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PROBLEMATIZING THE IB – THE INSTITUTIONAL AND THE INDIVIDUAL

A Foucauldian inquiry into IB Institutions through a critical discourse analysis and life stories

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ABSTRACT

Established in 1968, the IB (International Baccalaureate) presents a fascinating example of organizational growth. The initially grassroots, Eurocentric, networked leanings to the IB's growth have more recently become distinctly North American 'globalist' and conventionally corporate hierarchical, which poses interesting questions about the growth process of such organizations. These changes are identified and explored through the discourses and practices of the IB. Institutional theory helps to understand these as socially constructed, and institutional power and discourses are identified through the Foucauldian approach. The Foucauldian approach also connects space-time phenomena at the level of transnational neoliberalism with the lives of individual actors.

To answer the main research question of 'How do (organizational) institutions develop: the case of the IB?', a mixed-method approach has been taken. My own life story alongside those of other IB institutional actors brings the reader into this 'IB world' and elucidates the experience of institutions and institutionalization – of being made subjects of these institutions – from within. From this 'insider' positioning, the reader can better understand the tensions between the rhetoric and the reality in this IB world; we can meaningfully *problematise* this significant organizational and institutional nexus of power. As this narrative builds explanatory veracity, the application of Critical Discourse Analysis to a key institutional artefact – a globally implemented, digital training interface for its key institutional actors – exposits the IB's exercise of governmentality (Foucault 1984) in its most ambitious modes of institutionalization. This helps to answer two further research questions: How are (organizational) institutions thickened through actors and discourses within the IB? How does organizational institutionalization operant within the IB interact with the wider societal context?

The importance of cultural cognitive institutions and/as discourse is explored within the case study of the IB – and shown to be highly congruent with the transnational, neoliberal context. Conversely, the (in)congruence of such institutionalization within an ostensibly progressive, (social-) constructivist, liberal[1] and critical-thinking oriented educational organization is problematized, and presented in terms of implications for educational leaders in the field, and as an important area for further research.

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[1] 'Liberal' here is used in the primary sense of the word i.e., 'willing to respect or accept behaviour or opinions different to one's own' (OED, 2021); but its more epistemic application by Foucault to describe the pre-neoliberal era is not coincidental: one finding, here, may be that IB's rhetoric is 20th century while its reality is 21st.

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1) INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE BIG ISSUE

Established in 1968, the international growth of the IB (International Baccalaureate) presents a fascinating model in organizational growth, particularly through the lens of organizational institutionalism and the institutionalization process. Providing curriculum, teacher training, school authorization and other organizationally significant elements through more than 5,500 schools across 158 countries globally, plus over a million students, (IB, 'Facts and Figures', 2020) the IB's significance in these school communities and beyond has been observed by this researcher practitioner to be a powerful source of what seminal institutional theorists Meyer and Rowan usefully describe as 'socially rationalized myths' (1977). With its origins in Western Europe, the initially Eurocentric leanings to the IB's growth have become distinctly North American globalist – while its overt ideology and pedagogical model has remained, as per a wide body of research most visibly led by such researcher-practitioners as former Director General of the IB George Walker (Walker, 2000, 2004, 2010), distinctly Western liberal. In combination with its origins as a highly networked organizational structure and 'distributed' model of (educational) leadership evolving into a much larger and more conventional corporate and hierarchical model, it is anticipated that the discourses of the IB and its growing apparatus of institutionalization have undergone significant change. It is worth noting at the outset that, although distinctions between the interdependent elements of the IB's (conventional corporate) hierarchical organizational structure and its larger globally networked community will form part of the subject of this analysis, references to 'the IB' and 'institutionalization within the IB' in this research will otherwise conflate these as matter of course.

Though research into the IB using institutional theory is starting to emerge, this is still in a relatively nascent phase, and moreover primarily emanates from the academic field of education – with its own set of interests, such as the identity of teachers within the empirical field, or the primary institutional tasks of the field (Bunnell, Fertig, and James, 2017, 2020). Though these will certainly be informative and overlapping with the interest here, the primary aim of this research is to develop a better understanding of the organizational and field level phenomenon of institutions and institutionalization itself within the IB. The Foucauldian approach, with its identification of institutional power being exercised (indirectly) through discourse and forms of identity and in historically contingent contexts – Foucault's insistence on a localised conception of the exercise of power, 'a specificity of [its] mechanism and modality' (1984, p.174) – will be instrumental, as

will Scott's theoretical framework of pillars of institutions, mechanisms of institutionalization and institutional logics.

In particular, Foucault's 'objective… to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects' (Rabinow,1984, p.8) to particular modes of power and/as knowledge within his concept of governmentality is central here. This builds upon his notion of how 'the subject is objectified by a process of division either within himself or from others' (Foucault in Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982, p.208). *Governmentality*, then, describes how we are shaped by institutions to perpetuate those same institutions at a level of deep (psychological) identity formation. *Problematization* is the technique through which we can critically exposit this process from exploration of individual positions within it – and, most particularly, at its margins.

Using a multiple qualitative methods approach, the first phase of the research develops through interview and then life story narrative development from a cross-section of organizational and field-level actors, who will also be shown to occupy varying positions as carriers of institutionalization for the IB. Life story interviews have the potential to be rich with detail about the experience of lives/working within the IB – expositing its institutions and institutionalization processes from exploration of individual positions within it and at its margins. Though this critical narrative development will of course have much overlap with the field of critical management studies that explores *Organizational Culture and Identity* – and will be enhanced by reference to such work as Parker's eponymous (2020) title – the critical framework here will be developed around institutions.

Institutional theory shows us that the world is made-up of a complex tapestry of institutions or 'socially rationalized myths'. Often these institutions overlap, sometimes they are complementary, sometimes there is (creative) tension between them, sometimes they are in outright conflict. Immersion in the life stories and discourses of a range of institutional actors will demonstrate this complex plurality to the organisational field, and then probe its margins with critical inquiry. This probing of the margins should, within Foucault's method of problematisation, help elucidate the nature of the central phenomenon itself: IB Institutions.

As an IB field-based researcher practitioner, my own understanding of this discourse world is rich because I have lived and worked within and alongside the IB's growth for more than a decade; I have an experiential and longitudinal depth of knowledge aligned with and drawn from

my own 'narrative' within/alongside the organizational growth of the IB. The first life story, in the 'Problematising Preface' is therefore my own. In a manner that is ontologically and epistemologically consistent with 'me', this narrative will also contribute to and establish the style for the constructivist positioning that the larger narrative of this thesis occupies methodologically. But to frame it in the more critical realist terms of the underlying ontology, my life story alone, of course, lacks triangulation with other narratives across time and space within the IB – and my reader does not share this experiential and narrative positioning. So, the presentation of a cross-section of organizational and field-level actor life stories will follow from my own. This will provide a depth of immersion in the IB world; following a more conventional/prosaic case-study delineation, these life stories will bring the reader closer to the position of the researcher practitioner through narratives and the discourses of lives across time and space, whole careers, unfolding alongside the organizational growth of the IB, as we problematise and probe its margins from within. So the methodology is also socially-constructivist.

This depth and breadth of understanding provides a foundation upon which to build the next phase of the research, where data is drawn from a (compulsory) training interface for 'IBEN' (IB Educator Network) educators – the globally networked range of professionals who are the 'front-line' in the IB's institutions and institutionalization: amongst others, through the processes, and primary income sources, of 'Examinations', 'Workshops' and 'Evaluation and Authorisation Visits'. The performance of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) upon this interface/text should elicit clarity on the contemporary institutionalizing discourses of the IB. Norman Fairclough's CDA methods for data extraction will be useful here. Contrasting with the longitudinal and richly experiential data drawn from life story narratives, the CDA of the training interface is a detailed analysis of how institutionalisation take shape – primarily through discourse – right now; it is an empirical sample, and artefact of the IB's current (neoliberal) apparatus of control, or their exercise of governmentality.

The IB's exponential growth from a 'bottom-up', networked organization into something far more conventionally corporate and hierarchically vertical coincides with the development of a (neoliberal era) apparatus of governmentality, which may have supplanted any genuine organizational and intellectual ethos of networked/democratic power distribution. This contrasts sharply with the IB's maintenance of a distinctively liberal progressive and socially constructivist public discourse, or – to express it sceptically – its organizational rhetoric (IB 2020). The

pronounced acceleration of this process within the past two decades as the IB's global growth radically shifted from its largely Eurocentric origins to the United States, coinciding along the way with the ensuing 'culture wars' (Bunnell 2009), has seen the IB deploy a very specifically neoliberal mode of governmentality in its process of institutionalization / exercise of power. This warrants critical and empirical investigation, because such incremental corporatization, especially in the realm of educational organizations, as Parker argues of the institution of the business school, is not 'necessary and inevitable' (2018, p.143) and instead we should 'problematize the relationship between means and ends' (2018. P.142).

The thickening of the cultural-cognitive pillar of institutions (Scott, 2014) will be shown to be the most pronounced contemporary outcome of the IB's institutionalization process; the foremost 'means' to its 'ends' of organisational growth. The significance of this within an ostensibly progressive, (social-)constructivist, liberal and critical-thinking oriented transnational organization will be considered and presented as an important area for further research.

Of particular managerial interest, as an outcome of the critical method of problematization, will be the development of an understanding of the relative margins of agency, resistance and creativity that institutional actors have within this institutional process. Further consideration, as educational leaders, of the implications of this ongoing institutionalization process in terms of its effects upon organizational and educational outcomes will be shown to be urgent. Likewise, consideration of the strategic implications for deployment of IB institutions in a globalist context will be highly pertinent to the managerial significance of the study for (international) school leaders.

1.2   OBJECTIVE OF RESEARCH AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This thesis therefore explores the development of institutions in the context of the IB. The two stages of data gathering and analysis used here will be intentionally sequenced as part of a primarily exploratory approach. A cross-section of institutional actors will be interviewed and their narratives developed.   These narratives will build a structured framework in the reader's mind to understand where I – as a field-level researcher practitioner – am (critically) positioned, and where I want to go; the puzzle that I am exploring. Following in the traditions of empirical inquiry of Foucault, this exploratory approach will aim to problematize rather than polemicize; though neoliberal corporate institutions are the primary subject of (critical) investigation, that is not to

presume that they are inherently 'bad' from anything like a Marxist (or other) ideologically committed / normative position. Though the critical approach taken here will inevitably engage with questions of a political and normative nature, the endeavour is to problematize these. Primarily epistemologically constructivist, then, this puzzle will be elucidated with reference to rigorous tools from institutional theory such as Scott's Framework of Institutional Pillars and Carriers (2014), in addition to more tentative development of frameworks and other explanatory tools, including the unique insights offered by Foucault with regards to the exercise of power through knowledge across time and space. These will start to take shape through the life story narratives and my critical positioning therein, supported by narrative and logical flow, readability, and the identification/signposting of key concepts, with layering and triangulation of these across different narrative subjects. Following from this, a globally implemented training interface with a central role in the IB's organizational practices will be analysed. The preceding understanding of the context through the narrative subjects of the life stories will help to elucidate the analysis of the training interface, which will be seen as a materialization of the neoliberal discourse of IB institutions. This combination of constructivist, narrative methodology with empirically rigorous data and underpinning (institutional) theory we could broadly then describe as a 'critical realist' ontological positioning – which will be shown to align with my own philosophical leanings and, indeed, its foundations in Foucault's work.

The aim is to: 1) explore the development of institutions in the IB, and 2) explore the effects that this process has within the organizational field and beyond. The question, 'How do (organizational) institutions develop: the case of the IB?' guides the research. The framing of this question within the language of the case study method is intentional (Yin 2017); this will help frame the research within the more methodologically rigorous traditions of the case study. Further research questions are then identified through a critical framework integrating two essential components: Scott's (2014) model of the institutionalization process; Foucault's critical insights about the nature of power in (contemporary) society – not least the interdependent relationship of discourse and knowledge through (the institutional exercise of) power upon individuals.

In addition to the core theory from Organizational Institutionalism, then, the Foucauldian toolbox and in particular the concept of governmentality will support the development of an explanatory framework for how the process of institution development and institutionalization operates through discourse. The centrality of narrative in this discourse-based institution

development process will also form part of the explanatory framework, with life stories narrative development elucidating the process and effects of this through/on institutional actors.

Various conceptualizations and their interdependent relationships are presented within the conceptual framework. Institutions are shown to be socially constructed, and institutionalization the process through which these become more permanent. Institutionalization is explained through governmentality in the IB's neoliberal, transnational organizational context. Governmentality, as a neoliberal apparatus of control, is shown to manifest as incremental growth of the cultural cognitive pillar in the institutionalization process: this is how the institutions become more permanent in a neoliberal context.

Therefore, two important assumptions of this research are that institutionalization is a socially constructed process, and that – as a process – it must manifest across time and space.

1.3   ARTEFACTS AND INDIVIDUALS; CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND LIFE STORIES

As expressed within the objective of this research, the centrality of discourse and narrative in the institutionalization process form a central part of the explanatory framework herein. CDA and Life Stories methodology are therefore congruent with the central conceptual framework – a Foucauldian framing of Institutional Theory – and will be mobilized for data extraction within the methodology.

Operating within the broader Foucauldian conception of power operating through language and knowledge, CDA or *critical* discourse *analysis* presents a toolkit for examining how power operates through language at both the micro-level, in detailed *analysis* of language elements, and the macro-level, by *critically* connecting these elements to organizational, social, economic and political processes. As exemplified in Fairclough's seminal application of CDA to the marketization of public discourse through the study of organizational discourses in universities (1997), this critical toolkit is most apt for critical analysis of organizational artifacts such as regulatory documentation or – as in the current research – an online training interface.

Also operating within this broader Foucauldian conceptual framework – where narratives can constitute powerful nexuses of discourses – life stories narrative development will present an opportunity for the reader to participate in in-depth and pluralist exploration of how the process and effects of institutionalization are conceived, experienced and expressed by a cross-section of

institutional actors.

1.4   MULTIPLE QUALITATIVE METHODS METHODOLOGY

To answer these research questions, a multiple qualitative methods methodology will therefore be used. This corresponds to the multiple units of analysis, comprising IB international schools and actors within this organizational field in relation to the process of institutionalization in the IB, and various organizational discourses and artifacts operant within the IB. As noted above, the IB's (increasingly conventionally corporate) hierarchical organizational structure, with various regional headquarters globally, and its larger globally networked community of IB schools and stakeholders will form part of the subject of this analysis, with references to 'the IB' 'IB institutions' and 'institutionalization within the IB' in this research conflating these as a matter of course. While distinctions do exist between, for example, the IB's organizational headquarters in Geneva, its various regional offices in different continents, and its global network of IB Schools and IB Educator Network (IBEN) peripatetic specialist employees, such distinctions can also be subsumed within references to 'the IB'. Such a subsuming of these sub-units can also allow a conceptualization of a single unit of analysis: the IB and its process of institutionalization.

The qualitative depth of understanding from which the author, as a field-based researcher living/functioning at various levels throughout the IB and IBEN over the past decade, writes is not to be taken for granted here. Indeed, it is this that facilitates the aforementioned conception of 'the IB' as simultaneously a single phenomenon, and also a composite of sub-units such as individual organizations, networks and actors. A cross-section of life story narratives, beginning with that of the author in *Problematizing Preface*, will endow the reader with something closer to this complex holistic understanding; narrating how the institutionalization process manifests in individual lives, and how it has developed with the growth of the IB through the life stories / narrative phase of the research. This opening autobiographical section will also establish the distinctively (socially-)constructivist epistemology and style to the narration of all life stories – hopefully helping to make explicit my own voice and subjective positioning here. This introduction and exercise in reflexivity, in turn, should support the subsequent life stories being more subject-centred in their framing (i.e. my own voice and its subjectivity has been thoroughly exposited and so can be more of a 'controlled variable' in scientific terms); the concluding CDA on the IBEN interface will continue this progression (i.e. become further distanced from my subjective positioning in its

treatment of the data object; even more objective or 'scientific'). In this way, the sequencing of the modules of the mixed methodology to the different subjects / data objects is designed to produce a progression from exploratory, narrative exposition, to a more explanatory theory-building/exposition denouement. The below infographic captures this progression:

Figure 1-1: Mixed Methodology Module Sequencing: from Exploratory to Explanatory
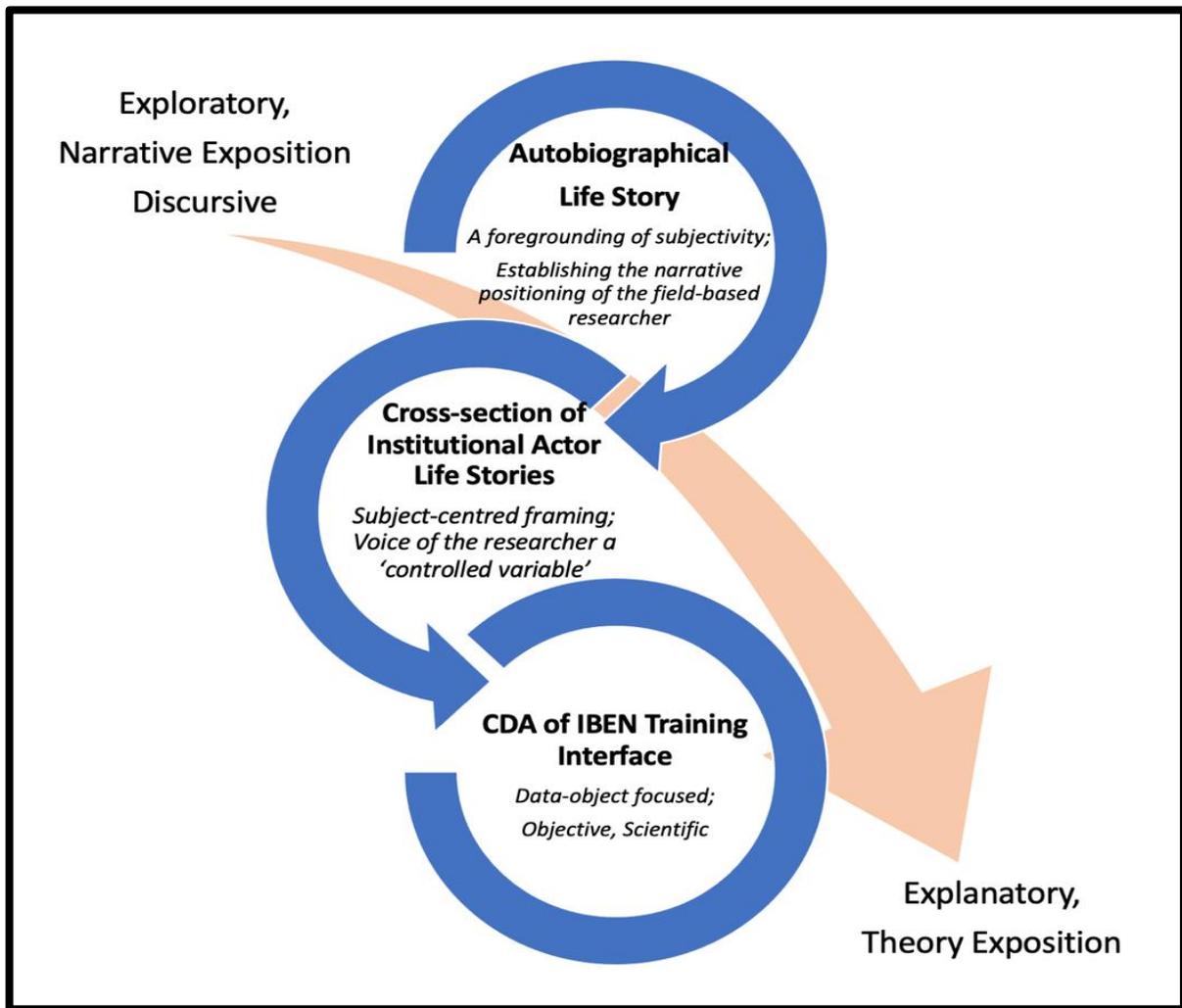
The final phase, CDA of an IBEN Programme Standards and Practices (PSP) digital training interface, then, concludes the Data Exposition phase of the study. The data object here is a mandatory training course for those employed in various specialist capacities by the IB within IBEN (IB Educator Network). IBEN is a network of peripatetic specialist employees within the

IB, including Workshop Leaders (i.e. those who train teachers), School Authorisation and Evaluation Visitors, and Consultants. As will be elucidated in the 'Empirical Setting' chapter and the delineation of the Case Study, both the Programme Standards and Practices upon which this training is based, and the IBEN Network itself are central to the IB's primary revenue sources. This analysis will also explicate the manner in which both are central to its institutionalization process and mechanisms, of which the reader will by this stage have developed a deep cross-sectional understanding from exploratory exposition of the preceding life stories. CDA of the digital training interface will exposit the manner in which institutionalization operates through the primary carriers of IBEN, through a discourse that leans heavily on the cultural-cognitive pillar of institutions. An explanatory framework for this, provided by the Foucauldian lens and the concept of governmentality in particular, will support critical connection with the transnational and neoliberal logics of IB institutionalization (Scott, 2017). Comparative reference will be made to historical iterations versus this latest 2020 PSP and its training interface, indicating how the IB's institutionalization process may have acquired this trajectory towards the cultural-cognitive pillar in recent years. Moreover, such tentative findings will be triangulated with the life stories data – or critically synthesized.

1.5   DISCUSSION

In the analysis of the discourses through which institutionalization functions at the IB, attention will be paid to distinguishing between the regulative, normative and cultural cognitive pillars of institutions. Understanding how the institutionalization process develops institutions in the IB will involve defining and distinguishing between different institutionalization mechanisms, and exploring how the regulative through normative to cultural cognitive pillars of institutions interrelate. Organisational standards, processes, practices, actors and relations within the IB are framed in the context of current, historical and ongoing social, political and economic realities – in a context where the elements of transnational institutionalist logics and neoliberal governmentality are shown to be increasingly determining elements.   The cultural complexity/plurality of these life stories will be significant, alongside the elements of commonality that can be thematized across the stories. The use of problematisation, particularly to probe the margins of creativity, resistance and relative autonomy individual institutional actors might have within such institutions will be discussed – with particular significance towards the managerial

issues here. These include consideration of the implications for deployment of IB institutions in a globalist context: probing how its strategic utility and 'ethico-political' (Foucault, p.343, 1984) value might vary in different cultures and contexts globally.

1.6   CONTRIBUTIONS

This thesis contributes to theoretical, methodological, and practical domains. A theoretical framework is created that develops an understanding of certain relationships between discourse (and wider practices – though the focus here is primarily on discourse), organisational strategy and the institutionalization process.

At the empirical level, various institutional actors will be shown to function as carriers of institutionalization in the IB. The associated discourses of institutionalization in the IB will be revealed through this research. It will be demonstrated that most of these carriers, discourses and the processes related to IB institutionalization sustain and enact the grand discourses of neoliberal globalism in various ways. The data-object of the IBEN interface will be particularly illustrative of these aspects to IB institutionalization.

The contribution this research makes can also be conceived through a gap-filling conception of the literature: it claims that the research into the IB will benefit from ongoing interaction with the rigorous approach to empirical settings (at the aforementioned meso-level) provided by the academic field of organisational institutionalism. Building upon prior research (primarily Bunnell's body of work, especially Bunnell et al. 2017), in first identifying and exploring various organisational standards, processes, practices, actors and relations within the IB and its institutionalization process, theory building around this process will start to emerge. The application of CDA to an IBEN training interface is a novel approach, and this should support meaningful theory-building around the role of discourse in the institutionalization process.

As for organizational strategy and implications, this thesis explores the tensions that exist between the IB's philosophy, its history, its organizational development, organizational discourses, its discourses of education – and its discourses of institutionalization. Exploring these tensions, especially as experienced and enacted in / through discourse by a cross-section of institutional actors, should help to develop a deeper understanding of the implications of such tensions within and beyond the organizational field – and particularly for educational leaders in IB schools, or schools considering adoption of the IB curriculum model(s).

The managerial issues emergent from this can be expressed in various questions: In what cultures and contexts globally, for example, might this powerful institutionalization process be strategically useful? Where, conversely might it lack utility or, indeed, in Foucauldian terms where might its adoption constitute an 'ethico-political choice… which is the main danger' (1984, p.343)? The consideration of whether and where IB institutions, or some other institutional logic, is most strategically efficacious, or politically exigent, will be highly pertinent to the managerial significance of the study for (international) school leaders.

The use of a wide cross-section of life story narratives as the first phase in the research – towards an endeavour to endow the reader with a similar qualitative breadth of understanding to the practitioner researcher, followed by the in-depth performance of CDA upon a key institutional artefact in the form of a digital interface, should also present a methodological contribution towards research models fit for transnational, neoliberal and (digitally) networked organisations and their institutions.

1.7 OUTLINE

The thesis follows the following structure:

The *Problematizing Preface* (1.7) follows this introduction. This is an important element in establishing: the narrative, constructionist mode with which this project will start to build from the exploratory through to the explanatory; reflexivity and exposition of the subjective positioning of the researcher; the theoretical foundations in Foucault and his mode of problematisation. The endeavour here is to plunge the reader deep into my life story in the IB world, before we step-back and review the theoretical underpinnings to the inquiry.

The Literature Review (Chapter 2) primarily reviews the organizational institutionalization literature. This begins with tracing the emergence of the field from within broader academic and intellectual traditions. This, in turn, lays the foundation for the complementary relationship with critical theory that will be established in the conceptual framework. The review concludes with establishing the significance of the cultural cognitive pillar of institutions in transnational organizational fields and a neoliberal (epistemic) context, and so starts to establish the significance of Foucault to the inquiry.

The Conceptual Framework (Chapter 3) builds from the Literature Review of the primary

phenomenon of interest in this thesis: institutions and the institutionalization process. Foucault's foundational concept of knowledge as power, and his model for how this manifests through governmentality in a neoliberal context is introduced at this stage.

The theoretical context is established as one apt for the empirical study of the IB, and theoretical insights are revealed with regard to how organizational institutional models can be linked to the growth of the IB, and its institutionalization of the organizational field. Emergent from this is the general research question of: 'How do (organizational) institutions develop: the case of the IB?'. Two further sub-research questions will also be introduced at this stage.

The Methodology and Research Design (Chapter 4) outlines the methodology with which the main research questions and the two (sub-)research question(s) will be answered. The opening sub-chapter delineates the case and explores the Empirical Setting, providing more detail about the IB, framing the emerging landscape of this organizational field and the its growth against a wider political and economic global context. Implications in terms of institutionalization of learning and tensions between the IB's various discourses within its institutions are introduced.

The Multiple Qualitative Methods Methodology is then shown to be apt to this empirical setting; articulated with reference back to the Conceptual Framework. Methods of data collection and of data analysis, problematization, and theory building are explored here. CDA methodology is then discussed in the empirical setting, with reference to key concepts and critical tools. Life stories methodology is then discussed in the empirical setting, with an emphasis upon the levels of analysis pertinent to a research project in business management. This segues into the synthesis of the two methods and sets of data: text and lives.

Explicit connections between organizational institutionalization and the IB, elements of the Foucauldian toolbox, critical discourse analysis and critical theory establish the methodological foundations for this research design. Critical discourse analysis, together with critical conceptions of narrative and life stories are then demonstrated to be apt methods for data extraction. Life stories and narrative are shown to be methods of data extraction that are highly congruent with the conceptual framework and the broader socio-political context that frames this.

The Data Exposition (Chapter 5) first presents the life stories of the IB institutional actors and institutionalization carriers. This is followed by the critical discourse analysis of the IB *Standards and Practices 'IBEN'* training interface. These are then critically synthesized through thematization and narrative.

The Analysis and Discussion (Chapter 6) revisits the research questions in light of the preceding narrative synthesis. The conceptual framework is also revisited. Strategic responses are considered alongside the critical and creative capacities of individual institutional actors. Visual schematics are deployed to further process the data, to which the conceptual framework is then applied.

The Conclusion and Contributions (Chapter 7) presents an overview of the thesis, and it discusses how this research contributes to theory, to methodology, and to empirical knowledge, practices and strategy. Finally, possibilities for future research are outlined.

1.8 PROBLEMATIZING PREFACE: PROBLEMATIZING THE IB – A CRITICAL LIFE STORY WITH FOUNDATIONS IN FOUCAULT

1.8.1 FOUNDATIONS IN FOUCAULT: PROBLEMATISING NOT POLEMICIZING

Foucault's early career is characterised by a preoccupation with expressions of marginality and 'limit cases' and experiences (1984, p.278). Gary Cutting's (2005) insightful overview of Foucault's body of work describes how, through his early investigations of criminality, gender and sexuality and the evolution of power and knowledge systems to define and control these, Foucault finds distinctive value in the marginal, the experience and voice of those at the 'limits' of such knowledge and power systems. These voices, these stories of the marginalised offer critical insights unavailable to those embedded within these institutions. Gutting also posits a sensitive and thoughtful line of inquiry into the biographical context to Foucault's philosophical positioning. Simultaneously a powerful and celebrated public intellectual, as a gay man coming from socially conservative bourgeois French society in the early 20th century – who also appeared to have had experiences of mental illness – Foucault demonstrates a pronounced restlessness and resistance to ever being personally constrained: rejecting any totalizing identities that society might attempt to confer on him; neither singularly a 'philosopher', nor a 'gay man', nor certainly any such ideologue as a 'Marxist', a 'Progressive', or even a 'Structuralist'. Gutting intelligently describes a congruence between Foucault's refusal to adopt any singular identity – to be 'subjectivised' – in his life and the overarching philosophy of his body of work.

Working alongside the likes of Roland Barthes and the school of (post-)structuralist

theorists of literary modernism through the 1950s and early 1960s, Foucault develops his conception of the political importance of the marginal/limit-experience. But even in this embryonic phase to his work, his divergence from these literary/aesthetic critics is already highly significant: it establishes the rigorous blueprint of the 'Critical Philosopher' (Gutting, 2005, p.67) whose insights are so valuable for sociological and organisational research; it places him in a realm of critical rigour very different from the radical relativism of so much (post-)structuralist theory.

The distinction between Foucault's conception of 'the author function' in *What is an Author?* (2017) and Barthes *The Death of the Author* (1968) is illustrative of this distinction. Barthes makes the polemical, provocative case that the author of a text is unimportant/irrelevant to its meaning; the text functions in an intertextual relationship with all over texts in the world of words. The polemic is an important one in the evolution of an approach to literary/epistemological criticism that looks beyond the conception of the 'author god', it takes criticism beyond the traditional conception of the meaning of a text ultimately residing in its author: beyond the idea that any given text has a single, identifiable meaning that can be attributed to its author.

Where such a polemic has limitations, which Foucault in turn takes us beyond with his preferred mode of 'problematization' (Rabinow, 1984, p.49), is in dismissing the function of the 'author' altogether. Foucault's more nuanced analysis takes us beyond Barthes, to understand that while the author does not necessarily occupy a position of transcendent knowledge/power with regard to their text's meaning, the designation of 'author' is nonetheless highly significant in our framing of a text. When we read a research paper by a number of co-authors in a high impact-factor journal, we clearly frame our reading of the text in a certain conception of author-function; when we read a blog-piece by a media personality we frame our reading of the text in another conception of author-function; when we read Mission and Vision statements on an IB School website, we frame our reading of the text in yet another conception of author-function. In all these instances, we can see the concept and knowledge/power function of 'author' as highly significant – but different in each instance, and necessarily suggesting a singular truth residing transcendentally in an individual author in none.

In this way, Foucault takes what is of value from such polemical work as Barthes and radical mid-20th century literary modernism/criticism more widely, but avoids the trap of radical subjectivity. He avoids the 'trap' of the polemic – of rendering the concept of authorship entirely meaningless, leaving us only with subjective interpretations of texts. This is highly significant to

his broader position as – in Gutting's aforementioned framing – a 'Critical Philosopher'. A philosopher, that is, whose approach might be described as critical realist: in the case in point, the 'author' clearly is a significant 'function', with real consequences for power and knowledge in the production and reception of the text, but we must consider the unique function of that designation of 'authorship' afresh in each instance, for each text's place in the world. This insight underlies the critical thrust to all of Foucault's work, and its value in the current research project: problematization, rather than polemical or ideological absolutism. Problematization involves approaching each (political) phenomenon with fresh critical eyes. To express it in the language of science: each text is a different phenomenon, each 'author-function' is a different variable in an interdependent (correlative) relationship with other variables such as the text's place/significance/meaning; we may be able to identify correlations, that is not to assume any kind of causal relationship. Foucault defined his own method in interview in 1978 'as a way of lightening the weight of causality'. As opposed to the positivist historian's fallacy of tracing causality to finite variables, Foucault's endeavour is one of 'constructing around the singular event analyzed as process a "polygon" or, rather, "polyhedron" of intelligibility, the number of whose faces is not given in advance and can never properly be taken as finite. One has to proceed by progressive, necessarily incomplete saturation.' (Foucault, 2019, p.227)

A final noteworthy aspect to the congruence of Foucault's work to the current inquiry pertains to the emergence of his position as a Critical Philosopher (and organisational scientist – if not by name) from an early preoccupation with literary criticism, madness, and limit experiences. My own forthcoming narrative comes from the margins in some respects – but is simultaneously deeply embedded in institutions (as indeed was Foucault, as a highly celebrated public intellectual and academic). It also demonstrates a pronounced affinity between my own intellectual growth – from a personal and intellectual preoccupation with literary evocations of madness and other modes of 'limit experience' – through relative societal institutionalization, to my current interest in a critical realist investigation of organizational/sociological institutions.

My own narrative and psychological positioning within this can be likewise problematised *a la* Foucault. Underpinning this work will be Meyer and Rowan's seminal conception of institutions as socially rationalised myths (1977), and the close link between this and narrative formation – or life story development.

1.8.2 MY LIFE STORY - PROBLEMATIZING THE IB

I was born in 1979. My mother was a government schoolteacher and my father worked in academia, after which he occupied various senior positions in social work. A committed Marxist, dad was deeply intellectual but also a very troubled man and, sadly he was institutionalized – in the crudest sense of this term – by my 11th birthday. I did not then see him again until his untimely death in my mid-20s, the first year – coincidentally – of my teaching career.

My father was born to working class parents of bigoted, conservative social values. A history undergraduate and then a student of sociology for his higher degree, he very much came from that same 1960s generation that saw the emergence of such progressive, liberal organisations as the IB. But he was a sensitive, and then pathologically paranoid man (he was variously diagnosed with paranoid schizophrenia and manic depression) who was always haunted by the tensions between his working class, conservative background (his father, my paternal grandfather, had left school at 14 yet was a *Grandmaster* in their local Masonic order), his principles and the realities of late modernity as he saw it. My mother came from a very different place culturally. Her parents were left-leaning intellectual Jewish holocaust survivors, from Vienna. My mother's childhood – between a reclusive, haunted father and a mother she claims to have been cruelly capricious and unpredictable – was a difficult one, and she left home at 16 to work for theatrical agents in the West End. Drama school and a teaching certificate followed soon after.

So mother and father were both escaping from things. They found one another. And between father's great sensitivity and intellect and mother's dramatic energy, they seemed to have found an equilibrium and so built a home.

My infancy was a very happy one – filled with memories of reading with my parents, contemplating anti-Thatcher and CND posters hung in our kitchen and playing with my younger twin sisters. Sadly, family life did not remain so idyllic. Having begun his career lecturing in history and sociology at a number of universities, my father's Marxist principles sought more *praxis* from his vocation. Various senior roles in social work followed but, sadly, did not endure. The problem proved not to be with his vocation. Over the course of my childhood, my father's formidable mind fell apart, culminating in his imprisonment and later sectioning under the Mental Health Act in 1989 when I was ten years old. It was at this age that I first started to think critically about the role that larger societal structures and the rules associated with them – written and

unwritten, rational and irrational – played in our lives.

Having always been a relatively academic, and certainly a creative and imaginative student, my behaviour at school began to deteriorate in pace with my father's sanity. Coming home to a paranoid schizophrenic – furniture turned upside down, writing on the walls, police investigating claims of child-abuse – I found myself picking fights, committing minor acts of vandalism and exhibiting every other form of text-book self-destructive attention-seeking behaviour a troubled eleven-year old might. The (socially rationalised) myths of how you should behave at school were not working for me; they were utterly incongruent with the behaviours I was learning at home. If not quite expelled, it was suggested by the Headmaster of my then school that we might look at other options for my secondary education. An Educational Psychologist recommended boarding school – where I might find some distance from the disturbing situation at home within a more disciplined and predictable environment. Bursary Scholarships followed, and so I found myself at a boarding school in Surrey, at some distance, in senses both cultural and geographic, from my dysfunctional bohemian North London home.

The Educational Psychologist proved to be correct, and the routine of school-life kept me preoccupied and my mind at some distance from the troubles at home; it provided a rigorous 'scaffold' in the parlance of developmental psychology; or, to express it in the idiom of this thesis, the social rationalization of these institutions was stabilising for me because of its consistency and unambiguous nature: rules were there, and everyone abided by them. Or – as I learned through my more mature years in the school – the smart operators worked out how to stretch or break the rules, yet without publicly challenging the institutions. Another way of framing this might be to describe it as socially conservative corruption, or at least a kind of moral pragmatism. I suspect that such early conditioning to what might also be described as a profound ease with institutional decoupling has much to do a certain kind of British boarding school education producing successful politicians, and (perhaps on the same behavioural spectrum) sociopaths and criminals – Eton College Alumni being particularly remarkable in this respect (Higgs, 2019). A rather petit-bourgeois enclave of Anglican mediocrity in some ways, the school was not an environment perfectly suited to me – something of which I would become more conscious and frustrated with in my later years there – but it was a place where I was kept busy with sport, study and a predictable and transparent set of boundaries against which to push. Institutionalization, the socially rationalized myths of the British boarding school, we might say, scaffolded me – as a little boy

disturbed by deeply irrational behaviour in my primary caregivers at home – back into something closer to normative development.

But underlying this process of relative cultural assimilation was a keen awareness of difference. Difference between my own cultural background and that of the boarding school, difference between the caring, sensitive and intelligent role-model my father had been and the troubled soul who was now institutionalized out of my life and, indeed, difference between the public discourses of everyday life and such private discourses as these. Perhaps even an awareness of *Différance* in the Derridean sense - because, whilst generally an articulate young soul who loved using language, I was certainly troubled with a sense that my situation resisted straightforward narration; that words and signs were ill-equipped to fix meaning upon some of my experiences in any straightforward fashion. But the endeavour struck me then, as now, as a worthwhile one – both intellectually and psychoanalytically.

Of course, I was not particularly familiar with such terms as discourse, assimilation, or certainly *Différance* at the age of eleven – however relatively precocious! Yet when I did start to read certain critical theorists and philosophers in earnest as an undergraduate, the process was not so much conceptually revelatory as linguistically so: it was to a large extent a process of acquiring a specialist vocabulary to describe the lens through which I already saw the world.

My own framing of my intellectual and critical development from this point onwards is profoundly non-linear – not least being knee-deep in the formulation of this thesis. But it certainly began in my encountering the continental philosopher who most anticipated Foucault, Freud and The Frankfurt School.

Nietzsche's lucid, bold, early essays, made a particularly deep impression on me as an undergraduate at Sussex (where studying 'English Literature' was virtually synonymous with studying Critical Theory): the notion that *man is forever piling up an infinitely complex dome of ideas upon a moveable foundation* chimed with my own understanding of our propensity to institutionalise the world, to create mythic explanations that reduced conceptual complexity into manageable units; to 'operationalise' complex phenomena, we might say in the language of social (not-so-gay) science. Nietzsche's description of Christianity as a slave morality gave voice to my own experience of Anglican conceit. Via Nietzsche and the post-structuralist thinkers who followed in his wake, I found myself drawn to theories of late modernity and the post-modern. The modernist endeavour – to present the unpresentable, to explore those aspects of existence which

resist definition and concrete description – was a critical and creative resolve I felt that I identified in myself. Whilst skeptical of the notion that the challenges posed to the artist or social documentarian by postmodernity are of a qualitatively different order to those of other eras – is this description of the modernist endeavour not closely akin to the earlier romantic preoccupation with the sublime? – I did recognise a quantitative challenge in the aesthetics of late capitalism, as described by Fredric Jameson in The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism (1992) as postmodernism. Late capitalism as an aesthetic form, or the frantic economic urgency of producing ever more novel seeming goods, tends to change the cultural landscape more quickly than the pen or pallet can easily sketch it, and so the challenge to those attempting to find apt representational forms is perhaps at least quantitively greater than in earlier eras. I have certainly observed a frenzied consumerist inertia whilst living in the far eastern central business districts of Shanghai, Hong Kong and Bangkok this last decade which seems largely (amongst more local political pressures) to preclude objective critical voices arising and being heard within its culture industry; within the institutions that prescribe and curtail our organizational and our aesthetic realities.

In his essay 'On Truth and Lying in a non-Moral Sense', Nietzsche follows the forementioned notion of the *piling up an infinitely complex dome of ideas upon a moveable foundation* with the observation that 'man is greatly to be admired in this... but not in his instinct for truth, but rather for his creativity*'* (1873, p.251)*.* This spoke to my scepticism of institutions, alongside my growing interest in the arts, education and other humanist, therapeutic practices helping us to make-sense of this complex world. It also anticipated the perspicacity I would find in Foucault's concept of 'scientificity' – the idea that each episteme creates its own notions of 'truth'; and that polemically positioning oneself against or for such truths is not as productive as critical engagement, or problematizing them.

Having completed my Masters in Literature and Philosophy at Sussex while working full-time in a challenging state school in Brighton, I found myself in the far-east and my first employ in an IB school after responding to an advert in the Times Educational Supplement. My mother had spent a career working in tough inner-city comprehensive schools in London; I had grown up with a vague perception of pre-university ('K-12') public sector teachers as populated by fundamentally decent, hardworking, unambitious, non-careerist, non-materialistic humanists. As I joined their ranks, I formed other impressions: that despite a prevailing discourse of (moderate) socialism and humanistic idealism, when such idealists remained in this increasingly beleaguered

public sector employ long term, they often leant more and more towards social and pedagogical conservativism – or cynical detachment and disenchantment with the profession. To whatever extent these observations are supported by empirical data, they certainly contributed to my own appraisal of my own situation – alongside the more pragmatic immediacy of credit card debts, university fees and a 'key worker' mortgage for a tiny flat in Brighton that were beyond my modest salary. And so I found myself in Shanghai.

My first impressions of the International School sector were utterly bizarre. The experience that stands out – not least because of its comic nature – from induction week during my introduction to AAA International School Shanghai was of an introductory workshop to the school's, and IB, pedagogy. Not untypical of many international schools in the Far East, AAA international school was owned by a large wealthy Hong Kong family whose corporate interests included almost a dozen schools predominantly scattered around mainland China, amongst other interests including an extensive real estate portfolio. In a corporatist logic that was entirely alien to my experience of public sector education in the UK, this pedagogical induction had been outsourced to a generic corporate third-party provider of professional induction sessions. It effectively consisted of an energetic young Chinese woman repeating the phrase – in describing AAA International School IB education – "It's a New Paradigm!" in ever louder and more zealous tones throughout the hour-long session. I did at one point attempt to engage her in a critical dialogue about how it might not be an entirely new paradigm for those of us who had been drawn to the school and the IB's mission and statement of educational vision before their employ; she looked puzzled by my interjection and reminded me that "It's a New Paradigm!" When my follow-up question attempted to probe what her working definition of 'paradigm' might be, to help me understand better, I was met with the same response – albeit with slightly nervous, barely submerged passive aggression to the zeal. At this point I simply conceded that it was indeed, 'a New Paradigm', and kept my own counsel through the rest of the session.

In the UK my impressions of the those who worked in educational leadership team were varied. There were those I profoundly respected such as the hardworking, socially-intelligent former PE teacher Deputy Head who managed the unruly middle school with a Drill-Sergeant-like rigour that I greatly admired, but knew would not be my preferred vocation. There was the Deputy Head who managed the high school: a shambolic excuse of a leader who largely allowed chaos to prevail whilst desperately finessing relations with the careerist cynic Head of School in order to

maintain his professional good standing. And a full-spectrum of types of professionals in between these poles. What they all had in common for me was this: I was not particularly interested in occupying their roles. They either worked exceptionally hard and were talented – so maintaining personal and professional integrity, despite the odds – or, by some combination of self-indulgence and/or incompetence, appeared to me to lack professional and personal fulfilment and integrity in their vocation. And, as a unionised, public-sector teacher in a school on the cusp of 'Special Measures', where I was effective with the students, I knew that I could speak my mind in advocating for myself in any encounter with the leadership team. Moreover, perhaps, as someone who in his mid-20s had narrowly opted for the teaching profession over law school, largely by virtue of the interpersonal rewards of working with young people and the lengthy school holidays where I could read, make music, travel... neither of these pathways had great appeal at this time.

But in Shanghai things were very different. A trend would emerge from the comically caricatured introduction to a 'Goldrush' sector[2] where a pedagogical leader might be considered equipped to deliver an hour-long workshop by virtue of just parroting the one received wisdom of "It's a New Paradigm!". Having moved to Shanghai on the understanding that I would be teaching high school language and literature – as per my specialism – I found myself teaching middle school drama, while being line-managed by an English-as-an-additional-language teacher who was teaching the literature classes I had been led to believe, at interview, would be assigned to me. The Head of School had very little interest in hearing my objections to this situation and so I capitulated and spent a rather enjoyable – if unchallenging – year doing improvisations with 12-to-14-year-olds. But the nature of the sector was starting to become apparent to me and by the end of the year I made a strategic decision about my new vocation in the IB International School world: if only to safeguard my own professional integrity it would be very easy to be a more competent middle-leader than those who line-managed me. So, when a position as Head of English became available at the larger, older and more academically prestigious twin campus on the other side of the city, I applied, was interviewed and was successful, and so – to coincide with my 29th birthday – found myself in my first IB International School leadership position.

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[2] AAA International School was massively oversubscribed and – despite modest operational costs in comparative global terms (non-skilled employees living near the poverty line)– was inordinately expensive, charging up to 40,000 USD per year, per student school fees in 2009

Earlier in this narrative, I described a (tentative) observation of a trend towards conservativism and / or disenchantment in my longer-serving colleagues in the UK public education sector. Another way of framing this, of course, at least idiomatically, is to describe their institutionalization. Having been an IB international school educator and leader for over a decade now, I can identify a form of the same phenomenon in my own experiences.

I gravitated to the liberal humanist vision and framework of the IB model – first as a literature teacher who could (as opposed to the British curriculum I had come from) design his own curriculum, i.e. choose the literary works studied, within a concept-based curriculum framework. Conceptually ambitious while malleable in terms of content, it had much in common with the approach to the study of literature I had so loved in my own studies at Sussex.

I soon discovered that this same (social) constructivist vision had a central place in the language of IB school leadership – in which lexicon I rapidly acquired fluency as I became an 'IBEN' (IB Educator Network) professional and started leading workshops all over Asia when I moved to my second international school – a 'top tier' school in Bangkok where I worked as Theory of Knowledge (TOK) Coordinator. I also discovered, inevitably it seemed, that a pronounced *decoupling* from these institutions characterised the sector: 'collaborative leadership' was often a euphemism for standardisation; 'student-centred learning' often meant sustaining top exam results. It was business-as-usual, with more ambitious, pretentious Mission Statements. And – much as I had at boarding school – I learned to agilely work within, gently pushing against but never truly compromising these institutions. Institutional legitimacy resided very happily alongside this cynical decoupling. My opening gambit in the popular TOK teacher workshops that I often led around the region was 'I feel much about the IB in education as Churchill did about democracy in politics: it's the least bad global system'. Such 'upbeat cynicism' was not unpopular if it did not preclude pragmatic content; an acknowledgement of the inevitably imperfect nature of the institutions helped everyone to function humanely within them.

And so, as I have enjoyed, in many ways, a charmed life – earning a very large disposable income relative to the education sector, travelling, having (just about!) enough time to complete a succession of post-graduate qualifications – my feelings about this life of mine are not unambiguous. I have alluded to some of the perhaps more politically innocuous IB institutional decouplings above... but a deeper unease about the sector problematizes my place within the field. My current employ is perhaps archetypal of – at least Far Eastern – IB international schools in this

respect.

YYY International School, where I currently work as an Assistant Principal and lead the IB Diploma Programme, serves the global 1% elite. We are the most expensive school in Northern Thailand – twice as expensive as our closest competitor. With a scattering of scholarship students in our midst, our student body are generally from highly privileged backgrounds. Aligned with the IB Mission Statement, we celebrate our humanist vision of 'education for a better world', with the bold Vision Statement of 'Educating global citizens who strive for excellence, live sustainably, lead responsibly, celebrate diversity, and whose integrity champions a just and more peaceful world'. Yet in a local region with awful public education standards, many living near the poverty line and a whole slew of other humanitarian issues associated with high wealth disparities and an entrenched lack of social mobility, by far the most visible and celebrated philanthropic activity in our community is concerned with caring for stray dogs. The dog charity work is integral to our community's identity. Such cases are far from atypical, and I cannot but think of the argument Adorno makes for 'false praxis' (2005, p.265) to be infinitely more politically dangerous than honest complacency; or the case that Marcuse makes for 'repressive desublimation' (2013): any (potentially subversive or critical) action is safely contained in non-political philanthropy. The gated community of privilege is inured from any genuinely politically progressive behaviour, or critical self-reflection, its bad-conscience assuaged by caring for stray dogs. Our students will pat themselves on the back for their charitable endeavours, go off to elite universities in the West, then either join the global corporate 1% workforce in multinational corporations and/or continue to perpetuate the wealth disparities running/owning family businesses in this region.

So, while, as an educator and leader I do genuinely believe that – with a critical, constructivist thrust to the work that we do, we may produce some genuinely politically progressive, humanitarian, change-agents from within these gated communities – I would see such genuine change agents as the anomaly, and so inevitably must see our IB international schools as at least also 'part of the problem'. While appreciating the subjective good I have experienced – and perhaps done – I cannot abide a polemical defence of our position globally: it must be problematised. Not least because, if our most powerful discourses and institutions – such as our guiding Mission and Vision statements – are so profoundly decoupled from our tangible actions and operating practices, we may not only be perpetuating the problem but, worse yet, be neutralizing any latent capacity for critical action or even thought. If we educate those of privilege,

living on the doorstep of poverty and global humanitarian crises, to believe that caring for stray dogs is how their 'integrity champions a just and more peaceful world' we may – in fact – be doing more harm than good. This feels precisely like the colonization of discourse that Fairclough (1993) warns of having major pathological and ethical implications for its subjects in his critical discourse analysis of such developments in the more mature model offered by the Higher Education institutional field; it certainly feels like it might be part of the neoliberal, corporatist episteme's 'main danger'. Foucault's reflection of 1984 reminds us 'that the ethico-political choice we have to make every day is to determine which is the main danger' (1984, p.343). In the local context I find myself in, I cannot but ask: are these IB institutions part of the main danger? Meanwhile, in other parts of the (IB) world – where it operates as a minority discourse against intolerance through Middle-Eastern religious theocracy, or against North American ideological and pedagogical conservativism – I can see it as working against 'the main danger' locally. This profound globalist complexity to the IB's positioning – and my place within it – compels the current inquiry, and necessitates its further exploration through a lens with such agility in space and time as Foucault's.

2) LITERATURE REVIEW

'Critically, the institutional explanation is not derived from the calculated self-interest of organizational actors, nor from the imperatives of instrumental functionality. Instead, the institutional explanation emphasizes that organizations seek legitimacy and survival not efficiency, and highlights the role of cognition and obligation, not self-interest. '
(Greenwood et al, 2017, p.7)

This chapter reviews the literature of organizational institutionalism, preparing the ground for the development of a critical conceptual framework of institutionalization in the IB.

2.1   ORGANISATIONAL INSTITUTIONALIZATION

2.1.1   INSTITUTIONAL THEORY – AN INHERITANCE COMBINING ANALYTIC RIGOUR WITH SOCIOLOGICAL BREADTH

Throughout Western intellectual history, the predominant philosophical approach across the arts, humanities and what came to be known as the 'human sciences' has been to give the theoretical/ideal and the symbolic primacy over the material and the behavioural in explaining psychological and sociological phenomena. This tradition goes back at least to Plato – and his theory of ideal forms (and, perhaps, his commensurate scepticism of democracy with its accommodation of the far-from-ideal mass of humanity, and certainly the notion that poets with their interest in the subjective human experience should be banished from the republic). Though this reason and abstraction-centric way of looking at human phenomena, bolstered by Kant and the enlightenment, is emphatically the stronger vein in (Judaeo-Christian) Anglo-American philosophy and academia – associated particularly with logical positivism, analytic philosophy, and certainly the predominant style of analysis in Business Management studies (where theoretical frame typically precedes material context – as in the largely conventional form of this thesis) – it is not the only ontological tradition in Western intellectual history. Preceding Plato, even, the Greeks had strict materialists like Democritus – even if his legacy is the less canonical. There have also been those strains of thought that aspire to a third way ontologically.

Through the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, alongside the emergence and entrenchment of industrial, organizational, then corporate and other elements of what we might use Marx to dub the superstructure of capitalism, the logical positivist tradition was laying down the firmest of roots in modern academia – particularly in those nascent disciplines, such as the study of organizations, that so aspire to be 'scientific' in their approach to the phenomenon of humanity. But a counter-cultural mode of thinking to this dichotomy – where the cultural and the symbolic must precede and determine the material and the behavioural, or, indeed, its crude inverse – was already emergent. This is not, then, to reference a populist reading of Marx – where, as Scott

points out in his brief historical overview of 'Institutional Elements' with which he concludes the *Sage Handbook of Organisational Institutionalism* 'materialist structures give rise to ideologies justifying their legitimacy' (Scott, 2017, p853) – in effect, that material systems determine the symbolic and behavioural (i.e. the inverse of the platonic ideal). Instead, it is to reference the traditions in continental philosophy that underpinned other (more nuanced) elements to Marx's thinking: the notion that the cultural and the symbolic operate in a sophisticated (dialectical) relationship with the material and the behavioural. These elements to Marx's work were the more revolutionary in an intellectual sense: presenting a language for sociological criticism that can see beyond socioeconomic disparities between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; to a mode of social critique that is not bounded by a particular historical context[3.]

