

'Caring' across the International Baccalaureate Continuum

Final Report

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1. Introduction

This report presents findings and conclusions from the research project '*Caring across the International Baccalaureate Continuum*'.

Caring is one of the ten attributes which comprise the International Baccalaureate's (IB) Learner Profile. The IB Learner Profile is the one of the key elements of the IB's programmes that extends across the whole IB continuum – from 3 to 19 years. As such, it provides a thread that runs through the Primary Years Programme (PYP), the Middle Years Programme (MYP) and Diploma Programme (DP). That the Learner Profile is a common element throughout the continuum highlights its importance. The Learner Profile is presented in the form of learning outcomes and the attributes it includes may be considered to represent the consummate IB student. The IBO further prioritises Caring in its Mission Statement which begins:

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 (IBO, 2015).

This research has two broad aims. First, it seeks to establish the extent to which students in IB schools have a disposition to be caring, and second, it seeks to understand how IB schools attempt to develop a disposition to care amongst their students. The study adopted a mixed methods approach in which a survey of students was used to address the first objective (looking at student outcomes in relation to caring) and qualitative data, principally focused on school visits and interviews focused on the second objective (looking at school practices).

Within the context of these two over-arching aims indicated, the study was framed by six sub-aims, and these in turn reflected the project research questions:

1. How do teachers and students *make sense* of the Learner Profile 'Caring'?
2. How do teachers and students seek to operationalise 'Caring' in their teaching and learning?

3. How is 'Caring' articulated in informal and formal school-level policies and practices?
4. What factors help and hinder the development of 'Caring' within the curriculum?
5. What outcomes do PYP, MYP, DP students obtain on measures associated with caring, such as perspective taking, empathic concern and pro-sociality?
6. To what extent do students in IB programmes connect their IB experience to their disposition towards 'Caring'?

Within these aims the following research questions are nested.

1. In what ways do IB schools, teachers and students interpret the Learner Profile attribute 'Caring'?
 - a) What value do students place on this Learner Profile attribute?
 - b) What significance do IB schools attach to development of the attribute 'Caring'?
2. In what ways has student attainment of the Learner Profile attribute 'Caring' been supported by IB schools and teachers? For example, how has this attribute been integrated in:
 - School policies and school culture
 - The written, taught and assessed curriculum
 - Classroom practices and activities
 - Extra curricula activities
3. What do students see as the major facilitators and inhibitors to demonstrating 'Caring' in the school environment?
4. What outcomes do PYP, MYP, DP students obtain on measures associated with caring, such as perspective taking, empathic concern and pro-sociality?
5. What similarities and differences exist among IB schools regarding

- a) How schools support student engagement with the Learner Profile attribute 'Caring'
 - b) The use of implicit and explicit assessment of the attribute 'Caring'
 - c) Outcomes achieved on measures that reflect the IB's conceptualisation of caring?
6. What does research literature indicate are the benefits of supporting the development of caring young people?

The report opens with some contextual information about the programmes in the IB and the place of the Learner Profile within the curriculum. There is then a discussion of the concept of caring as it is operationalised in the project. Following, a presentation of the research methods used in the study, the main findings are presented and discussed. In the first part of the findings presentation the focus is on the quantitative data and student outcomes. The second part of the findings presentation draws on the qualitative data and explores school practices. In the final section of the report we identify a number of practical steps that can be undertaken, from classroom to policy level that can help schools develop as caring environments, and which can contribute to developing a disposition of caring in young people.

2. Background to the Study

The focus of this study is the three IB programmes that together offer a full continuum of education from kindergarten to pre-university. The three programmes are:

Primary Years Programme (3-12 years)

Middle Years Programme (11-16 years)

Diploma Programme (16-19 years)

A fourth programme – the IB Career-related Programme (CP) is part of the academic suite, but this programme sits outside of this study.

The concept of a continuum from 3-19 emphasises notions of coherence and progression and a strong feature of IB programmes is the extent to which they are grounded in coherent and consistent approaches to pedagogy. Different programmes, as would be expected, provide different emphases in terms of learning aims, but a key objective is to ensure coherence across programmes.

Schools may offer a single IB programme, or any combination of two to four programmes. Given the interest of this study, the schools participating in this research all offered PYP, MYP and DP programmes. This is central to the study because the intention was to not simply capture experiences at different stages of the continuum, but to see the continuum as a dynamic in which progression *through* the stages can also be significant. This research reflects work undertaken in nine different schools. As noted, each school provided the full IB continuum and each was an International School. The sample was also chosen to reflect a range of locations in which five were drawn from South East Asia, three from Europe and one from the Middle East/North Africa (further details about individual schools are provided in chapter 4).

All the participating schools were international schools which might be broadly defined as a school that promotes international education, in an international environment and through an international curriculum, such as the IB, or by adopting a national curriculum that differs from that of the country where the

school is based. A common feature of international schools running IB programmes is that they seek to promote a concept of international mindedness and global citizenship.

Most schools in our study had an extremely international student body, with one school having 70 nationalities represented. In these schools student turnover tends to be higher due to the sometimes frequent movement of parents for work purposes. However, student transience varied considerably among the participating schools, with several having high non-national populations but nevertheless quite low levels of student turnover.

The population of several schools in our study was drawn largely from the local community, although this was still from a much wider area than might be considered typical of a public 'community school'. The number of students also varied among the schools, however, all schools were quite large given that they offered the full IB continuum. The smallest school had approximately 750 students with the largest having more than 3000.

2.1 The IB Programmes

The IB Primary Years Programme (PYP) is a curriculum framework designed for students aged 3 to 12. Its focus is to develop the whole child as an inquiring learner, both in the classroom and in the world outside. The curriculum is guided by six trans-disciplinary themes, such as 'Sharing the planet' and 'Where we are in place and time' that 'provide IB World Schools with the opportunity to incorporate local and global issues' (IBO, 2012a) and are explored through six subject areas. A distinctive feature of the PYP assessment process is the collaborative enquiry project in the final year of the PYP, which culminates in an exhibition. One of the main stated aims of the exhibition is for students to show how the Learner Profile attributes, including Caring, have contributed to their learning throughout the PYP. The PYP curriculum can be represented visually in the following way:

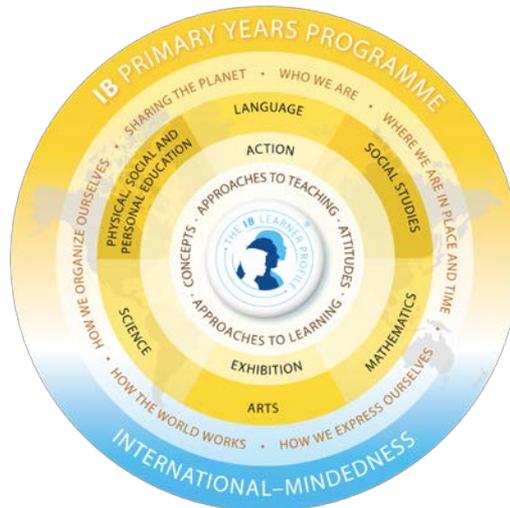


Figure 1: The IB Primary Years Programme (IBO, 2012b)

The IB Middle Years Programme (MYP) emphasises the development of creative, critical and reflective thinkers and students are encouraged to make connections between traditional academic subjects and the wider world. The MYP curriculum develops breadth by requiring study across eight curriculum areas, but also focuses on a number of cross-curricular themes. These cross-curricular elements were known as ‘Areas of Interaction’ when our study began, but have now been replaced by a number of Global Contexts (since September 2014). These changes to the MYP make no material difference to this research, as the Learner Profile within the MYP curriculum remains unchanged.

The MYP curriculum affords teachers considerable autonomy and this is reflected in the forms of assessment, which are largely teacher designed and assessed. IB is introducing a new MYP assessment model in 2016 that includes mandatory moderation of the personal project and optional external assessment (eAssessment). A key feature of the MYP is the way in which student skills and attributes such as Caring are developed through ‘service’ and a personal project. The MYP curriculum can be represented visually in the following way:

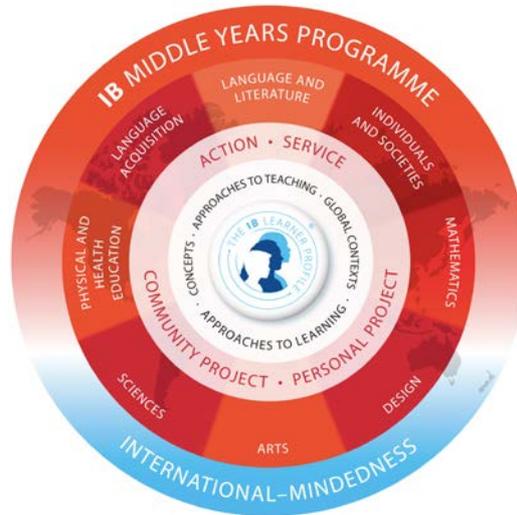


Figure 2: The IB Middle Years Programme (IBO, 2014a)

The IB Diploma Programme (DP) maintains the IBO's commitment to a broad and balanced curriculum by offering a curriculum in which students must select subjects from across six subject groups, with selections being made from at least five of them. The DP develops many of the features of the MYP programme and in particular through the DP core (see Figure 3). This involves a distinctive cross-curricular approach to thinking about knowledge and theories of knowledge (TOK), but also includes an extended essay and a commitment to creativity, action and service (CAS). Studied throughout the Diploma Programme, CAS involves students in a range of activities alongside their academic studies, and seeks to contribute to student development in distinctive ways:

Creativity encourages students to engage in the arts and creative thinking. Action seeks to develop a healthy lifestyle through physical activity. Service with the community offers a vehicle for a new learning with academic value. (IBO, 2012b)



Figure 3: The IB Diploma Programme (IBO, 2012b)

As will become clear in this report, CAS is typically linked to the Learner Profile attribute of Caring at DP level.

2.2 The Learner Profile

Although the IB programmes have many common themes across the continuum the Learner Profile is at the centre of an IB curriculum and is consistent throughout the continuum.



Figure 4: The IB Continuum of International Education (2013)

The IB Learner Profile 'is the IB mission statement translated into a set of learning outcomes of the 21st century' (IBO, 2014b) or the organisation's mission statement 'in action'. It is, in essence, the definition of the IB learner, presented in the form of 10 attributes. Table 1 below lists these attributes and their descriptions.

Table 1: Ten attributes in the Learner Profile and their descriptions (IBO, 2014b)

LP attributes	Descriptions
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.

There is no hierarchy within the Learner Profile, with all the attributes assuming equal significance. Within this research the focus is on the attribute 'Caring' and understanding this attribute at a conceptual level is the focus of the next section.

3. Literature Review

In the following literature review, we examine caring from several different viewpoints. First, we consider caring from a variety of theoretical perspectives all of which underpin the current study: caring as perspective taking, caring as empathic concern; caring as pro-social behaviour, and the 'theory of care' proposed by Noddings (1988). Then, we look at aspects related to caring and culture, with 'culture' referring to what Holliday (1999) has termed 'small' and 'large' cultures, as well as caring in everyday life and aspects related to caring and age.

Finally, we look at caring in schools, and specifically what caring means with regard to the curriculum and international schools, and how 'learning caring' has been enacted in different environments.

3.1 Understanding caring

In this section we argue that caring is an integral part of any relationship, and as one of the most important human relationships (Macmurray, 1964), the relationship between teachers and students is 'the bedrock of all successful

education' (Noddings 2005, p. 27). Teachers are frequently defined by their caring attitudes (NEA, n.d.), and the need to build caring relationships with students is 'what teachers do'. The emphasis on caring as relational (Noddings, 2013a) requires a focus on both the carer and the cared for, and the need to understand both the nature of this relationship, and the ways in which such relationships might be nurtured. Although much has been written about the relationship of caring in teaching, it remains a difficult term to define, and a correspondingly complex concept to operationalise in an explicit sense. As Kemp and Reupert (2012) have argued, teachers often face significant difficulties when seeking to navigate the caring teacher role and the how caring informs the relationship between teacher and student.

It is widely recognised that caring is underpinned by the concept of empathy (Hogan, 1969; Slote, 2007). Empathy is commonly differentiated between situational empathy and dispositional empathy. The former relates to an individual's response to someone else's experience of a specific event, such as an accident, whereas the latter refers to an on-going personality trait in which an individual demonstrates an enduring disposition to understand the experiences of others. However, as far as caring is concerned it cannot be considered sufficient to intellectually identify 'with another's feelings, thoughts or attitudes' (Noddings, 2012, p. 773), but it is also necessary to feel compassion towards others and to recognise and act appropriately to situations where others are in need, or where there is evidence of injustice. In short, there needs to be an element of 'empathic concern' (Smith, 2006) and action whereby empathic concern is translated into pro-social behaviour. Santrock (2004) defines pro-social behaviour as an *act* of unselfishness, helping others and showing empathy. In this sense we highlight caring as intrinsically generous. Within this context we see caring as the integration of an understanding of others' experiences, a concern about a perceived need or injustice and a commitment to mobilise to address the concern. Hence in this study, in terms of a focus on student outcomes, we see caring as a combination of perspective taking, empathic concern and pro-social behaviour.

Within the context of individual institutions the central issue is how key participants themselves understand the concept of caring. Only by appreciating participants' understanding does it, in turn, become possible to make sense of the

actions and practices of teachers and students. Understanding this 'sense-making' is therefore a pre-requisite for understanding what teachers and students do, and why they do it. Of particular interest in the project will be an analysis of the extent to which there might exist a common understanding of caring – both within individual institutions, and across them. This provides a base from which notions of modelling, dialogue, practice and confirmation will be explored.

Noddings (1988) argues that modelling, dialogue, practice and confirmation are the four means by which caring is communicated to students within schools. With modelling, the caring relationship is unidirectional as the teacher works to demonstrate caring behaviour. If the modelling is to be successful, then the student has a role to play in 'noticing' (Schmidt, 1990) the caring behaviour. With dialogue, the caring relationship is moving towards a reciprocal one, as both teacher and student are required to be active in the construction of the caring behaviour. With practice, the caring relationship has evolved further as the role of the teacher has become one of supporting the student in the caring behaviour practice. Finally, with confirmation the student learns to accept care as well as to care, and feels they are self-affirmed through this acceptance. In this way, the student is encouraged and supported to take responsibility for their own caring behaviour, and their autonomy in the classroom is affirmed.

Within this study we sought to generate data relating to both the outcomes and processes of caring in IB schools using the definitions and frameworks identified above, which we believe are congruent with IB values. Outcome measures focus on perspective taking, empathic concern and pro-social behaviour, whilst the four dimensions of caring presented by Noddings (1988) allow us to focus on the processes by which a disposition to caring might be developed in young people. These theoretical perspectives are represented in simplified format in the following table and provide a guide for the analysis of data in the report.

Table 2. Researching caring in the IB continuum: research frameworks

Caring	
Outcomes	Processes
Perspective taking Empathic concern Pro-social behaviour	Modelling Dialogue Practice Confirmation

3.2 Caring and culture

The term 'culture' has meaning in this study both in its broad sense, and in a more specific sense to signify the culture within a particular school. Drawing on the work of Holliday (1999) who makes a distinction between 'large' and 'small' cultures, in which "large" signifies "ethnic", "national" or "international" and "small" signifies any cohesive social grouping' (p. 237) we explore the significance of large and small cultures in terms of how caring is understood by teachers and learners.

Large cultures have been identified by scholars as having an impact on caring behaviours in and out of schools. Ingall (1998) focused on the large cultures of nationality (American and Russian) and religion (Judaism) in her analysis of moral education. Describing the tensions between The Jewish Reform School which was the focus of her study, and the expectations of the new immigrant parents from Russia who felt the school was focused too much on caring and not enough on academic performance Ingall (1998, p. 238) explained:

Moral education in Russia was loyalty to the state and the party. Jews in the former Soviet Union strove for excellence in their race to become scientists, engineers, and academics. They are afraid there isn't enough math and science.

Creating a small culture of 'caring' in school in which pro-social behaviours are encouraged has been shown to inhibit bullying (Bosworth and Judkins, 2014; Raskauskas, Gregory, Harvey, Rifshana, and Evans, 2010) and increase academic performance (Kilian and Kilian, 2011), and below, we suggest that the culture of the school is critical to the way that caring is normalized in a specific institution.

In conceptualising the culture of the school Stern (2012) draws on the work of the philosopher John Macmurray in arguing for the importance of schools as communities like households, where friendships amongst those belonging to the community are key in offering an environment rich in care and support. Increasingly, Stern maintains, schools are taking on the mantle of educating for life, which was previously regarded as the domain of the family. As we shall see, the schools in our study frequently referred to themselves as communities or even families, and this was the case especially when the school had lower student numbers. As Ingall (1998, p. 238) points out, size matters when considering the caring culture of a school: 'As the school becomes larger and more settled, its success may threaten the delicate fabric of a caring community.'

3.3 Caring in school

In this study we draw substantially on Nodding's work in relation to caring, and her theorisations of caring. Our concern is specifically with caring in a contemporary school context and it is important therefore to locate theoretical work in relation to caring within a wider framework relating to the curriculum.

The notion of caring has often been located within wider discussion of the role of the pastoral curriculum, indeed the term pastoral is used by referring to 'pastoral care' as though the two cannot be disconnected. In this sense pastoral can be considered to have a number of meanings, including the provision of guidance in a spiritual context. However, within the context of schooling then the Oxford Dictionary of English (2010) definition offers a useful starting point:

Relating to or denoting a teacher's responsibility for the general well-being of pupils or students.

Whilst such a definition offers some clarity the issue becomes less clear when notions of the pastoral curriculum are defined. One approach is to identify all aspects of the school curriculum that contribute to developing the individual. For example, the professional association for secondary school leaders in the UK argue:

What has been called the 'pastoral curriculum' combines all aspects of a school's life, which together contribute to the formation of the whole person. Curriculum subjects clearly play a part, but so also do less tangible things such as the quality of relationships within the school community, the value the school puts on individual students, and school ethos. (ASCL, 2007)

However, it is also important to recognise that such approaches can over-simplify what are sometimes complex tensions between what is considered as the academic and pastoral curriculum. Sally Power (1996) for example, highlighted the 'conflicts and contradictions' between the so-called academic and pastoral curriculums, and how the former was often privileged over the latter. Writing at the end of the twentieth century, Power argued that in many contexts the emphasis on the pastoral curriculum had been growing for several decades, often reflecting the growing influence of child-centred pedagogies. However, this emphasis on the pastoral may now be less clear as the growing pressure to compete in educational league tables (whether local, national or international) threatens to shift the emphasis back to more traditional approaches to knowledge and instruction. On a different, but related matter, Noddings (2013b), has argued that the drive to standardise curricula pose a similar threat to developing dispositions of caring in young people.

The suggestion of a bifurcation between the academic and pastoral is clearly underpinned by an assumption of an opportunity cost curriculum in which more of one is assumed to mean correspondingly less of the other. Within this research

we reject the assumptions of an antagonism between the academic and the pastoral, and the associated notion of a zero-sum curriculum. Rather our concern is to understand how schools that follow IB programmes seek to develop young people as academically successful, knowledgeable and caring individuals and how each element supports this other. In this sense we return to Noddings' (2005) assertion that caring provides the 'bedrock of all successful education'.

4. Research Design and Methods

Data for this research was generated from a mixed methods research design with data collected from several sources. These methods included student surveys, website analysis, focus groups with staff and students and interviews with various members of staff in case study schools. This section describes in detail each data collection method and outlines the school selection criteria.

4.1 School selection

As the focus of the study is 'Caring in the IB Continuum', the schools chosen for participation were necessarily involved in providing all of the programmes from PYP through to DP (for the purposes of this project the IBCP was not included in the study).

The research started by identifying appropriate IB World Schools (i.e. those that provided the full continuum of IB programmes) in relevant regions, ensuring a spread of schools within and across regions. Schools were then contacted to establish if they were willing and able to participate. In all, 32 schools were contacted with an invitation to participate in the research. For many schools there were a number of logistical reasons, such as the timing of the research, which made participation impractical and hence the final sample of nine IB World Schools was based on those schools that indicated a willingness to participate. All schools that responded positively to the invitation to participate were able to be included.

IB World Schools that agreed to participate in the study committed to undertaking the online survey with students and also hosting a two-day visit by the research team. In most cases visits involved two members of the research team as this allowed more detailed data collection, and also the possibility of the research team developing a shared understanding of the issues and the data through detailed de-briefs of common visits.

In the sections that follow we provide much more detailed information about the collection of quantitative data, followed by a discussion of the methods used for qualitative data collection. First, we provide a brief overview of ethical considerations.

4.2 Ethics

The research was conducted according to the ethical guidelines provided by the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2011) and the University of Nottingham School of Education Ethics Committee provided ethical approval. A number of ethical issues presented themselves within the study, notably relating to anonymity and the participation of young people. Anonymity issues arise from the ease with which some schools in this study might be identified. Within this study it is not possible to eliminate this risk. It is our view that any potential harm that might flow from identification is extremely limited. However, in order to provide maximum safeguards the decision was taken to present the qualitative data in a way that does not make the school explicit, even using anonymised school names. Hence, direct quotes used in the report are not attributed to any school identifier. In section 6.7.3 we focus on two schools that achieved appreciably higher scores in the survey on several key items, however care has been taken with this data to avoid any potential identification of either school.

All data collection involving children and young people requires particular care. In this study children were involved through their participation in the survey and as focus group participants. In all instances, in addition to institutional consent, students were provided with full details of the project and it was made clear that their participation was voluntary, and that they could withdraw at any point. Additional safeguards that were put in place in recognition of the age of the participants were to ensure that the online survey was always completed under teacher supervision, and that student voices were heard through their involvement in focus groups with a minimum of three participants, rather than using individual interviews.

4.3 Quantitative data collection and analysis

This section details the quantitative data that was gathered in the project, as well as the methods for doing so and the analyses of it. It begins by providing information on the survey that was administered to the school pupils, and providing basic information about the survey sample (such as the typical age, gender and religious status of respondents). Attention then turns to the survey data itself, and a discussion of the dimensional structure of that data, and the

advantages of analysing the survey from the perspective of that dimensional structure, is provided.

4.3.1 The survey

Pupils in each school were given an online survey to complete within the classroom environment and under the supervision of their teacher. Pupils were drawn from across the IB programmes, but the selection of pupils was determined by schools based on student availability and timetabling requirements. The pupils were asked to complete the survey without conferring with peers, and detailed instructions on completing the survey were provided so as to limit the need for the teacher to interact with the pupils about the survey as much as possible. The pupils were repeatedly reminded that their information would be stored anonymously and could not be used to identify them in any way¹.

The survey consisted of a total of 66 questions: 58 attitudinal and behavioural questions relating to caring and pro-social behaviour, and 8 to provide demographic information (on age, gender, how many languages spoken and whether or not the pupil considered themselves to belong to a religion) and details of the IB Programme the respondent is completing (where applicable) and the school they attend (the survey is available in Appendix 1). In total, 2,526 pupils completed the survey from nine different IB schools.

Across three of the schools, however, only a total of six respondents completed the survey. It is unclear why so few took part; for example, this data could be the result of measurement error (such as pupils from another school providing inaccurate information by mistake), or could be the result of staff examining the survey from those schools. It is clear, however, that this survey data was not gathered under the same conditions as elsewhere (i.e. the entire class taking part in the survey at the same time and under the supervision of the teacher). As the quality of this data (in terms of confidence in its validity and reliability, and

¹ Careful attention was given to question design so as to limit the potential for individual identification on the basis of their responses as much as possible.

confidence that it was collected under the appropriate conditions) cannot be ascertained, and in light of the fact that the loss of six respondents from the survey is unlikely to have a substantial impact on data quality, these six respondents are removed from the analysis.

In addition, 365 respondents failed to identify which school they attended. These respondents have not been removed from the analysis, however they obviously cannot be included in assessments of the differences between schools. Accounting for these issues leaves a total sample of 2,526 valid respondents, with the capacity to analyse differences between schools from the 2,161 who provided school identification information. These 2,161 respondents come from a total of six IB schools. To protect their anonymity, the schools are identified as School Alpha, School Beta, School Gamma, School Delta, School Epsilon, and School Zeta. Table 3 provides basic descriptive information about the respondents, split up by school, to give an idea of the demographic characteristics of the survey respondents.

Table 3. Descriptive information for survey sample

School	Number of respondents	Gender		Religion			Languages
	N (% of sample)	Male	Female	No religious belief	Religious belief but not member	Member of Religion	Average no. spoken
Alpha	672 (31%)	48%	52%	36%	14%	50%	2.3
Beta	252 (12%)	46%	54%	34%	20%	46%	2.2
Gamma	291 (14%)	48%	52%	1%	5%	95%	2.9
Delta	224 (10%)	47%	53%	4%	10%	86%	2.5
Epsilon	447 (21%)	45%	55%	26%	17%	57%	2.4
Zeta	269 (12%)	44%	57%	38%	17%	45%	3.2
Total Sample	2,155	46%	54%	26%	14%	61%	2.4

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

Within the sample 62% respondents were in the MYP programme, and 23% were PYP students. The smallest representation was in the DP programme (16% of the sample).

4.3.2 Dimensions of caring

The survey was designed to measure several dimensions of caring and pro-social behaviour and the impact of the pupils' school on it, and this is reflected in the way the survey is structured and through the grouping of similar questions together. This reflects the implicit assumption behind the conceptualisation of caring and pro-social behaviour discussed above that it is not a uni-dimensional construct. Rather, as Davis (1980) has shown in relation to empathy, and studies such as Affinnih (1997) have demonstrated in relation to social and political alienation, it is multi-dimensional; caring is best conceptualised as a set of related constructs which can nonetheless be manifested in different ways. The organisation of the survey questions reflects this assumed multi-dimensionality. The first two dimensions were taken directly from Davis' (1980; 1983) approach in the Interpersonal Reactivity Index, and replicated his measures of 'perspective taking' and 'empathy' – both essential components and distinct manifestations of caring as detailed in this research. Both dimensions were measured through seven survey questions employed by Davis (1980), but with minor modifications to the wording to make them more relevant and interpretable to school children.

The next 18 eighteen questions in the survey (questions 15 and 16 in the 'About You' section, and all of the questions in the 'More About You' section) were designed to measure a broader array of attitudes and activities which could be indicative of 'caring'. Respondents were then asked about how caring they considered their school environment to be (in the 'Your School') section, to what extent they perceived that their school facilitated the development of caring and pro-social behaviour and attitudes (in the 'More on our School' section), and finally about the activities they undertook in school which could conceivably be related to caring and pro-social behaviour (in the 'What do you do at your School?' section). In Appendix 2 we use regression analysis to address to what extent it is possible isolate the effect of School and/or IB Programme from individual characteristics. Each cluster of questions was assumed to represent a distinct dimension of caring and pro-social behaviour (caring attitudes and activity in daily life, caring school environment, perceptions of the school directly facilitating caring attitudes and behaviour, and the extent to which caring and pro-social

behaviour was engaged in at school) – an assumption which was tested after the survey data was collected through latent structure analysis (see below). All of the survey items were developed following examination of previous attempts to measure comparable attitudes and orientations in extant literature (such as Davis' Interpersonal Reactivity Index), and following extensive consideration of the attitudinal and behavioural manifestation of caring and pro-social behaviour as developed above. Data from the survey, in graph format, is presented in full in Appendix 3.

To test the assumption that the dimensional structure of the survey measures of caring corresponded to the conceptual structure implicit in the survey design, latent structure analysis was employed. Latent structure analysis allows for the correspondence of a series of survey items to an unobservable (latent) trait or characteristics to be analysed; it is capable of determining whether a series of items reflect the same latent construct, or a series of different dimensions. Mokken Scale Analysis (MSA)² was used to determine whether each cluster of questions identified above corresponded to a single latent dimension, and if not, how many dimensions were apparent within the data.

The results and detail of the MSA are reported in Appendix 4; the analyses showed that each cluster of survey questions were indeed measuring a single latent dimension of caring and pro-social attitudes and behaviour. The only exception is the questions in the final section (which examined respondents' perceptions of the extent to which they were given the opportunity to participate in caring and pro-social activity in school), which were shown to measure two latent dimensions. Overall, therefore, the survey data was shown to largely correspond to expectations in measuring seven dimensions of caring and pro-social attitudes and behaviour, with only a slight deviation in the final set of questions. These dimensions of caring and pro-social attitudes and behaviour, around which the

² The full details of the Mokken Scale Analysis are provided in Appendix 4, as well as a discussion of why Mokken Scale Analysis is preferable to other methods, such as factor analysis or principal components analysis, for this task.

analyses of differences in such characteristics between pupils at the surveyed schools will be based, are detailed below.

4.3.2.1 Dimensions Identified in Davis Reactivity Scale

a) Perspective Taking

Copied from the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (Davis 1980; 1983), this dimension assesses the extent to which respondents consider themselves to be both willing and capable of recognising the perspective of other people. Davis (1983) describes it as measuring 'the tendency to spontaneously adopt the psychological point of view of others' (Davis 1983 p.113). This dimension is measured using a composite variable consisting of seven survey items reflecting respondents' willingness and perceived capacity to recognise other people's perspectives. Each item is measured on a 5-point scale (with 1 indicating that 'this is not at all like me', and 5 that 'this is very much like me').

b) Empathic Concern

The empathic concern dimension is also replicated from the Interpersonal Reactivity Index, and measures 'other-oriented' feelings of sympathy and concern for unfortunate others' (Davis, 1983: 114). The dimension is measured using seven survey items which measure the extent to which the respondent feels that they express concern for less fortunate people. Each item is measured on an identical 5-point scale as that for perspective taking.

4.3.2.2 Dimensions of Caring

a) Caring Behaviour

This dimension is measured by 17 Likert-item survey questions (ranging from a score of 1 ('this is not at all like me') to 5 ('this is very much like me')) measuring a variety of activities or dispositions which relate to being caring in daily life, such as liking to do jobs around the home, telling people if they have dropped something in the street, helping other pupils with their

school work, and doing things to help run the school. The variable indicates the extent to which the pupils consider themselves to exhibit caring behaviour during their daily lives in a variety of contexts, including the home, school, and their local community.

b) Caring School Environment

This dimension captures the pupils' assessment of the extent to which they feel their school environment is caring. This is done through assessing their perceptions of whether or not the school makes them feel cared for; ten survey items asked respondents whether or not they felt cared for through feelings of being trusted, listened to, valued, respected, etc. in school. All of the questions are measured using a 5-point Likert scale (with a score of 1 meaning 'strongly disagree' and a score of 5 meaning 'strongly agree').

c) Taught Caring

The taught caring dimension assesses the extent to which pupils feel that they are taught to be more caring as a result of their school lessons and programmes. It explores, therefore, the pupils' own assessment of the positive direct impact (if any) their educational experience in school has on their capacity to be more caring in their outlook. The dimension is measured using a composite variable consisting of 6 survey questions, all of which asked respondents to what extent they agree (on a 5-point Likert scale) that at school they were taught to be more caring through learning things which developed attributes such as 'being helpful to others', being 'considerate of other people's needs', and doing 'things to protect the environment'.

4.3.2.3 Caring Behaviour in School

a) Caring School Activity

This dimension is one of two to have emerged from the final section of the survey, which looked at activities the pupils have engaged in while at school. Respondents were asked whether or not they had engaged in a list of 10 activities associated with caring and pro-social outlooks at school. This

dimension is measured through 4 of those indicators, and focuses on activity which is overtly caring in nature and which relates directly to other people (whether they are other pupils or strangers). Its indicators include the school providing the pupil with the opportunity to help to learn about people worse off than they are, and to help them to figure out ways of helping other pupils in class and in the playground.

b) Pro-Social School Activity

This is the second dimension to emerge from the final section of the survey, and is based on the remaining 6 indicators. It is similar to the 'caring school activity' dimension, however the activities which reflect it have a broader, more communal scope than just other people; for instance, the activities the pupils may have engaged in related to this dimension include taking part in school charity collections, in school efforts to help the environment, and in fund-raising activities for charity.

This gives us, then, a 7-dimension empirically verified conceptualisation of 'caring' as a concept that is expressed in daily life, as well as learned, developed and expressed through school activity. Through analysing the differences in these dimensions across school, we can estimate the impact of different learning experiences on caring in terms of capacity and willingness to take other people's perspectives, empathic concern for others, and caring behaviour in daily life, as well as the pupils' perceived contribution of the school to developing caring attitudes and dispositions in terms of the caring environment the school in question provides, the extent to which the pupils feel they are taught to be more caring, and the activities they have engaged in at school which express caring and pro-social behaviour.

4.4 Website analysis

In this section we explore the methodology used to examine how the case study schools use language to represent themselves as caring environments on their institutional webpages. The schools' home pages, as well as all other pages that pertained to the schools' goals, missions, visions, aims, philosophy and curriculum

were captured as PDF documents and imported to NViVO. These documents were then coded based on Noddings' (1986) four components of moral education discussed in section 3. Other codes, informed by the research questions, such as 'schools as caring environments' and 'helping students become caring individuals' were also used.

Thematic analysis of the texts was adopted with the aim of identifying how caring is portrayed in the public-facing messages of the case study schools.

4.5 Qualitative data collection and analysis

Schools are pressured environments and it is widely acknowledged that the demands on staff and students are exacting. Any request to take on additional commitments, such as participating in a research project must be cognisant of this context. This is particularly the case when visits require complex arrangements and extend over more than a single day. We therefore approached schools with an outline of what we required in terms of access to data, whilst recognising that we needed to be sensitive to individual school's contexts and flexible in terms of what they might realistically be able to provide during the time we required access.

Schools were invited to arrange the following opportunities for interviews and discussions:

- A staff focus group (with staff drawn from across the PYP, MYP and DP programmes).
- Three student focus groups – one each for PYP, MYP and DP.
- Interviews with individual classroom teachers (from different elements of the continuum).
- Interviews with curriculum leaders (including curriculum co-ordinators for PYP, MYP and DP).
- Interviews with senior leaders (Principal, Head of School).

All visits were necessarily undertaken during term time and it was possible, therefore, to see each school as part of its normal working schedule. Observations were a helpful part of this study, and some use is made of this in the report that

follows. However, there was no systematic observation of school practices as it was felt that such approaches could feel intrusive and militate against other forms of data collection.

Interview schedules were drawn up based on the research questions and are presented in Appendix 5. Separate interview schedules were drawn up for senior and curriculum leaders and classroom teachers. In total 93 interviewees participated across the nine case study schools.

Focus group interviews were held for staff in each of the case study schools, with interviewees drawn from across the three different programmes. This was intended to draw out commonalities and differences in understanding across the continuum. In total, 56 staff members participated in focus group discussions.

All interviews were digitally recorded and fully transcribed. These were then subject to a process of thematic analysis (Miles and Huberman, 1994) whereby key themes were identified and coded and issues were organised in relation to the research questions.

As a research team we had a strong commitment to ensuring that students' voices were represented in the research and hence the commitment to arranging three focus group activities with students in each school (one for each programme). This element of the project, and the way it was undertaken, was considered to be both novel and powerful by the research team and hence this aspect of the project, and some of the issues arising, are discussed in more detail in a subsequent section. A total of 218 students participated in focus group discussions, with 72 of these from the DP, 89 from the MYP, and 57 from the PYP.

Beyond these interviews and focus groups, data from each case school was also gathered from a range of other sources. In addition to school website analysis schools were invited to provide copies of any documentation they believed might be helpful to the research team. This tended to be limited but included policy statements and lesson plans. In some cases teachers offered examples of student work. Where provided, this material was treated as supplementary and helped to inform the team's understanding of caring practices in the school. There was no

attempt to systematically analyse documents provided by the schools, however. This was because it was not possible to secure common document types across all schools.

4.6 Conducting focus groups and working with young people: Summary of approach and some methodological issues

Focus groups were used during this study as a means of generating and collecting data from students across the age range studied and from the teaching staff in the case-study schools. This section of our final report focuses on our rationale for employing focus groups and in particular the challenges of using focus groups with children; an explanation of the innovative research methods we developed for improving the validity of the data; and an evaluation of our methods, based on the data we collected.

4.6.1 Why focus groups?

Focus groups have been used in research since the middle years of the twentieth century, but were primarily associated with commercial market research. It was in the 1980s and 1990s that focus groups became a popular form of data collection amongst academic researchers (Williams and Katz, 2001). At their most basic level, they can be defined as a group of people who are brought together because of some shared characteristic by a researcher, and whose discussions are used as a form of research data.

Focus groups should, however, be differentiated from group interviews. In a group interview, several individuals are asked a series of questions and each one is given an opportunity to answer for themselves; group interviews can be an efficient and time-saving method for collecting interview data from several individuals. By contrast, focus groups enable different types of data to be collected – in particular, they enable the researcher to look at shared meanings and processes (Bloor, Frankland, Thomas, and Robson, 2002); in consequence, discussion between group members is encouraged during focus group discussions, with the aim being to analyse the shared norms that underlie the discussion. In a group interview, the interviewer's role is to ask questions; in a focus group, the facilitator's role is

to provide ways of eliciting discussion on the topic in question (Bloor, Frankland, Thomas, and Robson, 2002).

In an article looking at the use of focus groups in educational research, Williams and Katz (2001) argue that the use of focus group can benefit both researchers and the subjects of their research; the former benefit from the richness of the data gathered, and the insight into shared meanings of another social world, whilst the latter can be empowered by being given the opportunity to publicly share their views. Clearly, however, focus groups are not an appropriate method to use where sensitive issues such as sexuality are being discussed, since privacy and confidentiality are harder to maintain in focus groups (Williams and Katz, 2001), and some participants may feel discomfort as a result of disagreements during the discussion (Greene and Hogan, 2005). In the case of the Caring project, it was felt that confidentiality within groups was not an issue, and that the benefits of a rich group discussion justified the employment of this method.

4.6.2 Focus groups with children

Conducting research of any kind with children raises different issues to conducting studies with adults. Robinson and Kellett (2004) argue that the balance of power in school is heavily weighted towards adults and that to conduct ethical research and ensure informed consent in this context is particularly challenging. Meanwhile, Neill (2005) has provided a critical analysis of guidelines that have been constructed for ensuring that medical research on children is ethical, arguing that the principles of informed consent, confidentiality and protection from harm can be harder to protect when the research participants are minors. For example, if a child discloses potential harm to themselves or others, it may be illegal to offer confidentiality. On the other hand, whilst acknowledging these dangers, Neill (2005) posits that in many instances it is unethical NOT to conduct research with children and to recognise the valuable contribution that their views may make to a research study.

It is certainly the case that in most contexts there is a power imbalance between children and adults, which may accentuate the power imbalance between researcher and researched (Barbour, 2008), and schools are places where adults

are in charge, which can accentuate the imbalance for educational researchers. Attempting to overcome this power imbalance is fraught with difficulties. For example, Gallacher and Gallagher (2008) argue that whilst engaging children in research may appear participatory and democratic, in many cases it is another way in which children are socialised into adult norms, and that the directions given to children about how to engage in the research may be constraining and regulatory. Participatory research is therefore no less ethically problematic than non-participatory research.

The research team was very sensitive to the ethical issues raised by conducting research with children. First and foremost was the issue of informed consent. The older students were often very interested in the process of being involved in research, and asked lots of questions about our ethics procedures. For the younger children, completing the ethics forms was a more challenging process. They were not accustomed to being asked to sign forms, so the consent form was quite daunting, and the concepts raised in it around informed consent and the methods we were using, were confusing to the youngest children. For example, in one school, one PYP participant ticked the box indicating that he did not want to be audio-recorded. However, he explained that he did not want to see himself on film, and it was evident that he had confused video and audio recording. As a solution to this, the researchers talked the PYP students through each item on the ethics form, explaining each one in simple language and emphasising repeatedly to pupils that it was their decision.

Although the research literature has devoted extensive discussion to the ethical implications of conducting research with children, less attention has been paid to how research methods might need to be adapted when young participants are involved. The idea that focus groups might be particularly helpful with children is not new, although much of the methodological work on using focus groups with children has come out of nursing research, rather than education (e.g. Kennedy, Kools and Krueger, 2001). As educational researchers have taken up this research tool increasingly over the last decade, it has been argued that focus groups may work especially well with children in schools, because children are used to discussing things in groups and are comfortable with this form of interaction (Darbyshire, MacDougall and Schiller, 2005). Indeed, children are often more

comfortable discussing things with their peers than with adults, and this makes the focus group a particularly effective form of data collection with children. The aim of the focus group should be to make the adult as unobtrusive as possible in order to facilitate free expression of thoughts. Having said that, child focus groups no less than adult groups are affected by the power dynamics between group members (Freeman and Mathison, 2009). Indeed, we would suggest that this is particularly likely to be the case where members know one another in advance, as is often the case in school-based research.

Focus groups with children have a number of advantages over interviews with children, including that focus groups remove the pressure on every individual to answer every question and that the presence of peer support may to some extent counterbalance the unequal power relationship in the adult-child interview (Greene and Hogan, 2005). Some researchers have tried to develop rules of thumb for conducting focus groups most effectively with children. For example, Kennedy, Kools and Krueger (2001) suggest that focus groups with children should have a maximum 1-2 year age range between participants, in order to ensure that the developmental level of the group members and their ability to think abstractly and to discuss will be mismatched with a wider age range. Meanwhile, Greene and Hogan (2005) argue that the optimal number of participants in a focus group is 5-8, with fewer participants potentially leading to the discussion disintegrating into a series of interviews, and a larger group leading to less focused discussion. In addition, they suggest that an age span between group members exceeding two years may lead to inequalities between older and younger participants and alter the nature of the discussion. Lastly, it is suggested that single-sex focus groups may work better with children and teenagers because during this period children show a preference for single-sex friendship groupings.

