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**The institutionalisation of teachers
and the implications for teacher identity:
The case of teachers in
International Baccalaureate 'World Schools'.**

Tristan Bunnell (University of Bath)

Michael Fertig (University of Bath)

Chris James (University of Bath)

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Address for Correspondence

Dr Tristan Bunnell
Department of Education
University of Bath
Claverton Down
Bath
BA2 7AY
Email: t.bunnell@bath.ac.uk
Telephone: 01225 385371

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Tristan Bunnell (University of Bath)

Michael Fertig (University of Bath)

Chris James (University of Bath)

Abstract

In this article, we report our analysis of organisational institutionalisation processes, and their effects on teachers and particularly on teacher identity. We focus on the institutionalisation of International Schools that are authorized to offer the programmes of the International Baccalaureate (‘IB World Schools’) and the way institutionalising processes, in establishing the legitimacy of a school’s claim to be an International School, affect the practice of teachers and institutionalise them into particular ways of working and influence their sense of their identity. Our focus is novel, since the focus of this study is on experienced teachers, not novices or beginners.

The article starts with an analysis of the notions of institutionalisation and teacher identity. We use Scott’s (2014) model for describing the institutionalisation process, consisting of three ‘pillars’, which support institutionalisation, and the notion of ‘carriers’ which add to the process. We then consider the nature of IB programmes and the requirements for ‘IB World School’ status. In the methodology and methods section, we describe the research design (focus groups; 15 participants), data collection and data analysis methods and ethical considerations. We then describe the findings, and discuss key issues to emerge from our analysis. At the end we recap on the study we have undertaken and set out some further areas for research. We consider that institutionalisation processes are powerful and can have a substantial effect on the practice of teachers, to the extent that they may become institutionalised as a particular kind of teacher, which may have consequence effects on their identity.

Keywords

Institutionalisation; Institutional legitimacy; Institutional primary task; Teacher identity; Professional identity

Introduction

The everyday use of the term ‘to become institutionalised’ typically refers to an individual’s practice conforming in a routine way to the norms of an organization or social setting of some kind. Models explaining the institutionalisation of organisations, see for example Scott (2014) parallel such common-place usage especially in the way individuals interpret cultural norms, ways of working and expectations and in so-doing legitimise their behaviour.

We consider that institutionalisation processes are powerful and can have a substantial effect on the practice of teachers, to the extent that they may become institutionalised as a particular kind of teacher, which may have consequence effects on their identity. Conceptualising teacher identity is problematic (Beauchamp and Thomas, 2009) and encompasses various concepts including agency, emotion, sense-making and context. Nonetheless the concept has significant implications for teacher education and development (Beauchamp and Thomas, 2009), not just in the early/initial stages of development but throughout a teacher’s career.

Our experience as teachers, teacher educators and International School researchers indicates that the institutionalisation of 'International Baccalaureate World Schools', significantly affects the identity of the teachers who teach those programmes. These schools are traditionally International Schools authorized by the Geneva-registered International Baccalaureate (IB) to provide their programmes, The institutionalising effects on IB teachers, working in an 'IB World School' as 'IB Educators', and the resultant effect on their identity is of particular interest and significance because teachers in 'IB World Schools' tend to be experienced teachers, not 'novice' or 'beginner' teachers. Research on teacher identity is typically in the context of initial teacher preparation or novice teachers, see for example, Ambler (2016), Friesen and Besley (2013), Lopez and Pereira (2012), Morrison (2013) and Trent (2013). In this field of research, the focus of interest is the initial development of teacher identity. Our interest is the effect of institutionalisation on teacher identity amongst more experienced educators, an issue which has widespread interest beyond the particular case we are focussing on. It was to analyse institutionalising effects on experienced teachers that we undertook the research we report in this article.

In this article, our intention is to report our analysis of organisational institutionalisation processes, and their effects on teachers and particularly on teacher identity. We focus on the institutionalisation of International Schools that are authorized offer the programmes of the IB and the way institutionalising processes, in establishing the legitimacy of a school's claim to be an International School (Bunnell, Fertig and James, 2016a; 2016b), affect the practice of teachers and institutionalise them into particular ways of working and influence their sense of their identity.

The article starts with an analysis of the notions of institutionalisation and teacher identity. We then consider the nature of IB programmes and the requirements for 'IB World School' status. In the methodology and methods section, we describe the research design, data collection and data analysis methods and ethical considerations. We then describe the findings, and discuss key issues to emerge from our analysis. At the end we recap on the study we have undertaken and set out the findings.

An analysis of the central concepts

Institutions

Institutions are social structures that "*provide stability and meaning to social life*" (Scott, 2014, p. 56). They have various forms and many institutions, including schools, can be conceptualised and analysed as organisations (Scott, 2014). Organisations and institutions have similarities but also significant differences. A key distinguishing feature of organisations that are institutions is the legitimacy of their organisational practices (Bunnell, Fertig and James, 2016a). Legitimacy is the sense that the actions of an object in the social world are proper, right and appropriate in a way consistent with socially created conventions, principles, and interpretations (Suchman 1995). It is established by institutionalisation processes (Scott 2014).