Moving through Durkheim – another logical positivist championing the primacy of symbolic systems in the early twentieth century, foregrounding the manner in which 'normative/symbolic elements play an independent role in the structuring of social order' – we encounter Weber. Scott describes how 'Weber (1968: 4 [1924]) stressed the importance of 'interpretation'; the symbolic processes that mediate between social actors and the materialist conditions they confront' (Scott, 2017, p854). It is ironic, perhaps, that Weber is most associated with the notion of 'bureaucracy' – almost a shorthand, today, for an undynamic, typically public-sector apparatus of organizational stasis. His mode of thinking, and his depiction of the sociological, political and organizational landscape, is anything but static. With his broad intellectual interests and particular depth of knowledge in world religions, he certainly was not confined by an intellectual inheritance of Judaeo-Christian dualism, or a dichotomy between materiality and symbolic systems. Weber's historical approach to understanding the development of Western European and United States capitalism is thoroughly worldly and intellectually credible in a rare sense: within the traditions of both logical positivist analysis and what, for now, shall be loosely described as the more critical and/or dialectical traditions of a continental philosophical outlook – an inheritance from the likes of Schopenhauer, Hegel and Nietzsche. It should be noted from the outset of this thesis, however, that 'dialectical' criticism in the sense commonly used by

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[3] So, indeed, these elements to Marx's work were perhaps also the more enduringly revolutionary in a pragmatic sense– i.e. they suggested forms that radical socialist action might take in a post-industrial world.

Marx and Hegel is not to be conflated with the notion of 'critical' associated with Foucault (and, indeed, Weber) – even though both are interested in moving beyond a strict dichotomy between material and symbolic systems. Though more will be said on this, for now the position will simply be that phenomenologically, Foucault's philosophy descended from Nietzsche, is the more radically materialist – rejecting dualism and rather seeing 'doing' and 'meaning' as intimately co-constructed.

To return to Weber: the seeming conundrum as to why such a champion of many facets of logical positivist organizational science 'is and has usually been understood in terms of continental philosophy' and the 'Continued Relevance of Weber's Philosophy of Social Science' is explored by Stephen Turner in his paper of that title. Turner notes how, rarely in the social sciences, 'Weber understood at the outset that there was a fundamental conflict between the task of understanding action and the task of causal explanation, but he also understood that the conflict could not be resolved by collapsing one into the other' (Turner, 2007, p.3). Thus he avoids both the logical contrivances of Kant and any of the more reason-fixated traditions of logical positivism, and the 'squids inkbag' (as in Schopenhauer's famously scathing epithet for his rival in the German academy) of Hegel's murky dialecticism – instead positing empirical, practical, logically sound solutions for coherent organizational functioning in a world that is inherently protean and pluralist. One might also draw from this critical realist understanding – in a manner pertinent to the mixed methodology to be applied here – an acknowledgement that depth of qualitative exploration and understanding of any site of phenomena will usefully precede any more rigorous analysis of its artefacts and mechanisms of cause-and-effect.

Weber's great contribution, grounded in the depth and historicism of his work, is his presentation of three primary models of authority structures. These, he posited, characterize organizations in terms of the manner of authority through which they operate and cohere. The three types – in pure form – are *charismatic, traditional* and *rational-legal*; the names serving as a clear illustrative shorthand for the power through which their mode of authority operates. With the *charismatic* authority type, then, obviously deriving from the personal qualities of the leader(s), and the *traditional* model from inheritance, custom and precedent, one might usefully contrast the United States *charisma*-based presidential race with the United Kingdom's *traditional* precedent-based legal system. To extend the political-legal analogy in a manner entirely befitting the politically progressive inheritance of Weber's work, his third model and most profound

contribution to the social sciences – the *rational-legal* authority structure type – might well be epitomized in an idealistic vision, at least, for the European Union. The synthesis of the cultural and the symbolic with the material and the behavioural is realized through the bureaucratic: organizations are designed to create prescribed spaces within which (individual) human agency can operate within margins of appropriate reach/authority– according to the rational goal accorded to that actor's office. And in consideration of these rational goals, as Hickson and Pugh usefully summarize in their concluding remarks on Weber's primacy in 'most studies of the formal, structural characteristics of organizations in the last century' (Hickson and Pugh, 2007, p.7), Weber's (continental philosophical) breadth of vision is what distinguishes its enduring and transdisciplinary relevance. This is worth producing extensively here, since it presents the intersection between detailed analysis of (rational-legal) organizational materiality and behaviour with the cultural and symbolic meaning it operates alongside, along with Weber's explanation for the pre-dominance of the *rational-legal* model:

> This is where the link between Weber's interest in religion and organizations occurs. Capitalism as an economic system is based on the rational long-term calculation of economic gain. Initially for this to happen, as well as the expansion of world markets, a particular moral outlook is needed. Weber saw this as being supplied by the Protestant Christian religion, with its emphasis on this world and the need for people to show their salvation through their industry on earth. Thus economic activity gradually became labeled as a positive good rather than a negative evil. Capitalism was launched on its path, and this path was cleared most easily through the organizational form of bureaucracy, which supplied the apparatus for putting economic rationality into practice. Providing as it does efficiency and regularity, bureaucratic administration is a necessity for any long-term economic calculation. So, with increasing industrialization, bureaucracy becomes the dominant method of organizing, and so potent is it that it becomes characteristic of other methods of society, such as education, government, and politics. Finally, the bureaucratic organization becomes typical of all the institutions of modern society' (Hickson and Pugh, 2007, p.7)

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All of which rings profoundly true – and will be highly pertinent to the organization under consideration – the IB, and its institutions. Moreover, with regards to such organizations in our contemporary (*post*)modern, secular, *late*-capitalist, *neo*-liberal society, we might reasonably ask: from where is the moral outlook derived? Surely the Protestant work ethic is no longer the singular moral core of our contemporary globalist capitalist system? How, then, is its (economic) activity labelled as a positive good, rather than as a negative evil? What cultural cognitive mechanisms produce this system-perpetuating moral outlook within the post-industrial era?

Scott describes further how institutional work through the first half of the twentieth century tended to operate at the sociological level. Building on foundations such as Weber's – and particularly the aforementioned notion of actors mediating their material conditions through 'interpretation' – 'Scholars such as Spencer (1876, 1896, 1910) and Symner (1906) treated institutions as the specialized 'organs' of society that perform distinctive and interrelated functions… [with] norms and values defining appropriate behaviour… [being] observed to vary across societies' (Scott, 2017, p.854). From such foundations, institutional understandings can be seen to underpin the direction taken by different disciplines: cultural anthropologists such as Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) and Geertz (1973) examining semiotic and collective-action differences between cultures, with social psychologists such as Cooley (1956) and Mead (1934) examining the cognitive and interactional components of institutions.

But, while the sociologically broad sweep to institutional theory's foundations remained firm, through the late twentieth century, as Scott documents 'The central pillars of 'neo-institutional theory' were crafted by Schutz (1967 [1932]) and Berger and Luckmann (1967)… [and, by contrast] these scholars emphasized the centrality of shared cognitive conceptions – ideas, templates for organizing, and schema – in the establishment and preservation of social order' (Scott, 2017, p.854). So, in effect, while the foundational theoretical understandings endured – i.e. the understandings that such phenomena are sociologically constructed, and that they operate according to the establishment and ongoing development of normative values – work in neo-institutional theory, both theoretical modelling and empirical study, did not maintain this (socially-)constructivist scope. Particularly through the nascent discipline(s) of organizational science or business administration studies, the academic exploration of organizational institutions participated in a broader trend in the social sciences through the late twentieth century: a contraction into a tightly focused set of specialist interests, with an epicentre based around a

scientific endeavour to identify, model and investigate generalizable phenomena at the organizational and organizational field level. Rather than (inductively) exploring (institutional) phenomena in-depth en-route to theory building, a model of deductive scientific analysis predominated: certain theoretical models of institutions were taken for granted, and empirical phenomena/data was then sought-out to evidence these. That is to say, as this section began: methodologically, the theoretical/ideal assumed primacy over the material and the behavioural in explaining these phenomena.

2.1.2 ORGANIZATIONAL INSTITUTIONALISM THROUGH THE LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY AND BEYOND: NEO-INSTITUTIONALISM

Within the traditions of neo-institutionalism, the concept of 'institutions' is usefully defined by Greenwood, Oliver, Lawrence and Meyer in their introduction to the *Sage Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism* as 'more-or-less taken-for-granted repetitive social behaviour that is underpinned by normative systems and cognitive understandings that give meaning to social exchange and thus enable self-reproducing social order' (2017, p5). They go on to describe how institutions function much like a form of soft power – not relying on overt enforcement – referencing a wealth of research that demonstrates this to be a 'relatively self-activating social process (Jepperson, 1991: 145; see also Zucker, 1977)' (2017, p5).

Neo-Institutionalism shifted the attention to 'cultural templates' and 'legitimacy concerns' (Scott, 2017, p857). The conceptual connection with critical theory and the Foucauldian approach is immediately apparent in only this and the above definition of institutions – not least since, in terms of society and the individual, such a definition of institutions has great overlap with many central aspects to Foucault's approach. Foucault's concept of 'scientificity' (1984), the notion that each era (or 'episteme') has its own set of rules and axioms about what is 'true' is invoked in the idea of cultural templating and legitimacy. Any critical perspective on ideology, at the core of the critical work of Foucault, The Frankfurt School, and other academics working within the broad school of Critical Theory is likewise evoked by such concepts of cultural power. But, as Greenwood, Oliver, Lawrence and Meyer take pains to elucidate, though this critical breadth is implicit to the lens of Institutional Theory, and institutions do operate at the level of the individual, the organization, the field and – indeed – the society more broadly, by contrast 'organizational

institutionalism [hereafter, then, synonymous with neo-institutionalism] is primarily interested in institutions and institutional processes at the level of the organization and the organizational field'. Ideological concerns, and the scope of critical theory/studies, attempts to conceive of actors and and practices at every level, moving all the way from the individual through to the global-political.

The most influential (i.e. highly cited in other peer-reviewed papers) contributions in the early days of the emergence of neo-institutionalism focused on describing the institutionalization process. Describing the phenomenon of diffusion at the organizational and inter-organizational levels, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) demonstrated how the process of diffusion produced field level structuration characterized by high levels of homogeneity. Greenwood, Oliver, Lawrence and Meyer draw our attention even more precisely, to the most cited element of this seminal 1983 paper, wherein

> DiMaggio and Powell proposed three 'mechanisms of diffusion': coercive, which occur when external constituents – typically powerful organizations, including the State – cajole or force organizations to adopt an organizational element; normative, which arise primarily from professionalization projects; and mimetic, which occur when uncertain organizations copy others'. (Greenwood et al, 2017, p.6).

This breakdown of the elements of diffusion is consistent with the broader definition of organizational decision-making as not being rational objective and/or instrumental functionalist: particularly with regards to the *mimetic* mechanism of diffusion, the copying of other field-level actors is typically motivated by a belief that those copied are acting rationally (rather than the actors themselves acting on their own rationalized decision-making) or due to a fear of not fitting-in with field-level normative behaviours. The interest is squarely centred upon the operation of these phenomena at the organizational and organizational field level, and this seminal definition is of enduring value, and will be in the current study – though the focus here is upon institutionalization vs diffusion, the distinction between which will be shown to be important, even as they overlap and are interdependent. Needless to say, 'diffusion' so defined can appear difficult to distinguish decisively from 'institutionalization'; and while the two may, indeed, be significantly overlapping in any empirical case, it will be imperative that a hard distinction is at least drawn theoretically in the conceptual framework here: where institutionalization remains the

subject of empirical study. A starting point to the forthcoming distinction is this: as described above, diffusion is a distinctly inter-organisational phenomenon; institutionalization will be explored here as primarily an intra-organisational phenomenon – i.e. it is concerned with the relations between individual actors and the organisation(s) to which they belong.

The institutional perspective, despite these origins in the late 70s and early 80s, was slow to take hold and establish itself as a discrete discipline, particularly in North America. Serious, data-driven research within the organizational institutionalism paradigm did not begin to proliferate globally until the early 2000s. With an initial tendency to focus on public sector and not-for-profit organizations, by the 90s it had been recognized that markets themselves – i.e. the core of the for-profit, or (late) capitalist world – could also be considered to be 'institutions'. A likewise nuanced understanding of isomorphism – beyond an assumption of field level homogeneity – was starting to emerge; an understanding that the pressures to conform to field level institutions will be responded to differently in different organizations within that field. If institutions emerge from the actions of organizations, it is – of course – inevitable that said organizations will have some degree of autonomy, or latitude, some capacity to produce and/or influence institutions as (rational) actors (we would otherwise be in the realm of circular causality – whereby organizations produce institutions, yet are curtailed and prescribed from producing/influencing more by these very same creations).

The element of rationalization is key in the growing maturity of organizational institutionalism theory and research. Scott notes how, differentiating themselves from a quasi-Weberian assumption of the adoption of rationalized (bureaucratic) processes as being indicative of rational decision-making, institutional theorists from the 1990s onwards highlighted how the adoption of any processes could very much come-about through the institutionalization process: the fact of any such process being rational(ized) might be entirely coincidental (Scott, 2017).

Greenwood, Oliver, Lawrence and Meyer draw attention to DiMaggio's role in emphasizing that, alongside such isomorphic (and non-rational) organizational behaviours 'the reality of purposive, interest-driven, and conflictual behaviour' must co-exist (1988: 5)' (2017, p.13) in what is being described here as the more interdependent relationship between organizations and institutions. The authors of the Sage Handbook go on to posit that it was 'widely assumed at the beginning of the 1990s that institutional theory did not take sufficient

account of how actors (i.e. organizations) were able to work on their institutional context in order to promote their interests' (2017, p.13). In combination with the aforementioned typical limitation of scope/granularity of inquiry to organizations and the organizational field, there is a clear absence of critical inquiry, which prompted DiMaggio and Powell to lament that 'power and interests have been slighted topics in institutional analysis' (1991, p. 30).

Further to such influential admonitions, organizational institutionalism has, in recent decades, expanded to integrate more meaningfully with such approaches as strategy-as-practice (within which we might consider discourse analysis to operate as a sub-set of 'practice'), organizational learning theory, and network theory. These other approaches emphasize the practice- (and so discourse-) based nature of (institutional) knowledge, so inherently promote a more critical approach to institutional inquiry. To express it another way – in considering the particular case of research on networks – Powell and Oberg offer that 'one might say that networks look more horizontal than vertical. In contrast institutions… reflect… sources of power and influence… appear[ing] more vertical… [with] a strong constructivist imagery' (2017, p.446). In their eponymously entitled case for a greater alignment of 'Networks and Institutions', Powell and Oberg exposit the nature of institutions as cognitive constructions – predetermining schema, one might say – versus the more fluid 'active forms of engagement' (p.446) posed by networks. Moreover, their literature review demonstrates that 'a close reading of some of the early theoretical statements in institutional analysis and some of the most notable empirical papers suggest that the perceived disjuncture [between network theory and institutional theory] is flawed and unnecessary' (p.447). Smets, Aristidou and Whittington make a similar case for a 'nascent… *practice-based institutionalism* that more truthfully reflects the intellectual heritage of institutional theory' (2017). Network-based practices and discourses, then, should have a central place in the evolving field of institutional research, particularly from anything like a critical perspective. But as Greenwood, Oliver, Lawrence and Meyer conclude the *Sage Handbook*'s introduction to this fascinating and important field of inquiry, 'overall, however, we have limited understanding of how power, conflict and fundamental social interests affect and are affected by institutional processes' (2017, p.29), suggesting the importance to this line of integrative research, alongside a broader nascent convergence of institutionalist research with critical management studies.

2.1.3   CRITICAL   DISCOURSE   AND   ORGANIZATIONAL

INSTITUTIONALISM

Although the scope of organizational institutionalism, then, is typically trained in a more tightly disciplined manner upon the level of the organization and the organizational field, it is an academic field that remains pervasively concerned with the social nature of human cognition and behaviour; which is to say, organizational institutionalism is inherently psychological, sociological and political in many senses. Referencing Meyer and Rowan's famous formulation whereby 'institutional theories in their extreme forms define organizations as dramatic enactments of the rationalized myths pervading modern societies (1977: 346)', the editors of *The Sage Handbook* describe how organizational institutionalism debunks the notion of organizational decision making as being rational objective and/or instrumental functionalist:

> Critically, the institutional explanation is not derived from the calculated self-interest of organizational actors, nor from the imperatives of instrumental functionality. Instead, the institutional explanation emphasizes that organizations seek legitimacy and survival not efficiency, and highlights the role of cognition and obligation, not self-interest.

> (Greenwood et al, 2017, p.7)

The ontology here is clearly somewhere between that of relativism ('there are many truths') and internal realism ('truth exists, but is obscure; facts are concrete but cannot be addressed directly') suggesting the congruence of a social constructionist epistemology, or at the very least a 'third way' critical realist positioning (Easterby-Smith et al. 2012, p.67-68). Building from this foundational understanding of the roles of legitimacy-seeking behavioural obligations, exploring the cognitive and discourse processes that produce institutions through such congruent methodologies would appear to be an obvious and urgent line of inquiry for organizational institutionalism. Making the case for the centrality of discourse to the study of institutions in their position paper 'Discourse and Institutions' for *The Academy of Management Review*, however, Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy observe that

> …most institutional theory has been dominated by realist investigations in which the examination of organizational practices has been disconnected from the discursive practices that constitute them. As a result, institutional

research has tended to focus on the effects rather than the process of institutionalization, which largely remains a "black box" (Zucker, 1991) (Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy, 2004, p.639),

In (wilfully or ignorantly) ignoring the fundamentally socially constructed nature of institutions and the process of institutionalization, and treating them as a 'black box', the ontological positioning of such research is effectively then a realist one; its political positioning fundamentally conservative. The academic field of neo-institutionalism, and certainly publications in high-impact factored journals have overwhelmingly followed these tendencies, in keeping with Easterby-Smith et al.'s explanation of how 'A realist ontology is usually linked to a positivist epistemology, which in turn tends to produce a quantitative study design (methodology) and some numerical data collection and analysis' (2012, p.62-63).

Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy (1991) take pains to differentiate institutions from other discourse-based phenomena that may also produce legitimacy-seeking behaviours and obligations, reminding us that 'not… all products of discourse are institutions; [n]or that everything that is socially constructed is automatically institutionalized. What differentiates institutions from other social entities that are constituted in discourse are the self-regulating, socially constructed mechanisms that enforce their application (Jepperson, 1991)' (2004, p640). This notion of the self-regulating, soft power-like character of institutions, and the self-regulating character of institutionalization discourses, is further clarified by Greenwood, Oliver, Lawrence and Meyer where – again, referencing the seminal social constructivist theorists upon whose ideas the model has developed – they describe how Zucker (1977) applied Berger and Luckman's ideas to demonstrate that

> ideas and practices are institutionalized when they have achieved the attributes of exteriority and objectivity. As such (and this is a distinctive feature of Zucker's account), institutionalized acts require no monitoring or enforcement but persist solely through transmission from one generation to another' (Greenwood et al, 2017, p.7).

This is to say that the aforementioned soft power – not relying on overt enforcement – through which institutions typically operate is not mutually exclusive with overt regulations or more

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hard/coercive power. It is also important to state that many aspects to the process of institutionalization are inherently opaque – a 'black box' in Zucker's earlier idiom – inviting scrutiny through something like a (critical) discourse analysis.

Instead, however, despite a steadily growing convergence of discourse analysis and broader critical management studies since Phillips, Lawrence and Hardy's (2004) call for the same, institutional research has continued in its tendency to focus on the organisational effects rather than the socially-constructed process of institutionalization. Scott's aforementioned conclusion to the *Sage* Handbook cites the progressive work of Lawrence and Suddaby as exemplary of the recent developments in applying a practice lens, calling attention to 'the awareness, skill and reflexivity of individual and collective actors… as they work to create, maintain or disrupt institutions'… (2006, p. 219)' to this end. Another aspect that is clearly of great importance here – though may be under-explored in a field of inquiry where the scope is often limited to the examination of organizational practices without broader critical discourse-and-practice-oriented inquiry – is the nature of the interdependent relationship that can exist between (particularly powerful) organizations and institutions.

> Building from this foundation, Greenwood, Oliver, Lawrence and Meyer go on to acknowledge the existence of the broader dialectic between organizations and institutions as central to sociology, and thus organizational institutionalism, as a 'reciprocal tension between institutions as culturally hegemonic (with organizations 'bound' by taken-for-granted rationalizations) and institutions as enacted and reconstructed (with organizations responding 'strategically' to institutional pressures) (Hinings and Tolbert, 2017)' (Greenwood et al, 2017, p.6)

Essentially, then, the critical understanding that through discourse and other practices organizations and institutions have always had some reciprocal influence upon one another, that their very existence and growth are inseparable and intimately interrelated has been there since the academic field of organizational institutionalism's emergence from a broader sociological and critical literature in mid-twentieth century. Indeed, it is a 'long-standing tension' (Hinings and Tolbert, 2017)' (p.6). However, from these origins, its growth has aligned with broader trends in organizational science and business administration studies through the late 1900's and early years

of this century: towards the aforementioned more tightly compartmentalized focus on organizational behaviours and the organizational field ('where the process of institutionalization… largely remains a "black box" (Zucker, 1991)' (p639, 2004)' within a broadly logical positivist ontology. The more recent trend of integration with critical management studies and critical discourse analysis – and the integration of such critical perspectives as the Foucauldian – in the evolution of this now more mature academic field might, then, be seen as a return to its true (ontological and epistemological) origins. The pillars of institutions have been rendered amply visible in the academic field. On the other hand, the mechanisms of institutionalization that create, sustain, but also might be mobilized to change/subvert these pillars – and in particular their practice and discourse-based character, and the relative agency of organisations and other levels of actor (including individuals) – have been relatively neglected and are ripe for further empirical inquiry. This multi-level framing to our thinking around organizations has many different iterations alongside organizational institutionalism within what can be broadly considered *critical management studies*. One such useful parallel conception to the focus here is Parker's framing of

> organizational cultures… as 'fragmented unities' in which members identify themselves as collective at some times and divided at others. Further… that 'organizational culture' is a term which should be understood as involving both the everyday understandings of members and the more general features of the sector, state and society of which the organization is a part — both the 'micro' and the 'macro' if you like. Thinking about organizational culture therefore involves recognizing the inseparability of binaries — together and apart, general and unique, structures and agents, organizations and identities — in sum, organizational culture both as a constraint and as an everyday accomplishment. (Parker, 2000, p.1)

One endeavour to this literature review is to establish a theoretical foundation in what we already know about institutions from which to explore how they are likewise 'fragmented unities' – macro-level elements of culture, to use Parker's idiom. Parker's research goes on to debunk 'any notion that culture is 'manageable'… to treat culture merely as a form of normative glue that can be applied or removed as the executive desires' (2000, p.1). The question of whether

institutions are, as Parker claims of culture, (un)manageable is certainly central to the inquiry here – where it appears to be a premise of much organisational institutionalist thought that institutions *are* very much manageable through organizational practices. Parker's critical conception of the terms 'agency' and 'corporation' will also be useful one here – where he draws upon earlier research in organizational culture (Linstead and Grafton-Small, 1992; Anthony, 1994) to distinguish corporatism as connoting 'management engineered programmes of change' (Parker, 2000, p.2). His more recently expression of (such research in) organizational science (as this) as being inherently political is also useful in establishing the ontological positioning of the current research:

> 'The political', in the way that I understand it, and following the post-structural political theorist Chantal Mouffe, is a word that describes the ceaseless conflict over interests that is characteristic of any human society or form of organization. This is an ontological condition for humans, one that reflects the fact that resources (whether material or cultural) are likely to be limited and hence that there will always be differences of opinion about their distribution and significance.
> (Parker, 2018, p.146)

After this fashion, adopting a critical position towards organizational institutions is not to adopt a predetermined normative or political position. It is rather to follow that critical logic of organizational institutionalism to its own (political) core.

2.1.4   DEFINING INSTITUTIONS AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Institutionalization, then – despite the above-described tendency in research to focus on the organizational and organizational field level phenomena – can be observed to operate at individual, organisational, field and sociological levels. As the rationalized myths that Meyer and Rowan (1977) exposited institutions to be, Greenwood, Oliver, Lawrence and Meyer's further distinction that 'ideas and practices are institutionalized when they have achieved the attributes of exteriority and objectivity' (2017, p.7) will be a central aspect to the working definition of institutionalization here. The additional understanding that 'powerful organizations attempt to build their goals and

procedures directly into society as institutional rules' (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p.29–30) will also be central to this working definition – since the focus here will be critical: one where institutionalization is seen as both enacted upon organizations, and brought about by the actions – the discourse and broader practices of – organizations themselves.

Finally, that 'institutional theories in their extreme forms define organizations as dramatic enactments of the rationalized myths pervading modern societies' (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p.346)' is key. The 'mythic' element here is key; central to this definition is the 'enactment', the performative (and, through discourse, narrative) self-construction of the organization – through adherence with the institutions – as a legitimate actor within the organizational field. It is through this primordial – and interdependent – relationship that the organizational field emerges and grows alongside its constituent organizations: through the institutions.

2.1.4.1   PILLARS OF INSTITUTIONS

Scott's (2014) exploration of the complex interactions between actors (in their relative margins of agency) – both individuals as actors within organizations, and organizations as actors within larger societal institutions – is useful in understanding the process of institutionalization as multi-faceted. These top-down and bottom-up complexities can be conceived as interdependent, and Scott presents a useful analytic framework for how institutionalization operates through three 'pillars' of institutions. Usefully referencing Giddens (1984, p25) conception of 'structuration' as foregrounding the 'duality of social structure' - i.e. that structures such as institutions are both platform/process and product; that they do not simply predetermine the actions of individual agents within them – he distinguishes institutional practices as 'those deeply embedded in time and space (Giddens 1984: 13)' (Scott, 2013, p.93). Institutions, must then, be identified through sustained and tangible processes and products – or 'pillars'.

2.1.4.2   MECHANISMS OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Scott (2014) uses the concept of mechanisms to explain the process of institutionalization. Recognizing that institutionalization is both a process and a property variable, Scott reviews the literature and synthesizes it usefully into three conceptions, which all lend explanatory value to primarily understanding the process of institutionalization as functioning through mechanisms.

2.1.5 SUPPORTING INTERRELATED CONCEPTS: DIFFUSION, DECOUPLING, ORGANISATIONAL FIELDS, ISOMORPHISM

2.1.5.1 Diffusion

Diffusion can clearly be seen to operate as a useful explanatory mechanism within Scott's framework of the pillars of institutions. And although there will be substantial overlap between the mechanisms of diffusion and institutionalization – together constituting an explanation for how institutions take shape – we should at least make clear theoretical distinctions between these. Scott's (2014) reminder that we should not conflate simple diffusion with institutionalization, and his pithy distinction that diffusion concerns itself with spreading, where institutionalization is concerned with becoming permanent, is useful in this respect. Additionally, as noted above, this phenomenon of spreading – diffusion – can be often conceived, as noted above, as focused upon inter-organisational phenomena.

DiMaggio and Powell's aforementioned (1983) three mechanisms of diffusion – coercive, normative and mimetic – are useful in understanding the manner through which diffusion operates. This breakdown of the elements of diffusion is consistent with the broader conception of organizational decision-making as not being inherently rational objective and/or instrumental functionalist: particularly with regards to the mimetic mechanism of diffusion, the motivations for copying others are typically based upon beliefs that the others being copied are acting rationally (rather than the actors themselves acting on their own rationalized decision-making) or due to a fear of not fitting-in with field-level normative behaviours; there is zero assumption of objective rational and /or functionalist agency to (individual) actors in this explanatory mechanism. The same is true, ultimately, of the coercive and normative mechanisms of diffusion: individual actors are coerced by or elect to copy other actors because it is 'the done thing'; in all instances the diffusion of institutions is ultimately socially (and not rational objectively) driven.

2.1.5.2 Decoupling

Emergent from Meyer and Rowan's 1977 paper, the concept of decoupling has been there since the emergence of the neo-institutionalist academic field. Unlike diffusion, with its aforementioned lack of any positive assumptions about the rational and/or functionalist

agency of (individual) actors, decoupling does presume some considerable degree of agency to actors within institutions. Prefaced on the understanding that institutions can develop and sustain and may themselves contradict with other institutions, or with operational efficiency and efficacy, organizations may only adopt ceremonial adherence with some of these institutions. To pursue Meyer and Rowan's metaphor of the 'enactment' of 'rationalized myths', this *theatre of conformity* makes perfect sense if we remind ourselves that the primary function of institutionalization is exteriority: public and visible conformity with field-level normative behaviours, from the perspective of the organization; public and visible conformity with organization-level normative behaviours, from the perspective of (individual) actors within the organization. The existence of decoupling is a further demonstration of the (relative) agency/autonomy that organizations and other actors may have within the institutionalization process: demonstrating the margin of divergence from institutions that practically operates in the organizational field, 'notions of ceremonial adoption and decoupling imply foresight and choice' (Greenwood, Oliver, Lawrence and Meyer, 2017, p. 6).

2.1.5.3   Organisational Fields

Referencing primarily the seminal work of Bordieu (1971), Scott describes how a consensus among (neo-)institutional scholars emerged in understanding organizational fields as 'a collection of interdependent organizations sharing broad cultural frames and a common relational system or network of interactions' (2017, p861). His further description of how 'The concept of organizational field celebrates and exploits the insight that 'local social orders' constitute the building blocks of contemporary social systems' (Scott, 2014, p.224) is also important. This elucidates the motivation to the primacy of this level of analysis in organizational institutionalism: the concept of organizational fields is not merely useful but 'celebrated' for the insights it offers, not only to organizations, but broader society.

Such conceptual understandings are rendered all the more robust in (Socratic) consideration of their critics, and Scott's accounting of the term is not merely celebratory. Engaging with Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) suggestion that fields are rather sites of contestation, competition and the strategic self-interested (inter)actions of field-level actors, Scott acknowledges the over-emphasis of the element of conformity in the emergence of the concept of

the 'organizational field' in organizational institutionalism's nascent years. Moreover, he offers the 'helpful… point that contention is difficult if not impossible if players do not agree on what they are fighting about.' (2017, p862). Which is to say – and this further insight will inform the definition used herein – that contestation, competition and the strategic self-interested (inter)actions of field-level actors are central, often reinforcing elements of any (organizational) field.

2.1.5.4 Isomorphism

As neo-institutionalist critics took stock of the academic field in the late 90s the central concept of 'isomorphism' came to be contested. Described by Wooten and Hoffman in their review of the field as something of a conceptual locus of criticism for organizational institutionalism's failure to look beyond field level conformity – the aforementioned 'black box' and ensuing logical-positivism (fallacy) – they note how isomorphism came to be labelled by these critics as a 'master hypothesis (Hoffman and Ventresca, 2002) …that… facilitated a popular misconception of the theory as embodying stability and inertia as its defining characteristic' (2017, p59).

This line of criticism is a useful one in directing the use of the term 'isomorphism' here away from such tendencies – i.e. the assumption of a field level embodiment of stability and inertia – and rather understanding the use of the term in a fluid and interdependent relationship with the other core elements of institutionalization as defined here. Referencing DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) conception of how 'Institutional isomorphism supposedly results from processes that stimulate the diffusion of ideas, practices, and prescribed structures among organizations within an organizational field' (2017, p.3) Boxenhaum and Jonsson criticize the compartmentalizing tendencies in the academic field that have moved away from these authors' original rigorous conception of isomorphism, decoupling and diffusion as inseparably interrelated. Cautioning of a common causal assumption – fallacy, even – in the research, 'Although diffusion was introduced as a mechanism that led to isomorphism, many empirical researchers implicitly reversed this causal link and invoked isomorphism as a cause of diffusion,' they note that 'More recent work has corrected this misconception and now treats isomorphism as the potential outcome of diffusion, as originally intended' (Boxenham and Jonsson, 2017, p.4). This definition will be congruent with the approach here – with that nuanced distinction of it being a potential, and not necessarily inevitable, outcome of diffusion. Likewise, these authors' explication of how a widespread

diffusion (such as one, perhaps, motivated by a state subsidy) would likely not be validly described as an instance of institutional isomorphism were it not also concerned in some fundamental sense with institutional legitimacy. Like all core elements of the institutionalization process, institutional isomorphism is never explained by purely the rational and/or functionalist agency of institutional actors – but always contributes towards the perpetuation of the rationalised myths. Decoupling, contrastingly, does permit the rational and/or functionalist agency of (individual) actors – though without doing so in a manner that destroys the myth, or, one might say, within a minimum threshold of visible institutional legitimacy.

2.1.5.5 Institutional Legitimacy

Further to the above-described inseparability of these conceptual elements of the institutionalization process, a useful functional definition of institutional legitimacy directs our attention back to the core definition of an institution as a rationalized myth. Invoking Meyer and Rowan (1977) then, DiMaggio and Powell describe how 'As an innovation spreads, a threshold is reached beyond which adoption provides legitimacy rather than improves performance' (1983, p.148) Institutional legitimacy, then, is what motivates organizational decision-making within an organisational field that is not rational objective and/or instrumental functionalist; instead it is seeking legitimacy within the (rationalized myth) of the institution. The relationship conceived between these elements then – decoupling, institutional legitimacy, agency and innovation, and rationalized myths – appears to be dialectical.

2.1.6 INSTITUTIONAL THEORY IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALISM AND NEOLIBERALISM

2.1.6.1 Globalization, Institutions and Organizations

In their eponymous chapter about 'The Consequences of Globalization for Institutions and Organisations', for the *Sage Handbook of Organisational Institutionalism*', Höllerer, Walgenbach and Drori draw upon seminal thinkers such as Giddens (1991) in describing how globalisation expands, links and intensifies social relations by linking them across localities around the globe. They go on to describe how, while, essentially this has some consequences that resemble a networked pluralism, there is also an inevitable move towards global homogenisation, particularly

in such spheres of societal interaction as organisational institutionalism as 'globalisation steers and imprints institutions and organisations both by affording the sphere for exchange, transference and transformation, and by constituting a globalised quote 'menu' of organisational templates and managerial scripts that are increasingly influential for the workings of modern organisations' (Höllerer et al, 2017, p.214). To express this in another way; in the globalised world, particularly for transnational organisations, 'globalization is a forceful and influential cultural phenomena', itself producing pronounced isomorphism, particularly in 'Globally-oriented organizations' (p.215) such as the IB.

2.1.6.2 Transnational fields, neoliberalism and the associated rise of the 'rational actor'

Scott's concluding chapter to *The Sage Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism* (2017), 'Onwards and Upwards', draws to a close with some highly pertinent thoughts on the interrelated aspects of transnational fields, neoliberalism and the associated rise of the 'rational actor'. Though the rapidly growing field of 'rational actor' theorizing will not be a significant point of reference here, it is in some senses fundamentally inseparable a concept from the other elements discussed here. These, indeed, are the eponymous elements of transnational fields and neoliberalism towards which Scott (optimistically) posits institutional theory-building and empirical research is most immediately moving, in keeping with our fast-changing world. Referencing Djelic and Quack's research (2003, 2008) to describe 'the transnational realm [as] arguably one of the most vibrant areas of institutional theorizing and research' (p.862), he then posits that 'the ascendance of neo-liberal logics['] … reform agenda has invaded one professionally dominated field after another' (p.860 and 861) and finally that 'all of the [subsequent] types of organizational actors… are viewed as rationally structured collective actors…[with these] new players, including NGOs, professional association and information intermediaries ground[ing] their control attempts in normative and cultural elements' (p.864 and 865).This concept of transnational, interconnected fields, with a plurality of types of competing actors, is central also to the conception of institutional logics, and their tensions and change dynamics.

First, though, some background to the concept of Neoliberalism in the context of Institutional Theory. Emergent from early twentieth century alarm at the (populist) rise of fascism and socialism, Austrian Economists under the thought-leadership of Hayek (1944, 1948) and later Friedman at the University of Chicago (1962) developed a theoretical apparatus for the

dissemination of political and economic models prefaced on two fundamental and inseparable values: a minimally intrusive state and a highly competitive and minimally regulated economy. Adopted with zeal by powerhouses of American right-wing politics, the global dissemination of neo-liberalism was accelerated through such transnational organizations as the World Bank. The manner in which such political-economic policy and practice shaped the organizational institutional landscape is important to understand, and Scott's explanation is concise and informative. Framing the World Bank alongside other 'international multilateral financial institutions' Scott describes how through financial aid being conditional on their acquiescence, countries were coerced to adopt neoliberal practices, and – under the guidance of professional political scientists – to ultimately adopt 'worldviews, principled beliefs and causal beliefs'(p860), which should also be deployed to shape foreign policy. Scott's aforementioned description of the neoliberal reform agenda's invasion of one professionally dominated field after another followed this same approach of cultural control:

> the strengthening of managerial influence to curtail professional discretion…
> – challenging professional logics stressing decentralization and the delegation of discretion in favor of managerial centralization of decision-making and market-based templates of performance (e.g., Berman, 2012; Greenwood and Suddaby, 20016; Powell and Sandholtz, 2012; Scott et al., 200; Tornton et al., 2005)

> (Scott, 2017, p.861)

Such a template for professional logics-development and cultural control is highly informative in considering a transnational, or globalised / 'Globally-oriented organization[']s' (Hollerer, Walgenbach and Drori, p215) organizational growth such as the IB and its institutionalization.

2.1.6.3 Institutional Logics: Tensions and Change Dynamics

Scott ends his discussion of the ascendance of neo-liberal logic in the aforementioned conclusion to the *Sage Handbook* (2017) with something like a tentative optimism. For, while such elements of neo-liberal logic as the above 'are carried by proponents who seek to impose their ideas by force of coercion – political, economic and legal… these efforts encounter pre-existing fields organized around divergent normative beliefs and cognitive frames' (p.861).

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These ideas, in particular the concept of a multiplicity of institutional logics are explored in more depth in Scott's earlier 'Crafting [of] An Analytic Framework II: Logics, Agency, Carriers and Levels'. This chapter succeeds his aforementioned explications of the pillars of institutions and the mechanisms of institutionalization (2014), so will inform the analytic framework here. Drawing upon the work of Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) and Alford and Friedland (1991) Scott (2017, p.90) presents a conception of institutional logics within what I will describe here (using the preferred idiom of the IB) as a *socially constructivist* sociology – or even ontology. Scott concludes his analysis of institutional logics with the observation that

> Many of the most important tensions and change dynamics observed in contemporary organizations and organization fields can be fruitfully examined by considering the competition and struggle among various categories of actors committed to contrasting institutional logics. Thus, many critics and would-be reformers of the state seek to introduce market logics or corporate managerial forms in order to improve its efficiency and accountability (Christensen and Laegreid 2001; Salamon 2002).

(Scott, 2017, p.90)

Scott is emphasizing the complex multiplicity to the manner in which institutions operate. While acknowledging that societal, organizational and individual actors and practices (including discourses) create different levels of symbolic and practice-based phenomena and power relations, at the largest (i.e the societal) level, each actor functions within a complex, fluid, multiplicity of institutional logics – but within which corporate managerialism increasingly fills a power vacuum formerly occupied by Nation States.

2.2   INSTITUTIONAL THEORY AND RESEARCH IN EDUCATION

As the immediately forthcoming sub-chapters will show, research into the 'K-12' (i.e. from Kindergarten to Grade 12 – pre-undergraduate) international education[4] field through the lens of institutional theory is in a relatively nascent-to-intermediate phase. This is less true of the wider

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[4] Hereafter referred to by the shorthand, as per *The Sage handbook of research in international education* (2015) as 'international education'.

education field, however, with higher education being the most illustrative empirical (sub-)field of a fairly mature body of research that operates through the explanatory tool of institutional theory. Recent systematic review of such research across a significant sample of leading higher education journals by Cai and Mehari (2015) supports the broader limitations of the tendencies in organizational institutionalism research as described in the previous chapters here: 'The results indicate that the application of institutional theory in higher education research is dominated by the concepts of new institutionalism developed in the 1970s and 1980s' (Cai and Mehari, 2015, p.1). This same tendency – a leaning towards the (meso-level) description and functioning of institutions, with a pronounced tendency to ignore wider critical and political implications and such elements as 'the role of human agency, and logics in action' (Cai and Mehari, 2015, p.17) – will be seen to be a risk in the emerging body of research into international education using institutional theory.

2.2.1 INSTITUTIONAL THEORY AND RESEARCH IN INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

'International Education' is both an empirical field, and a field of research itself. There is a growing body of work that is incrementally creating a convergence between research in the academic field of international education and that of organisational institutionalism. While they remain fundamentally discrete academic disciplines, parts of the academic field of international education can be seen to be drawing increasingly from the conceptual tools and research methodologies associated with institutional theory. So there is a small, but growing body of research that applies institutional theory to the empirical field of international education.

2.2.1.1 Connecting Organisational Institutionalization with the IB

The researcher whose work is most consistently notable in connecting the organisational institutionalization process with international education is Tristan Bunnell of The University of Bath, UK. With a deep specialism in the IB and its growth, much of Bunnell's work is concerned with exploring various phenomena associated with the growth of international education in general, and the IB in particular. As one of the foremost archivers of the global growth of the IB (2008, 2010, 2015, 2016, 2018), Bunnell's recent work has combined this understanding with

various tools from organizational science more broadly, with an increasingly pronounced use of concepts and methods derived from organizational institutionalism.

2.2.1.2 Growth Scepticism, Strategic efficacy, and 'international'/cultural identity in the IB

In a 2011 study Bunnell explored the IB through the lens of growth scepticism; a 'social limits' framework derived from the work of economist Fred Hirsch's (1976) seminal work. Working from primarily organizational field-level anecdotal and professional opinion data, the paper also draws upon longitudinal quantitative data to question whether the rate of global organisational growth in the IB provides for the maintenance of quality and ongoing congruence with its original culture and mission, 'argue[ing] there is room for a much wider framework of analysis, viewing the global growth of the IB within a social and moral lens' (Bunnell, 2011, p.1). The employment of Hirsh's foundational theoretical framework is significant to broader trends in this body of research – since at its core is the idea that organizational growth is inevitably linked to (often negative) social externalities such as the development of pronouncedly more competitive markets and commercialized societies. Here, then, we can see the application of institutional theory to be true to its politically engaged social-constructivist origins.

2.2.1.3 Institutional Legitimacy and the Primary Institutional Task in an exponentially growing international school market

In 2016, Bunnell starts to really investigate the broader field of international education through the lens of organizational institutionalism, asking along with his co-authors in the eponymous paper 'What is international about International Schools? An institutional legitimacy perspective.' (Bunnell, Fertig and James, 2016). Their investigation begins with a review of a very common theme in the international education literature: the notion of a typology of international school models. As Bunnell notes elsewhere in his introduction to 'International Schools and International Curricula: A Changing Relationship' for the *Sage Handbook of Research in International Education* (2015) this is a contested area of field-level professional and academic research inquiry as old as the field itself – with the IB squarely at the core of the discourse.

The aforementioned emergence of IB curricula came about partly as a consequence of the pragmatic needs of international schools – beginning with the International School of Geneva – to

serve multiple linguistic and university-admission requirements. But, from its very inception, this operated in functional congruence – and sometimes (creative) tension – with more ideological trends such as the work of Kurt Hahn and the United World College movement: a broadly (proto-) globalist aspirational movement focused on education for world peace through such concepts as 'international-mindedness' and aligned with such inter-governmental agencies as the UN. So, from its very inception, the IB and international education have always occupied a unique, complex space between pragmatism – or 'market-driven' – and ideology (Matthews, 1988). In recent years, with the exponential growth of the market, the complexities and tensions have moved far beyond mere dichotomy – and the associated endeavours to create typologies of these schools have proliferated. In particular, the emergence of ambitiously expansionist multinational, for-profit educational monoliths like the Dubai-based GEMS (Global Education Management System) Education Group or the British Nord Anglia group (for whom both ideological and pragmatic educational goals certainly appear to be subordinate to a simple profit imperative) constitute a third 'non-Traditional' type to complete the most commonly cited current typology in the international education research field 'in the form of the 'Type A' 'Traditional' [as in the aforementioned 'pragmatic'] school, the 'Type B' 'Ideological' one and the 'Type C' 'non-Traditional' (Hayden and Thompson, 2013: 6, cited in Bunnell, 2015, ''International Schools and International Curricula')

Since with this diversity of types – in particular the Type C 'non-Traditional' – the already contested (institutional) identity of International Schools is further complexified, the use of an institutional legitimacy perspective allows for a systematic exploration of these complexities and tensions. Bunnell, Fertig and James proceed to explore precisely this in the aforementioned 2016 paper 'What is international about International Schools?' – which serves as something of a foundation upon which another paper the authors published in the same year rests. This second paper ('Establishing the legitimacy of a school's claim to be "International"', 2017) builds upon the institutional theory grounded framework of the first paper to posit that the provision of an international curriculum is the primary institutional task. Drawing from the work of social anthropologist Albert Kenneth Rice (1958, 2013) the concept is essentially that there is one foremost organizational task that constitutes their institutional identity. Any organisation claiming to be an international school depends, for their ongoing survival within the organizational field, upon their success in this primary institutional task.

Citing other recent publications (Tarc and Mishra, 2015), Bunnell, Fertig and James (2017) demonstrate the problematic plurality of meanings to the term *international* 'with some International Schools using it in ways that have little veracity'. They proceed to demonstrate why this is problematic, referencing Suchman's seminal 1995 work in strategic and institutional legitimacy through the lens of 'Institutional legitimacy [which] is the sense that the actions of an entity of some kind in the social world are what is required, right and suitable in a way that is consistent with a system of socially created customs, ideals, meaning and definitions (Suchman 1995)' (Bunnell, Fertig and James, 2017, p.305).

These authors proceed to then make a bold interdisciplinary claim; that their inquiry into what constitutes the primary institutional task for international schools also presents a significant contribution to institutional theory:

> The initial aim of the analysis we report here was to answer the question: "What makes a school's claim to be an International School legitimate?" In answering that question, the provision of an international curriculum emerged as dominant and central; it is what an International School must do to be legitimate as an "International School". The provision of an international curriculum is therefore an International School's primary task (Rice 1963), which, according to Lawrence (1977) is the formal or official task. We consequently bring the idea of the institutional primary task into institutionalization theory where it assumes a significant but previously unacknowledged and under-explored place and a key consideration in institutional legitimacy. In doing so, we thus achieve a second aim: to develop institutionalization theory.
>
> (Bunnell, Fertig and James, 2017, p.304).

From a relatively broad review of key concepts and seminal texts from institutional theory the authors make a fairly compelling argument that this pragmatic, tangible and well-defined task precedes – and often subsumes – any others. Differing from Scott's more culturally relativist positing that an organization's legitimacy depends upon the extent to which 'their goals are connected to wider cultural values … and to the degree that they conform in their structures and

procedures to established "patterns of operation"' (Scott 2014, p28), their logic is persuasive in the international school context, where the myriad cultural complexities make the singularity and tangibility of the international curriculum provision the one institutional(izing) activity that can be clearly recognized – or, to use a more research-oriented idiom – operationalized in such a plurality of contexts as characterizes the organizational field of international schools.

2.2.1.4 Pillars and Carriers of Institutions in the IB

Despite then, a divergence Scott's more pluralist focus on goals, values and patterns of operations with their more tangible 'primary institutional task' focus, Bunnell, Fertig and James (2017) do draw deeply on Scott's (2014) modelling of the three 'pillars' of institutionalization. Addressing these in (the aforementioned) sequence from most transparent to most insidious, they identify the compliance-oriented 'regulative pillar', then the more values and moral-agency based 'normative pillar', before identifying what will be established as the most indirect and deeply controlling 'cultural-cognitive pillar'. This third 'cultural cognitive pillar' is intimated to be the most pervasive and powerful in the IB within Bunnell et al's research (2017), exposing Scott's earlier claim that we are, indeed, in an era of robust institution building in the transnational arena… [where] new transnational fields with new modes of governance [are] employed: soft power is supplementing if not replacing hard power' (Scott, 2017, 'Onwards and Upwards', p.866). But the concept of the supporting pillars of more overt regulative and normative institutions alongside which the cognitive-cultural operates will also be of great value in the current inquiry – as it is in Bunnell, Fertig, and James's (2917) exposition of why the provision of an international curriculum, typically that of the IB, constitutes an action of such primacy in the institutionalization process.

Scott's development of Jepperson's (1991) notion of vehicles or carriers of institutions into a model of the four specific types of carriers of institutions is also an approach that Bunnell, Fertig and James demonstrate to be of great value in application to the organizational field of international education. The four carriers of symbolic systems, relational systems, activities and artefacts each function within the three pillars. Much of Bunnell's other recent research, though drawing from the institutional and organizational science literature, concerns itself more with using such empirical research and theoretical models – primarily the aforementioned

institutionalization framework – to explore other aspects of international school phenomena. However, the aforementioned elimination of Scott's emphasis upon cultural complexity/plurality of institutional logics, their tensions and change dynamics in our contemporary context, is another area where Bunnell et al's (2017) mobilization of institutional theory is perhaps characteristic of the lack of critical breadth of so much neo-institutional research. Alongside this, their neat operationalization overlooks Scott's distinction between the pillars of institutions, and the institutionalization process that produces them/operates through them (in the aforementioned study these are at times conflated into 'pillars of institutionalization'). Exploration of these limitations to Bunnell et al's (2017) research could present a useful contribution in the emerging body of research investigating the institutionalization process in the organisational field of international schools – and is certainly essential in the concluding sections of this literature review: delineating the phenomenon of institutions, and how they develop through particularly the process of institutionalization.

2.3   INSTITUTIONS: AN INTERDEPENDENT NEXUS OF TIME, SPACE, ACTORS AND NETWORKS

In his concluding comments to *the Sage Handbook of organizational institutionalism*, Scott notes that 'one of the abiding strengths of contemporary institutional theory is its versatility in moving across levels of analysis' (2017, p.866). First explicating this claim in terms of granularity, in demonstrating that institutional theory can move from individual behaviours through organizations to the global arena, Scott theoretically resolves the elements of time, space, actors and networks in the following neat expression of interdependence

> Actors are guided, constrained and supported by structures which they inhabit; structures are produced, reproduced and altered by the behaviour of actors. In their work on the emergence of organizations Padgett and Powell (2012: 2), as good network theorists, propose that in the short run actors create relations; in the long run, relations create actors; to which as good institutional theorists, we would add, "also, in the short run actors create meanings; In the long run meanings create actors" (Scott, 2017, p,866).

These elements – time, space, actors and relations/networks – and their tentative resolution in Scott's above formula, will be central to the conception of institutions and institutionalization in as globally networked, (relatively) longstanding and rapidly growing an organizational field and emergent set of institutions as that of the IB – a transnational, neoliberal context. This also establishes the foundation for the Foucauldian approach to the forthcoming conceptual framework here, since such an approach can move dynamically between these elements.

2.4 PILLARS OF INSTITUTIONS AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION; EXPANDED AND REVISITED FOR A TRANSNATIONAL NEOLIBERAL CONTEXT.

2.4.1 INSTITUTIONS: A TYPOLOGY OF THREE PILLARS

Scott's aforementioned (2014) conception of Institutions has a typology of three Pillars. These move from the most imperative and compliance-oriented 'regulative pillar', through the more values and moral-agency based 'normative pillar', to the most indirect, insidious and deeply cognitive – aptly entitled the 'cultural-cognitive pillar'. The later of these pillars, of course, is perhaps closest in itself to a definition of an 'institution' – cognitive constructions, predetermining schema that are shared by those within the institutional field. We might, then, conceive of the cultural cognitive pillar as the most deeply institutionalized of institutions, in a crude sense. Scott subsumes Jepperson's (1991) framework of 'Carriers' into his framework, depicted in Figure 2.1, below.

Figure 2-1: Scott's Framework of Institutional Pillars and Carriers (Scott, 2014, p.96)

Table 4.1 Institutional Pillars and Carriers	Pillars		
	Regulative	*Normative*	*Cultural-cognitive*
Symbolic systems	Rules Laws	Values Expectations Standards	Categories Typifications Schemas Frames
Relational systems	Governance systems Power systems	Regimes Authority systems	Structural isomorphism Identities
Activities	Monitoring Sanctioning Disrupting	Roles, jobs Routines Habits Repertoires of collective action	Predispositions Scripts
Artifacts	Objects complying with mandated specifications	Objects meeting conventions, standards	Objects possessing symbolic value

The notes that accompany this framework are useful in clarifying his use of the terms of *institutionalization*, *legitimacy* and *diffusion*, and will support the understanding of these here. Building on the aforementioned importance of institution's embeddedness in time and space, Scott references Colyvas and Jonsson (2011, p.28) to demonstrate how these elements are central in distinguishing between the key terms of *institutionalization*, *legitimacy* and *diffusion* – especially with regard to the central process of institution 'thickening' that characterizes institutionalization:

> …the entries in Table 4.1 do not refer to the simple transmission of an idea, a practice or an artifact… we should not conflate simple diffusion with institutionalization. Diffusion concerns itself "with spreading, or how things flow" whereas institutionalization is concerned with "stickiness, or how things become permanent." It is possible for materials to flow and for practices to be widespread that are not regarded as institutionally supported (e.g., fads, fashions, tastes), and for practices that are not prevalent to be

legitimate (e.g., hiring in firms is supposed to be based on neutral and universalistic criteria but more often involves insider knowledge or favouritism). To address this issue, the typology proposed here emphasizes not only that materials and practices flow across boundaries of time and space, but so also do rules, norms, and beliefs. In short, the carriers we emphasize are those bearing institutional elements, not simply objects or activities. (Scott, 2014p.97)

To summarize then: practices and discourses that create and perpetuate institutions across time and space constitute institutional carriers and pillars; *institutionalization* is concerned with how these become permanent, how they 'stick'.