In using focus groups for this topic, the importance of a narrow age range meant that we organised focus groups by programme and suggested to schools that 5-6 children from the last two years of each programme be involved in each discussion. However, schools did not always follow these suggestions. Moreover, it should also be noted that the assertion that children are used to discussing things in schools is culturally specific. This depends on the culture both of the school and the wider culture/country in which the school is situated, and we saw

variability between our case-study schools in how the students managed their discussions. For example, one school had a culture of encouraging student leadership, and in that school the students self-organised the DP and MYP focus groups with ease by, for example, nominating a Chair. In other schools, the students appeared to find it more challenging.

In using focus group with children, a number of researchers have considered alternative, age-appropriate ways in which to stimulate the discussion. For instance, Hill, Laybourn and Borland (1996) used a range of creative techniques including brainstorming, visual prompts, artwork and role play to elicit opinions from children; Veale (2005) used story games, drawing and drama; whilst O'Reilly, Ronzoni and Dogra (2013) have suggested methods as diverse as drawings, puppet shows, photographs and emoticons. Similarly, we developed discussion tools that were appropriate to the topic and to the age of the research participants in our various focus groups. The principles underlying our research methods, and the details of the methods we developed, are explicated in the following section.

4.6.3 Our research methods with students

Because of these difficulties in conducting research with children, it was decided that methodological innovations were necessary in order to ensure both that the research was ethical and that the data gathered were reliable. In developing these methods, two beliefs about the role of participants in any research study underpinned our decisions:

a) Power

As far as was possible, we strove to empower our participants. One of the purposes of a focus group is to alter the power relationship between researcher and researched, and our aim was to minimise the role of the researcher further by giving the focus groups maximum autonomy. By making ourselves as unobtrusive as possible, and by giving the young people maximum opportunity to shape their discussion, we hoped to improve the validity of the data we collected. This echoes the work of Kreuger and Casey (2009), who report having successfully used teenage moderators for focus groups containing younger children, although we

adapted the technique further to enable group self-management, albeit within a structure we had framed through the use of stimulus material.

b) Safety

We felt that it was important that research participants were set at ease by the types of prompts that we used to focus their discussions. For this reason, we tried to use activities and objects that the participants would find both fun and familiar. For instance, in the case of the teenage participants we created a 'mash-up' of pop songs for them to listen to on the theme of caring. For the younger students, we created activities that mimicked an interactive and creative lesson, such as creating a drawing or a role-play.

In the final event, given the age of the children, we decided to remain present in the room for the PYP Focus Groups, and to conduct these around paired and group activities, much as the children might be familiar with in a student-centred classroom. Hence, the children were initially asked to work in pairs to complete a sheet which asked them to answer three questions 'What is Caring?', 'Who uses the word Caring in this school?' and 'Why do they use the word Caring?' After sharing their responses with each other, the students were asked to work in groups to prepare a short presentation around Caring, using a drawing with coloured pencils as a visual aid, or creating a role-play such as a TV/radio interview, or writing a rap song. Only one group in one school chose the rap option, but the mention of it always got laughter and enthusiasm and seemed to loosen up the group; it created a feeling of 'anything goes'. Each group was audio-recorded as it worked on this activity, and then as they presented to each other. Through the use of group work in this way it was possible to reduce the intrusiveness of the researcher's presence whilst ensuring there was appropriate supervision.

For the MYP and the DP Focus Groups, a range of prompts were provided to the students to guide their discussion: a range of visual images of activities that might be seen as caring; a mash-up of songs loosely connected to the theme and some *realia* (items from real life) such as coins and rice. Alongside these, we placed a list of questions that they might wish to cover during their discussion, although

we stressed that these were optional and also that they could be considered in any order. The intention was to focus the group's discussions by providing a range of stimuli that could be associated with caring. In some cases these prompts were direct questions, but typed on to card, rather than being presented in a spoken form by the researcher. In this way we sought to guide discussion, but in way that didn't frame the discussion on terms completely determined by 'the adult'. This sense of autonomy was enhanced by the researchers physically removing themselves from the discussion (by sitting elsewhere in the room, or where appropriate, outside of the room completely other than re-entering the room periodically to see if the students wanted to seek clarification about anything). The group discussions were audio-recorded throughout.

For the staff Focus Groups, the imbalance of power between children and researcher was less of a concern. However, we again wanted to give the participants maximum control over the research process. In this case, then, we gave each participant a list of statements we thought might be helpful to the discussion and then asked them to self-manage the process, including deciding whether to discuss any of these statements and in what order. We interceded only to seek clarification on a point that a participant had made.

4.6.4 Evaluation of our methods

The Diploma Programme students (aged 16-19) usually had no difficulty in self-managing their focus group discussions. In some cases they nominated a Chair to oversee the process:

... since [school name] debates ... or you know discussions ... usually end up kind of chaotically ... I think that we should make it easier for them by assigning a chair ... and [female name] since you are president you should ... you know ... be the Chair

[DP student]

As a group, they often took a responsibility for making sure that everyone's views were heard, with contributions such as "What do you think?" or "You haven't said

anything yet." Similarly, they often pulled each other back when the discussion veered off-topic ("Back to Caring, guys!").

The PYP students were also given independence from the researcher; however, although these were shorter periods, because of the age of the students, it was noticeable that they were less successful in eliciting data. For example, after a discussion around their writing, the young people were left to work independently on their presentations for 20-25 minutes. During these periods, the children tended to whisper, or to revert to their mother tongue. There was some evidence they were initially self-conscious about being audio-recorded.

However, some activities, most notably the mock television and radio interviews, were a particularly successful way of getting the children to articulate their views of caring without the researcher imposing a direction on the discussion:

PYP student (female): *Welcome back everyone to the 'Caring for Life Show'. Today we have two guests ... [PYP student male 1] and [PYP male student 2].*

PYP student 1 (male): *I am a friendship ambassador of [name of school].*

PYP student (female): *Ok. So today's topic is 'caring' which we always talk about the topic 'caring'. Now I would like to ask you guys what is 'caring'?*

PYP student 1 (male): *'Caring' is when we are being kind and when we are helping someone.*

PYP student (female): *Oh ok. Very nice. Now how ... what is bullying basically?*

PYP student 1 (male): *It is when a person is being mean to another person.*

PYP student (female): *Right. Has anyone been or got bullied recently?*

PYP student 1 (male): *Yes in fact [PYP student male 2] has.*

PYP student (female): *Interesting. Oh well I don't want to make you upset but [PYP student male 2] what happened?*

PYP student 2 (male): *It is so hard to say but the older boys always used to bully me when I had my lunch money my mum used to give me they used to steal it when I tried to*

tell them to stop they always punch me ... or hit me and it was really sad because while this was happening there was no friendship ambassador and he would always do it when there was no friendship ambassador.

PYP student (female): *Do you know anything else about what happened?*

PYP student 1 (male): *Well I saw him getting bullied one day and I told that bully to stop bullying but he wouldn't listen to me so I confronted him.*

PYP student (female): *Oh alright. And do you guys have any idea how you can prevent bullying?*

PYP student 2 (male): *Actually yes when we have a week of the anti-bullying week where we no one is ever supposed to get bullied during that week. They used to sell bracelets that used to say anti-bullying zone and in that week no one was bullied and neither was I so that made my week.*

PYP student 1 (male): *The latest way to stop bullying is the friendship ambassadors. And that is something that lots and lots of people join all of them were bullied and they wanted to make sure that they ... that they are respected and that everybody else is respected.*

PYP student (female): *That was nice guys and thank you for coming to our show today. We will see you after the break.*

At the MYP level, there was considerable variation between schools in the students' ability to self-manage the discussion; given that this was not about individual personalities, but about the way that all the members of the group behaved, it is possible to conclude that the schools' cultures and the expectations generally placed upon students influenced the groups' ability to self-manage a discussion. In some schools, several students actively made an effort to include others who had not spoken, asked each other probing follow-up questions, and brought the group back to task if they felt it was wandering; in other schools, nobody took on this role.

Overall, we are strongly of the view that group self-management was a successful means to elicit data from young people. For our research, noting when and why student focus groups went 'off-task' revealed more about their attitudes to the issues raised than a discussion which was forced to be 'on-task' by the presence of a researcher. For example, one focus group of older students on the topic of Caring at school led into their views that holistic education was a marketing exercise by the school, and also the way in which teachers use this kind of language in the classroom to control students' behaviour. The process inevitably had some drawbacks, for example when some groups did go 'off task', but the research team is of the view that such research with young people does require more creative approaches to allow students the space to articulate their views in ways that are authentic to them and the approaches adopted in this project worked well in this regard.

5. Caring: Student Outcomes

This chapter provides the analyses of the data gathered from the student survey examining seven dimensions of caring and pro-social behaviour (detailed in Section 4.3.2) at each of the six participating IB continuum schools. The tables below show the responses of students from each school to a range of statements, perspectives and activities relating to the seven dimensions. The significance of the differences between the six schools were tested using ANOVA with Tukey HSD for the post hoc analysis and Chi-square test. The result of the ANOVA test of statistical significance with post hoc are reported in Table 11, Table 19, Table 37, Table 48, Table 55 and Table 58 and Chi-square in Table 56, Table 57 and Table 59.

5.1 Perspective Taking

Tables 4 to 10 report the percentage of respondents in each school who feel that various statements regarding an individual's willingness and capacity to take the '*perspective of other people*' do or do not apply to them. Generally, the majority of students, regardless of school, offer caring responses to the statements. The majority of respondents, for example, feel that they are capable of seeing things from the 'other person's' point of view (Table 4), make an effort to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before reaching decisions (Table 5), try to imagine things from their friends' perspective (Table 6), are open to alternative views on issues (Table 7), and try to imagine how they would feel before criticising someone (Table 10). The one area in which there is a less clear position is when feeling upset (Table 9), in which the survey participants are spread fairly evenly between making an effort to put themselves in other people's places when they are upset with them, and feeling that they are unlikely to make such an effort.

Looking at Tables 4-10 closely it can be seen that several schools stand out in terms of having students give higher self-ratings for the 'perspective taking' survey items. Students in School Gamma, for example, have slightly higher student self-ratings of perspective taking on the survey item reported in Table 4 than the other schools (with more of this school's students rejecting the statement that they find it difficult to see things from the 'other person's' point of view), while students in School Alpha typically gave higher self-ratings of perspective

taking for the measures in Table 5, Table 8, Table 9 and Table 10 and students in School Beta exhibited higher student self-ratings for the items reported in Table 6 and Table 10. School Epsilon exhibits the lowest level of 'perspective taking' overall, with students indicating they were less likely to express sentiments indicative of higher levels of 'perspective taking' than their peers elsewhere. Table 11 reports the results from ANOVA tests showing that there are statistically significant differences among the six schools for most items in this dimension. The exception is 'I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective', in which there are no significant differences among the schools.

Table 4: 'I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the 'other person's' point of view'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	13%	10%	7%	11%	13%	22%
Not much like me	37%	38%	26%	25%	37%	33%
Neither	32%	38%	49%	49%	34%	26%
Somewhat like me	14%	12%	15%	13%	14%	13%
Very much like me	4%	3%	3%	3%	2%	5%

Table 5: 'I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	2%	2%	2%	3%	2%	4%
Not much like me	9%	10%	10%	15%	9%	9%
Neither	25%	25%	34%	32%	24%	24%
Somewhat like me	43%	47%	40%	37%	50%	46%
Very much like me	22%	16%	14%	13%	15%	17%

Table 6: 'I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	4%	2%	1%	3%	2%	3%
Not much like me	9%	6%	9%	6%	10%	12%
Neither	27%	24%	30%	34%	32%	19%
Somewhat like me	40%	50%	40%	35%	40%	41%
Very much like me	20%	19%	21%	21%	17%	25%

Table 7: 'If I'm sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to other people's arguments'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	15%	14%	9%	8%	10%	12%
Not much like me	33%	28%	22%	19%	26%	28%
Neither	29%	30%	34%	35%	36%	25%
Somewhat like me	16%	19%	21%	29%	20%	25%
Very much like me	8%	9%	13%	9%	9%	10%

Table 8: 'I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	3%	2%	6%	6%	3%	5%
Not much like me	12%	9%	15%	14%	12%	11%
Neither	32%	40%	40%	31%	36%	33%
Somewhat like me	35%	34%	27%	26%	33%	31%
Very much like me	18%	14%	12%	22%	16%	20%

Table 9: 'When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to 'put myself in their shoes' for a while'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	9%	10%	16%	13%	10%	15%
Not much like me	22%	26%	20%	28%	28%	28%
Neither	37%	35%	33%	34%	35%	33%
Somewhat like me	23%	22%	24%	17%	21%	17%
Very much like me	9%	6%	8%	9%	6%	7%

Table 10: 'Before criticising somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	3%	2%	4%	5%	5%	9%
Not much like me	15%	13%	16%	19%	21%	16%
Neither	30%	35%	30%	31%	32%	32%
Somewhat like me	33%	33%	35%	29%	30%	25%
Very much like me	19%	17%	15%	16%	12%	18%

Table 11: Interpretation of Perspective Taking: Mean Level of Agreement by School

Statements	Alpha		Beta		Gamma		Delta		Epsilon		Zeta		F
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the 'other person's point of view'.	2.58 bc	1.01	2.59 bc	0.92	2.83 a	0.88	2.72 ab	0.93	2.56 bc	0.95	2.45 c	1.13	5.41***
I try to look at everybody's side of disagreement before I make a decision.	3.74 b	0.96	3.63 abc	0.95	3.53 ac	0.93	3.43 a	1.00	3.66 bc	0.91	3.62 abc	1.01	4.33***
I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective.	3.63 a	1.03	3.78 a	0.89	3.71 a	0.91	3.66 a	0.98	3.59 a	0.96	3.72 a	1.06	1.80
If I'm sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to other people's arguments.	2.69 a	1.14	2.82 ab	1.17	3.07 bc	1.16	3.13 c	1.08	2.91 bc	1.10	2.94 bc	1.20	7.68***
I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both.	3.54 b	1.01	3.50 b	0.92	3.24 a	1.04	3.46 ab	1.15	3.47 b	0.99	3.50 b	1.10	3.50**
When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to 'put myself in their shoes' for a while.	3.00 a	1.09	2.88 ab	1.06	2.87 ab	1.17	2.79 ab	1.13	2.87 ab	1.05	2.75 b	1.13	2.65*
Before criticising somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place.	3.50 a	1.06	3.50 ab	0.99	3.41 abc	1.06	3.32 abc	1.10	3.21 c	1.07	3.27 bc	1.19	5.32***

Note: Mean values for items are based on a 5-point scale with 1 = *Not at all like me*, 2 = *Not much like me*, 3 = *Neither*, 4 = *Somewhat like me*, and 5 = *Very much like me*. ***p<.001 **p<.01 *p<.05. Means sharing the same letters are not significantly different from one another (Tukey post hoc, p < .05)

5.2 Empathic Concern

Tables 12–18 provide the survey results for a series of items that sought to explore our second dimension of caring, *'empathic concern'*. Students' self-ratings were concentrated toward empathic behaviour for all of the items in Tables 12-18, however, when viewed collectively, students from School Gamma were more likely to give self-ratings indicative of empathic concern. For example, a greater proportion of School Gamma students gave positive self-ratings regarding being more likely to be concerned by other people's misfortunes (Table 15), and to feel pity for people being treated unfairly (Table 16). In contrast, overall, students in School Zeta indicate they have the least empathic behaviour, with a (slightly) lower percentage of Zeta students giving empathic behaviour self-ratings – particularly with regard to the survey items reported in Table 15 and Table 16. ANOVA tests show statistically significant differences exist between student self-ratings among the six schools for all of this group survey items, with the exception of 'I am often quite touched (or moved) by things that I see happen' (Table 19).

Table 12: 'I often have compassionate, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	2%	2%	2%	1%	1%	5%
Not much like me	5%	8%	11%	6%	7%	8%
Neither	22%	23%	32%	28%	26%	23%
Somewhat like me	31%	36%	32%	33%	37%	34%
Very much like me	39%	31%	23%	32%	29%	30%

Table 13: 'Sometimes I don't feel sorry for other people when they are having problems'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	30%	27%	20%	21%	20%	25%
Not much like me	33%	31%	36%	35%	29%	24%
Neither	21%	25%	29%	26%	32%	30%
Somewhat like me	11%	14%	10%	13%	15%	14%
Very much like me	5%	3%	5%	5%	4%	7%

Table 14: 'When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective towards them'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	4%	3%	3%	3%	2%	6%
Not much like me	8%	8%	10%	12%	8%	8%
Neither	31%	40%	42%	35%	32%	23%
Somewhat like me	37%	32%	31%	33%	39%	37%
Very much like me	20%	17%	14%	18%	19%	26%

Table 15: 'Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	20%	13%	9%	11%	16%	24%
Not much like me	33%	34%	22%	33%	34%	32%
Neither	31%	38%	46%	37%	36%	28%
Somewhat like me	11%	11%	16%	14%	11%	10%
Very much like me	5%	4%	6%	5%	3%	5%

Table 16: 'When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	42%	37%	25%	30%	28%	39%
Not much like me	30%	31%	37%	35%	38%	37%
Neither	14%	15%	22%	23%	24%	13%
Somewhat like me	7%	11%	11%	7%	8%	8%
Very much like me	7%	6%	4%	5%	2%	3%

Table 17: 'I am often quite touched (or moved) by things that I see happen'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	4%	3%	3%	2%	4%	7%
Not much like me	11%	12%	11%	12%	13%	11%
Neither	30%	33%	28%	33%	32%	30%
Somewhat like me	33%	29%	33%	26%	34%	27%
Very much like me	22%	23%	26%	27%	16%	24%

Table 18: 'I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	6%	4%	6%	9%	5%	11%
Not much like me	11%	15%	13%	12%	11%	12%
Neither	33%	31%	38%	43%	39%	32%
Somewhat like me	30%	36%	29%	25%	31%	29%
Very much like me	19%	14%	14%	11%	13%	17%

Table 19: Interpretation of Emphatic Concern: Mean Level of Agreement by School

Statements	Alpha		Beta		Gamma		Delta		Epsilon		Zeta		F
	M	SD											
I often have compassionate, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me.	4.01 a	0.99	3.85 ab	1.03	3.65 b	1.01	3.89 ab	0.96	3.85 ab	0.96	3.75 b	1.12	6.25***
Sometimes I don't feel sorry for other people when they are having problems.	2.27 a	1.14	2.35 ab	1.11	2.46 ab	1.08	2.47 ab	1.11	2.56 b	1.10	2.56 b	1.22	4.81***
When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective towards them.	3.61 ab	1.02	3.51 ab	0.96	3.42 a	0.96	3.52 ab	1.01	3.64 ab	0.94	3.71 b	1.11	3.04**
Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal.	2.47 bc	1.74	2.58 bc	0.97	2.87 a	1.00	2.67 ab	1.00	2.52 bc	1.00	2.40 c	1.11	8.44***
When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them.	2.08 b	1.21	2.18 ab	1.21	2.33 a	1.10	2.23 ab	1.12	2.19 ab	1.01	2.00 b	1.08	3.33**
I am often quite touched (or moved) by things that I see happen.	3.58 ab	1.08	3.57 ab	1.06	3.68 a	1.06	3.64 ab	1.07	3.45 b	1.05	3.50 ab	1.19	2.16
I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person.	3.44 a	1.11	3.42 ab	1.03	3.33 ab	1.06	3.18 b	1.07	3.38 ab	1.01	3.30 ab	1.20	2.39*

Note: Mean values for items are based on a 5-point scale with 1 = *Not at all like me*, 2 = *Not much like me*, 3 = *Neither*, 4 = *Somewhat like me*, and 5 = *Very much like me*. ***p<.001 **p<.01 *p<.05. Means sharing the same letters are not significantly different from one another (Tukey post hoc, p < .05)

5.3 Caring Behaviour

Tables 20-36 report student self-ratings of survey items examining '*caring behaviours exhibited by students in their daily lives*'. As with the other dimensions covered so far, most students associate themselves with the 17 activities described in these items, with the only exceptions being 'doing volunteering work' (Table 20), 'helping to run school' (Table 32) and 'doing things outside school to help the less fortunate' (Table 36), in which there is a more even balance between respondents who describe themselves as engaging in such acts and those who do not (that said, it is worth noting that all three of these acts require an opportunity for the respondent to be able to engage in them, regardless of how willing they are – if those opportunities were not forthcoming, it may be that our respondents were simply unable to engage in such acts even if they wanted to).

Looking at the measures overall, a pattern emerges in which students in Schools Alpha and Beta consistently report a greater tendency to identify themselves as displaying caring behaviour in their daily lives than students in other schools. Students in the two schools were more likely to associate themselves with caring behaviour in terms of all the acts measured in Tables 20-36 except for 'helping raise money for charity'– in which students in School Epsilon have higher self-ratings (Table 21). The two schools in which students gave lower self-ratings of caring behaviour in their daily lives are Gamma and Delta. ANOVA tests results indicate statistically significant differences exist among the six schools for all of the items in this dimension of caring behaviours (Table 37).

Table 20: 'I do volunteering work'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	8%	5%	13%	13%	9%	12%
Not much like me	15%	20%	26%	20%	21%	12%
Neither	32%	29%	37%	40%	34%	28%
Somewhat like me	28%	29%	16%	20%	24%	29%
Very much like me	17%	16%	8%	7%	13%	19%

Table 21: 'I have helped raise money for charity'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	6%	7%	7%	6%	5%	9%
Not much like me	12%	8%	19%	14%	9%	12%
Neither	23%	19%	27%	33%	22%	15%
Somewhat like me	30%	35%	31%	27%	31%	29%
Very much like me	29%	31%	16%	21%	34%	35%

Table 22: 'I like doing jobs around the home'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	7%	8%	9%	9%	10%	12%
Not much like me	16%	23%	29%	24%	23%	21%
Neither	32%	34%	35%	33%	36%	31%
Somewhat like me	27%	22%	15%	22%	23%	24%
Very much like me	18%	13%	12%	12%	7%	12%

Table 23: 'I'm good at helping my friends when they need me'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	3%
Not much like me	3%	2%	5%	10%	4%	3%
Neither	16%	24%	28%	37%	23%	21%
Somewhat like me	44%	42%	41%	34%	41%	39%
Very much like me	37%	30%	25%	18%	31%	34%

Table 24: 'When I see someone has dropped something, I'll tell them about it'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	1%	1%	0%	1%	1%	4%
Not much like me	2%	3%	7%	6%	4%	4%
Neither	15%	13%	22%	25%	18%	11%
Somewhat like me	32%	35%	34%	33%	37%	28%
Very much like me	51%	48%	37%	34%	39%	53%

Table 25: 'I try to recycle as much as possible'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	3%	2%	9%	13%	5%	9%
Not much like me	11%	12%	24%	25%	19%	13%
Neither	30%	33%	37%	33%	40%	29%
Somewhat like me	32%	33%	19%	17%	26%	25%
Very much like me	24%	20%	10%	11%	10%	25%

Table 26: 'I take part in school activities that aim to protect the environment'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	9%	5%	14%	11%	10%	18%
Not much like me	19%	18%	25%	31%	23%	23%
Neither	36%	36%	38%	34%	35%	25%
Somewhat like me	24%	28%	17%	18%	23%	20%
Very much like me	13%	12%	5%	5%	9%	15%

Table 27: 'I enjoy raising money for charity'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	5%	3%	3%	4%	4%	9%
Not much like me	10%	9%	18%	11%	10%	8%
Neither	25%	26%	35%	34%	32%	28%
Somewhat like me	28%	33%	25%	28%	31%	28%
Very much like me	32%	28%	19%	22%	23%	26%

Table 28: 'If I see someone who has fallen over, I'll ask if they're OK'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%	3%
Not much like me	2%	2%	8%	8%	5%	4%
Neither	13%	17%	29%	23%	17%	19%
Somewhat like me	32%	34%	32%	35%	40%	28%
Very much like me	52%	46%	30%	31%	36%	46%

Table 29: 'I enjoy doing charity work for people overseas'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	7%	5%	12%	7%	6%	12%
Not much like me	15%	11%	26%	20%	18%	12%
Neither	32%	30%	36%	39%	38%	29%
Somewhat like me	27%	29%	18%	18%	25%	25%
Very much like me	20%	26%	9%	16%	13%	22%

Table 30: 'I help other people with their school work'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	4%	1%	6%	4%	2%	6%
Not much like me	11%	7%	17%	15%	8%	12%
Neither	28%	33%	31%	33%	31%	26%
Somewhat like me	38%	40%	30%	33%	38%	38%
Very much like me	19%	18%	16%	15%	20%	19%

Table 31: 'I like to look after other people'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	3%	2%	3%	5%	2%	6%
Not much like me	9%	11%	13%	16%	11%	10%
Neither	29%	30%	38%	34%	32%	24%
Somewhat like me	33%	35%	30%	29%	36%	30%
Very much like me	26%	22%	17%	17%	19%	30%

Table 32: 'I do things to help run my school'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	10%	6%	13%	12%	10%	11%
Not much like me	22%	21%	27%	22%	27%	26%
Neither	40%	37%	35%	39%	36%	31%
Somewhat like me	20%	28%	16%	22%	17%	21%
Very much like me	9%	8%	9%	6%	9%	10%

Table 33: 'I am interested in learning about things happening to people in other countries'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	1%	2%	4%	3%	4%	3%
Not much like me	7%	8%	19%	13%	11%	7%
Neither	21%	25%	30%	26%	27%	23%
Somewhat like me	34%	39%	25%	30%	36%	32%
Very much like me	36%	27%	22%	29%	22%	35%

Table 34: 'I feel I want to do something when I learn about disasters on the news'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	3%	3%	7%	4%	4%	7%
Not much like me	11%	12%	19%	13%	13%	11%
Neither	28%	26%	35%	38%	34%	30%
Somewhat like me	30%	36%	27%	25%	30%	29%
Very much like me	28%	23%	12%	19%	19%	22%

Table 35: 'I take part in school activities to help people less fortunate than me'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	7%	5%	7%	6%	9%	9%
Not much like me	17%	15%	22%	22%	15%	19%
Neither	33%	31%	39%	37%	35%	34%
Somewhat like me	28%	32%	21%	24%	27%	22%
Very much like me	14%	16%	10%	12%	15%	17%

Table 36: 'I take part in activities outside school that help people less fortunate than me'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Not at all like me	13%	10%	10%	12%	13%	18%
Not much like me	21%	19%	23%	26%	22%	21%
Neither	30%	32%	41%	37%	34%	32%
Somewhat like me	22%	27%	16%	20%	20%	15%
Very much like me	14%	13%	10%	6%	11%	14%

Table 37: Interpretation of Caring Behaviour: Mean Level of Agreement by School

Statements	Alpha		Beta		Gamma		Delta		Epsilon		Zeta		F
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
I do volunteering work.	3.32 c	1.16	3.32 cd	1.11	2.80 a	1.11	2.88 ab	1.08	3.11 bd	1.14	3.32 cd	1.25	13.10***
I have helped raise money for charity.	3.66 bc	1.18	3.74 bc	1.19	3.30 a	1.16	3.43 ab	1.14	3.81 c	1.14	3.69 bc	1.31	8.58***
I like doing jobs around the home.	3.33	1.15	3.08 a	1.14	2.94 a	1.28	3.04 a	1.14	2.94 a	1.08	3.04 a	1.18	8.83***
I'm good at helping my friends when they need me.	4.13 a	0.83	3.97 ab	0.86	3.84 b	0.91	3.59	0.93	3.96 b	0.91	3.99 ab	0.97	13.46***
When I see someone has dropped something, I'll tell them about it.	4.29 b	0.86	4.24 bc	0.89	3.99 a	0.95	3.92 a	0.98	4.07 ac	0.93	4.22 bc	1.05	8.38***
I try to recycle as much as possible.	3.62 c	1.06	3.60 c	0.99	2.97 ab	1.11	2.87 a	1.18	3.18 b	1.02	3.44 c	1.24	29.69***
I take part in school activities that aim to protect the environment.	3.12 ac	1.13	3.24 a	1.06	2.73 b	1.06	2.76 bd	1.05	2.99 acd	1.10	2.90 bcd	1.31	9.48***
I enjoy raising money for charity.	3.72 a	1.17	3.74 a	1.07	3.39 b	1.08	3.53 ab	1.09	3.58 ab	1.08	3.55 ab	1.22	4.72***
If I see someone who has fallen over, I'll ask if they're OK.	4.32 a	0.87	4.22 ac	0.87	3.82 b	0.98	3.87 bd	1.01	4.05 cd	0.92	4.09 cd	1.05	16.15***
I enjoy doing charity work for people overseas.	3.39 ab	1.16	3.60 a	1.12	2.85	1.11	3.15 b	1.13	3.20 b	1.08	3.34 ab	1.27	14.57***

I help other people with their school work.	3.58 ac	1.04	3.67 c	0.89	3.32 b	1.12	3.39 ab	1.04	3.67 c	0.96	3.52 abc	1.10	6.08***
I like to look after other people.	3.69 b	1.04	3.62 abc	1.02	3.44 ac	1.00	3.38 a	1.08	3.60 abc	0.99	3.69 bc	1.16	4.85***
I do things to help run my school.	2.96 ab	1.08	3.10 a	1.03	2.81 b	1.13	2.87 ab	1.07	2.87 ab	1.11	2.93 ab	1.16	2.33*
I am interested in learning about things happening to people in other countries.	3.98 c	0.98	3.80 bcd	0.99	3.42 a	1.14	3.70 bd	1.09	3.63 ab	1.06	3.88 cd	1.07	14.20***
I feel I want to do something when I learn about disasters on the news.	3.68 b	1.09	3.65 bc	1.05	3.18 a	1.10	3.41 ac	1.08	3.46 c	1.07	3.47 bc	1.17	9.86***
I take part in school activities to help people less fortunate than me.	3.24 ab	1.11	3.37 a	1.08	3.05 b	1.06	3.13 ab	1.07	3.26 ab	1.14	3.20 ab	1.18	2.83*
I take part in activities outside school that help people less fortunate than me.	3.02 a	1.22	3.13 a	1.17	2.94 a	1.10	2.83 a	1.07	2.92 a	1.17	2.87 a	1.27	2.42*

Note: Mean values for items are based on a 5-point scale with 1 = *Not at all like me*, 2 = *Not much like me*, 3 = *Neither*, 4 = *Somewhat like me*, and 5 = *Very much like me*. *** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$. Means sharing the same letters are not significantly different from one another (Tukey post hoc, $p < .05$)

5.4 Caring School Environment

The percentage of students at each of the six schools who agree or disagreed their school provides a *'caring environment'* is provided in Tables 38-47. Taken as a whole, the majority of respondents agreed (or strongly agreed) that their school provides a caring environment. The lowest levels of agreement/most disagreement were given for two items that asked students if they felt *'important at school'* (Table 41) and *'listened to at school'* (Table 46). As can be seen in Table 48, ANOVA tests show statistically significant differences exists among the schools for all nine survey items in this fourth dimension of caring, with Schools Alpha and Beta standing out for creating more caring environments (according to their students) than the other four schools. Generally, the lowest levels of agreement with this group of items were from students at School Gamma and School Delta.

Table 38: 'I feel cared for at my school'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Strongly Disagree	3%	3%	7%	4%	6%	7%
Disagree	8%	6%	15%	14%	11%	14%
Neither	29%	29%	40%	38%	33%	29%
Agree	33%	41%	24%	28%	35%	32%
Strongly Agree	27%	22%	15%	16%	15%	18%

Table 39: 'I feel respected at my school'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Strongly Disagree	2%	1%	5%	5%	6%	7%
Disagree	8%	8%	13%	16%	12%	16%
Neither	32%	24%	37%	35%	31%	26%
Agree	32%	41%	32%	31%	34%	29%
Strongly Agree	25%	26%	13%	13%	16%	22%

Table 40: 'I feel valued at my school'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Strongly Disagree	3%	3%	6%	6%	7%	9%
Disagree	10%	10%	16%	16%	14%	17%
Neither	32%	33%	44%	35%	33%	28%
Agree	33%	35%	24%	30%	31%	28%
Strongly Agree	22%	19%	10%	13%	15%	18%

Table 41: 'I feel important at my school'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Strongly Disagree	6%	3%	9%	7%	9%	12%
Disagree	14%	16%	23%	20%	16%	22%
Neither	31%	32%	36%	43%	35%	31%
Agree	29%	33%	22%	21%	28%	25%
Strongly Agree	19%	16%	9%	8%	12%	10%

Table 42: 'I feel encouraged at my school'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Strongly Disagree	2%	3%	5%	5%	5%	8%
Disagree	7%	5%	16%	16%	9%	11%
Neither	26%	26%	39%	32%	31%	27%
Agree	34%	47%	26%	30%	38%	32%
Strongly Agree	30%	20%	13%	17%	16%	22%

Table 43: 'I feel supported at my school'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Strongly Disagree	2%	1%	4%	6%	4%	6%
Disagree	9%	6%	16%	14%	11%	12%
Neither	27%	25%	32%	29%	29%	25%
Agree	34%	43%	29%	33%	38%	37%
Strongly Agree	28%	25%	18%	18%	17%	20%

Table 44: 'I feel that I can be myself at school'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Strongly Disagree	5%	6%	9%	12%	10%	12%
Disagree	11%	9%	14%	14%	13%	17%
Neither	27%	28%	31%	24%	26%	20%
Agree	25%	31%	24%	30%	33%	29%
Strongly Agree	31%	26%	23%	20%	19%	23%

Table 45: 'I feel trusted at my school'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Strongly Disagree	4%	3%	11%	6%	8%	11%
Disagree	11%	9%	12%	13%	12%	12%
Neither	26%	24%	38%	39%	33%	25%
Agree	28%	42%	25%	26%	33%	34%
Strongly Agree	31%	22%	14%	16%	15%	18%

Table 46: 'I feel listened to at my school'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Strongly Disagree	5%	3%	10%	9%	8%	12%
Disagree	12%	9%	17%	19%	14%	17%
Neither	30%	23%	39%	37%	35%	30%
Agree	31%	44%	23%	25%	30%	28%
Strongly Agree	23%	21%	11%	10%	13%	14%

Table 47: 'I feel that students care for each other at my school'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Strongly Disagree	3%	6%	8%	11%	9%	15%
Disagree	13%	6%	16%	19%	12%	16%
Neither	25%	25%	37%	32%	36%	26%
Agree	33%	36%	23%	25%	30%	26%
Strongly Agree	25%	28%	16%	13%	13%	18%

Table 48: Interpretation of Caring School Environment: Mean Level of Agreement by School

Statements	Alpha		Beta		Gamma		Delta		Epsilon		Zeta		F
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
I feel cared for at my school.	3.71 a	1.05	3.72 a	0.96	3.26 b	1.09	3.37 b	1.05	3.42 b	1.06	3.39 b	1.15	12.45***
I feel respected at my school.	3.72 a	0.98	3.82 a	0.95	3.34 b	1.03	3.31 b	1.06	3.41 b	1.09	3.43 b	1.19	13.96***
I feel valued at my school.	3.60 a	1.03	3.58 a	1.00	3.18 b	1.01	3.28 b	1.08	3.32 b	1.11	3.30 b	1.20	10.32***
I feel important at my school.	3.40 a	1.14	3.42 ab	1.03	2.99 c	1.09	3.04 c	1.02	3.18 bc	1.12	3.00 c	1.16	11.46***
I feel encouraged at my school.	3.83 a	1.02	3.77 a	0.92	3.27 b	1.04	3.37 bc	1.10	3.52 c	1.03	3.49 bc	1.19	16.77***
I feel supported at my school.	3.78 a	1.00	3.85 a	0.91	3.41 b	1.09	3.43 b	1.11	3.53 b	1.04	3.52 b	1.12	10.58***
I feel that I can be myself at my school.	3.66 a	1.17	3.62 ab	1.15	3.37 b	1.23	3.32 b	1.27	3.37 b	1.21	3.33 b	1.31	6.47***

I feel trusted at my school.	3.71 a	1.13	3.71 a	1.00	3.19 b	1.15	3.33 b	1.09	3.35 b	1.11	3.35 b	1.22	14.22***
I feel listened to at my school.	3.57 a	1.11	3.72 a	1.00	3.07 b	1.13	3.08 b	1.09	3.26 b	1.10	3.14 b	1.21	19.05***
I feel that students care for each other at my school.	3.63 a	1.09	3.75 a	1.10	3.24 b	1.13	3.11 b	1.18	3.25 b	1.11	3.17 b	1.30	18.33***

Note: Mean values for items are based on a 5-point scale with 1 = *Strongly disagree*, 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Neither*, 4 = *Agree*, and 5 = *Strongly agree*. *** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$. Means sharing the same letters are not significantly different from one another (Tukey post hoc, $p < .05$)

5.5 Taught Caring

Tables 49-55 report results showing the extent to which the student survey respondents felt that they are '*taught to be more caring in their school*'. The vast majority of students agreed or strongly agreed that their school teaches them to be more caring through encouraging or teaching a variety of activities and attitudes. Indeed, fewer than 1 in 5 respondents from each school felt that their schools do not teach them to be more caring. Schools Alpha and Beta once more stand out for having a greater proportion of their students feeling that they are taught to be more caring in school. While the difference is small, a larger number of students at School Zeta disagreed that they are taught to be more caring at school than their peers at the six other continuum schools. ANOVA results showing statistically significant differences among the schools, for all the items in this component of the survey, are given in Table 55.

Table 49: '*At school we learn to care about other people*'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Strongly Disagree	2%	3%	2%	3%	4%	9%
Disagree	7%	4%	10%	8%	10%	15%
Neither	21%	17%	23%	21%	31%	29%
Agree	33%	42%	35%	35%	36%	28%
Strongly Agree	37%	34%	31%	33%	19%	19%

Table 50: 'At school we learn to be helpful to others'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Strongly Disagree	1%	2%	2%	1%	3%	6%
Disagree	5%	4%	8%	9%	10%	13%
Neither	20%	13%	21%	21%	28%	25%
Agree	36%	42%	38%	35%	37%	36%
Strongly Agree	38%	38%	31%	33%	22%	20%

Table 51: 'At school we learn to be considerate of other people's needs'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Strongly Disagree	1%	1%	1%	1%	3%	7%
Disagree	3%	6%	7%	9%	7%	14%
Neither	22%	17%	26%	26%	29%	24%
Agree	37%	42%	42%	38%	38%	34%
Strongly Agree	36%	34%	34%	26%	22%	21%

Table 52: 'At school we learn to be thoughtful about others'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Strongly Disagree	2%	2%	2%	2%	3%	7%
Disagree	4%	5%	7%	4%	8%	12%
Neither	20%	19%	22%	26%	29%	27%
Agree	36%	41%	43%	33%	38%	31%
Strongly Agree	38%	33%	27%	34%	21%	23%

Table 53: 'At school we learn to think about people in other countries who are less fortunate'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Strongly Disagree	1%	2%	2%	1%	3%	5%
Disagree	3%	5%	10%	4%	6%	11%
Neither	19%	18%	33%	26%	22%	23%
Agree	34%	34%	31%	40%	39%	31%
Strongly Agree	42%	41%	24%	29%	30%	30%

Table 54: 'At school we learn to do things to protect the environment'

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta
Strongly Disagree	3%	0%	1%	1%	3%	4%
Disagree	9%	4%	5%	4%	6%	9%
Neither	19%	19%	22%	26%	22%	26%
Agree	35%	37%	34%	36%	37%	30%
Strongly Agree	35%	40%	38%	33%	32%	31%

Table 55: Interpretation of Taught Caring: Mean Level of Agreement by School

Statements	Alpha		Beta		Gamma		Delta		Epsilon		Zeta		F
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
At school we learn to care about other people.	3.96 a	1.01	4.00 a	0.97	3.82 a	1.04	3.87 a	1.04	3.56	1.04	3.33	1.20	20.83***
At school we learn to be helpful to others.	4.06 a	0.93	4.12 a	0.91	3.90 a	0.99	3.90 a	1.00	3.65 b	1.03	3.50 b	1.13	19.94***
At school we learn to be considerate of other people's needs.	4.04 a	0.91	4.02 ab	0.93	3.83 bc	0.93	3.78 bc	0.98	3.69 c	1.00	3.47	1.17	16.97***
At school we learn to be thoughtful about others.	4.05 a	0.95	3.99 a	0.94	3.86 ab	0.95	3.92 a	0.99	3.67 bc	0.99	3.50 c	1.17	16.29***
At school we learn to think about people in other countries who are less fortunate.	4.12 a	0.92	4.09 ab	0.97	3.65 c	1.02	3.92 abd	0.90	3.87 bd	1.01	3.69 cd	1.16	14.10***
At school we learn to do things to protect the environment.	3.91 bc	1.05	4.13 a	0.87	4.04 ab	0.93	3.94 abc	0.94	3.89 bc	1.01	3.75 c	1.11	4.75***

Note: Mean values for items are based on a 5-point scale with 1 = *Strongly disagree*, 2 = *Disagree*, 3 = *Neither*, 4 = *Agree*, and 5 = *Strongly agree*. *** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$. Means sharing the same letters are not significantly different from one another (Tukey post hoc, $p < .05$)

5.6 Caring Behaviour in School

Table 56 provides the percentage of respondents from each school who reported being assisted with engaging in four caring acts while in school, and indicates whether the differences between those proportions are statistically significant. The data shows that more than two thirds, and in most cases more than three quarters, of respondents from each school say they have been given an opportunity by their school to help people less fortunate than themselves, were helped to learn about people less fortunate than themselves, and were helped to figure out ways to support fellow students. Fewer students report that they had been helped in working out ways to support fellow students in the playground.

Chi-square test was calculated to compare the frequency of student agreement among the six schools for the four items in Table 56. Overall, more students in School Beta indicated they have been assisted with engaging in caring acts in school than those elsewhere, though the differences between Schools Alpha, Gamma, Delta and Epsilon are small. School Zeta clearly stands out, however, for its students being less likely to have engaged in caring acts while in school.