The institutionalisation of organisations

Scott (2014) argues for three institutionalising elements, which he refers to as pillars because they support institutionalisation: (1) The regulative pillar, which includes rule-setting, monitoring and sanctioning activities; (2) The normative pillar, which encompasses the expectations of an institution and comprises values, norms, customary practices that help to form of a distinct mode of operation; (3) The cultural-cognitive pillar, which is the shared understandings of reality and the jointly held sense-making schema that enable meaning-making and interpretation.

Bunnell, Fertig and James (2016a; 2016b) analysed the institutionalisation of International Schools, which are numerous across Northern Europe, and concluded that providing an international curriculum is crucial in securing the legitimacy of schools claiming to be 'International Schools'. On this basis, they argue for a central place for the institutional

primary task in institutionalisation in addition to these pillars, which is in essence is 'what the institution is there to do'. The institutional primary task is significant. First the task an institution engages in must be legitimate to ensure institutional legitimacy. Second, the institutional primary task shapes the three pillars of institutionalisation. It underpins the pillars and the carriers of institutionalisation – the way the pillars are communicated and evidenced.

The carriers of institutionalisation

The three pillars of institutionalisation are communicated and made evident by carriers (Jepperson 1991). Scott (2014) identifies four types: symbolic systems; relational systems, activities, and artefacts. To be fully relevant these carriers need to relate directly on the institutional primary task as we have set them out below.

(1) Symbolic systems. These are “*the rules, values and norms, classifications frames, schemas, prototypes and scripts*” (Scott 2014, 97). To carry the pillars fully, these carriers must relate directly to the primary task.

(2) Relational carriers. These forms of carrier are the widely shared patterns of interaction within role systems in the institution. To carry the pillars legitimately, arguably, these interaction patterns should relate to the institutional primary task.

(3) Activities. These are the range of practices that enact the pillars. To be fully legitimate any such practices should relate directly to and bear on the institutional primary task.

(4) Artefacts. These carriers are material objects, created under the influence of the cultural or physical environment (Suchman 2003). Again, the legitimacy of any such objects rests on the ways they support work on the primary task.

The carriers of the pillars are illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. The institutional pillars and carriers of institutionalisation (adapted from Scott 2014) in relation to the institutional primary task.

Carriers of Institutionalisation	The Regulative Pillar	The Normative Pillar	The Cultural-Cognitive Pillar
Symbolic Systems that relate to the Institutional primary task	Rules Laws	Values Expectations Standards	Categories Typifications Schema Frames
Relational Systems that relate to the Institutional primary task	Governance systems Power Systems	Regimes Authority systems	Structural isomorphism Identities
Activities that relate to the Institutional primary task	Monitoring Sanctioning Disrupting	Roles Jobs Routines Habits Repertoires of collective action	Predispositions Scripts
Artefacts that relate to the Institutional primary task	Objects complying with mandated specifications	Objects meeting conventions and standards	Objects possessing symbolic value

The special nature of the cultural cognitive pillar

The cultural cognitive pillar and its relationship with the institutional primary task are of particular interest in relation to our research here. This pillar promotes and engenders a particular thought-style (Douglas, 1986), that is, the way institution members/actors think about institutional phenomena. This institutional thought-style influences individuals to think and behave in similar ways, almost irrespective of whether they agree (Rytivaara, 2012). Rules develop, which have a specific institutional rationale and a collective consciousness is created (Douglas, 1982). Over time, institution members become institutionalised (Bunnell, Fertig and James, 2016b) as the multiple logics, those associated sets of practices and constructions that provide frames of reference, effect individuals' behaviour choices (Friedland and Alford, 1991).

The particular ontological nature of the cultural-cognitive pillar that supports work on the institutional primary task is also of interest. Bunnell, Fertig and James (2016c) have argued the ontological status of this pillar contrasts with that of the other two pillars. It requires a particular process of interpretation and sense-making by institutional actors and is a relativist conception of culture (Connolly, James and Beales, 2009). However, the dimensions of the regulative pillar and the normative pillar are realist in an ontological sense.

Carriers of the cultural-cognitive pillar

Given the special nature of the cultural-cognitive pillar, the carriers of this pillar and the way they underpin institutional work (Lawrence, Suddaby and Leca 2009) on the primary task are of particular interest.

Symbolic systems. These carry the cultural-cognitive pillar: are concerned with shared conceptions of the nature of reality and common sense-making; are symbolic in nature; and relate to classifications, groupings, frameworks and models. In International Schools, such carriers, would relate to the provision of an international curriculum and might include: models of pedagogical practice that meet (internationally) diverse learning needs; frameworks for working with a diverse student group; and protocols for joint working with a varied set of teaching colleagues from different countries.

Relational systems. The way that relational systems carry of the cultural-cognitive pillar relate to the extent to which: the relational systems within the institution conform to those in other similar institutions; and the institution has a broadly similar identity to other comparable institutions. This similarity then informs and enables a shared sense-making of the experience of being part of the institution. Thus, legitimacy is gained through the nature of authority of systems that ensure the proper conduct and the operation of those systems to ensure conformance, especially in relation to the institutional primary task.

Activities. The various activities that carry the cultural-cognitive pillar are those that relate to tendencies, inclinations and dominant modes, logics and discourse. These activities are important in that they will tend to shape interpretations of appropriate action in relation to the institutional primary task in a particular institutional setting.