2.4.2 MECHANISMS OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION; AN INTERDEPENDENT PROGRESSION

The focus of Scott's model of Institutionalization (2014) is primarily upon institutionalization as a process – and the focus here will likewise be upon developing conceptions and ultimately a model for understanding this process (though this should not be to the exclusion of considering the term 'institutionalization' as also describing a property variable). The identification of these discrete mechanisms will also help to elucidate an interdependent progression from the regulative, through the normative, to the cultural cognitive institutional pillar through the institutionalization process.

2.4.3 INSTITUTIONALIZATION BASED ON INCREASING RETURN – AN EQUILIBRIUM PHENOMENON AND FOUNDATION FOR A PROGRESSIVE INSTITUTIONALIZATION PROCESS

The first framework Scott (2014) explores, 'Institutionalization based on Increasing Return' (p.144) – a utilitarian set of explanatory principles derived from explaining anomalies in technology development trajectories, perpetuated by a process of positive feedback – is shown to be particularly applicable in 'imperfect markets', since perfect markets would eliminate inefficient (technologies/) institutions. Drawing upon Arthur (1994), Scott describes the conditions

supporting such positive feedback as

> (a) the presence of high setup costs—once an approach is available, the development of alternatives involves additional, often substantial, costs; (b) learning effects—individuals who invest time and effort in learning a particular approach are reluctant to consider alternatives; (c) coordination effects—the multiple advantages that accrue to a user because others have adopted the same option; and (d) adaptive expectations—as latecomers perceive that a particular approach is widely accepted, they are more inclined to adopt it themselves. (Scott, 2014, p.144)

Scott does not identify the Institutionalization based on Increasing Return framework as especially tied to any single one of the three pillars of institutions – and appropriately so. In keeping with the work of Greif (2006: 14) and others who view institutions as "equilibrium phenomena" (Scott, 2015 p.145), we might consider this to be a phenomenon that applies across all the pillars. The next two conceptions, however, are distinctively attributed to different pillars, and together present a useful framework for conceiving of their interdependence: in particular, the manner in which the regulative pillar can provide a foundation for normative-oriented institutionalization processes to be built-upon; as the normative pillar is thus consolidated and strengthened, it in turn provides a foundation upon which processes which consolidate (or 'thicken' – make permanent) the cultural cognitive pillar are built. So we can observe an interdependent progression from the regulative, through the normative, to the cultural cognitive pillar in the institutionalization process.

2.4.4   INSTITUTIONALIZATION   BASED   ON   INCREASING COMMITMENTS

The next mechanism Scott (2014) describes is that of 'Institutionalization Based on Increasing Commitments' where, in contrast to the preceding more utilitarian explanatory model, 'scholars embracing the normative pillar focus on the mechanism of commitments' (pp. 145-146). This model draws deeply upon Selznick's earlier (1992) work. Establishing that the foundations for institutionalization are laid by everyday (organizational) practices, such as goal setting,

coordination and communication channel development, Selznick then goes on to differentiate how such actions become normatively embedded, or '"thick" institutionalization' occurs:

> 'But when actions touch important interests and salient values or when they are embedded in networks of interdependence, options are more limited. Institutionalization constrains conduct in two main ways: by bringing it within a normative order, and by making it hostage to its own history.' (Selznick, 1992, p. 232).

So, through the 'thickening' of the embeddedness of such actions within networks of interdependence, they come to acquire a normative stability. Such development of the normative pillar of institutions is built from regulative foundations such as relational contracts and other forms of explicitly demanded commitment to unifying objectives. A fluid movement between the regulative and normative will emerge when this thick institutionalization is effective, where institutionalization of the normative pillar is enhanced/accelerated by establishing regulations/protocols whereby such actions as goal setting must take place. We might also, as Knudsen's work contributes to the model, consider something of a "hereditary mechanism" to be in place here – where increasingly complex normative behaviour patterns are inherited, rather than institutional actors responding spontaneously or rationally according to (market) conditions (Knudsen, 1995, p144–145). Citing Toyota's work with its suppliers through the 1970s and 80s as an example of this with reference to Womack, Jones and Roos' (1991) research, Scott describes how network forms of organizing and relational contracts are particularly enhanced by such normative-pillar oriented mechanisms of commitment.

2.4.5   INSTITUTIONALIZATION AS INCREASING OBJECTIFICATION – AND THE CONNECTION WITH FOUCAULT

With a foundation in Berger and Luckman's (1967) work, Scott describes how the objectification of shared beliefs is the central mechanism in conceptions of institutionalization processes supporting the cultural-cognitive pillar. Pronounced by a form of cognitive passivity in its institutional actors, this can be seen to be characteristic of sophisticated neoliberal corporate institutionalization processes, whereby the cultural cognitive domain comes to be colonized by the institutions. As Scott describes it, 'Berger and Luckmann stress the importance of transmission of

shared beliefs to third parties—individuals who played no role in constructing them—as they are informed not "This is the way we do this," but rather "This is how these things are done."' (Scott, 2014, p.148). In the conceptual framework to be developed here, this also acts as a key point of connection with Foucault's work, and so segues to the development of the conceptual framework. Figure 2.2 (below) schematizes this interdependent progression of Institutionalization through the Regulative and then the Normative to the Cultural Cognitive Pillars of Institutions – as the underpinning concepts and theoretical perimeters upon which to establish a conceptual framework to explore institutionalization in the IB's neoliberal, transnational context.

Figure 2-2: Underpinning Concepts and Theoretical Perimeters
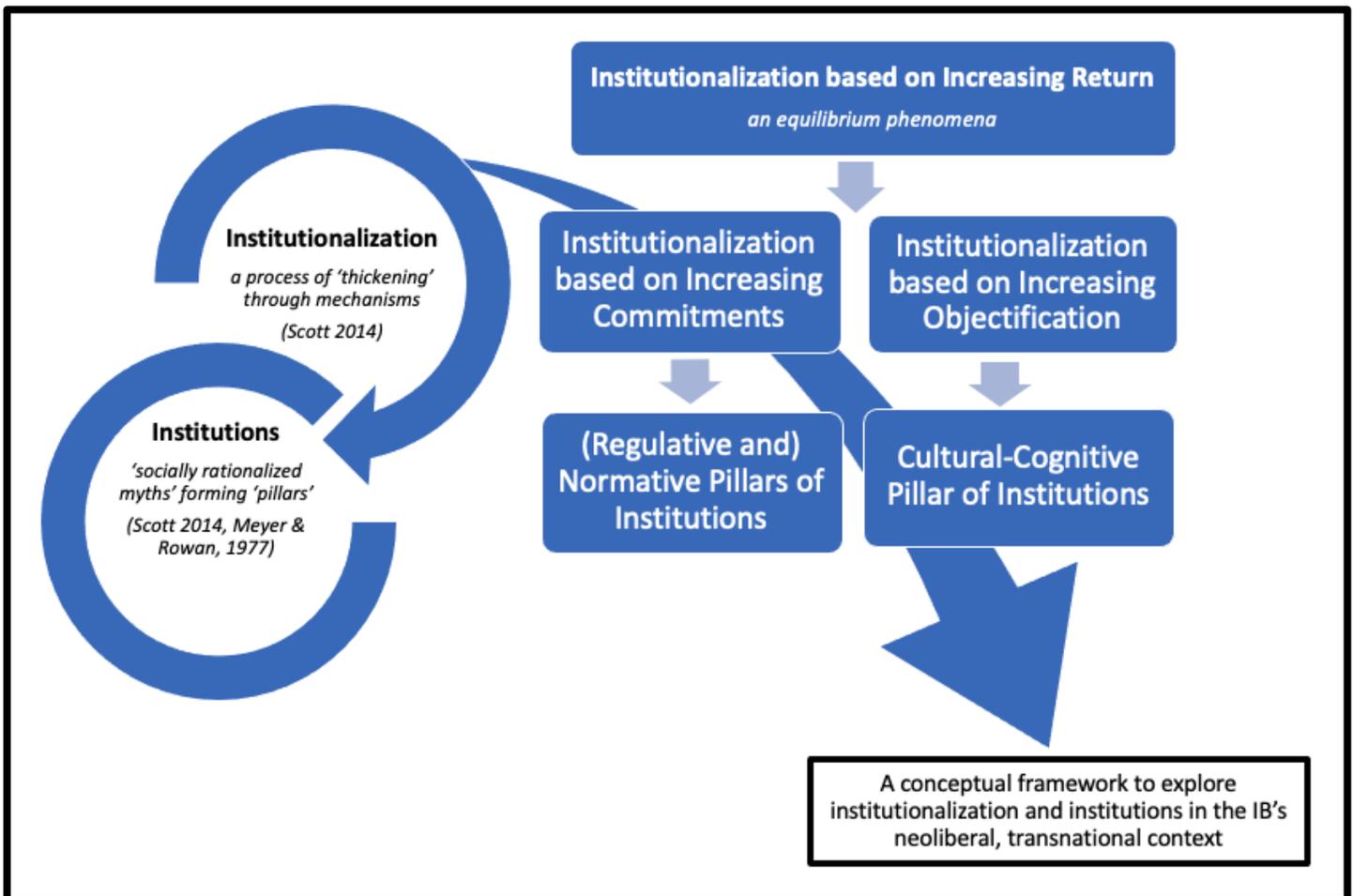
3) CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

'What we have to do is analyse specific rationalities rather than always invoke the progress of rationalization in general.' (Foucault, 1982, p.780)

3.1 INSTITUTIONALIZATION AS INCREASING OBJECTIFICATION – FRAMED BY FOUCAULT IN THE MAKING OF THE SUBJECT

Modern power, for Foucault, as he discussed in his lecture 'Security Territory and Population' in 1978 (Senellart et al, 2009), is focused on such (institutionalization as) objectification, or reducing individual humans to mechanistic function(s). It achieves this objectification through a self-perpetuating system of creating experts/subjects – or institutional carriers, such as Teachers, Psychologists, Educational Leaders and so forth. Changing the features of individuals is the object of this functioning of modern power ('biopower'). As individuals become such experts – or 'subjectivised' – so they in turn become (narrowly-autonomous) agents of (objectifying) discourses.

For Foucault this is the 'way a human being turns him- or herself into a subject' (Foucault in Dreyfus and Rabinow, 2014, p.82). They become an agent, a perpetuator – or institutional carrier – of that same rationalisation system (because there may be others – in a rejection of enlightenment positivism), or objectified shared beliefs.

3.1.1 INTERDEPENDENCE OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION MECHANISMS – BUILDING FROM REGULATIVE THROUGH NORMATIVE TO CULTURAL COGNITIVE PILLARS OF INSTITUTIONS

Scott (2014) exposits how Tolbert and Zucker's multi-stage model of institutionalization processes offers useful insights into how diffusion (of innovations) operates within the increasing commitments conception of institutionalization.

> 'Objectification involves the development of some degree of social consensus among organizational decision-makers concerning the value of a structure, and the increasing adoption by organizations on the basis of that consensus. . . The impetus for diffusion shifts from simple imitation to a more normative base . . . [The innovation is viewed as possessing] both general cognitive and normative legitimacy.' (Tolbert and Zucker, 1996, p.182. qtd in Scott 2014 p.148)

Evidently, the normative acts as a foundation upon which the cultural cognitive is built – or rather, with perhaps more useful connotations of an organic, ongoing process – is 'thickened', in Scott's

preferred coinage. Or, indeed, as described by Tolbert and Zucker and illustrated in their graphic representation of the Component Processes of Institutionalization model (Figure 3-1, below), cumulatively builds towards a final stage of 'Sedimentation'.

Figure 3-0-1: Tolbert and Zucker's Component Processes of Institutionalization Model (Tolbert and Zucker, 1996, p.182)
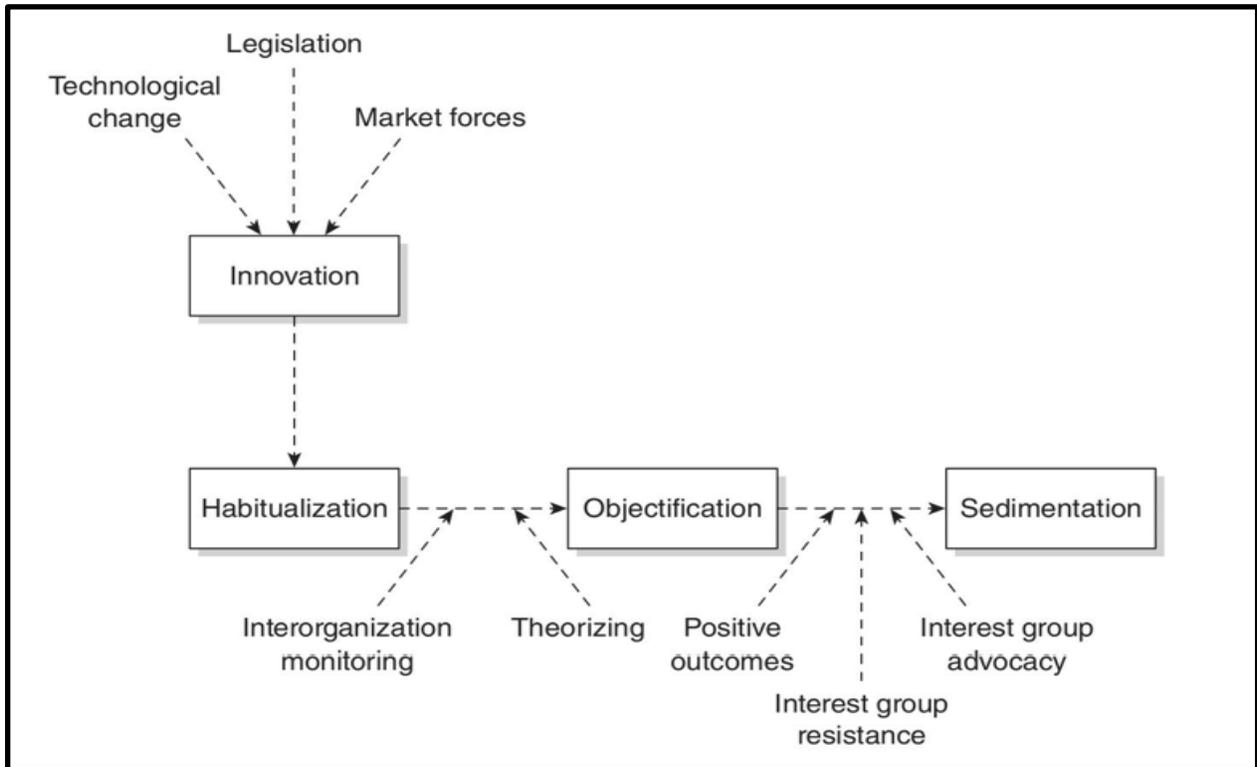
Their model is informative, expressive of the margins of creativity and relative autonomy accorded to individual institutional actors through such processes as theorizing, resistance and advocacy – alongside such innovation-producing environmental variables as the technological, the legislative and the market-based. Though extensively exploring the meaning of and interdependence of 'creativity' and 'innovation' are beyond the scope of this inquiry, Bouty and Gomez's pithy offering that 'creativity and innovation are different because they refer to distinct processes: generating new and useful ideas (creativity) vs. intentionally introducing and successfully implementing ideas within the organization (innovation)' (Bouty & Gomez, 2013, p.4) is a useful foundation upon which to incorporate these concepts into the framework here. Though Bouty and Gomez's model is different from that presented by Tulbert and Zucker, they

present a common duality between innovation as organizational practice, and the 'organiz[ation of margins] of creativity in time, space, and teams' (Bouty & Gomez, 2013, p.3). And though their research is focussed upon the institutional field of Michelin three-star kitchens, parallels may well be drawn with an elite educational model which espouses creative outcomes such as the IB. This relates to the value of Bouty and Gomez's conclusion that 'idea work is a privilege of the head chef because of the permanent tension created by Michelin's expectations of both operational excellence and creativity' (Bouty & Gomez, 2013, p.19). That is to say that – within Bouty and Gomez's model of gourmet cuisine – wider, networked creativity by a plurality of organizational actors is curtailed as an organization becomes more strictly institutionalized; as 'creative practices are [more] highly organized in time, space and participants' in accordance with field level institutions, those working beneath the 'chef' designation are denied agency in 'idea work'. This may apply in the ostensibly creative and increasingly strictly institutionalized educational model of the IB.

A related framework that will be of value here is emergent if we consider the interdependence of the institutionalization processes across the two aforementioned conceptions – the increasing commitments and increasing objectification conceptions of institutionalization processes. These can be conceived as incrementally building, or 'thickening', from regulative through normative to cultural cognitive institutional pillars (where 'sedimentation' – or Foucault's 'biggest danger' [1984, p.343], i.e. the ascendance of one particular model of knowledge as power – may be seen to develop). This may be shown to be particularly evident in organizations consolidating their institutionalization actions across networked, transnational spaces in neoliberal times. This framework, making more explicit the implicit connections between these in Scott's (2014) above-described work – and using his explanatory language unless indicated otherwise – is depicted in Figure 3.2, below. With reference to Bouty and Gomez's research, their model demonstrates how an exemplary three-star kitchen models the cultural-cognitive institutional pillar through the 'phenomenon [of] the constriction of the second-chefs' work focus… focused on daily operational excellence necessary to gain and retain three Michelin stars'. Even at this most senior point (the second-chef) in the subordinate network to the institution itself (embodied in the Michelin starred chef), the development of the Cultural Cognitive Pillar is totalizing, pertaining to the 'transmission of shared beliefs to third parties—individuals who played no role in constructing them—…"This is how these things are done." Berger and Luckmann (1967)' (Scott, 2014, p.148).

Figure 3-0-2: Institutionalization 'thickening' Mechanisms; from Regulative through Normative to Cultural Cognitive; a conceptual framework derived from Scott's (2014) model
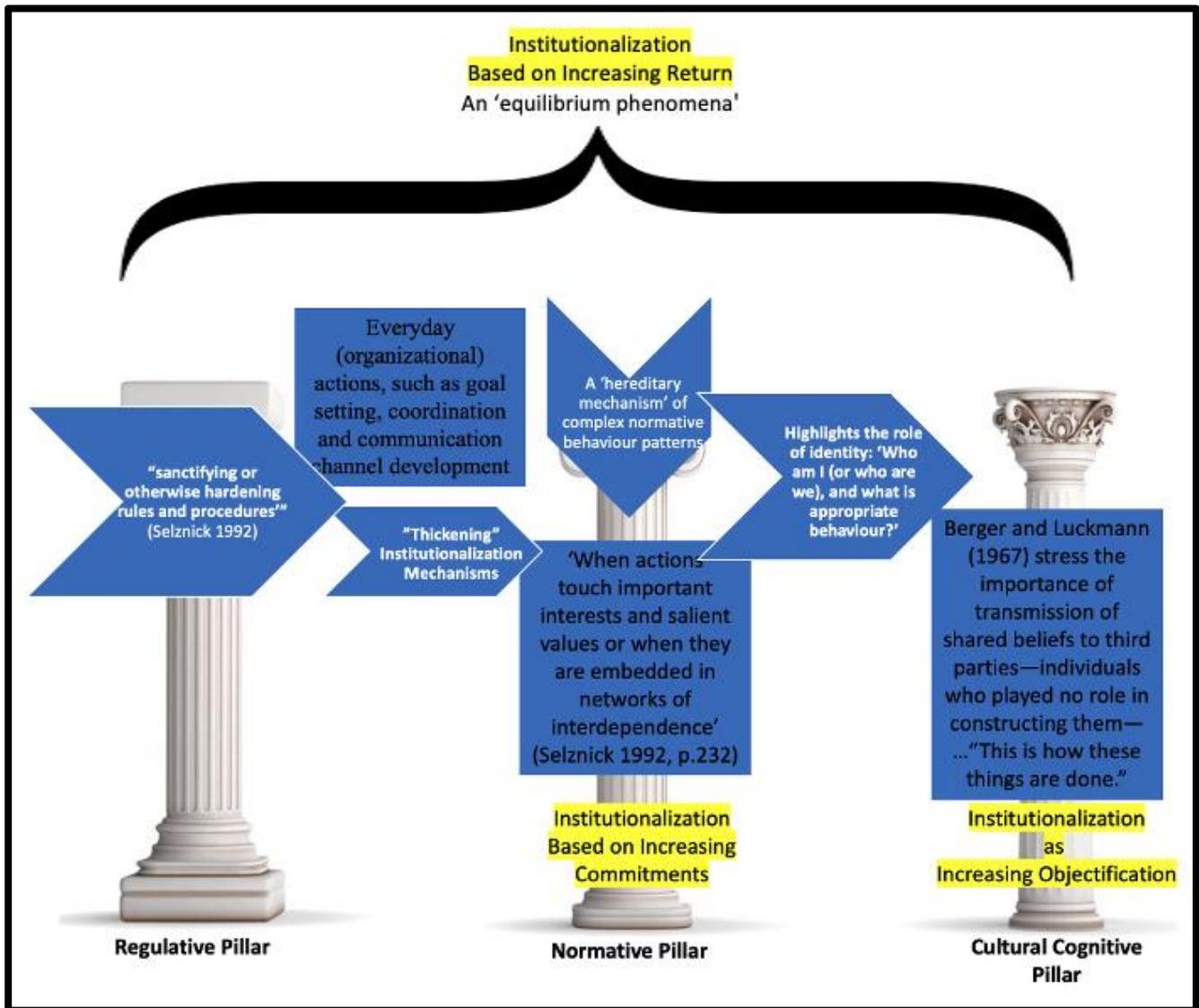
3.1.2 INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS, THEIR TENSIONS AND CHANGE DYNAMICS IN A LATE CAPITALIST, NEO-LIBERAL CONTEXT

The literature review of Institutional Logics: Tensions and Change Dynamics (Chapter 2.1.6.3) concluded by teasing out an important implication from Scott's (2014) model: that (nation-)states are no longer necessarily the most powerful actors, but rather corporations in a late-

capitalist/neo-liberal context, allowing for an ascendance of market logics or corporate managerial forms. Foucault will therefore be central to the conceptual framework herein, in particular his concept of governmentality – where 'The art of government' (Foucault, 1984, p. 15) is concerned with total control, beyond mere regulative and normative, but that which is more deeply concerned with the subject's absolute, cultural cognitive identity, as in one's belonging to a family. Describing its emergence alongside sophisticated capitalism, Foucault elucidates how governmentality is therefore the most reliable or economical mode of control, supplanting conventional familial loyalties with loyalty to the government/organizational source of power: '"introduc[ing] economy, that is the correct manner of managing individuals, goods and wealth within the family, . . . introduc[ing] this meticulous attention of the father towards his family, into the management of the state."' (Foucault, 1984, p.15). This Foucauldian concept of governmentality will thus be used to forge critical connections between the neoliberal context where corporations forge such cultural cognitive control mechanisms, and the context of wider institutional logics in which they compete (but, perhaps, increasingly predominate – that is to say that the corporations have become 'the main danger').

To elucidate this broader conception of institutional logics, their tensions and change dynamics, the following infographic representation (Figure 3.3) of this later implication may be useful. Moreover, this elucidation also draws upon earlier strands in the Literature Review (i.e Weber), models the core of the current Conceptual Framework (i.e. Foucault) and anticipates the empirical context (a move from mid-to-late twentieth century Eurocentrism to contemporary globalism and corporate neo-liberalism). *Note: This infographic is, of course, reductive and not drawn upon substantiative data exposition. It should, however, hold some value as: a schematic of an aspect to the emerging conceptual framework and empirical context – based upon a socio-political landscape at least loosely familiar to most critically aware readers of this thesis in a European academic context – the dramatically shifting institutional logics around 'Brexit'; a modelling of one mode of representation (the Venn diagram) for the forthcoming Data Exposition Chapter in its engagement with a multiplicity of competing institutional logics.*

Figure 3-0-3: An Illustrative Model of Institutional Logics: Tensions and Change Dynamics applied to the Empirical Context
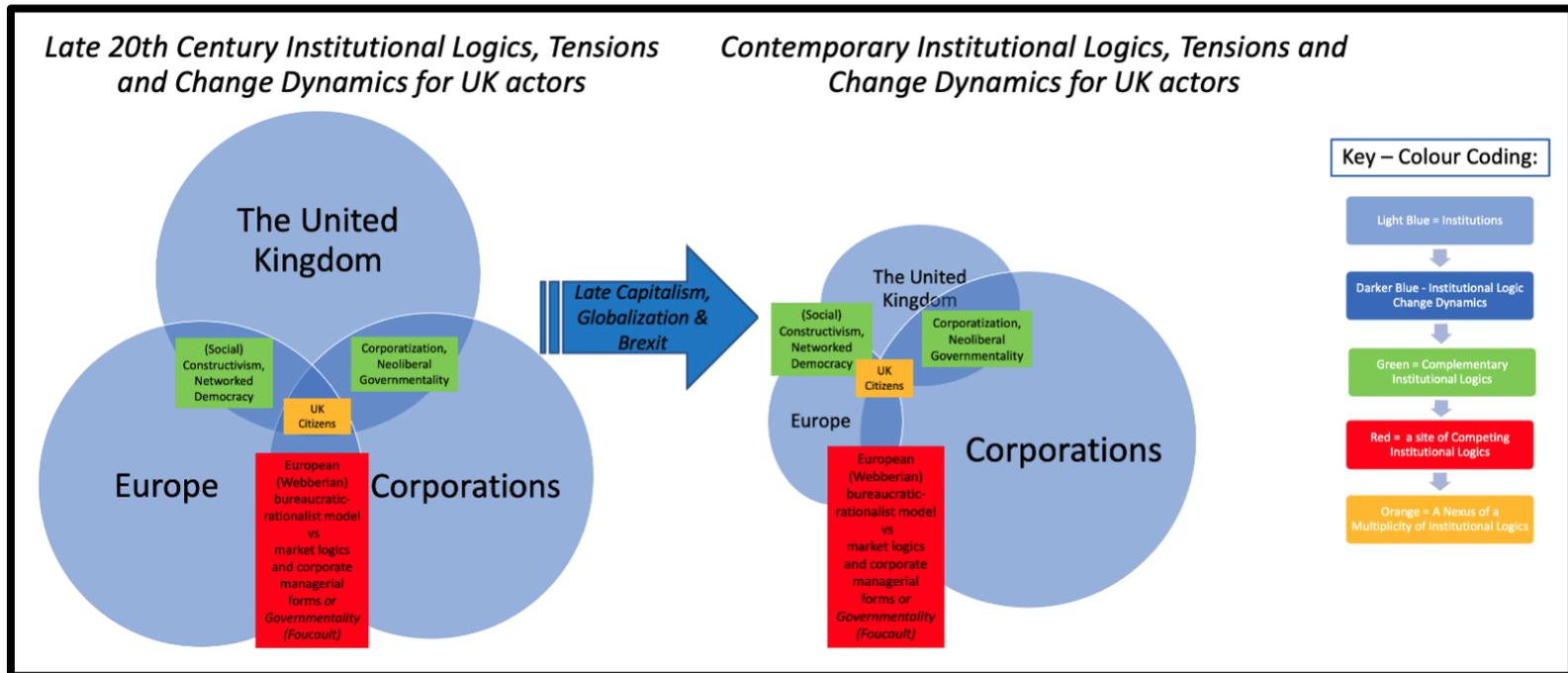
3.2   THE FOUCAULDIAN TOOLBOX

Having established the centrality of the Foucauldian approach to the conceptual framework for critically conceiving of institutions and institutionalization, it is worth stepping-back to consider what else the Foucauldian toolbox might uniquely offer to this inquiry. Foucault's work sprawls across diverse eras, topics and subject specialisms – and his influence has been reciprocally diverse. But from his aforementioned critiques of such social and intellectual institutions as mental health and sexuality, through more specific political questions and contexts, to his more esoteric (earlier) writings about literature or the liberating alternative narratives of the insane, and then his more mature privileging of the socially marginalised, they all share a fundamental ontology and ensuing epistemological character: a belief that power and knowledge are intimately related, manifest in language, co-opted/manipulated by societal institutions, that the systemic logic of these institutions tends to be much more preoccupied with this power-game than with any such (metaphysical) notions as 'truth'; and that access to a plurality of narrative

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perspectives – particularly those at the limits or margins – can help us to retain a position of dynamic critical awareness.

In a rejection of positivist/enlightenment traditions that nonetheless also resists a radical relativism or abject subjectivity, Foucault reminds us that we must be painstakingly precise in our critical method: 'What we have to do is analyse specific rationalities rather than always invoke the progress of rationalization in general' (Foucault, 1982, p.780). The critical conceptualization of organizational institutions as a complex nexus of time, space, actors and networks in Scott's aforementioned (2017, p.866) framing will be enriched by Foucault's broader discourse of society and its institutional logics – and the toolbox he posits for analyzing these.

3.2.1 THE GENEALOGICAL METHOD

Foucault's genealogical method looks at how knowledge and power function through language and objects/artefacts associated with the networks of meaning (we might simplistically consider these in terms of phenomena in *space*), and the 'epistemes' (we might simplistically consider these in terms of phenomena in *time*), they collectively constitute. Foucault's career is particularly notable – and his critical legacy so prolific and diversely (mis)appropriated – because, amongst other reasons, of how dynamically it evolved across his lifetime. A crucial distinction from his (earlier) 'archaeological' method, then, is useful in defining the genealogical method. Genealogy rejects universalist methods of inquiry which 'hav[e] to make reference to a subject which is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history' (Rabinow, 1984, p.59). Reminding ourselves of a crucial distinction within the working model of institutional practices as 'those deeply embedded in time and space' (Giddens 1984, p. 13), this is to say that – while time ('the course of history') and space '(the field of events') is significant to the genealogical method – it is to be distinguished from various other kinds of criticism around these parameters. Phenomena are not unified in their connection across time and space by some rational, pre-existing order; the history and practices of mankind are far more variegated and accidental than this – however hard we work to (socially) rationalise them. And while institutional theory offers a rigorous apparatus for exploring the causal mechanisms determining the interrelatedness of those 'accidents' within a given institutional field, Foucualt's Genealogical method is concerned with their epistemic significance.

Firstly, then, in distinction from more Archaeological methods, Genealogical criticism does not accord any inherent heuristic value to the assembly of linear timelines to investigate the meaning of any given 'subject', because the composition of said subject is profoundly embedded within and throughout its temporal and spatial being. As Foucault writes in 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History':

> Genealogy does not resemble the evolution of a species and does not map the destiny of a people. On the contrary, to follow the complex course of descent is to maintain passing events in their proper dispersion; it is to identify the accidents, the minute deviations - or conversely, the complete reversals - the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us; it is to discover that truth or being does not lie at the root of what we know and what we are, but the exteriority of accidents (Foucault, 1984, p.81).

We might consider this description of an 'accidental' path to the development of knowledge and power structures to be associated with Heidegger's aforementioned broad ontology of our human, social condition as one of 'thrown into being'ness – or, indeed, Meyer and Rowan's more granular concept of institutions as 'socially rationalised myths'. Operating between this most (macro) ontological level of continental philosophy, and the (more micro-level) focus of institutional theory, Foucault as a 'critical Philosopher' (Gutting, 2005) provides a toolkit to explore how this relationship between individuals, institutions and society operates – where their interrelations are not inherently reason-based, but rather rationalized *post hoc*. To consider this in the context of the model of institutions and the institutionalization process in the current study, it is also complementary with the model herein whereby all of the components of diffusion, decoupling, organizational fields and isomorphism are fundamentally inseparable and interrelated; we might call this a 'practice-based ontology' on institutions, i.e. there is no (dualist) predetermining rationalized model here.

Such an approach is, of course, to problematize a (reductive) schematic such as developed above in Figure 3.2 (Institutionalization 'thickening' Mechanisms; from Regulative through Normative to Cultural Cognitive; a conceptual framework derived from Scott's (2014) model) – it is to suggest that this process is *not* necessarily causally linear. Such a critical treatment of the

conceptual frameworks developed herein themselves is entirely appropriate to the Foucauldian approach, and will form part of the current inquiry.

While often empirically rigorous, Foucault is – rightly – infamous as an intentionally provocative and slippery writer. His reference to 'accidents' here is one such example, and worthy of a clarifying note here. Foucault is consistently hostile to any form of conceptual transcendentalism (including radical relativism) – profoundly historical and processual in his ontology. His epistemological method, then, prefers to frame knowledge as 'accidental' in a fundamental sense, and certainly 'in terms of [being] a logic free of the sterilizing constraints of the dialectic' (Foucault, 1980, p. 144). Rejecting, then, the intellectual traditions of Hegel and much of Marx's interest in exploring phenomena through the lens of universal concepts such as – to take an examples from the current project – 'a better and more peaceful world' (IB, 2020) and rather following in the traditions of Nietzsche, Foucault neither assumes these to be universal, nor to be constructed through a binary 'dialectical' relationship. Instead, following in the traditions of (the early, more lucid writings of) Nietzsche, whose ontology is centred upon process and 'man as a mighty genius of construction who succeeds in piling an infinitely complicated dome of concepts upon an unstable foundation', Foucault is interested in establishing how concepts – institutions, we will show here – can come to have long-standing power symbolically and materially. Moreover, as Nietzsche – who also writes provocatively – continues, man 'is to be admired in this, but not in his instinct for truth, but for his creativity' (Nietzsche, 1979, p.81), Foucault's genealogical method is most apt for exploring the fundamentally contingent – or, in a rejection of timelessness or universality, we might say 'accidental' – yet often deeply creative processes and powerful and complex constructions of the institutionalization process.

3.2.2 FOUCAULT'S SCEPTICISM OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, GENERALISABILITY – AND HIS METHOD OF PROBLEMATIZATION

From the above explication of Foucault's genealogical method, and his evident valuing of the marginalized, the qualitative nuances of individual human subjects – especially those at the margins, outside of the general 'order of things' (2005) – we can deduce a scepticism of the enlightenment-driven rationalist/logical-positivist traditions in the social sciences. Indeed, he characterizes the attempt to bring scientific objectivity to the human sciences as rather 'a sort of

"scientificity"… which, directly or indirectly, gave it legal justification… institutional supports… in the arrangement of a power-knowledge over individuals' (Rabinow, 1984, p.237). Where the question of generalisability, the 'gold standard' of the conventional scientific method is concerned (dependent on 'controlling' those marginal 'variables') Foucault instead poses problematization: a mode of investigating human phenomena that is at once deeply localised (immersed in understanding the qualitative depth of the subjective experience) and aware of its spacial and temporal relativity (its epistemic context):

> …these historico-critical investigations are quite specific in the sense that they always bear upon a material, an epoch, a body of determined practices and discourses…. But by evoking this generality, I do not mean to suggest that it has to be retraced in its metahistorical continuity over time, nor that its variations have to be pursued. What must be grasped is the extent to which what we know of it, the forms of power that are exercised in it, and the experience that we have in it of ourselves constitute nothing but determined historical figures, through a certain form of problematization that defines objects, rules of action, modes of relation to oneself.
>
> The study of [modes of] problematization (that is, of what is neither an anthropological constant nor a chronological variation) is thus the way to analyze questions of general import in their historically unique form. (Rabinow, 1984, p.49)

This critical mode of problematization – deeply sensitive to time-and-space variables, without seeking to control these towards a 'scientific' endeavour to generalise – will be deployed in eliciting life stories from within the IB world. Through such problematization, we may pose and analyse questions of general import to the phenomenon of institutionalization, while respecting its historically unique form in the IB. It should also be noted that Foucault also/relatedly used the term 'problematization' to describe 'how and why certain things (behaviour, phenomena, processes) became a problem' (Foucault, 2001, p.71) – and so the phenomenon of 'problematization' forms part of his conception of the interdependent process through which

power and knowledge (and so institutions) function genealogically. Though this usage of the term is entirely complementary with its application to the critical lens within the conceptual framework here, this secondary meaning will not be used extensively here.

3.2.3 BIO-POWER, SUBJECTIFICATION AND OBJECTIFICATION; MOBILITY AND TRANSIENCE IN POWER RELATIONS

As expressed in the earlier connection with Scott's model of Institutionalization based upon Increasing Objectification, Foucault describes the implementation of biopower as a process whereby changing the features of individuals into subjects (synonymous here with institutional carriers) becomes the object of the functioning of power. As individuals become experts so they in turn become agents of (objectifying) discourses; they assume the identity of the Teacher, the Psychologist, the Educational Leader – and so a Subject within the functioning of Biopower. They become an agent, a perpetuator – or institutional carrier – of the objectified shared beliefs of their the body that governs them.

In this functioning of biopower, its active creation and shaping of human identities, Foucault is not claiming that biopower is unproductive or negative, nor that it is strictly deterministic. It can be more or less absolutely controlling in different contexts, but the training and development of specialist identity (the creation of Subjects through Objectification) operates in an interdependent relationship with other variables – including relative human agency, particularly from those at the margins of any institutions, and other (epistemic) networks of power relations:

> One is dealing with mobile and transitory points of resistance, producing cleavages in a society that shifts about, fracturing unities and effecting regroupings, furrowing across individuals themselves. Just as the network of power relations ends by forming a dense web that passes through apparatuses and institutions, without being exactly localized in them, so too the swarm of points of resistance traverses social stratifications and individual unities.

(Senellart et al, 2009, p.96)

This conception of mobility and transience in power relations will be highly informative in considering the relative margins of agency of institutional actors (through such processes as theorizing, resistance and advocacy – alongside such innovation-producing environmental variables as the technological, the legislative and the market-based as per Scott's 2014 referencing of Tolbert and Zucker) within IB institutions and a broader plurality of neo-liberal institutional logics.

3.2.4   EPISTEMES

Foucault's definition of epistemes is highly congruent with the conceptual framework here – primarily in considering a (macro-level, historical) perspective of organizational fields, and informing his scepticism of science with a transhistorical perspective. The logic of his explanation is very close to that of the institution – a socially rationalized myth – in many ways. But, focused on large-scale intellectual historical movements and politics, his definition is also emergent from his above discussed (ontological) preoccupation with demonstrating any kind of knowledge-power apparatus to be fundamentally constructed:

> I would define the episteme retrospectively as the strategic apparatus which permits of separating out from among all the statements which are possible those that will be acceptable within, I won't say a scientific theory, but a field of scientificity, and which it is possible to say are true or false. The episteme is the 'apparatus' which makes possible the separation, not of the true from the false, but of what may from what may not be characterised as scientific. (Foucault, 1980, p.197).

Though not featuring centrally within the critical toolkit here, the concept of the episteme is thoroughly congruent and is of value in considering the relationship between the institutionalization process and such (epistemic) phenomena as late capitalism, globalism and neoliberalism.

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3.2.5   NEOLIBERALISM AND GOVERNMENTALITY

Foucault's critical toolkit developed through a career that was deeply concerned with intellectual history, and his early work explicated how the exercise of power, from being direct, explicit and often violent in pre-modern times, becomes increasingly indirect and insidious with modernity. This trend is seen to become even more pronounced as we encounter late-capitalism and a neoliberal context.

Foucault's later work, through the 70's to his death in 1984, shows increasing political commitment – with a distinct leaning towards this (increasingly corporate) neoliberal apparatus of governmentality as 'the main danger'. To transpose Scott's (2014) description for the third of his pillars of institutions, then, this exercise of power upon (institutional) actors is increasingly a cultural-cognitive exercise in bio-power.

3.2.6   CRITICISM AND IMPLICATIONS OF FOUCAULT'S WORK

The above breadth of scope and resistance to universality (or associated Hegelian dialecticism) in Foucault's view has faced criticism as being radically subjectivist, and so lacking in rigorous granularity (Newton, 1998; Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009). Other critics have identified a bleakness or pessimism to his work, where anything and everything can be 'problematised' (i.e. subject to pervasive criticism) in a value-neutral approach to such politically loaded concepts as progress in technology or medicine (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009). Still others (Minson, 1985) have arguably participated in the same kind of misreading and/or wrong-headed binary thinking about the job of criticism that has seen Weber treated as the forefather of a kind of determinist, conservative organizational institutionalism: seeing a focus on discourse and broader practice-based phenomenology as a denial of individual human agency. What unites these lines of criticism and is valid, is to observe that there is a value-neutral objectivity to Foucault's fundamental critical framework; hence its dynamism and popularity. Foucault's methodological framework is certainly not concerned with anything like political correctness, nor is it in any way politically partisan. But to claim that the Foucauldian view is anything like apolitical or insufficiently critically robust on this basis is entirely to miss the point of his work – and, indeed, the point of any conceptual framework for critical analysis. As Foucault's reflection of 1984 reminds us 'I think that the ethico-political choice we have to make every day is to determine which is the main danger' (1984, p.343). The application of an objective, value-neutral,

discourse-as-practice based lens is most appropriate to the empirical study of the IB's institutionalization process; it is through precisely the elimination of any pre-existing political biases or value-judgments from such a critical framework that we may arrive at findings from which to 'determine which is the main danger' in ethico-political or other such senses. Every speech act and practice should be critically conceived as potentially powerful – everything, indeed, can be dangerous. The job of the critic is to delineate the variables determining the what, why, where and to whom of this contingent danger.

3.3 A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK TO EXPLORE THE PHENOMENON OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION IN THE IB

To conclude and clarify this chapter, this section will tie-together the various conceptual strands explored above to develop a conceptual framework that aims to explore and problematise A) the phenomenon of the development of institutions in the IB through distinct carriers and associated pillars of institutions, and the institutionalization process that produces and perpetuates them through actors, B) the discourses in which these manifest and/or through which they operate, and C) the broader socio-political context that frames A) and B). After identifying key concepts of prominence in this chapter, links and assumptions between these will be made explicit. This section will then conclude with a refined form of the initial research question that should lend greater focus to the ensuing process of data collection and analysis, together with an infographic (Figure 3-4) summarizing the conceptual framework.

3.3.1 KEY CONCEPTS AND SCHEMATIC OVERVIEW OF THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The central phenomenon to be explored within this framework is *institutions. Institutions* are conceptualised as 'socially rationalised myths' drawing from Meyer and Rowan's (1977) constructivist sociological model. The associated phenomenon of *institutionalization* – a process of 'thickening' institutions through mechanisms (Scott 2014) is also significant. This process involves forming 'pillars' in Scott's (2014) rigorous framing of this model. The central critical method in the framework will be that of Foucault's *problematization* – 'defin[ing] objects, rules of action, modes of relation to [individual] sel[ves]… [as] neither an anthropological constant nor a chronological variation… [but rather] in their historically unique form' (Rabinow, 1984, p.49);

distinct IB institutionalization phenomena will be explored, but with determined sensitivity to their subjective position in time and space, and the significance of this *epistemic* positioning. As such, institutionalization can be seen to operate within the broader (epistemic) functioning of *governmentality*.

In a useful schematic representation of a linear process (which itself will come to be problematised), the interdependent progression of institutionalization builds from the *regulative*, through the *normative* to the *cultural cognitive* pillars of institutions. At this most institutionally 'thickened' end of this continuum of pillars, institutions are most powerful – the myths most pervasively rationalized – constituting an apparatus of *governmentality* through (the primarily discursive action of) myth-making. At this most 'thickened' end of the institutionalization continuum, individual actors will be shown to be most *subjectivised*, they have least autonomy within the institutions. Such governmentality will be explored in functioning as an exercise of knowledge as power through discourse and related cultural-cognitive institutional practices.

The graphic representation in Figure 3.4, below, builds from the literature review and provides an overview of the relationship between the concepts described above – a helpful 'modularisation' of the conceptual framework within the research design.

Figure 3-0-4: Schematic Overview of the Conceptual Framework
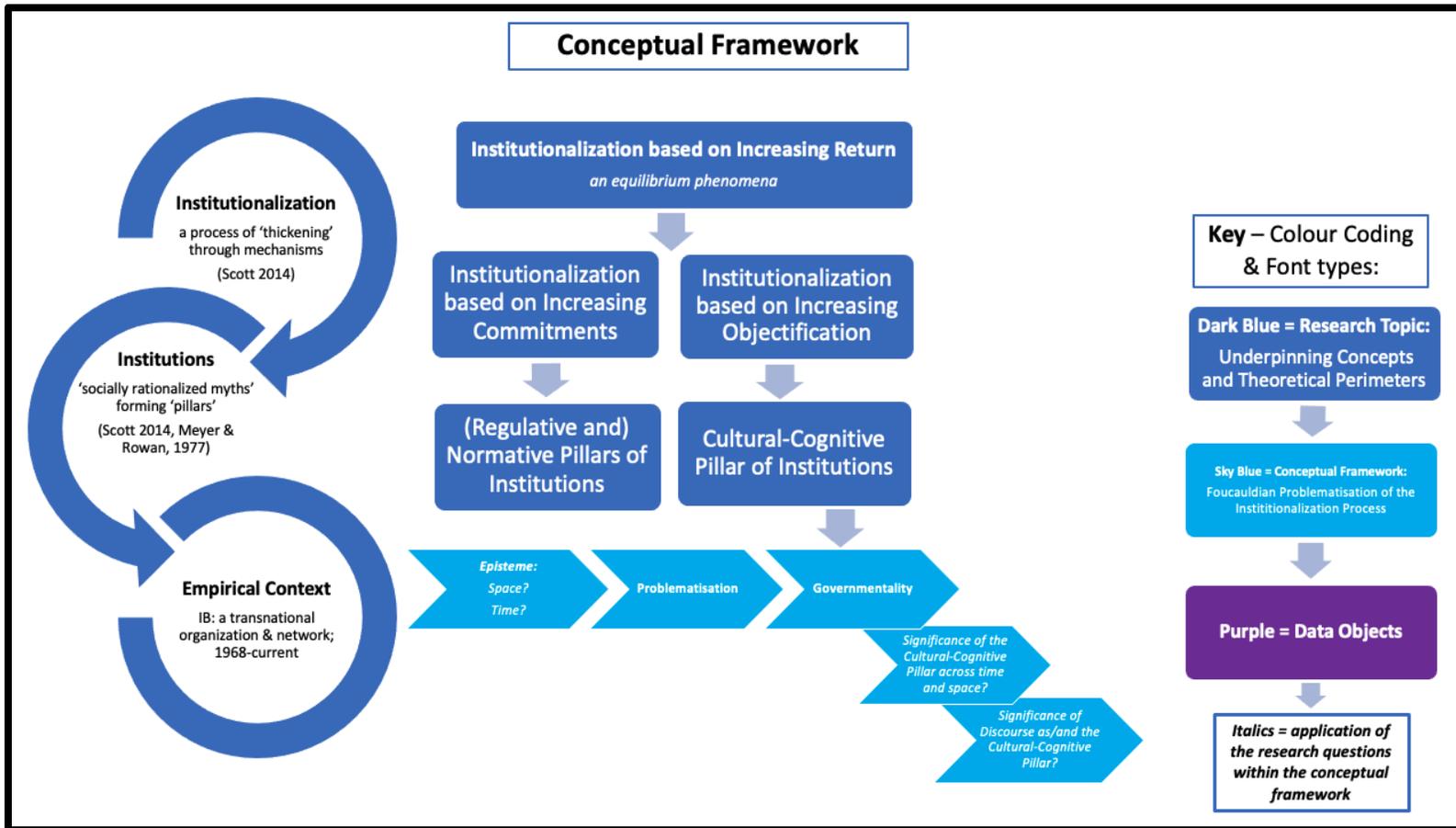
It must be noted, however, that – as with any representation of complex qualitative phenomena with infographic clarity – this modular sequencing is reductive. This has been alluded to with regards to the schematic representation of a linear progression of institutionalization through pillars. It also pertains to the Foucauldian conceptual framework (coloured Sky Blue). Renowned (notorious, perhaps!) for his dense, ambitious and fluid prose-form, Foucault's writing is resistant to reductive modularisation; the above should not be conceived as a totalizing schematic, then, but rather a loose 'shorthand' for the approach. For example, in considering problematization: this emerges as a most apt mode for critically conceiving neoliberal, transnational contexts (episteme) since it is agile in exploring time-space-phenomena with reference to their margins, their (fluid) start and end points; however, it is also through the critical lens of problematization that we can conceive of these epistemes in the first place. The Foucauldian approach and the endeavour to problematize these diverse data objects is the critical 'bath' in which these ideas 'swim'. The above infographic, then (as – indeed – this research

project, in many senses) should be seen as an attempt to balance reductive linear clarity with expansive discursive depth.

3.3.2 CRITICALLY CONCEIVING THEORETICAL CONCEPTS: THE FOUCAULDIAN PERSPECTIVE ON INSTITUTIONS AND THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION PROCESS.

The phenomenon of governmentality is central to a Foucauldian conception of power-relations, and institutionalization, in a (neo-)liberal context. Governmentality might be so conceived, in summary, as the pervasive exercise of power (within which we can subsume a development of institutions) in spite of a rhetoric of liberalism. Describing why Foucault's work – despite its detractors claims to being contradictory, dense and contested – has come to occupy a central position in critical management studies, McKinlay et al (2012) describe how within liberal culture, the exercise of power and the development of institutions is far more indirect and disingenuous than within earlier societies:

> the dull categories of 'consent', 'compliance' and 'resistance' were inadequate to register the complex, confused and contradictory meanings workers ascribed to these new organizational realities. Foucault's insistence that power was not so much about prohibition of certain actions as the attempted production of, for instance, new forms of identity was crucial to the consolidation of his influence in organization studies. (2012, p.4).

Governmentality is a far more pervasive mode of exercising power than simply 'the rule of law' or 'the power to' (in pre-modern times). To exercise governmentality is to structure the possible field of action of others; biopower functions within this by conditioning the behaviours of individual agents within this structure in the most efficient exercise of power possible. In this, as it developed alongside mercantilism historically, governmentality reduces everything to a form of economics; it is efficient, its subjects believe in the larger body to which they belong (/are objectified), energy is not wasted in enforcing obedience once they are wilful subjects. The State in the West inherited these, alongside the reformation and the enlightenment, from the church. The new 'faith' in secular governmentality took shape, as Foucault writes (in the eponymously entitled essay) in 'Docile Bodies'.

Discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility)

and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience). In short, it dissociates power from the body; on the one hand, it turns it into an "aptitude, " a "capacity," which it seeks to increase; on the other hand, it reverses the course of the energy, the power that might result from it, and turns it into a relation of strict subjection. If economic exploitation separates the force and the product of labor, let us say that disciplinary coercion establishes in the body the constricting link between an increased aptitude and an increased domination. (Rabinow, P.182)

Thus discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, "docile" bodies; subjects made pure objects of power, denied any agency[5].

The description of how the exercise of governmentality creates a dialectical – at times simply an inverse – relationship between objectified (economic utility) 'force' and subjective (political, agentic) 'force' is very similar to the dialectic described through a slightly different language in Institutional Theory.

Invoking DiMaggio and Powell's aforementioned evocation of Meyer and Rowan (1977) in describing how 'As an innovation spreads, a threshold is reached beyond which adoption provides legitimacy rather than improves performance' (Scott, 1983, p.148) Scott describes how such an inverse relationship exists between institutional legitimacy and decoupling. We can mobilize Foucault's focus on the exercise of power upon/through individuals here, subsuming his complex conception of the subject/object dialectic into 'institutional actors' with varying degrees of 'agency'. Foucault's concept of governmentality is built upon his notion of how 'the subject is objectified by a process of division either within himself or from others' (Foucault in Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982, p.208). Further, then, this loss of agency – of the capacity to produce individual meaning, for the individual to be creative – can be conceived as inversely correlated to the (creative) colonisation of the subject by the 'increased aptitude' of the dominating 'discipline' (or institutions).

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[5] The definition of 'Agency' here is unpacked further in the exploration of the terms in the context of CDA but, in summary for now: Nicolini, drawing upon Wittgenstein (1953), Bourdieu (1990), and Schatzki (2002) states that 'Knowing is always a practical accomplishment and practice is where knowledgeability manifests itself and agency becomes possible' (Nicolini, 2011, p.602)

Then, as we remind ourselves that institutional legitimacy is what motivates organizational decision-making within an organisational field that is *not* rational objective and/or instrumental functionalist (instead it is seeking legitimacy within the [rationalized myth] of the institution), we can subsume institutionalization within the exercise of governmentality. Here, we can conceive of the inverse relationship between institutional legitimacy (as an exercise in governmentality), and the (rational and/or functionalist) agency of institutional actors (and so their capacity for agency/creativity/innovation). The Foucauldian lens brings a political breadth to this conception – reminding us of both the productive effects upon subjects alongside their subjectification through this (organizationally creative) process, and an understanding of this process as intimately related to the episteme of (late)capitalism: determined by a crude economic (institutional) logic. Institutional Theory brings to the Foucauldian understanding the nuanced relationship between the decoupling/institutional legitimacy dialectic and economy: beyond a certain threshold, 'strict subjection' and institutional legitimacy may no longer be economically profitable for the organization, so decoupling gives the individual agency while maintaining the institution.

Again, the critical framework here has much in common with Parker's critical conception of managerialism (2000) where 'in terms of the structure/agency dualism [he] suggests that both culture and organization can be regarded as mediating terms between the determination of generalities and the agency of individuals. Describing culture hence means accounting for both the instabilities of social order and the rules of disorder' (Parker, 2000, p.3). Institutions, within such a critical conception, are (relatively ordered) nexuses of these generalities – operating in tension with the (relatively disordered) plurality of individuals and their (relative) agency. We may, indeed, from such a critical conception, as Parker, find a 'messy combination of radical humanism and postructuralism… helpful if we want to explore the role of language and division in the shaping of organizational identities' (Parker, 2000, p.3). But we may also find less messy visual schematics that capture the relationships between these (relatively) interdependent relationships helpful, particularly if they are then problematized. So we may realise a critical realism.