Table 56: Proportion of students engaging in caring acts in school

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta	χ^2
Given me opportunities to help people worse off than myself	81%	84%	76%	83%	82%	81%	8.96
Helped me learn about people worse off than myself	82%	88%	76%	85%	83%	76%	18.96**
Helped me figure out ways to help my fellow students in class	80%	77%	79%	80%	73%	67%	25.52***
Helped me figure out ways to help my fellow students in the playground	61%	61%	58%	53%	55%	42%	31.17***

Note: *** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$.

5.7 Pro-Social Behaviour

Table 57 shows the proportion of students from each school who report engaging in 'pro-social behaviour' or being facilitated in doing so at school. The majority of respondents from all schools report engaging in such activity, although clearly 'raising money for charity', 'helping the environment' and 'collecting donations for charity' are more common, while having speakers in to talk about bullying or environmental concerns are less common, across all schools.

The difference between the responses of students regarding engaging in pro-social activity were calculated using Chi-square test. Students in School Beta are on average more likely to have engaged in pro-social activity than their peers elsewhere. School Beta also stood out for having had speakers talk about the environment, encouraged recycling, and raising money for charity. The second highest average results were from School Delta, with only small differences between the students from the remaining four schools.

Table 57: Proportion of students engaging in pro-social behaviour

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta	χ^2
Collected donations (such as clothes, toys or food) for charity	77%	75%	74%	85%	73%	75%	14.30*
Helped the environment	80%	84%	82%	86%	79%	75%	12.24*
Had speakers talk about bullying	53%	63%	59%	61%	64%	68%	24.40***
Had speakers talk about environmental concerns	59%	72%	64%	53%	65%	62%	23.45***
Encouraged recycling	79%	86%	68%	73%	68%	69%	44.71***
Raised money for charity	84%	87%	80%	85%	87%	83%	6.91

Note: ***p<.001 **p<.01 *p<.05.

Results for Caring Dimensions and Conclusion

Finally, this last chapter section now considers the overall results for each of the seven caring dimensions. If the individual items in each of the first five dimensions above are viewed as scales ranging from 1 to 5 with 5 indicating a more caring disposition/view/activity, an average 'score' for each overall dimension of caring for each school can be calculated, and these are presented in table 58 below. The analysis of variance indicates a significant difference among school respondents for three of the five dimensions - Caring Behaviour, Caring School Environment and Taught Caring. Respondents from schools Alpha and Beta have relatively similar average self-reported scores, and are generally the highest scoring schools.

Table 58: Average caring 'scores' for each dimension by school

	Alpha		Beta		Gamma		Delta		Epsilon		Zeta		F
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Perspective Taking	3.24	0.53	3.24	0.48	3.24	0.50	3.21	0.49	3.18	0.51	3.18	0.54	1.25
Emphatic Concern	3.07	0.47	3.07	0.45	3.11	0.46	3.09	0.47	3.08	0.44	3.03	0.53	0.86
Caring Behaviour	3.59 c	0.65	3.58 c	0.65	3.22 c	0.61	3.28 ab	0.66	3.43 bd	0.66	3.48 cd	0.77	17.86***
Caring School Environment	3.66 a	0.85	3.69 a	0.80	3.23 b	0.84	3.26 b	0.86	3.36 b	0.92	3.31 b	0.98	19.44***
Taught Caring	4.02 a	0.79	4.05 ab	0.79	3.85 bc	0.81	3.89 abc	0.83	3.72 cd	0.87	3.54 d	1.01	19.97***

Note: Mean values for items are based on a 5-point scale. ***p<.001 **p<.01 *p<.05. Means sharing the same letters are not significantly different from one another (Tukey post hoc, p < .05)

Table 59 shows the number of responses from each school on engaging in caring acts while in school and engaging in pro-social behaviours. Pearson chi-square test indicates that there is difference between respondents among the schools for both of these dimensions. School Beta had the highest overall results for each of these dimensions.

Table 59: *Responses of students engaging in caring acts and pro-social behaviour*

	Alpha	Beta	Gamma	Delta	Epsilon	Zeta	χ^2
Caring Behaviour in School	2031	774	837	672	1298	708	45.49***
Pro-Social Behaviour	2889	1164	1238	989	1932	1159	21.97***

Note: ***p<.001.

While much of the discussion in this chapter has focussed on the differences between the schools, an important conclusion is that the differences between the schools are far less important than the similarities between them. The pro-social behaviour survey explored the caring attitudes and behaviour of students in six different schools using more than 50 individual measures relating to seven different dimensions of caring in daily life and the school environment. The data repeatedly shows that the differences between the schools – while often non-trivial in statistical terms – are consistently small. Nonetheless, Schools Alpha and Beta have recurrently returned student self-ratings for the dimensions that are (if only marginally) higher than the other schools. In section 6.7.3 we look specifically at these two schools to identify some of the practices they adopt that may account for these differences, while also exploring understandings and enactments of caring practices at the other four schools.

6. Caring: School Practices

In analysing the websites, focus group and interview data, we sought to demarcate conceptions of Caring (the IB Learner Profile attribute) and caring (general pro-social behaviour); we aimed to identify differences and similarities between the three IB programmes being studied in their practices of Caring; and, lastly, we wanted to understand ways in which Caring differed across our case-

study schools. After coding and analysing the focus group and interview transcriptions, for example, we identified four elements that were repeatedly identified as influencing the enactment of caring education: the IB Curriculum, international schooling, wider cultural conceptions of caring, and the significance of student age. In addition, we analysed the extent to which Noddings' four dimensions of caring in schools were manifested in the staff and students' discourses of caring. In the discussion of this analysis below, we will use caring (with a lower-case) to refer to general pro-social behaviour and Caring (with an upper-case) to refer to the Learner Profile attribute.

6.1 Website analysis

All the schools in the study presented themselves as centres of care where learners are cared for and are encouraged to learn to care (Noddings, 1992). Caring discourses were evident in all the websites examined and included the representation of schools as safe environments:

'All of this is done in a safe, caring and supportive school environment that fosters positive attitudes'

as places where learners are regarded as individuals:

'We believe that: Individuals have the right to choose and are responsible for the consequences of their choices'

as the equivalent of a second home for children:

'A second home for your children'

and as responsive institutions that pride themselves in personalised attention:

'Pastoral care involves regular one-to-one tracking and mentoring of students.'

Another key attribute of a caring environment identified within each participant's website was 'pastoral care and support'. The following examples from the websites

show how schools pride themselves on the care and support they provide to students:

... significant pastoral care and counsellor guidance...

... a pastoral care and support structure in which all students feel secure and are able to progress and be successful...

... support [students] through a comprehensive range of pastoral services...

Schools also construct themselves as places where responsibility and respect to oneself, others and the world is fostered. The following examples illustrate the importance schools place on helping students become caring individuals:

... equipping students to be people of positive influence...

...encourage [students] to develop a sense of community service and social compassion...

...show respect, understanding and sensitivity towards other cultures and the rights of others...

...helping people and becoming global citizens able to use education as a force for good...

...mutual respect in a multilingual and multicultural environment...

Interestingly, in many of the school websites analysed, caring for oneself, others and the environment was constructed as an attribute that needs to be modelled by teachers, other school staff and older learners, in keeping with Noddings' (1986) first component of moral education:

... recognize that students learn by example...

... it is important that the whole school community models [caring] for our children...

The word cloud below (Figure 5), which was generated using NVivo, shows the 50 most frequent words found in the statements related to caring on the webpages examined. The words presented in larger font sizes were more commonly used than those presented in smaller sizes. The most commonly used words found, other than *school*, *students*, *teachers* and *staff*, are *respect*, *community*, *care*, *develop*, *environment*, *support* and *caring*. The inclusion of *care*, *caring* and *respect* (a synonym for 'caring' identified in the focus group data reported later in this study) in the eleven most frequently occurring words used on the websites indicates the importance placed on these for promotional and recruitment purposes.



Figure 5: 'School as a Caring environment' word cloud

On the school websites caring in the curriculum is generally represented in three different ways:

1. As an attribute of the Learner Profile:

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

2. As a requirement of the IB Curriculum i.e. the Action component of the PYP, Community Service in the Middle Years and CAS in the Diploma programme.

3. As an integral part of the curriculum:

...Students are taught to be global citizens and to understand the importance of giving back to others...

...we address these attitudes explicitly within the curriculum...

Attention is also given to what is identified later on in this report as ‘caring within and beyond the school’, in other words, the various community and action projects each school is involved in. Projects include service activities in the local community and other countries; raising money for charity; volunteering; student campaigns; environmental projects; raising awareness of various issues at school and in the community and helping out in school. It is noteworthy that again such prominence is given to these on school websites. This suggests that these social practices of caring are important not only in developing a caring disposition amongst students, but in helping the school promote its ‘caring’ face to the outside world.

All in all, the school webpages analysed contained similar discourses regarding schools as centres of care (Noddings, 1992). In the next section we will explore the views of the participants on the different ways in which the schools deliver the ‘realities’ claimed by their webpage representations and explored above.

6.2 Caring in the curriculum

Teachers across all schools recognised that caring was something that was integral to most systems of education, and that in this sense there was not necessarily anything intrinsically special about the IB Curriculum. For many teachers, being caring was a precursor to achieving the other aims of any school:

The less they are emotionally well cared for, it is difficult to achieve academically I think.

[Teacher Focus Group]

However, one recurrent theme was the idea that giving explicit attention to Caring in the IB Curriculum did create a cultural emphasis in a school, by placing it at the forefront of both teachers' and students' attention. One PYP teacher expressed this as follows:

As a teacher it reminds me to make it more built into my programme every day, and we have an IB and PYP wall in our class room and the learner profile is up there so the kids see it as well so it is a constant reminder that Caring is something that we do care about.

[Teacher Focus Group]

In another focus group, one teacher expressed the view that having Caring in the curriculum was a helpful, but not a sufficient, condition for the promotion of a caring environment:

It needs to be actively designed and promoted and managed and it is very easy for it to stop and we are human ... and we can stop easily and there needs to be a buy-in from all the stakeholders in the school and it needs to be effectively managed and promoted.

[Teacher Focus Group]

Two aspects of the DP IB curriculum received attention as being particularly helpful in promoting Caring in the later years of schooling: Theory of Knowledge (TOK) and Creativity, Action, Service (CAS). One teacher explained how the Theory of Knowledge encouraged consideration of such issues:

Because it is TOK and it is often about ethnicity, cultures... backgrounds and so on that we have to be 'caring' to the view points and perspectives of the students in the class...so those are essentially down as the ground rules and you know...students are of course... their attention is brought to this.

[DP Coordinator Interview]

Interestingly, the students also believed that Caring was an important feature of the IB Curriculum:

I think the good part about IB is that like we do a lot of community and service and so you get to like to care more.

[MYP Student Focus Group]

However, at some schools the students argued that incorporating it into the curriculum did not necessarily foster genuine caring and that there was a danger of an instrumentalism in approaches to CAS:

They only make us do CAS because we want to pass DP ... but it is not like that they tell us to do it because it is good for us.

[DP Student Focus Group]

In particular, DP students seemed to feel a tension between genuine involvement in CAS and the requirement that they write an assessed reflection on their CAS activity:

And the fact that you are graded on it ... that can kind of make it kind of .. you know .. it kind of makes you feel kind of resentful towards .. you know .. the whole idea of CAS activity .. and CAS reflection and so on.

[DP Student Focus Group]

A curriculum generally includes not only an approach to, or content of, study, but also a means of assessing the learning that has occurred. Currently, there seem to be many schools in which assessment and reporting are limited to the academic curriculum, and do not include the Learner Profile; indeed, for some teachers, the Learner Profile was seen as not being part of the curriculum but instead part of the ethos of their school. This in turn raises an interesting issue about how the curriculum is perceived and the relationship between curriculum and school culture. For example, the Learner Profile is a set of attributes to be developed, however, teachers do not always see this process as a pedagogical one. In this sense there was clear evidence of different approaches to developing the attributes with some teachers seeing this process as separate to the 'form curriculum'. Opinion was divided between schools about the utility and

effectiveness of trying to assess Caring. The majority of teachers shared the view that attempting to quantify Caring would be inappropriate:

They don't get a grade on being caring.

[PYP Coordinator Interview]

However, it was also acknowledged that without a form of assessment, the Learner Profile attributes might get pushed aside:

We live in a world that is very fond of assessing and you know .. measuring .. and I am not sure how we do that .. and that is one of the key weaknesses of any .. any element of that trait .. that set of traits .. that is hard to measure .. it runs the risk of being marginalised.

[School Director Interview]

There is a sort of section in the report cards where we report through either the home teacher in the middle and high school or the class teacher in the PYP programme .. you know .. we talk about the development of the learner profile and it is quite informal .. and we don't have KPIs or matrixes or anything .. although in our strategic plan we are trying to create what we call success criteria and things that are measurable.

[School Principal Interview]

In some interviews, it was suggested that Caring could be assessed in a more flexible manner; for instance, through self-assessment or through teachers identifying instances of Caring behaviour (or other Learner Profile attributes) which were then reported to parents in a Learner Profile section on the students' report card. These forms of assessment were more likely to be used in the PYP than with the older students, and some teachers had encountered problems when implementing this approach:

It is one of those trickier ones to assess sometimes especially when .. and I mean .. some students that come to our school .. are ..

English language learners and they don't have any English .. so they are put into a class room and they don't know how to communicate and if you don't have the communication skills it is very difficult to demonstrate 'caring' behaviour.

[PYP Individual Teacher Interview]

As we have seen, amongst the older students it was sometimes felt that there was a tension between being Caring and formal attempts to monitor or assess their Caring, for example through their CAS activity. One DP student explained how this had impacted on her attitude towards CAS:

In the beginning I was so involved and I was so excited about it, and then now because of all the stress like the teachers put you in and then .. you are already .. it is like you leading one service group it is hard .. and then when you are leading three it is more difficult .. and then people put you in so many different positions .. like you have to .. like .. work to their idea of 'caring' .. and like just because you lead something that is really important that you think that you can just do anything that they want you do to .. like .. you know .. they make us do the service days and make us do like outside trips and then make us fill in all these forms .. about the teachers .. and all this stuff .. and like the teachers are less 'caring' than we are about it.

[DP Student Focus Group]

In summary, there was considerable variation between both schools and teachers in whether they reported using qualitative forms of assessment and reporting on the Learner Profile attributes, and the ways that they might do this.

Several of the schools had subscribed to proprietary behaviour management programmes. Such programmes included 'Love and Logic', 'Have You Filled a Bucket Today?' and 'Kelso's Choice'. In most cases, such a programme would offer specific training to staff, and offer a language and philosophy for resolving conflicts and managing other behaviours. These commercial schemes seemed to offer

support by providing a shared language that was seen as necessary to supplement the language of the Learner Profile.

Caring in the curriculum, then, is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for a caring school ethos, but it can be a useful catalyst. Both teachers and older students expressed the view that the relationship between thought and action was essential for caring, that the IB curriculum encouraged thinking about Caring, and that the IB curriculum was special in paying attention to community and service actions.

6.3 Caring at an international school

As has been indicated, all of our case-study schools were international schools; and the significance of international education to Caring was, in consequence, something that featured during our focus groups and individual interviews.

During most of the teacher focus groups, it was suggested that caring was something that happened at all schools, and they raised for themselves the question of whether there was in fact anything different about international schools in general and IB schools in particular. Some teachers felt that caring was more significant in an international school because the transient nature of the student population meant that being caring was especially important in enabling people quickly to feel settled and accepted. In one school, the teachers discussed the importance of the school in offering somewhere “like a home” to current students and alumni students who identify as ‘third culture’ young people, and therefore lack the stability of “a concrete place where they say is home”. In another teacher focus group, it was suggested that non-caring behaviour was often a result of people feeling uncomfortable with people who were different from them. In consequence, it was argued that it was easier to foster caring behaviour in an international school because the students become comfortable with operating in a diverse community:

From the elementary right through to the high school you don't see it as kids not 'caring' for each other as much as you might see more often, at least in my experience, when I was at high school in the Western public system. I don't know it is the same now or not. But there is definitely a culture of the kids being respectful and mindful

of culture diversity and one being the effect that we have such a diverse population here .. and there is that experience of diversity here daily where we have 50+ nationalities .. in the school and let alone the international nature of the school cultivates that acceptance of change and of diversity.

[Teacher Focus Group]

In summary, in some of the teacher focus groups there was a sense that caring was both easier to facilitate and more significant in an international school than in other kinds of schools but they also raised the question, as illustrated in the following transcript extract, of whether this was 'reality' or whether it was indicative of living in a rarefied environment:

Focus group Teacher (male): *And I think that it is an international thing .. and I think that international schools have it in the curricular for many reasons and I really think that it is in international school .. I think that the kind of things that you see in international schools students don't see in other places .. like for example here because they wear a uniform not so much .. but if you are at a national school when you go through the corridors it will be like [?? Stuff] on the floor. And nobody steals anything in an international school .. I don't think that is a reality in normal schools where people just leave all their valuables on the floor and nobody touches anything .. I don't think that happens in any other kind of school.*

Focus group Teacher (female): *Is that 'caring' or is that just because kids are able to afford their own stuff?*

Focus group Teacher (male): *No I think that it is 'caring' because nobody touches anybody else's things .. and I think that people respect everybody.*

Focus group Teacher (male): *I think .. I think that at the world at large .. it is pretty much a dog eat dog world .. and that I think that we live in a little bubble.*

The view that caring was easier to facilitate as part of the development of international mindedness due to its inclusion in the Learner Profile was voiced by some of the school leaders in individual interviews:

You know in terms of being an international school or an international mindedness I would say that the IB learner profile is central to that.

[PYP Principal Interview]

One Principal also suggested that perhaps the sorts of people who chose to become teachers in international schools placed more importance on aspects of holistic education:

For the most part people who stay on the international circuit... are people who are genuinely who are a one world ... one world educators and they want to create a better world and they want to transform their schools and their societies and more importantly young people.

[School Principal Interview]

However, during one teacher focus group, it was acknowledged that their conceptualisation of Caring might not be a universal approach to education and might in fact be a reflection of Western conceptions of holistic education, rather than a genuinely international idea. The cultural specificity of Caring will be examined further in the next section.

6.4 Caring and culture

Following Holliday (1999), it is possible to distinguish between the 'small cultures' of the schools themselves and the 'large cultures' within which these schools were situated, and our study suggests that both of these cultures were important to how Caring was enacted within the schools studied. In the case of international schools, the 'large culture' could refer to both the culture of international schooling and to the culture of the nation in which the school was situated, but it was the latter large culture that featured most in the staff focus group discussions. Holliday (1999) notes that large cultures are susceptible to cultural reductionism, and it should be noted that the accounts of the wider cultures given below are those

articulated by participants and are not necessarily ones to which the researchers subscribe.

One way in which Holliday's (1999) 'large cultures' at the level of country or ethnicity can be differentiated from each other is through language. Applied linguists and anthropologists have long studied the ways in which culture and language influence each other. One finding of this study was that 'Caring' was not always the word used or preferred by participants. In a Spanish language environment, 'solidarios' was chosen as the translation of 'caring' instead of 'cuidado', and was used on posters in the school. In a Spanish/English dictionary, 'solidarios' is typically translated as 'solidarity' but students and staff felt that this word encapsulated the IB definition of Caring more accurately than 'cuidado':

'Caring' is about solidarity like when we have a food bank?

[MYP Student Focus Group]

This is the Mediterranean... this is the Mediterranean... this is very different to Stoke on Trent... and so they grow up with a sense of solidarity... in terms of working together.

[Teacher Focus Group]

Similarly, it was suggested that the English word 'respect' would carry more weight in one national culture than the word 'Caring', and this may be explained by the cultural expectations of how those of different age groups behave towards each other in this society:

We should be more gentle with old people. Because they are older than us, then we should respect them more and help them with everything that they need.

[DP Student Focus Group]

'Respect' was also discussed by students in another country as being a preferable alternative to 'Caring', suggestive of the possibility that the Confucian Heritage Cultures have more affinity with the notion of respect than with Western conceptions of caring. One school principal suggested that caring might be

equated with being “condescending” or with “loss of face” amongst certain Asian cultures. Language choices were sometimes influenced by ‘small cultures’ (Holliday, 1999) too. One of our case-studies was a Christian school, and here, ‘Love’ was frequently used in interviews as a synonym for Caring. Other words which students or teachers felt helpful in various contexts included community, friendship and integrity.

In several schools, the impact on Caring of the wider social class or national culture in which the school was operating was a theme in the staff interviews. In one country, for instance, some teachers felt that parents were more interested in academic achievements than in holistic approaches, such as the Learner Profile attributes, and they associated with what they believed to be the achievement-oriented culture of this country.

At a few of the schools, the teachers commented that the privileged nature of their student body meant that the family backgrounds did not really encourage the students to ‘care’:

Sometimes there is a ‘caring’ naturally ... some of them we have to remind them. Based on their family background. Especially for the young children too ... and based on their family back ground too.

[Teacher Focus Group]

This seemed especially important in one South East Asian country in this study, where there was consensus amongst the teachers across participating schools that there was a vast gap between the living standards of their students and the very low living standards of the general population, and that this made it harder for students to care. The teachers explained this further:

They are brought up to be dependent on their servants and they have a lot of people – especially in the MYP they have nannies also and they are used to having everything done for them.

[Teacher Focus Group]

Conversely, in other schools it was suggested that IB (or other international) schools are able to be caring because of the socio-economic make-up of their

school community. It is because this privileged group has already had their own needs met that they can afford to give their attention (and money) to caring for others by working with local disadvantaged children or on service-oriented overseas school trips. Whereas Bunnell (2005) found, in a survey of 34 international schools and the nature and extent of their local community contact, that "... surprisingly few seem to engage in formal links with their local community, while those that do are not happy with the nature and extent of such links." (Bunnell, 2005, p. 56), many of our case-study schools were proud of their links with local community groups and with others further away.

Caring was also related to various features of the school itself (Holliday's (1999) 'small cultures'). In the Christian case study school, the staff related the emphasis their school placed on Caring to their Christian beliefs rather than to the IB curriculum. The size of the school was sometimes mentioned as a factor in its ability to create a caring culture. Teachers at another school were proud that in their small environment they could pay attention to the needs and difficulties of individuals, and this was a view that was echoed by the students:

I think it is easy to 'care' about someone in a small community.

[DP Student Focus Group]

Conversely, one of our case-study schools had expanded rapidly in recent years, and some teachers there expressed a belief that some of the caring aspects of the institution had been lost as it no longer became possible to know everybody and to retain the same sort of welcoming, happy feel.

6.5 Caring and age

The age of the students seemed to be a key variable in how both they and their teachers talked about Caring, and it was suggested by some that Caring seemed to mean something different in the three programmes of the IBO. In the PYP, caring was explicit, immediate and focused on the school community. Although some schools spoke of reaching out to groups beyond the school with PYP students, this was secondary to promoting caring behaviour between students and to the teacher modelling caring through their treatment of students. The students

nearing the end of their PYP programme felt that the word 'Caring' is something that they would have used explicitly in conversation when they were younger, but that it was a word they had grown out of using; instead, they 'did' it to their friends, rather than explicitly referring to the word.

Similarly, for the teachers, explicitly addressing Caring and using that word was something that was easier with younger students:

I think that kids really are exposed to the learner profile within the PYP and I think that it kind of slowly fades out as they move through the MYP.

[Teacher Focus Group]

[At] a younger age perhaps that you have to name it and you have to name it and attach it .. in order for them so that they can clearly see it. But by the time that they get to DP .. it doesn't have to be named all the time .. and it is done through like you said... through action.

[Teacher Focus Group]

Four reasons for this were offered in various interviews; firstly, because caring was in some sense more appropriate for younger students (other language, such as 'responsibility', 'respect' or 'service' seemed to fit more easily with older students), and secondly because the organisation of the school meant that younger students were in home rooms developing very close relationships with one teacher and a small group of students most of the day, and that this was a structure that facilitated caring. Thirdly, one interviewee suggested that the history of the Learner Profile might explain why teachers might see it as more attuned to the PYP:

I think that comes partly perhaps in the IB as well... that the learner profile began as a PYP thing... and then was adopted throughout the MYP and the DP and so there is still perhaps this sort of perception that it is a PYP thing.

[School Principal Interview]

Lastly, as the students grew older there was a sense that Caring was crowded out by other pressures upon classroom time:

They just want to slog it and get through the exams and get to the point and if you said well .. hold on let's take a day to talk about 'caring' .. they would look at you like and say .. "Are you insane?!" I don't have the time .. I am sorry .. I don't 'care'!

[Teacher Focus Group]

Thus, in some schools there was a feeling that it was harder to centre attention on Caring in the MYP and DP. Whilst it was believed that Caring was still important to those programmes, here it was operationalised differently, and community service came to the fore.

For younger children, then, it seems that Caring is about what you say to those around you; for older students, Caring is more frequently described as something that you do for those outside your immediate community. One example of children 'caring' in the PYP is described by a teacher as writing a little supportive note to a class-mate using a special postbox in the room; the examples of Caring offered by MYP and DP teachers included travelling to Cambodia to do community service.

However, 'Caring' was a word that did not seem to capture all of the social relationships and responsibilities that teachers wanted to communicate with different ages of students; the word 'Caring' seemed to be primarily about the personal and the immediate, and therefore had more resonance when working with younger students. Both teachers and students struggled when applying this term at higher levels of education, even when both groups acknowledged the value of the term. There was certainly more cynicism about the impact of the word 'Caring' expressed by older students. For instance, in one DP focus group it was suggested that the word 'Caring' was used for both marketing the school and also for controlling students' behaviour ('I think that they use it to tame us or something.'). In other DP focus groups, a distinction was drawn between teachers who genuinely cared about them and teachers who did not; it was the people who did more than their job required that they defined as caring:

There is like a difference between employing people that just teach us and teachers who actually like doing their jobs and who are actually willing to .. you know care for the students .. and not just teach.

[DP Student Focus Group]

By contrast, during PYP Focus Groups, there was a presumption that all teachers cared.

In summary, across all schools and all participants, there seemed to be an acceptance that Caring as a construct was focused on explicitly and specifically in the PYP, and then less so in the later years, although this was not to say it becomes less important.

6.6 Noddings' view of the ethical curriculum: Modelling, dialogue, practice and confirmation

Noddings' (1998) work on the four dimensions of creating an ethical curriculum is a useful way of organizing the evidence of school practices conceptually. In this section, we will consider the degree to which participants in the case-study schools viewed these four dimensions as significant elements of Caring in their schools. In the ensuing section, we will build on and adapt Noddings' work in order to make recommendations for improving support for Caring and for building on current best practice.

In offering their understandings of how caring was manifested in the case study schools, Noddings' (1986) first three phases of care featured strongly. However, the confirmation phase received less attention in any of our case-study locations.

6.6.1 Modelling

Both students and teachers talked about the importance of being good role models. For the students, it was important to role model caring behaviour to their peers and younger students, such as a PYP student who argued:

In my role as deputy head boy my biggest role is to be a role model for my peers and the biggest job is not to be mean and it is to be kind.

[PYP Student Focus Group]

Another student, when asked who in her school used the word 'Caring', explained:

I use the word 'caring' because of course I am a role model to a lot of the younger students in the school.

[PYP Student Focus Group]

The teachers stressed this as one of the central ways in which caring was learnt:

The teachers modelling the learner profile, I think, is the only way that gets students to live the learner profile.

[Teacher Focus Group]

In the majority of the schools, it was stated that the teachers provided unequivocally good role models to the students. In only one staff interview was it suggested that staff could also be providing bad role models as well as good, and an acknowledgement given of the complexity of the attempt to provide a good role model:

To eradicate bullying is impossible and that is not just for students that is with staff as well...I think because I do think that relationships on a staff level we aren't always as possibly as equitable and respectful as they ought to be...I mean that is in lots of different environment with jobs and lots of different schools.

[Teacher Focus Group]

In addition, in some of the focus groups with older students, the nature of the role model offered by teachers was questioned. For example, in one DP Focus Group a particular teacher was discussed, and it was suggested that he was very 'caring' with selected students but could tend to being aggressive with others.

The concept of modelling will receive more attention in our recommendations for good practice below.

6.6.2 Dialogue

The phase of dialogue received attention from the staff, but not from the students. For some of the staff, dialogue was part of their modelling of Caring (see following section), by listening to students and letting them know that the teachers are there to listen about sensitive issues.

And sometimes there is rapport with the students and they feel 'cared' for and they feel very comfortable talking to us .. and sometimes about their deepest secrets that they can't even share with the parents.

[Teacher Focus Group]

For Noddings, however, one important aspect of dialogue is the reciprocity of creating a discussion during which a student can reflect on their own pro-social behaviour. One PYP Principal explained Caring dialogue in terms of students getting opportunities to improve their communication skills:

developing students to be able to empathise with others and to be able to listen as well.

[PYP Principal]

In order to facilitate dialogue, several of the schools had (as was noted earlier) subscribed to a commercial behaviour management scheme. These were seen as facilitating dialogue by providing a common language across the school for discussing the ethics of behaviour, and by offering accessible concepts to students. For instance, in one school, students were asked whether they had 'filled someone's bucket today'. Children were encouraged to reflect on the consequences of their choices on others' invisible 'buckets' – whether they were filling them, or emptying them through their behaviour. One teacher explained how this was useful in the classroom:

They have that session with [name of pastoral care teacher] and they use it and I hear teachers using it...as well...and it is such a strong visual image for them...and you know it is not abstract at

all...and there is a bucket here...and it is an imaginary bucket...and you can...and you can fill it or you can dip into it...and I can hear that ...that language all the time and like "You are dipping into my bucket!" ...and it is...you know...she has made a big difference.

[Teacher Focus Group]

These schemes also offer resources for parents, so that a common language can be established between home and school. The extensive resources that had been committed in some schools to providing staff training and resources for these schemes demonstrate their commitment to facilitating dialogue with students.

6.6.3 Practice

Noddings' third phase of caring also featured saliently in the focus groups. Both staff and students explained that caring was practised in a range of ways, ranging from action against bullying to community service. In one student focus group, this approach was summarised as "We don't say [caring] out loud .. we show it in actions" (DP Focus Group). For the staff, likewise, the practice of caring in their school by both staff and students was something of which they were proud:

Not only is it the staff, we have got some senior...year twelves who are putting together workshops for the lower school and they are going to be doing assemblies where they are going to split the boys and girls up and do little workshops on peer pressure and just...cyber bullying and just being a bit more kind to each other.

[Teacher Focus Group]

The practice of caring was a multi-level activity, and the following quotation is typical in suggesting that the age of students impacts on the level of Caring that is most appropriate:

There is the interpersonal 'caring' which I think is definitely prevalent with the teachers and the students and then the 'caring' global citizen and internationalism 'caring' which I think in DP is part of the curriculum and maybe not in the class room but it is especially in CAS activities.

[Teacher Focus Group]

Firstly, to Care might mean to be able to take another's perspective and to acknowledge their point of view. Secondly, to Care might mean to demonstrate other forms of inter-personal empathy, for example by helping someone with their schoolwork. Both these forms of care are predicated on a direct, one-to-one relationship with the cared-for. When the PYP students were asked to give examples of Caring behaviour, they referred predominantly to how they behaved with their friends, family and on the playground. It was repeatedly suggested to us that it was in one-to-one relationships that the younger children were best able to comprehend how they might practise caring, although some interviewees argued that community and global service were an important aspect of Caring practice even at PYP level.

Thirdly, action might involve working to improve help those in the need within the school community, such as addressing bullying. Fourthly, action might involve looking beyond the school community to the wider world, for example through service education:

I would also want to talk about CAS which all the teachers want us to do a CAS project which stands out very much and especially if it is about a charity or helping any other people who are in need of help such as working at centres and they also want us to do activities in school for .. for example collecting clothing that people do not use .. and also other things that can help people that are in very need of help.

[DP Student Focus Group]

I really do feel that we take for granted that [name of school] teachers not only teach but also the students develop and learn from its values and they develop in their own ways and they take it on into different perspectives and they take on all the different 'caring' perspectives for other individuals and then implement these CAS ideas and develop them into others.

[DP Student Focus Group]

For the DP students, CAS was important in allowing them to develop and enact the conceptions of caring that they had developed earlier in their school experience. For the MYP students, reference was additionally made to other service learning that they had experienced:

I think that it is not just like with those CAS trips, it is everything that we do in school from the eco club to interact club. It is all, you know, in the end, in the long term it benefits us and it teaches us to be aware of situations taking place in the world right now and to make a difference and to 'caring' about that.

[MYP Student Focus Group]

6.6.4 Confirmation

Noddings' fourth phase of caring – confirmation of the self of the cared-for – did not feature strongly amongst either the staff or the students' accounts. There were very few references from the staff interviews to the significance for the students of being cared for. The following quotation offers a salient exception:

I feel that with these little kids that they really do need to have that feeling of being 'cared' for .. and 'caring' for others before they can really .. you know feel comfortable enough to learn academically .. and so you have to kind of establish that .. that level of 'caring' .. just in order to be able to move on through the school.

[Teacher Focus Group]

In the majority of the schools, there was no reference to this aspect of caring. The focus in these accounts of caring was on the carer realising their ideal self, rather than on their facilitating the cared-for to achieve their ideal self. Both students and teachers conceptualised caring in the curriculum as being focused on transforming students as carers, rather than in exploring what it means to be the recipient of care. Students at international schools are cared-for by their peers and staff, but learning to be cared-for does not receive the same attention as learning to care. This is a point to which we shall return in our discussion of best practice below.

6.7 Caring: Identifying and Improving Best Practice

In looking for differences between the schools, we wanted to understand how best practice could be created and developed. Before detailing our most important conclusions in this area, however, it is important that we establish our conceptualisation of ‘best practice’. Given the cultural diversity of contexts for IB education, we suggest that best practice cannot be understood simplistically as a list of prescriptions that can be defined regardless of social setting; rather, we argue that best practice is better understood as the consideration of a range of factors, and adapting them to create practice suitable for a specific social context. Our intention in this section is to identify those factors which our case-studies suggest that schools found most difficult to address, and to suggest ways in which these dimensions of Caring can best be enacted and how this can be supported by the IBO. Furthermore, our aim is to identify particular strengths of the current practices we observed in case-study schools.

6.7.1 Challenges to caring

a) A Language of Care

In the previous sections, we have noted that several schools had adopted commercial behaviour management programmes to support their pastoral teachers, and we also discussed the sense that in some cultural contexts that synonyms for Caring needed to be adopted that were more culturally appropriate. In both these ways, we suggest, schools were looking for frameworks and vocabularies to help them articulate what they are doing (to new colleagues, to parents, and to students). In addition, they wanted a language that was more culturally nuanced and allowed more room for cultural interpretation than the IBO definition of Caring. Whilst the overwhelming majority of teachers were clear that they did not want the IBO to prescribe practice for Caring, it is suggested that there is scope for the IBO to offer a richer language for discussing this Learner Profile attribute, and to provide some guidance on effective frameworks for doing so.

Schools in multi-cultural settings need to provide a rich and culturally appropriate language for discussing Caring with their students. As reported above, a wide range of synonyms was offered to us, and many teachers felt strongly that their specific synonym was more appropriate than the word 'Caring' in their teaching context. At the same time, a common language for Caring between IB schools facilitates transitions for the many 'Third Culture Kids' who transfer between IB institutions. In consequence, it is recommended that a shared language for discussing Caring be developed and strengthened by the IBO, in particular a language that enables pastoral care to be articulated in a shared way across schools. One of the strengths of the Learner Profile that some teachers identified was that it begins to offer 'a common language' (Vice Principal Individual Interview), but for others this language needed to be supplemented.

Currently, some schools are meeting this need by paying for a commercial programme that has no connection with the IB curriculum. In one teacher focus group, the rationale behind adopting 'Love and Logic', a commercial behaviour management programme, in the school was explained to us:

The Love and Logic is really about a management approach .. so .. there is a series of books .. one is called 'Love and Logic for Teachers' and 'Love and Logic for Parents' .. but it is really a series of strategies in which or how you approach how you speak to students .. and the words to use and different .. different strategies to manage behaviour and really placing a lot of emphasis on natural consequences as much as possible that then .. it is like nipping things in the bud when they are small instead of them getting big and when things are going wrong .. making a plan to address things through consistent behaviour over time .. and eventually changes a child's behaviour and it is about building trust and respect.

[Teacher Focus Group]

This quotation emphasises two challenges for many schools in approaching Caring; they felt that they needed a common language as an institution for discussing Caring behaviours, and they wanted shared strategies that were

consistent across the institution. An approach developed by the IB itself could also provide strategies that facilitated consistency across schools.

b) Modelling

Modelling was identified across all case-study schools as important to Caring, but many different kinds of modelling were referred to in the qualitative data. In several schools, the Principals and Directors spoke about modelling Caring through their behaviour as leaders. In every school, teachers spoke of the importance of their modelling Caring behaviour to students, but in many of these instances, it seemed to be assumed that simply doing Caring was sufficient for modelling to be effective:

Each of us act as a model to students as well.

[Teacher Focus Group]

Every time a student breaks a rule the teachers make sure that they are reviewing the [essential ??] agreement and it is always in the positive .. you know .. it is positive statements and never negative .. so that is an example .. of doing it.

[Teacher Focus Group]

In this second example, for instance, the staff members suggest they are modelling to students; however, although they are being Caring, there is no attempt to explain the Caring behaviour to the students. It would be hard for students to infer from what is being said that teachers believe that to Care is to always focus on positive statements, and therefore we suggest that this form of modelling might be ineffectual.

Staff explained the importance of modelling Caring behaviour by suggesting that it helped students to be able to recognise Caring and to see what a Caring person does:

I think that it needs to be modelled so that they can recognise what it looks like.

[Teacher Focus Group]

One of the principals articulated this view that simply doing is enough, and that Caring was 'caught' rather than 'taught':

Some of these things are caught .. and some of these things are taught and I would hope that our teachers actually model the characteristics of the learner profile themselves and by the example of those role models and the students will acquire that.

[Principal Interview]

Similarly, at another school, modelling was seen as distinct from teaching:

We don't teach 'caring'. We don't teach it .. we model it.

[Teacher Focus Group]

One theme running through this concept of teacher modelling was that students were able to learn implicitly from simply watching the role model:

You are role modelling the way that you are talking to your students...they are picking up on the way that you are behaving and that is a behaviour that they will really use.

[Teacher Focus Group]

They really learn more...it is by osmosis really...it is not by telling them how they should be 'caring'...and I mean the teachers modelling the learner profile I think is the only way that gets students to live the learner profile.

[Teacher Focus Group]

Thus, it can be seen that teacher modelling of Caring was not something that was taught or discussed explicitly; students were assumed to be able to learn from this modelling through a process of osmosis. However, it is not clear whether or how, students are able to analyse what Caring behaviour involves through this process of observation.

We would suggest that modelling is an over-used, and under-theorised idea; indeed, once we begin to apply this view to other contexts, the shortcomings of the approach become readily apparent. One does not learn to drive by simply observing good drivers, although doubtless years of experience on the road are a useful contributor. One does not become an effective teacher by simply spending 12 years of childhood in the classroom although, again, that can offer useful experiences on which to draw. Rather, in both cases, there has to be an active explanation and reflection on the model for it to be useful. The emphasis on what could be termed accidental modelling by teachers, as opposed to more conscious and deliberate ways of modelling, again suggests that frameworks for more effective modelling could be provided by the IBO. There is a rich literature in this area, which deserves further exploration.

Sanderse (2012) points out that whilst teachers are often considered to be role models in character education, the practical implications of this are rarely addressed. Sanderse argues that the assumption that teachers are positive role models has often passed unquestioned, and in the instance when their role modelling is desirable, the way to make this effective is left unexamined. He concludes:

If role modelling is to contribute to children's moral education, teachers are recommended to explain why the modelled traits are morally significant and how students can acquire these qualities for themselves. (Sanderse, 2012, p.28)

In accidental modelling, the student is constructed as an observer, as passive and as an absorber of knowledge and skills that are transmitted by the teacher. In conscious modelling, the student is constructed as a co-participant, as actively engaged with reconstructing knowledge and skills alongside the teacher. Sanderse (2012) uses a different terminology, differentiating between conditioning and more cognitive modelling; however, we suggest that the distinction is essentially the same. As we have seen above, conscious modelling differs from the current emphasis on dialogue about the students' feelings that is the current emphasis of teachers in the case-study schools to dialogue about the role model itself.

In positing the importance of conscious modelling, we are questioning the effectiveness of Noddings' (1995) view of modelling. Noddings (1995) suggests that modelling is most effective when it is unselfconscious, when the person is so absorbed in the act of caring that they are not thinking about their modelling. She argues that self-conscious modelling detracts attention from the act of Caring itself, and therefore is less effective. This divergence in approach is underpinned by a difference between ourselves and Noddings in what constitutes an appropriate conversation to make the modelling conscious, and draws on the work of John Dewey, who wrote about teaching ethics over a century ago. Dewey (1893) argued that teaching about ethics in high schools should be focused on addressing a practical and specific problem. Noting that "drilling in of moral precepts" would tend to the perfunctory, whilst prying into the child's conscious could create a "prig" or a "hypocrite" (Dewey, 1893, p.46), he suggested that ethical teaching in schools should focus children on practical solutions, rather than presenting a case as a 'moral' issue. For Dewey, the role of the teacher is to question and probe, to present additional information, with the intention of enabling the children to build up a full picture of such a scene. In this scenario, then, teaching about ethics is achieved by offering a 'hands-on' approach in problem-solving, and helping the students to remain focused on the problem under discussion and the facts of the case, rather than irrational and emotive responses. And, according to Dewey, this type of dialogue is not achieved by exhorting them to 'care'.

