'without the right teachers the whole lot comes crashing down' (Walker, 2002: 131). But what characterizes the 'right' teacher who can deliver the IB programmes? Is it any different to what characterizes the 'right' teacher who can deliver other forms of international education? And what is the difference between an IB teacher in an international school and one in a national system of education? Is there a moment of enlightenment as a teacher moves from teaching in a national system to teaching in an IB programme? The University of Bath offers courses that enable teachers to obtain the IB Teacher Award levels 1 and 2 (University of Bath, 2009), and the IB offers workshops and conferences for teachers who teach IB programmes. Although the IB conducts an evaluation visit for the PYP and MYP programmes to confirm that they are being delivered in keeping with the IB philosophy and parameters of the respective programmes, this only happens four or five years after the school has been authorized to offer the programme, and does not occur at all for the Diploma. It is thus assumed that schools that offer one or more of the IB programmes have internal mechanisms to ensure that the programmes are being delivered in keeping with the IB philosophy, and that teachers incorporate the attributes of the IB Learner Profile into their teaching and interaction with students. There would seem to be a lack of evidence as to the extent to which this occurs.

Conclusion

Although the work of a number of educationalists, psychologists and sociologists has been referred to in this article, the observations included only begin to scratch the surface of

improving our understanding of the place of values in the attributes of the IB Learner Profile. In fact, it is not entirely clear from IB literature what the values are that underpin the attributes of the Learner Profile, though wok has recently begun on clarifying and publishing its theoretical underpinnings.

What I have attempted to do is to comment on theories of values, values acquisition and the relation between values, attitudes and behaviour. In doing so, I have suggested that there are two stages for values acquisition, and that materials and methodology need to be appropriate for these stages. It also appears necessary for teachers to be aware of the stages and be trained to teach values through the curriculum in accordance with the age and stage of development of the learner. It is hoped that this article will both promote frank discussion of the values expressed by the attributes of the Learner Profile, and encourage research not only into analysing how their development is promoted but also into assessing the extent to which students and other members of the community embrace them.

In the course of this article many questions have been raised but, in truth, most have not been answered. There is a clear need for further research into how values are taught, the relationship between values and attitudes or behaviour, the role of members of the school community in promoting values, and the ways in which the acquisition of values can be assessed. This is of prime importance with regard to the values inherent in the attributes of the IB Learner Profile but, with the emphasis given by many to the promotion of values in education, it seems likely that it is needed by practitioners in national education systems too.

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Biographical note

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Appendix

The aim of all IB programmes is to develop internationally minded people who, recognizing their common humanity and shared guardianship of the planet, help to create a better and more peaceful world.

IB learners strive to be:

Inquirers They develop their natural curiosity. They acquire the skills necessary to conduct inquiry and research and show independence in learning. They actively enjoy learning and this love of learning will be sustained throughout their lives.

Knowledgeable They explore concepts, ideas and issues that have local and global significance. In so doing, they acquire in-depth knowledge and develop understanding across a broad and balanced range of disciplines.

Thinkers They exercise initiative in applying thinking skills critically and creatively to recognize and approach complex problems, and make reasoned, ethical decisions.

Communicators They understand and express ideas and information confidently and creatively in more than one language and in a variety of modes of communication. They work effectively and willingly in collaboration with others.

Principled They act with integrity and honesty, with a strong sense of fairness, justice and respect for the dignity of the individual, groups and communities. They take responsibility for their own actions and the consequences that accompany them.

Open-minded They understand and appreciate their own cultures and personal histories, and are open to the perspectives, values and traditions of other individuals and communities. They are accustomed to seeking and evaluating a range of points of view, and are willing to grow from the experience.

Caring They show empathy, compassion and respect towards the needs and feelings of others. They have a personal commitment to service, and act to make a positive difference to the lives of others and to the environment.

Risk-takers They approach unfamiliar situations and uncertainty with courage and forethought, and have the independence of spirit to explore new roles, ideas and strategies. They are brave and articulate in defending their beliefs.

Balanced They understand the importance of intellectual, physical and emotional balance to achieve personal well-being for themselves and others.

Reflective They give thoughtful consideration to their own learning and experience. They are able to assess and understand their strengths and limitations in order to support their learning and personal development.

(IBO, 2008a: 5)