The complex interdependent relationship conceived between these elements of institutional theory– decoupling, institutional legitimacy, agency and innovation, and rationalized myths – alongside Foucault's conception of governmentality, is visualized in schematic form in Figure 3.5, below:

Figure 3-0-5: Detailed Critical Framework: Foucauldian Governmentality and Institutional Legitimacy vs the capacity of Individual Actors for Decoupling and Agency
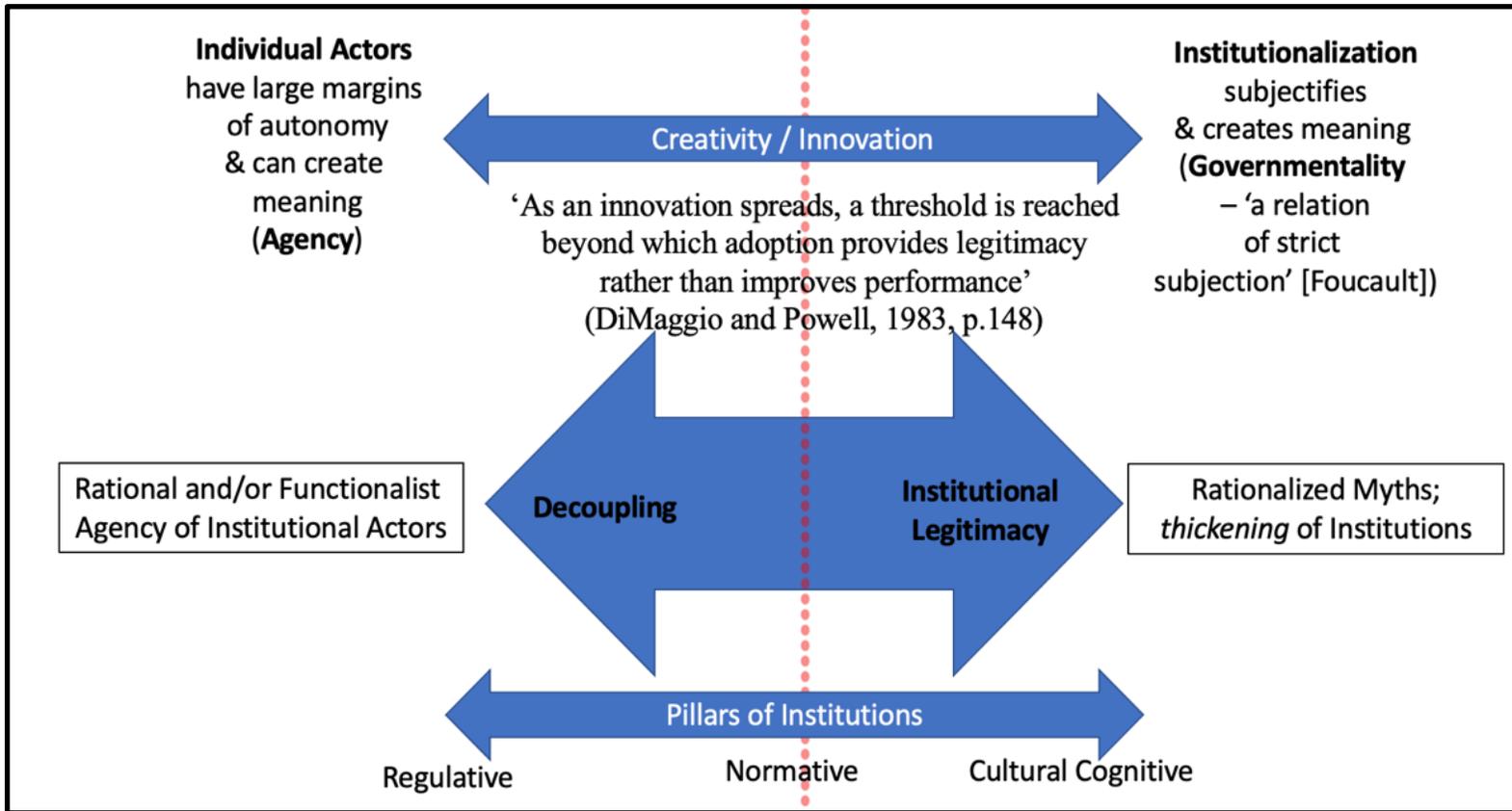
As in models such as the aforementioned Bouty & Gomez (2013), as discrete phenomena / subjects for academic inquiry, 'creativity' and 'innovation' can be theoretically distinguished. While deeper inquiry into the nuances of these distinctions is beyond the scope of the current research, and they will be treated as somewhat synonymous, we can recall that they are complementary concepts in an institutional context, with innovation mobilizing creativity towards successful organizational practices. For the purposes of Figure 3-5, all that is really important is that they occupy a position proximal to one-another – with creativity occupying a conceptual relationship of dialectical opposition with institutional legitimacy and mechanisms of institutionalization that serve the cultural cognitive pillar of institutions[6].

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[6] 'Innovation', then, can be conceived as complementing institutional legitimacy and mechanisms of institutionalization; creative organizational institutionalization can be conceived as innovation – though this will not form a central part of the critical lexicon here.

3.3.3   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This chapter has developed conceptual and analytical frameworks that will facilitate an exploration of the main research question. Further to the analytical models and conceptualizations, and the relationships between these, the initial research question can now be meaningfully supplemented with two more refined research questions.

Main RQ: How do (organizational) institutions develop: the case of the IB?
This question facilitates exploration of the differentiated development of these institutions across time and space; exploring and so better understanding its epistemic context. It also leads us to pose the following sub-questions:

RQ2: How are (organizational) institutions thickened through actors and discourses within the IB?
This question facilitates exploration of the process of institution thickening, of making institutions more permanent, particularly through the effects of discourse and related practices on institutional actors.

RQ3: How does organizational institutionalization operant within the IB interact with the wider societal context?
This question facilitates the most potent application of Foucault's critical mode of problematization; deepening our understanding of the IB's institutions and institutionalization practices through awareness of socio-historical specificity and marginality.

4) METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

'There is nothing to be gained from describing this autonomous layer of discourses unless one can relate it to other layers, practices, institutions, social relations, political relations, and so on. It is that relationship which has always intrigued me' (Foucault, 1967, p.284).

From the earlier chapter's review of the organizational institutionalism literature – in particular the nature of institutions and the process of institutionalization in a transnational, neoliberal context – the general research question from which to embark upon this exploratory thesis is obviously presented as:

How does the institutionalization process operate: the case of the IB?

A review of the empirical setting will start to suggest what elements an apt exploratory research design must comprise – elucidating the organizational, educational and political/ideological complexities to the IB and its organizational field. Organizational institutionalism theory as applied to the IB will then be reviewed, with pertinent concepts elucidated. Elements of the Foucauldian toolbox, as the central conceptual framework, will be briefly revisited in order to present a critical conception of the central methods of data extraction: life stories and narrative methodology, and critical discourse analysis. The concluding synthesis of these elements – through Foucault's critical mode of problematization and his concept of governmentality in a neoliberal context – will articulate a methodology for applying the critical framework emphasizing carriers and associated pillars of institutions, associated discourses of institutionalization, and the broader socio-political context that frames this, to the IB. By this stage, the exploratory starting point will have evolved towards more explanatory, rigorous presentation of empirical data and theory building – as per the earlier **Figure 1.1: Mixed Methodology Module Sequencing: from Exploratory to Explanatory**, replicated here for the reader's convenience:

Figure 1-1: Mixed Methodology Module Sequencing: from Exploratory to Explanatory

Exploratory,
Narrative Exposition
Discursive

**Autobiographical
Life Story**

A foregrounding of subjectivity;

*Establishing the narrative
positioning of the field-based
researcher*

**Cross-section of
Institutional Actor
Life Stories**

*Subject-centred framing;
Voice of the researcher a
'controlled variable'*

**CDA of IBEN Training
Interface**

*Data-object focused;
Objective, Scientific*

Explanatory,
Theory Exposition
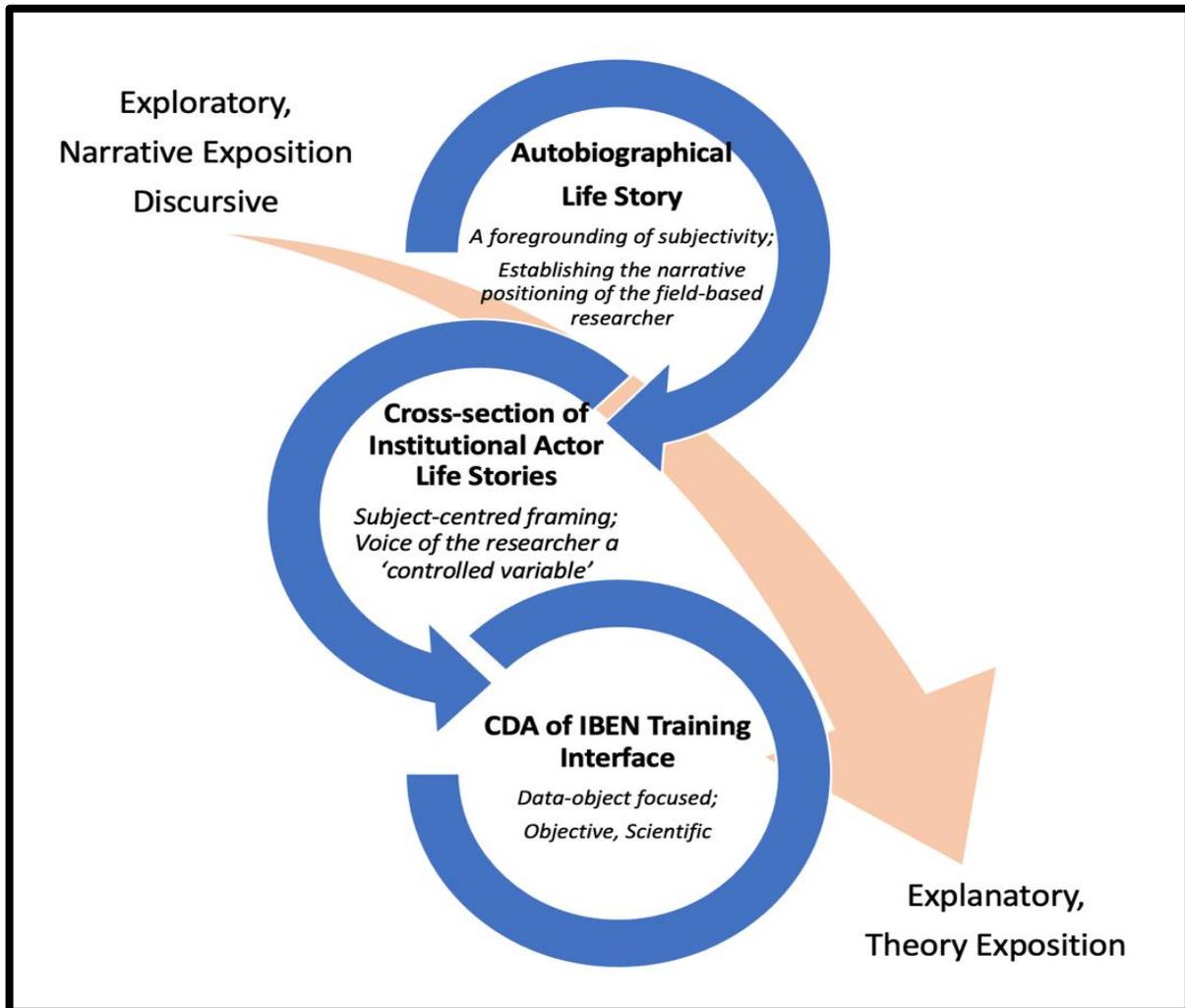
In this mixed-methodology inquiry, with a narrative core, the case study approach will build upon the accessibility, alongside the desired aesthetic merit and reflexivity of the Autobiographical Life Story (presented here in the problematizing preface), developing substantive contribution and impact as data is triangulated towards explanatory veracity. This is in keeping with the model for 'Qualitative Case Study Reporting' in Merriam and Tisdell's (2016) eponymous chapter in their highly useful *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*, where – drawing upon Richardson and St. Pierre's work in narrative methods – they stipulate:

> Richardson supports the "blurring of the humanities and the social
> sciences" in representing one's findings "not because it is 'trendy' but

rather because the blurring coheres more truly with the life sense and learning style of so many" (in Richardson and St. Pierre, 2005, pp. 964–965). Further, writing from this multi- lens perspective "becomes more diverse and author centered, less boring, and humbler" (p. 965). She proposes four criteria for evaluating such writing—substantive contribution, aesthetic merit, reflexivity, and impact (Merriam, and Tisdell, 2016, p.247-248)

More concrete/positivist models for case study design such as those of Yin (2017) will also be of value here, in keeping with the critical realist epistemology. This borrowing of 'Starting Points' and other elements of methodology from the more rigorous, Positivist 'neighbouring approach' is entirely in keeping with Easterby Smith et al.'s (2012) recommendations regarding the methodological implications of different epistemologies in their guidebook *Management and Business Research* (2012, p.72) – as per their schematic of these reproduced in Figure 4-1, below.

Figure 4-0-1: Methodological Implications of Different Epistemologies

(reproduced from p.72 Easterby Smith et al. 2012)

TABLE 3.6 Methodological implications of different epistemologies

Ontology	Realism	Internal realism	Relativism	Nominalism
Epistemology	Strong positivism	Positivism	Constructionism	Strong constructionism
Methodology	Quantitative ←			→ Qualitative
Aims	Discovery	Exposure	Convergence	Invention
Starting points	Hypotheses	Propositions	Questions	Critiques
Designs	Experiments	Large surveys; multi-cases	Cases and surveys	Engagement and reflexivity
Methods and techniques				
Data types	Numbers and facts	Mainly numbers with some words	Mainly words with some numbers	Discourse and experiences
Analysis/ interpretation	Verification/ falsification	Correlation and regression	Triangulation and comparison	Sense-making; understanding
Outcomes	Confirmation of theories	Theory-testing and generation	Theory generation	New insights and actions

The broadly constructionist approach to the case study method described by Merriam and Tisdell (2016) is closest to the methodology and research design here, and the four criteria of substantive contribution, aesthetic merit, reflexivity, and impact will be pertinent for evaluating these, and the ensuing findings and analysis – particularly as pertains to the narrative mode. However, the approach here is certainly not strong constructionist, indeed, the endeavour in the later stages of the data exposition in the synthesis of life stories and then the application of the outcomes of this to the empirical data object in CDA is concerned with triangulation and comparison of data towards theory generation. Easterby-Smith et al's (2012) summary of Golden-Biddle and Locke's (1993) seminal paper on producing 'convincing' narrative methods in

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organisational science is therefore most applicable here in considering the overall methodology and research design as being valid according to three criteria:

1) authenticity

2) plausibility

3) criticality.

Their unpacking of these three criteria describes precisely the endeavour here, and will serve as a useful guide through the development of the methodology and research design:

> *Authenticity* involves convincing the reader that the researcher has a deep understanding of what is taking place in the organization; *plausibility* requires the research to link into some ongoing concern/interest among other researchers; and *criticality* encourages readers to question their taken-for-granted assumptions, and thus offer something genuinely novel. (Easterby Smith et al. 2012, p.115)

4.1   EMPIRICAL SETTING – DELINEATION OF THE CASE STUDY: THE IB

The empirical data objects referred to in this section – primarily drawn from the IB's public website and associated web-based publications – are detailed in Appendix 4.

4.1.1   ESTABLISHING AN AUTHENTIC CASE STUDY OF THE IB: FOUNDATIONS, FINANCES, PRACTICES AND (EPISTEMIC) CONTEXT AS A TRANSNATIONAL ACTOR

Founded in 1968 in Geneva, Switzerland, where its headquarters officially still reside, the *International* Baccalaureate is – as the name suggests – an international organization, registered as a not-for-profit foundation, delivering many distinctive elements of educational resourcing, programming and culture to international schools globally.

While, needless to say, in considering any organization through an institutional lens, one does not expect to see anything like a simple rational or functionalist relationship between sources of fiscal income and expenditure of organizational energy, a summary of the IB's income sources is certainly useful in understanding the organizational context, the boundaries to the research design and the choice of research objects; the authenticity of the case formulation (Easterby Smith et al. 2012, p.115). This is detailed below, in Figure 4.2, publicly accessible on the IB's Financial Overview pages of their website (IB, (2020) '2018-19 financial overview').

Figure 4-0-2: Income Summary for the IB Financial Years 2017-18 and 2018-19
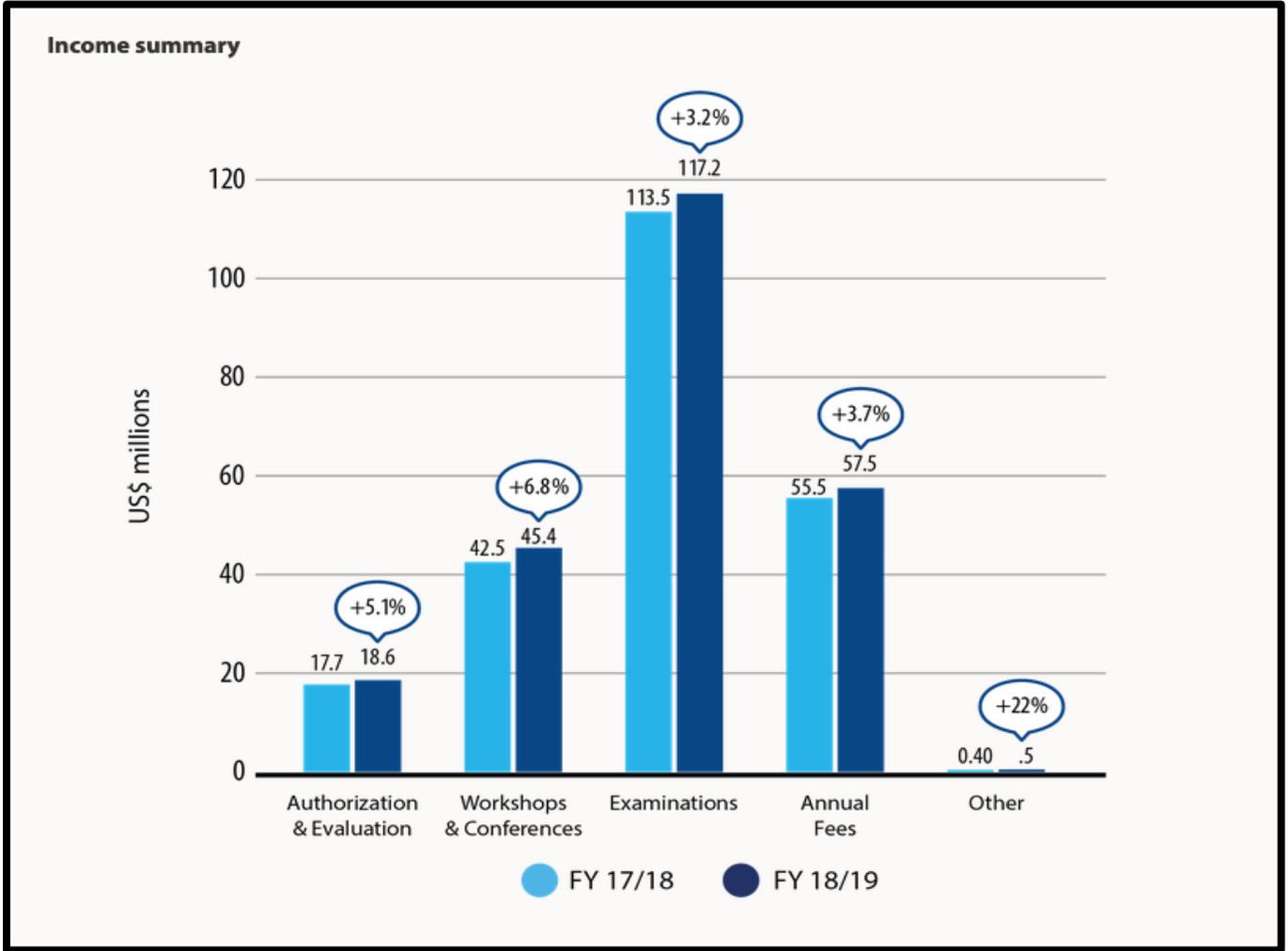
Clearly, their significant majority income source is 'Examinations' and their marking by *IB Examiners* and – indeed – these will be a significantly reference point in the research here, particularly pertaining to quality assurance, in what we might consider to be the IB's most obvious, tangible 'product' and 'revenue stream'. But it is the next three – collectively totalling more income than that of Examinations – that are most closely linked to the IB phenomena under consideration here: 'Annual fees', as paid by schools that have satisfied standards determined by *IB School Visitors* when conducting IB 'Authorization and Evaluation Visits'; and 'Workshops and Conferences' – facilitated by *IB Workshop Leaders* – a significant number of which IB schools must have their staff attend to achieve and retain their 'IB World School' status (i.e. being an IB international school) lest they fail their 'Authorization and Evaluation Visits'.

My position here as a researcher practitioner is complex, as discussed within the Preface and my own Critical Life Story, but can be usefully summarized with reference to these primary organizational income sources and roles here and the aforementioned notion of 'authenticity': I have qualified as and continue to be employed on a peripatetic, short-term contract basis in each of the aforementioned *italicized* IBEN roles throughout the last decade.

In addition to the aforementioned reach of over 5000 schools, across 158 countries globally (IB, 'Facts and Figures', 2020), and well-over a million students, the IB's (self-reported) financial overview presents a robust picture that will support its ongoing development: with total assets surpassing $350 million and a surplus of over $70 million in their last publicly reported financial year (IB, '2018-19 financial overview') the IB is a significant *transnational organization*, occupying an interesting position within Slaughter's aforementioned typology of these (2002, p.13). As a transnational organization, the IB has close and mutually reinforcing organizational and institutional relationships with various 'International non-governmental organizations' such as the United Nations[7] (UN) and – as the current study will demonstrate – functions as an exceptionally institutionally effective 'Professional Association', demonstrating how these can be 'highly organized in the transnational arena… often acting as the 'conscience of the community' ' as Scott describes the institutional logics of these transnational actors (Scott, 2017 p.862).

Indeed, identifying itself as being distinctively mission-driven and supported in creating and perpetuating this perception by such research[8] in the field of international education as Hill's 2010 'The international baccalaureate: Pioneering in education', the IB is certainly an organization for whom ideological discourse and knowledge as power has an important role.   The organization's emergence, during the Cold War era, certainly aligned – in many respects – with other progressive, ideological educationalists of the era, such as Kurt Hahn with his establishment of the United World College movement in Atlantic College and the Round Square movement (IB,

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[7] The IB is the curriculum of choice for the UN's own International Schools (UNIS) and, moreover, holds consultative status as an NGO at United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

[8] The IB appear to be extremely aware of the role that research/the academic field of international education plays in the (cultural cognitive institutionalization of the) organizational field, and Hill is just one particularly prolific example of a researcher within their sometime employ and organizational leadership – whose purpose appears to largely be one of promoting the IB through the academic field. Needless to say, as a contract-employee of the IB as myself a Workshop Leader, Webinar Designer, Online Workshop Leader, School (evaluation and authorization) visit team member – and having recently been invited to train for the more senior roles of [peripatetic/contract] Consultant and School Visit Team Leader) I remain highly conscious of the subjectivity of my own position as an researcher practitioner.

2020).

4.1.2 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DISCOURSE: THE IB AS A 'MISSION-DRIVEN', COMPLEX, DISCURSIVE PROJECT; CRITICALITY IN RESEARCH DESIGN

The IB Mission itself does, indeed, begin in a bold expression of ideological reach. The first page on their website, 'About the IB' (2020) prefaces that the IB is 'more than its educational programmes and certificates'. This characterization of the organization is then immediately imbued with a humanity as their claim is personified; and 'At our heart, we are motivated by a mission to create a better world through education.' The significance of the human – as primary actors, or *carriers of institutionalization* in the critical discourse that will be developed herein – is then stated directly: 'We achieve our goals by working with partners and by actively involving our stakeholders, particularly teachers.'

After the preface, their mission begins by stating that

> 'The International Baccalaureate® aims to develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect.
>
> To this end the organization works with schools, governments and international organizations to develop challenging programmes of international education and rigorous assessment.'

All of which sounds reasonable – and entirely in keeping with an organization with a broadly globalist function and close relationships with such intergovernmental organizations as the UN. And then the mission statement concludes with a curious statement – perhaps telling of tensions between (globalist) conceptions of universality, versus something much more pluralist and relativist in this rhetoric:

> 'These programmes encourage students across the world to become active, compassionate and lifelong learners who understand that other people, with their differences, can also be right.' (IB, 2020)

The semantics here arguably belies deep tensions throughout the IB's organizational and

pedagogical history and identity – at the very least a formidable complexity that invites a critical approach that 'encourages readers to question their taken-for-granted assumptions, and thus offer something genuinely novel' (Easterby-Smith et al. 2012, p.115). These may often be constructive, creative tensions, and sometimes the opposite. Moreover, they are worthy of note here since they are indicative of the unique character of this powerful organization, and how its process of institutionalization might function through its practices and discourses – and the value in a research design that can critically explore such complex elements of organizational functioning through problematizing these in a critical method that is sensitive to tensions between universal concepts and local contexts.

4.1.3 DEVELOPING A PLAUSIBLE AND CRITICAL CASE: THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE'S PEDAGOGICAL ORIGINS AND GROWTH: PRAGMATISM VS (SOCIAL) CONSTRUCTIVISM

The IB has its roots squarely in constructivist pedagogy and an educational model that champions critical inquiry. Educational constructivism, whereby students learn by active participation in the construction of understanding – comprising also metacognition (i.e. learning about the learning *process* while learning) – and the notion of social constructionism (whereby we shape shared understandings of the world through our collaboration/interactions with others) are identified on the IB's website 'About the IB' as being central to their statements of mission and pedagogy. Indeed, these are central to their teacher training workshops and curriculum frameworks (International Baccalaureate Organization, 2015). Concept-based learning is also central to the IB educational model – with the transfer of conceptual understanding between different domains of knowledge / traditional subject specialisms being one manner in which the IB model promotes constructivist learning and student 'agency'.

'International Mindedness' is also an explicit part of the philosophy and curriculum of IB schools. While the concept itself is at times so protean as to be of limited value in scientific analysis, its philosophical centrality (it features commonly in many IB school mission, vision and values statements, as it does in the IB's own philosophy statements and organisational protocols – such as school evaluation and accreditation, driven by the *Programme Standards and Practices* [PSP]) is significant. Not least, it constitutes something of a response to the unique challenges and opportunities posed in these 'third culture' communities (Cambridge and Thompson, 2004; Fail,

Thompson and Walker, 2004). or, to express it in Granovetter's idiom for describing the optimal conditions where entrepreneurship and innovation might flourish: in these communities which can be seen as based on 'the strength of weak-tie networks' (Granovetter, 1973) and their intentional promotion is theoretically the default paradigm. This is theoretically significant, not least since 'innovation' and 'entrepreneurship' are also popular stated educational outcomes within (IB) international school mission statements. However, this is also one dimension in which the tensions belied in the mission become pronounced: between a globalist/universalist versus a (socially) constructivist, pluralist and/or relativist philosophical/ideological position. Researchers such as Haywood have 'expressed some [ongoing] concern about a certain type of indoctrination that is implicit when behavioural and attitudinal outcomes are expected [of international mindedness], especially in pedagogies that claim to be based on constructivist principles' (2007, 2015). Moreover, at least within the sample under consideration here – pre-dominantly European and Asian private international schools – the student populations of these schools, while often diverse in terms of ethnicity and nationality are almost invariably within the wealthiest socio-demographic section of the local population; the development of networks across wealth disparities is far less strong in these gated communities of privilege.

Finally, the language of (learner) 'Agency', and the psychological model of the Growth Mindset (Dweck, 2016) is increasingly pronounced in IB curriculum design and pedagogy. The most recently revised of their programmes (the PYP) places 'Agency' at the core of the conceptual model, and in 2020 the IB published the findings of research commissioned towards policy revision on three interrelated areas pertaining to social and emotional learning topics: alongside the aforementioned metacognition, 'academic resilience' (to be discussed below) and the growth mindset (IB, 2020, Growth Mindset).

However, alongside this championing of balanced, holistic development where the learner and their (subjective) developmental needs are at the core, the programmes – particularly the original and most widespread IB Diploma programme for age 16-18 year-olds – can be incredibly academically challenging. The IB Diploma programme typically culminates in a majority assessment modality of conventional exams, often serving as (elite) university admission credentialism, within a study regime towards that which inevitably precludes such holistic development and wellbeing.

These tensions are acknowledged by the IB – there are various ongoing research projects

within the organization exploring stress and balance within its programmes of study, particularly the Diploma programme. These tensions are often cited in successive curricula review – where the volume of curriculum content is typically reduced, citing both the need to reduce student workload, and to instead emphasize the elements of concept-based teaching, metacognition and student agency. Additionally, such tensions play a role in producing distinctive elements to the evolution of the IB's pedagogy. Another dimension in the cultivation of constructivist epistemology and the balanced, holistic educational and psychological development of students in the IB community is the centrality of *Approaches to Teaching and Learning*. Built on the learning model of Lev Vygotsky, the IB is one where, as defined in their Diploma Programme *Approaches to Teaching and Learning* online Teacher Resource Centre (*TSM*), '"[t]he optimal conditions for learning do not seem to be created by goals that are too easy or too difficult, but by goals that are challenging but achievable" (Csikszentmihalyi, Rathunde, andWhalen, 1993, p. 30). Perhaps tacitly acknowledging that the Diploma is at the more challenging/overloaded end of this Vygotskian spectrum, *Resilience* is identified as being foremost of the affective skills comprised within the *Self-Management* skill-set supportive of success in the Diploma.

However – versus other programmes, such as the *Middle Years Programme* – where Approaches to Learning (ATLs) form an explicit part of the curriculum (they must be explicitly articulated, or 'mapped'), they simply serve as pedagogical support in the Diploma programme. This suggests – and is certainly supported by both my own field level observations and a growing body of research (Augustine, 2020; Conger, Kennedy, Long and McGhee 2019; Jenkins 2019) that the reality in many schools is that the notion of a balanced, holistically student-centred progressive model and such elements as the ATLs (approaches to teaching and learning – where student-centred pedagogy is emphasized) is (often radically) decoupled from a punishing institutionalized regime of conventional 'content-cramming' and other stress-inducing pedagogies for producing examination success in accelerated – or over-loaded – curricula. A research design that can *critically* interrogate, can problematise these tensions as expressed through institutional discourses – and experienced by institutional actors – is most apt and certainly *plausible* in linking into ongoing concerns at both the field and research level (Easterby Smith et al., 2012, p.115).

4.1.4 INSTITUTIONAL THEORY AS A SOURCE OF ANALYTICAL RIGOUR FOR RESEARCHING THE IB AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION; FOUCAULT AS A SOURCE OF CRITICAL BREADTH

As indicated in the literature review chapter, Bunnell (et al's) body of recent research has started to mobilise the tools of institutional theory – in particular Scott's model of pillars of institutions – to explore IB international school phenomena. This work establishes the institutional centrality of the IB within the field – IB curriculum provision constituting the primary institutional task of international schools, within Bunnell (et al's) mobilization of the concept of institutional legitimacy. Though institutional theory continues to be drawn on periodically by such researchers, the subject is rarely the institutionalization process itself, the data object rarely the IB, the critical thrust rarely towards IB institutionalization as perhaps itself 'the main danger' – although the value in this line of critical research is clearly shown by such earlier papers as Bunnell's aforementioned 'Growth Scepticism' paper (2011), and his discussion of the 'culture wars' associated with the IB's unprecedented growth. The research design here therefore builds a meaningful connection between this parallel line of (educational) research, and the core of organizational institutionalism research and its interest in the institutionalization process. What it contributes to both, is the critical perspective offered by the Foucauldian lens. It does so through a research design that can explicate the interdependent relationship between such processes / institutional tasks as the provision of an international curriculum, key institutional artefacts in this, and the institutional actors who act as primary carriers of its institutions in a plurality of times and spaces.

4.2 MULTIPLE QUALITATIVE METHODS METHODOLOGY

The multiple qualitative methods approach used here begins with interview and then life story narrative development from a cross-section of organizational and field-level institutional actors, who will also be shown to occupy varying positions on a spectrum of cultural-cognitive assimilation as carriers of institutionalization for the IB. The richness in experiential detail of lives / working within the IB should furnish the reader with multiple triangulation points; so positioning the reader alongside the IB field-based researcher-practitioner in an immersive understanding of this IB (discourse) world.

From this immersive understanding, a foundation will be established – elucidating, exemplifying and then synthesizing the various elements of the conceptual framework – upon

which the rigorous performance of CDA can be performed on a key institutional artefact: the compulsory Programme Standards and Practices (PSP) training interface for 'IBEN' educators. IBEN, we are reminded, are the globally networked range of professionals who are the 'front-line' in the IB's institutionalization: amongst others, through the processes, and primary income sources, of 'Examinations', 'Workshops' and 'Evaluation and Authorisation Visits'. This CDA will take the various elements of the conceptual framework that have been elucidated, exemplified and synthesized from life story development and triangulation – in a narrative mode that has grown from exploratory to explanatory. Occupying more fully the explanatory mode, then, the CDA will explicate precisely such mechanisms of institutionalization through the empirical material of the PSP training interface. Published and implemented across the global IBEN network in 2020, contrasting with the more longitudinal data drawn from life story narratives, the CDA of the training interface presents a timely snapshot of the current and ongoing evolution of the IB's mechanisms of institutionalisation; of their current (neoliberal) apparatus of cultural-cognitive control: their governmentality.

4.2.1   METHODOLOGICAL FIT

Building upon the introduction to this chapter (4 Methodology and Research Design) and the establishment of a broadly constructionist approach (Merriam and Tisdell., 2015; Easterby-Smith et al., 2012), it is worth considering the methodological fit with reference to the empirical field and the delineation of the case study. Merriam and Tisdell's four criteria of *substantive contribution, aesthetic merit, reflexivity,* and *impact*, though applicable to a stronger constructionist model than the approach strictly taken here, are a good starting point – if complemented by more rigorous/positivist models.

Using Edmonson and McManus's framework for methodological fit (2007), we might define organizational institutionalism research in the empirical setting of the organizational field of the IB as occupying a 'nascent-to-intermediate' position in terms of the state of prior research, according to their three-archetype spectrum (nascent☐intermediate☐mature). In terms of the above criteria, Edmonson and McManus's framework focuses upon *impact* more in terms of the field of research i.e. 'impact factor', where Merriam and Tisdell refer to emotional *impact* on the reader. There is value in considering both connotations to *impact*, here – with the question of emotional *impact* being addressed alongside the presentation of the data objects and their value in

this respect. In terms of impact on the field of research, Edmonson and McManus's framework describes the manner in which intermediate research is often best suited to positing a provisional theory, often one that integrates previously separate bodies of work, with much of the endeavor being thus exploratory and propositional. In terms also of *aesthetic merit*, the exploratory, qualitative research design discourse that is emergent here is congruent not only with the emergent field and unit of analysis, but also coincides with the epistemological and pedagogical traditions associated with the (IB) educational model under consideration, evident in IB school pedagogy and curriculum. The *aesthetic merit* and *reflexivity* to this 'fit' is bolstered by considering my own decidedly constructivist-to-critical-realist leanings ontologically, and prior research in the arts, continental philosophy / critical theory and constructivist psychology. Though this constructionist approach has some elements in common with grounded theory, it is – again – not a singularly strongly constructionist endeavour, and unlike grounded theory this research does not *just* work inductively, but rather on a bedrock of rigorous organizational institutionalist theory, and empirical data. The narrative mode that will constitute the first phase of the investigation of empirical subjects through life stories, and then the 'synthesis' of this with the CDA outcomes – but might also be considered to characterize much of the stylistic leanings of this entire project – is adept in building rigour through the exploratory (more strongly constructionist) mode, towards one that is more explanatory. The reader will first be immersed in the IB world, alongside the researcher, through life stories; as understandings of how institutionalization affects different lives within this world takes shape, we will arrive at a richer understanding from which to critically analyse a key discourse artefact. This, alongside the critical insights derived from the Foucauldian approach, should make for a *substantive contribution* – as per Merriam and Tisdell's explication that 'With regard to the first criterion, we can ask, does it make a substantive contribution… to our understanding of social life?' (2016, p.248).

Complementing Edmonson and McManus's framework for methodological fit, Alvesson and Sandberg's gap-spotting typology (2013) might be also considered in framing the creation of the core research question 'How does the institutionalization process operate: the case of the IB?'. Their presentation of the typology emphasizes that any given research project may be usefully conceived through various different modes simultaneously – and that is certainly the case here. This research question constitutes an example of 'neglect spotting', since the process of institutionalization in the IB is 'under-researched' – particularly with a 'lack of empirical support'

(Alvesson and Sandberg, 2013, p.29) if we consider the specifications of the more refined research questions 1-3 in terms of discourse, the broader context, and the application of the Foucauldian approach to the process of institutionalization. Additionally, it can be usefully conceived as 'application spotting', which in 'extending and complementing existing literature' is drawn to specific research areas where particular perspectives are lacking. Again, the broader critical, Foucauldian lens of the current research is absent from the emerging research in IB/international education organisational institutionalism. Scott's (2014) emphasis upon cultural complexity/plurality of institutional logics, their tensions and change dynamics in our contemporary context, critically mobilized with Foucault's concept of governmentality in understanding the ways that individuals come to govern themselves' and 'how specific forms of knowledge and power emerge, develop and decline' (McKinlay et al, 2015, p.3) will pose an original contribution. Such critical breadth will certainly contribute to the more conventionally neo-institutionalist state of the current literature as per Bunnell et al – and, indeed, respond to those same author's call for this in their more critically engaged offerings; building very directly upon the critical 'call to arms' in their analysis of the IB's (cultural cognitive pillar leaning) authorization process.

So, to refer back to the model for developing valid constructionist designs presented by Easterby- Smith et al (2012, p.115):

1) The life story modality, linked with the broader narrative exposition will establish *Authenticity* by 'convincing the reader that the researcher has a deep understanding of what is taking place in the organization'

2) The articulation of the case study of the IB and the ongoing referencing of key sources within the conceptual framework emergent from the literature review will establish *plausibility* as 'the research… link[s] into ongoing concern[s]/interest[s] among other researchers'

3) Throughout, the broader narrative exposition through the Foucauldian mode of problematization will '*critical[y]* encourages readers to question their taken-for-granted assumptions, and thus offer something genuinely novel' – with the life story development phase (harder constructionist) culminating in rigorous *critical* discourse analysis (critical realist) upon the IBEN training interface.

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4.2.2   CASE-STUDY FOUNDATIONS

This research can also be conceived as focusing on one 'case' of the institutionalization process: that of the IB. In bringing coherence to the multiple qualitative methods approach that will be taken here, the foundational considerations in designing a case study can be useful. As discussed previously, more concrete/positivist models for case study design such as those of Yin (2017) will also be of value here, alongside the more constructionist approach to the case study method described by Merriam and Tisdell and Easterby-Smith's et al's model for developing valid constructionist research designs (p.115) place between these two. This is in keeping with the broadly critical realist epistemology.

As the foundation for research within the case study methodology, Yin posits that the research design must address four fundamental issues:

1) the questions to be studied

2) which data will be most relevant

3) which data will be collected

4) how the findings will be analyzed (Yin, 2017).

These four fundamental issues will now be addressed.

Within such a research design, theory development is central in understanding how the empirical case will help to test or – as in this case – explore and (tentatively) expand a theory. Here, then (with reference to Yin's first research design issue) the case of the IB will serve to answer the question of 'How does the institutionalization process operate: the case of the IB?', with the two more refined research questions (RQ) with which the preceding chapter concluded, emergent from the theory development.

The underlined elements in the earlier production and explication of these three RQs —

Main RQ: How do (organizational) institutions develop: the case of the IB?
This question facilitates exploration of the differentiated development of these institutions across time and space; exploring and so better understanding its epistemic context. It also leads us to pose the following sub-questions:

RQ2: How are (organizational) <u>institutions thickened</u> through <u>actors and discourses</u> within the IB?

This question facilitates exploration of the process of <u>institution thickening</u>, of making <u>institutions</u> more permanent, particularly through the effects of <u>discourse</u> and related <u>practices</u> on <u>institutional actors</u>.

RQ3: How does organizational <u>institutionalization</u> operant within the IB <u>interact</u> with the <u>wider societal context</u>?

This question facilitates the most potent application of Foucault's critical mode of <u>problematization</u>; deepening our understanding of the IB's <u>institutions</u> and <u>institutionalization</u> practices through awareness of <u>socio-historical specificity and marginality</u>.

— converge in a focus on the IB's *institutionalization* process, particularly through *actors* and *discourses* in a *wider societal context*. This guides us towards resolving the issues of which data will be most relevant and which data will be collected (Yin's second and third research design issues); the focus here will be upon discursive practices (though not to the exclusion of broader practices) as they relate to actors making institutions permanent within the IB, with attention to be paid to delineating their contexts. In terms of how the findings will be analysed (Yin's fourth research design issue) as per the nascent-to-intermediate state of prior research and the potentially very broad social, economic and political scope of particularly **RQ3**, within the ensuing exploratory-to-explanatory approach, a mix of the methods of CDA and life story / narrative inquiry is most apt.

This borrowing of 'Starting Points' (Easterby-Smith et al., 2012, p.72) from Yin is a solid foundation from which to build towards Easterby-Smith et al's and Merriam and Tisdell's more subjective criteria for validity in research design.

4.2.3 SUMMARY AND COHERENCE OF DATA OBJECTS FOR THE CASE STUDY

The preceding literature review of Institutional Theory is dense and detailed. The elucidation of the Foucauldian approach is likewise complex – and also ambitious in terms of historical and critical scope. The data objects and methods of data extraction are varied, and their

synthesis is ambitious. The earlier (Figure 3.4) schematic is usefully replicated, with the addition of the elements of time and space granularity plus methodology and data objects added (empirical sources/organizational artefacts are referenced in Appendix 4; the artefact upon which CDA will be performed in Appendix 5); building upon the preceding delineation of the case study in the empirical setting of the IB in a neoliberal epistemic context; looking ahead to the elucidation of life stories and critical discourse analysis methodologies.

Figure 4-0-3: Schematic Overview: Coherence of the Conceptual Framework with the Methodology and Data Objects
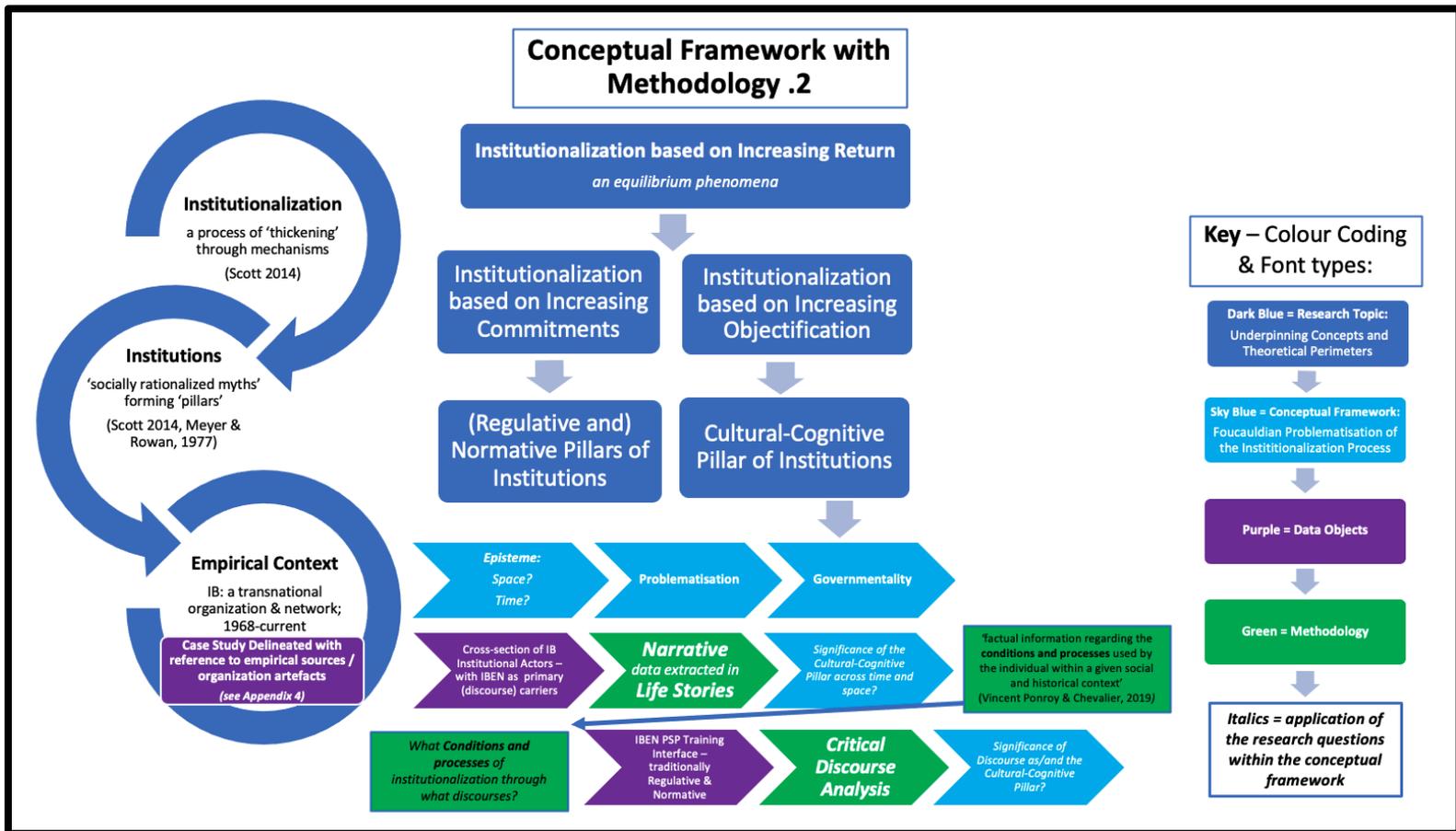
4.2.4   NARRATIVE AND LIFE STORIES

4.2.4.1 The Centrality of Narrative in Institutionalization.

As the discourse on organizational institutionalism herein has amply demonstrated, and is alluded to in Meyer and Rowan's seminal institutional theoretical description of institutions as

'socially rationalized myths' (1977), the phenomenon of – not merely stories – but the ongoing widespread telling of stories is central to the institutionalization process.

A consideration of the meanings and connotations of the word 'myth' – as commonly understood, and expressed by the Oxford dictionary – may be informative in considering what elements of story, and story-telling, might be significant here.

> myth
>
> noun
>
> **1** a traditional story, especially one concerning the early history of a people or explaining a natural or social phenomenon, and typically involving supernatural beings or events: *ancient Celtic myths | [mass noun]: the heroes of Greek myth*.
>
> **2** a widely held but false belief or idea: *the belief that evening primrose oil helps to cure eczema is a myth, according to dermatologists*.
>
> • a misrepresentation of the truth: *attacking the party's irresponsible myths about privatization*.
>
> • a fictitious or imaginary person or thing: *nobody had ever heard of Simon's mysterious friend—Anna said he was a myth*.
>
> • an exaggerated or idealized conception of a person or thing: *the book is a scholarly study of the Churchill myth*. (Oxford, 2017)

The first elements in the primary definition of 'traditional' and 'concerning the early history of a people or explaining a natural or social phenomenon' are of course highly relevant; they denote the longstanding and simultaneously socially constructed and socially deterministic nature of myths – and so institutions. The later element of this primary definition, hinting at the secondary definition, 'and typically involving supernatural beings or events' is also highly pertinent: the 'myth' is therefore anathema to the modern, objective, secular rationalist. To this, of course, Meyer and Rowan offer the bolstering 'socially rationalized' descriptor to institutions; though was it not ever thus also with myths? Have they not always accrued their power through cumulative telling and retelling, through *carriers*, which – if each (re)telling is also an exercise in inter-subjectivity (or interpretation) – is also to say of myths that they are created through a process of cumulative

social rationalization?

The secondary definition emerges precisely from this first one. Though by no means *necessarily* co-existent in any single discourse, that the socially constructed nature of a story is foregrounded rather than its inherent truth-content or objectivity invites the consideration that it may be a 'widely held but false belief'. The given exemplars elucidate this invitation to scepticism of 'myths': the inter-subjectivity of story-telling presumes a multivalence whereby 'a misrepresentation of the truth: *'the party's… myths about privatization'* can find traction, especially when motivated, as here, to justify a strategic decision. Just as strategic security can be bolstered by the myth-making, so personal (in)security as in 'a fictitious or imaginary person or thing: *'Simon's mysterious friend—Anna said he was a myth''*. Finally, reinforcing the significance of the myth – and so the institution – across time and space, and as pertains to the securing and/or deconstruction of a legacy through discourse, through *re*-telling, 'an exaggerated or idealized conception of a person or thing: *the book is a scholarly study of the Churchill myth*.'

Such telling and re-telling, the construction and maintenance of narratives across time and space, will be shown to be central to the process of institutionalization and its work through various carriers. As previously noted, Foucault's definition of epistemes –which we might consider to be analogous to macro-level institutions such as *neoliberalism* – is of 'the strategic apparatus which permits of separating out from among all the statements which are possible those that will be acceptable within, I won't say a scientific theory, but a field of scientificity, and which it is possible to say are true or false' (Foucault, 1980, p.197). The neoliberal episteme, then, provides an apparatus for determining what statements are right, what are wrong, within political-economic decision-making. Working on a smaller (though transnational, and within the broader episteme of neoliberalism) scale, the IB will be shown to have a similarly (truth-determining) content through its process of institutionalization (of discourse). The development of individual narratives within these, and the explorations of their margins, within a mode of Foucauldian problematization, may further elucidate these.

4.2.5   LIFE STORIES METHODOLOGY

4.2.5.1 Life Stories: Scrutinizing subjective phenomena and 'thick descriptions'

Biggs and Powell note the manner in which the Foucauldian genealogical method concerns itself with the capacity of discourse in time and space to 'direct and distort the personal and institutional narratives that can subsist within them' (2001, p.6). In their chapter 'Life Stories' within *Research Methods for the DBA* (2019), Vincent-Ponroy and Chevalier draw widely and deeply from such critical traditions to expound a methodology for inductive research; drawing in-depth, detailed, understandings out of processual and situational phenomena through the stories individuals tell about their lives, or specific moments therein.

Congruent with Foucault and the forthcoming exposition of the discourse and methodology of CDA, the life stories methodology is acutely sensitive to the phenomenon of reflexivity. Drawing from Gough and Finlay's (2008) study of reflexivity and its implications for researchers, Vincent-Ponroy and Chevalier describe how 'by positioning descriptions of everyday life within the contexts in which they occur, life history narratives can convey a sense of how individual lives are not free-floating, but are socially constructed'. Reflexivity, then, as part of the subjective positioning in time and space, can be explored – and should not be taken for granted. The 'telling' – i.e. the subjective, discursive production – is key here; the subject is actively engaged as their telling also comprises 'analysis of a story by a subject regarding the events he or she experienced'. So, while 'the discourse is initiated by the researcher, [t]he subject is given free rein to present and interpret the events' (p.3).

Vincent-Ponroy and Chevalier draw from Miller and Brewer (2003) in describing the data-gathering methodology as essentially that of an in-depth, unstructured interview, followed by the selection, analysis and arrangement of that in-depth account. Referencing Geertz's seminal work in developing interpretative methodology for analyzing culture, they also posit that this immersion in the subjective experiences provides a 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of the topic under study – which is to say rich in the discourse(s) and other phenomena that constitute its (socially) constructed being.

4.2.5.2 Counter-generalization and critical framing of life stories

As part of the inductive tradition in research then, the purpose of life narrative development is not the collection and analysis of data towards proof or refutation of a hypothesis – as in the

hypothetico-deductive approach. Instead, the detail, the depth of specificity – the in-depth, 'thick', articulation of the subjective positioning and experience across time and space – can 'provide insight into the general by acting as a "counter-generalization," "undermining representations of shared understanding" and offering an "intensive description" of the topics being studied' Vincent-Ponroy and Chevalier (2019, p.5). In combination with the critical thrust of the Foucauldian toolbox and critical discourse analysis (CDA), which will inform and shape the discourse initiation by this researcher-practitioner in interview, the life stories methodology presents an opportunity to really elucidate the process of institutionalization and its construction of socially rationalized myths through the problematizing life-narratives of a cross-section of the IB's institutional actors and carriers of institutionalization.

4.2.5.3 Life Stories and Institutions: Elucidation of Mechanisms governing the 'Mesocosm'

Drawing from the rich Francophone traditions in narrative work, Vincent-Ponroy and Chevalier reference Bertaux's (2010, p.17, translated by Vincent-Ponroy and Chevalier) expression of life stories with a broader ethno-sociological approach wherein "the mechanisms that govern the social environment as a whole, or mesocosm, are also at work in each of the microcosms it includes. By observing one or, even better, several of these microcosms, […] we should be able to understand at least some of the social mechanisms of the mesocosm itself" (Vincent-Ponroy and Chevalier, p.7). Against the risk of a proliferation of critical vocabularies obscuring the focus on the core model of institutionalization here, the point with which Vincent Ponroy and Chevalier follow this reference to Bertaux and the ethno-sociological approach is most apt in conceiving of the 'mesocosm' as the level at which (the IB's) institutions function within the broader episteme of neoliberal transnationalism: 'In reality, it is not the individual's "life" in itself that is most useful to the researcher. Instead, it is the factual information regarding the conditions and processes used by the individual within a given social and historical context that are most important.' Effectively, then, the individual life story serves to elucidate the mesocosm – which is to say problematizing the institutionalization process within the conceptual framework herein.