Empirical evidence suggests this critique of current teacher role models. Bricheno and Thornton (2007) found that nearly half of the British adolescents they surveyed did not identify a role model, and only 1.9% considered a teacher to be their most important role model. In an Australian and German survey by Bucher (1998), teachers did not figure as current role models, although 10% of the adolescents they surveyed recalled teachers as former role models. This suggests that unconscious role modelling by teachers is currently ineffectual in many schools, and also raises the question of whether role models other than teachers might be more effective.

In several schools there was an emphasis on students modelling to their peers; usually, this involved slightly older students modelling to younger students, but in

some schools, it might be modelling done by students to their peers. In both of these instances, the students seemed to place more importance on explanations being necessary alongside the 'doing'. In both of the instances of student modelling that were quoted in the last section, the student did not simply assert that they modelled, but went on to explain in more detail exactly how they go about modelling to other students. This contrasts with the way in which the teachers talked about modelling:

In my role as deputy head boy my biggest role is to be a role model for my peers and the biggest job is not to be mean and it is to be kind and I have tell everyone that you have to be kind because if it is not kindness then people will be really sad and people...well people would be really...really lonely so it is a big world.

[PYP Student Focus Group]

I use the word 'caring' because of course I am a role model to a lot of the younger students in the school and of course the year six's that are in my grade and I have in my role I like to give like tips like they said and you give 'caring' tips and how to be like and how and just acts of kindness basically.

[PYP Student Focus Group]

Student modelling, then, seemed to offer more precise guidelines to other students about how to be Caring, as well as enabling the student model to articulate how they cared. However, the instances of student modelling that we encountered in our interviews were concentrated amongst the PYP students. Students in the MYP and the DP did not talk about themselves as models to other members of their school community. This is, again, a possibility that deserves further exploration.

As Noddings (2012) notes, some caring relationships are inherently unequal – for example, those between a parent and a young child. However, in others – such as many adult relationships, caring is a mutual relationship and over time the two parties to the relationship change positions between carer and cared-for, and there is equality between the two parties. The teacher-student relationship is, as

Noddings (2012) notes, an example of an unequal caring relationship. We suggest that this implies that teacher role modelling of Caring is inevitably going to be insufficient, even when conscious and discussed in a purposive manner; this relationship needs to be complemented by modelling through peer-peer Caring relationships. We shall continue discussion of the importance of experiencing, and reflecting on, being Cared-for in the following section.

c) Confirmation

The data analysis demonstrated clearly that the emphasis in IB schools is on giving students opportunities to practice Caring, rather than opportunities to practice being Cared for. In some interviews, the thought emerged that when teachers care, students get the opportunity to experience Caring, and that this is an important part of becoming a Caring person:

You can tell them all day but unless they see it and feel it and know that it is there and part of everything then it is not a separate distinct thing...and then they really get it.

[Teacher Focus Group]

Nevertheless, in these interviews the emphasis remained on this experience being a preparation for becoming Caring; learning to receive care, and to enable others to care, was not seen as an end in itself.

In the case-study schools we visited, the privileged nature of the communities at these schools was discussed as important to their emphasis on care. One Principal explained how their affluent backgrounds affected the kind of Caring experiences to which he felt the students should be exposed:

The majority of our students are from very rich families and when they see the conditions and see that their home is like this so it is good if we are able to bring them down to the real condition of [name of country] and maybe in a situation where so many persons and [nationality] people we can have this education but maybe by asking them to join communities or maybe teach the students just English at the public school it also creates their sensitivity ... the real

conditions of [name of country] and then try to do something to help the people there.

[School Principal Interview]

Whilst not wishing to deny the importance of educating students to make wise use of their privileges, two aspects of being Cared-for were missing from some of the interviews; firstly, a sense of the confirmation of the self that is afforded by being Cared-for, and, secondly, the importance of preparing students for equal relationships in later life. Through CAS, through the way that Caring was discussed by teachers, through the emphasis on the word Caring rather than Care or a synonym, Students were being prepared for unequal, privileged positions of Caring, rather than for equal and mutual relationships. We suggest that, whilst important, these need to be complemented by other forms of Care. Noddings (2010) explains the importance of preparing students to be cared-for, as well as to care:

Care ethics is perhaps unique in giving a special role to the cared-for in caring relations. Emphasis is on the relation, and, by definition, at least two parties are involved. In order for the relation to be properly labeled caring, the cared-for must somehow recognise the efforts of the carer as caring. This response completes the relation. The response of the cared-for is an act of reciprocity, but it is not the contractual reciprocity so familiar to us in traditional Western philosophy. (Noddings, 2010, p.391)

6.7.2 Exceptional caring

a) Leadership for Caring

We often have opportunities that can present themselves initially as problems.

[School Headteacher Interview]

We have discussed the importance of modelling above, and critical to the conscious modelling that seems best to facilitate Caring is the modelling offered

by the school leadership. Across all of our case-study schools, teachers and managers agreed that leadership was important in facilitating or inhibiting caring behaviour by teachers and this confirms what Roffey (2006) and DiPaola and Hoy (2007) have to say about the importance of modelling in leadership. A school leader can view staff personal difficulties as a “problem” or s/he can see them as an “opportunity” to demonstrate concern, and the management’s response affects not only that individual’s longer-term feeling about the institution, but the rest of the staff community as well:

They are probably going to tell four or five people that you were treated well and so that .. that also helps when we have situations that might arise where we have to do things that might be harder .. because people will know that we are operating from a sort of ‘caring’ perspective.

[School Headteacher Interview, continued]

It was not just the school leaders who viewed leadership as being important; this was a viewpoint that was echoed by teaching staff at all levels of the school hierarchy and across all programmes:

Leadership plays such a crucial role... you can really tell by the people’s body language of whether or not your leaders are focused on the people that make the place.

[Individual DP Teacher Interview]

In another of our case-study schools, concern about a change in ownership in the institution had led to uncertainty amongst the teachers about the future direction of the school; they were concerned that a more commercially driven business approach might come to dominate. In that school, we encountered a large number of staff that were leaving or had friends who were leaving. Uncertainty over the direction of the school, whilst not directly affecting individual teachers’ commitment to being caring in their classrooms was clearly going to impact on the school experience of students experiencing large rates of staff turnover:

Ultimately you become more disenchanted as a teacher because now you are being asked to sell the school on the school’s behalf...and unless you have a genuine belief in the product that you are

selling...you...you are never are going to...to make a good sales pitch the school...and I think that is where the majority of staff are...in terms of morale it is pretty rock bottom because that is where people are...and it is systematic of any for profit institution.

[Individual MYP Teacher Interview]

b) The IB Curriculum

Without being dictatorial or overly prescriptive...the IBO is being very...very successful in getting out to the schools that they work with...and are very consistent and coherent approach to the delivery of whatever international education means.

[School Principal Interview]

Finally, it was clear that in many schools the IB Curriculum was seen as an invaluable tool for achieving the educational aims of the many committed and passionate individuals that we met.

I think most of our teachers would probably not want to work in a non-IB school after they have been...and many of them came here because of the reputation of being IB.

[School Headteacher Interview]

The commitment of some of the teachers we encountered to the IB curriculum was striking. For example, one PYP Coordinator recounted a tale of hearing teachers from non-IB international schools complaining at a dinner party about the behaviour of students at their schools, and their lack of awareness and interest in lives of other people around the world. She contrasted it with the students at her own school and concluded:

What they were saying about their children's experience...and these top international schools...that weren't IB right through is very different...from what I would say...I mean...it is the exact opposite of what I would say about the children here.

[PYP Coordinator, Individual Interview]

There is also further analysis to be conducted around the use of identifiers within the interviews; although we have not conducted systematic discourse analysis, there is work to be done around the exploring the use of pronouns to create a sense of identification with the IB as a school, as a teaching community and as a shared community with learners. Teachers who had had a long history of working with and for the IB might use the term 'we' to refer to the IBO, because of their identification with the aims of the organisation:

Particularly when I was working for the IB...it was...how effective is this programme and what are we doing that is right...and what can we improve.

[Individual Teacher Interview]

In addition, for other teachers the term IB had become an adjective that could be used to describe not just a school but also learners within that school, thereby creating a closer identification with the IB:

That you would continue to understand that this is who we are .. as IB learners.

[Individual PYP Coordinator Interview]

And that is who we are...and that is why we are an IB international school.

[Extract from the same Individual PYP Coordinator Interview]

However, it should be emphasised that, at leadership level especially, this was not a blind faith in the IBO; rather, this was a belief that the IB programmes currently aligned with the educational values of these individuals and institutions, and helped them to realise their core educational beliefs:

In terms of what is out there at the moment there is little that I can see that tops it...I am not a flag bearer and I am not a...you know... I dislike...I dislike that kind of behaviour...and I say to people much to the frustration of some of my colleagues...we will do IB programmes for as long as they are the best thing out there and are the best offering out there.

[School Director Interview]

There was one school in our sample which seemed to have a much lower level of commitment to the IB curriculum than the others; this was a Christian school, and the Christian faith of teachers was more important to recruitment than experience with, and commitment to, the IB philosophy of learning:

We are first a Christian school and second an IB school.

[Principal Interview]

In this institution it was felt that the IB Learner Profile aligned with their values education; however, less emphasis was placed on the utility of the IB curriculum to achieving their school aims:

Actually it is easy for us...to fulfil that...to fulfil that requirement from IB because it is already part of the culture and part of the Christian school.

[Teacher Focus Group]

6.7.3 Understanding student outcomes: The cases of Schools Alpha and Beta

In this section we focus on two schools, Alpha and Beta, where the student outcomes data does suggest that there were particularly effective practices present. Although differences between schools were not always significant (and there was no even picture of scoring higher or lower in the survey) we have demonstrated in this report how in several key areas Schools Alpha and Beta achieved higher outcomes (for example in relation to the extent to which students in the schools felt cared for and trusted or the extent to which students felt that school taught them to care). When exploring in more detail the practices of the Schools Alpha and Beta it is important to point out that the two schools represented both the largest and smallest schools in the sample. In the case of School Beta several people in the school attributed their ethos, in part at least, to the small size of the school, and consequently the ability to establish a sense of community based on personal relationships. Whilst this may be significant, it does

not apply to School Alpha, and therefore cannot be considered as decisive when explaining the effectiveness in relation to caring of these two establishments.

What emerges clearly from both schools is an emphasis on caring as central to the ethos of the school. In some sense this might be considered as a form of 'branding' as in both schools there was an awareness this dimension of each school was widely understood externally. In essence, both schools were seen to be, and well known for, providing extremely supportive environments that placed a considerable premium on student well-being. In the case of one of the schools it was argued that the school had a strong record working with students who had not necessarily found it easy to thrive elsewhere.

we provide a niche for students wouldn't fit in to a lot of other schools in [name of country] ... or other international schools that are bigger and are more competitive and that are more corporate driven in their sort of mentality and identity. They find a niche to fit in here and to be successful and to be ... celebrated for who they are. I think that is something that our school does really really well.

[Individual Teacher Interview]

Within these schools there was a recognition that the commitment to provide a very supportive environment for students could be seen as a trade-off against being more demanding academically – one teacher commented “the reputation that we have in the community is that we are a very ‘caring’ school but maybe not academically as rigorous”. However, teachers themselves did not see this as a zero-sum calculation but rather argued that their school’s commitment to caring was central to providing the conditions in which learning could thrive – “I think that a ‘caring’ school for kids is what brings student learning and students to learn best in a ‘caring’ holistic environment.” Indeed, this particular teacher was concerned that a potential market-driven strategic shift to appear ‘more academic’ might in turn imperil the culture on which current academic success was based.

In both schools there was a strong emphasis on the quality of leadership, and on the ability of the most senior leaders to ‘set the tone’ for the organisation.

I think our Head of School is a very 'caring' and very intelligent 'caring' and compassionate person. I think that [s/he] is well respected for that.

[Individual Teacher Interview]

I do think that a lot of it has to do with the Head of School here .. and I think [s/he] is a uniquely 'caring' Head. I think that in general people who rise to that level of leadership don't necessarily have to be 'caring' but I think that [s/he] is probably one of the more 'caring' leaders I have worked for.

[Head of Secondary School Interview]

A clear feature of this leadership was to prioritise 'caring' in the work of the school. Caring was not seen as a trade-off with other priorities, but nor was it readily downplayed when competing demands, including corporate ones, may emerge to challenge the prevailing ethos. In this sense this powerful commitment to caring might be identified as a 'non-negotiable' or a 'red line' in terms of both schools' moral purpose.

One of the ways in which leaders in the two schools were able to develop a school ethos that had caring at its core was to ensure the Learner Profile was itself at the core of the school. In this sense the Learner Profile was more than an element of curriculum planning which needed to be incorporated into schemes of work and lesson plans. Rather it was used to define the ethos of the establishments. What we have witnessed in previous IB studies (see for example, Stevenson et al, 2014) is that there can often be a paradox in relation to the Learner Profile. It is central to the IB philosophy and the essence of what an IB student should encapsulate, but it sometimes appears that the Learner Profile is so central that it is often assumed and taken for granted. It can be that the most important element of the IB programmes is often discussed about the least by staff in their professional discourse. In School Beta for example, this tendency was challenged and time and resources were devoted to developing a deep and shared understanding of the Learner Profile, and specifically in relation to Caring. This is clearly articulated thus:

We have been working on how do we unpack this word nurturing and 'caring' .. and how do we unpack it into operations and how do we unpack it into the teaching and learning and the curriculum and the culture of the school. How do we make sure that it is not just the kids that are developing this attribute but that the adults in the school are as well - and the parents. How do we cascade that information down throughout the school? I think that we have done a really good job with the kids - but I am not sure that we have always done as good a job with the adult population.

[Head of School Interview]

What this quote highlights is the importance of developing a shared understanding and vocabulary for thinking about caring, a clear commitment to helping teachers build that into their pedagogy and classroom practice in meaningful and authentic ways and finally a recognition that caring is much more than what teachers do for students but rather it underpins a dynamic relationship which is not uni-directional from top to bottom, but multi-directional and connecting all those involved in the school community. Certainly it was the view of the research team in this school that the impact of this approach was particularly impressive and almost tangible. One of the research team made the following note whilst reflecting on the school visit.

There was a lot of positivity about the school, the system and the students. It was evident from interviews that the staff had very positive emotions about the students and that they saw these positive feelings reflected amongst students themselves. There was a clear belief amongst the staff that 'caring' is fundamentally what education is about.

[Research Team Member, Reflective Notes]

However, what was also significant was the way in which this commitment to caring was in turn reflected in very practical and operational measures within the schools. For example, one school recognised the specific needs of students whose parents might be living away and had therefore put in a place a 'guardian coordinator' who works with the local guardianship families to ensure that those

students (whose parents are not in the country) are well supported. As one teacher in the school commented – the school “extends itself” to ensure that children who may have specific pastoral needs are suitably supported.

In presenting this data we are not suggesting Schools Alpha and Beta were appreciably more effective at promoting caring within their establishments. As the data indicates, the pattern of student outcomes across the different dimensions of caring that we explored revealed that no school or schools consistently scored higher across all indicators. However, Schools Alpha and Beta do stand out on several scores and therefore it is worth identifying some of the particular features of these schools that might have contributed to these outcomes.

6.8 Conclusion

To summarise, by creating a richer language around Care; by providing well-structured training and documentation on effective role modelling; and by broadening Caring to encompass confirmation and being Cared for, the IBO could enhance the Caring education offered by IBO schools. In doing so, it would be compounding the benefits that many schools already seem to gain from the Learner Profile in helping them to set Caring behaviour at the centre of these schools. It is clear that this is most successfully achieved where there is a strong leadership centralising such values in the day-to-day life of the schools.

There was a consensus across our case-study schools that curriculum specifications about Caring would be unwelcome; for instance, one School Director explained to us his view:

I wouldn't endorse trying to legislate how 'caring' is lived out in a community and I think that it would be viewed as artificial if it weren't coming from within.

[School Director Interview]

Another School Director expressed his opposition to prescription on the grounds that diversity within the IB community is important:

I think that it is important that schools be allowed that flexibility to develop the...their own ways of doing these things and if...if we make it into a standardised model then...the whole process becomes a bit anodyne and...you know...you want variety and I mean...we are all different and schools are different...and we don't want to make it into a mould of everybody looking exactly the same...because then there is no point and let's go somewhere else...and we would take on a different educational system ...yeah... you need your own flexibility to be able to do whatever you want to do...within the broad guidelines of what the IB supplies.

[School Director Interview]

School leaders and teachers were, however, intrigued that the IBO had commissioned research on this area, and expressed a wish to find out about what happened in other schools in relation to implementing the Learner Profile. This was particularly important to teachers who were new to teaching the IB curriculum, and had no IB experience with a previous school to compare to their current one. Overall, then, whilst it is clear that schools do not want detailed prescriptions about how to incorporate Caring into their curriculum, further advice and guidance in this area could be beneficial.

Currently, schools value the emphasis the IBO gives to holistic education in general, and pro-social learning in particular, through the Learner Profile. They value the flexibility they are currently given to enact this in their own community, and see the importance of school leadership in enabling them to respond flexibly to cultural differences at national and school level. However, there is scope for guidance on effective modelling and dialogue, and a richer language for ensuring continuity in discussing pro-social behaviour across IB schools.

7. Conclusions and summary

This study has sought to develop a better understanding of the role of caring and Caring within IB programmes, across the continuum from 3-19. Caring is one of the attributes identified within the IB Learner Profile and hence can be considered one of the 'core values' of what it means to be an IB student, and one of the defining features of what it means to be an IB school.

Within the study the research has sought to establish to what extent IB students in the case study schools demonstrated a disposition of Caring, and there is also an attempt to establish to what extent students are encouraged to develop a disposition of caring through the activities and opportunities they are engaged in, and exposed to, in the course of their schooling. The study has also sought to identify the school practices that contribute to schools developing an ethic of care in their interactions with students, but with staff and the wider community also.

Within the study, survey data demonstrated that students scored highly when rated on the extent to which they demonstrated perspective taking, empathic concern and a range of attitudes and behaviours linked to caring. Whilst the report cannot claim to demonstrate that students following IB programmes are more inclined to demonstrate a disposition towards being caring the research evidence suggests that students in the case study schools display a commitment to an ethic of care. What was significant in the data is that scores are very largely consistent across IB programmes with little evidence to suggest that students in different programmes are inclined to be more or less caring. The survey did suggest that students in the Diploma Programme were less likely to score highly on perspective taking, and also their perceptions of being 'taught' to care. This may reflect some age-related issues whereby students at this stage in their schooling necessarily become focused on a narrower conception of academic success. This was certainly reflected in the views of some DP teachers who indicated considerable pressure in this programme to support students' academic achievement.

More significant than individual programmes were the differences between individual schools. Within the sample of six case study schools, students from two schools had higher self-ratings in relation to both caring dispositions and the

factors that might contribute to an increased disposition to care. These were not large differences but the data reported does demonstrate discernible differences. These two schools (Alpha and Beta in this report and discussed specifically in 6.7.3) consistently demonstrated higher levels of student self-ratings of caring (as expressed through the perspective taking, empathic concern and caring behaviour measures), and students also rated more highly their schools' efforts to develop caring attitudes and dispositions within them (in terms of fostering a caring school environment, teaching the pupils to be more caring, and facilitating caring behaviour in school).

We are cautious in our conclusions here, and we recognise a number of complicating factors. However, the data does suggest that where schools are able to actively 'promote' caring (through creating an appropriate environment, through the practices of teachers in their teaching and by creating opportunities for pupils to engage in caring activities) then it is possible to develop more caring dispositions amongst students. Although our claims are tentative in this regard we do believe the data attests to the capacity schools have to make differences, and hence why it is important to be able to identify the practices schools develop that appear to contribute directly to developing this aspect of the Learner Profile.

That the survey data points to the differences that individual schools can make to developing dispositions of caring amongst young people attests to the importance of understanding individual school practices and how these may help 'make a difference'.

This study highlighted the importance of school practices in a number of different areas and in this conclusion we summarise these under three headings. Within these headings we seek to draw on Nodding's four dimensions of an ethical curriculum that promotes caring – through modelling, dialogue, practice and confirmation.

7.1 Mobilising the curriculum

Whilst it was acknowledged that developing dispositions of caring in young people may be considered a perfectly ordinary or natural aspiration of any curriculum it

was the view of many people we interviewed that the IB affords possibilities to make caring a central concern of schooling. The place of caring within the Learner Profile affords a status and privilege to caring that encourages teachers to place a commitment to caring at the core of their teaching. Indeed the survey data suggests that IB programmes may be more likely to encourage the place of formal caring activities within the curriculum. However, whilst it can be easy to make rhetorical commitments to caring (who would claim not to care, or to want to educate young people not to care?) what is clear is that the reality can be very different. All the schools in this study displayed a strong ethic of care, but all schools function in a globalised world that is becoming more competitive, and in many respects, more individualised. We recognise these developments look different in different places, but there are global pressures in education discourse to win the 'race to the top'. We do not wish to over-simplify these issues but it is important to recognise tendencies that can result in a concern with 'me'. Challenging that ideology requires an emphasis on the social as well as the individual – a concern for community and for society.

The view presented to us by teachers in particular was that IB programmes facilitate this emphasis on community. Approaches to teaching and assessment for example see both these dimensions of pedagogical practice as fundamentally social. It is our contention that there is further scope within the IB programmes for the IBO to support teachers in further developing teaching approaches and activities which foster the language of care. In making this recommendation we return to Noddings' framework and particularly her emphasis on the bi-directional, supportive, and therefore social methods of dialogue, practice and confirmation, through which teachers can help students develop Caring.

Our research highlights the need for teachers to exploit the opportunities provided by IB programmes to ensure that a commitment to caring is central to learning. The Learner Profile legitimates this activity, and the agency afforded to teachers within IB programmes opens up spaces to approach caring in creative ways. However, it remains important to 'protect' this dimension of the curriculum, especially in later years, when examination pressures intensify and there is a danger that students look in rather than out. This focus on the role of caring in the curriculum at different stages of a student's education also emphasises the

need to focus on progression within and across IB programmes. Whilst this did not emerge as a significant issue in the research it is clear that attention needs to be paid to coherence in how Caring is addressed through the curriculum and especially where this involves cross-phase transitions. For example, the way the Learner Profile is used in different programmes does look and feel quite different, particularly with regard to Caring. Between the MYP and DP programmes this is not so marked, as many teachers teach across that divide. Hence differences feel more seamless. However, there is usually very little staff ‘cross-over’ between PYP and MYP programmes, and this was identified by some teachers as an area that requires more attention, so that teachers in the different programmes develop a better understanding of how the Learner Profile is used by their colleagues, and so that students can benefit from the holistic education afforded by the Learner Profile across the continuum and throughout their time in an IB World School.

7.2 Caring within and beyond the school

The research presented in this report indicated a number of distinctive ways in which international education, and the context of an international school, provide rich opportunities to develop an ethic of caring. Schools within this study varied in their student profiles, and the extent to which their student populations were drawn from local, or more international, communities. Where student bodies were diverse there was considerable evidence of students ‘looking out for each other’, recognising that everyone can benefit from supportive cultures. This highlighted that caring can often be driven by self-interest – creating an organisational culture in which cultural diversity is respected and where students are supported can be borne of rational self-interest on the part of students who fear their own potential isolation in environments that struggle to embrace difference. In presenting this example we are not being critical of caring borne of self-interest. On the contrary, this example illustrates caring is about much more than apparently selfless acts of generosity, but can reflect very pragmatic considerations of mutualism and reciprocity in which caring for each other is seen as an obvious and logical organising principle for a community or society. The merit of such an approach is that it repositions caring as an act of social solidarity, rather than an act of charity. In Noddings’ terms, it is modelling in its most meaningful and direct interpretation.

As students in international schools, being part of an international education movement and being involved in education programmes with an explicit commitment to develop 'international mindedness' it was clear that there were often excellent opportunities to demonstrate caring at an international level. For example, the IB's commitment to develop international mindedness encourages teachers and schools to engage with the big global challenges of the day, and to seek to address these through practical actions. One obvious such example, but which illustrates the case powerfully, is the concept of climate change and environmental degradation. Understanding such issues necessarily involves an international, and indeed an internationalist, outlook as environmental destruction clearly transcends national borders. Understanding the types of steps necessary to arrest environmental destruction requires a deep understanding of complex natural scientific and social scientific processes that cannot be understood without an international outlook. Caring for the planet is by definition a global enterprise. However, such an outlook was also often connected to practical steps at a local level whereby students could experience, and express, caring in the form of practical actions and indeed activism. Hence local actions connected with recycling provided opportunities to link the local and the global and students were able to connect a macro level understanding of a global challenge, with their own micro level practice as a manifestation of caring.

The core principles of the IB programmes helped make these connections and the research provided many excellent examples of how schools worked to develop these connections.

However, the research also revealed some of the challenges faced by schools in some contexts as they tried to connect with their local communities. This issue varied by school, and reflected a number of local contextual issues, but at several points in the study interviewees referred to their school community as detached from their local community. In most cases, case study schools were not community schools in the sense that their students were drawn from a defined geographical boundary, usually with the school located centrally within a 'catchment area'. Rather, student populations were drawn from wider geographical areas, often with students having very little immediate contact with

the school's local community. This situation was compounded in instances where students were more transient, and more likely to move due, usually, to changes in parents' employment circumstances. Whilst all these developments are understandable given their circumstances they did create the danger of schools becoming quite insular in relation to their immediate local community. On more than one occasion interviewees (in different schools) referred to their school as a 'bubble' in which students were cut off from young people their own age who lived near the school – and often in very different circumstances.

This phenomenon, which was uneven, but not uncommon, highlighted the need to see caring as something active (that 'caring' on its own is insufficient) but also something that can require courage. In this sense we distinguish between caring actions that are safe (which may describe many fund raising activities for national and international charities) and those which may be considered more 'risk taking' (such as the peer-tutor partnership with local schools that we witnessed in one area). We believe these latter examples offer the possibility of doing more than providing practical support, but also offer the possibility of being genuinely transformative for those involved, providing those students with opportunities for 'confirmation' as defined within Noddings' (1986) framework. Such experiences are those that remove us from our safe zone, and connect us with challenges and experiences that challenge our assumptions and identities. Caring actions have enormous potential to achieve this, but only if they are more than acts of charity, but also acts of courage.

7.3 Creating a culture of caring

Throughout this study one of the features that emerged most strongly is that a disposition to care amongst young people is best developed in schools where caring is woven into the fabric of the institution. This emerged very strongly in all the schools we worked with. Caring was not seen as purely an outcome to be achieved, and it certainly was not seen as a 'luxury' – something to do in addition to the *real business* of schooling. Caring was seen as fundamental to learning – a pre-condition without which effective learning was much less likely to take place. Precisely because it was considered to be so fundamental it was often considered

that to be effective it needed to permeate everything – both the formal and the informal curriculum.

The notion of caring as integral to the culture of the case study schools emphasised the importance of leadership and the need for leaders in the school to positively forge the culture they wished to see in the school. Principally this involved the modelling of caring, and time and again teachers and students emphasised the need for all to demonstrate the desired culture through practical actions. Whilst the importance of modelling desired behaviour is widely recognised (although as we argue in this report, also insufficiently understood and under-theorised) it is perhaps the fundamental nature of caring that made the modelling of caring behaviour to be considered so important by so many. Leaders had a critical role in setting this tone within their institutions and leadership emerged as a key factor in creating the conditions in which caring cultures could flourish. By leaders we do not restrict our comments to school principals, although clearly they are crucial, but include all those who may be considered to have leadership roles, whether formal or informal.

One obvious manifestation of the importance of leadership in relation to the culture of an organisation from the perspective of those who work in it was the importance of the school as 'caring employer', and that those in leadership positions demonstrated a clear commitment to caring for their staff. Perhaps understandably, this was considered important by staff, but it is important to recognise that pressures within school systems that we have identified previously (the drive for measurement and quantification) can also manifest themselves in approaches to employees. Trends towards a much more hard-nosed managerialism in school leadership are widely recognised, and in such circumstances there can be tendency to believe that the employer does not care about employees, or cares more about targets or institutional reputation, rather than the individuals who work and study in the organisation (Stevenson and Wood, 2013). Within the case study schools it was highlighted that employees need to experience 'confirmation' (Noddings, 1986); in other words they need to feel cared for, and supported in that sense of being cared-for, if they in turn are to care for others. In this sense the ethos of the IB more widely was seen as standing at odds

with the drive towards instrumentalism and managerialism that is increasingly prevalent in many other school systems (Sahlberg, 2010).

7.4 End note - Caring as the heart of teaching: caring at the heart of learning

Within this report we have sought to highlight the importance of caring within IB programmes and the role that it plays. In our conclusion we wish to make the case for caring as the 'bedrock of all successful education' (Noddings, 2005).

Throughout the study the central role of caring in teaching has been a recurring theme. Effective teaching is rooted in a passion for teaching, and if passion is about anything it is about caring. However, caring in teaching must be about more than a passion for teaching (which may be driven by selfish pride as much as by more noble aspirations) but it must fundamentally be about caring *for* students. Teachers demonstrate their commitment to students through pedagogical practices that provide tangible evidence that they care for students. In so doing teachers develop confidence in students and we see student confidence as the pre-condition for learning. If students feel confident in themselves they are more likely to take the risks that push the boundaries of their learning. However, we see this happening most effectively when students have confidence in their teachers. Such confidence has many dimensions but central to it is a recognition that the teacher *cares* for the student. It is the ethic of care, which builds the trust, that in turn provides the confidence from which students take risks and learn. This is why we argue that caring is not a desirable 'extra' but a pedagogical imperative.

However, care is not something that flows in one direction from teacher to student, but should be seen as an aspect of organisational culture that must radiate in all directions. Caring makes a difference when everyone in a community (however defined) recognises their responsibility to care for everyone else. Such an approach to caring emphasises that caring is fundamental to promoting collective welfare. Caring is necessarily relational – it is social. We may look after ourselves

– but we care for others – and it is by caring for others that we look after ourselves in the much broader context of our collective welfare. That is why we argue that caring must always be seen as more than engaging in charity, which although important is necessarily limited, reflecting as it does a uni-directional vision of caring. Rather we argue that caring should be reframed in the context of social solidarity in which individual self-interest is under-pinned by a commitment to reciprocity and the common good.

The pedagogical principles that underpin IB programmes recognise, and indeed emphasise, that learning is a social process. Such learning must be underpinned by an ethic of care, in which all those involved as teachers and students share an interest in supporting the learning of each other. This study has highlighted the importance of creating cultures in schools that have at their base an ethic of care.

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Appendix 1: The survey

Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

Welcome to the University of Nottingham Pro-Social Behaviour Survey 2014

Thank you for taking part in this survey. The survey should take approximately 15 minutes to complete, and asks a series of questions about you and your experiences at school.

The research is being funded by the International Baccalaureate Organisation and is part of a wider study looking at the 5-18 curriculum in International Schools.

Please note that all of your answers are anonymous and confidential; that means we will not use your name, and we will not tell anybody else the answers you give us. None of the information you provide can or will be used to identify you.

You are able to withdraw from this research at any time, and can stop the survey simply by closing the browser window.

If you are happy to proceed, please read the statements below carefully. Please note that by clicking 'next', you are confirming your agreement with each of these statements:

- I understand what this research is about
- I have received clear information about the project
- I understand that I can decide not to participate

If you agree with these statements, please click 'next', and we will get started!

About you...

First, we would like to ask some questions about you. For each statement below, please indicate how well you feel it describes you by choosing the appropriate number on the scale. 1 means that you feel that the statement isn't like you at all, and 5 means that you feel the statement is very much like you.

1. I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the other person's point of view.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

2. I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

3. I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

4. If I'm sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to other people's arguments.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

5. I believe that there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

6. When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to 'put myself in their shoes' for a while.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

7. Before criticising somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

8. I often have compassionate, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

9. Sometimes I don't feel sorry for other people when they are having problems.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

10. When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective towards them.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

11. Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

12. When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

13. I am often quite touched (or moved) by things that I see happen.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

14. I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

15. I am helpful at home.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

16. I do volunteering work.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

More about you...

17. I have helped raise money for charity.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

18. I like doing jobs around the home.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

19. I'm good at helping my friends when they need me.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

20. When I see someone has dropped something, I'll tell them about it.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

21. I try to recycle as much as possible.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

22. I take part in school activities that aim to protect the environment.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

23. I enjoy raising money for charity.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

24. If I see someone who has fallen over, I'll ask if they're OK.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

25. I enjoy doing charity work for people overseas.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

26. I help other people with their schoolwork.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

27. I like to look after other people.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

28. I do things to help run my school.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

29. I am interested in learning about things happening to people in other countries.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

30. I feel I want to do something when I learn about disasters on the news.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

31. I take part in school activities to help people less fortunate than me.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

32. I take part in activities outside school to help people less fortunate than me.

1 - This isn't like me at all 2 3 4 5 - This is very much like me

Your School

Next we'd like to ask you some questions about how you feel at your school. Please read each statement below carefully, and tell us how well you feel the statements reflect your feelings on the scale below. A 1 means that you don't feel like this at all. A 5 means that you very much feel this way.

33. I feel cared for at my school.

1 - I don't feel this way at all 2 3 4 5 - I very much feel this way

34. I feel respected at my school.

1 - I don't feel this way at all 2 3 4 5 - I very much feel this way

35. I feel valued at my school.

1 - I don't feel this way at all 2 3 4 5 - I very much feel this way

36. I feel important at my school.

1 - I don't feel this way at all 2 3 4 5 - I very much feel this way

37. I feel encouraged at my school.

1 - I don't feel this way at all 2 3 4 5 - I very much feel this way

38. I feel supported at my school.

1 - I don't feel this way at all 2 3 4 5 - I very much feel this way

39. I feel that I can be myself at my school.

1 - I don't feel this way at all 2 3 4 5 - I very much feel this way

40. I feel trusted at my school.

1 - I don't feel this way at all 2 3 4 5 - I very much feel this way

41. I feel listened to at my school.

1 - I don't feel this way at all 2 3 4 5 - I very much feel this way

42. I feel that students care for each other at my school.

1 - I don't feel this way at all 2 3 4 5 - I very much feel this way

More on your school

That's great - you're halfway through! Now we'd like to ask you some questions about what is learned at your school. Thinking carefully about the learning at your school, please tell us whether or not you agree or disagree with the statements below, using the 1-5 scale. A 1 means that you strongly disagree, while a 5 means that you strongly agree.

43. At school we learn to care about other people.

1 - Strongly Disagree 2 3 4 5 - Strongly Agree

44. At school we learn to be helpful to others.

1 - Strongly Disagree 2 3 4 5 - Strongly Agree

45. At school we learn to be considerate of other people's needs.

1 - Strongly Disagree 2 3 4 5 - Strongly Agree

46. At school we learn to be thoughtful about others.

1 - Strongly Disagree 2 3 4 5 - Strongly Agree

47. At school we learn to think about people in other countries who are less fortunate.

1 - Strongly Disagree 2 3 4 5 - Strongly Agree

48. At school we learn to do things to protect the environment.

1 - Strongly Disagree 2 3 4 5 - Strongly Agree

What do you do at your school?

Next we'd like to ask you about events and activities you might have been involved with at your school. Please tell us below whether or not you have ever been involved in any of the events or activities listed during your time at school.

49. Collected donations (such as clothes, toys or food) for charity

Yes No

50. Helped the environment

Yes No

51. Had speakers talk about bullying

Yes No

52. Had speakers talk about environmental concerns

Yes No

53. Encouraged recycling

Yes No

54. Helped me learn about people worse off than myself

Yes No

55. Given me opportunities to help people worse off than myself

Yes No

56. Helped me figure out ways to help my fellow students in class

Yes No

57. Helped me figure out ways to help my fellow students in the playground

Yes No

58. Raised money for charity

Yes No

About you...

That's great! We're almost finished. Just a few final questions about you and we're done.

59. What is the name of your school?

60. Are you...

Male

Female

Prefer not to say/Other

61. How old are you?

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

Prefer not to say

62. How many languages can you speak comfortably? (By that we mean in how many languages could you hold a simple conversation with another person?)

63. In which country were you born?

64. Please tell us your country of residence (this could be the same country in which you go to school, or different)

65. Which of the following best describes your religion?

- I belong to a religion
- I do not belong to a religion
- I have religious beliefs, but do not belong to a religion
- Prefer not to say

Thank you!

That's it! Thank you for taking the time to complete our survey. Please remember that all of your answers will be treated confidentially, and your anonymity will be protected. If you have any questions or concerns about the survey, or about your responses to the questions, you can contact Professor Howard Stevenson at any time, at howard.stevenson@nottingham.ac.uk.

Thank you!

Appendix 2: Can we isolate the effect of School and/or IB Programme from individual characteristics?

Chapter 5 demonstrated that there is evidence of small yet significant differences between the students in various schools or on various IB programmes in terms of their expression of caring and pro-social attitudes and behaviour, their perception of the caring environment in which they are taught, and their perception of the extent to which they are directly taught to be more caring. Chapter 5 also pointed out, however, that while such differences are evidence of the potential for there to be positive effects from the schools or IB programmes examined in this research on how caring and pro-social a given student could be, they alone are insufficient to confidently conclude that such a causal relationship exists. One of the objectives of this research project has been to identify potential causal mechanisms through the triangulation of qualitative research methods with the findings of the quantitative analysis of the survey data. Another potential approach, however, is to conduct a slightly more detailed examination of the survey data to see if greater potential for such a causal relationship exists; an example of such an examination is provided in this Appendix.

As has been noted throughout this report, there are many characteristics which have little or nothing to do with a given individual's school or IB programme of study but which could conceivably effect how caring or pro-social they are. As the literature review of this study has noted, there is relatively little known about the causes of caring and pro-social attitudes and predispositions in the extant research, and this has complicated the capacity of this study to isolate potential causal factors. The existing literature does point, however, towards differences in caring and pro-social behaviour on the basis of individual characteristics such as gender – for instance, Davis (1980) suggested that interpersonal reactivity could be different for men and women, and Affinnih (1997) has suggested that social alienation (which would be reflected in how caring and pro-social a given individual may be at a given moment in time) is also influenced by personal characteristics including gender and age. The Pro-Social Behaviour survey gathered data on the age and gender of survey respondents; by estimating the effect of attending a given school, or of studying on a given IB programme, on caring and pro-social attitudes and behaviour while simultaneously accounting for the influence of such

individual characteristics as these, therefore, it is possible to try to isolate the effect of attending a school or being on a particular IB programme. This in turn can either reinforce or undermine the validity of causal claims about the impact of attending a certain school or studying on a certain IB programme on how caring and pro-social a given individual is derived from examining the data presented in Chapter 5.

- **Regression Analysis**

A suitable method for examining this question is regression analysis. Regression analyses essentially allow for the effect of an independent or predictor variable (such as the school a given student attends) on a given dependent variable (such as how caring or pro-social they are) to be estimated, while simultaneously accounting for the influence of other factors (such as age or gender). Regression analysis can also provide an estimate of whether or not a given effect is statistically significant. Through using regression analysis, therefore, the effect of attending a certain school or of studying a certain IB programme on a dimension of caring can be estimated while controlling for other potentially important characteristics, and the significance of that effect (i.e. the extent to which it can be considered meaningful) can also be estimated at the same time.

- **Example: Caring in Daily Life**

To provide an illustrative example of whether or not accounting for characteristics such as age and gender has a substantial impact on the capacity of the data in this report to suggest a causal relationship between attending a particular school and how caring and pro-social a student is, the 'caring in daily life' dimension will be examined using regression analysis (see section 4.3.2 for details on this dimension). This variable is selected simply because it has by far the greatest range (the potential score for the variable ranges from 17 to 85), meaning that there will be greater variance between the individual respondents. It is also the dimension in which some of the greatest differences between schools were found, and so gives the greatest opportunity to identify explanations for those differences through examining the influence of school, age and gender.

Table 60 below presents the results of the regression analysis. The dependent variable was the 'caring in daily life' composite variable; the predictor variables are school, age (which has a range from under 10 to 17 or over), and gender (with a score of 0 meaning 'male' and 1 meaning 'female'). In order to estimate the effect of attending a given school on how caring in daily life survey respondents were typically found to be, a 'baseline' school had to be identified i.e. one school had to be selected against which the effect of attending each of the other schools could be compared. School Alpha was selected for this purpose, meaning that each school coefficient shows the impact on the average 'caring in daily life' score for survey respondents of attending that particular school compared with the effect of attending school Alpha.

The age coefficient can be interpreted as showing the impact of ageing by 1 year on the average 'caring in daily life' score of the survey respondents. The gender coefficient can be interpreted as showing the effect of being female on the average 'caring in daily life' score compared with the effect of being male (male is identified as the baseline category).

Table 60: Regression analysis: Effect of school, age and gender on caring in daily life

Care in Daily Life School (Base: Alpha)	Model I		Model II	
	Coef	Std Err	Coef	Std Err
Beta	0.35	0.86	-0.33	0.86
Gamma	-6.17***	0.81	-7.04***	0.82
Delta	-5.36***	0.90	-5.88***	0.90
Epsilon	-2.71***	0.71	-3.73***	0.73
Zeta	-1.90*	0.84	-3.20***	0.90
Age			0.37**	0.13
Gender			4.79***	0.50
Constant	61.05***	0.45	54.27***	1.66
Obs	2043		1936	
Prob > F	0.00		0.00	
r-squared	0.04		0.10	
Adj r-squared	0.04		0.09	

Source: OLS regression on Pro-Social Behaviour Survey data.

* - p-value <0.05; ** - p-value <0.01; *** - p-value <0.001

The first model in the middle column of the table shows the coefficients for just the schools; in other words, it shows the effects of attending any of the listed schools on the average 'care in daily life' score of the survey respondents, compared with the effect of attending School Alpha. The conclusions are consistent with the findings in the main report whereby students in schools Alpha and Beta typically score higher for the 'care in daily life' dimension than those elsewhere; students in Epsilon and Zeta score somewhere in the middle of the range; and students in Gamma and Delta have the lowest scores (there was no indication of any differences based on IB programme, and so the influence of the programme has not been explored in the regression analysis).