Artefacts. These carriers of the cultural-cognitive pillar relate to the shared understandings and interpretive schema. They are those objects that have emblematic or representational significance and will include displays, signs, mission statements and explicit visual claims of status. To be fully legitimate these symbols should relate to the institutional primary task.

Institutionalisation and teacher identity

We consider that these institutionalisation processes are powerful and significantly affect teacher behaviour and identity.

The notion of teacher identity is complex; *'Indeed it appears that a clear definition of identity is not easily reached, but that there is general acknowledgement of its multi-faceted and*

dynamic nature' (Beauchamp and Thomas, 2009 p.177). It is generally accepted as being a dynamic process, evolving over time. Beijaard, Meijer and Verloop's (2004) investigation of literature about teacher professional identity showed that identity is an ongoing process, and *'therefore that identity is dynamic rather than stable, a constantly evolving phenomenon'* (Beauchamp and Thomas, 2009 p.177). However, little attempt has been made to investigate how and why a teacher's identity might change, over time.

Beauchamp and Thomas (2009) argue that teacher identity encompasses various concepts including agency, emotion, sense-making and context. It is *"shaped and reshaped in interaction with others in a professional context"* (p. 178) which contributes to its problematic nature. The notion is important and has significant implications for teacher education in the initial career phase and further development as a teacher's career develops (Beauchamp and Thomas (2009)). As Buchanan (2015, p 705) asserts: *"Teachers make and remake themselves by drawing on their current self-conceptions and then acting in ways that seek to match those self-conceptions"*.

Literature on teacher-identity often sees it as being a democratic process, involving self-actualisation and consent. Freese (2006 p.100), for example, is particularly interested in allowing teachers to discover their 'teacher selves'. It has been stated that *'much of their time is taken up with negotiating, constructing, and consenting to their identity as a teacher'* (Britzman, 2003, p. 221). Sfard and Prusak (2005) regard teacher identity as both product (a result of influences on the teacher) and process (a form of ongoing interaction within teacher development).

Gee (2001) asserts that identity suggests a 'kind of person' within a particular context; while one might have a 'core identity', there are multiple forms of this identity as one operates across different contexts. He identifies four ways in which an individual's identity are founded: (1) Nature-identity (stemming from the person's natural state); (2) Institution-identity (derived from a position recognized by authority); (3) Discourse-identity (resulting from the others' discourse about the individual); and (4) Affinity-identity (determined by the individual's practices in relation to external groups).

Alvesson (2001) has noted the particular issues related to identity construction in what he has called *"knowledge intensive companies"* (p 876). The levels of ambiguity found in these institutions in terms of outcomes and processes have increased the significance of identity construction *"for management and subordinates in knowledge intensive companies due to problems of control as well as the consequences of ambiguity on self-esteem"* (Alvesson, 2001, p. 876). He goes on to argue that management *"is partly about regulating people's identities - establishing standards for how employees should define themselves"* (Alvesson, 2001, p 878). Schools can, in many ways, be seen to be the epitome of 'knowledge intensive' institutions and, as such, the ongoing development of teacher identities provides rich insight into the impact of variable and changing contexts upon this construction.

Ashforth and Mael (1989) have suggested: *"...individuals tend to choose activities congruent with salient aspects of their identities"* (p 25). The notion of archetypal behaviour is important here. Archetypes, which are the central feature of Jung's conceptualisation of the collective unconscious (Lawson, 2008) predispose individuals to particular behaviours. Importantly, archetypal structures are widely shared amongst all humans. The existence of archetypal structures may have a role in establishing the notion of a 'vocation' such as teaching and the desire to respond to such a calling. There sufficient anecdotal evidence to support that notion in relation to education. Ashforth and Mael (1989) further argue that individuals not only choose activities at support their identities but they also *"support the institutions embodying those identities"*.

To reiterate, much of the research done on teacher identity is located within the contexts of teacher preparation or novice teachers, at a period in the career trajectory of teachers when

they might be particularly malleable to institutional influences. It was to analyse the impact of institutionalisation on teacher identity formation amongst more experienced educators that the research we report here was carried out. We next introduce the IB as an organisation, with a particularly strong authorization process.

An introduction to the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme

The Geneva-registered IB Organisation is an important and unique educational 'player', on a global stage. It now operates from the three Global Centres: The Hague in The Netherlands, Singapore and Bethesda in Maryland plus an Assessment Centre in Cardiff, Wales. However, at an operational level it remains a relatively small organisation, employing in total 600 people (IB Annual Review, 2016 p.10). The IB a strongly mission-driven organisation, and has at its heart a radical mission statement, a reflection of its cold war origins and its evolution from within the confines of the International School of Geneva, and Kurt Hahn's United World College of the Atlantic (Hill, 2010). This states, within the first of three paragraphs, that the IBDP aims to 'create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect'.