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4.2.5.4 Levels of Analysis – and the (risk of being enmeshed in detailing) Sociology of Work

Another useful way to conceive of Geertz's 'thick description' can be found in the (primarily Francophone) seminal life story methodology development of Jean Peneff (1990). Peneff points out that through the life history, it is not the reconstitution of the memory which is the objective but rather the collection of information on the individual's immediate social environment. The exploratory value of a life story's thick description is conceived as four levels of analysis by Peneff: 1) to obtain knowledge of the social characteristics of the individual; 2) to obtain an instrument of historical documentation by means of hitherto neglected data; 3) to confront the past of the individual with the verbal reconstruction that he or she presents; and 4), ambitiously, to know the beliefs and opinions of an individual. The links between these different levels across the different biographical episodes, and ultimately synthesis of these interview(s) are particularly capable of eliciting a professional and self-analysis (Bourdieu, 1993); particularly as an field-based-researcher sharing a depth of common experience with the interview subjects, there is rich potential for collaborative elucidating dialogue to emerge. In this manner, scrutinizing of subjective phenomena and 'thick descriptions' can operate within a broader critical discourse analysis. There are, however, as is pointed-out by Chevallier and Miccaelli (2008) in their (Francophone) exploratory study of a population of innovative researcher-entrepreneurs from specialized research institutes (so, as here, an emergent/nascent sub-field of a more mature field of research, with a highly engaged researcher) risks associated with such an approach as life story narrative methodology. Foremost of these is the risk is that one ends up enmeshed in detailing problems of sociology of work – a common endeavour in the academic field of (international) education, though not the objective of management sciences or, indeed, the primary thesis here.

4.2.5.5 Levels of Analysis – Orientation Towards Organizational Science and Institutionalizing Discourses and Practices

Chevllier and Micaelli's work with life stories therefore builds upon Peneff's (1990) multi-level framing of these 'thick descriptions' to articulate three levels of analysis that should guide and inform the interview and life story methodology towards harvesting data appropriate to the managerial sciences. These three levels (translated from the French and transposed from Chevalier and Micaelli's particular focus on the actor's relationship with innovative companies to the current

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interest in their relationship with IB institutional discourse and practices) are: 1) Research questions that examine the actor's feelings and beliefs about and relationship with the IB and/or IB Schools based on trajectories and membership in several groups: social, family and ethnic, and organizational; 2) Research discourses and practices that organise individual and collective relations: networked and/or hierarchical relationships and identity, belonging and cohesion as based on individual and collective constructs. Explore the margins and limits of these, so problematizing and elucidating awareness of competing institutional logics; 3) Expected results that identify the consequences of institutional discourses and practices on the verbal constructs of actors – and (in a tentative, dialectical addition to Chevalier and Micaelli's original conceptualisation) vice versa i.e. whether/how actors can exercise their own agency in affecting the institutional discourses and practices of the IB.

4.2.5.6 Analysis and Synthesis of Life Stories

As expressed above, the analysis of several life stories, or microcosms in the above ethno-sociological lexicon, can cumulatively elucidate the mechanisms that govern the social environment as a whole, or mesocosm – the institutions that operate in the organizational field, and the character of the broader (transnational, neoliberal) episteme. Moreover, analytical synthesis poses even greater explanatory power than a modular accumulation of individual life stories: 'Analyzing the interviews themselves involves comparing the interviews, identifying recurring elements and finding coherence' (p.12) note Vincent Ponroy and Chevalier, referencing the model presented for narrative practice by Gubrium and Holstein (1998). Reminding us that biographical interviews yield the experience of individuals, rather than organizations, Vincent Ponroy and Chevalier conclude their exposition of the life story methodology, drawing from Glaser and Strauss's seminal explication of grounded theory (1967) and Wengraf's models for qualitative interviewing, by describing how comparative presentation of multiple sets of interview-subject data, combined with other data sources including historical (vs personal) timelines, can be subjected to psychological and sociological analysis beyond the individual, and ultimately lead to model-development and theory building:

It is through this dialogue that the researcher can make comparisons, identify recurring elements, start to suggest causal relationships (i.e., formulate a hypothesis), and, ultimately, create a "model" for thinking about the topic being studied. In this way, the researcher can identify social mechanisms, develop concepts, and form a theory, while consulting both data and the literature (Vincent-Ponroy and Chevalier, 2019, p.13).

It is to precisely such a synthesis with multiple interviews and other data sources that the life stories developed herein shall contribute, richly connecting the inter- and intrapersonal world as the exploratory moves to explanatory exposition of the institutionalization process in the IB.

4.2.6   CRITICISM AND IMPLICATIONS OF LIFE STORIES

Illustrating the primacy of narrative throughout human history in tracing the written narrative tradition back to at least Ancient Greece, Vincent-Ponroy and Chevalier do then concede that, throughout much of the mid-twentieth century and so management science's formative years, quantitative methods and structuralist approaches predominated the academic field, subsuming the individual to a mere statistical unit – to the exclusion of narrative approaches since 'the individual tends to be overshadowed by the structure' (Vincent-Ponroy and Chevalier, 2019, p.3). Such a structuralist logic perpetuates the privileging of quantitative methods – and in particular experimental research (i.e. Randomly Controlled Trials) at the top of most 'hierarchies of evidence'. Such hierarchies emerge primarily from medical research into the efficacy of given interventions (e.g. Evans, 2003), and the purpose of exploratory research in the social sciences is clearly qualitatively different. Nonetheless the positioning of narrative methods alongside/within generically labelled 'descriptive studies' in such hierarchies can be identified as part of a broader trend in academia after this model from the medical sciences – which is reflected in the methodological trends for journal publications with the highest 'impact factor' etc. Clarity regarding the purpose of the method herein, reflexivity and other forms of sensitivity to the subjectivity of any data yielded from individual narratives, the manner in which it is synthesized with other data sources and – certainly – the position of the practitioner-researcher are therefore of paramount importance for this methodology to have (initially exploratory, and ultimately)

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explanatory veracity. Ongoing reference back to the preferred model for validity of the constructionist design here – authenticity, plausibility, and criticality (Easterby-Smith et al. 2012, p.115) – will enhance this clarity. Likewise, drawing upon models such as Chevallier and Miccaelli's of multi-level analytical orientation towards organizational science and institutionalizing discourses and practices should add rigour to the development of the research design.

4.2.7   LIFE STORIES IN THE EMPIRICAL SETTING

4.2.7.4 Epistemological and Methodological Challenges and Opportunities in the Position of the Critical Researcher-Practitioner within the Life Stories Methodology

The construction of life-stories is, we might say, doubly subjective: it is data drawn from an unstructured, interview process, then assembled in narrative by that same interviewer. Broadly describing an approach to this challenge, Vincent-Ponroy and Chevalier draw from Rogers and Farson's work in psychotherapeutic theory and practice (Rogers 1995; Rogers and Farson, 2015) in describing how

> The proper epistemological distance between the researcher and the informant can be hard to find. For the researcher, it is greatest in the beginning, when he or she is an outsider to the content. The challenge at that point is to get closer. On the other end of the spectrum, the informant is completely familiar with the content. The challenge in this instance is establishing enough distance to see and understand it. The key for each party is to find the right amount of distance. In this relationship, the researcher must possess several characteristics, including excellent listening skills, kindness, and empathy, all of which are key to an understanding attitude (Vincent-Ponroy and Chevalier, 2019, p.6)

Drawing from the field of therapeutic research and practice is most apt – particularly in

terms of the microskills alluded to above for establishing sufficient intimacy/trust to precipitate rich sharing through dialogue, balanced by appropriate distance. These authors discourse extensively on the challenges of re-framing (research) questions in the narrative context so as to be sufficiently precise as to (ultimately) address the topic of research, and simultaneously to *not* be treated as closed questions. My own training as a Psychological Counsellor (with a narrative therapy specialism, MSocSc, The University of Hong Kong, 2015-2018) will offer some support in this respect; hopefully supporting authentic connection with the interview subjects and their life stories.

However, Vincent-Ponroy and Chevalier's assumption that 'the researcher… is an outsider to the content' is less applicable here than in many instances. For while I should not be central (apart from in a catalytic sense) to the process of narrative elucidation in interview, nor indeed will I likely feature as anything but, peripherally, one (minor) 'character' in a pluralist 'cast' of the various life story subjects, I – as a practitioner-researcher who is himself deeply embedded within the IB world, as much a 'carrier' of its institutions as almost any of its subjects – am deeply familiar with the world which I am inviting my subjects to narrate; I bring my own authentic connection with this world. Moreover, I am (as any researcher) currently mid-research – which is to say thoroughly immersed in a discourse-world of a specific kind of critical distance towards the IB and its institutions. Though the basic epistemological principle as articulated by Vincent-Ponroy and Chevalier absolutely applies here – 'The challenge in this instance is establishing enough distance to see and understand it' – the 'it' here, it must be remembered, is the subjective experience of my interviewees. My job is not to (discursively) reconstruct their experience of IB time and space phenomena around my own theoretical conception of the IB's institutionalization process. It is rather, in a nuanced but important distinction, to utilize just enough of my own experiences, conceptual framework and vocabulary in dialogue as to elicit *their* own (spontaneous) story-telling about their experience of the IB across time and space. If the conceptual framework wherein they are carriers of the IB's institutionalization process is valid, then the narrative that they present should effectively contribute a problematization of the phenomenon under investigation. These problematizations will yield rich data in a 'microcosmic' instance of the broader phenomenon – within the broader aforementioned richness of detail at the level of the mesocosm (Vincent-Ponroy and Chevalier referencing Bertaux, 2010) – or organisational institutions and institutionalisation within the conceptual framework herein emergent from the

synthesis of these microcosms.

4.2.7.2 Implications for Interview Technique; Iterative Question Development and the Method Testing Approach

With over a decade working in middle and senior leadership in IB schools, and fulfilling various *IB Educator Network* (IBEN) roles on an ongoing (albeit peripatetic) basis for the last eight years, I have a distinct advantage as a researcher-practitioner in 'knowing the context' authentically (Saunders et al, 2015, p.150). Saunders et al also take time, in their guide to research for business students, to expound the risks that go hand-in-hand with this advantage for the researcher-practitioner in any approach to unstructured interview – which will be especially applicable in the nuanced act of life narrative elicitation. These include the carrying of assumptions and preconceptions, and the risk of not asking 'basic' questions – with an assumption of shared knowledge and understandings operating amongst fellow field-level practitioners – that could otherwise prove enlightening. While there is certainly some validity to Saunders et al's offering that 'There are no easy answers to these problems. All you can do is be aware of the threats to the quality of your data by being too close to your research setting' (2015, p. 151), the 'Method Testing' approach suggested by Vincent-Ponroy and Chevalier is of obvious tangible value. Helping to develop 'questions to be both precise and open-ended… [which] is a difficult task that requires several revisions' (p.9), they recommend developing one's interviewing strategy and technique – primarily through iterative question development – through trial runs in a low-stakes context (i.e. with 'test' subjects). 'Expect to test your first formulation, then to adjust it based on your preliminary findings' they advise. In a situation such as mine, as a field incumbent where I have access to any number of potential 'test' subjects, this an obviously efficacious strategy. Ongoing such conversations – within what we might idiomatically term a 'water cooler' context, i.e. casual conversations about life/work within the IB – have proved a fertile 'Method Testing' ground.

4.2.7.3 Inductive versus hypothetico-deductive interviewing and levels of analysis

With regards to the positioning of this (this phase of the) research design at the more inductive, person-centred end of the spectrum – i.e. the choice not to develop a more rigorous

instrument such as a questionnaire of pre-defined questions, the logic expressed by Chevalier and Micaelli (2008) in their development of a life story research design is pertinent: the more inductive, fluid interview approach makes it possible to clarify the institutional actors' logic of action/discourse/practice much better than any pre-assembled theoretical representations – which reductively subject the individual narrative to expression within only predefined criteria via a statistically reprocessed questionnaire. To construct a questionnaire would imply that we know in advance the world of reference of the interviewee. This would compromise authenticity and criticality. Instead, in this instance, not only must the researcher-practitioner adopt a position of humble inquiry towards my institutionally and socio-demographically diverse subjects in not knowing in advance their world of reference but – moreover – one of the primary purposes of this first phase in the multiple-methods research is to furnish the reader with something like my own understanding as researcher-practitioner: immersion in an IB discourse world through a plurality of narratives and discourses.

Needless to say, the inverse risk – of too subjective and unfocussed an interview development – also must be considered in developing the appropriate research design. As per their extensive discussion in the immediately preceding chapters (particularly 4.3.2.5 Levels of analysis – orientation towards organizational science and institutionalizing discourses and practices), the life story interviewing technique must be underpinned by an understanding of the appropriate levels of analysis relating to the conceptual framework; the *plausibility* of the data is contingent upon this. Drawing deeply from the work of Chevalier and Micaelli's (2008) and their referencing of Peneff (1990), the table in **Figure 4.4** presents a useful visualisation of the various discourses and practices pertinent to the levels of analysis within the research design.

Figure 4-0-4: Levels of Analysis and Associated Conceptual and Interview Discourses and Practices

Research Design: Levels of Analysis	Research Method: Conceptual and Interview Discourses and Practices			
Institutionalization Theory-Building	Identifying the consequences of institutional discourses and practices on the verbal constructs of actors – and (in a tentative, dialectical addition to Chevallier and Miccaelli's original conceptualisation) vice versa i.e. whether / how actors can exercise their own agency in affecting the institutional discourses and practices of the IB			
Developing Exploratory Conceptual Frameworks of Institutionalization Processes	Research discourses and practices that organise individual and collective relations: networked and/or hierarchical relationships and identity, belonging and cohesion as based on individual and collective constructs. Explore the margins & limits of these, so problematizing & elucidating awareness of competing institutional logics			
Subjective Data on Institutionalization	Research questions that examine the actor's feelings and beliefs about and relationship with the IB and IB schools based on trajectories and membership in several groups: social, family and ethnic, and organizational			
Sociology of Work	Developing knowledge of the social characteristics of the individual	Developing instruments of historical documentation by means of hitherto neglected data	Confronting the past of the individual with the verbal reconstruction that he or she presents	Developing knowledge of the beliefs and opinions of an individual

4.2.7.4 Life Stories as applied to IB Institutional Actors and Institutionalization Carriers

As described within the conceptual framework, working within the critical traditions of the Foucauldian toolbox and critical discourse analysis that will inform and shape the discourse initiation by this researcher-practitioner in interview, the life stories methodology will be employed towards "counter-generalization," "undermining representations of shared understanding" – such as institutions – and offering an "intensive description" of the topics being studied Vincent-Ponroy and Chevalier (2019, p.5). Emergent from performing the literature review and developing the ensuing conceptual framework, being myself immersed in the same discourse world, I am primed to support the framing of the interview around the subject's identities as IB institutional actors and institutional carriers. In particular – though being perpetually watchful not to conflict with the broader life story ethos of giving the subject their own voice in shaping their story – my positioning as an expert researcher-practitioner should allow me to provide prompts

towards scrutinizing such institutional discourses and phenomena, and broader critical framings and counter-generalizations of (IB) institutional discourses.

4.2.7.5 Sampling Strategy and Function

Drawing upon the discourses and concepts elucidated from the literature review, and in particular with reference to the conceptual framework within the empirical setting, then, this first stage of the empirical research will develop life stories from a cross-section of institutional actors. These will aim to comprise a broad range of types of institutional actor, operating at different levels within the organisational field – with a core of carriers of institutionalization whose positioning in the organisational field comprises regular engagement with the PSP and associated IBEN practices and discourses.

With regards to the make-up of this cross-section, it is worthwhile to consider what instrument/framework for determining the validity of this sampling strategy and function is most congruent with the broader research design. As per the earlier referencing of Easterby Smith et al.'s schematic for considering the methodological implications of different epistemologies (replicated here for convenience) —

Figure 4-1: Methodological Implications of Different Epistemologies

(reproduced from p.72 Easterby Smith et al. 2012, p.72)

TABLE 3.6 Methodological implications of different epistemologies

Ontology		Realism	Internal realism	Relativism	Nominalism
Epistemology		Strong positivism	Positivism	Constructionism	Strong constructionism
Methodology	Quantitative ← - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - → Qualitative				
	Aims	Discovery	Exposure	Convergence	Invention
	Starting points	Hypotheses	Propositions	Questions	Critiques
	Designs	Experiments	Large surveys; multi-cases	Cases and surveys	Engagement and reflexivity
Methods and techniques	**Data types**	Numbers and facts	Mainly numbers with some words	Mainly words with some numbers	Discourse and experiences
	Analysis/ interpretation	Verification/ falsification	Correlation and regression	Triangulation and comparison	Sense-making; understanding
	Outcomes	Confirmation of theories	Theory-testing and generation	Theory generation	New insights and actions

— it would be not be congruent with the exploratory, (stronger) constructionist starting point to the epistemology to use the methodological approach to sampling associated with large-surveys and multi-cases. Associated principles in judging the quality of a sample design with such positivist approaches are less relevant here.

The approach here, then, has much in common with that broadly described by Easterby-Smith et al. as 'Purposive Sampling':

> In purposive sampling, the researcher has a clear idea of what sample
> units are needed according to the purposes of the study… [and] whether
> they meet the eligibility criteria. The guiding principle for sampling

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might be theory and theory development (theoretical sampling), and the basis of sampling could therefore change as a study is carried out if an analysis of the initial data is used to guide theory development. For example, a research student may wish to conduct research on the learning choices of students who study abroad. She may decide to conduct and analyse a series of initial interviews to identify emerging themes and explore these further in the light of the extant literature. Later in the study she may then purposefully select interviewees who are more likely to allow her to further develop her themes until they are fully explained. (2012, p.109)

Indeed, such an approach has been taken – with the addition of, for example, an IB Diploma student (Sam) as one of my key interviewees after conducting initial interviews with other subjects. Critical reflection upon, and even shared within, these early interviews indicated that my 'eligibility criteria' was too narrowly focussed around IBEN and IB School Leadership as institutional carriers and actors; they made explicit what had been implicit throughout the development of the conceptual framework (and – indeed – is made explicit in the IB's mission-based identity): the IB students are at the core of the organisational identity and the institutions and institutionalization processes therein.

So the sample has been chosen with a purposive approach, based around the conceptual framework – with each life story introduced as such below. An additional element here might be stated as 'convenience sampling' – although, of course, my prior in-depth knowledge of these samples has expedited the phase of purposive sampling whereby the researcher 'approaches potential sample members to check whether they meet the eligibility criteria. Those that do are used, while those that do not are rejected' (Easterby-Smith et al., 2012, p.109) The authenticity of my in-depth knowledge and positioning within the field facilitated this.

However, the overall research design does endeavour towards a more critical realist position, the life stories contributing to a critical framework for use in the application of CDA to a global institutional artefact. There will be a culminating attempt at theory generation. Therefore, drawing from some principles in judging the quality of a sample design in the positivist traditions is certainly of value in considering the limitations of this approach to sampling. It is immediately apparent, therefore, that the sample is *not* by any means entirely 'representative' of the

'population'; it will not – by itself – yield data from which we can generalise with 'precision' regarding the IB world. The sample is clustered around the far-east and Europe, typically within the private, high-performing IB international schools that characterise these regions of the 'IB World'. Such limitations in terms of positivist epistemology, however, once signposted and critically evaluated should contribute to the reflexivity of the project. Moreover, these 'limitations' are related to the strengths of the life story sample in terms of constructionist points of entry for the reader: my authentic proximity with the discourse and experiences of my life story subjects will make for fluid and critically engaged connections with the conceptual framework; in terms of the (stronger constructionist) criteria offered by Merriam and Tisdell (2015) of substantive contribution, aesthetic merit, reflexivity, and impact on the reader, these elements greatly enhance the value of the sample.

4.2.7.6 Empirical Subjects: a cross-section of Institutional Actors

As described in the approach to 'sampling', the 'purposive' selection of the life story empirical subjects draws upon the discourses and concepts elucidated from the literature review, and in particular with reference to the conceptual framework within the empirical setting. A cross-section of institutional actors (and 'carriers' – the term actor here subsumes the action of institutional 'carrying' within the plurality of actions available to them, as per the complex, interdependent relationship of actors to institutions herein). With one purpose being *relative* breadth of sample, notwithstanding the limitations noted in this respect above, these comprise a broad range of types of institutional actorS, operating at different levels within the organisational field – with a core of carriers of institutionalization whose positioning in the organisational field comprises regular engagement with the Programme Standards and Practices (PSP) and associated IBEN practices and discourses.

The positioning of these institutional actors relative to organisational operations/practices which safeguard the IB's primary income sources can be visually mapped with reference to the earlier summary of the IB's primary revenue sources. Indeed, we can further link these practices with the concept of the provision of the primary institutional task (Bunnell et al. 2016) – which is contingent upon all of the associated practices being adhered to. That is to say, of figure 4.2 (below):

School Visitors (IBEN) must ensure compliance with the IB's PSP in order to recommend

authorisation of 'candidate schools' (i.e. those applying to become providers of IB Curriculum);

Examiners must use IB criterion referenced assessment models order to assess and grade students' work;

IB Educators must attend an IB workshop and teach in accordance with the approach advocated in these workshops;

IB School Leaders must ensure that IB schools are run in adherence with all of the above and appoint an IB Trained 'Coordinator' as part of their leadership team to run the IB programme;

Workshop Leaders (IBEN) must ensure compliance with the IB's Programme Standards and Practices and Curriculum Models in order to certify **IB Educators** to teach IB Programmes, and **IB School Leaders** to lead in IB schools.

Figure 4-2: Levels of Analysis and Associated Conceptual and Interview Discourses and Practices
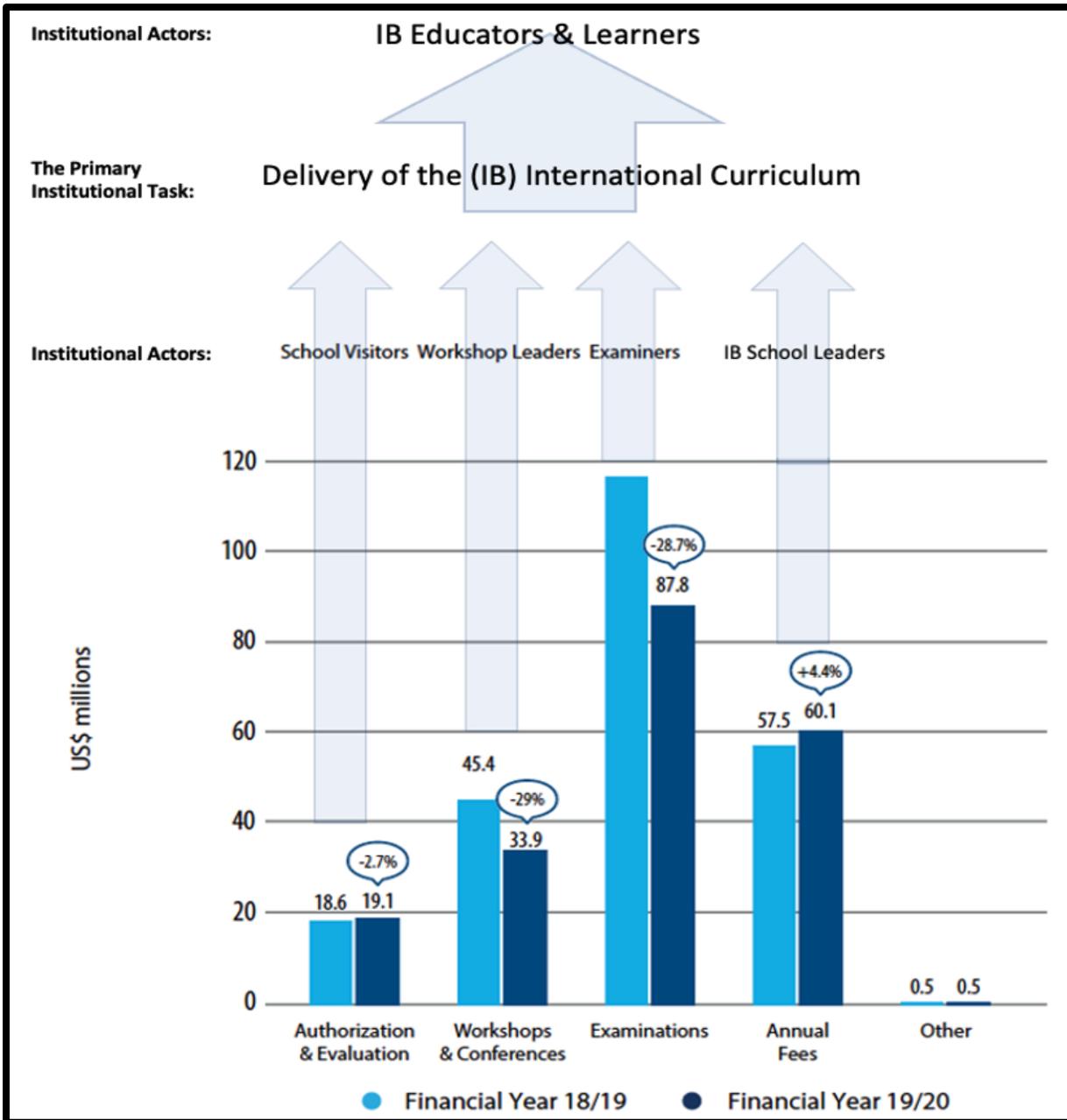
An annotated replication of Figure 4.2 will accompany the narrative introduction to each life story subject, schematically expressing their relationship to the core revenue stream for the IB and the primary institutional task for the field. These will not comprise separate *Figures* within the research project, since their object here is extremely complementary and schematic – they are a modest but perhaps useful snapshot to accompany the narrative, but do not constitute an empirical

contribution by virtue of their extremely schematic nature. For example, Jacob has occupied all IBEN roles through his lengthy career, but he currently only works as a IB School Director, and therefore the annotation leans towards this current role he occupies as an IB Institutional Actor, though still comprising some IBEN roles. By contrast, Dr. Harriet has only occupied the role of a School Leader in the typology of Institutional Actors here, so the annotation indicates this.

4.2.7.7 Kashvi, Head of Mathematics Department, YYY International School, Thailand

A career teacher and middle-leader in IB international schools, Kashvi comes from lower middle-class Indian origins, growing-up in socialist Mumbai to public-sector employed parents in the 1970s and 80's. With a serious academic background – studying Analytic Chemistry to Master's level as the first such woman in her family – Kashvi belonged to the first major wave of upwardly socially mobile independent Indian women. The foremost mechanism of her upwards

social mobility came in the form of a position teaching Mathematics and Technology at the American School of Bombay beginning in 2004, an American Embassy associated IB world school, popular with the wealthy elite of the city – exemplary, in many ways, of the manner in which IB schools serve the wealthy elite in many parts of the world beyond the United States. Kashvi is married, though her husband (also an IB educator) and wider family remain in Mumbai – which she still considers 'home'. Her son is an IB school United World College (UWC – a group of schools developed alongside the IB by educationalist Kurt Hahn in the mid 20th century) scholarship graduate, currently mid-undergraduate studies as a scholarship student in the United

States, and her younger teenage daughter lives with Kashvi and attends YYY International School where her mother teaches.

4.2.7.8 Abbie, MYP Coordinator, WWW International School, Thailand.

In a sector with high-turnover, particularly in middle and senior leadership, Abbie is a rarity: a 15-year veteran of the same school WWW International School, one of the older and better established IB Schools in Bangkok, where her husband also works as Secondary Principal. She is a deeply experienced and accomplished IBEN, occupying various senior roles in quality assurance across the network, and working in various curriculum development and review roles for the IB. A citizen of Taiwan, Abbie also holds various senior IBEN positions, her children attend the same IB school that she and her (Western born) husband
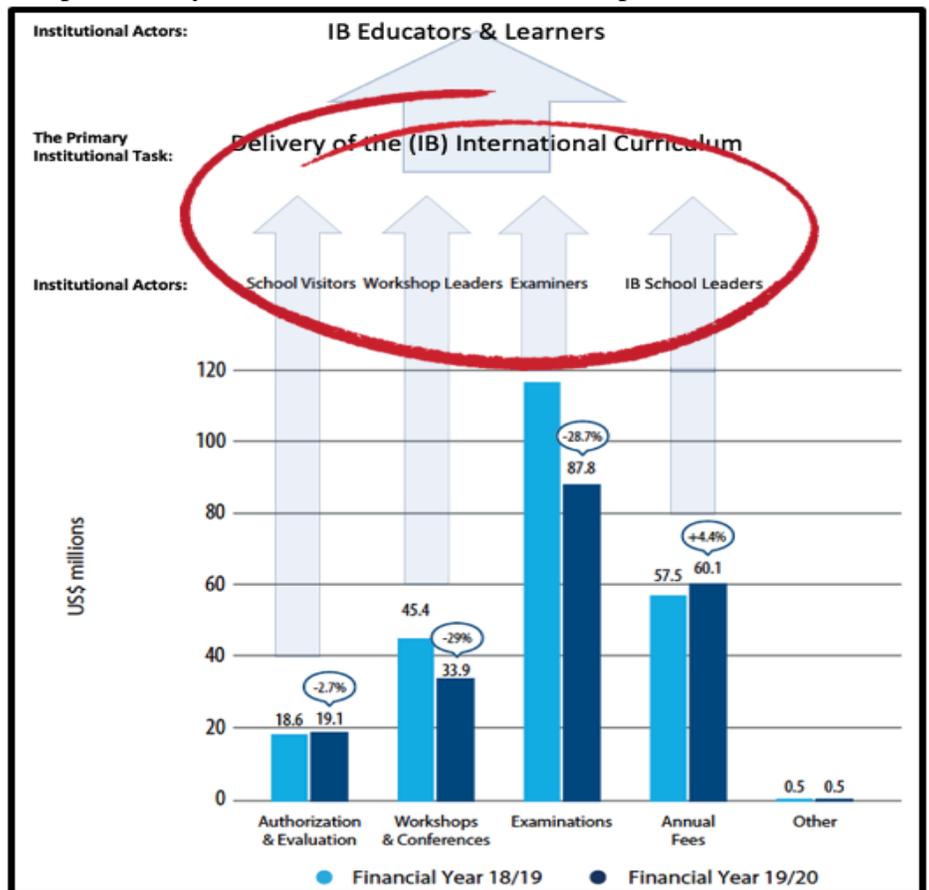
teach at; her life is deeply embedded in the IB world. Appreciative of this, of everything that the IB international school world has contributed in her 'internationally minded' professional, personal and familial identity, Abbie is also a critically aware and reflective professional. Renowned as an exemplary middle leader – particularly for her leadership of arguably the IB's most problematic major programme offering (the Middle Years Programme – MYP) she offers a rarely sustained expert lens on the challenges of implementing such programmes.

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4.2.7.8 Dr. Harriet, Retired International school elementary principal; researcher, writer and blogger on school wellbeing

Politically aware – not least of her own humble, working-class origins in Birmingham in the Midlands (UK) – Harriet was the first in her family to attend university. After attending law school and working for ten years as a solicitor, Harriet moved into education and international school leadership fifteen years ago. Working as a Primary School Principal at one large IB World School in Western Europe and another in Hong Kong until two years ago, Dr. Harriet experienced
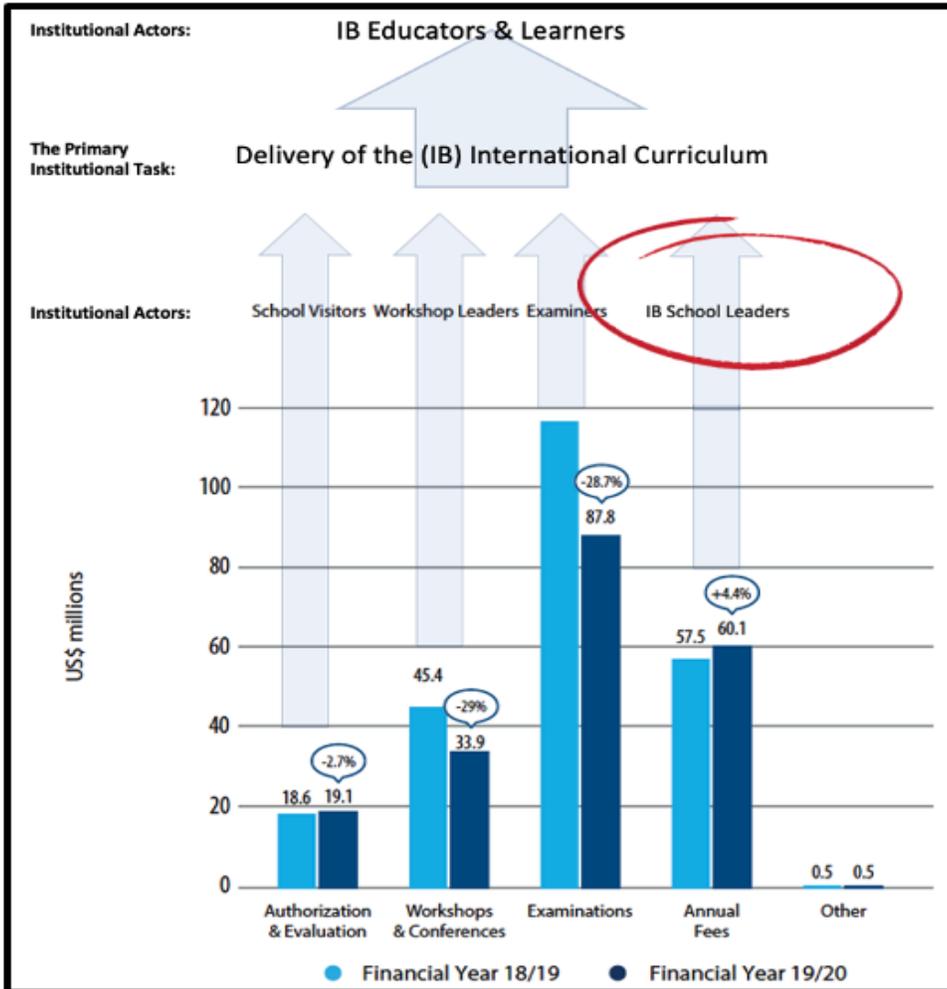
frustration around organisational inertia in trying to develop 'Innovation' / 'future ready learning' initiatives in these schools. Completing her doctoral thesis in international school leader well-being, she retired due to health issues associated with work-related stress last year. Straight-talking and intellectually curious, Dr. Harriet lives in North Wales with her husband, who also spent the last 15 years working in (typically IB) international schools.

4.2.7.10   Raphael; IB World Schools Manager, IB World Headquarters, The Hague

A full-time employee of the IB organisation, Raphael works as a senior manager within the IB World Schools department providing specialized support to schools regarding the

implementation of IB programmes according to the programme standards and practices. Holding a portfolio of responsibility for over 350 IBO world schools globally, Raphael is also the primary driving force and 'Language Liaison Leader in developing the IB's portfolio of Francophone schools'. Assuming his current position in 2019, out of the IB continental European regional headquarters in The Hague, Netherlands, Raphael, a Swiss citizen, has two decades of experience working as an IBE as an examiner, school visitor, reader, workshop leader, field representative, leader-educator, and trainer for new workshop leaders.
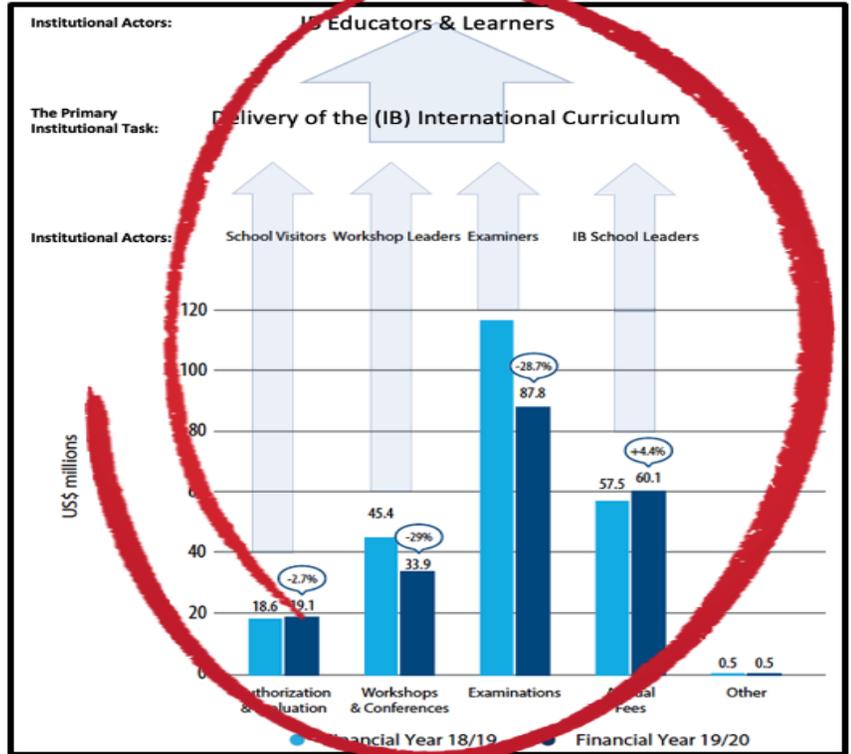
4.2.7.11 Jacob, Director, International School of XXX, Europe
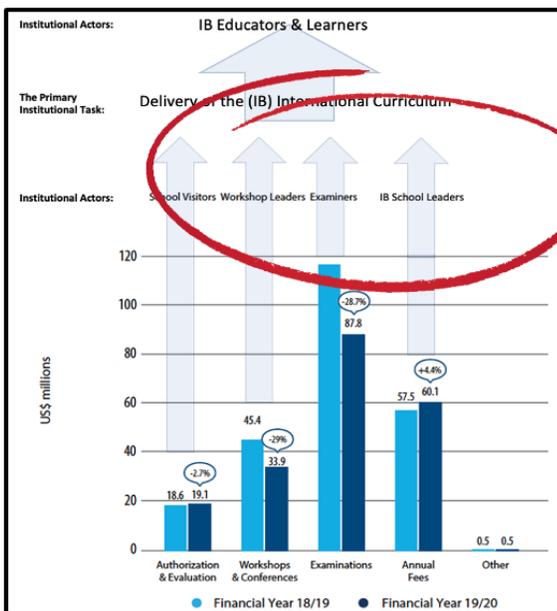
Jacob, *Director, International School of XXX*: Recently appointed to the position of Director of one of the oldest and largest international schools in Western Europe, Jacob quickly ascended to Head of School / Director level early in his career, and has a reputation as a 'superstar' leader. In addition to Headships / Director roles at various prestigious IB World schools, Jacob Chaired a (part-time) Regional Council (serving as an advisory body to the IB

regional director) and an Association of IB School Heads. Prior to his immediate position, he occupied Managing Director and Vice President (IB Curriculum Schools) positions within a not-for-profit educational foundation, and one of the world's largest (for profit) K-12 education providers – both of which roles were based in the IB 'gold rush' sector of the Middle-East. A charming, good-humoured institutional politician, Canadian Jacob is in his late forties, his children have attended IB schools while his wife maintains a part-time practice as a therapist.

4.2.7.12   Sam, Final Year Student, YYY International School, Thailand

Charming, worldly and in many ways 'old beyond his years', Sam has just graduated from the IB Diploma at YYY International School, Thailand – having spent most of his schooling at this 'K-12' (i.e. Kindergarten through to Grade 12 – the final year of high school) IB world school, offering all four IB programmes. In this respect, then, Sam – an academically and 'holistically' successful student (achieving grades well-above the world – and school – average, playing for various sports teams and acting as vice-president of the student council as just a snapshot of his all-rounder 'IB Learner Profile' status)
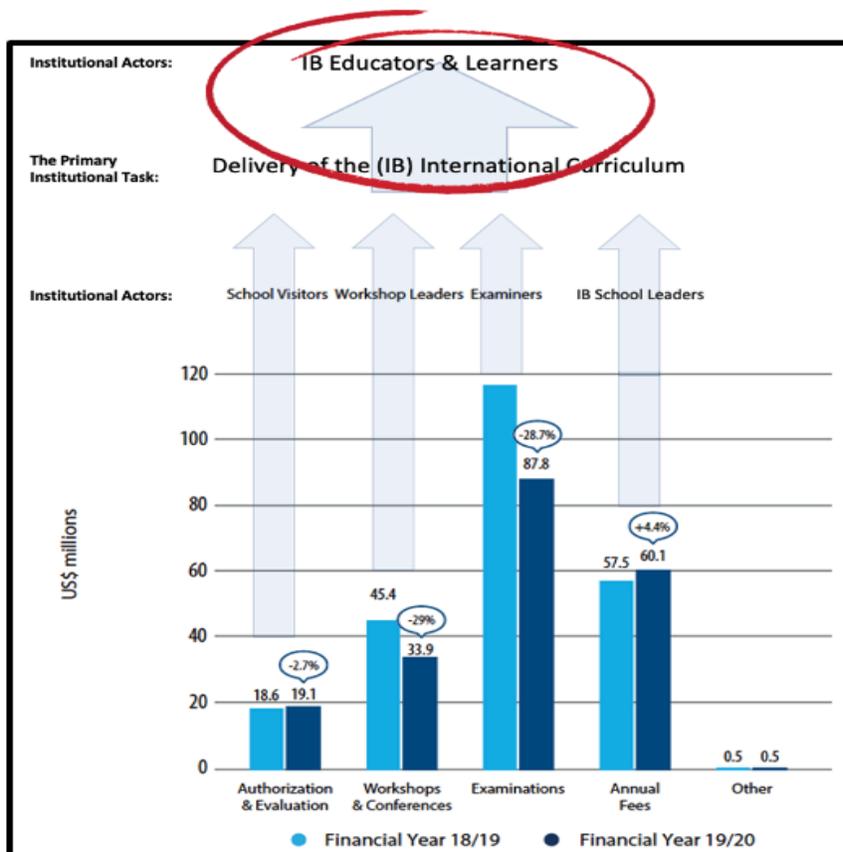
might well be considered exemplary of the IB Mission which, we are reminded 'aims to develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect.' (IBO, 2021). Sam is also in many ways exemplary of the cultural complexity / mixed-heritage student-body of such schools, with an

elderly British father and younger Thai mother. Sam's precocious intellect – and burgeoning worldliness/cynicism – is perhaps particularly interesting in terms of his perspective on the IB education which has constituted so much of his life. His relationship with myself as an interviewer/researcher-practitioner – so also his former teacher of Psychology, Language and Literature, and Assistant Principal – is of course a complex one requiring nuanced handling in order to retain focus on the empirical object of study, within the parameters of the life story methodology. But the richness of common understanding and experience presents an incredibly fertile ground upon which to build this life story narrative.

4.3   CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

4.3.1   THE PRACTICE-BASED PERSPECTIVE AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Discourse Analysis is often subsumed within the broader 'practice-based perspective' as a methodological approach within organizational science. This positioning is worth some brief attention here, not least since the emergence of Critical Discourse Analysis from the broader approach shares motivations with other trends in the practice-based approach and critical management studies.

Nicolini provides a useful summary of the broader approach, placed within its intellectual ancestry:

> From a practice-based perspective, knowledge and organisational phenomena appear as intimately related. Knowing is always a practical accomplishment and practice is where knowledgeability manifests itself and agency becomes possible (Wittgenstein 1953, Bourdieu 1990, Schatzki 2002). Organisational knowledge is thus conceived processually as a form of social expertise and collective knowledgeability, and it is knowledge-in-action situated in the historical, social, and cultural context from which it arises. (Nicolini, 2011, p.602)

His definition of 'Agency' as made possible when knowledgeability is useful in the various mobilisations of the concept of Agency here – not least in the core Critical Framework. Organisational discourse, following this knowledge-in-action logic, can be considered to be both the form and/or function of 'practices' – with differing positions on precisely the nature of the

relationship taken by different theorists, though we might say broadly that discourse theory accords special significance to discourse as practice that is connected with, *a la* Foucault, knowledge and power. More broadly, though, the risk in such a field as practice theory within contemporary academia – as attested to by the proliferation of such research – as Nicolini notes later, referencing Chia and Holt's (2006) work, is that 'the practice-based approach is always exposed to the risk of being understood as a call for more close-up micro-studies of knowing and organising' (Nicolini, 2011, p.603). The critical trend within the broader practice-based perspective and discourse analysis is as much a harkening back to its true origins as a response to such micro-level myopia or purely descriptive work; an endeavour to move away from assuming that transparent and objective meaning can be ascribed to subjective experiences and to instead explore how 'knowledge and meaning reside in a nexus of practices' (Schatzki 2001).

4.3.2 CONTEXTUALIZING THE EMERGENCE OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: CRITICAL THEORY, PRACTICE THEORY AND THE LINGUISTIC TURN

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is concerned not with treating such language acts and artefacts as conversations, interview statements, website content, process or training documents or interfaces as merely 'as a machinery for harvesting data', but instead, as Potter argues for more qualitatively and critically rich methods such as CDA that 'They can be viewed as an arena for interaction in [their] own right' (Potter, 1997, p.149). Further to the broader 'linguistic turn' of the mid-twentieth century, emergent from wider popular democratic and emancipatory social movements, McLuhan's popularization of critical and post-structuralist thought as applied to language and media in his provocative pronouncement that 'the medium is the message' (1966) is a useful summation of critical theory and its application to language. CDA works within this 'linguistic turn', with its conviction that language-as-practice, or discourse, is itself of primary importance as a site of study.

The genesis of this turning of greater attention to ideological and critical dimensions of academic research[9] and the centrality of language and culture can be traced – and often

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[9] It should be noted that critical theory has never been an exclusive property of the social sciences, and also has a particularly strong and longstanding tradition in literary and broader arts criticism. Indeed, particularly with the import accorded to creativity and the arts in such revolutionary works

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reinvigorated by a return to – its origins in the early twentieth century and the emergence in the 1930s of The Frankfurt School. Though all aligned to some extent with conventional Marxism in their formative years, as with later linguistic-turn social and political philosophers such as Foucault and Habermas, their interests and arguments moved beyond such (narrow) ideological orthodoxy. The core theorists of The Frankfurt School - Adorno, Horkheimer, Fromm, Marcuse, and Habermas, and such associated critics as Walter Benjamin – lived through much of the horrific ascendance of Nazi fascism and Stalinist Communism in Europe and, escaping this to then relative liberal safe haven of the United States, its critical thrust has always been motivated to elucidate the dangers associated with the functioning of power and knowledge – the institutions and modes of thought – within late capitalist society. Indebted to Marx and his development of Hegel's ideas towards a critical language for exploring asymmetries of power, to Freud for providing an understanding of human psychology as often precisely non-rational but rather deeply socially and normatively constructed, to (likewise American-society-inspired) Weber for developing an apparatus of systematic understanding and analysis of the function of post-industrial authority and organization, their work, like Foucault's, was descended from the ambitiously psychological and sociological continental philosophers such as Nietzsche. Like Nietzsche, they were as concerned with describing phenomena as with critiquing pre-existing understandings of these, and, moreover, with exploring the political implications of such potentially emancipatory – for these critics are by no means singularly optimistic about the prospect of emancipation – understandings. Their preference for analytical rigour over-and-above an ideological or emotional commitment to emancipation explains much of the hostility to the Frankfurt School from the more orthodox political left – and also indicates their great value, like Foucault, to such determinedly analytically rigorous academic fields as organizational institutionalism.

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as the Frankfurt School's Herbert Marcuse – who in *The Aesthetic Dimension* (1979) demonstrates how Marx's mobilisation of the proletariat is an outdated emancipatory model – arts and culture are seen to be central to any apparatus of power. The Preface refers to Foucault's slightly earlier *The Author Function* (1969). This text occupies a typically unique position: sharing commonalities with such theory, if avoiding its ideological commitedness, or at least its partisan nature; sharing commonality also with the poststructuralists, and Roland Barthes *Death of the Author* (1967), if avoiding its ontological and epistemological radicalism with regards to the negation of the author in a search for meaning. That is, one might argue, it occupies a position of dynamic critical realism.

4.3.3 CONTEXTUALIZING CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: A MATURING OF THE FIELD ALONGSIDE INSTITUTIONAL THEORY

Both Foucault and the other above mentioned (later) twentieth century political philosopher / critical theorist, Habermas are – despite the claims of their various detractors[10] – committed to a project of critically interrogating the literal and symbolic systems that constitute our subjective positioning and capacity to know in late-capitalist society. The latter of these – our capacity to know – being fundamentally contingent upon such positioning, Habermas defines the linguistic turn as not just a turn towards language as foundational in social philosophy but a turn away from what he calls 'the paradigm of the philosophy of consciousness' (1988, p342). Individual consciousness, just as something like 'collective consciousness' in the socially rationalized myths of institutions, is to be treated as radically contingent and constructed. Within late capitalism, then, this contingency and constructedness is subjected – through such late capitalist apparatus of control as commercialization and consumerism, mass media and marketing – to a cultural and ideological environment that is potentially far more totalitarian than the earlier twentieth century totalitarian cautionary tales (i.e. Nazi Fascism or Stalinist Communism), however less explicitly violent or coercive. The apparatus for subjectivising through the cultural cognitive pillar, then, to use the conceptual framework here, is particularly pronounced in late capitalist institutions; epistemically, in Foucault's formulation, governmentality is totalizing in its subjectification of the individual under neoliberalism.

Building-upon Marx's conceptually revolutionary notion that the value of commodities has a purely social reality, and his concept of reification (the thought process whereby an abstract concept describing a relationship or context is treated as a concrete 'thing', its objective properties determined by exchange value) the critical traditions of the Frankfurt School explore how human

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[10] As in the earlier section, Foucault has faced much criticism for being abjectly relativist and so lacking rigour. Habermaas's impressive academic longevity has seen him adopt a broadly more 'centrist' position, with a championing of 'critical democracy' and a constructive re-engagement with enlightenment traditions in faith in human rationality; around constructively reconceiving of what conscious rationality might be in our late capitalist society. As such, he is often criticized by the left as betraying his Marxist origins and becoming a late-capitalist apologist. These criticisms have often struck me as (mis-)conflating two discrete elements: for while Habermaas certainly has *evolved*, we might say, beyond his Marxist origins, his development of a model for critical democracy is presented as a basis for radically and continually restructuring societal systems in a neo-Weberrian logic that is anything but acquiescent to the (late-capitalist) status quo – however, in some ways, universalist.

actors risk losing agency and becoming merely passive and perpetually determined by the truly active subject in this social constructedness: capital. Interestingly, the most pessimistic implications to this, associated particularly with Frankfurt Schoolers Adorno and Horkheimer – that individual actors can have no agency, in a perfectly institutionalized and self-regulating system where commodification is the absolute and only function of late capitalist society – have much in common with the aforementioned intermediate phase in the development of the field of organizational institutionalism. The authors of the Sage Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism describe how it was 'widely assumed at the beginning of the 1990s that institutional theory did not take sufficient account of how actors (i.e. organizations) were able to work on their institutional context in order to promote their interests' (Greenwood et al, 2017, p.13). Which is to say it appears that, in the nascent-to-intermediate phases of both critical theory and organizational institutionalism, the academic field was more deeply focused on exploring and articulating the (macro-level) mechanisms of control and conformity, than in the (often micro and meso-level) relative margins of autonomy and agency that individual actors might have within their models. To express it another way: both conventional critical theory and institutional theory, in the mid-to-late 20th century, had no time for Foucauldian problematization. Such a trajectory to the evolution of an academic field and its associated explanatory frameworks might be entirely inevitable. But – as with the maturing of the field where neo-institutionalism saw a return to the original (we might say more critical) breadth of vision to the project of understanding how organizational institutions function, and the associated emergence of critical management studies in organizational institutionalism – with the maturing of the Frankfurt school and the consolidation of its critical apparatus for interrogating late capitalism, we can observe a greater integration of this critical apparatus with work that emphasizes the relative creativity, agency and so, ultimately, power accorded to individuals in this model. Some of the later work of such Frankfurt School critics as Marcuse, and certainly the central thrust of Foucault's work, is concerned with such critical agility in conceiving of the margins, the limits, but also the possibilities accorded to individuals and other actors within such knowledge-and-power worlds. This arguably parallel trajectory to the maturing of these two academic fields of critical theory / the Frankfurt School alongside Institutional Theory converges with the emergence of CDA, and its application to the organizational landscape.

4.3.4 THE METHODOLOGICAL FIT: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (AND PRACTICE THEORY) FOR EXTRACTING DATA FROM KNOWLEDGE-AS-POWER

Finally, practice theory's overlapping with and lending richness to a conception of CDA is worth briefly revisiting in considering the application of CDA to the organizational landscape – particularly where the empirical object to which the CDA will be applied describes *Programme Standards and Practices*. Practice theory positions actors within a world constituted by practices. Indeed, the actors themselves, in their relative agency, are constituted by these practices. Organizations and the institutions that characterize the organizational field might be powerful nexuses of practices – and at times may even appear to be fixed and binding to actors within them. But practice theory asserts that the relationship between these elements is ultimately a contingent and interdependent one: 'that society is a system; that the system is powerfully constraining, and yet that the system can be made and unmade through human action and interaction' (Ortner 1984, p. 159). Indebted, as critical theory, to concepts drawn from continental philosophy, Heidegger's radical notion that we are 'thrown into being' (Hornsby, 2012) is useful in considering the ontological and epistemological fit of practice theory – and the emergent methodology of CDA for data extraction – here. Pursuing the notion of humans as social animals to its ontological core, Heidegger argues that to be human is to be fixed, embedded and immersed in the physical, literal, tangible day-to-day world (Steiner 1978); there is no idealized, abstract (Aristotlean, or, indeed, Kantian) world of reason behind this 'being'. Plato's analogy of the cave – where there is a truth about the nature of being (that the scholar, or the man of philosophy/science, can decipher) behind the mere shadow-dance of day-to-day 'reality' is perhaps the ultimate illusion: in the Heideggerian tradition from which practice theory emerges, we simply are what we do and say, and if that involves projecting shapes onto cave walls so be it; that is not to posit that there is anything primordial or more 'truthful' about the source of these projections. This denial of dualism, of any ontological primacy to human reason is precisely the foundation upon which the Foucauldian toolkit rests – rather than according any truth-conferring primacy to reason or 'science', Foucault instead describes how each episteme functions by creating its own model of 'scientificity' (1980, p.197). But this is an exercise of knowledge-as-power or , as Nietszche expressed so lucidly, man is not be admired here in his instinct for truth, but in his creativity: building an infinitely complex dome of ideas on a moveable foundation. Foucault's critical apparatus offers us insights into how

we are mostly blinded by 'scientificity' as to the moveable nature of this foundation. CDA mobilizes Foucault to demonstrate how this operates at the level of discourse.