The coefficients in the table produce similar results: the non-significant coefficient of 0.35 shows that there is no significant difference between the effect of attending Beta on how caring in their daily lives the survey respondents rated themselves to be and the effect of attending the baseline school, Alpha. The significant, negative coefficients of -2.7 and -1.9 for Epsilon and Zeta respectively show that students in these schools typically score 2.7 and 1.9 points lower on average on the 'care in daily life' dimension than those in school Alpha – by implication, therefore, these students also typically score lower than students in school Beta. The significant, negative coefficients of -5.4 and -6.1 for Delta and Gamma respectively show that students in these schools typically score the lowest on this measure – they score, on average, 5.4 or 6.1 points lower than students in Alpha, and by implication also score lower than the students in the other three schools. While the statistical significance and magnitude of the differences between schools is suggested to be slightly different in the regression analysis than in the data presented in Figure 38, the overall pattern is the same: students in Alpha and Beta score highest on the measure of being caring in their daily lives, students in Zeta and Epsilon are in the middle of the range, and students in Delta and Gamma score lowest of all.

By introducing the variables for age and gender into the analysis, it is possible to determine a) the effects of age and gender on the typical 'caring in daily life' score, and b) the effects of attending the schools on this score while controlling for the influence of age and gender. Model II in the regression table (in the far right column) presents the results of this analysis.

Looking first at the demographic variables, the age coefficient (statistically significant 0.37) shows that on average, for every single year increase in age (between 10 and 17, the range of the age variable), survey respondents' average 'caring in daily life' score typically increases by 0.37 points. The gender coefficient suggests that gender has a substantial effect on this characteristic as well; the significant, positive coefficient shows that the effect of being female as opposed to being male typically increases respondents' average 'caring in daily life' score by 4.79 points. On average, therefore, older and female respondents are typically more likely to exhibit caring attitudes and behaviour in their daily lives. By controlling for these important factors, the effects of attending different schools

on how caring the survey respondents are in their daily lives is changed somewhat, and we can be more confident that the effect of actually attending the school has been isolated to a clearer extent than before now that the influence of other important factors but which have nothing to do with school attendance have also been controlled for.

The school coefficients in Model II show that school choice is still expected to have a substantial effect on how caring a given survey respondent is in their daily lives. In fact, almost all of the coefficients (except that for Beta) are larger than in Model I, showing that once the influence of age and gender have been accounted for, there is reason to believe that attending a particular school has an even greater effect than initially expected on how caring an individual is in daily life. The coefficient for Beta is -0.33; while it has switched from being positive in Model I to negative in Model II, it remains statistically insignificant, meaning that there is no indication of a meaningful difference in the effect of attending school Beta as opposed to school Alpha on survey respondents' 'caring in daily life' score, even once age and gender are accounted for. The coefficients for Epsilon and Zeta have both become more negative, and are now -3.7 and -3.2 respectively, and both remain statistically significant. The effect of attending Epsilon or Zeta, therefore, on a survey respondents' 'caring in daily life' score once differences in age and gender have been accounted for, as opposed to attending school Alpha, is to depress that score by an average of 3.7 or 3.2 points respectively. Finally, the effect of attending either Delta or Gamma is the same but of stronger magnitude; students attending Delta typically score 5.9 points lower on the 'caring in daily life' measure than those in Alpha, while those in Gamma typically score 7.0 points lower.

These coefficients suggest, therefore, that while a student's age and gender have an important impact on how caring they can typically be expected to be in their daily lives, even once these effects have been accounted for there is still clear evidence of an important effect from attending school. The effect of school is still small – even the greatest difference identified in the analysis (that of 7 points from attending Gamma rather than Alpha in Model II) is fairly small in the context of the full 18 to 85 'caring in daily life' scale. Nonetheless, the results of this analysis suggest that school attendance has an important impact on caring and

pro-social attitudes and behaviour, even once the influence of individual characteristics have been accounted for.

- An effect from the schools or IB programmes?

The purpose of this analysis has been to present an illustrative example of how further validity could be given to claims of a causal effect from attending a specific school, or studying on a particular IB programme, on the caring and pro-social characteristics of school pupils. Building on the arguments of extant research which suggest that individual characteristics such as age and gender could have an important impact on caring and pro-social behaviour, the analysis has shown that such characteristics are indeed important, and that by controlling for them a different estimate of the effect of the school can be calculated. The analysis has also suggested, however, that by controlling for these characteristics, the effect of the school on caring and pro-social behaviour is not completely accounted for (in fact, in this example, its magnitude increases).

For the purposes of making causal claims about the influence of attending a given school or studying on a given IB programme on caring and pro-social behaviour, therefore, this analysis has shown that such claims may well be valid but that account needs to be taken of the influence of other characteristics. Further analyses and research into the relationship between these characteristics could shed considerable light onto the matter of how school and IB programme affects caring and pro-social attitudes and behaviour.

Appendix 3: Individual Survey Items

In this Appendix section, for reference and interest, a descriptive overview of the scores on individual items in the survey is provided, broken down by gender (as this is the demographic variable which shows the greatest variation), school, and IB Programme.

Perspective Taking and Empathic Concern

For these questions, respondents were asked to identify on a scale of 1 – 5 the extent to which they felt that each statement is reflective of them, with 1 indicating that ‘this is not at all like me’, and 5 indicating that ‘this is very much like me’ (although in certain cases this data coding has been reversed – such instances have been identified below).

Note that this data has been recoded so that a higher score implies a greater degree of caring, not a lower degree as the question wording implies.

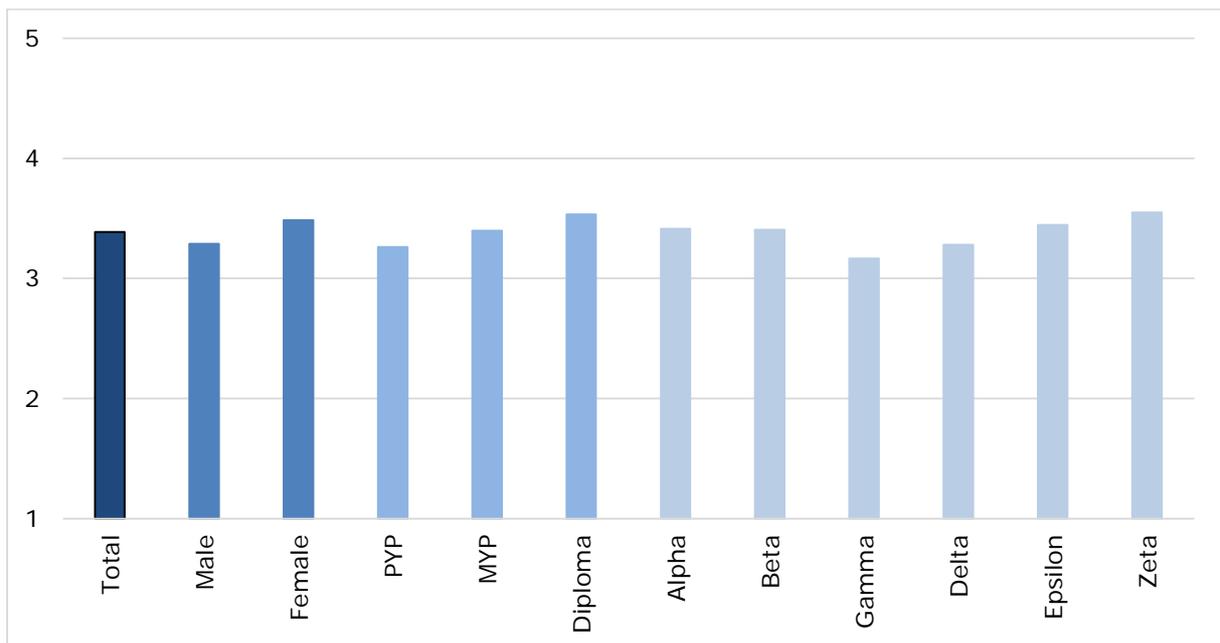


Figure 6: ‘I sometimes find it difficult to see things from the ‘other person’s point of view’

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

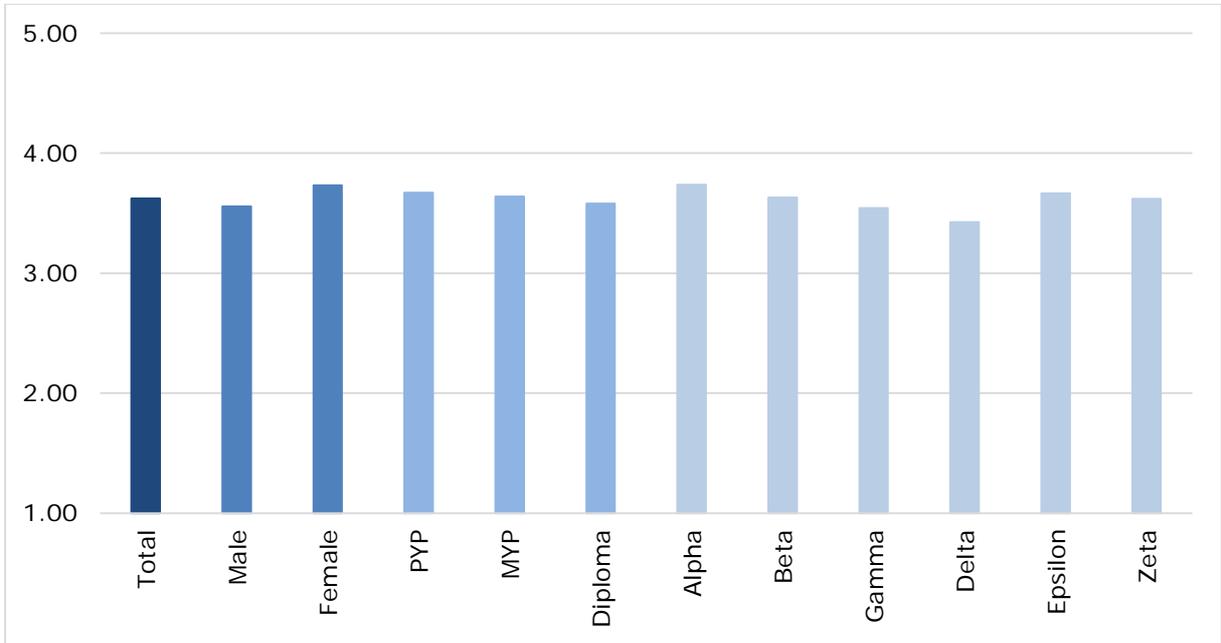


Figure 7: 'I try to look at everybody's side of a disagreement before I make a decision'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

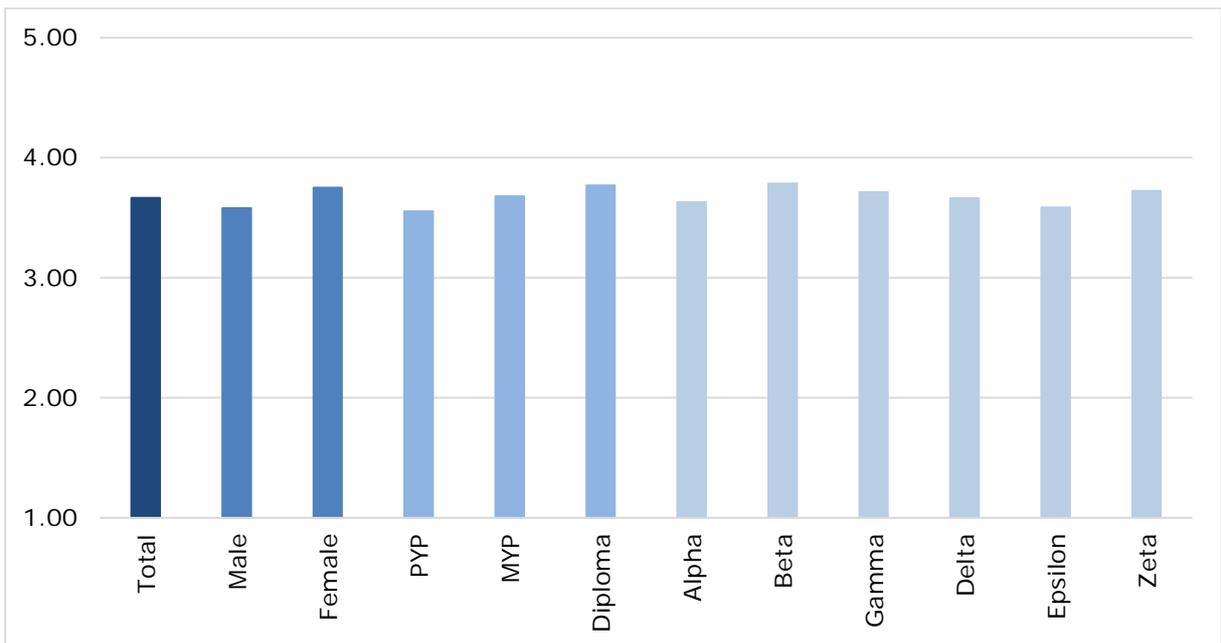


Figure 8: 'I sometimes try to understand my friends better by imagining how things look from their perspective'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

Note that this data has been recoded so that a higher score implies a greater degree of caring, not a lower degree as the question wording implies.

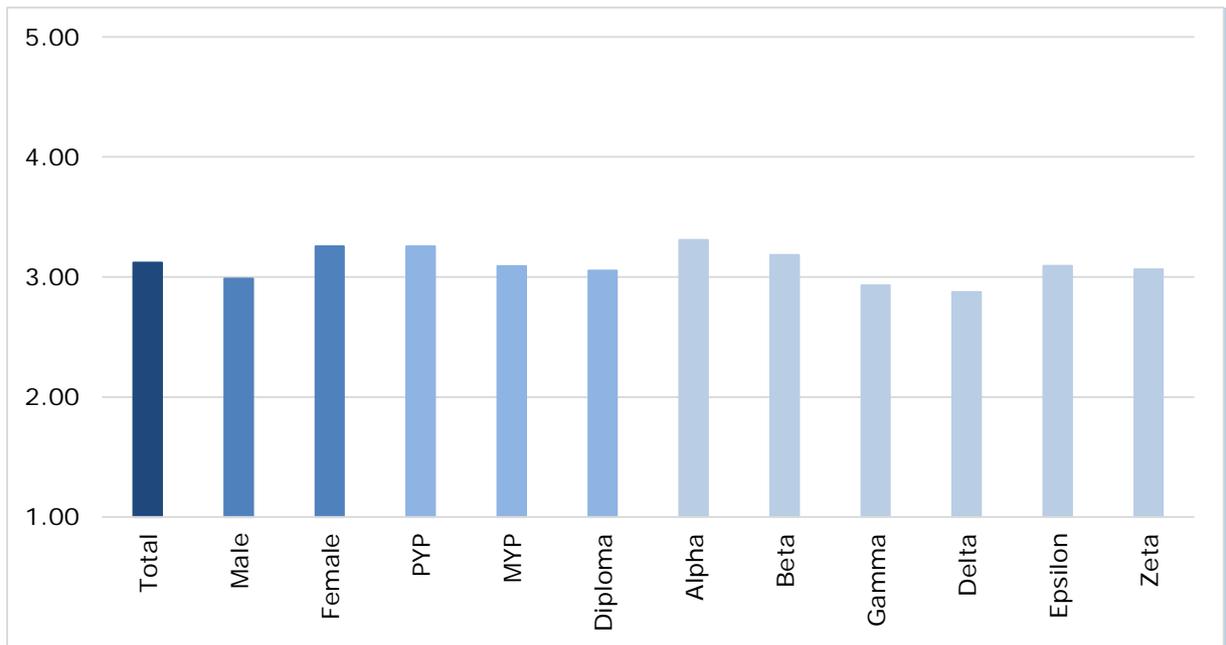


Figure 9: 'If I'm sure I'm right about something, I don't waste much time listening to other people's arguments'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

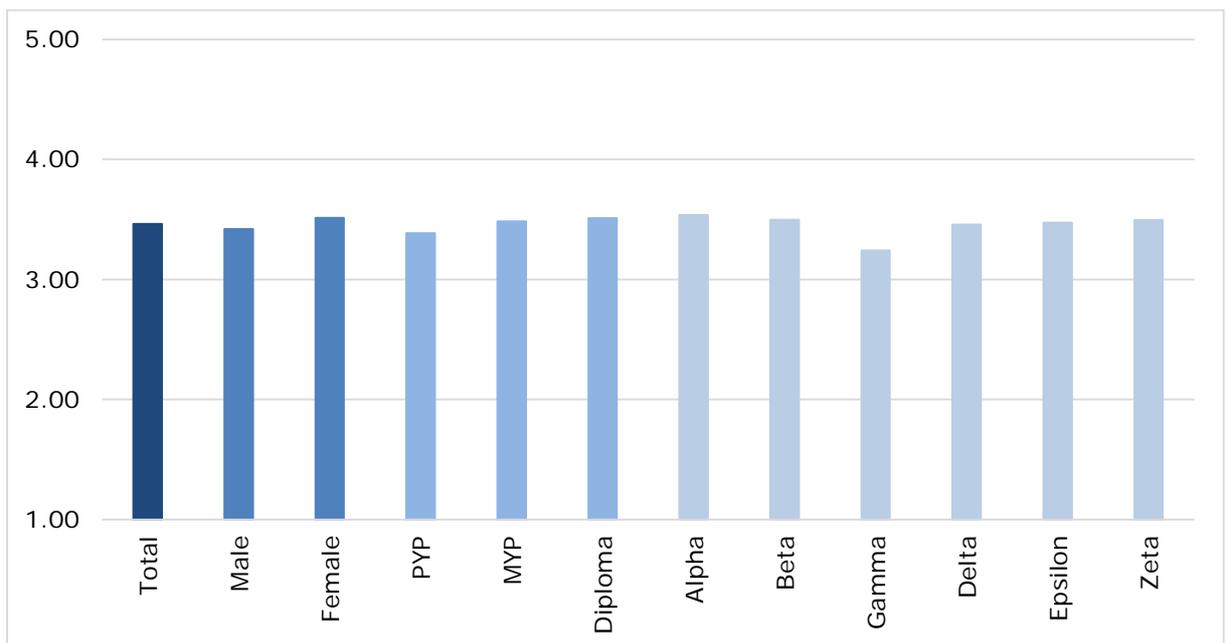


Figure 10: 'I believe there are two sides to every question and try to look at them both'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

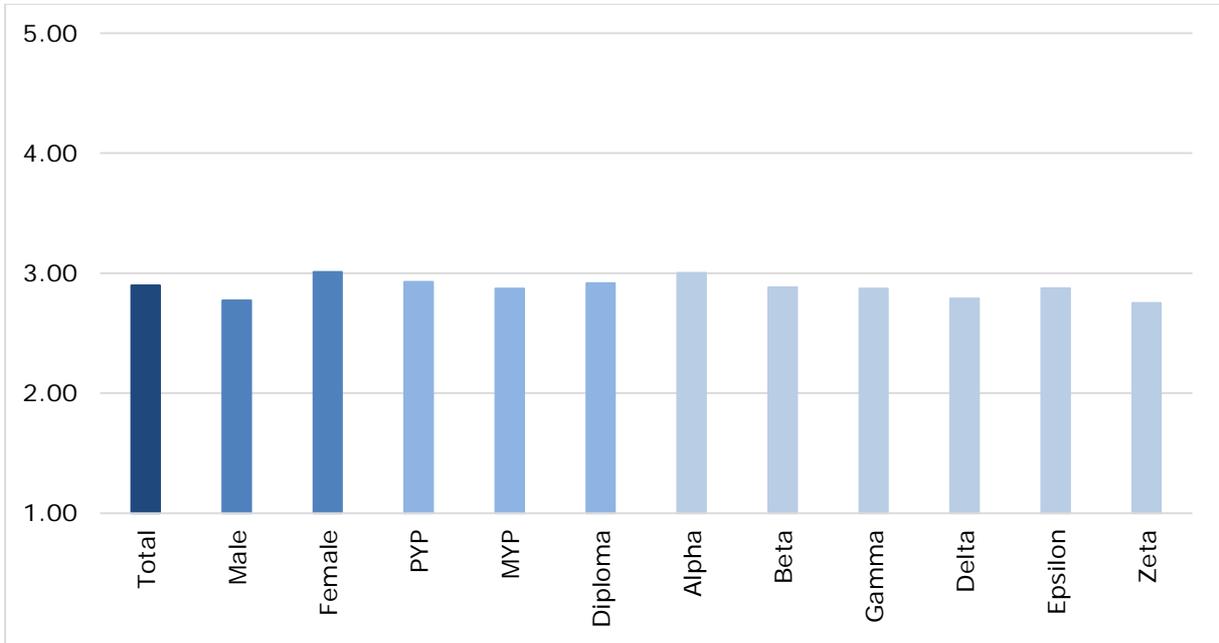


Figure 11: 'When I'm upset at someone, I usually try to "put myself in their shoes" for a while'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

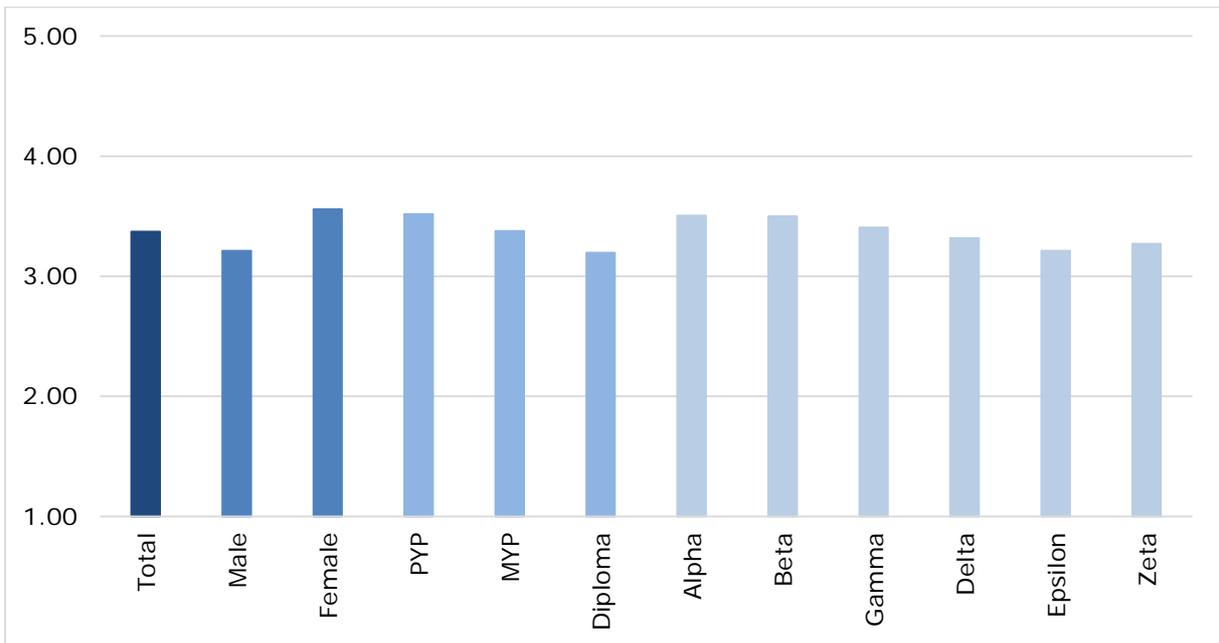


Figure 12: 'Before criticising somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

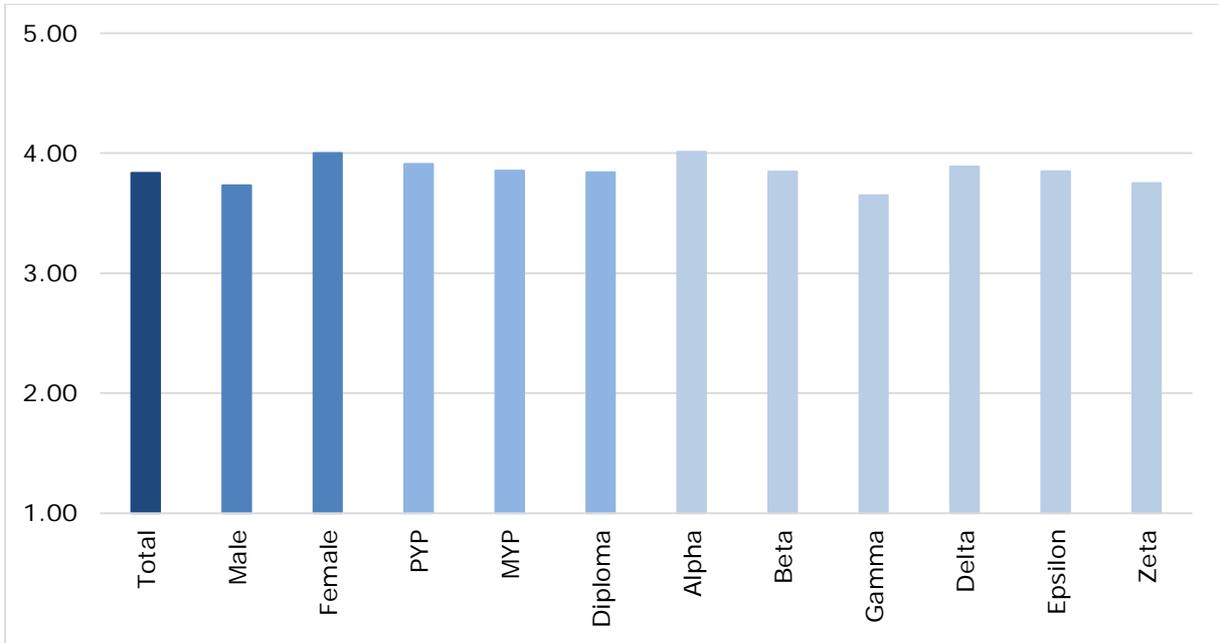


Figure 13: 'I often have compassionate, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

Note that this data has been recoded so that a higher score implies a greater degree of caring, not a lower degree as the question wording implies.

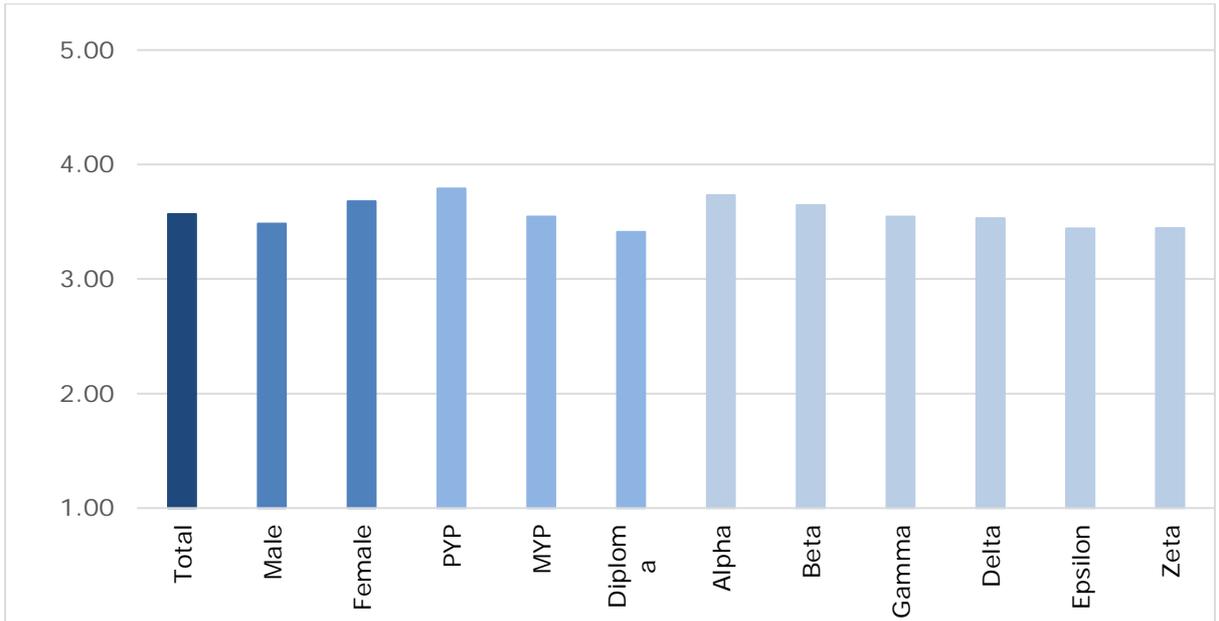


Figure 14: 'Sometimes I don't feel sorry for other people when they are having problems'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

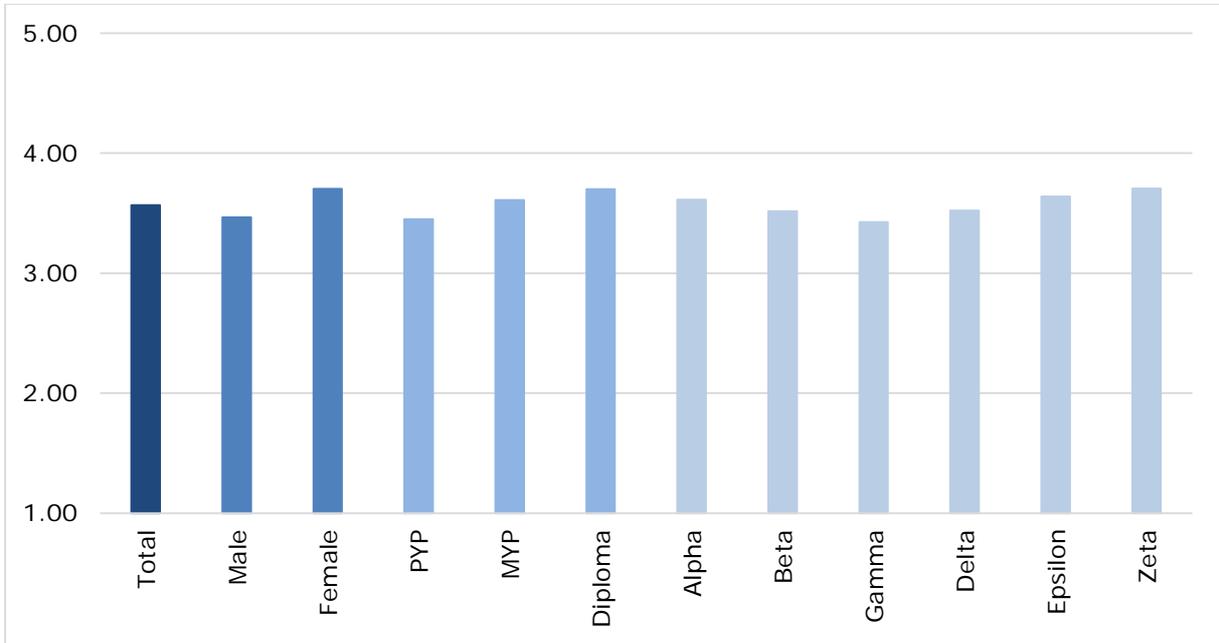


Figure 15: 'When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective towards them'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

Note that this data has been recoded so that a higher score implies a greater degree of caring, not a lower degree as the question wording implies.

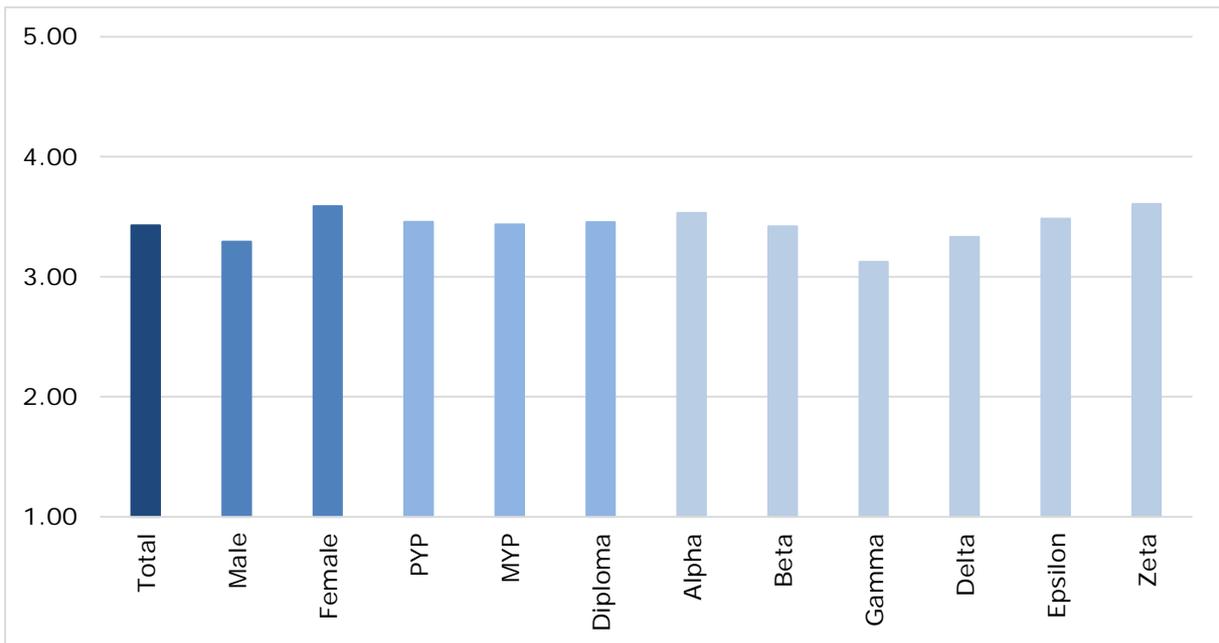


Figure 16: 'Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

Note that this data has been recoded so that a higher score implies a greater degree of caring, not a lower degree as the question wording implies.

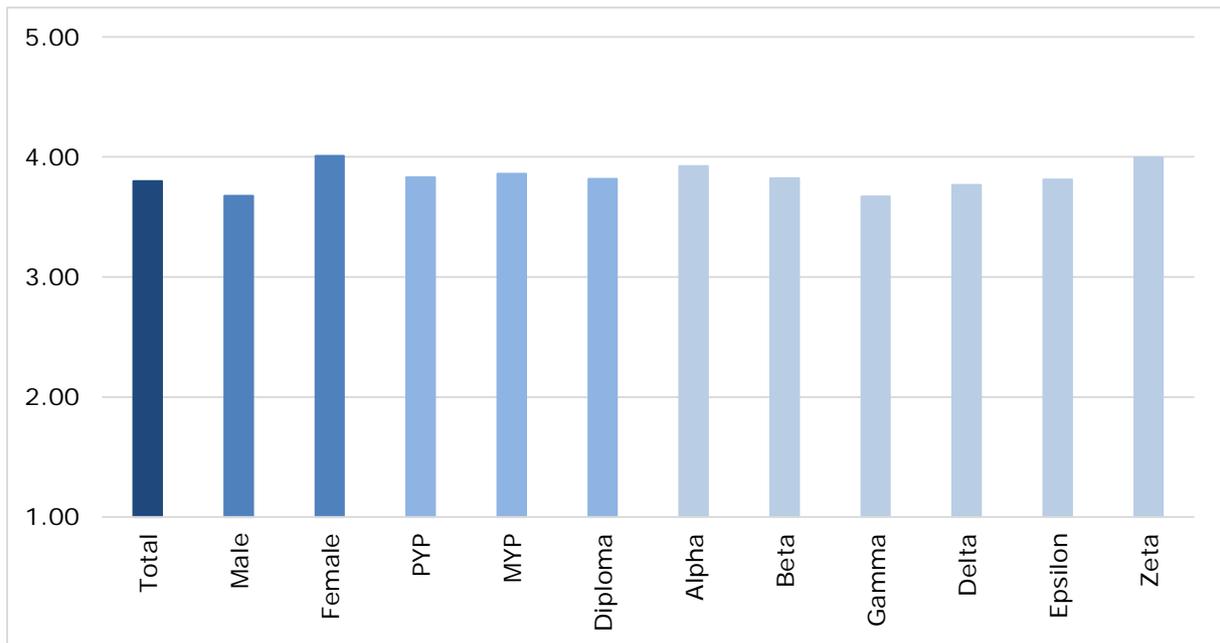


Figure 17: 'When I see someone being treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

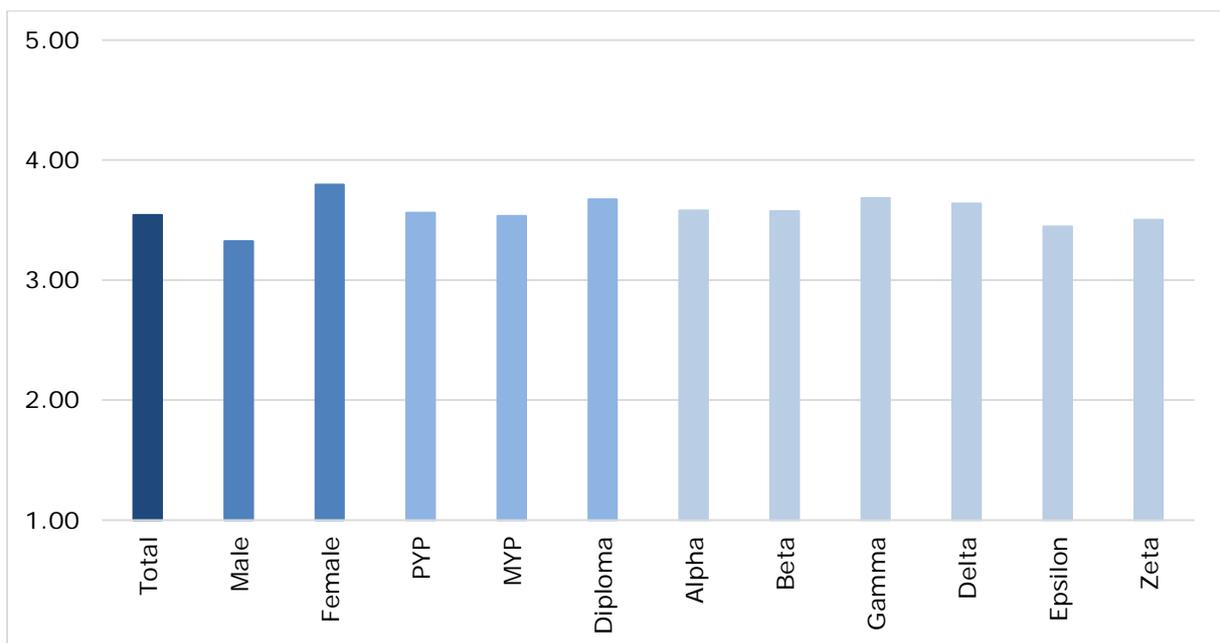


Figure 18: 'I am often quite touched (or moved) by things that I see happen'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

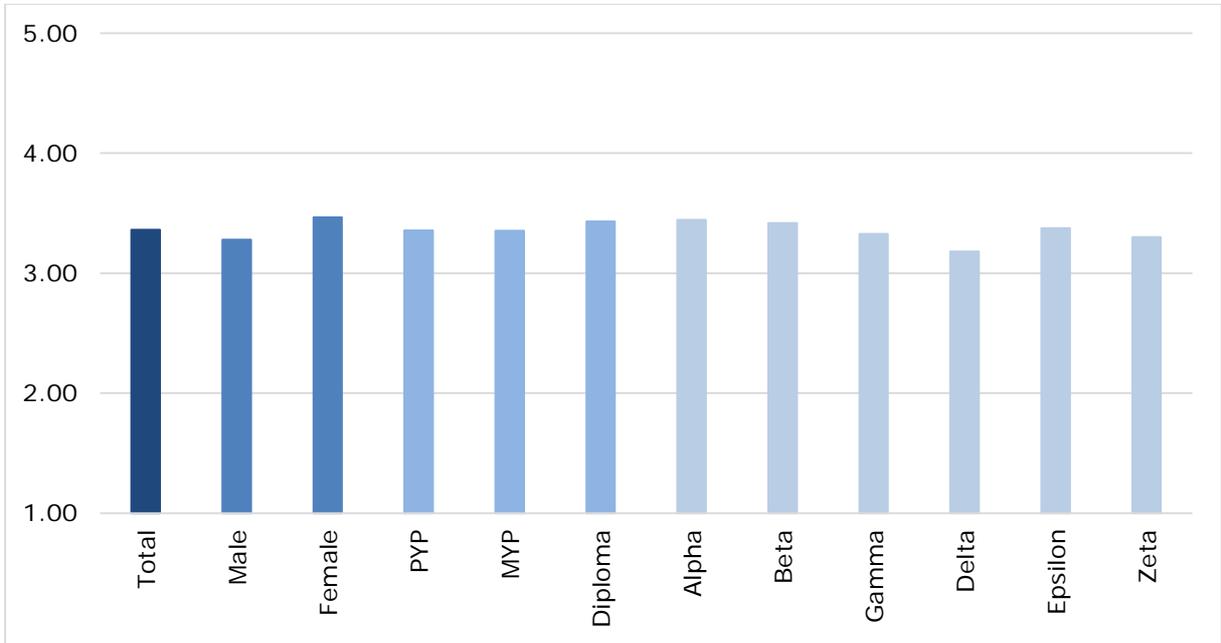


Figure 19: 'I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

Caring Behaviour

Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agree with the following statements on a scale from 1 ('strongly disagree') to 5 ('strongly agree').