The IB has developed a strong corporate brand, and was re-branded in 2007 with new corporate logo and identity. It offers four programmes, each with their own unique sub-brand identity. Authorization of any programme grants a school IB World School status with associated marketing logo and identity as part of the wider IB community. The original IB Diploma Programme (IBDP) had begun life in 1962 (Hill, 2010) and was joined by an adopted primary years programme (the 'PYP'), plus a middle years programme (the 'MYP'), forming what by 2002 the IB called its 'continuum of international education' (IBO, 2002). The IB has since 2002 added a home-grown career-related programme (the CP). The IB since 2007 has set its sights on educating 2.5 million children in 10,000 schools by the year 2020 (IB World, 2008). The IBDP is by far the biggest IB programme in terms of schools involved. On 16th March 2017, there were 3,104 schools offering the DP, in 147 different countries worldwide, and 60% of these are based in the United States. As noted by Cambridge (2002 p.180), the IBDP is seen as '*a reliable product conforming to consistent quality standards throughout the world.*'

The language of the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme

The IB has developed its own internalised 'language', giving the IB its own distinct pedagogic identity (Cambridge, 2003). The IB Learner Profile, a ten-point listing of student attributes and learning outcomes which appeared in mid-2006 (Wells, 2011), made clear the stock of terms used to describe the learning philosophy e.g. IB Learners (or inquirers) are critical, tolerant, inquiring, compassionate, principled. The Learner Profile is intended as the IB Mission Statement translated into a set of learning outcomes for the 21st century. The IBDP has subsequently been described as a major form of outcomes-based education that is moving towards a critical curriculum (Corbett, 2007). Indeed, a recent IB research study stated that: '*International Mindedness is explicitly associated with the values, attitudes, understanding and skills manifested in multilingualism, intercultural understanding and global engagement*' (Singh and Qi, 2013 p2). The ex-IB Director General, George Walker, has described terms such as 'intercultural understanding' and 'critical-thinking' as the 'vocabulary' of the IB, indicative of a sub-cultural identity and a growing sense of community (Walker, 2002). Others (e.g. Grimshaw, 2005; Quist, 2005) have made direct reference to the emerging 'language' of the IB.

The authorization process of the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme

The IB has developed a complex and robust authorization process. The path towards becoming an authorized 'IB World School' involves between two and three years, and includes five separate stages of endorsement. The official IB website (at

<http://ibo.org/become-an-ib-school/>) makes clear the authorization process for becoming a DP school. Phase 1 is the Consideration Phase. As soon as the school shows interest, the school head must participate in an IB workshop to become familiar with the IB's programmes, philosophy, language, and authorization process. The school must identify the person who will become the coordinator, elicit support from its community and identify resources needed, and examine the IB philosophy to see how the school mission can be aligned and made compatible.

Phase 2 is the Request for Candidacy Phase. The school's formal application must show the outcomes of the school's preliminary examination of the IB programme and philosophy and their compatibility with the school's mission, structure and culture. It must show how the school plans to demonstrate the school's commitment to making adjustments necessary to become a branded 'IB World School'. It must also show plans for staff professional development. By this stage, the school should have read through at least four documents: the *Guide to school authorization*; the *Programme standards and practices*; the *Requirements for candidacy*; and the *Rules for candidate schools*. The IB will provide feedback on the application, indicating areas of strength as well as those needing further development before authorization.

Phase 3 is the Candidacy Phase, when the school takes actions necessary to fulfil the IB requirements for authorization. During this period all teachers and administrators have access to the IB online curriculum centre (OCC), a website rich with IB publications and teacher support materials, as well as online forums that engage IB teachers from around the world. The programme coordinator (the DPC), and other staff must attend specified IB-recognized professional development activities. The school receives the support of the IB, its relevant IB regional office, and an assigned consultant from the IB Educator Network (the 'IBEN'), who has been fully trained according to global IB policies. Both after the consultation visit and at the end of the consultation process, the school will receive a report from the consultant. Each report summarizes the progress made by the school towards meeting the requirements for authorization and provides feedback on the school's readiness to apply for authorization.

Further, the school may publicize its status as a 'candidate school', using language provided by the IB. They are required to state on marketing materials that they are a candidate school pursuing authorisation as an IB World Schools. They must include two statements. The first shows a commitment to a common philosophy;

'IB World Schools share a common philosophy—a commitment to improve the teaching and learning of a diverse and inclusive community of students by delivering challenging, high quality programmes of international education that share a powerful vision.'

The second statement is the IB mission statement in full;

'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.'

Phase 4 is the Request for Authorization Phase. This includes specific documents that demonstrate the school's understanding of the DP, as well as information about its planning and implementation. Once the Application for authorization is complete, the IB visits the school to verify that the IB's educational principles and required standards and practices are in place and that the school is duly prepared to become an 'IB World School'. These visits are typically conducted by two to three experienced IB educators from the IBEN who have

been fully trained according to global IB policies to become site visitors. If the school's application meets IB requirements and there are no matters to be addressed, the Director General will grant the school authorization to teach the DP. With that authorization, the school will officially become an 'IB World School'. At this stage, the school may announce this designation to their communities for the relevant programme. The school will appear on the IB website and may also prominently feature the IB World School logo and other information in their marketing/publicity materials.

Phase 5 is the Moving Forward as an IB World School phase; *'Authorization is a milestone in the life of an IB World School, not the finish line.'* The school must meet ongoing PD requirements that must be completed at evaluation. Each 'IB World School' is regularly evaluated to ensure that the standards and practices of the DP are being maintained. Evaluation takes place at least once every five years. As part of the process, the school engages in a self-study that is a key element in the school's continual improvement.