4.3.5   CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA) AND THE WORK OF NORMAN FAIRCLOUGH WITHIN THE FOUCAULDIAN TRADITION

Defining CDA as a systematic approach to exploring 'often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes' (1995, p132), Fairclough emphasizes the mutually constituting and sustaining relationship between discourse and power. As per CDA's place within/proximity to a broader practice-based approach to critical analysis, elsewhere, Fairclough and Wodak observe that

> Describing discourse as a social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s), which frame it: The discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationship between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p. 258)

Fairclough's frequent use, as above, of the word 'dialectical' – particularly as a scholar who identifies his work as Foucauldian – can be confusing. It is worth noting, therefore, that Fairclough is not using the term in the sense that Foucault does when he rejects Hegelian dialectics – to suggest something like a primordial duality between the material and the abstract-conceptual or transcendental. Instead, he is using it – as clarified here – in a more deeply materialist sense: to describe a mutually constituting and sustaining relationship between discourse and power, as having both material and symbolic qualities and functions. It will continue to be used in this sense throughout this paper – i.e. the use of the world 'dialectic' should not be seen as a reference to

Hegelian dialectics.

CDA works within the traditions of practice theory, which not only rejects the dualist tradition in terms of strict rationalism, but also in terms of functionalism. Practice theory instead intentionally conflates thought, speech and action as 'a nexus of practices and not… the deployment of rules, goals, and mental contents, as in the traditional rationalist and functionalist view. Practices, from this view, become primitive and foundational. They are not, therefore, just mere descriptions of what people do; they are meaning-making, identity-forming, and order-producing activities' (Nicolini, 2011, p.602).

CDA, then, as operating both within the broader theoretical field of practice theory, and within the Foucauldian tradition, is as profoundly materialist as it is critical. Differentiating the emergence of the critical approach from conventional discourse analysis for the latter's 'lack of concern with explanation – with how discursive practices are socially shaped, or their social effects' in his more recent introduction to CDA (2013), Fairclough also notes how such uncritical discourse analysis is blind to various 'assumptions about social relations underlying interactional practices' – in particular, their normatively and/or culturally-cognitively constructed nature. They fail to take stock of their Epistemic context (Foucault); they fail to recognize the moveable foundation upon which they rest (Nietzsche). This blindness is perpetuated and reinforced by the positivist academic conventions of such discourse analysis as 'the concept of 'background knowledge' as an obfuscation of ideological processes in discourse… and the neglect of relations of power manifested for instance in the elevation of conversation between equals to the status of an idealised archetype for linguistic interaction in general' (Fairclough, 2013, Introduction).

CDA, by contrast, works very much within the tradition established by Foucault for whom a profoundly materialist treatment of language should inevitably produce a critical approach since 'there is nothing to be gained from describing this autonomous layer of discourses unless one can relate it to other layers, practices, institutions, social relations, political relations, and so on. It is that relationship which has always intrigued me' (Foucault, 1967, p.284). Fairclough's version of CDA emphasizes this interdependence, with a determined focus upon the socio-historical conditions that govern the processes of text production and consumption across time and space. It is through such an appreciation of the interdependence between discourse and wider material conditions, or the 'institutional and discoursal practices within which texts are embedded' (Fairclough, 1995, p.9) that CDA is in keeping with Foucault's central concept of power as

functioning through governmentality – and is most apt to data extraction here.

4.3.6 THE METHODOLOGICAL FIT: CDA'S DYNAMIC TREATMENT OF CONTINGENT PHENOMENA THROUGH A NEXUS OF (DISCOURSE) PRACTICES

Working within this Foucauldian tradition, 'Although CDA maintains an interest in the local production of discourse, its main interest is to link the 'here and now' of discursive production to larger discursive formations that extend well beyond the current scene of action… link[ing] discursive action with larger societal undercurrents' (Nicolini 2012, p.190). This is especially so if we consider that, despite the globally disseminated and incredibly fast-growing nature of the organisational field, IB international schools demonstrate pronounced isomorphic tendencies, as we will explore in more detail later.

Foucault's concept of 'discursive formations' (Foucault, 1970) demonstrates how speech acts depend upon previous speech acts, non-speech acts/practices and the rules and institutions that are associated with these. The relationship between the speech act and these constituents though, operates within a dialectical relationship in the 'order of discourse' (Foucault, 1970): 'a 'discursive formation' consists of a number of rules that bestow a certain order to the statements which belong to it… assembling in a novel way existing discursive and non-discursive elements through the institutions of new social and discursive practices' (Nicolini, 2012, p.196).

In order for the analysis to be meaningful, any given 'order of discourse' must therefore be considered within a context that extends to at least the (macro) level of the institutional or societal practices of the given time (Fairclough 1992) – its Episteme – and it is to the analysis of the relationship between discourse and its wider societal and institutional context that CDA is dedicated. This emerges from the tradition of (radical) political application in Foucault's work. Since discourse acts as a form of both knowledge and power – it does not merely describe the world in a dualist or passive relationship with that world – for any form of political action (which, through a Foucauldian lens, also comprises radical criticism) discourse is 'the very thing which is to be seized' (Foucault 1970, p. 107). Foucault's 'order of discourse', or the order of discursive practices within CDA (Fairclough, 1992, p.86) is one where the apparently natural(ized) nature of practices and institutions is always contingent – and can be exposited as such through CDA.

CDA is of appeal also by virtue, within the Foucauldian tradition, of resisting any conventionally Marxist, abjectly constructivist or post-structuralist (Foucault was appropriately

resistant to being labelled as belonging to the latter tradition) methodologies. The ontology here is neither idealist nor radically subjectivist: reality is not constituted in people's heads or mouths, but through a nexus of (discourse) practices. The methodology through which such practices are investigated should thus comprise 'a social practice which is rooted in and oriented to real, material social structures' (Fairclough, 1992, p.66). Discourses, narrative and storytelling are central to the methodology, but they operate in an interdependent relationship with such material artifacts/organizational practice documentation – as will be shown through the CDA phase of the current research – as (neoliberal, transnational) digital training interfaces.

4.3.7   KEY CONCEPTS AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK FOR DATA EXTRACTION

4.3.7.1 Discourse, Genres, Order of Discourse, Creativity, Hegemony and Governmentality.

Fairclough expresses the working definitions of 'Discourse', 'Interdiscursivity' and 'Order of Discourse' within his critical framework with a concision that will be usefully replicated here:

> Discourse (abstract noun) – language use conceived as social
> practice…
> Discourse (continuous noun) – way of signifying experience from a
> particular perspective…
> Interdiscursivity – the constitution of a text from diverse discourses
> and genres…
> Genres – use of language associated with a particular social activity
> Order of Discourse – totality of discursive practices of an institution,
> and relationships between them.' (1997, p.138).

These concepts are further elucidated through an articulation of Fairclough's concepts of creativity and hegemony.

Within Fairclough's model the concept of hegemony is inseparably and dialectically linked with the capacity for the individual to think and act creatively – with the relationship typically being one of diametrical opposition. Creative thought and action are much prized in liberal (and/or 'progressive' / '21st century') educational models, and Fairclough's (1993) most seminal and highly cited work explores the contested relationship between this and a neoliberal socioeconomic

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hegemony as per its title 'Critical Discourse Analysis and the Marketization of Public Discourse: The Universities'. Distinguishing his work as truly operating within the Foucauldian tradition, in establishing that while a cultural/organisational/discursive/institutional order which has the character of 'hegemony is a more or less partial and temporary achievement, an 'unstable equilibrium' which is a focus of struggle, open to disarticulation and rearticulation', he proceeds to demonstrate that 'where, for instance, there is a relatively stable hegemony, the possibilities for creativity are likely to be tightly constrained' (Fairclough, 1993, p.137). To express this in a more Foucauldian sense (and so avoid the risk – as with Fairclough's aforementioned use of 'dialectics') of miscegenation with a Marxist-Hegelian critical lexicon: Fairclough's description of 'Hegemony' is akin to 'the main danger' within any given episteme, and such an exercise of power in the neoliberal era is perhaps better understood as 'Governmentality'. This use of Foucault's term, which means 'a relation of strict subjection' (Rabinow. 1984, p.182,) is certainly more aligned with the critical framework herein. Instead of leaning towards the Marxist-Hegelian conception of (dualist/universal) power relations in 'Hegemony', which arguably has a normative bias, the attention in Foucault's conception of 'Governmentality' remains focussed upon the exercise of power over the individual through objectification and so the making of subjects. It also parallels, in this interdependent and primarily oppositional relationship with individual agency, the relationship between institutional legitimacy and decoupling expressed in the earlier critical framework, replicated here for the reader's convenience.

Figure 3-5: Detailed Critical Framework: Foucauldian Governmentality and Institutional Legitimacy vs the capacity of Individual Actors for Decoupling and Agency
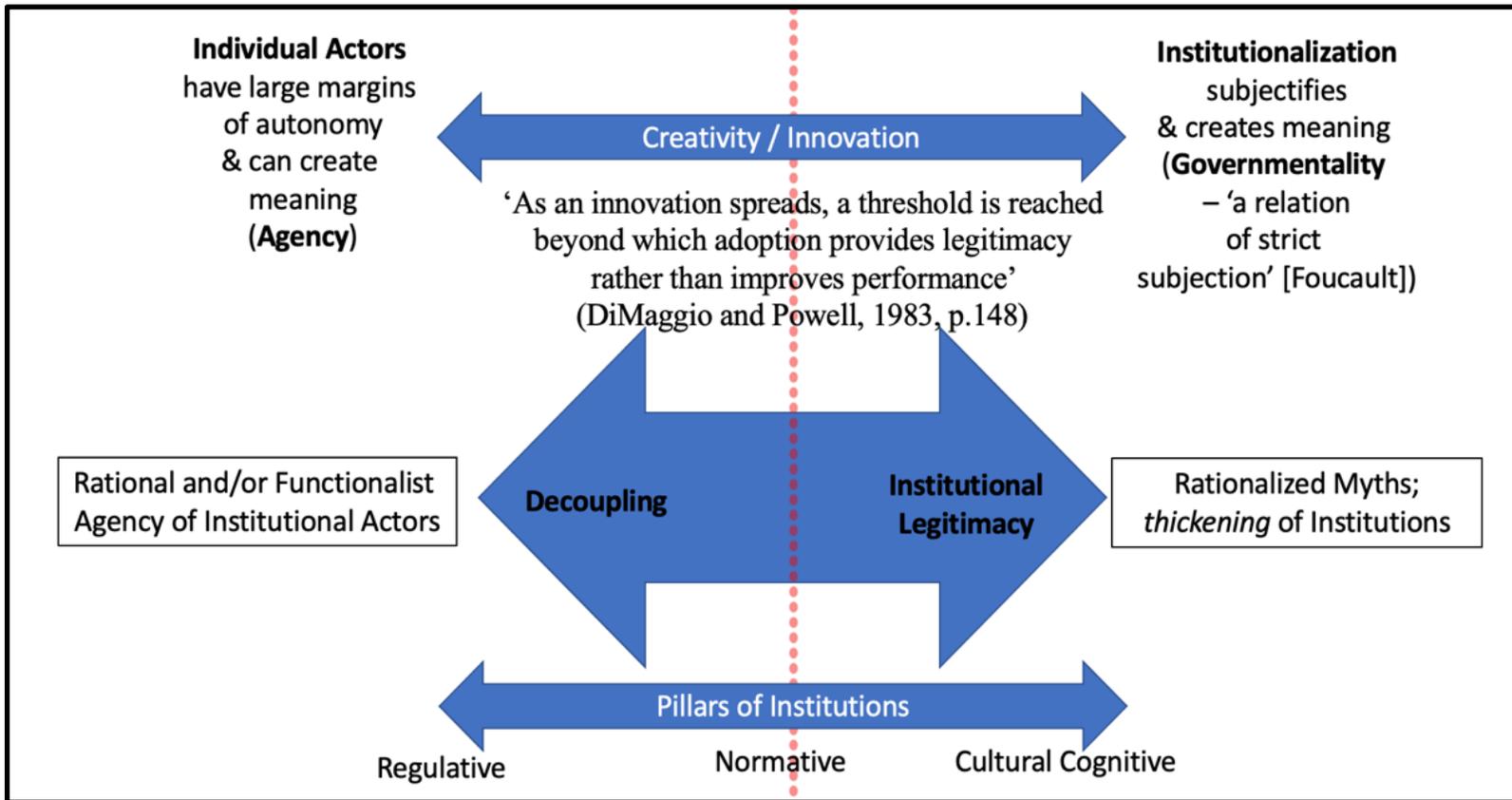
References to 'hegemony', within Fairclough's lexicon, are thus understood to be transposed to a focus on 'governmentality' in the critical framework here.

Foreshadowing the dense proliferation of identity politics research in the Foucauldian and critical traditions that would characterize so much sociological research in the two succeeding decades into our contemporary academic and political climate, Fairclough (1997) offers one such instance of identity-contestation, as addressed through a socio-historical lens, in order to exemplify this framework for the diametrical opposition of hegemony and creativity. Within the networked, socially constructed nature of society that the underlying materialist ontology here presents, individual actors should have a great capacity for 'creativity in discursive practice suggested by the concept of interdiscursivity – an endless combination and recombination of genres and discourses' (Fairclough, 1993, p.137). In practice, however, such creative – and potentially subversive, or at least political – play is 'limited and constrained by the state of hegemonic relations and hegemonic struggle… For example, one might draw a rather gross contrast between

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dominance of cross-gender interaction by normative practices in the 1950s, and the creative explosion of discursive practices associated with the feminist contestation of male hegemony in the 1970s and 1980s.' (Fairclough, 1997, p.137). It must be again highlighted, however, that while Fairclough's conception of (something like Gramsci's 1971 concept of) hegemony is not incompatible with the broader conceptual framework here, Foucault's critical model frames such 'sedimented' states – or epistemic absolute 'truths' – as more fundamentally dynamic. Moreover, Foucault's political framing of such apparatus of power acknowledges that different power groups and interests may be served by the application of governmentality, and these may be in competition – and our job as critics is of understanding the subjective context, of problematizing and asking 'what is the main danger' (Foucault, 1984, p.343), rather than adopting any more conventionally (Marxist) absolute ideological positioning towards any more absolute power (Hegemony).

4.3.7.2 Discourse as a tool of Foucauldian bio-power: Reflexivity, Expert Systems and Technologization of Discourse; Colonization of Discourse by Promotional Objectives

Fairclough's (1993) case study in the marketization of higher education discourse demonstrates the explanatory cogency of the related concepts of reflexivity, colonization of discourse by promotional objectives and technologization of discourse – particularly in a liberal educational organizational context, and a neoliberal epistemic context. He begins by outlining his conceptual framework after the fashion of how 'Foucault has shown how modern 'biopower' rests upon technologies and techniques of power which are embedded within the mundane practices of social institutions (e.g. schools or prisons), and are productive of social subjects' (Fairclough, 1993, p.139).

Investigating this mode of Foucauldian subjectivisation, Fairclough develops a conceptual framework to elucidate how 'technologization of discourse combines research into existing discursive practices, redesign of those practices according to criteria of institutional effectivity, and training in the new practice'(Faircough, 1993, p.139) linked with Giddens (1991) conception of expert systems subsuming reflexivity as part of their apparatus of control[11].

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[11] The concepts of reflexivity and technologization of discourse are tied to Giddens' (1991) conception of expert systems. The central logic is one of an incremental erosion of individual

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Defining promotional culture 'in discursive terms as the generalization of promotion as a communicative function (Wernick, 1991: 181) – discourse as a vehicle for 'selling' goods, services, organizations, ideas or people across orders of discourse' (Fairclough, 1993, p.140), the colonization of discourse by promotional objectives is one distinctive part of the institutionalization process that can make neoliberal organizations so hegemonic – or the main danger *a la* Foucault. Fairclough (1993, 1997) describes the semiotic risks associated with this, whereby signifiers become stripped of their meaning-making cogency in their (promotional-discourse) misappropriation and (hegemonic re-) deployment. He also describes the challenge to modality preferences that – writing the current research in 2021, we can now see to have been foreshadowed by our public discourse shift: led by advertising's imperatives, it is a wholesale discourse modality shift towards greater dependence upon visual images versus the verbal semiosis, in particular the longform narrative (subsequently confirmed by the global challenges to democracy, investigative journalism and critical literacy in the era of Twitter-politics and 'post truth' media). More broadly, as pertains particularly to the function of discourse within ostensibly liberal educational institutions such as the IB, the effects upon personal meaning-making, trust and authenticity of interaction and self-identity are shown to be profound:

> The colonization of discourse by promotion may also have major pathological effects upon subjects, and major ethical implications. We are, of course, all constantly subjected to promotional discourse, to the point that there is a serious problem of trust: given that much of our discursive environment is characterized by more or less overt promotional intent, how can we be sure what's authentic? How, for example, do we know when friendly conversational talk is not just simulated for instrumental effect? This problem

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agency, particularly through the erosion of the relative agency/autonomy accorded to individuals as operating in (professional/institutional) functions as constituted by a traditionally liberal (modern) authority system. With the entrenchment of a (late modern/capitalist) neoliberal apparatus of control , 'the construction of self-identity is a reflexive project, involving recourse to expert systems (e.g. therapy or counselling)', with decision-making in an organizational context being even more reflexive and constructed by expert systems.

of trust is compounded by the significance for reflexive building of self-identity of choices made among the 'life styles' projected in association with the promotion of goods. But the pathological consequences go deeper; it is increasingly difficult not to be involved oneself in promoting, because many people have to as part of their jobs, but also because self-promotion is becoming part-and-parcel of self-identity in contemporary societies. The colonizing spread of promotional discourse thus throws up major problems for what we might reasonably call the ethics of language and discourse. (Fairclough, 1997, p.142)

The colonization of discourse by promotional objectives will form a central aspect to the conceptual framework for extracting data to demonstrate the IB's institutionalization process through CDA – with the profound inter- and intrapersonal questions Fairclough poses accompanying this as stimulus to critical life story elucidation and ensuing problematization of IB institutions.

4.3.8   CRITICISM   AND   IMPLICATIONS   OF   CDA   AND FAIRCLOUGH'S   WORK   –   AND   THE   REFLEXIVE,   SYSTEMATICALLY   CRITICAL QUESTIONING APPROACH HEREIN

Further to the above discussion of criticism and implications of Foucault's work, CDA has faced criticism for being too broad, lacking in a rigorous granularity and specificity in terms of time and space to the object of research, or as expressed by Leitch and Palmer in their critique and subsequent proposal of protocols for CDA studies: 'context has, for the most part, been afforded a taken-for-granted status that is misplaced because of the diverse ways in which it may be defined and applied. These generally unacknowledged differences relate to whether context is treated as space, time, practice, change, or frame.' (Leitch & Palmer, 2010, p.1194). Their subsequent protocols towards a more rigorous mode of CDA are useful and are reproduced in Appendix 1 since they are being consulted in the (iterative) development of the research herein. Essentially, though, when CDA fails to sufficiently contextualise itself / give due attention to granularity this 'often boils down to an encounter 'in the middle' between the micro-analysis of how the social is represented in discourse and a macro analysis of how these representations relate to the broader sociopolitical context', writes Nicolini (2012, p.201) in his review of the methodology as part of

the broader project of Practice Theory, referencing Engeström's (1999) work. Essentially then, attention to such detail in articulating context and granularity and – as should be already emergent within the theoretical model here – 'reconcil(iation) through dialectical movement, not unlike what Giddens tried to do' (p.202) as Nicolini concludes his recommendations for the resolution of such 'discontinuities' within CDA research. The current project moreover works towards a very much richer and more rigorous articulation of space, time, practice, change, and frame: building towards the application of CDA through rich life story narrative development; framing the entire endeavour around a rigorous Case Study methodology.

Finally, and consistent with the apparent discontinuity between Foucault's explicit rejection of Hegelian 'dialectics' and Fairclough's frequent description of CDA offering a 'dialectical' mode of discourse analysis accompanied by such (Marxist-associated) concepts as 'hegemony', there is the normative and ethical dimension to CDA. Referencing Habermas seminal theory of communicative action (1984), Fairclough & Fairclough (2018) describe how 'normative critique includes critique of truth claims, in addition to critique of 'truthfulness' and 'rightness''' – exposing their model to critiques such as Mitev's (2003) of Habermasian modernist grand narratives restricting a truly dynamic mode of critical management studies. However, in a spirit that is faithful to the more determinedly 'local' mode of criticism such as the Foucauldian approach of problematization, Fairclough & Fairclough also emphasize that 'the task of critical discourse analysts is to subject argumentation, including their own argumentation, to systematic critical questioning in the spirit of open debate, with no ideological parti-pris' (2018, p.1) – which acts as something of a safeguard against a (Habermasian) universalism or (ethical) grand-narrative. Beginning with an exercise in reflexivity and exposition of subjectivity in the Problematizing Preface, the exploratory, narrative mode through which this research proceeds towards (more) rigorous application of CDA is certainly within such systematically critical questioning traditions. Moreover, the application of CDA here will be focused upon institutions and institutionalization in as determinedly a value-neutral fashion as possible; where ethical questions arise, it will be more as pertains to inconsistencies and contradictions within the (ethical) discourses of the (IB) institutions under consideration and – indeed – in an Epistemic rather than a universalist historical context.

4.3.9.1 Significance of the Empirical Context and Granularity in CDA

Further to the earlier discussion of CDA's facing criticism for lacking in a rigorous granularity and specificity in terms of time and space, the extensive exposition throughout this research of the empirical context of the IB will be drawn upon to perform the analysis here. The first dimension to this is the foundation of qualitative depth of understanding that the preceding extensive life story narratives will present. Additionally, Leith and Palmer's (2010) critique and subsequent proposal of protocols for CDA studies   (see Appendix 1), will be drawn upon extensively as a moderating guide to the analysis. Foremost, it will motivate the attention to differentiating context as space, time, practice, change, or frame in the performance of CDA here. Institutional theory, in particular Scott's noted concluding comments to *The Sage Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism* that 'one of the abiding strengths of contemporary institutional theory is its versatility in moving across levels of analysis' (Scott, 2017, p.866) will support this attention to granularity while performing agile critical analysis.

4.3.9.2 Choice of Data Object

The textual artefact upon which this analysis will be performed is a compulsory online training course, designed for IBEN (IB Educator Network) educators – or IBE – to support their understanding and implementation of the IB's Programme Standards and Practices Framework, or PSP (2020). This online training interface fulfils a central strategic function in the ongoing implementation of the IB PSP – an essential element of its organizational functioning. IBEN itself presents an interesting example of the manner in which the IB combines a heritage of pluralist, networked stakeholders within an increasingly conventionally corporate hierarchical structure and practices – replete with various institutional 'critical actions' (IB, IBEN, 2016[12]) – and recent compulsory trainings for IBEN educators such as this offer a potent crystallization of the tensions within the IB's discourses. The centrality of this training interface and the key institutional text

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[12] 'Critical Action' is a concept explicitly articulated within the IB's organisational practices, and will be shown here to be a central one in their institutionalization model as will be more fully explicated later – suffice to say, for now, that a 'Criticial Action' is an integral part of the regulatory pillar of IB institutions.

that it indoctrinates institutional actors to – the PSP – can be shown to have a central function in institutions which safeguard the IB's primary income sources, as can be seen in Figure 4.4, below:

Figure 4-4: Linking the Data Object (PSP Training Interface) with Institutional Actors and Income Sources
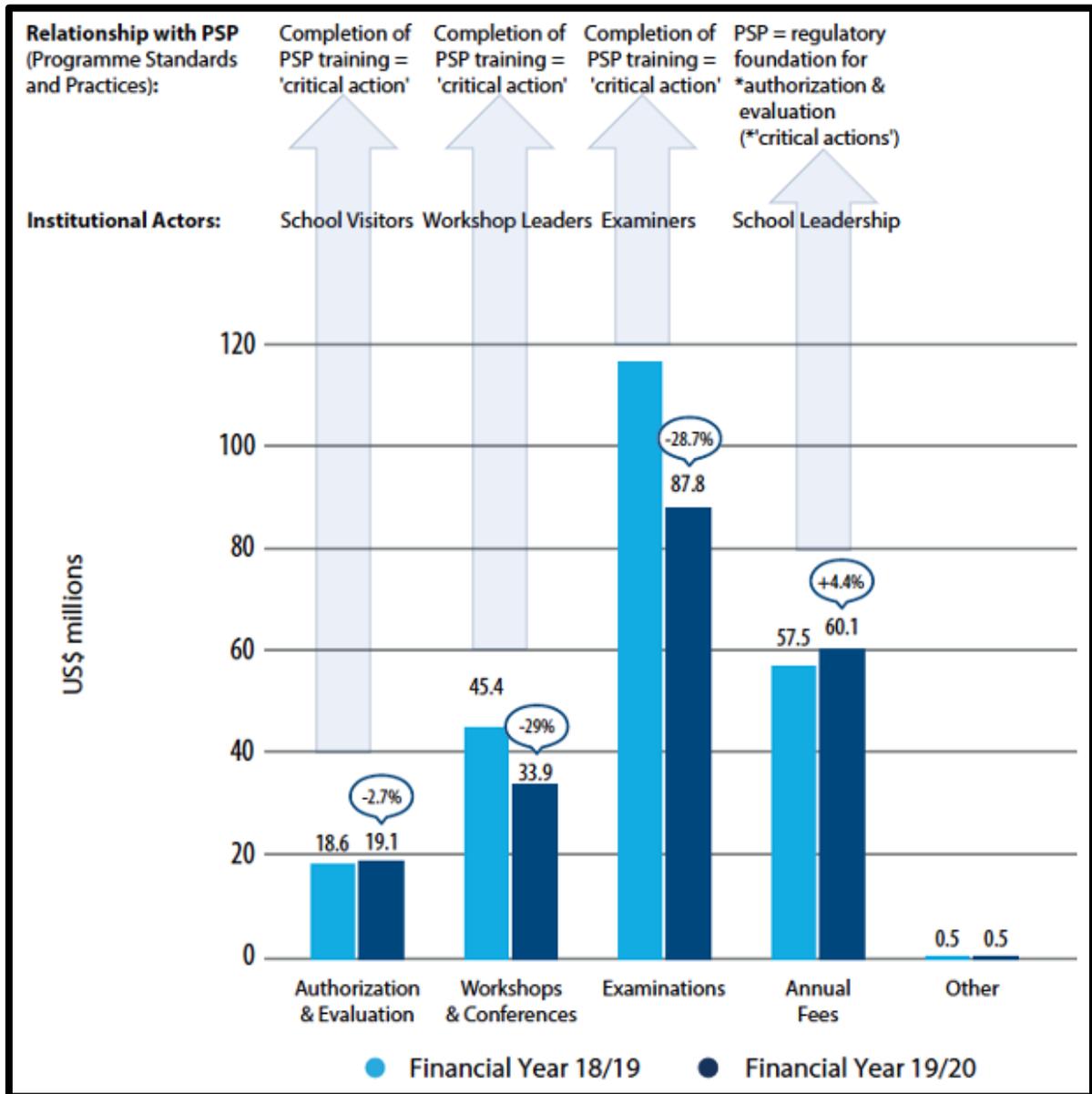
The order of discourse of the IB will be shown to employ interdiscursivity to great effect in reframing such notions as 'standards', 'practices' and 'compliance' through this PSP online

training course. Conventionally conceived as concerned with regulatory control – and so conventionally central to the regulatory and normative pillars of institutions (Scott 2014) – these will be explored within a cultural cognitive framing (i.e. Scott's third pillar of institutions) by the IB's employment of interdiscursivity.

4.3.9.3 Permission and Methods of Data Collection

As field-based researcher, I first engaged with the institutional artefact in question when I was required to complete The IBEN PSP Introductory Course as a 'critical action' in order to retain my status as a member of IBEN in the various aforementioned capacities that I peripatetically serve late in 2019 / early 2020. Coinciding as this did with my development of interest in researching institutionalisation within the IB, I approached (then) Head of Research Division at the IB, Dr. Bradley Shrimpton, seeking permission to perform discourse analysis upon The IBEN PSP Introductory Course. Following a trail of clarifying emails between Shrimpton, myself and Dr. Marjorie Lope, Global Head IBEN, I received permission to perform the research, following the signing of a Non-Disclosure Agreement, safeguarding against illegitimate usage of IBEN/IB materials for commercial purposes. These are all contained within Appendix 2.

Accessing the The IBEN PSP Introductory Course digital interface to perform the research is performed via a simple password protected interface to which I have ongoing access as a registered IBEN; sampling graphics from the interface is facilitated with cut-and-paste functions on my desktop computer.

4.3.9.4 Conceptual Framework revisited in the context of data extraction: Life Stories Synthesis elucidating Conditions and Processes supporting Institutional Object Analysis

As described above, the development and analysis, then the synthesis of the several life stories in the first phase of the multiple methods research here will produce rich explanatory detail about growth of the IB's organisational development, and discourses of institutionalization. Alongside details presented in the 'Empirical Setting' and other earlier phases of the delineation of the case study herein, this narrative synthesis should start to elucidate the mechanisms that govern the social environment as a whole, or mesocosm – the institutions that operate in the organizational field, and the character of the broader (transnational, neoliberal) episteme. To frame this in terms of the empirical tools it will present to support the development of the performance

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of CDA upon the PSP training course, the life story methodology will yield 'factual information regarding the conditions and processes used by the individual within a given social and historical context' (Vincent Ponroy and Chevalier, 2020). These 'conditions and processes', further to a preliminary review of both life story interview material and The IBEN PSP Introductory Course analysis, can be tentatively identified[13] as primarily *Technologization of Discourse* and *Colonization of Discourse by Promotional Objectives*. The relationship between these phases in the research, then, are visualised within a further update to the Conceptual Framework, Figure 4.5. The boxes in the green 'Methodology' colour-coding, are new, further to the development of methods of data extraction through critical life story and CDA conceptualisation.

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[13] 'preliminary review' and 'tentative identification' should be taken to indicate the iterative nature of the research here: though the sequencing from the reader's perspective is logically linear with the life stories (sociological and longitudinal breadth) preceding the CDA, the process for the researcher has been more synthetic and iterative.

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Figure 4-0-5: Conceptual Framework with Data Extraction Methods
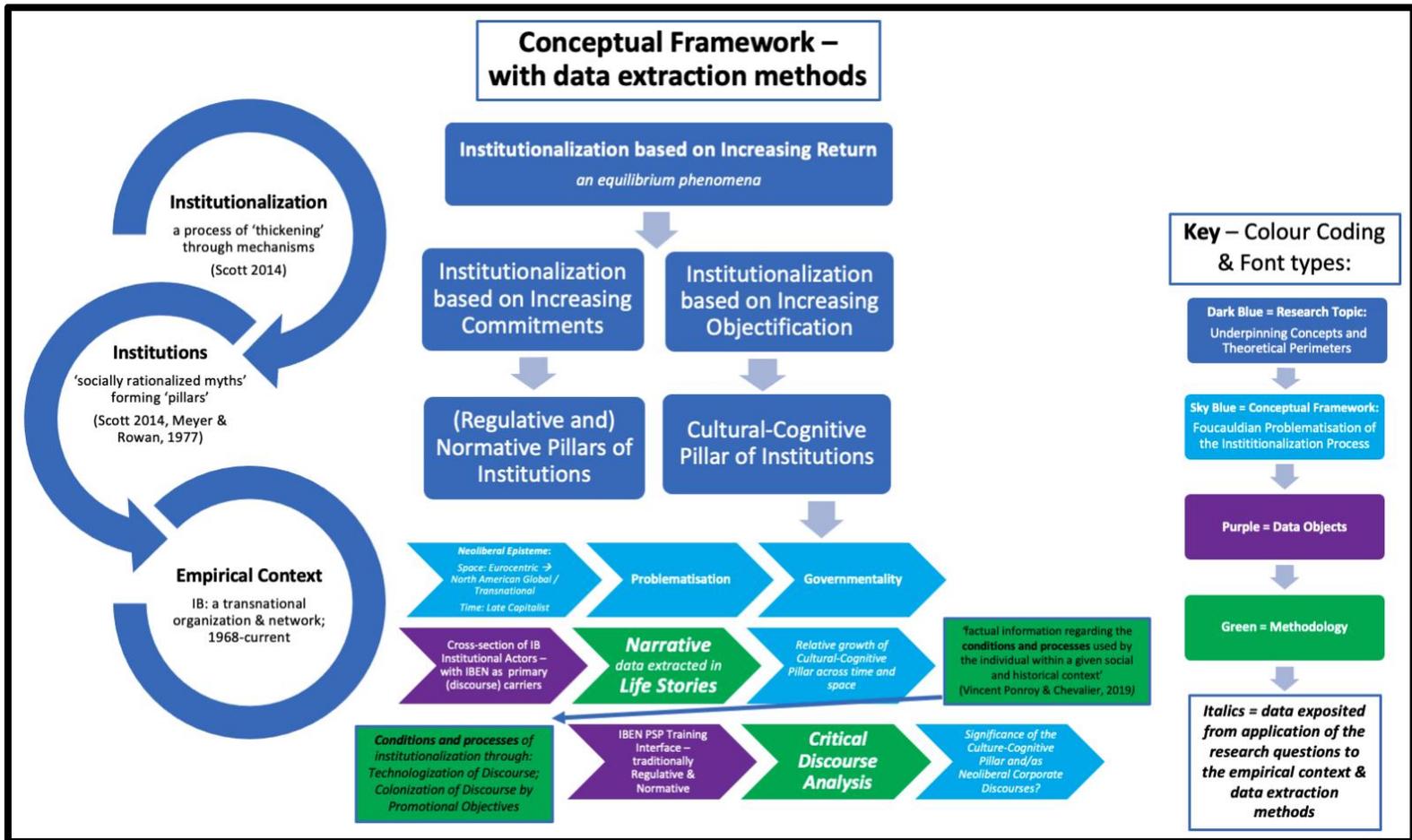
4.3.9.5 Key Concepts from the Critical Framework as applied in the Empirical Setting

Drawing from key concepts outlined within the conceptual framework and integrated with Fairclough's (1993, 1997) methodology for data extraction, *discourse* in both the (abstract noun) sense of language use conceived as social practice and the (continuous noun) sense of a way of conceiving experience from a particular perspective will be relevant here. Differentiating between these uses of the term from the outset is essential – especially in the critical context provided by Leitch and Palmer's (2010) proposal of protocols for CDA studies (see Appendix 1). Primarily, the (abstract noun sense of discourse as) language use as social practice will be explored as part of the process through which the (continuous noun sense of discourse as a) way of conceiving experience from a particular perspective is institutionalized around the cultural-cognitive pillar of institutions through the textual artefact under consideration in the IB context.

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Fairclough's concept of *genres* is useful in distinguishing between languages associated with different particular social activities. The identification of distinct *genres* within discourse as a way of conceiving experience will be explored in the context of institutions and institutionalization within the IB. From this identification of *genres,* the concept of *interdiscursivity*, where a text is constituted from diverse discourses and genres can be critically mobilized. The *order of discourse* – the totality of discursive practices of an institution, and the relationships between them – at work in the IB, then will be explored through these constituent elements. The margins of agency accorded to individual actors within this order of discourse will be explored through the (in some senses diametrically opposed) concepts of *creativity* and *governmentality* – as already introduced through the preceding life stories. The performance of CDA on The IBEN PSP Introductory Course will empirically explore these concepts through an institutional artefact.

4.4   DATA SYNTHESIS: TEXTS AND LIVES; EXPOSITING THE INSTITUTIONAL AND THE INDIVIDUAL THROUGH A CRITICAL LENS

Synthesis of the cumulated data from both preceding phases (life stories and CDA) at this stage will further develop the exploratory and explanatory power of the narrative. As noted in consideration of the life story and narrative section of the conceptual framework, the comparative presentation of multiple sets of interview-subject data, combined with other data sources including historical (vs personal) timelines and the outcomes of the CDA on The IBEN PSP Introductory Course can be subjected to psychological and sociological analysis beyond the individual. This can ultimately lead to model-development and theory building.

4.5   ETHICS

Ethical considerations have been considered in the design of this research project.

All notes, interview audio files, and the transcriptions for these interviews were stored within a password protected hard-drive and backed-up to likewise password-protected cloud-based drive. Pseudonyms and/or anonymisation has been used – both to protect the participants (though all expressed happiness to be referenced) but moreover to emphasize the phenomenon being investigated here as the development of institutions – with the IB being the empirical case study.

In terms of the performance of CDA upon the IBEN Interface, Appendix 2 (Copy of NDA

/ email threads) demonstrates the obtaining of permission from IB to perform research (and publish for non-commercial purposes) upon the PSP 'IBEN Programme Standards and Practices Introductory Course'. The appendix includes the NDA accompanied by written permission from both then Head of Research for the IB (Bradley Shrimpton) and the Head of IBEN (Marjie Lope) to perform discourse analysis upon the IBEN course for both doctoral research and (non-commercial) publishing purposes.

5) DATA EXPOSITION

'organizational changes are also sort of changes in philosophy about ways in which the people immediately outside of the payroll on the IB are going to be engaged with as part of that community, and I think the strategy was to be very… uhm, surgical almost in ways in which people were engaged…. And it feels like that [intentionally shifting away from a networked organisational structure] and so that means that people like myself probably are not going to have the opportunity and access to the organization like we might have been able to 10 years ago.' (Jacob)

Within the exploratory-to-explanatory, narrative mode to this research, the framing of what might otherwise be called a 'FINDINGS' section around 'DATA EXPOSITION' is most apt. To 'exposit' is to describe and explain in discourse; in the arts the 'exposition' is the part of the movement in which the principal themes are presented. By contrast, in senses both denotive and conative, 'Findings' suggests something much more positivist – indeed, it evokes the dualism this project has laboured to avoid. As in the earlier discussion of Plato's analogy of the cave – where there is a truth about the nature of being (that the scholar, or the man of philosophy/science, can decipher) behind the mere shadow-dance of day-to-day 'reality' is perhaps the ultimate illusion from the Foucauldian perspective herein; there is no (singular, universal) truth to be 'found'. Instead, in the Heideggerian tradition from which practice theory emerges, we simply are what we do and say, and if that involves projecting shapes onto cave walls so be it; we can *exposit* the manner in which the technology of these projections function: that is not to posit that there is anything primordial or more 'truthful' about the source of these projections. This denial of dualism, of any ontological primacy to human reason is precisely the foundation upon which the Foucauldian toolkit here rests – and so the further problematization of IB discourses is a processual (data) *exposition*, rather than a static set of 'Findings'.

5.1 THE CASE STUDY CRITICALLY EXAMINED: THE NEOLIBERAL CORPORATIZATION OF THE IB

5.1.1 THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE'S ORGANIZATIONAL ORIGINS AND GROWTH: PRAGMATISM VS IDEOLOGY; EXPANSIONISM VS INTERNATIONALISM

The IB first emerged as an internationally recognized curriculum model and (examination based) credential supporting university admissions for 16-19-year-old (international school) students: the IB Diploma Programme (IBDP). Former Deputy Director General turned-researcher in International Education (with a distinct, as indicated above, pro-IB leaning) Dr Ian Hill acknowledges that 'the IB[DP] came about for ideological, utilitarian and pedagogical reasons' (Hill, 2002, p.20). However, as pointed-out by Bunnell in his review of the changing relationship between international schools and international curricula (2015), Hill downplays the pragmatic element here – and instead emphasizes the IB's ideological and pedagogical reasons, which are so central to its Mission and associated organizational identity. The International School of Geneva

is extremely significant, as both the primary site of the original formation of the curriculum model from which the IB emerged, but also as in many ways exemplary of so many international schools in their haste to adopt (a) curriculum (such as that) provided by the IB: 'Traditionally, alongside the obvious ideological and pragmatic needs, schools such as International School of Geneva … had three very practical and technical needs: a need for internal unity (which was also a very real financial need); a need for external cohesion; and a need for belonging to a 'system'' (Bunnell, 2015, p.330). Bunnell goes on to describe how the creation/adoption of such was not merely a choice but, moreover, identified retrospectively (1972) by then Director of Oxford University's Department of Educational Studies Alec Peterson – one of the original developers of the IBDP design and the IB's first Director General – as a practical imperative:

> Peterson (1972) had made it very clear that the need at Ecolint [aka International School of Geneva] for the creation of a unifying teaching programme was not only pedagogical (i.e. the need for a world history course), or useful, i.e. the need for an educational 'Nansen passport' (the internationally recognized identity card first issued by the League of Nations to stateless refugees), providing an internationally recognized access to university, but was an issue of mere [organizational] survival (Bunnell, 2015, p.331)

The IB's origins, then, saw the organization registered in Geneva, Switzerland with its curriculum and assessment centre being based in Cardiff, Wales. With the IB's aforementioned emphasis of its ideological and pedagogical (vs pragmatic) impetus for its inception notes, its own visualization of the timeline for the early years of organizational development are usefully expressed in the timeline below:

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Figure 5-0-1: Timeline of the early years of the IBs organizational development - from *The History of the IB* (IB, https://www.ibo.org/globalassets/digital-toolkit/presentations/1711-presentation-history-of-the-ib-en.pdf)

Building the foundations of the IB: 1962 - 1975

1962
- Atlantic College founded
- International Schools Association (ISA) conference of teachers of social studies recommends that International Passport to Higher Education be called "International Baccalaureate", following Bob Leach report

1968
- IB Organization registered in Geneva

1970
- First official IB Diploma Programme exams taken by students at 12 schools from 10 countries – including two state schools (Germany and France)

1970 - 1980
- Recognition of the IB programmes negotiated in many countries

1975
- North American Regional Office opens in New York

The IB grew quickly, averaging a 15% annual growth pre-2000 (Sobulis, 2005), though with an initially pronouncedly European base – typically more than half of the schools right up until the 1980s being based in Europe – with sporadic and unevenly distributed growth globally. This growth rate has settled through the 2000s at approximately 10% annual growth. The IB's statistical growth is summarized in Figure 5.2.
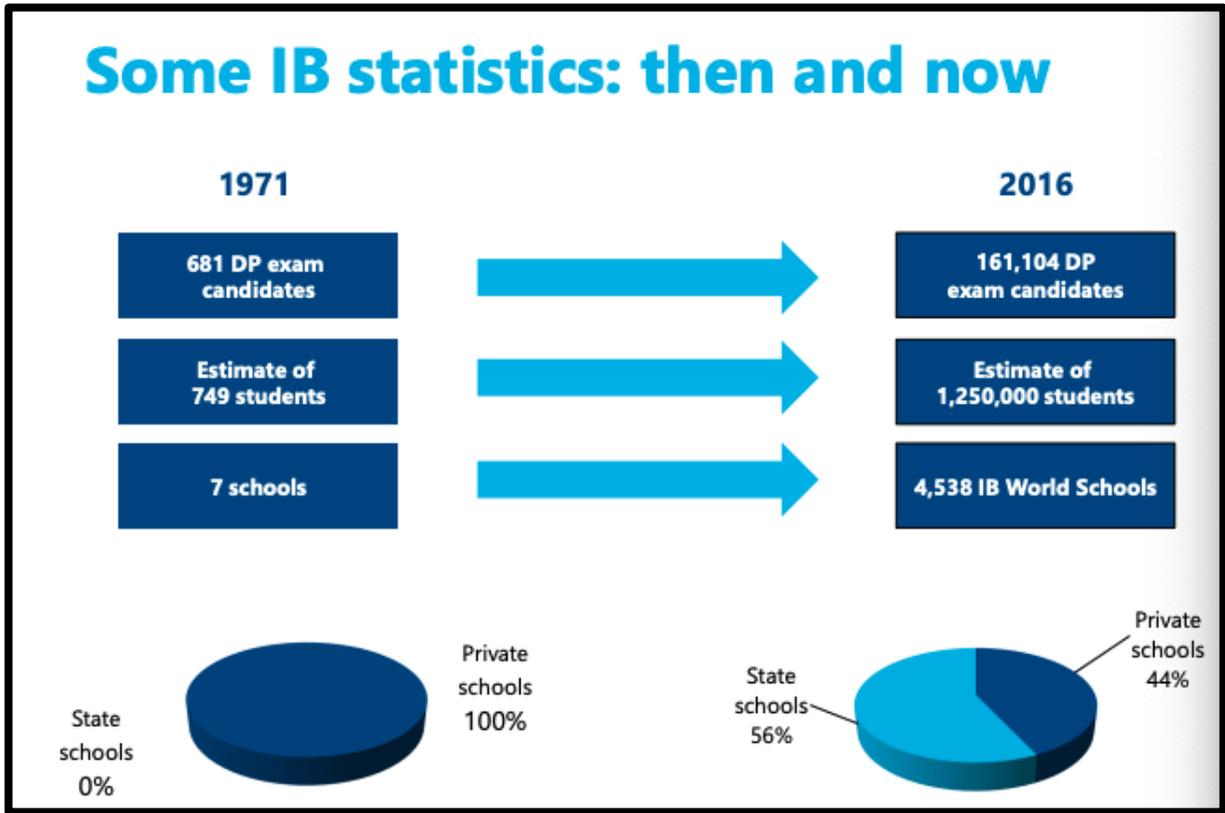
Various milestones within their breadth of network development (such as the opening of regional offices globally), and their breadth of curricular scope (such as the development of programme models for different ages and foci through the K-12 range) are detailed in the further timeline, below.

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Figure 5-0-3: Timeline of the later phases of the IBs organizational development - adapted from The History of the IB *(IB, https://www.ibo.org/globalassets/digital-toolkit/presentations/1711-presentation-history-of-the-ib-en.pdf)*
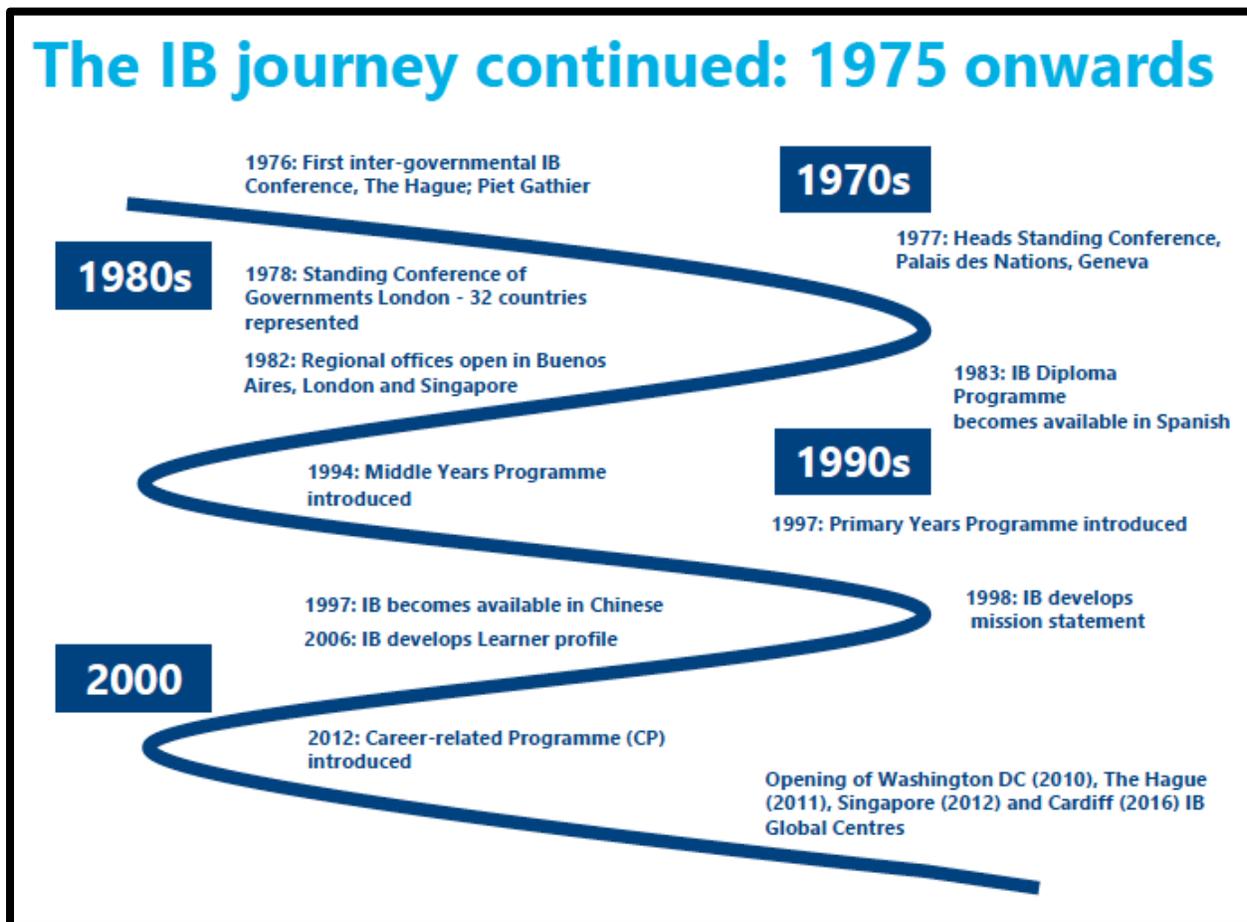
Buried within both this statistical overview and the timeline are some pronounced growth disparities, and some pertinent facts in considering the development of the institutional character of the IB.

With the opening of the North American regional Office in New York in 1975, various significant changes started to characterize both the organizational and network growth. As the graphic available from the IB's public website in Figure 5.3 indicates, there has been a pronounced shift away from the traditional (private) international school, towards a majority of IB schools now being state schools. Driven, Bunnell compellingly argues, by 'general random and opportunistic expansion… The IB has benefited from the decentralized nature of education in the United States [and the receipt of] federal funding of 2003' (Bunnell, 2010). This (majority) of State schools comes overwhelmingly, then, from the United States, who by the early 2000s constituted a

majority of IBDP examination candidates (i.e. students attempting to graduate from the IB Diploma), and currently more than half of the number of schools worldwide as per Figure 5.4, also available from the IB's public website.

Figure 5-0-4: Number of IB programmes offered in different countries from About the IB; Facts and Figures

Number of schools offering IB programmes

On 10 December 2020, there were 7,232 programmes being offered worldwide, across 5,402 schools in 158 countries.

Number of IB programmes offered in different countries

Number of IB programmes taught in each region

- The Americas — 50.8%
- Africa, Europe, Middle East — 28%
- Asia-Pacific — 21.2%
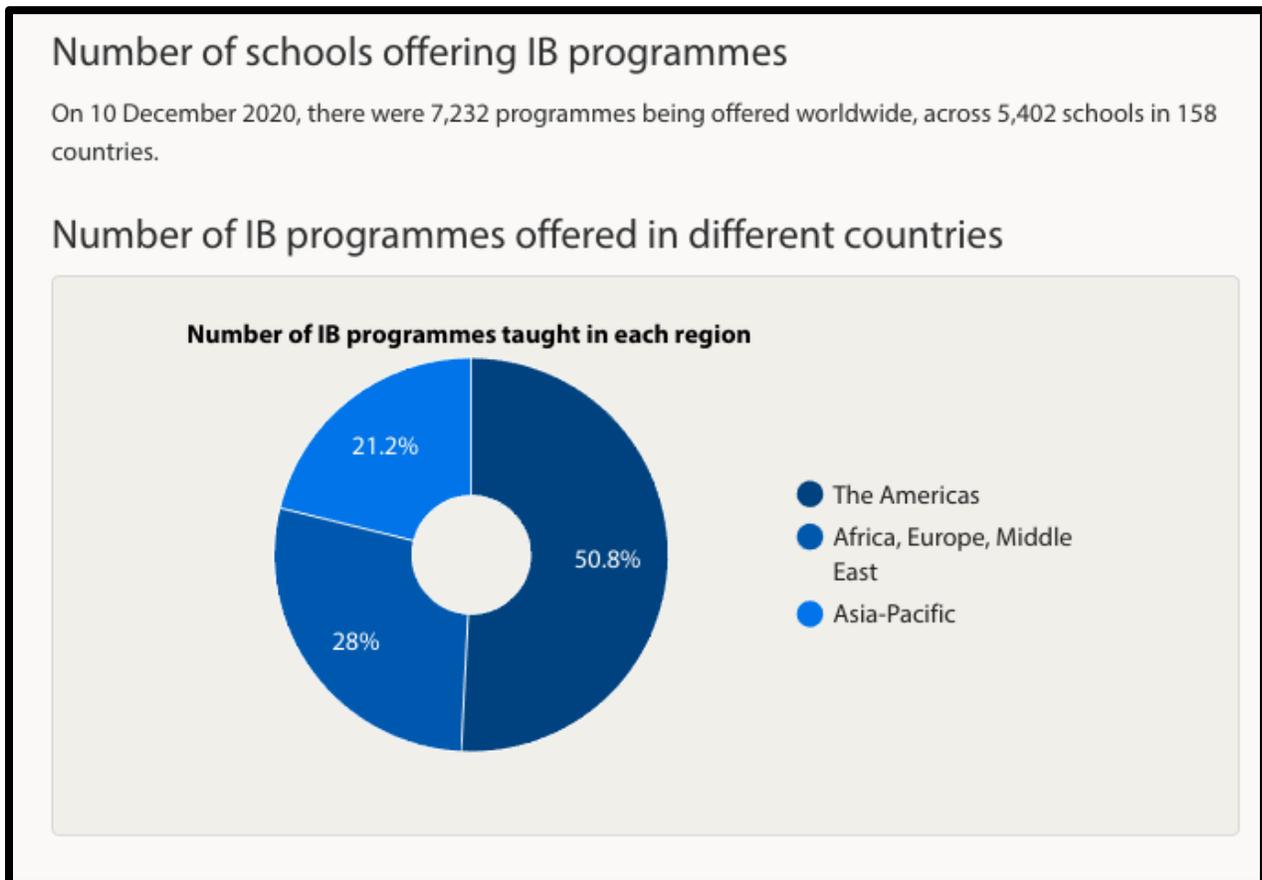
In the above article, his (2010) eponymous study of this trajectory for 'The International Baccalaureate in the United States: From Relative Inactivity to Imbalance' Bunnell (2010) cites a 2006 IBO strategic planning publication that articulates a push towards 'wider access' to their programmes, which they certainly achieved. The statistics depicted above indicate that such trends in organizational growth continue, with more than 50% of IB schools globally being based in the US. Bunnell highlights the challenges this poses for 'the ability of the program to remain politically neutral, and the ability of the program to remain international and not take on an American persona' (p.1). Moreover, and with reference back to the aforementioned IBO strategic planning publications additional stated goal of its planned growth 'maintaining its quality - the reliability

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and consistency of its programs' alongside 'the notion of it being international' Bunnell concludes his study by remarking that this appears to be 'almost impossible - and, arguably, rhetorically Utopian.' (Bunell, 2010). This North American leaning in IB network and organizational growth continues. Revisiting and expanding the topic to the growth of 'International Schooling' in 2020, Bunnell identifies that – further to the additional complex phenomena of exponential growth into such regions as China – international schooling more broadly has 'doubled', and is authentically 'big business… bringing in a fee-income of USD51.8 bn' annually – highlighting that 'the arena is now ripe for sociological inquiry' (Bunnell, 2020). The ensuing discourse analysis of organizational artefacts with key process and product outcomes, alongside more longitudinally in-depth phenomena – such as the lives of institutional actors – is clearly apt to such a nascent sociological inquiry.