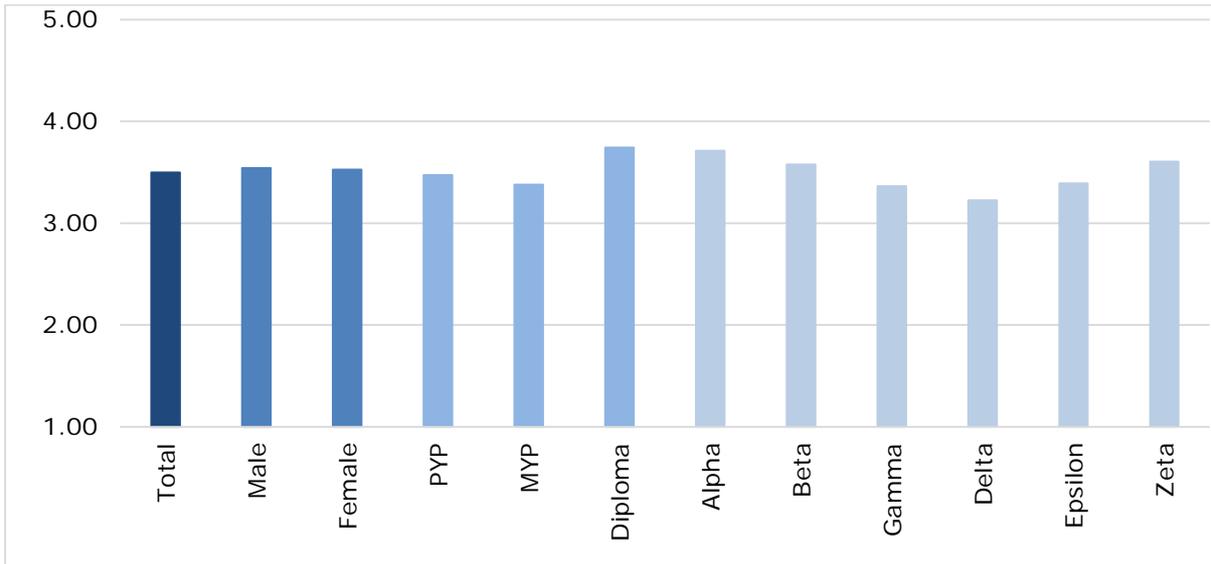


Figure 20: 'I am helpful at home'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

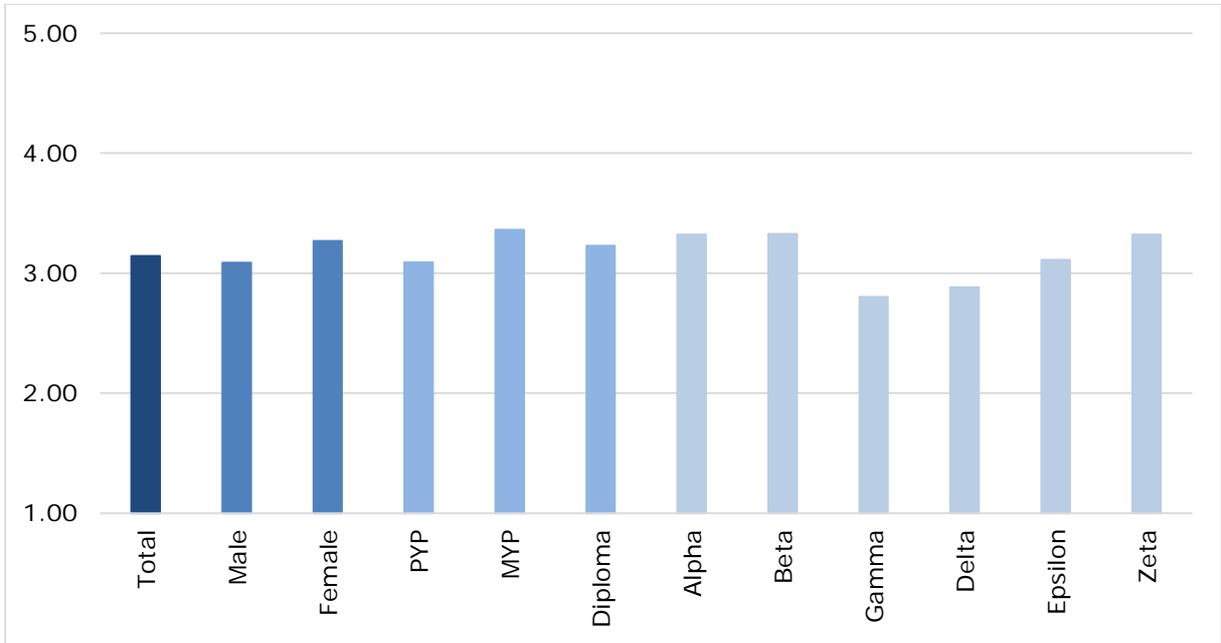


Figure 21: 'I do volunteering work'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

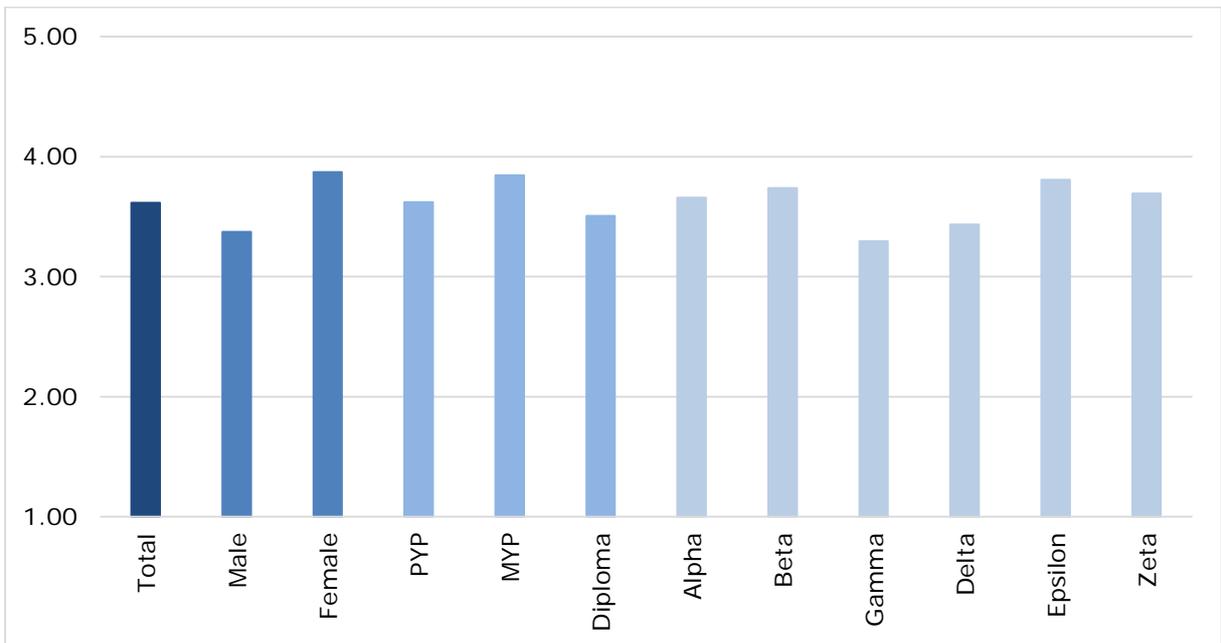


Figure 22: 'I have helped raise money for charity'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

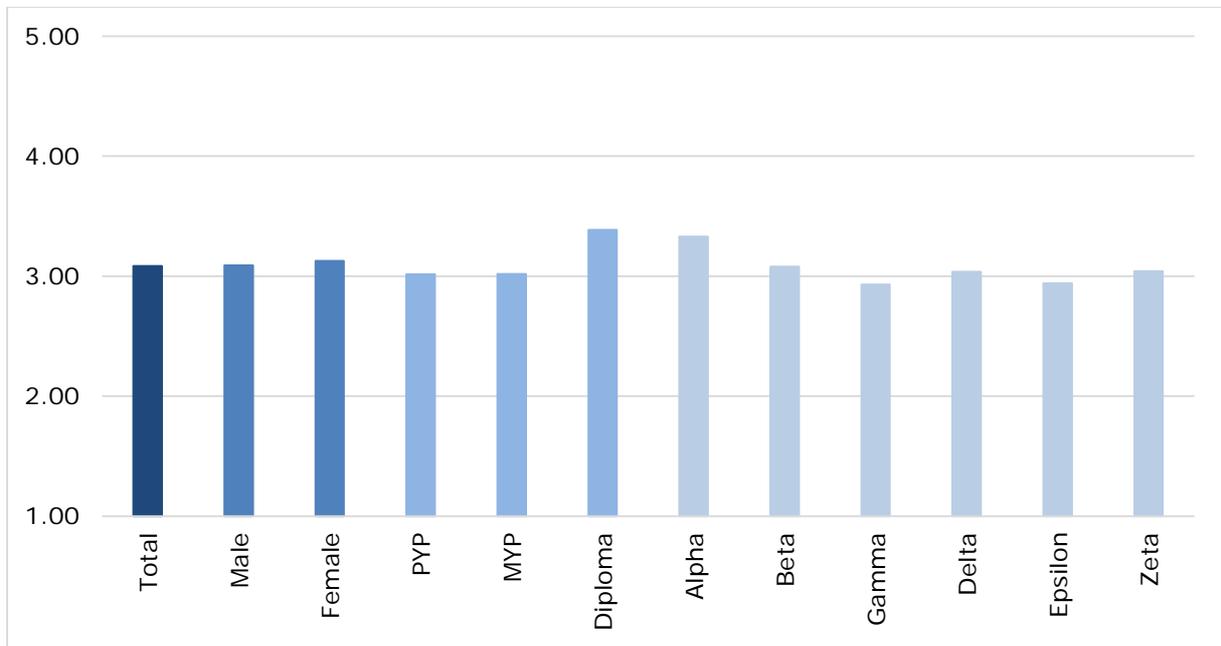


Figure 23: 'I like doing jobs around the home'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

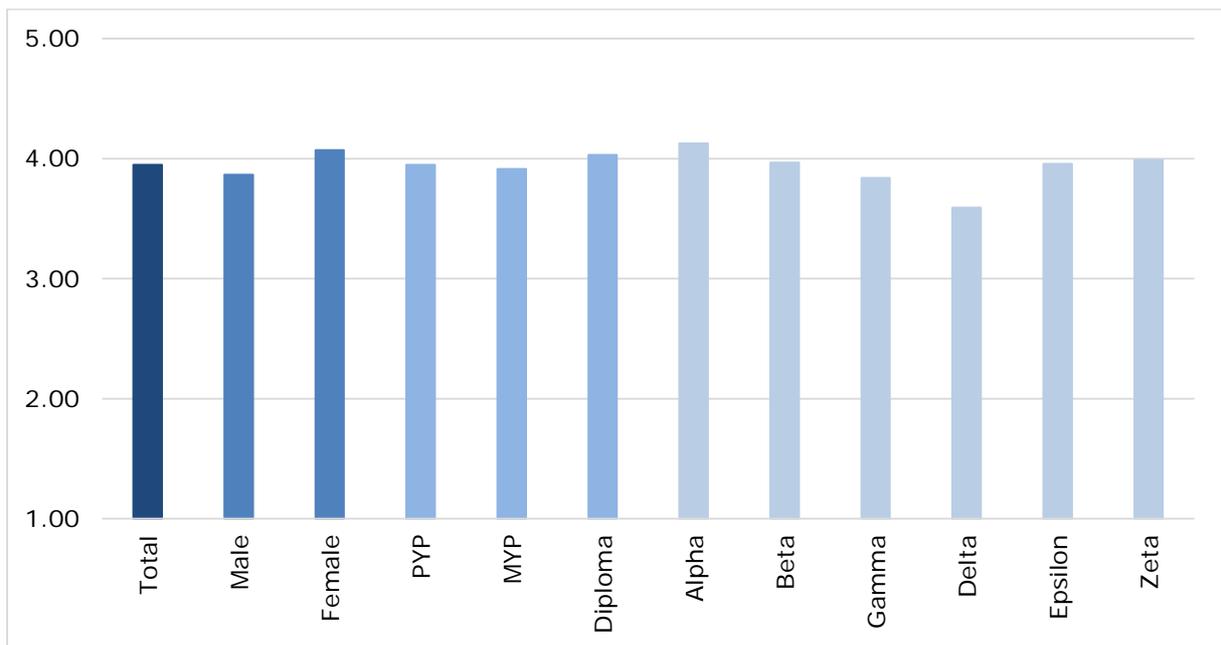


Figure 24: 'I'm good at helping my friends when they need me'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

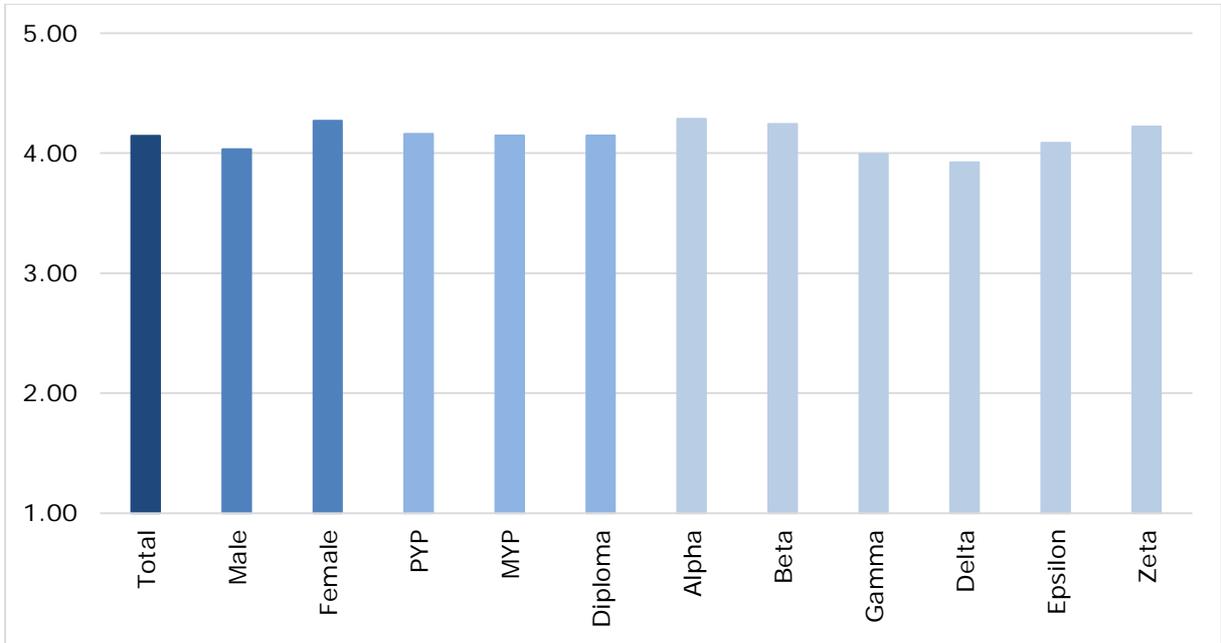


Figure 25: 'When I see somebody has dropped something, I'll tell them about it'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

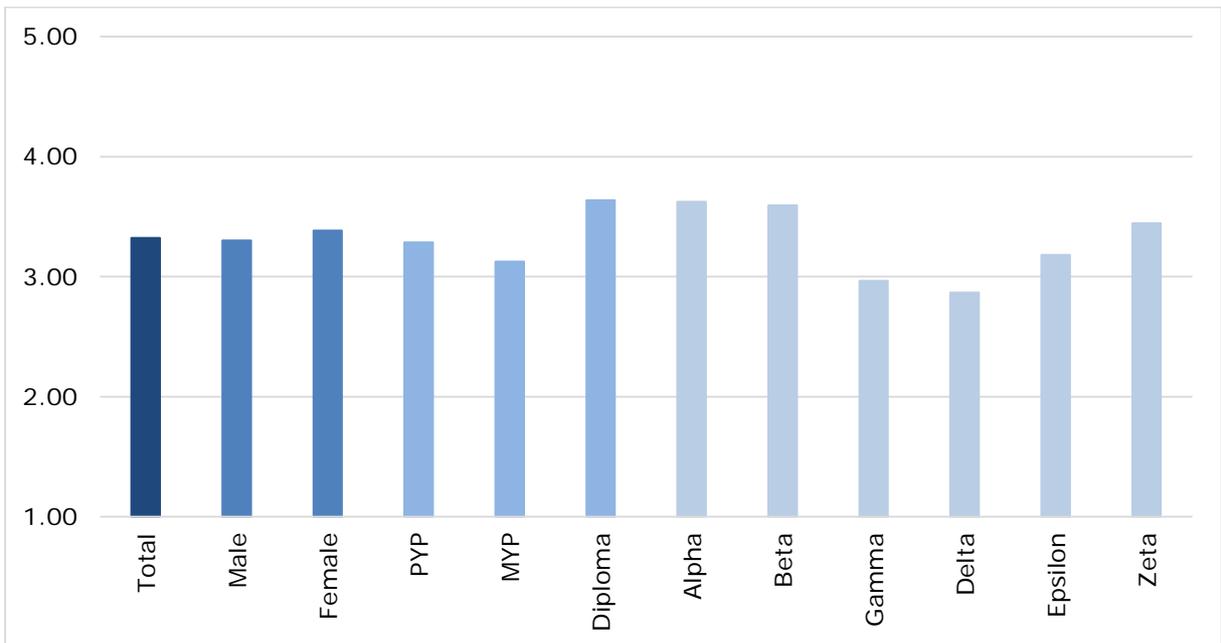


Figure 26: 'I try to recycle as much as possible'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

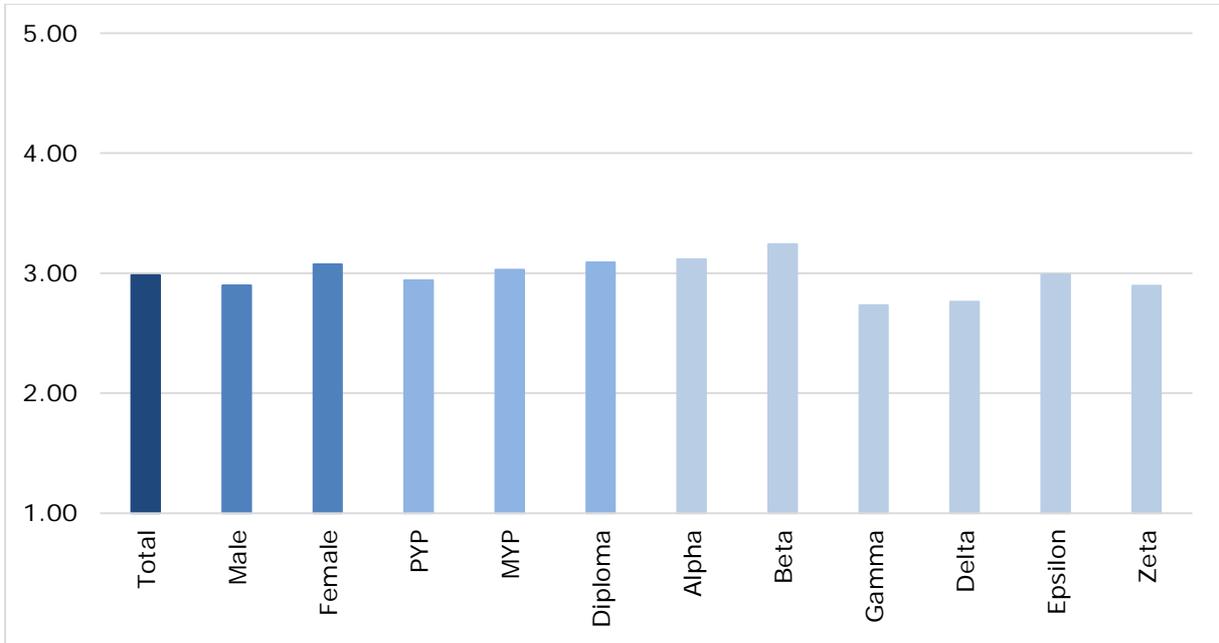


Figure 27: 'I take part in school activities that aim to protect the environment'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

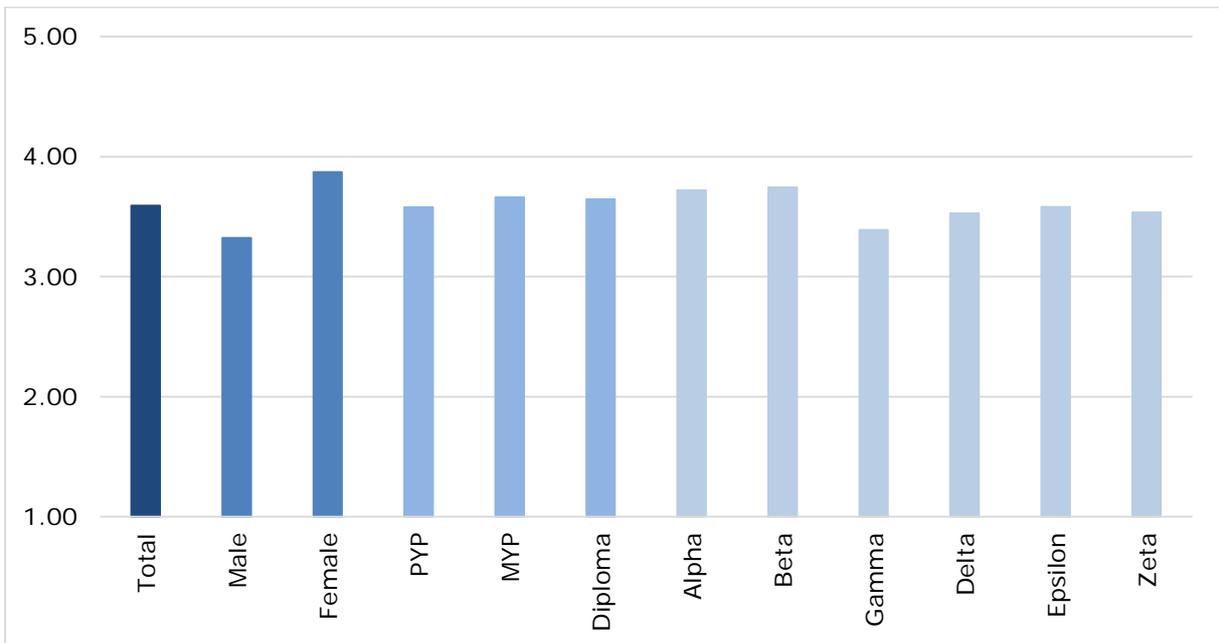


Figure 28: 'I enjoy raising money for charity'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

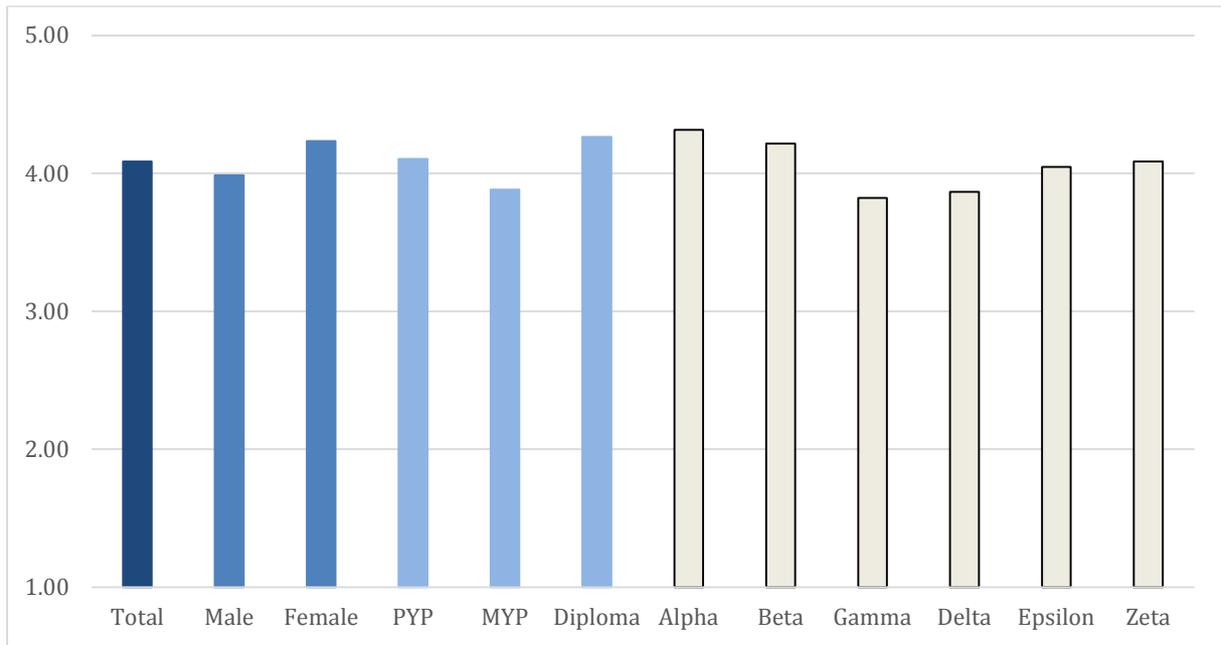


Figure 29: 'If I see someone who has fallen over, I'll ask if they're OK'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

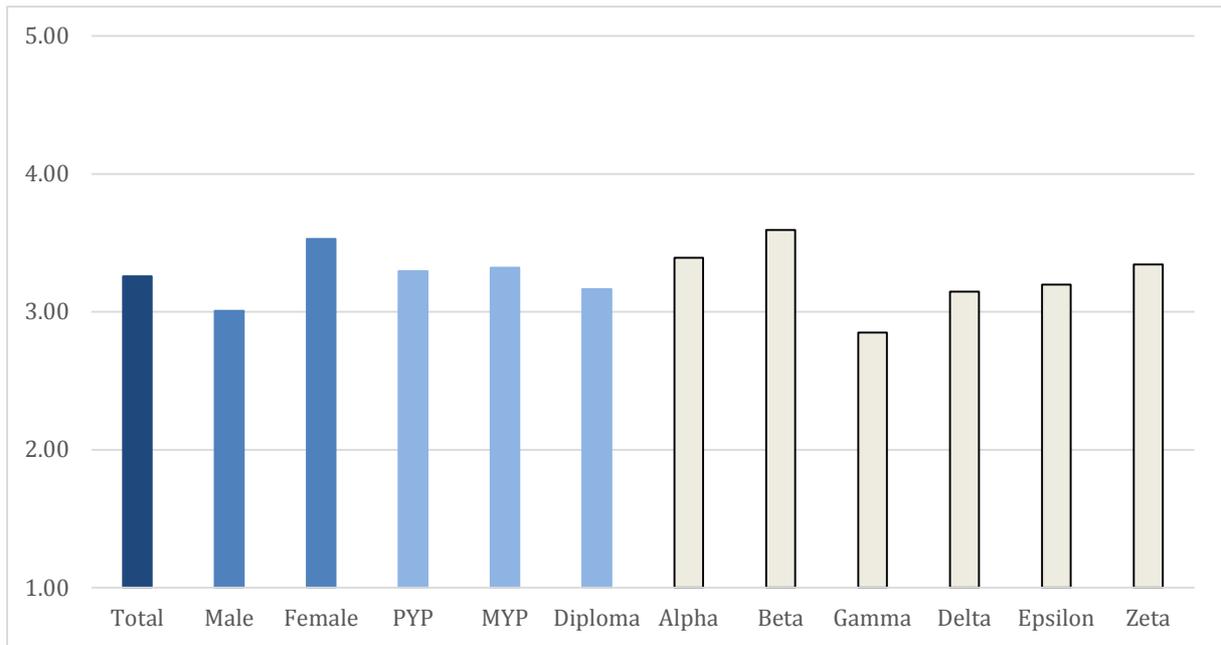


Figure 30: 'I enjoy doing charity work for people overseas'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

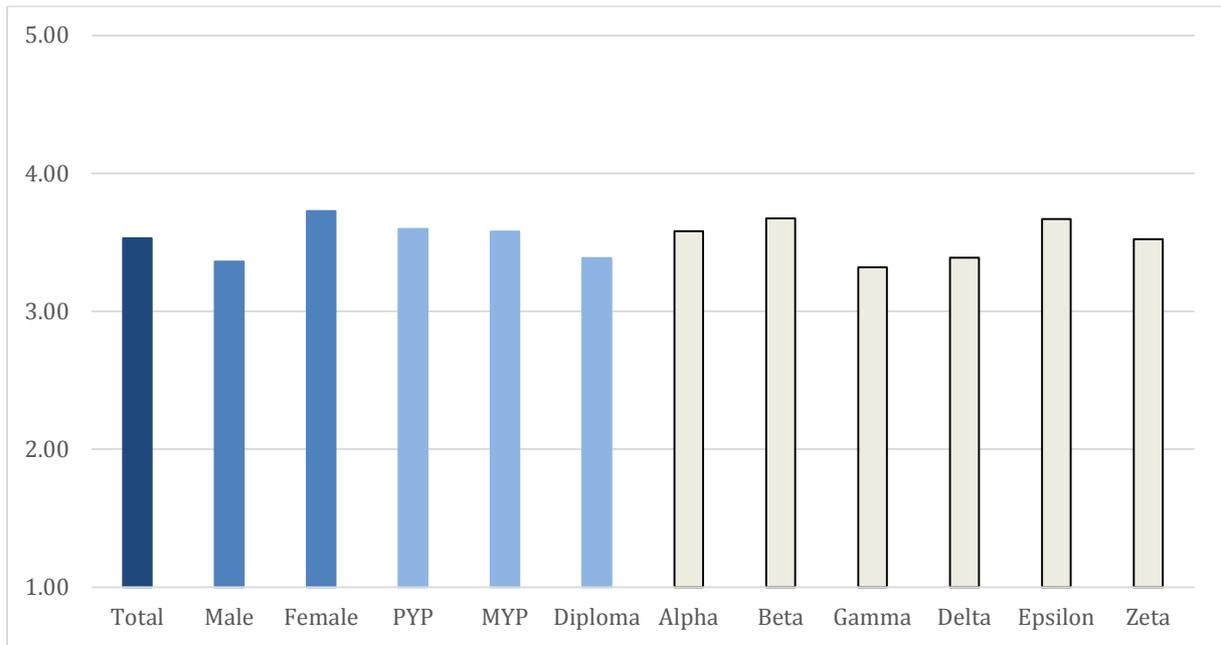


Figure 31: 'I help other people with their school work'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

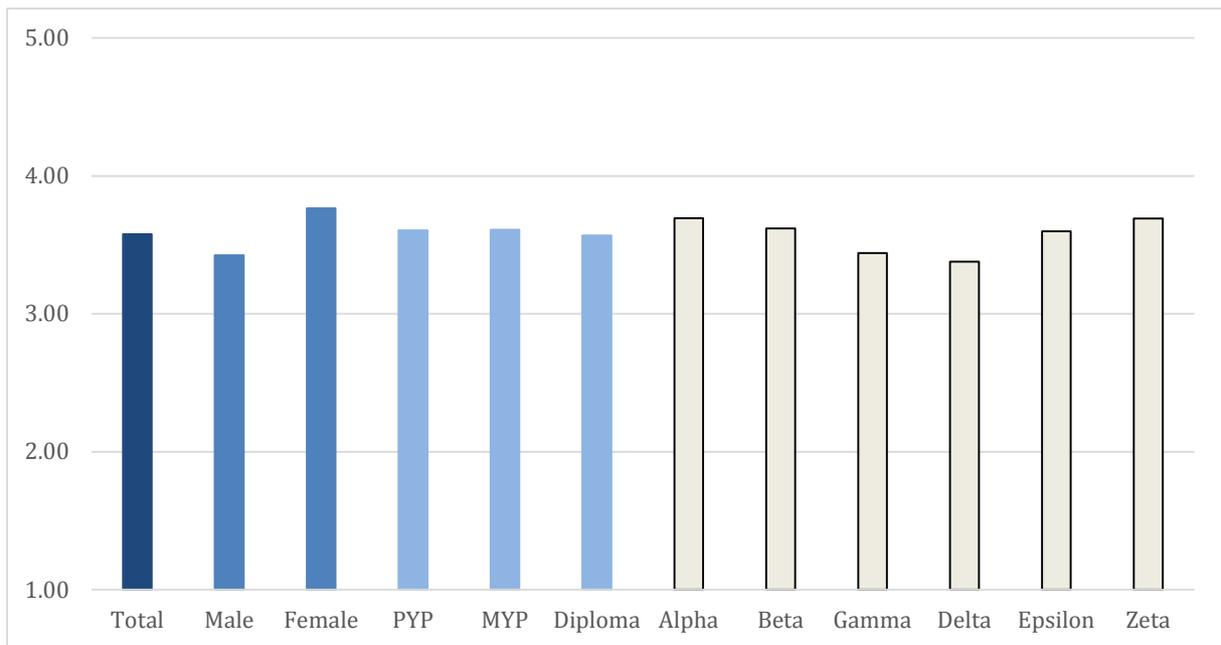


Figure 32: 'I like to look after other people'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

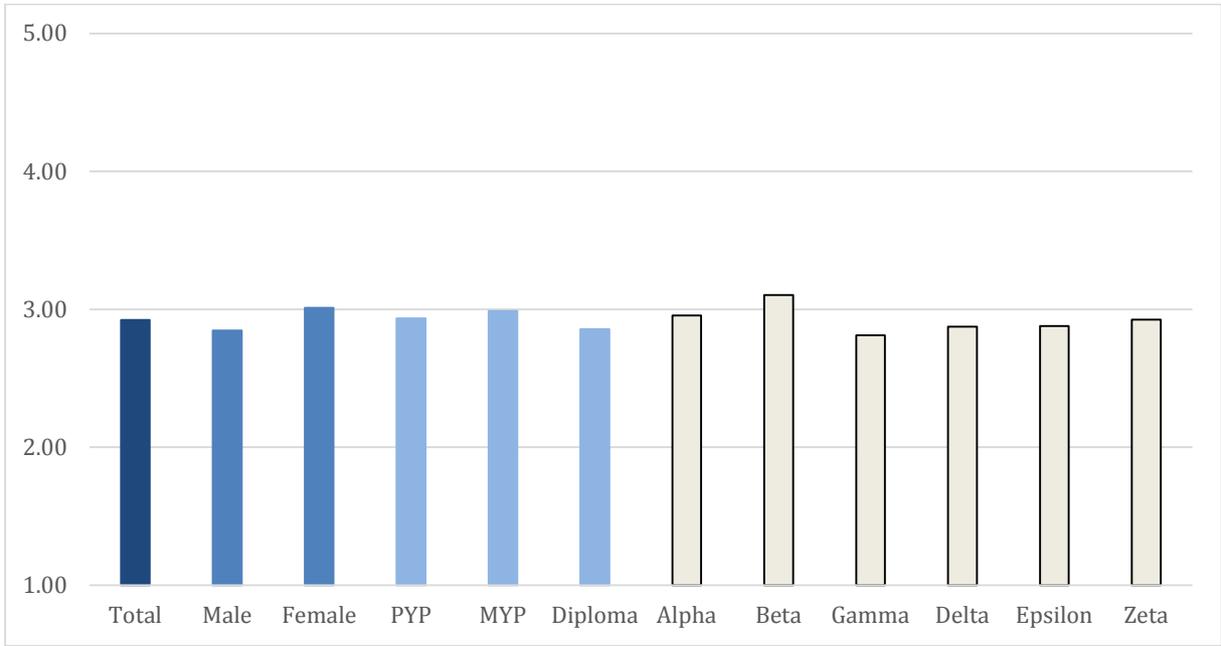


Figure 33: 'I do things to help run my school'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

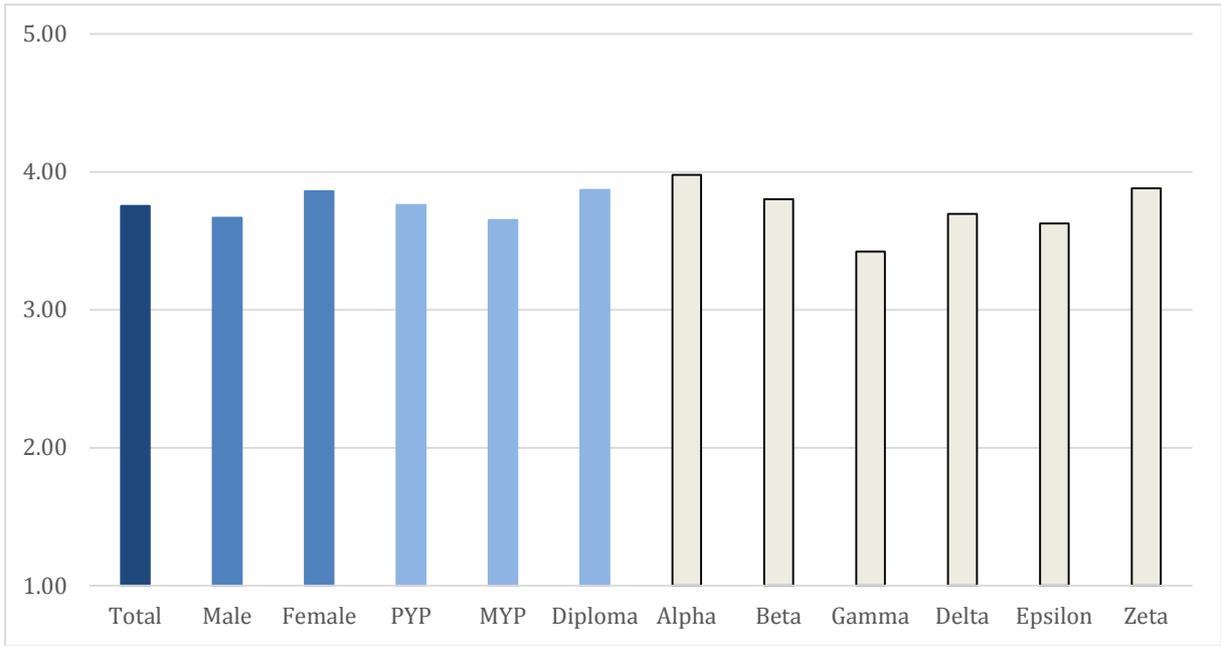


Figure 34: 'I am interested in learning about things happening to people I other countries'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

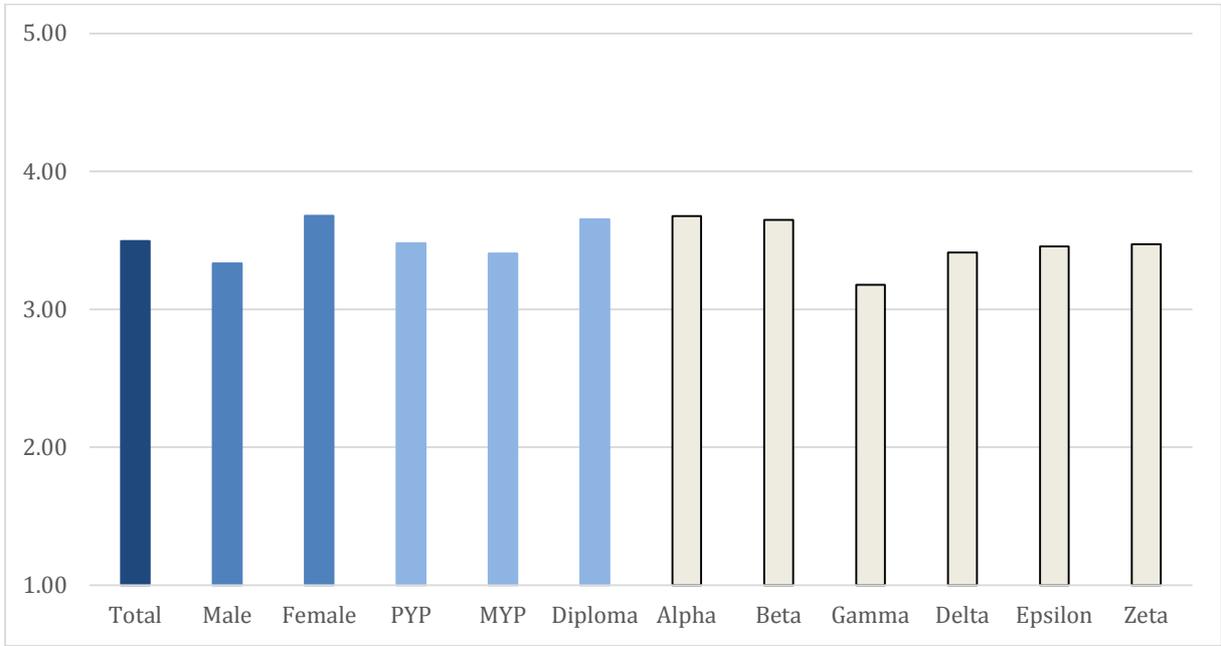


Figure 35: 'I feel I want to do something when I learn about disasters on the news'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

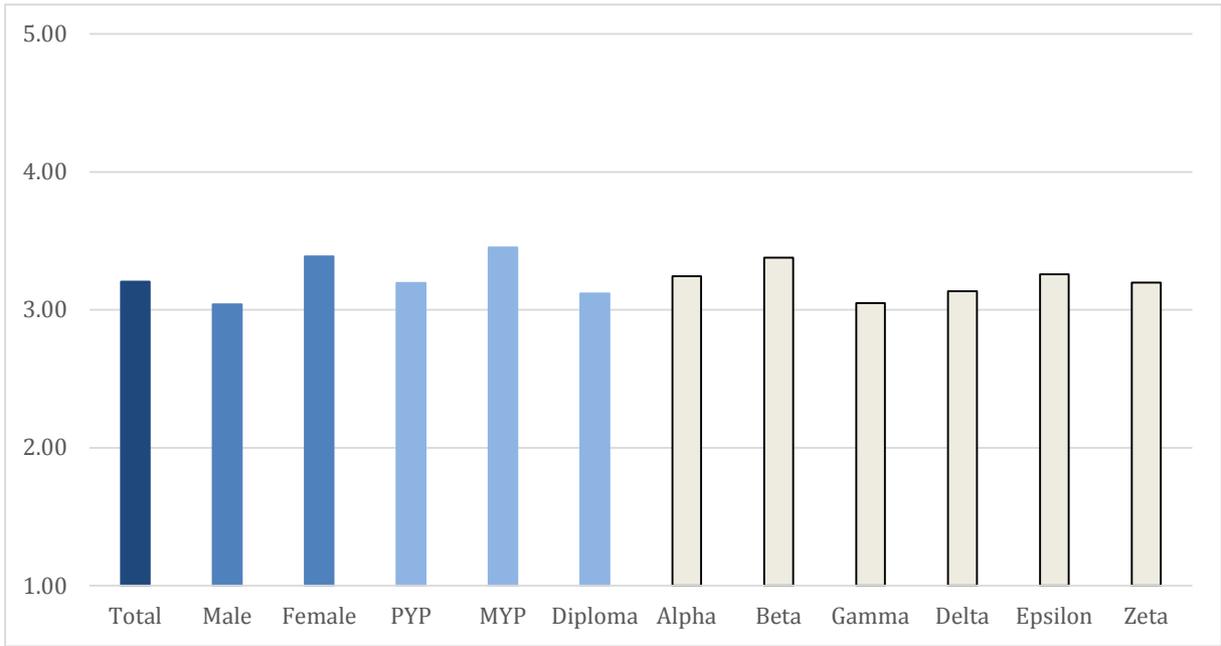


Figure 36: 'I take part in school activities to help people less fortunate than me'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

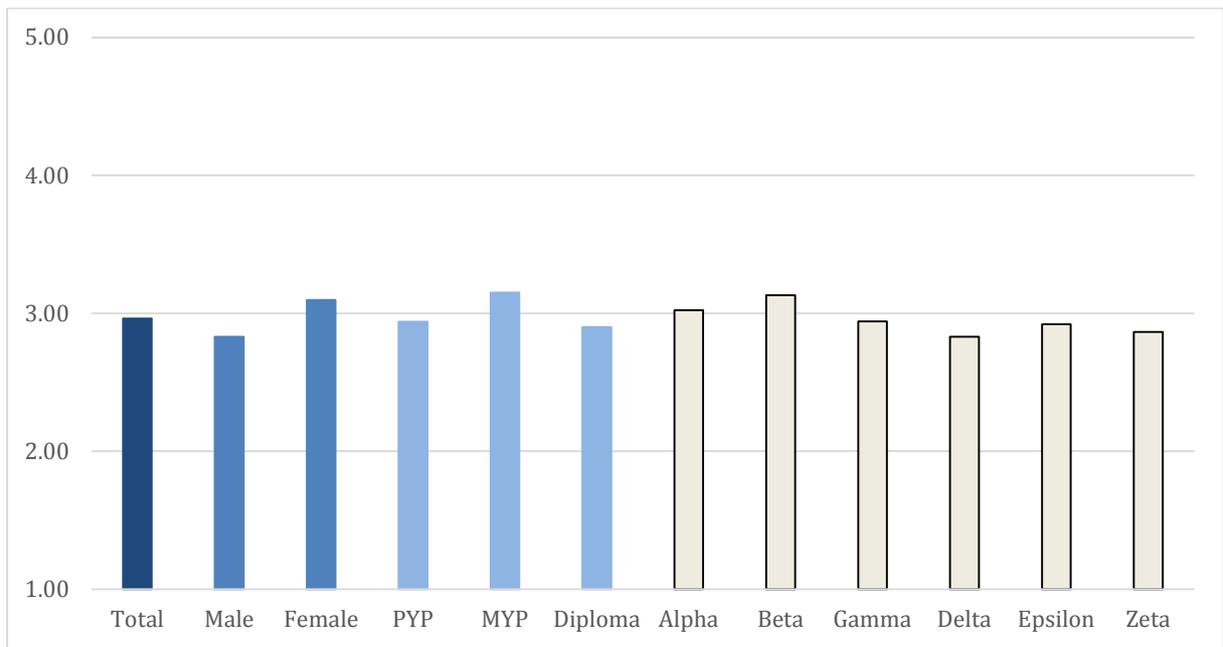


Figure 37: 'I take part in activities outside school that help people less fortunate than me'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

Caring School Environment

Respondents were asked to identify the extent to which they agreed with the following statements about their school on a scale from 1 ('strongly disagree') to 5 ('strongly agree').