The IB website states that: *'IB World Schools are part of a strong community and network of fellow schools and educators who collaborate internationally. As schools gain experience with the IB, their heads, coordinators and teachers are invited to support the IB as members of curriculum development teams, workshop leaders, school visitors and those who prepare and mark assessments and examinations.'* Experienced educators and administrators in the school may be trained for these roles by the IB to become members of the IBEN. This network ensures that IB's processes and practices are informed by local experience and benefits 'IB World Schools' when teachers and school leaders bring their IBEN experiences to bear on their local practice. The school may now become involved with a local or regional association and can also participate in regional activities and events - including annual regional conferences. The school's educators must attend professional development workshops as part of the authorization process: *'Teacher training and development shouldn't end with the requirements for authorization - and the continuous professional development of IB teachers is a mandatory requirement that helps ensure the integrity of one of the world's most forward-thinking educational frameworks.'* We can see here that the IB has developed a platform for contacting schools directly (via the DPC), teachers being trained by authorised workshop leaders, sharing resources and teaching concerns (the OCC), plus a platform for teachers to become workshop leaders (the IBEN).

Methods/methodology

The research aimed to answer the following research questions.

1. How is institutionalisation experienced by teachers?
2. Does institutionalisation configure a teacher's identity?

Data was collected from the Postgraduate Summer School at the University of Bath in July 2016 using the nominal group technique (NGT) (Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990). This method has a number of strengths and advantages over other methods, and it has been widely used in a range of settings (Carney, McIntosh and Worth, 1996; Chapple and Murphy, 1996).

The 14 respondents participated in one of four focus groups; 5 in the first group; 5 in the second, and 2 in each of the third and fourth. In addition, one IB teacher was interviewed.

At the time of the data collection, all the participants were or had until recently been teachers of IB programmes in a range of international schools who are also 'IB World Schools'. Their experience of IB teaching ranged from 3 months to 16 years.

The questions posed to the group directly addressed the research questions given above. The sessions were recorded and typically lasted for one hour. Following each focus group meeting, the data was transcribed and analysed for consistent themes. When all the focus groups were complete, we undertook a cross-group analysis and themes across the data set

were developed. These meta-themes were shaped by our interpretation of the carriers of the pillars and the institutional primary task discussed above.

The research complied with the University requirements for ethical conduct of research and to the guidelines of the British Educational Research Association guidelines (BERA 2011). The participating were fully informed about confidentiality, anonymity, the right to withdraw, and our intention not to do any harm through our research.

The findings

Common/shared language

The feature of the IB programmes having a common worldwide pedagogic identity was highly mentioned by the Focus Groups. One respondent commented on the IB '*lingo*' and terminology saying that: *'It's absolutely everywhere, it's on the wall it's the lingo, the branding is everywhere, you walk into an IB World School and they shout it at you from the moment you walk in the door, it's part of the discourse, and so the IB terminology is absolutely everywhere - it's pervasive.'* In an IB school the children might be called '*learners*' or '*inquirers*' which indicated a distinct every-day discourse amongst the teaching group.

Common/shared artefacts

Respondents reported that an IB World School would display the corporate IB logo, and evidence of the provision of the IB curriculum would typically be very prominent and immediate. In the words of one respondent: *'In the school I'm at right now, the moment you get past the security guard the walls have the Learner Profile, every classroom has the mission statement and Learner Profile posters displayed.'* The schools would typically have a large number of displays of the IB brand, mainly on posters. Respondents interpreted the prominence of these displays as a physical way of showing that the school is connected to the IB brand: *'I think you get a feel when you walk into an IB school - you get this sense of community.'*

The reference to a common overarching entity

The feature of the IB being a common over-arching body or entity of some kind was a strong theme in the dataset. There were direct references to *'the IB'* and *'the people in The Hague'*, a reference to one of the IB's Global Centres in Europe. Respondents referred to teachers including themselves *'joining the IB'*. One respondent said that: *'I remember the feelings before I joined the IB.'* Another implied that the IB has *'expectations'* of teachers which had to be addressed: *'The only thing I was not sure about was whether the internal assessment was as expected and what the IB wanted.'*

A common and shared philosophy and beliefs

The teachers of IB curriculums needing to have philosophy and set of values in common with the IB emerged as a theme. For example, one teacher felt that *'At the bottom line it's the philosophical alignment between the IB philosophy of education and mine.'* One respondent referred to the: *'common language and belief.'* The idea of IB teachers having a common set of beliefs amongst themselves and with the IB was a significant theme in the data. Thus: *'Being part of a bigger network - a broader community . . . being part of something being united by a common belief'*. This particular respondent went on to add: *'I know a lot of people say sometimes it's like a religion in the way that you engage within that community and are united by common belief.'* One respondent described the experience of being an IB teacher as *'being part of something that makes a difference.'* The sense of joining a group/community that was special in some way featured as a theme in the analysis, with respondents feeling *'being part of a brand' that had some standing with another respondent referring to 'the status of an international teacher.'*