5.1.2 THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE'S ONGOING PEDAGOGICAL GROWTH: INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF LEARNING AND THE IB AS A GLOBAL POLITICAL ACTOR.

The risks of moving away from its (social) constructivist origins and the IB's pedagogy being subsumed into a 'global product' as part of a broader 'institutional consolidation' are demonstrated by Wilkinson and Wilkinson's (2013) longitudinal analysis of the IB's hallmark Theory of Knowledge (TOK) programme. Present since the IB Diploma's inception, the TOK course is, in summary, a trans/inter-disciplinary framework and set of techniques through which students are facilitated in interconnecting all their learning and/with knowledge from the wider world. Haywood (2015) revisits the risks associated with such a course's subsumption to crude politics or institutionalization in *The Sage handbook of research in international education* (Hayden et al., 2015) helpfully describing how the course's genesis which ' initially allowed a substantial amount of freedom in designing the course so that teachers could respond to the special circumstances of their students in each class, a flexibility founded on the belief that the teacher–student relationship is fundamental to the formation of values' has incrementally ceded this relative pedagogical flexibility to 'the perceived need for TOK to have a recognizable content and a consistent, objective assessment format [which] has led to increasing constraints on the freedom of teachers and greater control by the IB curriculum authority.' Reminding ourselves that 'Examinations' are their primary global revenue source, Haywood's further observation that

As with TOK, other innovative pedagogical practices or assessment frameworks have become institutionalized in order to maintain brand identity and consistency in a global market where international schools need the recognition that using an accepted curriculum brings, and where consumers, from families to universities, expect uniformity in the way that assessment of learning leads to formal qualifications (Haywood, 2015, p.50)

is perhaps unsurprising. He additionally endorses Wilkinson and Wilkinson (2013) proposition 'that the ultimate risk of this consolidated institutionalization of learning is that the opportunity to develop values will be diminished' (p.50). Here, I would suggest, though, that these researchers may have all missed the most important point: the IB's management of curriculum is precisely oriented towards values; their institutionalization (of learning) processes are, if anything, increasingly valued-development oriented – that is to say, ideological. It is rather that the relative autonomy of the teacher-student dynamic in (pluralist, socially constructed) values development has been displaced – with those values now pre-scripted extrinsically by the IB.

To illustrate this, we can consider a brief case study of how the IB is explicitly concerned with the business of teaching values/ideology, and that these are themselves shaped by the context to their organizational growth and development. In keeping with their published tradition of reviewing their various curricula every seven years (IB, 'Curriculum Updates') the penultimate review of TOK began approximately concurrently with Bunnell's aforementioned (2010) publication exposing the densely politically contested growth of the IB in the United States. As he exposits in a more detailed argument published the previous year

'the IB has become enveloped in a wider 'culture war' emerging in the USA. Essentially, facing vociferous attacks from anti-globalist American paleoconservatives who (seemingly over-)identify the IB with inter-governmental organizations such as the UN – deriving globalist, 'Anti-American' (conspiracy) theories from such facts as 'A direct link between the IB and the UN [that] came about in 1996 within the framework of UNESCO's Programme for a Culture of Peace… [and] the fact that the IBO is one of 10 Patrons of the 'Alliance for International Education', an alliance formally began at a conference in Geneva in September 2002 (Bunnell, 2006)' (Bunnell, 2009, p.7).

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Explaining how such elements distinguishes the IB from other curricula such as the American A.P, Bunnell notes, of its American conservative opponents: 'A key theme of attack is the notion that the IB promotes universal values. DeWeese (2004b) attacked the 'code words' of the IB, such as: critical thinking; social justice; and human rights. Commentators on international education identify this as the 'vocabulary' (e.g. Walker, 2002)' (Bunnell, 2009, p.68-69) and it is identifiable within the IB Learner Profile (IBO, 2006b) and – indeed – the aforementioned IB Mission, of which the IB Learner Profile is intended to be exemplary.

Interestingly, while Bunnell (2009) extensively details who the IB's opponents in this US 'emerging culture war' are, as he does its international allies and the 'alliance building implications' (p.7), scant attention is paid to who the IB's US allies might be – aside from an acknowledgement that such paleoconservative critics may well be directing their energies as much at the federal government itself as at the IB, which then merely serves as a government proxy, being a receipt of federal funding. Although his article does begin by describing the broader political context where '1990s socio-political commentators (e.g. Wolfe, 1998) declared the USA being in the midst of a deeply divisive 'culture war' within intellectual ''Middle America', much of which appears to distrust the system as representing their moral beliefs' (Bunnell, 2009, p.62), Bunnell ultimately pays little attention to precisely the character of the United States ideology with which the IB *is* aligning itself. In the contemporary (post?-)Trump American political landscape, it appears that Bunnell may have participated in the same liberal-globalist intellectual hubris that led to such Middle-American disenfranchisement as the election and ensuing disastrous presidency of such a president as Trump demonstrated: an unwillingness to critically examine the nature of (intellectual neo-) liberalism.

To return to the case-in-point, however, the concurrent review and implementation of their TOK curriculum model demonstrated precisely which liberal-globalist American ideological 'vocabulary', to use Walker's (above) shorthand, the IB was aligning itself with. The preceding TOK curriculum, last assessed in 2014 (*My IB*) identified only four 'Ways of Knowing' (WOK) (reason, language, emotion and sense perception) and six 'Areas of Knowledge' (AOK) (conventional academic subject areas) in keeping, perhaps, with its critical-thinking oriented, secular Eurocentric origins. Contrastingly, the new TOK 'vocabulary' (Walker, 2002), published in 2012 for first examination 2015, was decidedly North-American liberal. Alongside WOK

'Faith' and the AOK of 'Religious Knowledge Systems', we also see the emergence of 'Indigenous Knowledge Systems'; both highly contested elements of American culture (and epistemology), 'Indigenous Knowledge Systems' – in particular – historically having far less interest or perceived relevance to European intellectual inquiry and history. Such observations are made here in a value-neutral manner[14]: they merely serve to indicate that discourse analysis of the IB's (ongoing re-)construction of curriculum is precisely oriented towards values-based education; and that this institutionalization (of learning) processes is contingent upon the IB as itself a global political actor.

5.1.3 THE CONTESTED CONCEPT OF *INTERNATIONAL MINDEDNESS*

The framework(s) of institutional theory brings a much-needed rigour to researching IB international school phenomena. Particularly pertinent to the case of the IB is in the aforementioned concept of 'international mindedness', a ubiquitous and protean signifier beloved of international school mission, vision and value statements, and IB authorization and accreditation documentation – and generally assumed to be both meaningful and attainable, while rarely being usefully defined. As Hill notes in his introduction to the topic of 'The History and Development of International Mindedness' for the *Sage Handbook of Research in International Education* (Hayden et al, 2015), 'an underlying assumption of this chapter [and, indeed, of much of both the professional and research fields] is that the product of successful international education is international mindedness (IM), therefore the terms are used interchangeably'. (Hill, 2015, p. 28).

Hill and other champions of the concept are usefully critiqued in 'International Mindedness and Its Enemies' by Haywood, appearing in the same Sage Handbook. Associating its emergence with the networked, pluralist organizational field from which it has emerged, Haywood identifies 'the emergence of a term that has come closest of all to convergence in this maelstrom of perspectives – and that term is 'international mindedness'.' (Haywood, 2017). One of Bunnell's

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[14] Pedagogically, as a TOK teacher myself, I rather liked these inclusions: the more culturally contingent, contestable elements to this TOK framework lent it to more provocative inquiry with my students. Interestingly, however, in this year's TOK curriculum review publication – perhaps coinciding with less North American senior leadership in the IB organisation and/or a retreat from the frontline of these 'culture wars' – these religious faith and indigenous culture derived elements of the core TOK framework disappeared.

most recent publications (2019), mobilizes an institutionalization framework to explore a tangible phenomenon associated with 'international mindedness': the ''Several Fs', or sometimes 'Five Fs' (flags, festivals, food etc.)' which act 'as significant 'purveyors of organisational identity'…give[ing] considerable legitimacy to a school's claim to be 'internationally-minded', acting as 'carriers of institutionalization'.

Describing its ubiquity throughout the international school world, Haywood also identifies the manner in which the academic field of international education (uncritically) perpetuates this organizational field phenomena as the concept of international mindedness, 'Promoted with conviction by Ian Hill (2000, 2012), [it] has become enshrined in the IB (2012, 2014) curriculum models and it is used freely by other curriculum and qualification providers with whom the IB could be considered to be in competition, such as the International Primary Curriculum (IPC, 2014)' (Haywood, 2015,). Professional publications are also shown to be active participants in (or *carriers of*, we might say) this widespread institutionalization of 'international mindedness': '[e]xemplary of the suggestion that it should be a goal for all international schools, recent issues of the IS (International School) magazine (2014a, 2014b) carry a series of themed articles on 'Promoting international mindedness' and 'How internationally minded is your school?' (Haywood, 2015, p.46). Demonstrating with reference to empirical studies such as Clause (2011) that, despite its ubiquity and the high levels of convergence in the term's usage, 'attempts to define international mindedness have never been entirely convincing (Clause, 2011), especially when the underlying presumptions and premises are deconstructed', Haywood's (2015) work suggests the ongoing need for the turning of a critical lens towards such *discursive institutions*, then, as international mindedness.

5.1.4 THE IB'S AUTHORIZATION PROCESS

Also published in 2019, Bunnell, Fertig and James explored another (set of) carrier(s) – through 'the effect that the institutionalization forces required by the 'IB World School' (p.241) authorisation process has on the identity of experienced teachers'. Having myself participated in multiple of these – both representing schools (as their 'IB Coordinator') and the IB themselves (as a short-term contract / consultant 'School Visitor') – I recognize their description of this institutionalization process as being 'powerful' and 'coercive', and more broadly that 'teachers clearly feel a constant pressure to conform to the IB's requirements' (p254). (Bunnell, Fertig &

James, 2019, p.254). Yet I also recognize their observation that 'the sense of coercion… may be an unintended consequence of the process of establishing institutional legitimacy' (p.241).

Building upon their aforementioned exposition of the provision of an (IB) international curriculum as the primary institutional task for an international school to achieve institutional legitimacy, Bunnell, Fertig & James (2019) exposited the following:

> Provision of the IB curriculum was thus the institutional primary task and being an authorised IB World School (IBO, 2018) required the school and the teachers who worked in it to conform to a specific and detailed set of standards. Here we see the forces of the regulatory pillar (Scott, 2014) at work in influencing the teachers' identity. However, such is the nature of these regulatory forces, they also had a powerful effect structuring the normative pillar (Scott, 2014) – the ideals, principles, customs and the expected and routine practices that help to form a distinctive modus operandi. (Bunnell, Fertig & James, 2019, p254)

The authors additionally identify the manner in which the cultural-cognitive pillar is coerced and 'were also struck by the role of artefacts in reinforcing the regulatory and normative institutionalising forces' (Scott, 2014). IB-created artefacts, such as its Philosophy Statement, Mission Statement and the Learner Profile, displayed prominently around the school and within each classroom, acted as powerful conformity symbols' (p255). Yet they note the overwhelming absence of any resentment of these conformity conditioning elements to the prevailing environment/culture. The IB, then, might be considered to be both exceptionally effective in this shaping of the cultural-cognitive pillar of institutionalization, and – particularly since the human actors do not resent their coercion – demanding of further study. This is perhaps particularly so since, elsewhere, in making the case for 'Bringing institutionalization to the fore in educational organisational theory: Analysing International Schools as institutions' in a publication of that title, these same authors 'argue that those responsible for establishing the legitimacy of their schools, will be least challenged by ensuring compliance with the regulative pillar, and most challenged by ensuring conformance to the cultural-cognitive pillar' (Bunnell, Fertig & James, 2016, p.1). In summary then, their recent work appears to converge on the case that institutionalization is the most useful lens for examining the organisational field of international schools, and that this lens

demonstrates the unique institutional and organizational identity and value of the IB. Moreover, while some of their research into the IB avoids critical breadth in its adherence to the neo-institutionalist academic traditions, such papers as the immediately above at least present both the rich potential for institutionalist inquiry in this field, and the need for an agile and exploratory research methodology – a Foucauldian critical breadth – to penetrate its discourses, practices and artefacts.

5.2   LIFE STORIES OF IB INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION CARRIERS

5.2.1   KASHVI, HEAD OF MATHEMATICS DEPARTMENT, YYY INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL, THAILAND

Kashvi was born in Mumbai in the early 70's, growing up in a middle-class household in socialist India. 'It was a metropolitan potpourri of different cultures you were aware of. I mean any Mumbaikar would speak at least three languages; three or four languages, comfortably so' (Kashvi). Kashvi and I share that, much like my own North London childhood, being 'middle-class' here wasn't about financial wealth: it meant placing a certain value on education and culture. After some further good-humoured sharing of commonality of experience, when she speaks of the Hindu faith as not being prophet-based, I quip: 'Sometimes I've heard it joked about as a million gods looking for a universe'.

Her answer is informative:

> Yeah it is a million Gods! That's basically because you thank everything that enters your life. So I would thank even the snake; we have a day celebrating the snake. So, the Cobra snakes are even thanked because they also contribute positively to the environment: anything that brings about balance in your life and in your world is worshipped. (Kashvi)

Kashvi has a strong sense of culture and personal philosophy. The other element here, of course is institutional: ritual and celebration. The place of these, alongside family cohesion and appreciation for education – an emergent theme – is also discussed as she speaks compellingly of ethics and principles.

So life was rich in colour and culture, if not in raw material assets. Kashvi describes only getting a new set of clothes once yearly – but this being normal, part of being a middle-class person

in India at this time. Describing herself as an average student at school, the middle-child of three in a family of academic high-achievers, Kashvi – with a sparkle in her eyes – talks of herself as a playful child: 'just having fun was very important!'. She shares the crude ranking system of the Indian education system at that time, an inheritance of the British Raj – where you received a ranking against the other 75 students in your class. Though placing in the top 15 of her class, Kashvi describes how 'I was the one who struggled more or less in school, relatively speaking' – against siblings who typically ranked in the top 3 of their respective cohorts. We discuss the broader scarcity-driven competition of the Indian public education system at this time – where for a population of 1,000,000, you would be competing for places in typically 100 or so schools. And then fighting to keep your place until graduation at year 10. All of which was against a background of complex multilingualism that often, as in Kashvi's case, worked-against those who came from other regions in India – she spoke the dialect of Tamil with her family in keeping with their South-Indian origins.

Her pedagogical strengths as a Maths teacher – working with Kashvi I know how popular and trusted she is by her students – emerged early.

> I was tutoring from Grade 6 in Maths and Science; that was the means of income for me and I always felt very awkward asking my parents for any money. Yeah, and the consciousness of finance was ingrained in us right from the beginning because Dad, once he saw that we were earning, he said "you can't keep it in your purse and expect that it will grow". So he taught us about banking, and he opened us bank accounts and we, all three of us, would sincerely stand in the queue… my father was a bank manager. (Kashvi)

She spoke more of her father's creative aspirations – he enjoyed painting – but the pragmatic necessity of providing for their family in hard financial times that had pushed him into a secure role working for the government. How he found himself in the role of patriarch in a household of five brothers and their wives and children – all in an 80-metre apartment – early in his adult life.

She speaks of, alongside education, the inevitably social nature of such a childhood:. 'Sharing the space; busy taking care of our cousins, helping them do their homework, doing our homework in the meantime.' Of how, when any new *Enid Blyton*, *Hardy Boys* or *Chandamama Magazine* made its way into the household from scarce pocket-money saved 'We would be like vultures'; jostling for position amongst siblings and cousins as they swooped hungrily upon these

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children's stories.

Then, in the Grade 10 public examination, your academic and career path was determined. Arts and Social Sciences for those who did not do well in the exam (as her English Literature teaching colleague, I can tell Kashvi rather relishes sharing this!); the middle section was commerce; the top scoring students entered the Maths and Science programme.

So Kashvi entered the Maths and Science programme, en route – she hoped – for medical school; the pinnacle of the next phase of assessment: graduation in Grade 12 and your university pathway. And here she encountered her first great challenge; her first great disenchantment with the societal institutions around her.

> I was planning on doing dentistry. Yeah, because I didn't want to be a surgeon; cutting and chopping humans! But I was very much interested in dentistry and… then my mother sat me down and she said: "Two years down the line, you have your brother coming up. I want him to be an engineer. If I put the money right now for your medical studies, I don't think I can afford to send him to be an engineer". And for the first time ever I heard the reality in my family: that a boy is more important than a girl. And she said "You're a girl. You'll get married and go to another family and they will benefit out of your education and not us." (Kashivi)

Acknowledging that she knew that this was a societal institution – that her mother was 'not a villain', indeed that she, and her four sisters were 'feminists' – nonetheless Kashvi describes how 'I was in a state of shock for a while… I mean a *while*. Around two or three months. But the next best thing that because I couldn't get into dentistry was to take up microbiology.'

And Kashvi plunged into this world of learning in a pattern that will become familiar through several life stories: at some point in their learning journey (here, it was graduation from the rote-learning style 'Junior College), the world of experiential, inquiry-based learning opens-up as an exciting and engaging alternative to institutionalized mediocrity. With weekly lab-based assessments, they were being prepared to become researchers – with case studies rooted in real-life challenges. She describes the invigorating competition amongst herself and her peers as they took ownership of their own successes and competed for the top spot in these weekly inquiry-based 'labs'. Of being the first cohort to challenge the received wisdoms of their professors and – once – even bunking-off class to go watch the movie 'Tango and Cash'! – but foremost of being deeply engaged by the learning environment.

But one important reflection does emerge from this: that it was in mastery of this challenging learning environment, and knowing that she and her top-performing peers could have gone different pathways enabled their creativity and risk-taking within, and occasional rebellion from, its institutions.

Intellectually restless, Kashvi avoided further narrowing of her academic specialism with a lateral move at the Masters level: studying Analytic Chemistry. She does describe experiencing a more narrowly institutionalized world here – studying within a women's college in here first experience of gender-segregated learning. Expressing a distaste for the 'meanness' that often-accompanied competition and rebellion in this environment, as opposed to the gentle playfulness that had always characterised her experience of boundary-testing in 'co-ed' education, this is another instance where she shows critical awareness how such societal institutions shaped behaviours – but how a particular form of institutional decoupling would be distinct with such distinctive institutions:

> Yeah, there is some amount of meanness associated with that [girls-only educational model]. They just like to defy, and they go to such extreme means of defying the society, the parents and the set up on the system that you're like thinking: 'Oh my God it's why are you doing this.' (Kashvi)

And, indeed, how in such a context – alongside the more (ultimately conformist) decoupling created by such segregation, there might also be more overt pressures toward challenging the organizational institutions themselves:

> When you say something and because they are all segregated into their own cliques, you expect that when you say something it will be harmless. Then, you suddenly find all of these cliques joined together and rebelling as a whole, which happened with our Chemistry department. (Kashvi)

While these observations are, of course, retrospective, Kashvi does share that she was unanimously elected General Secretary of her college – and I suggest that perhaps her (more petty-minded, institutionalized) peers recognized the critical distance she had from these as someone paying her way through college with tutoring jobs and supporting her family: 'Maybe your peers recognized that… multitasking kind of managerial competence?' Kashvi (with whom I have occasionally butted-heads in leadership of YYY International School) immediately good-naturedly quips back: 'Or maybe I was ferocious and bullied them right from the beginning?' But

(as with our occasional head-butting) we acknowledge the commonly understood truth here: she does possess a world-wise competence that greatly informs her approach to organizational life.

Via discussion of a colleague in the leadership team with whom neither of have much patience – a PhD who is a very opinionated 'disruptive innovator' but lacks the depth of classroom experience that Kashvi identifies as underpinning our person-centred approach to leadership. Via this 'problematisation', we circle talk through the concept of creativity and competence working from within (educational) institutions. Discussing how, through the decades of working within these, we have learned how to push at their boundaries in an efficient yet person-centred fashion. Within this dialogue, Kashvi's arrival in the IB world also unfolds; and how, once there, recognizing that it matched her personal and educational philosophy, she made the bold decision of leaving India and travelling to work in the international sector as a single woman-of-colour with two young children.

This came about through her professional growth and international credentialism at her first IB School – EEE International School, the most prestigious international school in Mumbai, associated with the American embassy: 'so it was at the gates of the school. I was leaving India behind and entering the US.' Arriving with the new head of school, a dynamic, youthful academic, we share how such appointments can be invigorating, as we can have a sense of personal and organizational growth aligned with our leader (I share similar former experience as TOK Coordinator at a top IB school in Bangkok with another of our life story subjects – Jacob).

As our discussion moves towards the reality of delivering the curriculum and – in particular – supporting students academically and experientially in the challenging external assessments for the IB Diploma, Kashvi presents a potent example of this person-centred approach being built upon the back of deep curricular and pedagogical expertise:

> 'This is what I tell my students. I say: "This is another standardized test. If you know what are the rules for writing a standardized test, once you ace that, you ace the paper, it has got nothing to do with your intelligence. When it's a standardized exam, if you know how to crack a paper and how to read a question,
> there you go. You get your seven [full marks]. Yeah, so that's what I tell my students and it's healthy.'

And then, she concludes with an acknowledgement of the disconnect between this standardized assessment-oriented pragmatism – however humane in her delivery – and the institutional

legitimacy of the IB. 'But… it conflicts with the IB philosophy, and the MYP philosophy more so.'

I play sceptic, suggesting that this might be more about brand identity than true pedagogy. Kashvi responds with a brilliant paraphrasing of Foucault's description of governmentality being a mode of authority that functions like a family – with its 'problematisations', its marginal cases, still being part of its identity:

> So it is playing both ways. I mean it is still being a business-churning model and it is still trying to uphold the standards and its philosophy and… Let's take the example of a family. Yeah, you have the patriarch having the morals, the standards, everything high, but it is not necessary Every member within the family would follow the same. You will have that drunk, a drunkard uncle. You will have that gambling person in your family. Some black sheep. Who would definitely defy stretch the standard but… they are there. I mean, that doesn't make them any less of your family, but they are there to make you aware of things that could be done differently. That's not straightforward enough in life, and you either join it if you wish to, or you don't join it, but realize what could be the consequences through these differences within it.

5.2.2   ABBIE, MYP COORDINATOR, WWW INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL, THAILAND.

Abbie grew up in a middle-class family in Taiwan. Born in 1978, she came-of-age through the 80's and 90's as Taiwan itself rapidly became a world-class economy – of which she takes pride. With characteristic concision and directness, she describes how 'in the culture we grew up with, basically you have to work hard, and if you work hard, have a good education then that's sort of the guarantee that you will have a better future'. Archetypically far-Eastern aspirational, she describes this childhood as one of cramming for exams and seeing success at school, and so university, as the only pathway to a better life – with America and the West as representing the best of this better life.

Growing up in a small town she had no exposure to direct foreign influence outside of Western media – with the messaging they received thus being, as she expresses it '…only Western people can live a good life… you know the icon or the characters in the advertisement they are

[modelling the] Western lifestyle; so that's being illustrated as a sign for success'.

When asked about her pathway into international education – emergent from these broader aspirations towards the West – Abbie's response is almost bashful: 'I actually wanted to become a flight attendant because that's where the pathway for going to visit different countries was.' Now in her early forties, immaculately composed and projecting a reassuring confidence, not without warmth – but foremost business – you can imagine an 18-year old Abbie formulating precisely such logical, visible plans for a pathway to this world of aspirational Westernised success.

But – as an obedient daughter in a middle-class Confucian-Heritage-Culture household – she followed her mother's guidance, completed her teacher certification, and so found herself with the opportunity to work as an exchange teacher in a government-sponsored project to support the families of Taiwanese corporate workers in Thailand, within a Thai Chinese International School just at the turn of the century, as a fresh graduate of 21 years old.

Abbie describes how 'that's my first interaction with the foreigner actually: working, and that's the first time you realize there's all sorts of different personalities; all sorts of different lifestyles'. She was quickly disabused of her culturally insulated childhood's one-dimensional '*West is best'* media-based impression of Westerners by Bangkok's diverse 'ex-pat' scene. So this first employment opportunity opened the door to working internationally, but was hardly inspirational. This follows a trend from her childhood; attending a top-ranked university to study Chinese literature, the educational experience was relatively uninspiring – traditional transmissive learning, where 'I certainly do not think my professor knows my name'. Moreover, Abbie's energies were elsewhere – working part-time to support her family through financial hardship. Her relationship with – or, we might say, her philosophy of – education, both as student and teacher, thus far, is a very reasonable and pragmatic one: this is how you earn money, this is how you advance in the world.

Abbie describes a pragmatic but uninspiring vocation in this first position in Bangkok: 'Taiwanese businessmen are working overseas, OK, so funding was given by the government. So… you have to use the textbook imported directly from Taiwan, so that these people, their children; they can go back to continue with K-to-12 education when they return back to Taiwan… and so I had a one-year contract, and then I've off to my country. I have absolutely no passion for teaching at all.' Knowing Abbie as an inspirational middle-leader and curriculum designer through the IBEN network and by reputation, this seems incongruous. But this is the prelude; the

institutionally grey background from which the IB's progressive model will spring to life in glorious technicolour, for Abbie.

'So I… I went to England to become a volunteer for a year…. That was the best experience I ever had.' And here Abbie starts to become animated. She shares how she worked within a small government-sponsored specialist boarding-school that used technology to augment the holistic learning experiences of students with moderate-to-severe speech problems. Working with the technology available at the time – she describes how they used a joystick-controlled platform innovatively to facilitate non-verbal communication – 'the most impactful experience was just the care and patience they had for the kids… it's really amazing to see how kids [who] are not able to verbally communicate, are able to connect with the staff.'

We discussed how the theoretical models for such student-centred, progressive work – kinaesthetic multimodal stimulation technologies, holistic learning, social and emotional aspects of learning supporting inclusion – if addressed at all in her studies in education to that point 'seemed very remote from the reality of what I was doing in the classroom.' Moreover, 'That I wasn't thinking [like this]; I didn't make any connection at all, I was 22 years old. This is my experience; I'm just enjoying it. I wasn't really making specific connections to 'education'.

Then, the year ended, and an opportunity opened up at CCC International School, Bangkok, via a colleague and friend from her work there the previous year. 'She said "we have an opening, a brand-new school. It's an *IB* school." I mean, I don't even know what that is, what is an "IB school"?! So, I flew back for an interview and I got a job.'

Employed as an IB Primary Years Programme (PYP) teacher in a bilingual (Chinese and English) programme, building on the appreciation for student-centred work that had been cultivated by her work in the UK, 'At that time, yeah, I realized like "that's how you're supposed to learn", and I guess that's where I begin to become fascinated with education. And it… it completely revolutionized how I perceive what learning is supposed to be.'

Describing challenges alongside personal and professional growth through the ambitious bilingual 'immersion' model being implemented at CCC International School, Abbie remained there for six years, forming a core part of the team that developed the IB Middle Years Programme (MYP) programme as the school grew from elementary into middle years – becoming the Head of Chinese early in her time working there. We shared a commonality of experience in incrementally assuming leadership responsibility almost because you had to: you were the most competent

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person available in a growing system; if you didn't take-on the role, it would not be done competently. She also shared wishing that she had been privileged to such an educational experience when growing-up: 'So from there after a couple of years you kind of feel like "I want to teach other people to do this". This type of approach; it's better for learning, it's healthy, you know? Happy for teacher, happy for students.'

Unfolding in parallel with Abbie's professional narrative is the personal; the core theme that unites these narrative strands might well be shorthanded as 'international mindedness'. Meeting the American man who would become her husband through the international school scene in her first year in Bangkok:

> Cultural understanding came about through my partner and, you know, through
> how the way we talk about Western and Chinese cultures and how are they
> different and similar… And they started to merge together… I guess that's a very
> profound influence on me in terms of how I view Western cultures and how I
> reflect on Taiwanese culture and kind of "reformed identities". (Abbie)

And then, as so often in Abbie's life story, a pragmatic decision coincided with her career development and she left CCC international school to join her husband at what would remain their employ these last fifteen years – WWW International School, Bangkok. Enjoying shared holidays, it was the birth of their first child that precipitated this move.

Starting initially as a teacher, enjoying the break from leadership – 'I was kind of tired of dealing with the teachers… I want to just be a teacher; to enjoy teaching again' – in her second year, she found herself moving into the leadership team, again, almost of necessity. We discussed the politics of working alongside her partner – her husband works as the Secondary School Principal – and she is quick to assert that the Head of School was always her interviewer and evaluator. Describing how hard they worked to establish clear and appropriate boundaries in this respect, Abbie nonetheless describes how 'There are a couple of different challenges [as she moved through middle leadership positions and ultimately assumed the MYP Coordinator role]… One is I'm a woman and I'm Asian and, then, my husband is the Secondary School Principal.'

These challenges compounded that of leading the MYP itself; which Abbie and I discuss as being the most challenging of the IB's offerings to implement in many senses. Lacking the totally distinctive transdisciplinary character of the PYP, and the conventional academic rigour of the pre-university Diploma Programme (DP); the MYP, we agree, is the most difficult, pedagogically

nuanced programme to lead. As we touch on the challenges of leading staff in this paradigm, Abbie nods acknowledgement when I suggest – knowing Bangkok international schools – 'just in crude terms, who were the biggest challenges… like, white men?'

'I do have, uh, white men challenging me saying "you don't understand this" or "you don't get to tell me what to do" Abbie shares. But from this – admittedly difficult first year – she describes a process of personal and professional growth within a person-centred leadership paradigm; a 'collective approach' where she has learned to be 'mindful asking teachers input before we do things 'cause I learn from my lessons.' Asked whether some teachers simply don't get the MYP, Abbie speaks to her ability to see beyond the curriculum orthodoxies – the institutional character of the IB – to her belief that 'good teaching is good teaching: if they are teaching and students enjoy their teaching, then that is delivering what's required.' She expands on this sentiment to really make her person-centred approach to staff leadership explicit, describing an endeavour to support staff 'improving in their own way slowly…' But, as always in her narrative, a gravitation towards the person-centred and progressive is accompanied by a pragmatism about a pluralistic neoliberal world '…and if the people they really, really don't get it… then the school has already asked them to leave'.

Sharing that her own development as such a pragmatic, person-centred leader was driven by a growth-mindset, a willingness to learn from mistakes and share in this with her staff, alongside deep research and professional learning – I suggest to Abbie that such engaged commitment might be imperative to leading the MYP well: because it is such a challenging programme to lead; because it is a programme that I have rarely seen led well.

Abbie agrees with my exemplification of this: that Interdisciplinary Units of Work (IDU's) are not realized often in MYP implementation, though they are central to its conception. We have reached a good-humoured understanding of one-another – as both hard-working middle-leaders, committed to a model that we nonetheless do not see as unproblematic. So I share one of my more glib provocations: 'I think of the MYP as a bit like socialism: a beautiful dream; invariably, a bit of an administrative nightmare.'

Abbie responds with characteristic lucidity:

> I would say I would agree it's one of the most difficult among all the programs. I
> think it's the most difficult program to implement and the level of the professional
> development involved is incredible, and very often small schools don't have

enough time and resources for teachers to digest this. So, you ask them to teach

that many periods a week, and you're also asking to read that much

documentation: that's impossible, so you're consuming their cognitive bandwidth

all the time. (Abbie)

When probed as to how to resolve this problem, alongside balancing teacher's workloads optimally, Abbie opines:

'Yeah, I mean… "collaboration"… it's about the norms of the behaviours, and it's

the language they use, and it's about the professional learning goals each

individual brings to committees and meetings. What are they going to do? Are

they simply cooperating, or they are really collaborating?' (Abbie)

She also shares various discursive strategies – simple metaphors, analogous explanations – for demystifying the jargon of the MYP. And practice-based strategies: creating scheduled weeks in the year where the regular (subject specialist) lessons, assessments and associated institutional pressures (marks in gradebooks, appraisal by department leaders etc) and wider schedule are suspended – and the whole school is engaged in IDU's. In essence then: her strategy is to scaffold that 'cognitive bandwidth' rather than consume it: to support teachers as themselves learners, as themselves institutional actors subject to institutional pressures.

As the interview draws to a close, I share my admiration for Abbie's person-centred approach, and inquire as to whether I might put her in touch with my colleague Tracy at YYY International School, who has recently assumed the MYP Coordinator role. An incredibly hard-working, systematic thinker and professional, Tracy is currently somewhat overwhelmed by her perception of the scale of the task of MYP Coordination; intimidated by its regulative and normative institutional pillars. I suggest that she might benefit from some of the insights Abbie has shared with me. This elicits her most candid offering about the IB's organizational character, its programmes and practices, alongside a very interesting cultural-cognitive dimension: "I was like that in my early career, but now I'm not I… I'm a Buddhist now. I wasn't. I think the MYP has a lot of requirements. Some are reasonable, some are not.' From here, she leans into the cultural-cognitive dimension:

'At the beginning you have this mission-driven model… I think the people that take

on the leadership really are somehow very mission-driven. So you want to help

accomplish things that are definitely very overwhelming at the beginning…

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Then you take a step back, and now I think: a lot of documentation required by the
MYP is ridiculous. Right so, I trust my teachers, and then… gradually we add
details if they are better this year than last year, then we are meeting the goals.
(Abbie)

So, for Abbie, the cultural-cognitive pillar ultimately supports the organization in its
primary institutional task (Bunnell et al, 2016) as, with such humanistic, cultural-cognitive
alignment 'Everybody needs to be in the same place and I think that shows in our [IB] evaluation
process [at WWW International School]'. The patient, person-centred framing of a mature
professionalism, such as Abbie's, can support the cultivation of cultural cognitive alignment in the
school leadership of IB programmes. This dynamic mode of mature leadership can start to mitigate
the regulative and normative awkwardness of such programming as the MYP, with its IDU's and
proliferation of other, 'cognitive bandwidth' consuming acronym-laden elements. Particularly in
such a fast-moving, necessarily pragmatic sector, one cannot but ask: is it worth the cost?

5.2.3 DR. HARRIET, RETIRED INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL ELEMENTARY PRINCIPAL; RESEARCHER, WRITER AND BLOGGER ON SCHOOL WELLBEING

Born in Birmingham, UK, in the late 1960s, Dr Harriet was the first of her family to go to
university. Describing herself as clever and a relatively high-achiever – though never quite 'top of
the class' – Harriet particularly loved reading and writing. This love of school became something
of a scaffold, when at age 12 her mother suddenly left the family – literally with no warning: one
day, she came home to find mum had gone.

The eldest of two, a precociously mature older sister to a childish younger brother, Harriet
found herself assuming a role 'beyond her age' from early in life following the departure of her
mother. Against a 1970's Midlands working class social conservativism with leftist politics – her
father drove a dustcart – Harriet felt that she had to prove herself, to defy people's
(under)expectations of her. Compounded by her father's quickly finding a new partner, moving
house and school in Year 8, a new step-mother who did not appreciate the importance of education,
Harriet's memories – and narration of these – is a complex flood of emotions:

So you know, one of the things that I had that I could hang onto was the fact that
I was bright and I was intelligent and I had ambition, and my mum had always

said to me, and this is really important "The proudest day of my life will not be the day that you walk down the aisle in white; it will be the day that you graduate from university." And I was the first person from my family – on both sides – to go to university and so although, you know, my mum had left me, obviously I maintained a relationship with her. (Harriet)

Sharing mutual memories of defying expectations of underachievement from some teachers at school, Harriet and I discuss how religious education teachers had shown a humanistic 'faith' in our potential as learners. Reflecting on how this validation, this sense of self-worth through education was instilled deeply early in her life, Harriet then shares that her ambition at this stage in her life was always to become a lawyer.

Propelled through her studies at law school and then her early-career by an underdog appetite for success, Harriet joined a top law firm and had a successful 10-year career as a lawyer. Working for a law firm who had grown alongside the trade-union movement in the UK, from its inception in the early twentieth century, was foundational in the ideological development of her professionalism. A real powerhouse of progressive socialism, Harriet came of age through her work as a lawyer there. Propelled through school, to university, to a fast-paced, ideologically meaningful career as a lawyer, Harriet also describes how she first felt a deep sense of belonging in this law firm:

Most of the people that I worked with were also like me, they didn't come from privileged backgrounds or middle-class backgrounds. Most of them were working class people. And some of them actually hadn't even been to university. Some of the lawyers have come up through the trade-union movement and been sponsored and then become legal executives, and then qualified to be solicitors through an alternative route. Yeah, and so there were lots of people like me. But, Oh my God, these people were bright and sharp. And you know most of them were brighter and sharper than me… they were the best of the best, actually. (Harriet)

This appreciation for differentiated pathways to excellence is an emergent theme in Harriet's narrative.

In the midst of narrating the brilliance of this law firm, related to the (distinctively British) accompanying class discourse, Harriet describes how it depended on an alternative economic and institutional logic to late capitalism:

'And, I'm afraid to say that in terms of the purpose of the of the firm and the trade union movement: You're only ever going to make change in factories and workplaces where people will be safer at work if it's going to hit the bottom line for employers. You know: financially. And that's only going to happen if employees have legal representation that they can afford, because the legal representation that is afforded by the employers is going to be so much greater, and therefore what the trade unions did was fund that legal representation, and so over the decades this firm had built up networks and systems and policies and approaches… and it was absolutely brilliant!' (Harriet)

From this astute analysis of the alternative institutional logics that created the context to this brilliant law firm – the macro-level – Harriet segues to the meso-level, and then the micro: how what she learned there impacted her approach as an educational leader, both in terms of pragmatic delegation and professional development:

And there were also some other things. really key things that I learned there. One was that they trained their secretaries up to the highest standard; so they were empowering those people, which is something that I tried to do with my team when I was a Principal. Because if you employ expensive people, they should do expensive work. You're never going to have somebody who you're paying as a lawyer who's going to be sitting there typing-up letters. That's going to be done by somebody whose job that is. And so everybody is working to their highest level, and everybody is working within their niche, and everybody feels empowered (Harriet)

Twice attempting to leave and move to the corporate sector – 'poacher turned gamekeeper' – Harriet twice found herself leaving these corporate roles within a year, eliciting a self-discovery: 'I learned from this that I cannot work in an environment that does not accord with my values and my principles.' The second such attempt culminating in a considerable period of backpacking and motorcycling around the world with her new partner – and now husband of over 20 years – they both retrained as teachers via the UK's Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) in the late 90's for the prospects of international school careers.

Straight out of the PGCE course, Harriet and her husband were employed by an international school in Cairo, Egypt. Harriet and I worked together at CCC International School of

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Hong Kong – commonly considered one of the top schools in the region. She uses a football analogy to described the relative chaos of this school in Cairo 'if you think that CCC International School is in a kind of Premier League… this was probably second division, yeah?'

Describing working there as a Year Six (ten-year-olds) teacher as 'really, really, really hard', and returning home after only a year and struggling to find a comfortable place in which to return to the sector, Helen shares my observations of a gold-rush sector, with many working beyond their competence in leadership positions, and certainly one that did not accord with her values and principles. In a common narrative trend across various life stories herein, this period of disenchantment was a prelude to discovering a better side to the international education field.

After taking a year off to do some house refurbishment and manage their assets in the UK, Harriet and husband found themselves in Sri Lanka. Shortly after the devastation that the 2004 tsunami had caused, the village where their friend had invited them was in dire need of support. Given a mobile classroom in the grounds of the temple and donated some computers by a local businessman, Harriet and her husband set-up classes for young adults, with her teaching English as a second language and her husband basic computer skills. A great experience of itself, this also prompted their ultimate return to the international school sector.

'Landing on their feet' Harriet and husband secured roles at a growing school in Bangkok, DDD international school. In the midst of its candidacy as an IB DP school, on a foundation of British curriculum through elementary and middle years (an extremely common and effective model, particularly in Asian international schools), Harriet shares: 'Oh, it's by far the best school I've ever worked at in terms of having a sense of belonging and a sense of meaning in what you do'.

Immediately resonating with the no-nonsense, entrepreneurial energy of their new Head of School, Pat, she won his respect when contesting his attempt to scale her salary according to her experience in the teaching profession - referencing her decade plus in the legal profession. A month after signing contracts - still ahead of arriving at their new home in Bangkok - he was in touch to offer her a position as Head of Key Stage 2 (upper primary school within the British Curriculum model). A passionate and energetic leader, Harriet soon herself running the whole of elementary and reception years. Her impassioned narrative of this also shares with several of the subjects here the momentum of working alongside a transformative leader:

But it was really innovative. I also introduced robotics and you know, I taught all

the IT in the first year there and then trained everyone else to do so 'cause my husband is an IT teacher so, you know, I brought in all this technology, which in 2006 most schools didn't have. And so we completely transformed it, but what was the coolest thing about this school? It was that this school had an 'Open Access' policy. It had an inclusive policy where we didn't just accept [challenging] kids grudgingly, but we actively sought kids who had special educational needs, and that's primarily because Pat's son was dyslexic, and.. (Harriet)

Sharing anecdotes of dysfunctional students being kicked-out of other, more elitist schools in the city finding themselves nurtured in the inclusive learning environment that they nurtured at DDD International School, the 'sense of a sense of belonging and a sense of meaning in what you do' is tangible again; it is with a passion comparable to that with which she described the Trade Union-funded law firm's humanist value. I share the observation that it is interesting that - while the British Curriculum is less pronounced for its language of inclusive, student-centered pedagogy than the IB - it appears to have been unobtrusive enough a model, sufficiently weak enough an institution, to allow the leadership team at DDD to really implement their own progressive vision.

Describing how the neoliberal socio-economic context of Bangkok facilitated this –in the extremely inexpensive hiring of a team of a dozen highly qualified English-speaking Filipino teaching assistants – Harriet effuses at the agility with which they could 'do things that you wouldn't be able to do in other places because you could bring an army of talented education professionals who were cheap to work with kids, so we did something…'; acknowledging how deeply culturally-cognitively compelling such innovation, such establishment of their own independent organizational ethos was: 'I honestly felt in the time that I worked there it was like being a member of a cult!'

Touching on the challenges of the Bangkok ex-pat scene, and the rife transactional sex in the city that was another side to this neoliberal context – 'And as a woman, when you're first there, it's wrong. And then you convince yourself it's OK and you go through two or three years where you accept it and live with it, and then you go back to thinking it's just wrong' – I probe the psychology of her 'cult-like' immersion in work:

'You felt that something was wrong there? And this got sublimated into making something very right in your workplace?'

Harriet agrees immediately, and so we turn to her leaving Bangkok and moving to the more truly

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cosmopolitan world-city milieu of Hong Kong, and CCC International school, where we worked together with Harriet as Elementary School Principal, and myself as IB Diploma Coordinator.

But first came a role as Head of a large elementary school in Germany, and Harriet's first true encounter with the IB - and the challenges its innovations presented to the kind of agile, innovative school leadership she had enjoyed being part of in Bangkok:

> I'd been a leader and had a lot of freedom under the umbrella of the British curriculum, and as the Principal I was the leader of learning. And then to go to an IB school that's supposed to be the PYP Coordinator… so you get the PSP [*Programme Standards and Practices* documentation] quoted at you all the time: "*The IB Coordinator is the pedagogical leader of the program*" …so we had this kind of clash. (Harriet)

We share stories of this being a field-level phenomenon we have both observed consistently – that the occupation of the IB Coordinator role often results in the assumption of a malcontented 'gatekeeper' psychology; the defender of the pure and the good of the IB mission-driven educational model, against the cynicism of (pragmatic) school leaders who might do otherwise. Sharing that she intentionally kept the overly-complex pedagogical jargon of the IB at arms-length, in order to keep her focus on learning outcomes 'purer', Helen's predicament here, and indeed in Hong Kong, was amplified by her explicit hiring in both instances as someone who could bring (more conventionally British curricula-style) academic rigour to the IB PYP approach to numeracy and mathematics; a leader who could introduce a competing institutional logic.

In terms of her own vision, 'what my job in Berlin and my job in Hong Kong had in common was about me wanting to push the boundaries of the PYP, but in two different directions. One was to be more rigorous, yeah, but the other one was to be more innovative, so you're pushing out at either end.' And it was through this context that I worked alongside Helen, briefly, through her introduction of a new initiative within the school: *Project Innovate*.

The size and scale of CCC International School Hong Kong was such that an IB Diploma coordinator and an Elementary Principal will typically collaborate rarely. An organisation of over 2000 students and teachers, in a 16-storey purpose-built construction including football pitches swimming pools and theatres, arising up a Hong Kong hill-side, the school inevitably contained its different organisational silos. In this, CCC International School offers a potent crystallisation of one of the institutional tensions in such large schools and, indeed, perhaps pertaining to struggles

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in the IB's own unprecedented global growth alongside its endeavour to remain a 'mission-driven' organisation: being a unifying, collaborative community which nonetheless caters to differentiated needs and outcomes in different areas of (school) life. Harriet created *Project Innovate* in alignment with such a unifying endeavor, around her stated goals of creating more innovation and rigor within IB curricula.

Harriet acknowledges the challenges involved in such an ambitious project – 'because', as a change-driven leader in a powerful organization:

> You're coming up against everybody. You're coming up against the board. You're coming up against your staff. You're coming up against parents. All the time, every day, and you will always do. When you're a change, you know when you're a trailblazer, you will always have a core of people who love you because they see that that's what needs to happen. But then, you've got the vast majority of people who hate your guts. You know, because you're making them work harder or do things differently. And you know one of the things that I learned very, very early on, when I started [concurrently] studying for my EdD, is that the personal and professional identity of teachers is closely entwined, much more than any other profession. And that makes change leadership much, much more challenging in schools than it does in any other environment. And, you know, I've had people who are not teachers, who work in professional environments say to me: "I can't believe you're going through this; in our office if they want things to be done differently, they just tell you, say, 'fucking do' it and everybody just does it!" (Harriet)

Through a sharing of frustration with the IBs place in such organizational inertia, Harriet offers a more person-centred insight:

> I think that one of the things that was striking me that I observed while we were just talking was that the [IB] PYP [curriculum] is really hard. For teachers, it's really hard. The hoops that you're asking people to jump through are really hard. Yeah, and when people transition from another curriculum into the PYP, for teachers it was a badge of genuine honour to deeply understand and implement the programme.
>
> They're so proud of it that when somebody comes in and says, "well, we're not

going to do it quite like that anymore and there's not going to be such an emphasis on this, but we're going to do this instead", then they feel kind of cheated, right? Because they spent so much time learning how to do this and they don't know that it's OK to let go of that a little bit, that they don't need to hold onto it that tightly anymore. (Harriet)

Problematizing her own endeavours as a change-leader through empathy with those PYP teachers who were resistant to change, Helen identifies how they were institutionalized. Their identification as IB subjects had been built on a sustained and systematic ethos of Institutionalization Based on Increasing Commitments (time learning this IB lexicon) and Institutionalization Based on Increasing Objectification (through the hard-won lexicon, coming to the understanding that 'this is how learning works').

But despite these insights, the institutions of the IB were held-tightly to, and progress with *Project Innovate* was slow-going as against the lean, innovative context Harriet had worked within in British curricula as a change-leader in Bangkok. We talk through the value in strategic mandates – such as the *Project Innovate* framing – and the characteristics of strategic partners and change-agents (not least those who can see through the intimidating language of IB pedagogy). And while we discuss how such elements can mitigate this tendency to organizational inertia, and – indeed – how the IB's mandate for collaborative leadership also facilitated the emergence of *Project Innovate* within this monolith of a 2000-person school, there is an enduring sense that the institutions of the IB presented at least as many barriers to *innovation* as they did opportunities for growth.

5.2.4   RAPHAEL; IB WORLD SCHOOLS MANAGER, IB WORLD HEADQUARTERS, THE HAGUE

A full-time employee of the IB organisation, Raphael works within the *IB World Schools* department providing specialized support to schools regarding the implementation of IB programmes according to The Programme Standards and Practices (PSP). Holding a portfolio of responsibility for over 350 IBnworld schools globally, Raphael is also the primary driving force and 'Language Liaison Leader' in developing the IB's portfolio of Francophone schools. Working in his current role out of the IB European regional headquarters in The Hague, Netherlands, Raphael, a Swiss citizen, has two decades of experience working within IB schools across various

countries and continents. Though only assuming his current position in 2019, he has two decades of experience working as an IBE as an examiner, school visitor, reader, workshop leader, field representative, leader-educator, and trainer for new workshop leaders.

Multi-lingual (fluent in French, German, English and Chinese) and hyper-intellectual, Raphael's self-narrative – in an unassuming, perhaps we might say pragmatically 'Swiss' manner – quickly establishes him as the most conventionally academic of all life story subjects herein. Additionally an unapologetically academically competitive spirit is expressed early – in common with all other life story subjects bar Jacob, and particularly Dr.Harriet and Kashvi, who share (and articulate consciousness of) lower middle-to-working class origins with Raphael, where they were moreover the first generation in their family to go to university.

> Yeah, I knew I had to be first, so the question was for me, really fighting and
> learning a lot. I was. I was really learning, studying, reading a lot and… I'm
> not complaining, I really enjoyed it and it was something good and coming
> from a family where no one was at university. (Raphael)

So, around what presents as a very healthy / 'adaptive' psychology of competitive meritocracy, Raphael's narrative builds towards something of an embodiment of the IB concept – however contested – of 'international mindedness' in an academic framing. From these lower middle-class Swiss origins, Raphael excelled educationally and was awarded a scholarship, where he made the culturally 'risk-taking' (to use the language of the IB's *Learner Profile* 'embodiment' [IB] of its Mission) choice to complete part of his high school education in East Berlin, during the later years of its communist regime.

From here, as the narrative segues towards his receipt, in the 90s, of another scholarship to participate in doctoral level work at the *People's University of China* in Beijing, Raphael shares a charmingly esoteric in-depth narrative of where his lifelong learning propensities, and in particular determination to learn Chinese, emanated from his father's nurturing of his childhood cultural curiosity.

> When I was ages, well when I was a kid I started by loving dinosaurs. Like a lot
> of little boys I guess… My dad saw that I was interested in them, so took me to
> museums where they were dinosaurs and next to the dinosaurs there were Roman
> documents, et cetera, so that's how I started loving history. And somehow I knew
> I wanted to do that in Greek.

And when I was eight, I saw a cartoon called 'Once Upon a Time, The Human Being', and it was about Marco Polo.

And I still remember watching this 20 minute long cartoon.

And at the end of it with sparkling eyes, I thought, man, I will learn Chinese, and about the history of China.

And I never changed my mind. That's what I wanted to study, and that's what I studied. (Raphael)

Moving towards the commencement of his relationship with the IB, working as a French, Latin and TOK teacher at an IB world school in Beijing, Raphael's intellectual predisposition for an internationalist pedagogical and ideological model is also foregrounded —

So I did my Masters degree in Chinese language, in French and Chinese history.

And I was first in Switzerland with a Chinese degree! So I received the Chinese government's invitation to start my PhD research in China.

And that's how I ended-up in the People's University of China, which is in Beijing.

It is a university that was created by Mao Zedong to create the officials for the party.

And I went there to study History!

And so, I was the only non-Chinese researching Chinese history, which was of course not easy because I had a western eye on Chinese history, and I had to transform it into a Communist Chinese version of it so… not always easy. And I had the scholarship and this was for one year only. (Raphael)

— as, alongside the cultural curiosity, multilingualism, nomadic opportunism, and academic ambition and ability, an obviously complementary quality – particularly for a transnational diplomat / '*edupreneur'* – starts to become pronounced: a propensity for cultural and ideological fluidity, or code-switching. Or, indeed, in Raphael's own words 'when I am thinking in one language, I change who I am'. In Raphael, then, we observe an intellectual who truly – if not unproblematically from a logical positivist perspective – embodies the IB Mission's relativist conclusion that 'other people, with their differences, can also be right'.