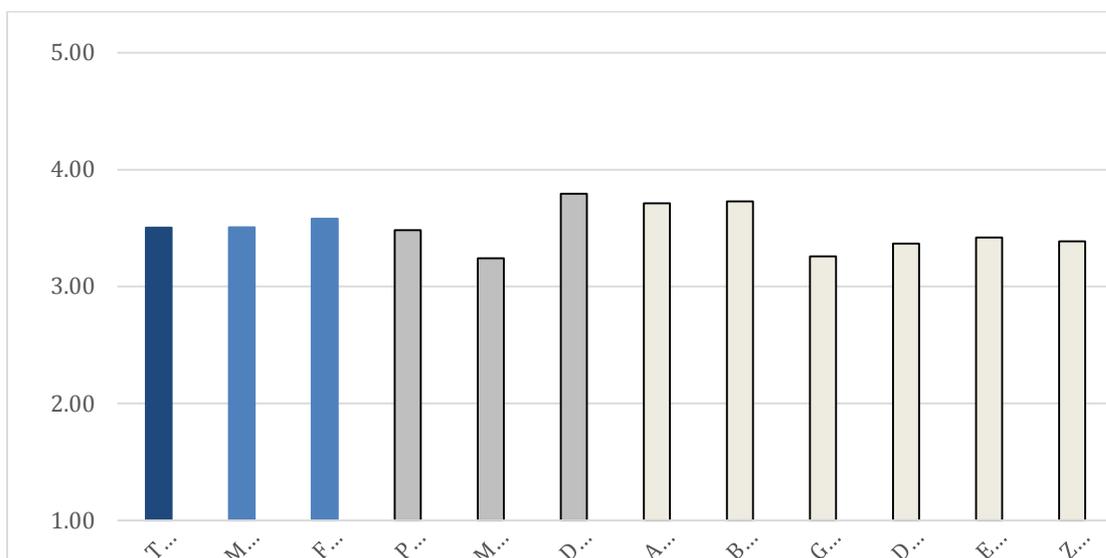


Figure 38: 'I feel cared for at my school'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

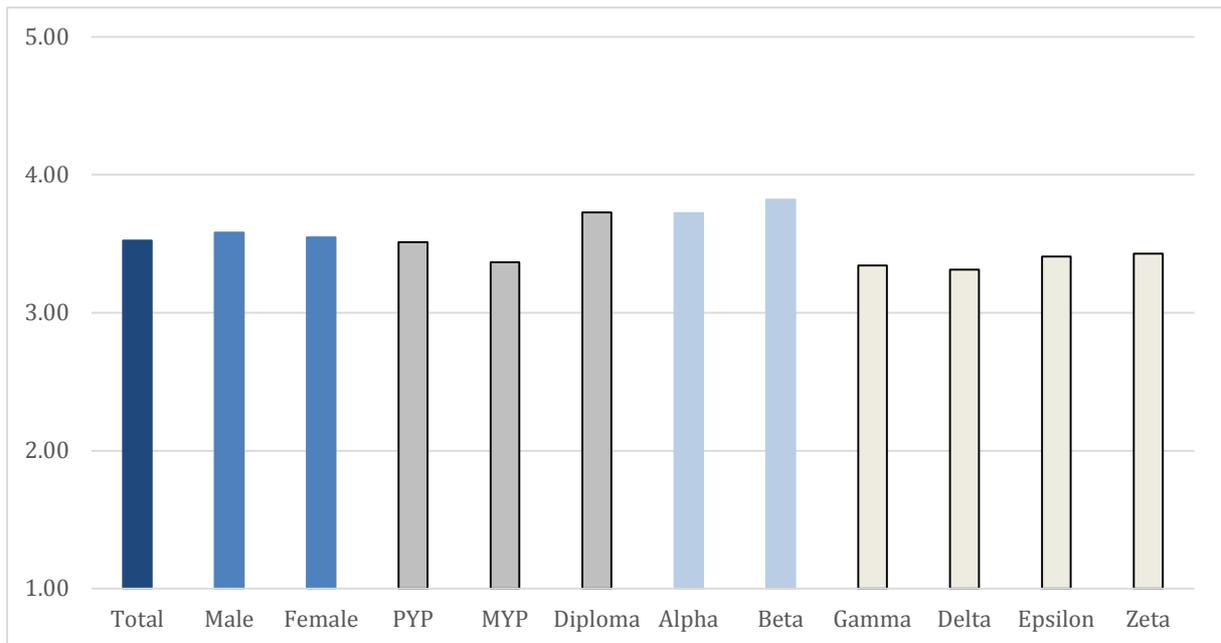


Figure 39: 'I feel respected at my school'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

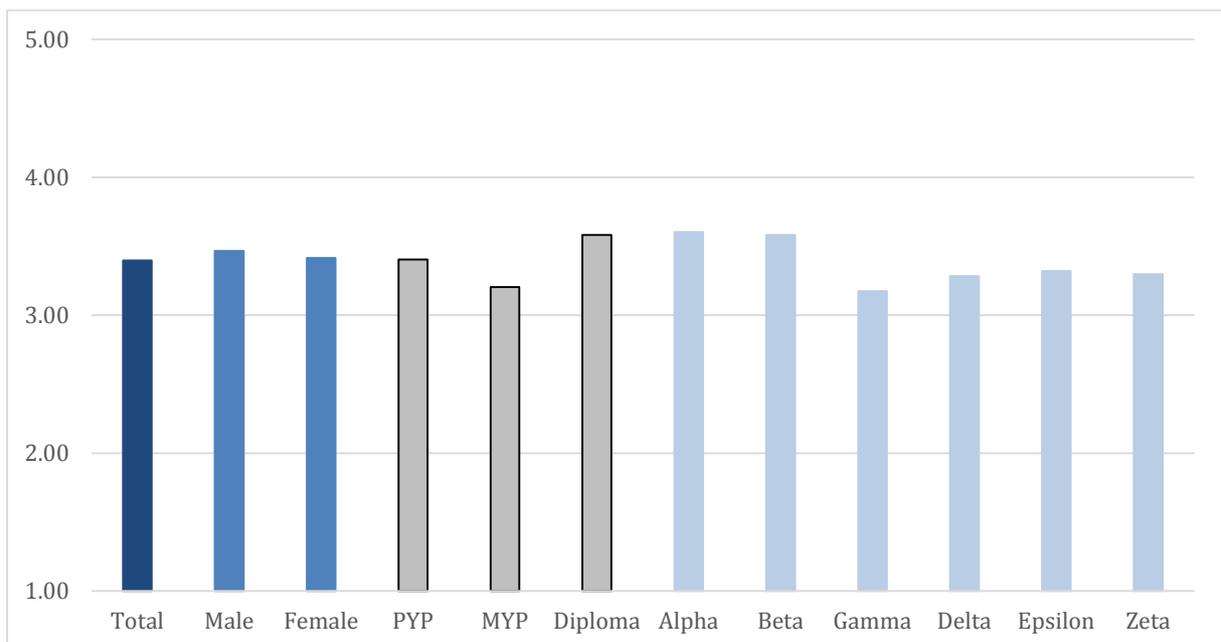


Figure 40: 'I feel valued at my school'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

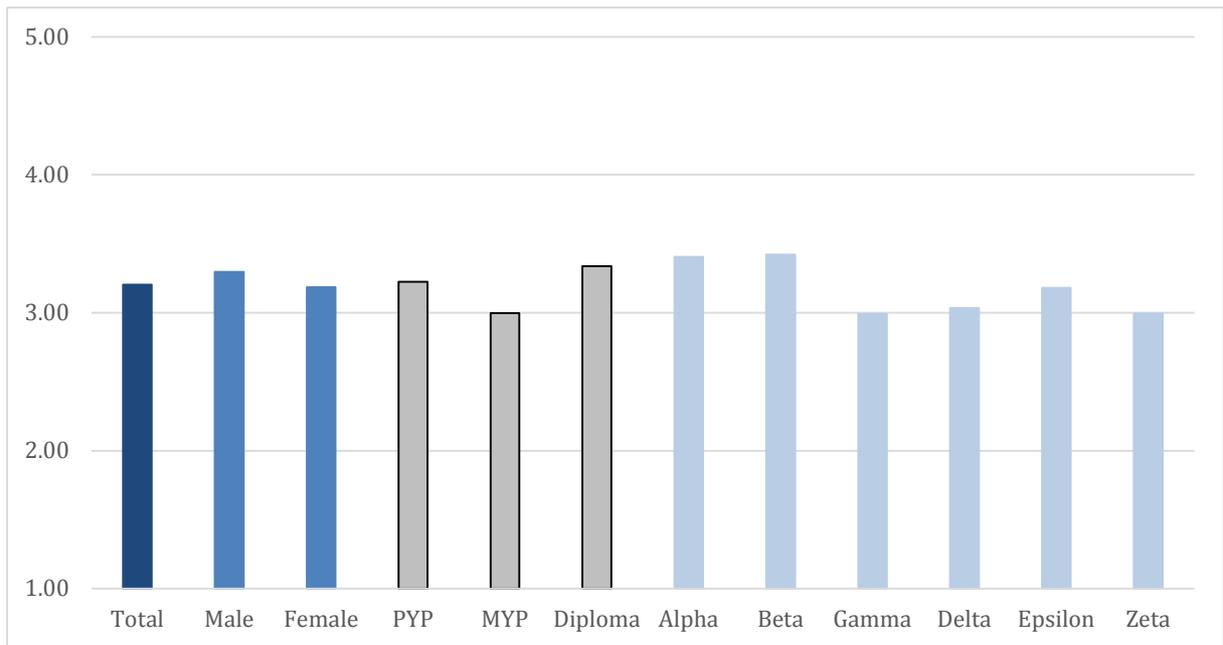


Figure 41: 'I feel important at my school'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

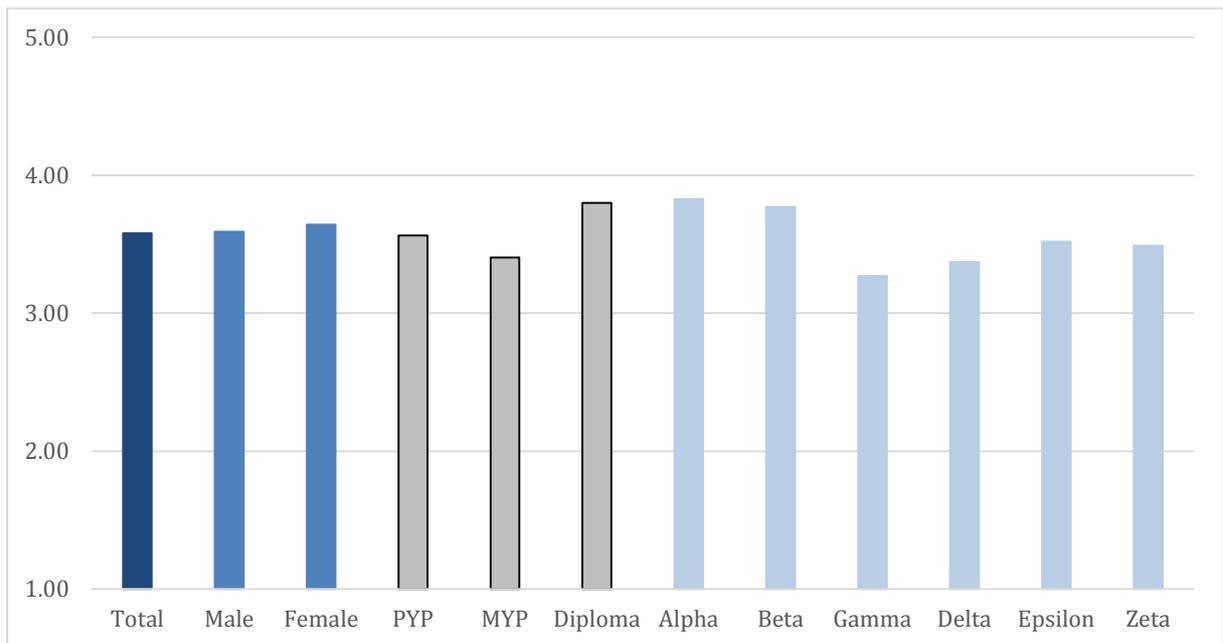


Figure 42: 'I feel encouraged at my school'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

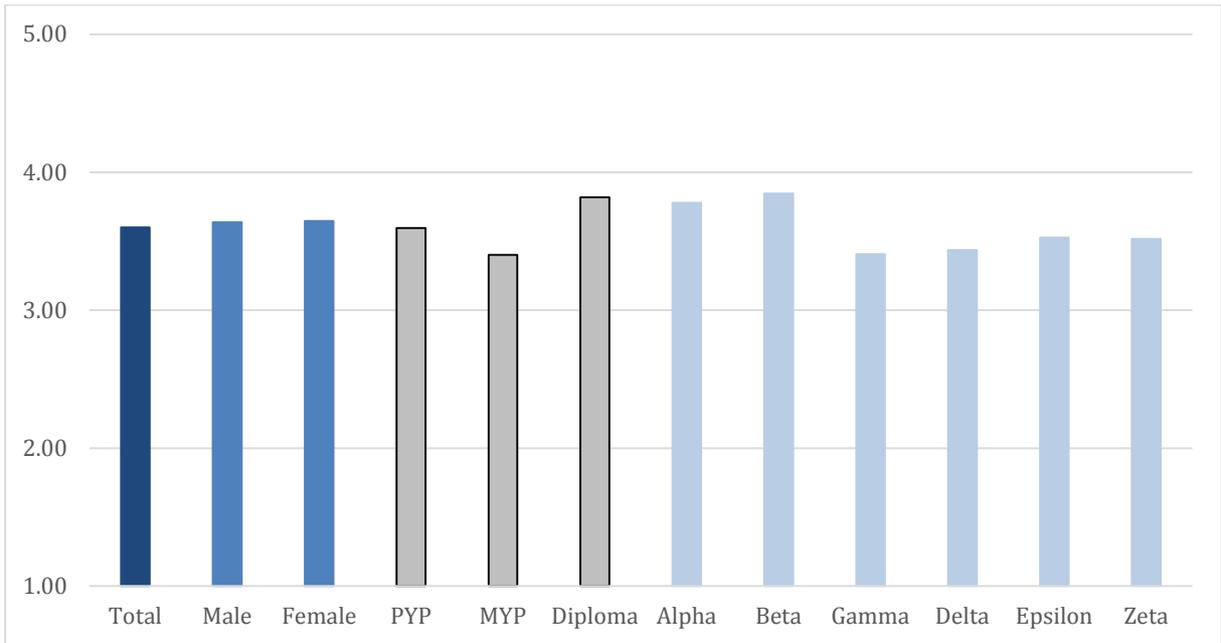


Figure 43: 'I feel supported at my school'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

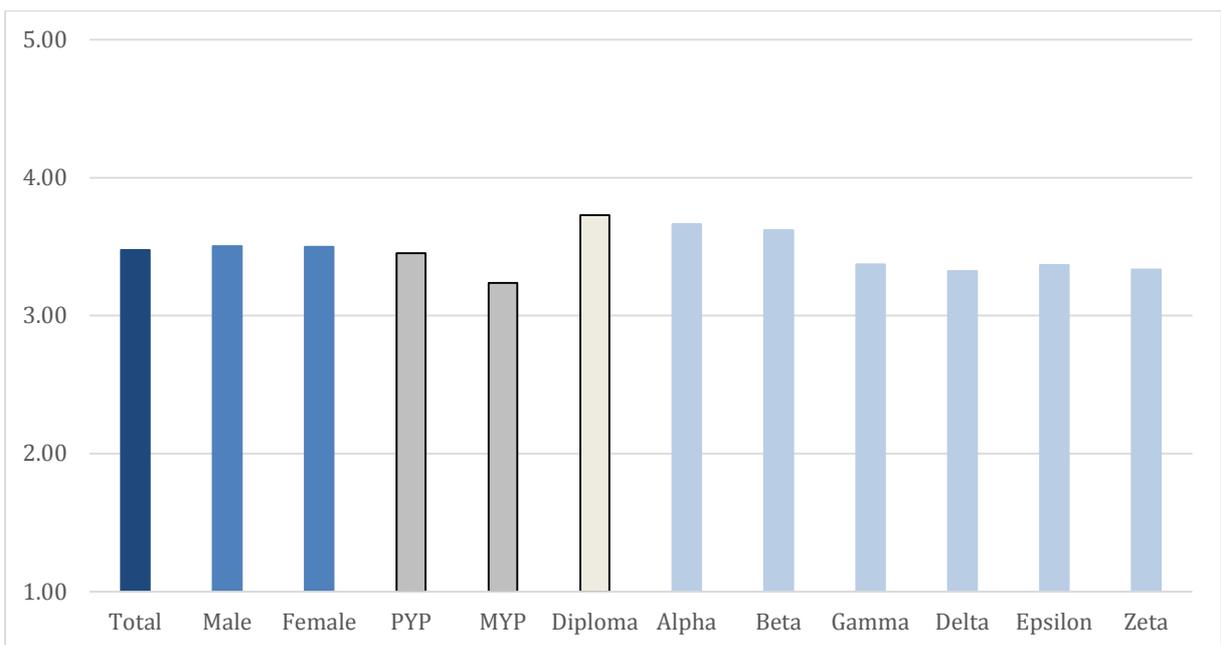


Figure 44: 'I feel that I can be myself at my school'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

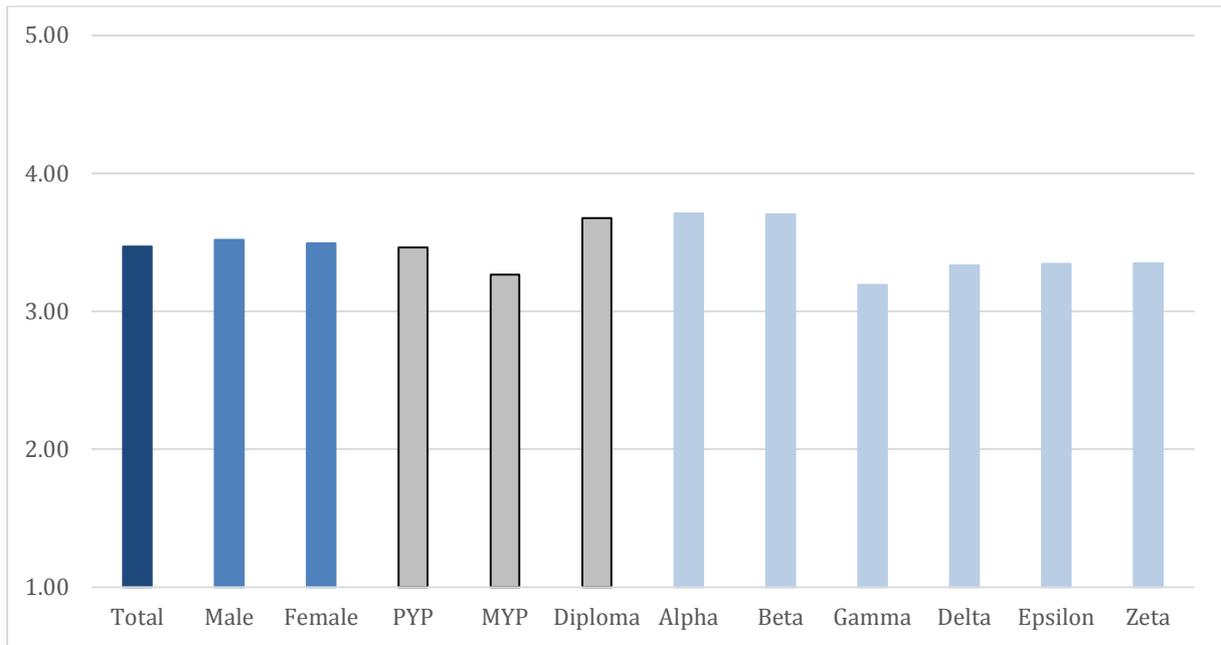


Figure 45: 'I feel trusted at my school'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

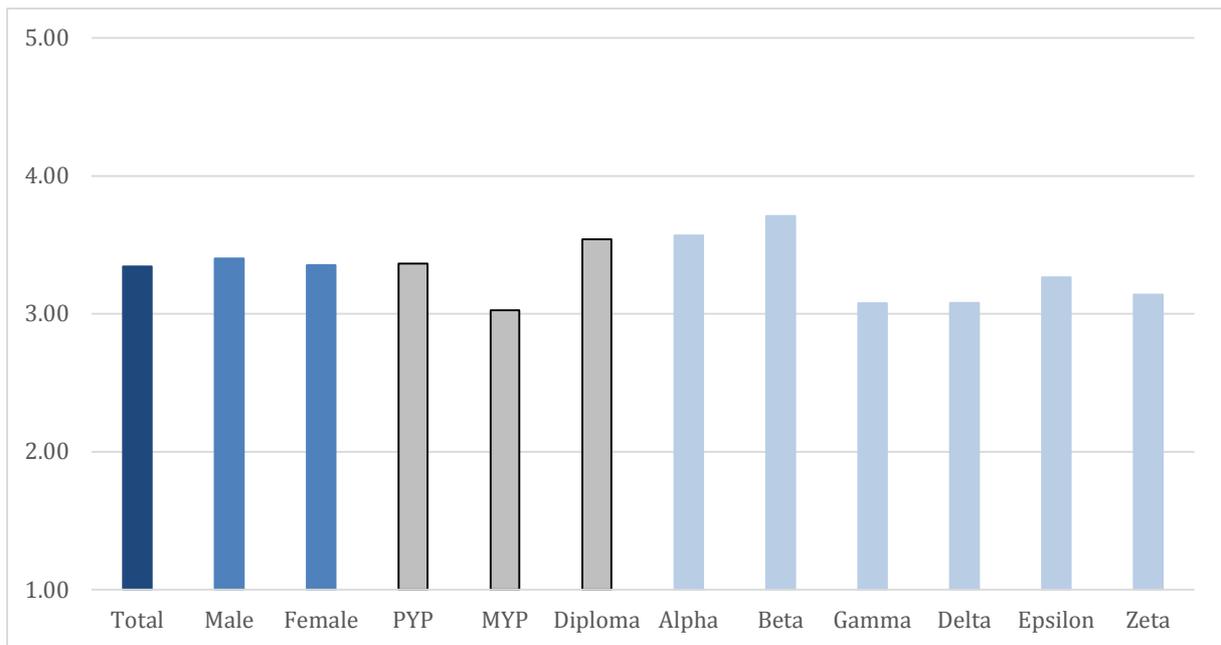


Figure 46: 'I feel listened to at my school'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

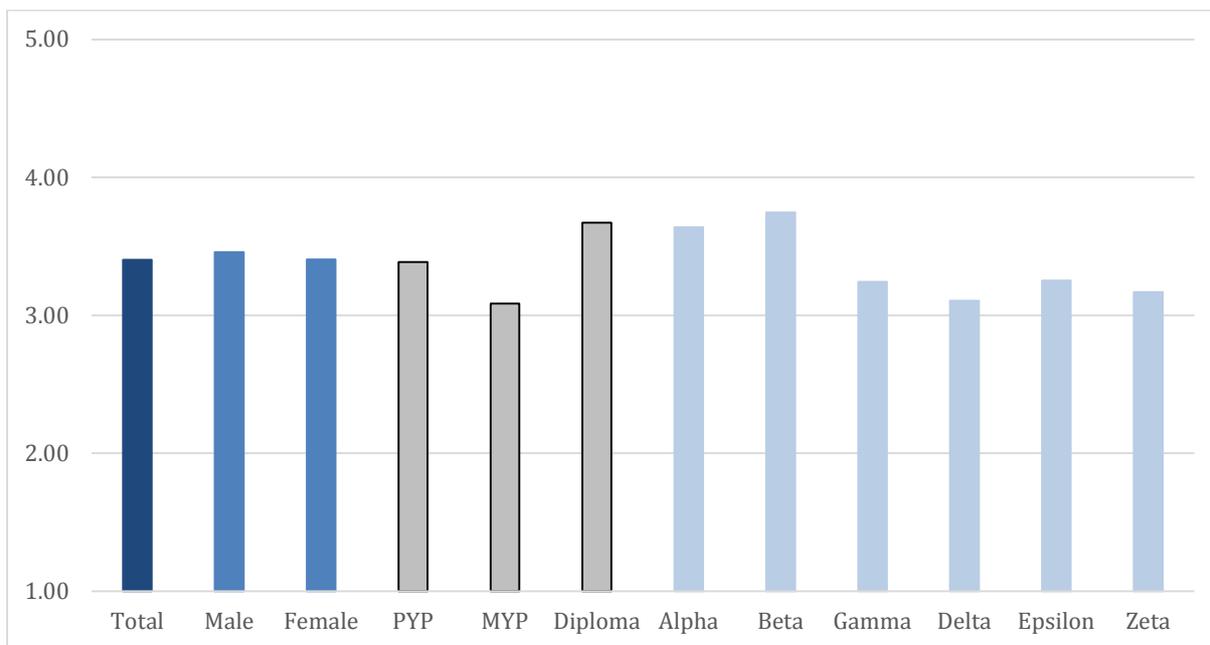


Figure 47: 'I feel that students care for each other at my school'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

Taught Caring

Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with the following statements on a scale from 1 ('strongly disagree') to 5 ('strongly agree').

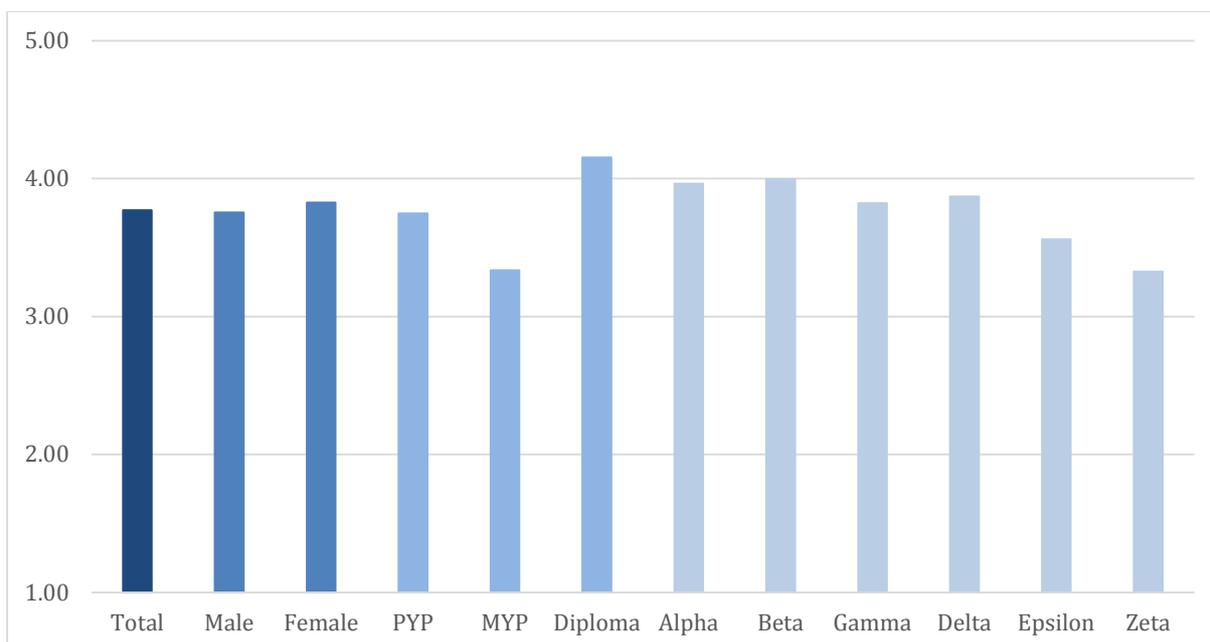


Figure 48: 'At school we learn to care about other people'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

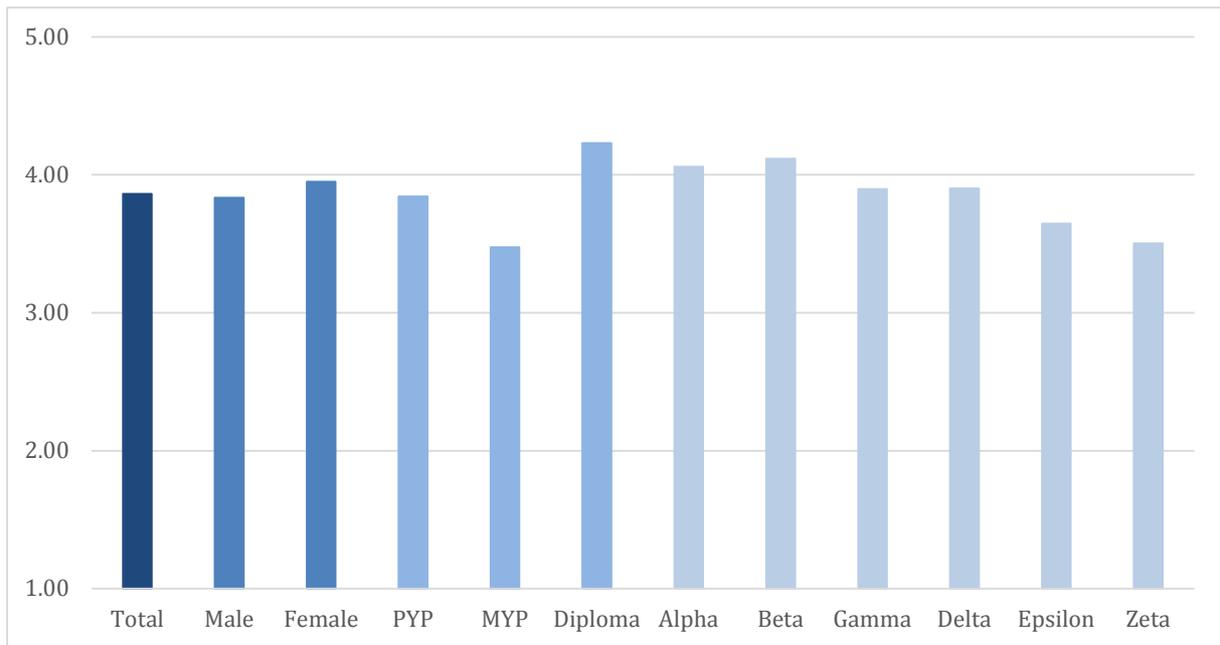


Figure 49: 'At school we learn to be helpful to others'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

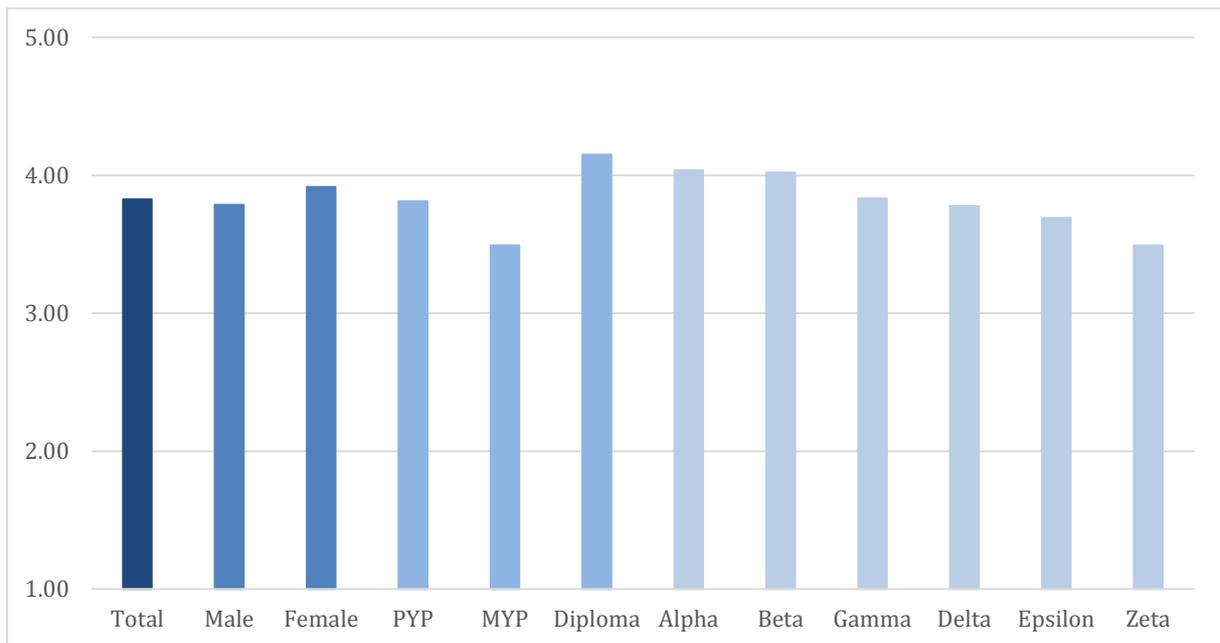


Figure 50: 'At school we learn to be considerate of other people's needs'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

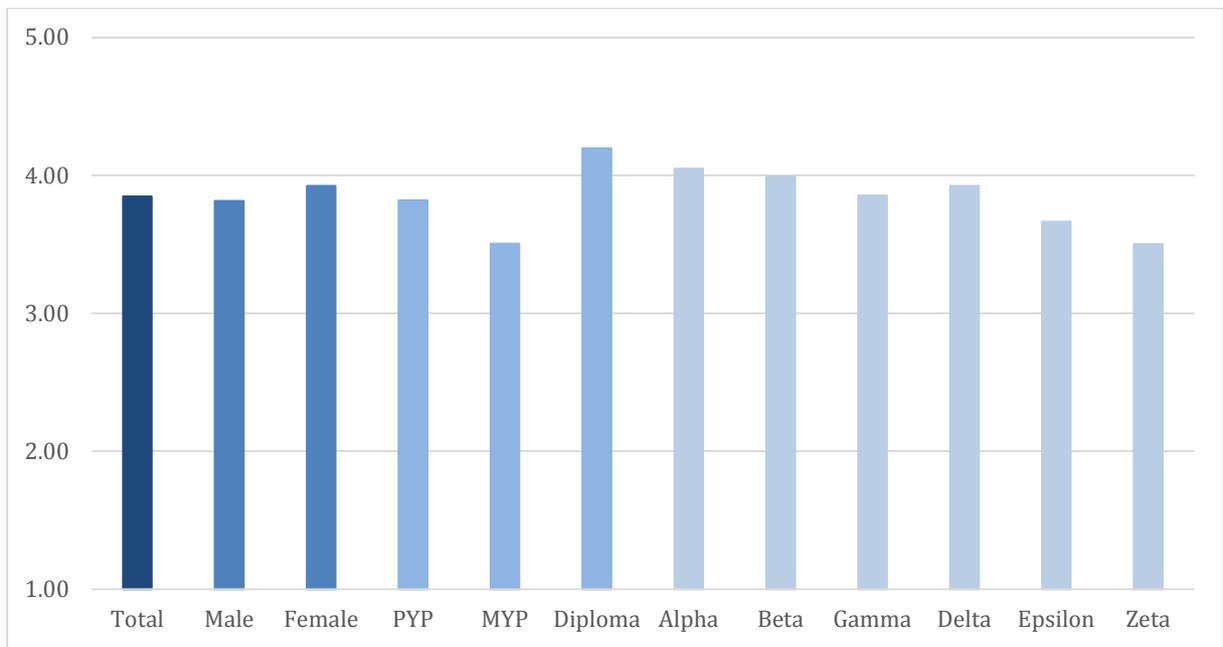


Figure 51: 'At school we learn to be thoughtful about others'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

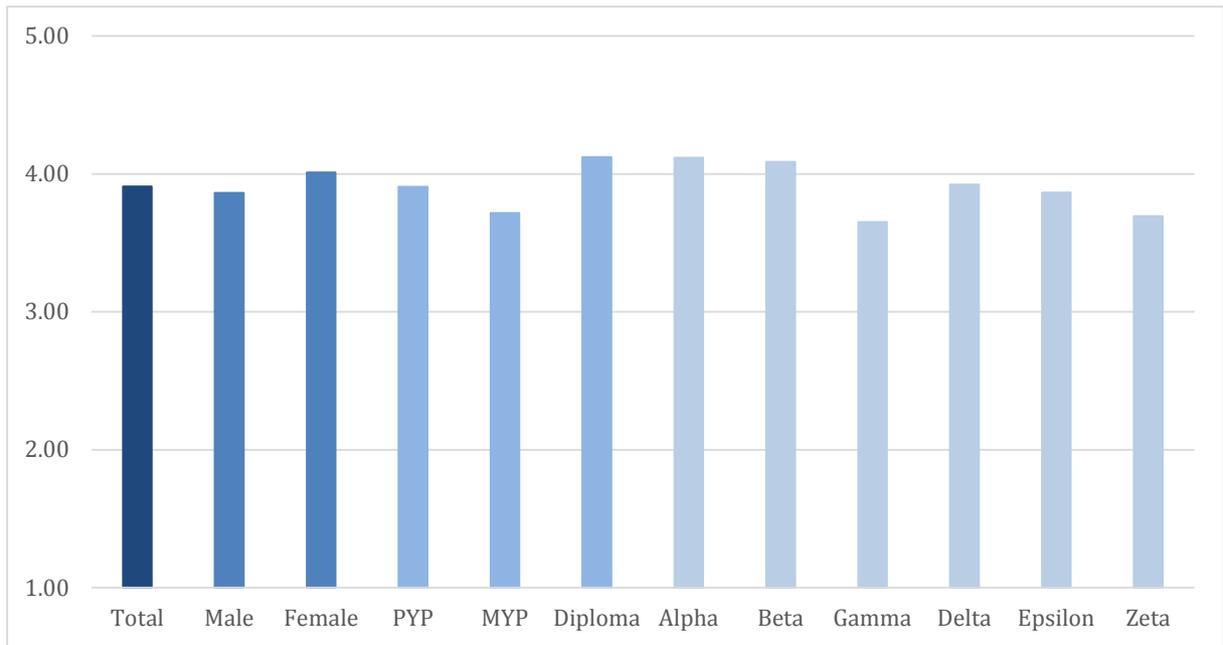


Figure 52: 'At school we learn to think about people in other countries who are less fortunate'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