Sharing curriculum resources

Being able to share resources used in other institutions that provided IB curriculums was a theme in the data. One respondent recalled: *'In my school at that time we had only one person who worked in a previous IB school so we used what they had done in that school. The teacher referred to these resources as providing a much needed 'frame of reference.'* The movement of teachers between schools providing the IB was also significant and facilitated this sharing of resources: *'People coming into school from other IB schools bring stuff with them.'* Teachers are able to share resources with each other, especially when teachers arrive from another IB school was a feature of their experience: *'so literally you can draw a wealth of expertise from within the school.'*

Being able to share resources and teaching materials with others in other countries was deemed to be important and was a theme. It impacted on the respondents as teachers and also contributed to the sense that there was an IB community: *'IB world schools are all over the world...so sharing commonalities and common language at workshops conferences gives you an understanding of the IB.'*

Being part of a small network globally

Although the IB has grown enormously in terms of the number of students following IB curriculums and schools providing IB curriculums, the sense that it is still relatively 'small' is important. The apparent size of the network meant that IB teachers would meet up regularly: *'The network is quite small in Singapore so the 17 PYP schools can meet on a regular basis.'* Also, members of the network a part of the IB curriculum assessment systems, so respondents reported feeling part of the whole IB process. One respondent stated: *'My husband still moderates the IB'. For this particular respondent her: 'Former director of studies still is a chief examiner . . . so you know IB world colleagues.'* Also, the relatively small nature of the IB network enables teachers to get 'promoted' within the IB curriculum provision and assessment systems. One respondent stated:

'Within the IB there are variety of roles so you can make up a workshop leader or school visitor then you become school visit and leader and consultant - there's a bit of hierarchy there as well, but I also find that it makes in terms of employability having that you're a workshop leader on your resumé that's considered pretty good PD (professional development) capital.'

Shared experiences

Having shared experiences with other teachers around the world emerged as important, especially when teachers engage in IB workshops for the first time: *'The first time you attend PD (professional development) you see that bigger sense of people like you, especially in regional conferences . . . there are people who just like you are going through this.'* This initial exposure to the IB community could be an important moment of initiation with one respondent describing becoming an IB educator as *'like starting a journey'*.

The personal investment involved

The process of becoming an IB teacher was reported as requiring considerable commitment and the investment of resources. Respondents felt that they had 'invested' a lot of time and effort in becoming an 'IB educator': *'I've invested a lot of my life in the IB's requirements and training.'* This effort was substantial and seen as additional to typical professional development activities, but that the outcome was worthwhile: *'it's a lot of work becoming a real (our emphasis) IB teacher, it's not just a stamp.'*

Common regulations and standards

The IB having a common sense of standards and practices reinforced the notion of an 'IB community' and clearly impacted on the respondents: *'You're always looking through the lens of IB standards of practices and making sure that you are ticking the boxes.'*

Common professional development experiences and the importance of attending training events way from the school

The requirement to attend training away from the school emerged as a theme. In the words of one respondent: *'The value of going outside the school and meeting with other members of the IB community, it is an opportunity to network and share'*. It was valued above in-school development events: *'I don't think having somebody come to your school to train you is the same thing, we've got many people that do in-school workshops'*.

The pressure to act like an IB educator

The pressure to act like an 'IB educator' emerged as a theme during the data analysis. Part of that pressure arose from the resource cost of the authorization process. It put teachers under pressure to conform:

'I'm based in West Africa, and (the IB) membership fees are high so the stakes are high, so I need to make sure whether I like it or not that my classrooms are well-stocked and the resources are there...it's a challenge because it's not a cheap form of education.'

Also, as the IB is constantly adapting its programmes teachers under put under pressure to keep abreast of developments: *'The IB teacher has to be flexible...I see the programmes keep changing and I keep adapting, so you need to be flexible and adaptive to change.'* The key point here is that the teachers clearly feel a pressure to conform to the IB's requirements.

Discussion

The main emergent themes set out in the previous section relate to the way immersion in IB way of working impacted on how the teachers made sense of and interpreted educational phenomena. It had had a clear impact on how they thought about pedagogic matters and, importantly in relation to their identity, themselves. In that regard the changes related to the cultural-cognitive pillar, and the interpretation of the primary task, how they interpreted matters and what they felt they were 'there to do'. These institutionalising forces were carried by the sense of belonging to a distinct teaching community, sharing materials between teachers, sharing a professional (high) status, and sharing a common philosophy. The IB authorization process ensures the alignment between the school's philosophy and that of the IB happens and typically will happen quickly. There is a strong sense of belonging to an 'IB community', with shared experiences and pedagogical activity. The analysis reveals that through IB documentation and training workshops and the stories about IB history, philosophy and the role of the IB pioneers are together a powerful institutionalising force. In that regard they reflect the connection between identity, the way feelings shape identity, and the power of discourse in understanding and shaping identity (Beauchamp and Thomas, 2009).

Themes that related the normative pillar and its relationship with the institutional primary task emerged in relation to the norms, values and principles. There was a desire to work according to IB norms within a shared set of values and principals. The teachers' beliefs about their work as teachers of IB curriculums were important here.

The IB 'lingo' as respondents referred to it becomes a language that is normally used, and it becomes routine. Parents, and the children (IB Learners), also expect it to be used. Over time, the IB teacher becomes used to using the IB pedagogic language, and it becomes 'normal'. Arguably, over a longer time-period, in using the language to interpret and make sense of pedagogic issues the language becomes an isomorphic force, with teachers sharing resources and teaching materials which use the IB language. Further teachers move from IB school-to-IB school 'carrying' the language with them.

Themes related to the regulative pillar included the constant sense of being in an authorized 'IB World School' through (branded) artefacts displayed around the school, and the sense of belonging to a group that has undergone similar initiation experiences. Attendance at IB authorised workshops, compulsory for all IB Educators, especially appeared as key 'rites of passage'. For those new to IB teaching, their first workshop can feel like a form of initiation. Further at these workshops, teachers make contact with (IB) teachers in other schools, and may share materials.

A significant overarching theme that emerged related to regulatory compliance. This theme was seen in the ways respondents presented evidence of the importance of the cultural-cognitive pillar as a way of making sense of the rules, regulations and norms of the institution. This relationship and interplay was a key factor in the development of their professional identity and, also, played a part in strengthening the legitimacy of the institution.

Further, the IB has created artefacts such as its Mission Statement and Learner Profile, positioned within each school and classroom which act as powerful conformity symbols. Beynon (1997) states that teacher discourse is not only *'revelatory of identity but also indicative of the way in which identity is negotiated by an individual within external contexts'* (Beauchamp and Thomas, 2009 p.181).

Our findings show that the institutionalization process is a dynamic one, involving a process of events over time. This we might expect since: *'The literature on teaching and teacher education reveals a common notion that identity is dynamic, and that a teacher's identity shifts over time under the influence of a range of factors'* (Beauchamp and Thomas, 2009 p.177).

From the findings above, we can show the institutionalisation process through the learning and usage of a common pedagogical language. The sense of a common language was very prevalent among the participants. The Regulative Pillar can be seen to act as a coercive one, which identifies the language that the 'IB Educator' is expected to use in every-day routine. This language appears in school documentation at the outset of the authorisation process. It is further reinforced by the compulsory attendance at an IB authorised workshop. Its compulsory use in the classroom is reinforced by its presence in IB textbooks. Lastly, it is displayed in each classroom, acting as a 'reminder' or 'prompt' to the teacher that it should be used.

The data presented in the previous section focussed on the institutionalisation of those in the teaching system of the school, and the institutionalising forces on that system. In that sense, we are focussing in particular on one of the systems that comprise the whole school system (Hawkins and James, 2017). The forces of institutionalisation will bear down on the other systems, such as the ancillary staff system and the student system. Ensuring the legitimacy of those systems will be problematic for those responsible for the school's proper functioning (Bunnell, Fertig and James 2017).

Overall, the process can be seen as quite a coercive one. The teacher becomes an 'IB Educator' through a mixture of rules, expectations and activities. In our study, the process often began with teachers' attending a workshop where they met other teachers from other locations, creating an immediate sense of 'community'. This process seemed an important 'rite of passage'. In this context, the IB has created a strong instrument for institutionalising teachers, and the IB authorized workshop becomes both an identity-forming product and a process (Sfard and Prusak, 2005). On the one hand, the teacher has to conform since the school has paid a considerable amount of money for an individual to attend a workshop (the product). On the other hand, attending the workshop places the teacher under pressure to use the language that other teachers use (the process).

Respondents identified a number of powerful institutionalising forces at work. Prominent amongst these was the common, shared language, which was allied to evidence of shared belief system amongst respondents. There was a strong sense of conformity across the range of respondents and of the ways in which this pervasiveness impacted upon their practice and professional identity. The notion that 'we share a lingo' was very evident.

The use of a shared common educational language and terminology was a powerful influence here. The students were referred to as 'IB Learners' or 'inquirers'. The shared language and use of terms was particularly seen in the way the teachers viewed themselves - as 'IB Educators'. The IB Learner Profile provided an additional shared mode of expression. This is summarised in Table 2.

Table 2. The use of the IB pedagogic language in institutionalisation

The Institutional Primary Task			
The provision of an international curriculum, an obligation which in this instance is met by the provision of the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme (IBDP). This involves the learning and usage of a common pedagogical language.			
Carriers	Carriers of the Regulative Pillar	Carriers of the Normative Pillar	Carriers of the Cultural-Cognitive Pillar
	(This pillar becomes a coercive one : a language is expected to be used)	(This pillar creates conformity: a language is normally used)	(This pillar engenders isomorphism: a common language is shared)
Symbolic Systems	The school mission statement must be aligned with the IBO mission. The IB language appears on school materials. The teacher becomes aware of the importance of the IB language.	The teacher is expected to share the values of the IBO as well as the school's values. The teacher is expected to act as a role-model for international mindedness, expressing the IB 'language'.	The teacher undergoes school organised events/professional development about international mindedness or the IB Learner Profile. Other teachers, who may have worked in other schools, share their views and experiences.
Relational Systems	The teacher must undergo training at an IB authorized workshop. The teacher becomes aware of the nature of the language, and how to practically use it.	The teacher is now expected to use the language having been sent away for (expensive) training session. It becomes normal for all the trained teachers to use the 'lingo'.	The school joins a local/regional association of IB World Schools. The teacher attends regular workshops in other schools, and meets fellow IB teachers in other schools. The 'lingo' becomes a shared one.
Activities	The teacher must use IB authorised text-books to teach. The teacher becomes aware of the value of the language for assessment purposes.	The teacher starts to use the IB language in every-day classroom teaching. Students and parents expect the language to be used.	The teacher becomes active on the OCC, sharing teaching materials using the 'lingo' with fellow IB teachers in other authorized schools.
Artefacts	The classroom must display the IB mission and Learner Profile. The teacher is constantly reminded about using the language.	The teacher is expected to refer to artefacts when teaching. The 'lingo' becomes part of the teachers' repertoire of activity.	The teacher begins to create their own IB displays, or borrows them from other trained teachers (maybe in other IB schools). The 'lingo' becomes a common one.