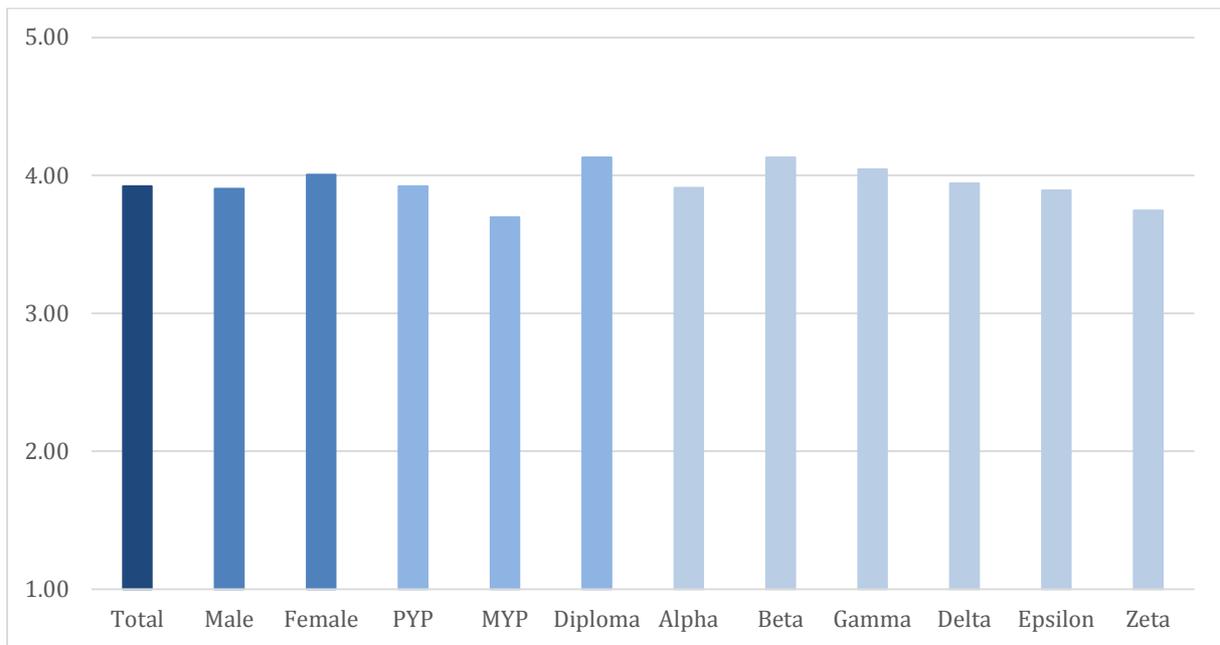


Figure 53: 'At school we learn to do things to protect the environment'

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

Caring Activity in School

The following graphs show the proportion of students who have engaged in each act listed. For these questions respondents were asked whether or not they had been involved in any of the following activities in school:

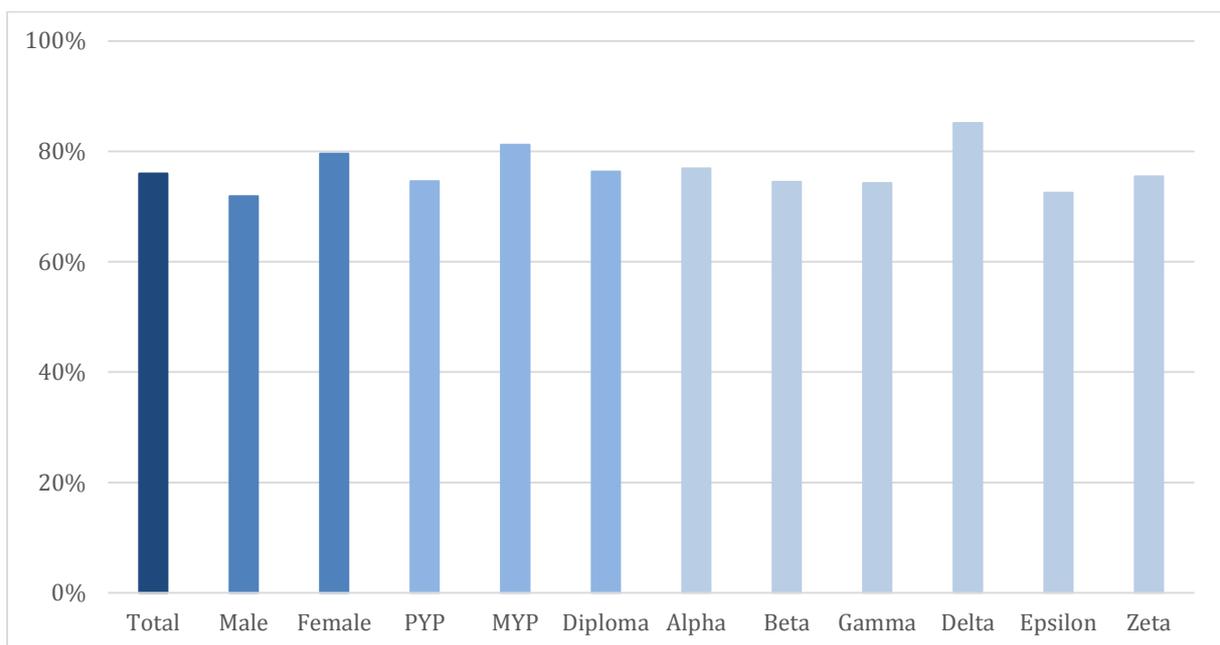


Figure 54: Collected donations (such as clothes, toys or food) for charity

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

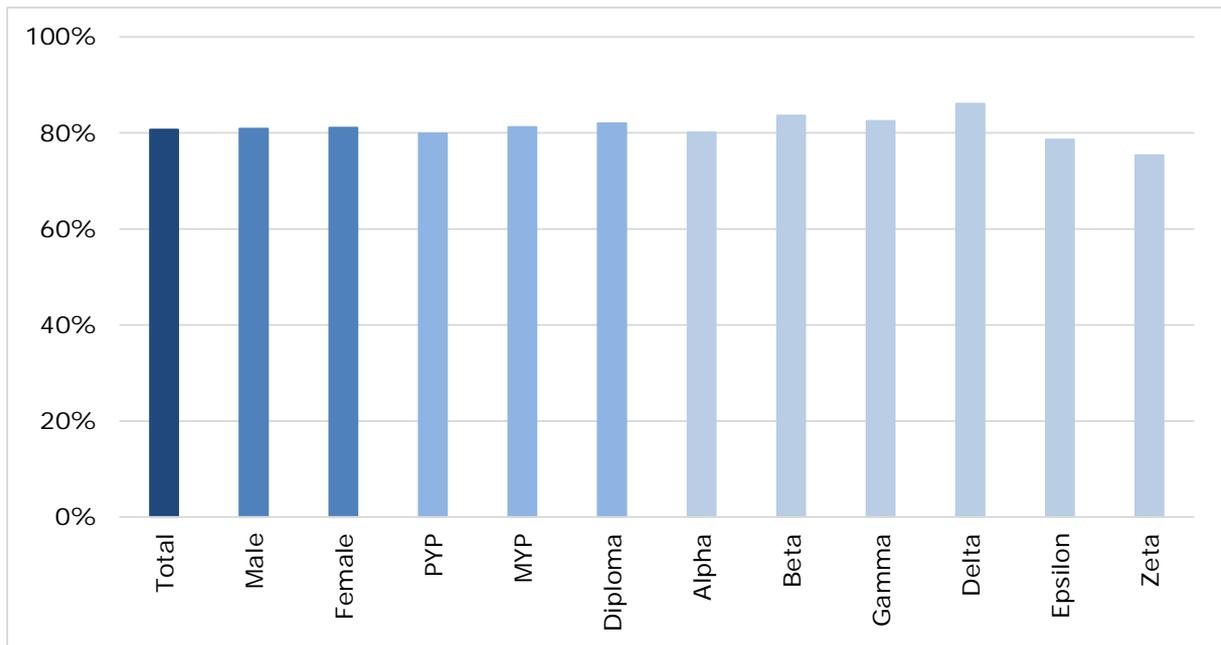


Figure 55: Helped the environment

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

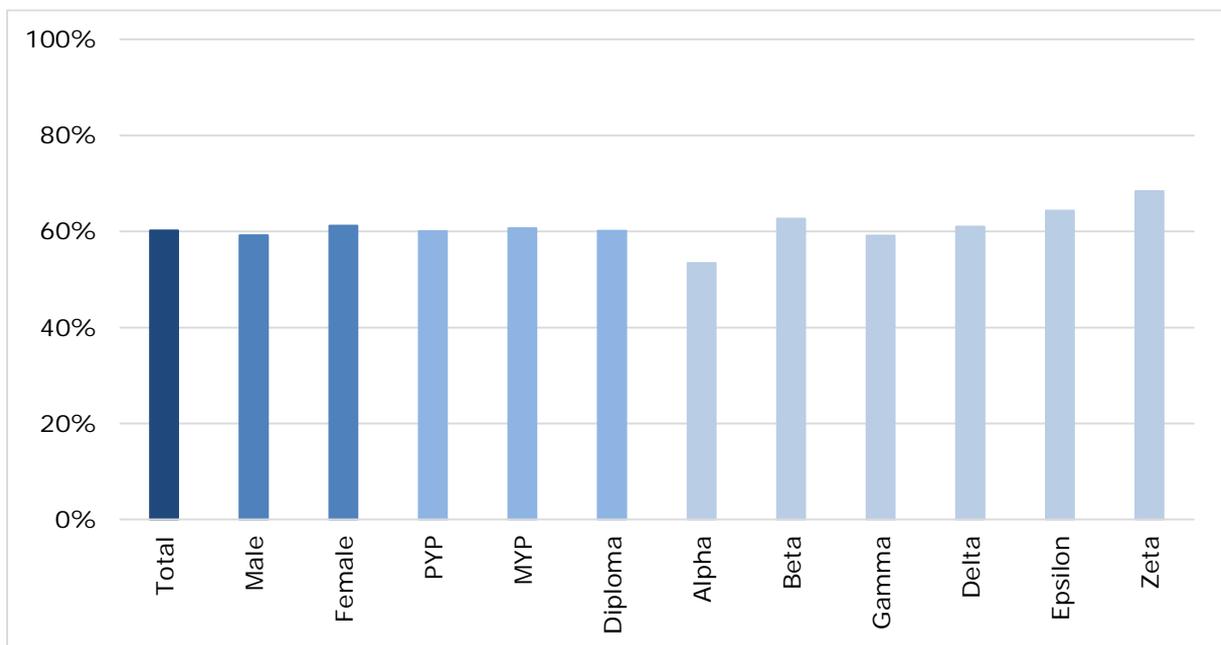


Figure 56: Had speakers talk about bullying

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

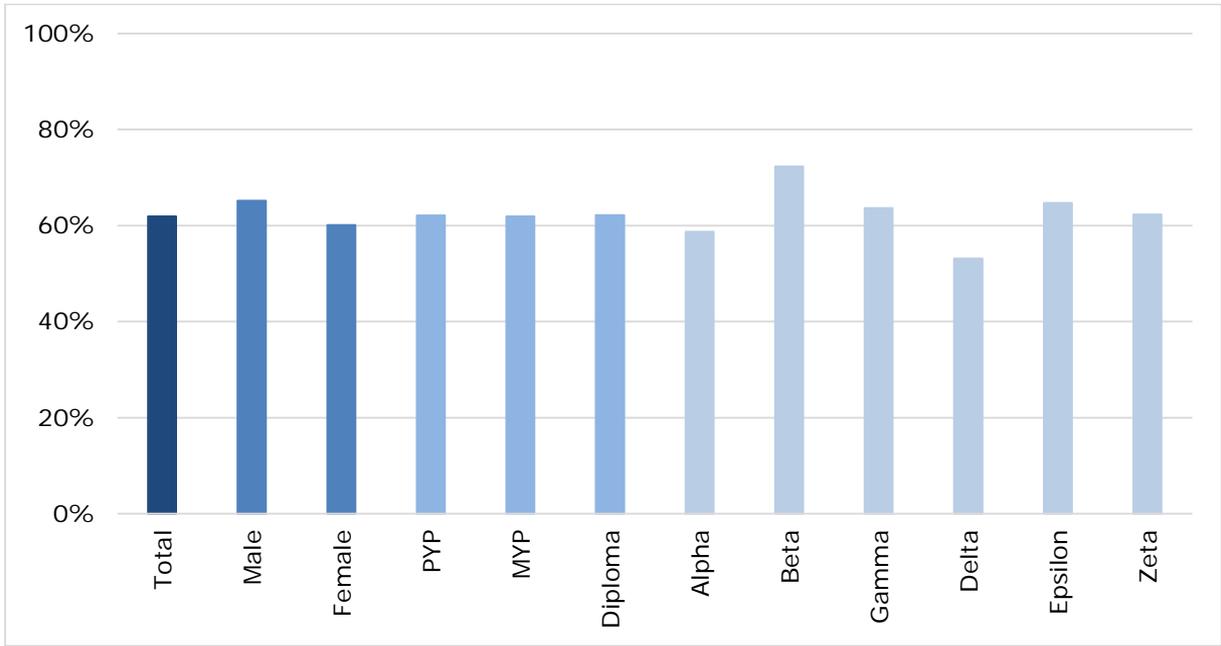


Figure 57: Had speakers talk about environmental concerns

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

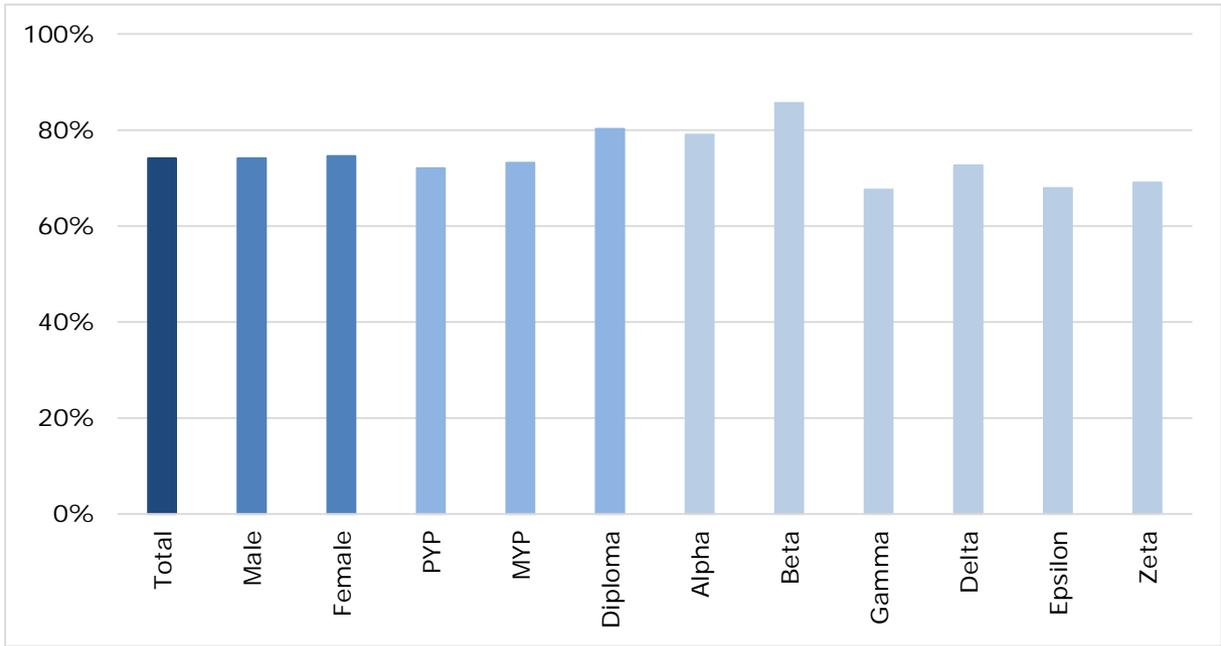


Figure 58: Encouraged recycling

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

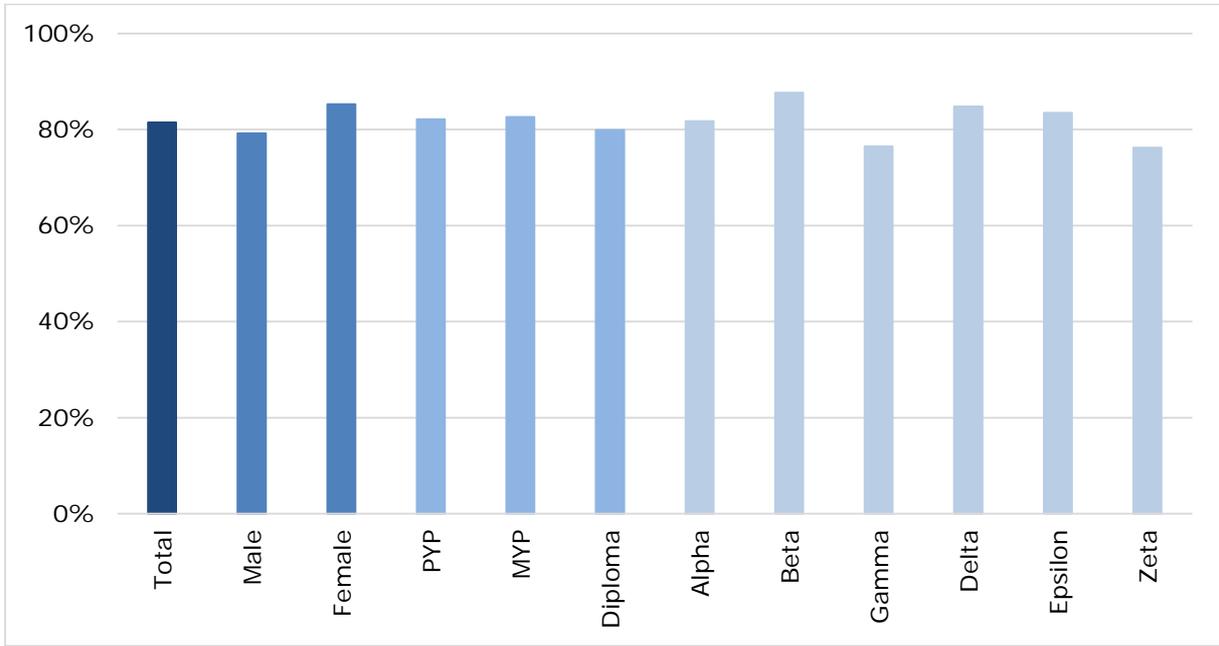


Figure 59: Helped me learn about people worse off than myself

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

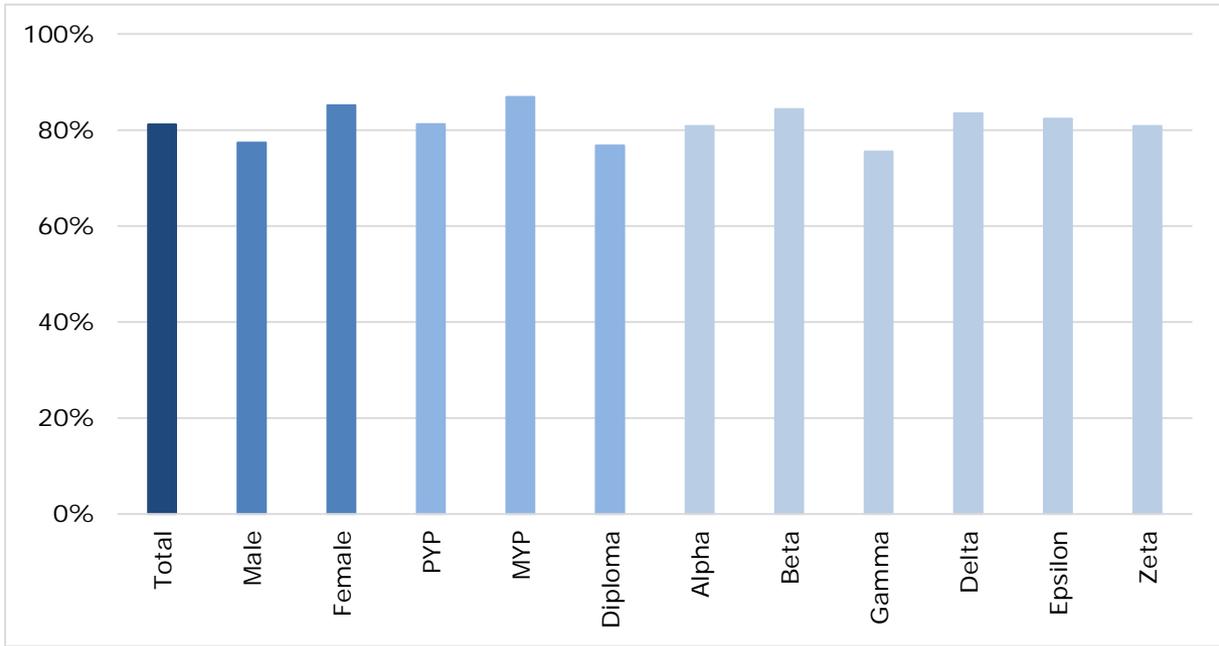


Figure 60: Given me opportunities to learn about people worse off than myself

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

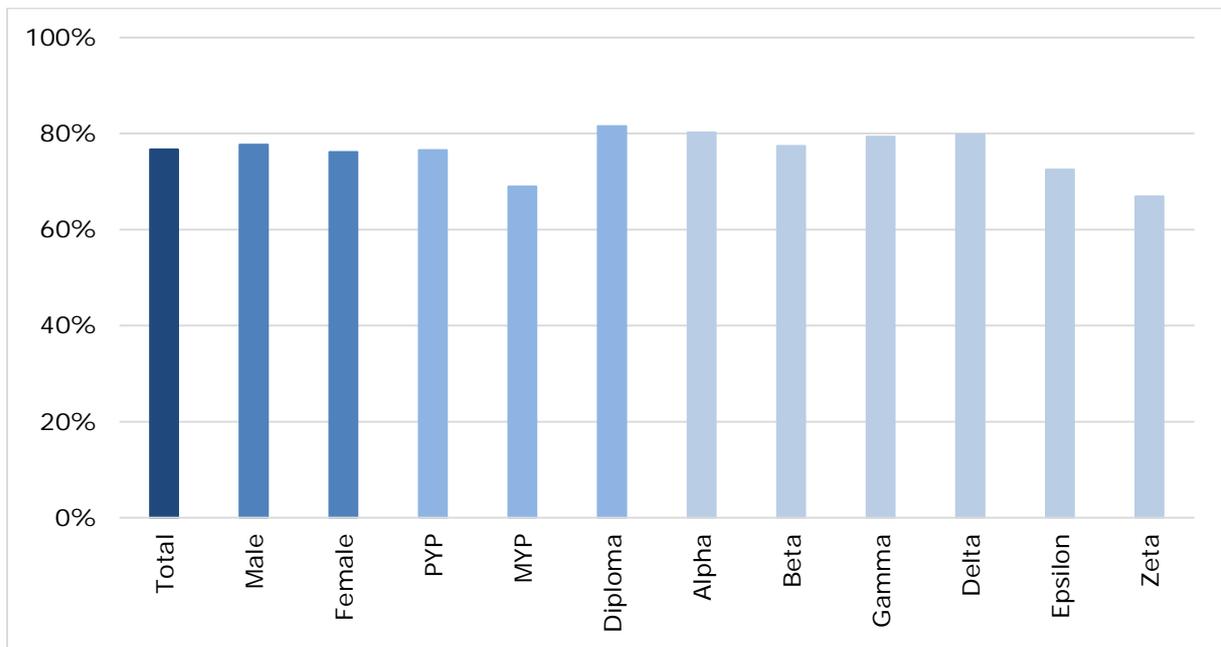


Figure 61: Helped me figure out ways to help my fellow students in class

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

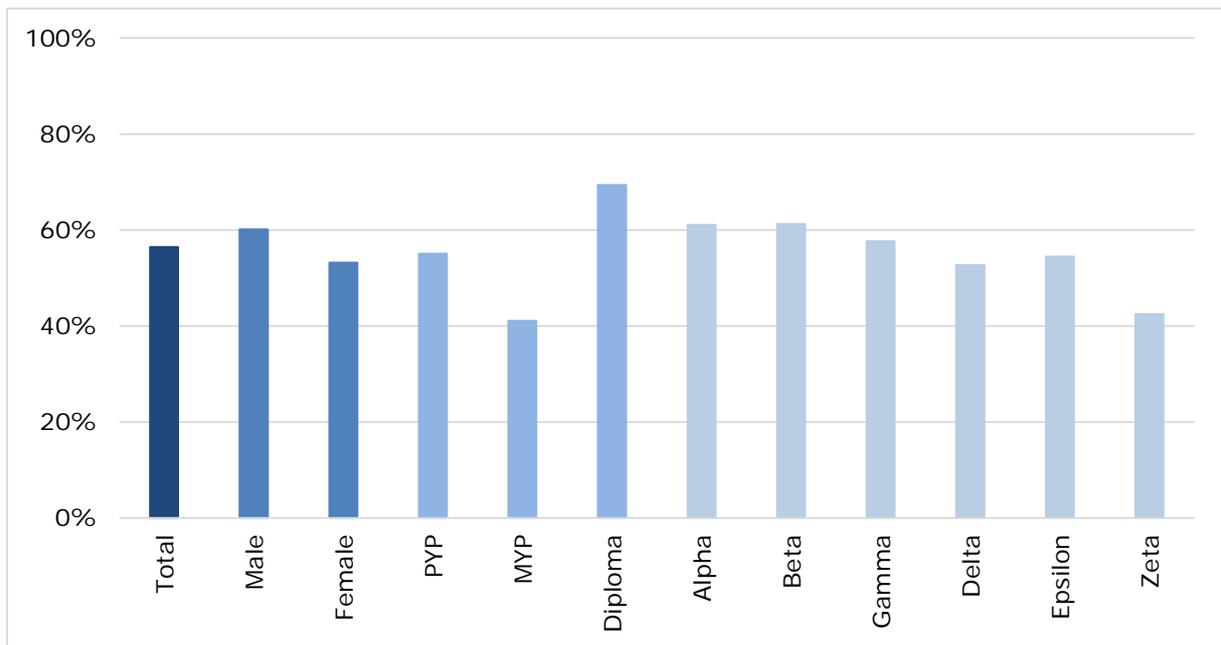


Figure 62: Helped me figure out ways to help my fellow students in the playground

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

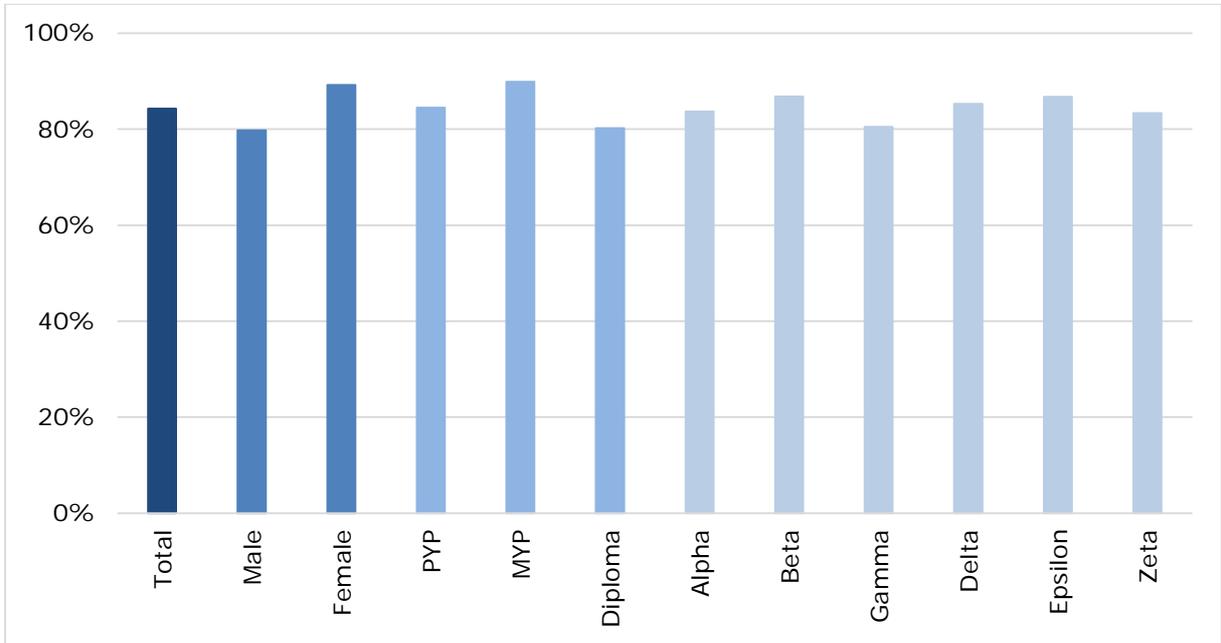


Figure 63: Raised money for charity

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour Survey

Appendix 4: Mokken Scale Analysis

Mokken Scale Analysis is a method of analysis from the family of item response theory methods. It is a probabilistic version of Guttman scaling – a method of analysis which has been used elsewhere in the field of education and the study of children and young people’s attitudes (Van Schuur, 2003; 2011; Yamaguchi and Kandel, 1984; Brookover *et al.* 1964; Single *et al.* 1974). The primary difference between the two is that MSA compensates for Guttman Errors by assuming a probabilistic distribution of the likelihood of success or failure for successive items on a uni-dimensional scale of difficulty rather than a deterministic one (Van Schuur, 2011).

MSA (like Guttman scaling) assumes that all of the items to be analysed form a uni-dimensional scale which measures a single latent trait (Van Schuur, 2003). The items on the scale differ on the basis of their relative ‘difficulty’, assuming that fewer people will ‘succeed’ in dominating the more difficult items than the easier ones. It also assumes that an individual who dominates a higher difficulty item is likely to successfully dominate all of the easier items (Van Schuur, 2011) (as opposed to Guttman scaling, which assumes that this individual *must* dominate all of the easier items (Van Schuur, 2011)).

For example, assume the items in the analysis are maths questions, and the latent trait they measure is mathematical aptitude. Item 1 is the ‘easiest’ item, asking about basic addition. Item 2 is slightly harder, asking about multiplication. Item 3 is harder still, asking about algebra. Item 4 is the hardest item, asking about calculus. MSA assumes that a) most people will successfully answer Item 1 (i.e. they will dominate the item), fewer will dominate 2, fewer still will dominate 3, and very few will dominate 4; and b) that the vast majority of individuals who dominate Item 4 will also dominate Items 1, 2 and 3, while the individuals who dominate Item 3 will likely dominate Items 1 and 2 but will fail to dominate Item 4.

This is the assumption that MSA tests in our survey data. If this assumption is violated, then we must conclude that the survey items do not all measure the same latent construct on a uni-dimensional continuum. The MSA will then report how many latent constructs are being measured by the survey items, allowing us to identify the clusters of survey questions which are measuring the same latent component of our broader concept of interest.

This function of identifying which clusters of survey items (if any) are measuring the same latent construct(s) is a task often performed using factor analysis or principal component analysis. However, MSA is a preferable alternative to these methods for the analysis of survey data, for two main reasons. First, factor analysis has been shown to over-estimate the number of latent dimensions within a dataset, particularly when that dataset includes dichotomous survey items (Van der Eijk and Rose, 2011). In addition, MSA, as outlined above, assumes that the relative 'difficulty' of each survey item varies (in practice this means that the likelihood of respondents answering in the affirmative – however this is measured – for various survey items is assumed to vary) (Van Schuur, 2003; Hemker *et al.* 1995). Factor analysis, however, assumes that this is not the case – that each item has an equal difficulty of being answered in the affirmative by each person - because it assumes that individual respondents do not vary (Van Schuur, 2003). This is an assumption which is often violated in survey research (Van der Eijk and Rose, 2011; Van Schuur, 2003) – indeed, it is hoped that respondents *will* vary in survey research so as to tell us something about the subject we are interested in.

For these reasons, MSA is the preferable tool for analysing the survey data in this analysis and for identifying modes of critical receptiveness that can be more reliably measured and extensively examined through the use of composite variables.

The MSA will be conducted using Stata's 'msp' and 'loevh' modules³. The first stage in the analysis uses the 'search' function (the 'msp' command), which uses an iterative process to determine whether or not items can be said to measure a latent common trait. First the 'easiest' item is identified (in the absence of any other indicator of the ease or difficulty of dominating a survey item, the relative difficulty of the survey items is calculated based on the mean score of it), and then the item which correlates most strongly with it is added. This process continues until no further items fit onto the scale, and the process begins again with the next 'easiest', currently unscaled item.

MSA determines which items commonly measure the same latent trait through the use of Loevinger's H-Coefficient (Van Schuur, 2011). A coefficient of 0.3 or greater is considered sufficient to identify a particular survey item as measuring the same latent construct as the other items on a given scale (Mokken, 1971; Van Schuur, 2003). A lower coefficient implies that the items are not measuring the same latent trait, while a higher coefficient implies a strengthening of the relationship between the items in question in their measurement of that trait. In addition, an H-Coefficient for the overall scale of items is also calculated, which works in the same way; a coefficient of 0.3 implies that the combined scale is measuring the same latent construct to a satisfactory level (Mokken, 1971; Van Schuur, 2003).

In the MSA search process, therefore, the software determines which items are measuring the same latent construct on the basis of the H-coefficient relative to the other items in the proposed scale, and on the basis of the overall H-coefficient for the combined items on that scale.

Once the search function has identified the potential scales, they are tested using the 'loevh' command. The 'loevh' function runs a test on the proposed item scale, testing the null hypothesis that they do not measure the same latent construct. It

³ The two modules were designed by Dr Jean-Benoit Hardouin, and are available for download at <http://ideas.repec.org/c/boc/bocode/s439401.html> (Accessed 21st March 2014).

calculates the H-coefficient for each item and for the overall scale; if any of these coefficients is below 0.3, the proposed scale must be rejected as a measure of a common latent trait. The advantage of using the 'loevh' function in Stata is that by only including the items which potentially make up a single scale, the effects of data loss through listwise deletion are minimised. By contrast, when the 'msp' command is used, depending on how many variables are to be included in the initial search procedure, the loss of data because of listwise deletion of cases with missing responses to single variables can be substantial. Through testing each proposed scale with the 'loevh' command, therefore, the scale is usually tested on a larger sample than was included in the initial search procedure which identified it.

Once the search and testing functions have been completed, and any refinements to the scales made on the basis of each, we are left with scales of items measuring the same latent construct which can be combined into composite variables for measuring that construct. The resulting composite variables will have greater potential (and, often, actual) variance than the original constituent variables, and will also provide a more reliable measure of the trait of interest owing to its being measured in several different ways.

Mokken Scale Analysis: Caring Dimensions

To identify the scales which correspond to the dimensions of caring hypothesised when the survey was designed, all of the survey questions in each section of the survey (each section was assumed to correspond to one dimension) were analysed, one section at a time. The tables below report the results of the MSA.

Table 61: MSA results

Test 1 - Caring Behaviour			
Scale 1	Scale		
Item	H Coef	H Coef	Obs
I like doing jobs around the home.	0.34	0.39	2226
I try to recycle as much as possible.	0.34		
When I see someone has dropped something, I'll tell them about it.	0.32		
I help other people with their school work.	0.34		
I'm good at helping my friends when they need me.	0.36		
If I see someone who has fallen over, I'll ask if they're OK.	0.36		
I am interested in learning about things happening to people in other countries.	0.37		
I like to look after other people.	0.41		
I feel I want to do something when I learn about disasters on the news.	0.41		
I do things to help run my school.	0.39		
I do volunteering work.	0.40		
I take part in school activities that aim to protect the environment.	0.41		
I take part in activities outside school that help people less fortunate than me.	0.39		
I take part in school activities to help people less fortunate than me.	0.44		
I have helped raise money for charity.	0.39		
I enjoy raising money for charity.	0.46		
I enjoy doing charity work for people overseas.	0.46		
REJECTED: I am helpful at home			

Test 2 - Caring School Environment			
Scale 1	Scale		
Item	H Coef	H Coef	Obs
I feel that students care for each other at my school.	0.53	0.65	2242
I feel that I can be myself at my school.	0.58		
I feel trusted at my school.	0.66		
I feel listened to at my school.	0.68		
I feel encouraged at my school.	0.67		
I feel supported at my school.	0.69		
I feel cared for at my school.	0.66		
I feel respected at my school.	0.68		
I feel valued at my school.	0.70		
I feel important at my school.	0.68		

Test 3 - Taught Caring			
Scale 1	Scale		
Item	H Coef	H Coef	Obs
At school we learn to do things to protect the environment.	0.59	0.69	2251
At school we learn to think about people in other countries who are less fortunate	0.62		
At school we learn to be considerate of other people's needs.	0.73		
At school we learn to be thoughtful about others.	0.73		
At school we learn to care about other people.	0.73		
At school we learn to be helpful to others.	0.73		

Test 4 - Caring Behaviour in School			
Scale 1 - Caring School Activity	Scale		
Item	H Coef	H Coef	Obs
Given me opportunities to help people worse off than myself	0.38	0.44	2148
Helped me learn about people worse off than myself	0.42		
Helped me figure out ways to help my fellow students in class	0.46		
Helped me figure out ways to help my fellow students in the playground	0.52		

Scale 2 - Pro-Social School Activity	Scale		
Item	H Coef	H Coef	Obs
Encouraged recycling	0.34	0.36	2148
Helped the environment	0.37		
Had speakers talk about environmental concerns	0.39		
Had speakers talk about bullying	0.38		
Collected donations (such as clothes, toys or food) for charity	0.30		
Raised money for charity	0.39		

Source: Pro-Social Behaviour survey

Appendix 5: Interview Schedules

Senior Leaders and Curriculum Leaders – Interview Schedule

Personal Background

What is your position in the school?

How long have you held this position?

What was your previous position, and where?

How long have you been working with the IB curriculum?

The Learner Profile

What do you see as the significance of the Learner Profile with the PYP, MYP and DP?

How do you incorporate the Learner Profile in general into your a) curriculum and b) co-curricular activities?

Could you tell us something about attitudes towards the Learner Profile amongst a) Teachers, and b) Students?

Caring

Do you think that addressing 'Caring' is relevant to your school?

What do you understand to be the key components of the concept of 'Caring'?

Do you think that the concept of 'Caring' means something different in the three programmes or is the same across all three programmes?

At DP level, what is the relationship between Caring and CAS?

How do you incorporate the attribute Caring into your a) curriculum b) student support services and c) co-curricular activities? Again, if you are able to, can you identify any differences between the PYP, MYP and DP?

How do you think it impacts, if at all, on your classroom practices?

How do you think it impacts, if at all, on your school culture?

What procedures do you have for assessing caring activities in the school, both inside and outside the classroom? Do you assess it implicitly or explicitly?

Could you tell us something about attitudes towards the concept of caring in the Learner Profile amongst a) Teachers, and b) Students?

What significance do you think that students place on the attribute 'Caring'? Does it differ across the 3 programmes?

What significance do you think that teachers place on the attribute 'Caring'? Does it differ across the 3 programmes?

Conclusion

In summary, what significance does your school currently place on developing the attribute 'Caring'?

How is the attribute 'Caring' integrated into school policies and the school culture more generally?

Would you like to see any changes in the way that the attribute 'Caring' is developed in your school?

Would you like to see any changes in the IB curriculum, with particular reference to both the Learner Profile and the attribute 'Caring'?

Classroom Teachers – Interview Schedule

Personal Background

What subjects do you teach?

Do you teach PYP/MYP/DP?

Please describe your experience of IB - elsewhere, and at current school.

How long have you been working with the IB curriculum?

The Learner Profile

What do you see as the significance of the Learner Profile with the PYP/MYP/DP?

How do you incorporate the Learner Profile in general into your a) teaching and b) co-curricular activities?

Could you tell us something about attitudes towards the Learner Profile amongst a) Fellow teachers, b) Students and c) School management?

Caring

What does 'Caring' mean to you?

Do you think that addressing 'Caring' is relevant to your school?

What do you understand to be the key components of the IB Curriculum concept of 'Caring'?

Are you aware of any differences/similarities in the concept of 'Caring' across the three programmes?

How do you incorporate the attribute Caring into your a) teaching and b) co-curricular activities? Please would you give some examples.

Is it important that 'caring' is part of the IB curriculum, or would you be doing 'caring' teaching regardless?

How do you think the IB's Learner Profile attribute of 'caring' impacts, if at all, on your classroom practices?

How do you think it impacts, if at all, on your classroom/school culture?

What procedures do you have for assessing caring activities both inside and outside the classroom? Do you assess it implicitly or explicitly?

Could you tell us something about attitudes towards the concept of the Learner Profile attribute of caring amongst a) Fellow Teachers, and b) Students c) School management?

What significance do you think that students place on the attribute 'Caring'? (Does it differ across the 3 programmes?)

What significance do you think that teachers place on the attribute 'Caring'? (Does it differ across the 3 programmes?)

How, if at all, are you directed to integrate 'caring' into your classes? Any particular ways?

Conclusion

In summary, what significance does your school currently place on developing the attribute 'Caring'?

Would you like to see any changes in the way that the attribute 'Caring' is developed in your school?

Would you like to see any changes in the IB curriculum, with particular reference to both the Learner Profile and the attribute 'Caring'?

How would you describe the impact of 'caring' on students? (and wider impact on the school?)