Concluding comments

Our study shows that teacher identity is not fixed, and can change. Further, working in a school that has a clear identity as a legitimate institution and a clear sense of its institutional primary task can act as a force for identity (re-)formation by teachers who come to work within it. They can also encounter an institutionalisation process. In the context of our study, this can even happen to experienced teachers not just newly trained ones who might be more prone to an evolving identity. Further, it is a complex developmental process, or 'journey'. This can involve a relatively long process, over several years, unlike the normally short (i.e. one to three year) process that the novice or beginner teacher undertakes. The notion that teacher identity evolves over time is well established in the literature, but the notion that a teacher can change identity does seem novel.

The institutionalising force of sharing a common 'lingo' and pedagogical discourse is significant. Our study shows that this involves a relatively structured process, where educators are supported by materials such as textbooks, and both online and face-to-face professional development. The process can be identified throughout all three Pillars, and within each set of 'carriers', as our model above shows, creating a strong institutionalising process. The notion that this 'lingo' is ever-changing also acts as an enforced continuous learning process. It would be interesting to investigate how important this notion of a shared common 'lingo' is in other 'small' or 'micro' teaching environments, such as well-established elite private schools or situations where there are chains of schools. Surprisingly, the literature on teacher identity makes scant attention to the importance of this issue.

We were struck by the importance of artefacts as 'carriers' of institutionalisation. Within the Regulative Pillar, the IB Mission and Learner Profile must be prominently displayed in the teaching environment. This acts as a strong enforcer of routine and action. Within the Normative Pillar, the teacher will begin to use these artefacts as teaching tools, and may even share or borrow them from other teachers in other schools, carrying the process over into the Cultural-Cognitive Pillar.

Further, we were struck by the manner in which the initial training workshop, where teachers first meet peers in other IB schools, acts as a definite 'rite of passage', and 'carrier' of institutionalisation as an activity within the Regulative Pillar. There was something very significant about this experience, and is worthy of further research. Although the teachers are forced into this act, which is why it sits within the Regulative Pillar, they seemingly emerge with a sense of 'belonging' that was not there previously. They seemingly emerge as feeling like common and legitimate 'IB Educators'. This 'relational carrier' process requires further investigation.

In the context of our study, the Cultural-Cognitive Pillar also acts as a regulating, or conforming force. A school that wishes to become an IB authorised body might employ experienced IB teachers from other schools i.e. teachers who are already 'institutionalised'. They, in turn, place the existing teachers under pressure to act and speak in a certain way. They, in a sense, 'carry' with them practices from other schools. Over time, perhaps a relatively short period of time, a process of isomorphic practice and discourse emerges. For instance, the 'students' quickly become known as 'learners' or 'inquirers'. Further, the Normative Pillar also places teachers under pressure to act and speak like 'IB Educators' should, since many of the parents and children will also be moving between schools and have expectations of what is 'normal'.

Overall, the institutionalising process that we identify in our study involves a strong regulative, or conforming set of forces. However, there is scope for seeing this as an 'accidental' or unintended consequence. In this instance, the IB has established over time a strong set of instruments for ensuring that the school becomes a legitimate 'IB World School', which also acts a method of ensuring the teachers within the school are 'IB Educators'. Yet, there is scope for seeing this a by-product of the authorisation process. This issue, of deliberate intent, needs further investigating with the IB organisation.

Although the institutionalising process identified by our study involves much external pressure placed upon teachers to conform within a required way, we were struck how positive the teachers are. Almost all the teachers in our study added that they saw themselves never moving into (or back into) another teaching context. In this respect, the IB seems to have established a relatively loyal and supportive body of teachers, which implies that the change in teacher identity need not always be a negative one, acting instead as a 're-skilling' or 're-professionalisation' force. At the same time, the notion that this has involved a lot of time and effort i.e. it has been an 'investment', again acts as a conforming force. This needs further investigation among a much bigger set of teachers.

There is still more research to be done. It is stated that: '*Within a teacher's professional identity are sub-identities*' (Beauchamp and Thomas, 209 p.177). A limitation of the data set was the sense that respondents were rarely moving beyond presenting a normative view of their role into a sharing of their deeper belief systems, which in 'IB World Schools' might include an ideological and moral dimension. Within the context of the IB Mission Statement this could lead to a teacher having a sub-identity as a 'facilitator of global peace', or 'facilitator of intercultural understanding', beyond being merely a 'Maths teacher' or a 'primary school teacher'. The need for an exploration of this deeper, existential attitude indicates an area for fruitful further research, as do the wider implications of the powerful forces at play within these institutions which encourage a high degree of conformity especially amongst experienced teachers who join them part way through their career as educators.

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