Growing-up with a Marxist grandfather in his linguistically and culturally diverse Swiss family, Raphael describes how his first deep immersion in ideological difference was in the German Democratic Republic when he was 16, attending university to study History for three

hours a day. He recalls being told on the first day of this that: 'Everything you have learnt about history is fake. Now you will learn History', and from then-on receiving three-hour lectures in Marxist orthodoxy each day. But this elicits more than a (relativist) awareness of cultural difference, as Raphael shares an embryonic pull to something – at least – collectivist in sociological character:

> I was always interested by that because I had… I never liked… I never really felt
> [entirely comfortable] in our individualist Western society; I was always a member
> of something; a member of a big family because my mother has 14 brothers and
> sisters.
>
> So we were always thousands of cousins, etcetera. I was, I was always feeling like
> part of something instead of being myself, except I was fighting to be first, but
> first in their group and not 'first' [as an absolute, individualist] goal. (Raphael)

But, in an esoteric embodiment of the concept of 'International Mindedness', Raphael avoids any simple ideological alignment with Marxism, or even a broader collectivist sociological disposition. He describes a personal psychology where language-practice precedes thought, and so the significance of a discourse model of institutionalization starts to be writ large in Raphael's narrative.

> In French, when you – and when I – speak French, I am a real French speaker:
> Fighting and defending my opinion: I cannot accept anything!
> When I speak German, I'm straight to the point. I don't want to hear anything
> indirect. It has to be the answer; modular.
> And when I am in China and when I speak Chinese, I am in the version [of myself]
> to never be direct; to never say anything; to always turn around stuff.
> It always came naturally from the culture. (Raphael)

At my suggestion, Raphael agrees that his English is closer to the Chinese end of the spectrum; one of his more 'political' languages, and the intersection of multilingualism, psychology and politics only intensifies from here, as Raphael and the I converge on a shared self-narrative of something like leftist *realpolitik* (or, indeed, centrist capitulation – to express it from a normative leftist position) in a late capitalist context.

Joe

Now… would it… Would it also be reasonable to infer that… as a kind of nexus

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of these languages, your 'psychology' is leftist centrist?

Or how would you describe… if there is an ideological or political 'you', how would you describe it?

Raphael

It's difficult to say what I'm doing.

Joe

I know… I need words… and they are reductive… but, you know: in broad brush strokes.

Raphael

I would still think that I am always walking left. I'm not a 'right' voter so I'm still there politically. It's really my opinion.

Joe

Left of the centre or radically left or…?

Raphael

I always vote green and I am what we call 'Watermelon' in politics, which means green outside and extremely red inside.

Joe

I got it, I got it.

Yeah, so like a leftist, progressive in spirit… but who recognises the reality of the market.

Yeah, yeah… I've got a lot of sympathy with such a position myself.

Describing – much like other life stories – then, a pragmatic 'falling into' IB teaching to sustain work abroad once his scholarship had ended after one year of his PhD, Raphael describes immediate recognition of a model akin to his own multilingual psychology: '*I* discovered IB and I directly loved one thing. The fact that it agreed with my vision of a language which is more culture and communication than grammar and perfect writing.' But this, in a manner that is characteristic of Raphael's seeming ideological neutrality on many aspects of his own life story, is followed immediately by anecdotal recounting of the various gross (neoliberal)fiscal disparities of the organizational field. 'And I loved it [the IB]. I absolutely loved it. But it was 97-98; If you remember that was a bad year in Asia; that was a big Asian economic crisis… I was 'locally hired' so they paid me like a local Chinese employee - $200 a month when my colleagues were getting

'expat' salaries!' Describing how this employ ended when after half a year – in a further demonstration of the cut-throat nature of the sector – enrolment numbers dipped and he was cut from the payroll altogether.

Returning to Switzerland, Raphael found himself working in a travel agency, before another international school opportunity presented itself. Hired by a school in Geneva that was interested to move towards the IB from a British curriculum model, Raphael joined the curriculum development team alongside a teaching role. Describing how the school owner had made the simple decision to adopt the IB since the sector-leading International School of Geneva followed this curriculum model. Describing the opportunities and challenges so familiar now to the 'growth phases' of IB schools across these life stories, Raphael describes a decade of personal and professional growth as the school blossomed into being one of the foremost IB international schools in the region. 'Yeah, it was beautiful…. And then the school was sold to an American group of schools and…'

And here – after a pause pregnant with emotion – Raphael begins to describe a broader trend in the field: the rapid dismantling and divestment of such a 'beautiful' development of a learning community by a soulless transnational conglomerate, with culturally insensitive non-educator corporate managers.

> I didn't want to stay in that group. I hated that group because I remember the first
> day when they were introduced to that guy in charge; he entered and he started in
> a way that really I will never forget. 'Hello, my name is Mr PPP, I'm Catalan. I
> speak English. I speak Catalan, French and English and I was forced to learn
> Spanish'. So you can imagine the Spanish teachers how happy they were… He
> proceeded: 'I have no experience in education at all. I have always worked for
> Nestle in factories. But I can tell you selling condoms, mouthguards or teaching is
> exactly the same job. We need money. And I remember that was the first day of
> the school year starting and I was 'OK by the end of the school year: I won't work
> here anymore. (Raphael)

Describing a familiar set of competing institutional and organizational logics to many such takeovers – the group had no other IB schools in their portfolio – he found his way out and into a more interesting proposition. An elite English boarding school where – under the leadership of a charismatic media-friendly Oxbridge academic-turned-headmaster – he started to really plug into

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IB Networks for personal, professional and organizational development (in a manner akin to that described with similar zeal by Jacob in the same time period – and that I recognize from my own work in IBEN):

> For me it was the best Professional Development I ever had in my life. Giving a lot to schools, but at the same time receiving so much from each person that was participating in a workshop. So I really loved every second of being a workshop leader. I miss it now when I work for the IB because I'm not allowed to lead workshop groups anymore! But I really found that it was a good way for me to jump inside [the field] because I was part of [the network]; I've been part of TOK and language teams who have rewritten curriculum. So being able to give input and to develop the IB…being able to see what other schools still, how other schools understand, and – once again with my personal background as multilingual – to see how they understand it. (Raphael)

We agree that this distributed and somewhat networked, porous and organic nature of organisational growth has characterised the IB. I question whether it is still as fluid and and networked.

And here, as perhaps an IB employee but – likely more so as an ongoing pioneer of it's still nascent-to-intermediate Francophone development, and his own personal growth through IBEN – Raphael's narrative of IB growth is far more unequivocally positive than some others.

From IBEN, our attention turns to the PSP training interface, and here – finally – a schism in Raphael's ideological identification with the IB surfaces as I ask about the outsourcing of the development of the platform to an American compliance company, 'Because it's a very corporate thing for a traditionally more grassroots 'grow our own kind of educators' network...?'

Raphael's response is direct, and speaks to the organizational and field-level complexity here: 'I am in the Francophone minority and… We are fighting, in fact, a little minority against that type of American English, and so we have said several times, but… yes, I agree with you.'

This schism deepens when we pivot from wealth disparities to human rights issues that touch Raphael personally. First conceding that 'we are still seen as a programme for the rich kids? I think at least in Europe in the Western world. All the private schools', I suggest that we – as all of my life-stories thus far – are from modest-to-middle-class backgrounds – and have enjoyed relatively great privilege, and certainly culturally rich experiences through our life stories in IB. I

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also suggest that there may be tensions between this relative privilege and the left-leaning politics that we – and the IB – tend to espouse. Raphael's response is impassioned.

> When I speak about myself, I am sometimes shocked that we accept [IB] schools that are not at all following our philosophy.
>
> When I am LGBTQ, I'm an activist.
>
> But I wrote books for the IB and the editor is not the IB; the editors censored messages in my book.
>
> Because of that, picture is [considered inappropriate in a homophobic theocracy], well, it may not be sold in Saudia Arabia…
>
> And so for me… that's an issue, and it's an issue in China. I can give a long list of countries where it is an issue.
>
> And I feel here that… Now that we have grown; now, now that we are a big organisation, and with the new PSP we should go back to that [set of Programme Standards and Practices] and we should go back to the message: If you choose to implement our programme, you have to agree with our philosophy. So that's something which is for me, very important.
>
> That's something I will always fight for. (Raphael)

I probe his ideological commitedness here; does not the IB Mission's 'other people with their differences can also be right' allow for a neoliberal expansionist cultural relativism into these culturally diverse territories? His response is heartfelt, and so deserves the final word, verbatim, here in his life story.

> I think that we, the upside that the IB takes, is having them inside will influence them slowly and I see it. I have seen it in several schools. I had worked with as a consultant to support them to move forward, et cetera. So I've seen development; I have seen it.
>
> For example, a Methodist school in Africa. Very, very anti-gay: completely. And now they have just hired two gay teachers. Yeah, so this is opening doorways.
>
> And so I see, what I see that by that is that changing slowly from within can work. Maybe ask someone who's to go too quickly. So… I feel that we are doing some good. (Raphael)

5.2.5   Jacob, Director, International School of XXX, Europe

Jacob's story begins with a childhood of transience and mobility, attending a range of different schools between different Canadian provinces.

> I gotta say… when I look back at my experience, it was pretty uninspiring. Yeah, and I'm not sure all the teachers liked the jobs they did in hindsight and I don't feel like there was really much scope for my interests to be incorporated into my learning; that that would have been very rare in any of the formal academics… and it was really such a boring experience? That's kind of my my overwhelming memory. It's just that: it's boring. You just gotta get through these 45 minutes, right?
> (Jacob)

Interestingly, then, of the interview subjects in the sample, Jacob is simultaneously the most conventionally successful in terms of career, while the least conventionally academic(ally successfull/engaged) in terms of early educational background..

From his own relative disinterest in middle and high school, where – with no ill-sentiment towards the teachers, he is unequivocal about the uninspiring nature of the experience – his narrative then segues very smoothly from this mediocrity to an endorsement of the excellence of the IB educational field. He expresses the belief that IB international school educators have a qualitatively different commitment to the vocation – it is not just a job – and that this impacts learners. This is characteristic of Jacob's life story: where others very naturally gravitated towards expansive self-narratives about their wider childhood experiences and biographical detail, Jacob is – if far too warm and engaging to have seemed 'reticent' – adept in good-humouredly steering the discourse towards the IB and an obvious career-oriented timeline. After a dip into his own love of sports – he was a college basketball player – and his son's similar basketball ambitions, it is straight to business. And the story begins, as all of these career life stories, by almost accidentally finding the field.

> Well, you know I went off for two years and I played basketball and studied at one place and then I decided I don't like doing this as much as I thought I would and I actually transferred into a university where I could do a dual degree and so I was able to do that and the education program there (required) because I became interested in education. It required that you do a second degree.

Even so, mine was in management, but it was... It allowed me to teach
technology. Yeah, so I did a bit of focus on the business side and the
technology and then came up with an educational qualification. So, so
that was the background, but it was the sort of thing… it was the mid-
90s and I could plug in a modem! Which meant I could get a job
anywhere! 'cause remember the modem! The sound if you could make
that happen! (Jacob)

I suggest that – for want of a better phrase – his value was as the human interface here;
similarly, perhaps, to his strengths in educational leadership. Jacob agrees, and discourses on the
non-binary, primarily relational nature of both technology management and educational
leadership. He shares the challenges of finding a way for this mode of relation-based leadership to
operate moving into leadership of The International School of XXX (Europe) in the current
context:

Starting a new school with COVID has been very challenging, because
normally I've approached leadership as something that's done through
relationships and here with this environment where there's a face mask
on or a zoom call and you're not really able to move around the campus
as freely as you might in other circumstances, those relationships simply
haven't been able to solidify. So how do you function?' (Jacob)

Seguing from here into the COVID 'New Normal' of senior organizational leadership, the
discourse very naturally pivoted towards types of leadership structures, and when decision-making
is best served by hierarchical top-down structures rather than networked or distributed
relationship-based consensus-building. This strategic agility to his thinking will prove to be key to
insights that unfold regarding the IB's organizational growth as the life story develops.

Agreeing with my suggestion that one becomes – of necessity – more technocratic in such
an era, Jacob describes such crisis leadership as more

transactional… so the decision is made, but it's not barely able to
encompass some of those more human elements, and it's compounded
because we have the situation that was brought about with COVID
where many things are sort of an emergency response. By their very
nature, even in the flattest organizational structure, when you have an

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emergency that's threatening health and safety, you actually do want

top-down decisions that are clear. And you don't want to have to

consensus-build: "Should we open school or not?" Somebody has to

take the information and make the call. (Jacob)

Segueing via this consideration of flat, versus top-down, organisational structures, we learn how early in his career, Jacob encountered the IB through one of its exploratory curriculum innovations – through their (network-based) curriculum piloting model. In a manner of thinking characteristic of the critical thinking and interdisciplinary agility the IB ostensibly delivers, Jacob introduces an emergent theme throughout his championing of his early experiences of the IB: its open, agile and networked approach to organisational and curricular innovation. A championing of a model of inclusive networking perpetuating Institutionalization Based on Increasing Commitments, as per Scott's (2014) conceptualization is emergent in the narrative at this stage.

First encountering the IB in JJJ International School[15] delivering a course called Information Technology Global Society [ITGS]

We were one of the pilot schools. And so, I found it really fascinating

in terms of... It was similar to some of the curriculum I was familiar with

from [undergraduate studies in] Canada, but it was a fascinating

sociological look at information technology, which at the time was

pretty cutting edge in terms of looking at the ethical implications and

moral implications of technology-use with kids. (Jacob)

Commenting on the prescience of such inquiry-based learning about our relationship with technology, Jacob shares how a strength here was squeezing such progressive learning into a university-admission credential in the IB Diploma:

My students were usually the computer-gamers who, you know, thought

"I like computers, so this would be a nice easy one over the other five

[together comprising the 6 subject electives required for an IB

Diploma]". Then they can end up in a in a sociology course where

they've gotta write more than they would have been made to in some

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[15] Opened in 1924, this large, prestigious IB World School is the second oldest nominally 'international' school – opened shortly after International School of Geneva. Name – as all – changed here to preserve the anonymity of the interview subject.

other [conventionally academic] classes… you know, "Oh my gosh,

what's this?!" (Jacob)

When I ask if some of those students were turned-around to the sociology-type lens, to critically conceiving of their relationship with computers differently, Jacob's response is effusive; it becomes evident that this is that same pivotal emergent moment in all of the preceding life stories: where the IB model differentiates itself from less inspiring educational models:

Oh I, I really do think so, and you'd hear the kids almost joking around

talking about "the ethical implications of this" and, "in different

contexts that" and, and being able to use the vocabulary. And you could

tell the pattern of thinking and, sort of the, the depth to which they could

analyze some issues was shifting, which is exactly what you're looking

for with a curriculum that's encouraging critical thinking, right? (Jacob)

Alongside this critical thinking dimension to the educational model, the IB as a point of convergence for an international community – again, its agility as a network – was the thing that struck Jacob most as different; this was the phenomenon of interest: the professional/organisational and curricular innovation that produced an (anomaly) of something like 'global citizenship'. Jacob – with his characteristic blend of no-nonsense field-level wisdom and inquiring/intellectually curious disposition – talked through how tangible this phenomenon was… but also how purely pragmatic in origins and experiential/practice-based in nature. Segueing, from here, into a tentative sharing of scepticism towards the (often glib/unconditionally positive) globalist ideological discourse that so often accompanies conceptions of this phenomena because —

When you take the elevator all the way down to the ground level and

you realize as you're going through the IB syllabus for ITGS "Well this

is what they actually learn. Well, this isn't that different [from some

other domestic curricula]. So what makes this different? Maybe it's the

nationalities of the kids, maybe it's that? Maybe it's us adults in the

room? Maybe it's that, right?

Yeah, and that's something I'm… I'm still teasing out as an educator.

What exactly is it?' (Jacob)

— evidently *International Mindedness* and global citizenship, for Jacob, remain powerful but elusive and complex phenomena.

From here, our dialogue pivots back to another common narrative strand through these careers: finding oneself in the field almost accidentally, and then leadership opportunities presenting themselves early. Following his wife – who had an English-language teaching visa – to Tokyo 'in the same shoes I got married in', Jacob describes how he found himself in a full-time teaching role while simultaneously managing the school's entire computer network!

Eyes-wide-open to the nature of the organisational field, after moving back to North America for a couple of years and completing an MBA, Jacob was invited back to JJJ International School as the Deputy Head – starting in operations and then rapidly also acquiring academic leadership responsibility. We discuss the context to this: the 'gold rush' years of the relative immaturity of the IB organizational field in the far East; its ongoing rapid growth and fluidity, and the formative years of something like our contemporary globalist apparatus of technocracy. All of which meant that professional advancement opportunities came early for someone with Jacob's globalist entrepreneurial disposition and skills. Reaffirming our earlier understanding of 'Global Citizenship' / 'International Mindedness's' primarily pragmatic / practice-based origins and the increasingly deterministic commercial pressures in this respect, in response to the pragmatic, transactional realities of the global organizational field, we discuss 'IB Credentialism'.

> An IB diploma will open up doors for people that you wouldn't have if you didn't/weren't able to present it as a qualification. And schools are increasingly under pressure to make sure that there's very high attainment levels because universities are getting increasingly competitive, particularly as the world [becomes more globally competitive]. In a place like where we worked at ZZZ [a large, top-tier school in Thailand], you know, it was founded in 1992 and now there's like 120 very capable students coming out of there every year. And then this story is writ large across the world, right? You go to the UAE, you go to other places, China. There are literally thousands of kids competing for these places [at a finite number of competitive admissions Western universities]. So what that means is that there is significant practical pressure to focus on the more sort of deterministic outcomes around the grades than you would have had in the earlier days, where you might be able to be a bit more idealistic because you had… It was

pretty rarefied that these kids would be applying to those universities anyway [in the early days of the IB organizational field]. Some sort of unique qualities that could shine [by virtue of being 'rarefied' international candidates], and also it wasn't academically as competitive. (Jacob)

So we establish that the global IB international school organisational field is increasingly one that is a transactional and standardised competition-induced homogeny. From here, Jacob pivots to why there are growing pressures for (a more humanistic and innovative) alternative model to emerge. His discoursing on this converges on a common theme in some other life story narrative outcomes – particularly that of the positive-psychology and innovation focussed Dr. Harriet: that the current positioning of the IB in the international educational field may preclude truly person/student-centred and innovative educational outcomes, where the disposition of the students as learners and citizens are nurtured…

…so I think where we're at now with this is: we are also recognizing that *dispositionally*, the education that we are able to provide is critical to students being successful, and it's not just about the numbers and, I say this in, you know, the collective 'we'… but some of these educational models are starting to move back towards needing something much more well-rounded and not just focused on those [quantitative, academic score-based] outcomes.

I'm very encouraged by that, but I'm also very conscious of the fact that if kids aren't getting certain numbers [within credentials like the IB Diploma], their access to different possibilities and pathways is going to be limited. So how much do you potentially do [that is innovative and student-centred]? It's not a pure trade off, but how much do you focus on the scores? In the attainment and milking that as much as you can, pushing the [IB Diploma subject scorings ranked 1-7] 5s to 6 and the 6s to 7s and so forth…Or do you pull back a bit on that and say 'let that be what it will be and make sure that you've got the right disposition of students coming out, 'cause you know in the long term that's going to mean long, long term success and happiness. And it's this tension. And

I don't think we're ever going to resolve it. And, personally, I am sort of coming to more and more of a conclusion that oftentimes a motivation for an IB diploma, at least nowadays, is based upon the credential. But while they're in this program, there's a lot of dispositional learning that can happen. That's going to serve the kids extremely well: but they didn't sign up for that per-se.

Right, so very long-winded answer to that, yeah? (Jacob)

I respond, to his good-humoured humility here that – given the depth of insight – his response is impressively concise, and offer that

while I'd love to share some of my thoughts on it, instead I'm just going to pick up on a really interesting facet to what you said at the beginning of that narrative, which was where you referred to… well, it more how you qualified what you said. You said something about speaking for yourself as an 'educator'. So there was a kind of an initial identification of self, perhaps within the IB, and then you qualified yourself as not necessarily speaking for the IB as a school leader. And so, having previously occupied various roles within the IB organization, I'd like to ask you: How do you see yourself? Relating to the IB... Do you see it as (still) belonging to a 'we' as an educator and leader? (Joe)

Jacob's response, again, is nuanced.

I, yeah… I think I had a much better relationship with the IB ten years ago… I think some of the ways in which the IB has evolved and grown has meant there's less opportunities for individuals to have that direct connection with it, with the overarching organization 'cause now it, it really has become something where – just through sheer scale and also changes in leadership and that type of thing which maybe has affected parts of that [the IB] – have just meant that there's just really not the opportunities for engagement with the overall machine. As an example, I was on the the Regional Council, and I was chair of the Regional Council for four years.

And then, the decision was made just to get rid of the Regional

Councils [globally], and it wasn't even announced. It was just [sudden and top-down]: they just moved away from it. (Jacob)

We discuss how this coincided with the recent abolishment of the Ombudsman a couple of years ago, and how such

organizational changes are also sort of changes in philosophy about ways in which the people immediately outside of the payroll on the IB are going to be engaged with as part of that community, and I think the strategy was to be very… uhm, surgical almost in ways in which people were engaged…. And it feels like that [intentionally shifting away from a networked organisational structure] and so that means that people like myself probably are not going to have the opportunity and access to the organization like we might have been able to 10 years ago. (Jacob)

Jacob speaks compellingly of these rich synergies between his work in leadership on the front line in the schools he led and these network-aligned roles held within the IB. Of how, such networks as the Regional Council, there were informal learning opportunities about the complex organisational phenomena that characterised the transnational global field. From differentiated public holidays in different national territories and standardised assessment calendaring challenges, to the cultural competencies demanded of working with different governments and cultural groups. He is also unequivocally positive in discussing the peer-to-peer learning that such a broadly networked nature to the organization perpetuated.

Whatever issue you have at your school right now in terms of big ones – the chances are that another school had something in a very similar flavour and a big one always was, for example: PYP and MYP were always perceived to be a little soft in terms of rigor, and that if you want real rigor, you need an external examination at the end and kids really shouldn't be working in groups. "They should probably be in rows" and there's this perception that's out there, and we know as educators: like it's kind of funny as we say it; but it's not funny because kids that are in 3rd grade have parents that are anxious and wondering "Am I making a big mistake here? Because some of my nieces and nephews are in other systems and maybe can do some things my kids

can't with this that they would with the PYP."

And the reason I raise this is because we within an IB network we're trying to do something that we know, educationally leads to fantastic outcomes for kids. But we were grappling with: "How do we engage parents? How do we provide reassurance? How do we get the whole community behind this approach?"

And when you go to a conference or you speak to somebody, you say — "well, what have you done in order to get those… those third grade parents supportive and understanding what the benefits are, you know what are the key messages that come out?" —when you start comparing notes on this you realize you've got the same issues, and you realize, chances are that what's working in one context, you can try in yours. But if you're not part of that IB Global Network, you may not have the same opportunities to… to learn right? (Jacob)

When I suggest that – through such peer-to-peer networked learning – Jacob got to see how the IB's systems and languaging were framed in a way that made sense, so it wasn't just the rhetoric, but the reality of implementation, Jacob offers 'Yeah, it's perfectly put and I think particularly for the PYP and MYP, it's all about implementation, as we know and there's frankly a lot of schools that aren't that good at it.' An interesting dialogue regarding the nuances of the programmes and their implementation followed this, which fluidly culminated in an invitation for Jacob to share his prognosis for the IB's ongoing, rapid global growth, as against its 'niche' origins. He describes how, in schools such as his current employ as Director of XXX International School, the IB has limited value now. XXX International School in the centre of continental Europe and the EU has longstanding pedigree as an (IB) innovative, student-centred school. In such an institutionally mature international school, the IB's more progressive models (the PYP and the MYP) no longer add much value. By contrast, Jacob then describes precisely how the globalist model of contemporary IB Institutionalization provided an extremely strategically useful tool for organizational, pedagogical and – indeed – ideological scaffolding in less mature sectors of the globally disseminated institutional field of the IB. Referencing Dubai as one such example he speaks from a position of deep expertise — as a former Managing Director and Vice President within both a not-for-profit educational foundation, and one of the world's largest for-profit) K-12

education providers – both of which roles were based in the IB 'gold rush' sector of Dubai.

So, for this extremely mature and agentic institutional actor, the IB still has a place in his life story. But it has changed radically since his – and certainly its own – inception to the field. From being deeply embedded within its institutions, it is now just one in a growing plurality of institutional logics.

5.2.6   SAM, RECENT GRADUATE, YYY INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL, THAILAND

Sam joined YYY International school halfway through the 4th grade, moving with his mother and father from Singapore, where he had attended a large international school. While this school did run an IB Diploma programme in its senior years, the curriculum was British in elementary but – moreover – the organizational character, not least the size of the school was strikingly different.

> That [school in Singapore] was a school that fitted about 5000 kids and YYY
> International School when I first came there had only about 400 kids in total.
> Yep… Moving from a school where one grade level had about 12 classrooms
> to a grade level that had like one or two; that's, like, a big change: because then
> I actually got to know every single person yet inside that grade. (Sam)

Sam shares an experience of pronounced anonymity; of feeling that he was just another number in a faceless machine in Singapore. At YYY International School in Northern Thailand, where just 400 students share a 100-acre campus, he felt he had space to be, and to be noticed.

> Other than that, it's just… It just felt like everything I did there was going
> unnoticed, or at least I couldn't thrive in that environment because, um, you
> kind of had to be… Either extremely intelligent or extremely popular to be
> noticed by anybody, even by their own teachers, right?
> I just felt that that was an environment where I just... I sat in the back of the
> room and didn't really interact with anybody. (Sam)

Sam comes alive as I ask him if YYY International School 'brought him out of' this sense of anonymity. He tells me how the learning environment, where there was not an overly competitive or streamlined sense of pathways to success, and where there was space to play and interact, allowed him to thrive. How the teachers actively fostered the potential for the physical campus to

be a learning playground – where in Singapore they had perpetuated the more reductive and compartmentalizing models for what 'successful learning' looked like.

> Yeah, I feel like at YYY International School, there was more room to explore academically what you're interested in and not necessarily just because you're good at it. It just felt like when I was in Singapore though, just… there were tasks and academic assessments that had to be done in a specific order, and if you didn't follow a specific route, let's say there was a group of kids that were involved in maths and science and there was another group of kids that were more into art and design which was, which is where I fit in… then you'd basically be following that route and only that route and basically, I just felt like: when you're in that route you're only good at that, nothing else. And I had that impression also because teachers also treated us like that. (Sam)

As Sam's teacher of Psychology and Language and Literature, and the supervisor of his Extended Essay (and his Assistant Principal!) we have a good-humoured, trusting relationship, we have shared a scepticism of elements of IB 'rhetoric' over the years. I remind him of this, but suggest that what he is describing here – holistic development, through inquiry-based and student-centred learning – is precisely what the IB tries to realise with its language. I ask what else was there about the learning environment, apart from the size and the social make up of YYY International School, that allowed him to thrive. He describes how the warm, inclusive nature of the community allowed him to feel comfortable, and how the range of modes through which to engage and express himself – and the absence of highly visible conventional 'success' metrics removed his self-consciousness and allowed him to thrive.

> Yeah, it released the barrier that I thought was on me, but was an academic barrier. It just released it, just made me realise that even in situations that were similar to how I learned in Singapore, I can still thrive in this environment because 'It's OK'. I never realised that before! (Sam)

Describing himself as essentially an introvert, Sam tells of how, growing-up close to his father – '100% introvert' – this tendency was very pronounced in Singapore. And then, he became less so with the move to YYY International School and the positive impact it had on his engagement with self and others. We problematize the model – discussing how no-one is entirely extraverted or introverted – and so find ourselves coming around to the topic of the impact of

environment upon affect and learning. Sam describes an admirable model of incremental, age-appropriate developmental opportunities, where, with each year of development, a wider range of opportunities would be introduced, in terms of both academic and wider (extra-curricular) learning engagements. Alongside this, the importance of group work – or social-constructivist pedagogies, in the language of the IB – is emphasized: 'We utilised every single mode available to learn… And that mainly involved having group activities together. And even if people didn't like it, we still retained all the information or more than we thought we would. And I just thought that was a really positive part of the experience.'

Against such an overwhelmingly positive experience of learning, of self, and peers, Sam felt comfortable with the fact that, for example, he was less talented a mathematician than he was a student of the arts and social sciences; he could still participate in this learning – his areas of excellence just happened to be elsewhere. Through his excellence in the liberal arts, we circle back to discussing his father's formative influence.

In so far as such terms as third culture kid (or '3ck') have some explanatory veracity, Sam might certainly be considered to have experienced 'the two major realities of… growing up among many cultural worlds and high mobility' (Pollock, Reken and Pollock, 2010, p.1) and his self-narrative is exemplary of how the sophisticated cultural and psychological – and the critical thinker who navigates these – with the right scaffold, can be nurtured in such an individual:

> Potentially, because of growing up in the household environment [where I did]: no one really has a straight forward side of thinking. To keep it simple: I cannot adopt a 1-sided form of thinking. My [elderly British] dad isn't that critical in his thinking but nor is my mum. But everything he says… it's not like definitive. He always suggests other things and that sort of lateral thinking… when I was in classroom environments, when a teacher would be explaining new stimuli, I would always be thinking about alternatives to what I was learning. Where my [younger Thai] mom, yeah, she's the tough one in the family and she's very, very, very strong, independent, confident and that's what I lacked… that skill when I was younger. That ability to stand up for myself. Stand up for my thoughts. Basically, just openly talk about what I'm thinking or how I feel about a certain topic.
>
> And sort of because… I believe that all kids inherently have critical thinking.

It's just the ones that are more confident about talking about their ideas are the ones that get further on in the discussion….

Not necessarily those that have the best ideas, you know.

I believe that confidence – the independence to be confident with your own mind – is really important and I guess I learnt that over time; spending time with my mum basically taught me to not care about what other people think or about your decisions because no one is really right or wrong in a critical environment, or in any situation except for if you're looking at, like, factual information. But apart from that, if you're in a debate; then no one's really right or wrong until the end of the debate.

So you just need to speak your mind and I felt like, as I got older, I realised that I was more confident with what I was talking about. But that also made me realise how unconfident some of my peers were to speak their mind.

And it made me think that there are a lot of intelligent kids around me that didn't really want to say what they were thinking. (Sam)

Expressing – with great intelligence and sensitivity – the subjectivity of his experience of '3ck' culture but also, of course, of an IB education, I am compelled to ask him: 'And what was it? What? What was liberated in your critical thinking that was inhibited in theirs? What might you have had that they lacked?'

Sam describes how the cumulative build-up of academic pressure – clustered particularly around particular cultural groups, but with growing intensity across the board from the beginning of middle years (MYP) and the heightened visibility of summative assessment data in such metrics as 'Grade Point Averages' (GPAs) – produced a barrier to developing self-confidence in many students. When asked what took him past this psychological barrier he describes a form of social scaffolding, where a close and playfully competitive group of male friends made competition – of which academic success was only one sub-set – fun. They competed over everything, from Maths scores, through success on the football pitch, to successes with girls and biceps circumference! When I invite comparison of this playful, psychologically-adaptive relationship with competition to Sam's experience in Singapore, his observations are, again, insightful:

That difference I would say, is just due to time. The fact that that the academic inhibition that I experienced when I was younger was purely because I wasn't

acclimated to it. It was a different environment altogether when I was younger

in terms of my needs and my focus. (Sam)

So, Sam pushed-past academic pressure and self-consciousness with developmentally appropriate holistic learning opportunities and a highly supportive peer-group in the nurturing, intimate leaning environment of YYY International School.

I problematize this again: what about students at the same school whose experience was not as rich as Sam's; those who never got beyond their inhibitions and fears around academic success? Can you think of anything that distinguished you and your peer group? That negative self-perception based around grades that you managed to move beyond? Sam responds with thoughtful humility initially: 'that is a very difficult question to answer'. But his answer reinforces how, essentially, for him, it did come down to that developmentally appropriate, peer-supported scaffolding of competition: it never felt like too much; it often felt like play. Because the same environment where he played sports and enjoyed himself in was the same environment in which he was called on to perform complex performances of understanding – which sometimes were quantified. But that quantification was only a small part of a far richer set of data and experiences.

Thus far, then – through elementary (IB PYP) and middle school (IB MYP) – Sam's story is of an unconditionally positive experience of IB institutions and learning, however aware of its subjective framing in *his* experiences at YYY International school. So I invite him to share the source of the growing scepticism he had intimated at with me previously in his experiences of the IB Diploma senior years. The themes of sufficient time and developmentally-appropriate pacing in his earlier experiences of the IB are quickly inverted.

'I'd say the later end of the MYP really kicked it off, right. Like, let's say grade nine, grade 10 and then before I started the Diploma, I realised that the IB wasn't a perfect standardised system, but it was definitely a system that focused on inclusion and exploring all the different lenses for learning. The scepticism emerged when I realized how little time we had to succeed in the Diploma Programme… But yet the IB still wanted to focus on exploring these different lenses.

I realised that a lot of people need to know or need to have explored all these different lenses in its entirety before they can really explore elements of a subject… because otherwise they would just go into it blindly and not

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> understand the depth of a subject and, yeah, that makes me think that the IB
> Diploma is a rushed programme. You could really extend the DP into about
> three years. (Sam)

I leap to affirm his insights, having long contended to peers that the Diploma should be a three-year programme; that the simultaneous depth and breadth it demands is too concentrated. I share a problematization within the IB's own model – where they *will* allow certain categories of students to spread the IB Diploma out over three years. We discuss how these exceptions, where the IB will allow professional athletes or musicians, for example, to pursue their Diploma studies more temperately belies their own rhetoric: for the majority of students, holistic development is no longer sacred; academic excellence to a standardized measure is now the priority.

We circle back to another element Sam has already richly exposited in his positive conception of his own earlier education: the development of critical thinking skills and a sophisticated range of critical lenses on conventional academic subjects. We discuss how, at the DP level, there was a pronounced tension between the time needed to really deeply develop these critical lenses, and the imperative of learning content towards success in externally standardized assessments. Sharing that this coincided with the shift from adolescence to adulthood, Sam shares that 'when we moved to the DP programme, I realised that if you didn't get it right early on, you wouldn't really get it right later on either.'

I suggest that – to my eyes – he *did* get it right. Sam concedes this, but that he noticed lots of students who didn't; moreover, he describes the cost at which he got it right.

> It took a lot of my own integrity and it took a lot of that balance that I
> usually had in my life. I do consider myself someone who loves to learn,
> but I need to have other hobbies in mind that are aren't academic. I like to
> continue to explore new forms of expression and… find the boundaries of
> what I like… and with IB [Diploma] you're kind of whatever subject you
> choose. Your kind of… You're stuck in whatever you're learning, you're
> stuck. That's it. Everything. Everything else in my life was just supporting
> me to get through the IB, if that makes sense. (Sam)

Sam pauses here; his disposition flavoured by the negative experience of academic pressure I had observed take-hold of him (and so many of his peers) as he got deeper into his Diploma studies. I affirm his experience, with reference to another witness to this compromise-of-self for IB Diploma

success:

> Yeah no, I get it. I mean I don't mind sharing with you a previous research project I did – when I studied counselling. I interviewed a kid who I taught at JJJ International School [in Bangkok]. You would have got on really well with him, a guy called John… a similarly bright, capable, 'multi-modal' young man to yourself!
>
> He was diagnosed with ADHD when he was much younger and prescribed quite high doses of Ritalin. When he was at JJJ International School, through the holistic learning environment – much as in the great things about your middle years' experience – he weaned himself off the Ritalin and replaced that with a mode of *Self-management*, if you like, regulating his attention capacity by super-intense and competitive athletics; he was Captain of the rugby team, he was into MMA [mixed martial arts] and loads of stuff like that.
>
> When he did the [IB] Diploma he found he had to go back on to Ritalin. Yeah, just to get through it and succeed and get into university.
>
> It sounds like – when you described your compromise of 'integrity' and compromise of balance – it sounds like you're describing something similar.
>
> Albeit without, like, the tangible kind of intervention of a of a drug, right?
>
> But there had to be this kind of intensity. This tunnel-vision focus right? (Joe)

Sam shares that – though relatively speaking he didn't work that hard [he is naturally bright – so it was easier than for many of his peers] – there was a perpetual sense of accountability to the IB DP. It never left him; a perpetual 'stress I had to worry about, a task I had to complete; and even after school was done and our exams were cancelled due to COVID I still had this underlying stress'. He shares how this hadn't left him for some months.

I ask where, apart from his own rational appraisal of the workload demanded to succeed in the IB Diploma and secure competitive university admission, did he get this perception from? What else contributed to this psychological pressure? His response initially focusses on the positive: the scaffolding that was provided by teachers who made this crash-course in academic rigour and undergraduate level critical thinking interesting and enjoyable. I comment that this is interesting: because the question was about the more negative experience of this pressure, but he

has leant into the positive elements associated with this. Sam's response is thoughtful:

> Well, the thing is, as I went through school, I never really felt good pressure as negative. The only pressure that I viewed as negative was the workload, but other than that, every single other thing that accumulated to me being able to succeed and finish that workload I just viewed as good pressure, that would help me get through it. Even if it was bad, it would still give me an insight, or an outside-of-the-box perspective. (Sam)

But, as I invite him to share any more overt experiences of the negative pressure, Sam describes the toll it took on his confidence and self-perception at times, and the knock-on effect of this on his mother.

We discuss how, from the seemingly boundless joy in learning and self-confidence he had enjoyed in the middle years, he encountered devastating setbacks when he failed to get the grades in a new content area. And how, then, he would spend weeks re-learning material, developing new strategies and approaches to the content. As he also describes how he learned to persist in advocating for his position on something at the risk of being 'wrong' in the eyes of the teacher or others, absorbing short-term critiques for deeper longer-term understanding, I suggest that he was developing some real resilience and humility, along with these critical thinking and academic skills. He concedes this, and that it set him up for success longer term: he [rightly] is not at all daunted by the prospect of undergraduate level study [he will be studying Psychology at Exeter].

Sam agrees, but feels that the cost was too great in some ways, adding 'I feel that if I had worked any harder than I did, I would have completely burned-out and sacrificed a lot more than I did. Just to maybe get like, one or two points higher than I normally would… and I think that's ridiculous.' I share my observations that, in terms of the quantitative attainment that primarily determines success in UCAS (UK University admissions) processes, especially for a student like Sam who found certain subjects easy, a route such as the British A Levels of American APs – where you only need to study 3-4 subjects for the external exams – would be much easier. I also share my mitigating belief that 16-years old is premature for such narrow specialism as these routes invariably lead to, and he concedes that his intellect has been enriched by maintaining the study of maths and science alongside his strong-suit subjects in the arts and human sciences. But he maintains – in an argument with which I have great sympathy – that the IB Diploma is a programme which, particularly for competitive university admissions, is only suited to a certain

type of student. Where, in YYY International School, as for many international schools throughout Europe and Asia, the study of the Diploma is the default route to university. And the wider dimensions of the IB Diploma model – indeed, its central dimensions by design – of *Creativty, Activity and Service* ('it just feels like it teaches kids that you do the bare minimum and you get a Gold Star, I mean') and the development of a balanced holistic learner profile alongside the academic breadth and depth are just 'bullshit'.

5.3   A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE IB *STANDARDS AND PRACTICES 'IBEN'* TRAINING INTERFACE

5.3.1   'RESEARCH' INFORMING THE IB'S CONCEPTION AND PROJECT OF ALIGNING THEIR IBEN NETWORK

Recognizing simultaneously the centrality of their IBEN Network to their organizational operations and growth, and the need for a more systematic and strategic approach to managing its development, in 2016 the IB tendered out a research project. This tendering took the shape of a seven-page publication detailing the three primary purposes of the study, along with various specifications about the manner in which the IB's in-house research department would retain a high degree of control and input over the research. The stated three primary purposes were to (1) explicate a theory of change underpinning the IBEN Network, (2) use Brinkerhoff's Success Case Method (Brinkerhoff, 2002) and (3) – this warranting direct quotation since the diction used suggests the validity in conceiving of such IBEN as an exercise in governmentality through systematic objectification – 'Identify and explore challenges and disablers that prevent educators and schools from benefiting fully from their participation in the International Baccalaureate Educator Network.' (IB, IBEN, 2016, p.1). This process, and the transactional, alignment oriented-nature of what proceeded in the name of 'research' is just one particularly visible instance of how in the 'dearth of independently conducted studies' (Engel, 2022, p.1), the IB have successfully appropriated academic research into their exercise in governmentality.

The subsequent publication (Chadwick, Their and Todd, 2018 – notably not findable on academic research databases such as Jstor, or Google Scholar; the product of third party corporate providers *inflexion* whose website frames their purpose around 'creat[ing] maxims' through primary services such as 'alignment') certainly fulfils these functionalist purposes (and only

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perpetuate the dearth of independently conducted studies) and will be shown to align with the application of the conceptual framework for the analysis of institutionalization herein. Describing a key finding whereby 'In the impact model we developed to describe IBEN, International Baccalaureate intends the network to positively affect IBEs and the schools where they work' (2018, p.9), the authors explicate a process whereby individual agency and such freedom, creativity and complexity in thought as 'metacognition' is subsumed within a process ultimately culminating in three 'Network Outcomes: alignment to IB; sustained engagement; reduced variance'. This model is expressed in an infographic whose semiotics are expressive of this institutionalist logic. The grey-scale, winding pathways, emergent from a horizon of pre-IBEN participants – expressive of differentiated, constructivist plurality – culminates in the uniform structuralist functionality of a simple two-dimensional architecture. It appears in Figure 5-5, below.

Figure 5-0-5: IB research graphic representation of their IBEN Theory of Change/Impact Model (Chadwick, Their and Todd, 2018, p.10)
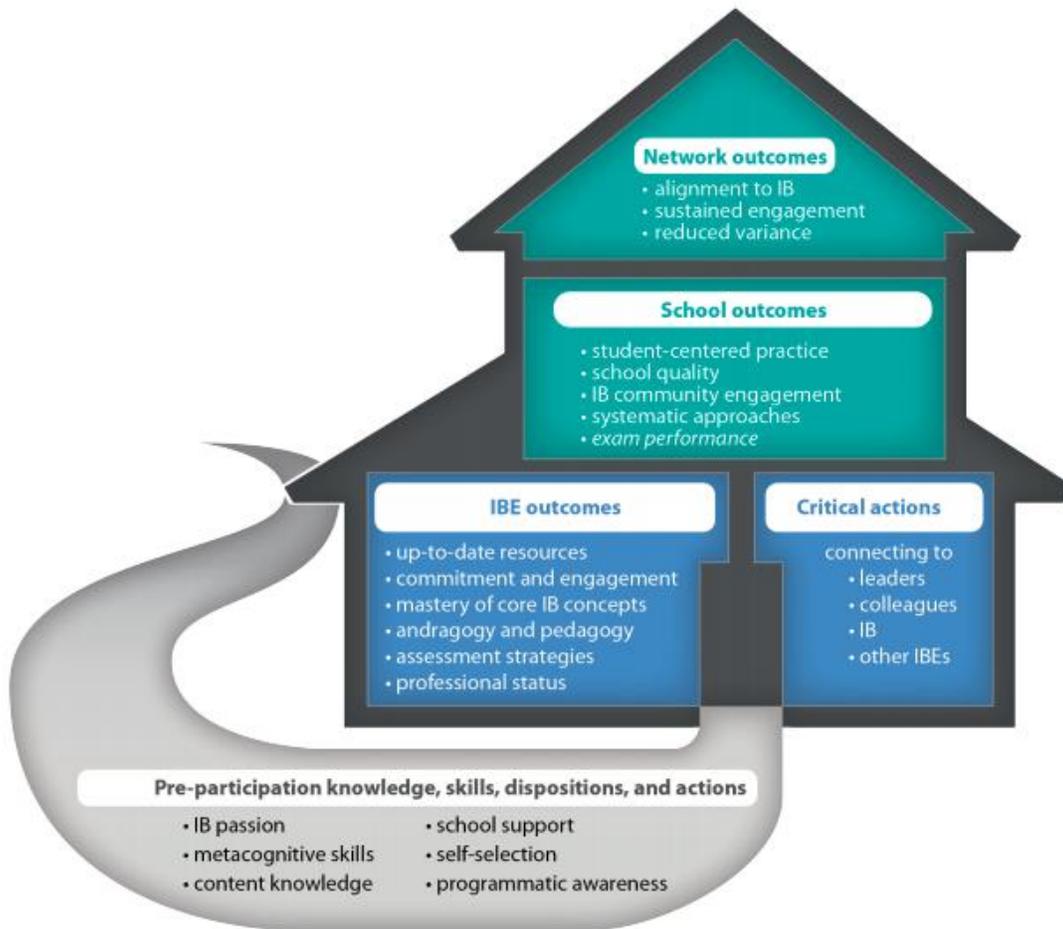
Figure 4. IBEN theory of change/impact model.

Within the explication of the theory of change/impact model, there are immediate barriers to sustained membership of IBEN: 'Upon being welcomed into the network—indicated as a multi-level house—IBEs complete critical actions' (Chadwick, Their and Todd, 2018, p.9) The completion of The Mandatory IBEN PSP Introductory Course object of analysis here is obviously one such critical action – a part of the underpinning regulatory pillar of institution, then. Chadwick, Their and Todd proceed, later in the report, to detail a 'highlight' of their 'core learnings' about this 'impact model' regarding its effects on participating educators and schools: 'A critical mass

of IBEN educators who are spread out among the departments results in schools with wide application of IBEN learnings' (p.13). In other words, within the broader conception of IB institutions and institutionalization here, if – as will be shown – IBEN learnings are institutionalizing, and IBEN educators (or IBE) are key carriers of this IB institutionalization process.

5.3.2   INTRODUCING THE INTERFACE AND THE WIDER CONTEXT TO ITS PROVISION: CORPORATE THIRD-PARTY OUTSOURCING OF COMPLIANCE

As an IBE[16], I received notification of a timeframe of several months within which I would be required to complete participation in The IBEN PSP Introductory Course (a 'critical action', then, one might say), being also advised that I would receive a further email with my confidential, password-protected login credentials. The interface would only be accessible once these organizational credentials had been established (linked to email for IBE) and a discrete password created.

Once logged-in to the interface and then within The IBEN PSP Introductory Course, the first page is accompanied by a banner for the third-party providers to whom, following the pattern of their 'research' practices described immediately above, the IB have outsourced provision of this training screen-captured[17] in Figure 5-6, below.

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[16] The performance of CDA here will primarily comprise an analytical narrative and – indeed – is the result of the performance of critical discourse upon the textual artiface of The IBEN PSP Introductory Course. Elements of processual narrative will also comprise part of the larger narrative, since as a practitioner-researcher my first engagement with the The IBEN PSP Introductory Course was as a practitioner (i.e. an IBE). These, though, will be subsumed within the larger analytical project – with the process of engagement being scrutinized as subsequent to the textual artefact. To clarify then: this is primarily an analytical narrative, not a processual one, though it will draw upon my processual engagement and follow a largely linear progression through the The IBEN PSP Introductory Course. IBE's participating in this training will hereafter be referred to as 'trainees'. 'IBEN trainees' hereafter therefore denotes trainees in this course – not any pre-IBEN status (although non-participation in the training would preclude ongoing IBEN membership/employment, and the training also serves as a 'Critical Action' for prospective IBEN).

[17] As the semiotics of the interface will be subject to analysis here along with The IBEN PSP Introductory Course's conventional (prose) language, there will be many such 'screenshotted' inserts as Figures. Hereafter, unless otherwise specified, it can simply be assumed that they have been extracted by screenshot in the same fashion.

**Figure 5-0-6: Banner for The IBEN PSP Introductory Course third-party providers
'Integrity'**

Here, already is the first clue as to the remarkable tensions between the explicit pedagogical and organizational discourses of the IB – pronouncedly 'social constructivist' in pedagogy and 'actively engaging stakeholders' in mission (IB, 'About the IB', 2020) – and the (transnational) corporate discourses and practices that prevail increasingly within its organizational field. The outsourcing to such a third-party of this training is certainly not an exercise in social constructivism within the IB – nor are stakeholders within the IB given agency through such conventionally corporate practices. Could such outsourcing, though, not be considered to be an expansion of the IB's network, a strategic engagement with a philosophically aligned (important for an organization purporting to be mission-driven, as the IB does) specialist provider? Perhaps – though a visit to (*Integrity*) *Interactive Service*'s corporate website immediately makes it entirely clear that they are 'award winning *compliance* experts' (*italics* added for emphasis); the element of 'Ethics' is only included in the front-end of their product delivery, along with the package name of 'Integrity' (Interactive Services, 2020).

Figure 5-0-7: Front Page of Interactive Services Corporate Website (Interactive Services, 2020, https://www.interactiveservices.com/compliance-training-programs/)
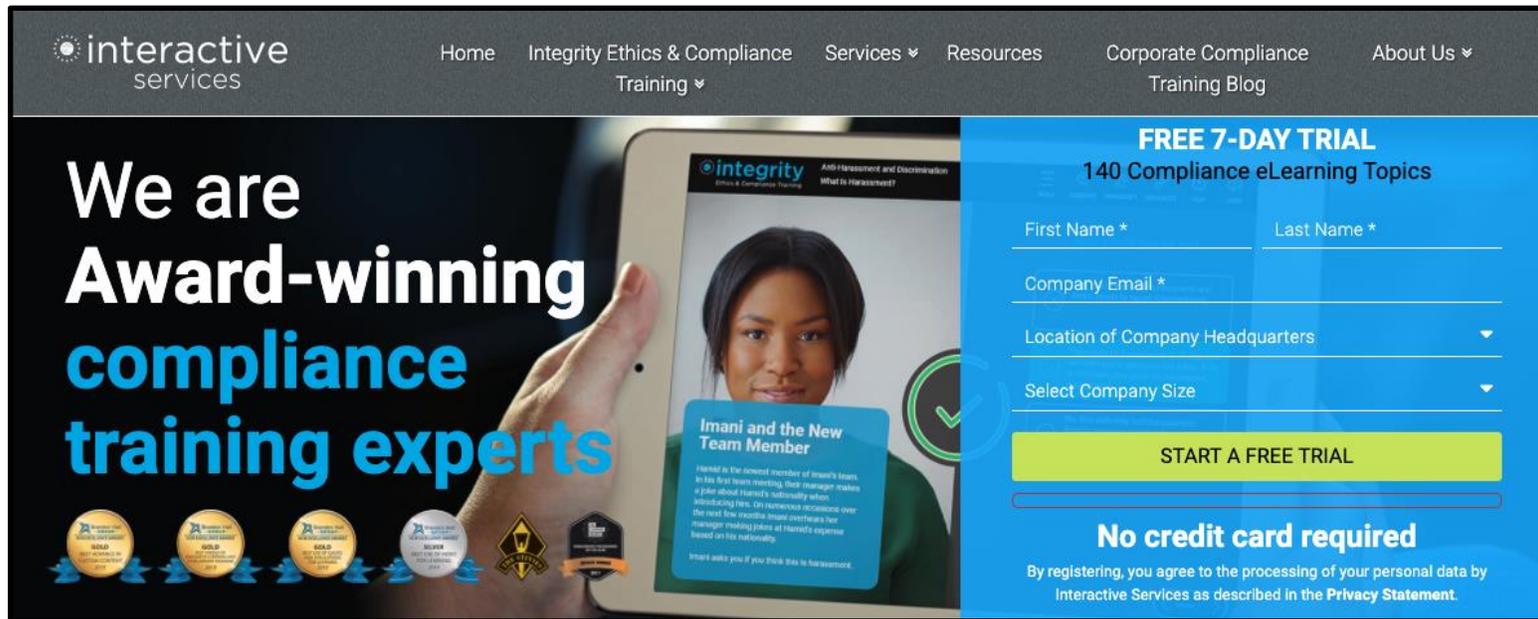
If we consider only the denotation of these words – i.e. the moral principles that govern a person's behaviour or the conducting of an activity (ethics) and the quality of being honest and principled, or of being whole and undivided (integrity) – it is clear what is being connoted: something of far greater commitment and import than a merely (regulative institutional) *compliance* is being sought. To frame this around the discourses at work here, we might say interdiscursivity is evident in the manner in which the (cultural-cognitive institutional) genre of morality discourse is being subsumed within the (partially-hidden discourse and) practice of (regulative) compliance. The accompanying neoliberal corporatist signifiers of the woman-of-colour's smiling face and name are noteworthy of course as normative neoliberal institutions, though the throughgoing deconstruction of such visual language will be saved for the IBEN course itself.

5.3.3 FOREGROUNDING THE CULTURAL COGNITIVE: A 'DEVELOPMENTAL APPROACH' AND 'MINDSET'

The empirical data object referred to in this section – the Introductory Module of the IBEN Training Interface– is captured in a linear sequence of screenshots depicting the entire interface

in Appendix 5.

The first page of the IBEN training itself advises that:

> It aims to help you, as an educator in the network, understand the revised
> IB Programme standards and practices framework, or PSP framework,
> regardless of your role. All IB educator roles are impacted by this shift
> towards a developmental approach to supporting schools. As part of the
> IB Educator Network, you are responsible for adopting and modeling
> this new mindset as part of your commitment to the IB mission. This
> will ensure quality and fidelity in the implementation of IB
> programmes. (IBEN PSP Introductory Course, 2020, Module 1:
> Introduction, p.1)

The mix of discourses is striking, and foreshadows the wholesale exercise of indirect power
through discourse and forms of identity that will characterise this training. A 'developmental
approach' implies something humanist and pluralist within the traditions of the IB's philosophical
and pedagogical discourses – its 'front-end', public organisational and educational identity. The
next sentence takes us away from this cultural cognitive discourse in a more categorical – so
regulative and normative – direction as the trainee is told that they are 'responsible for adopting
and modelling this new mindset'. Again, the pervasive message being that behavioural compliance
alone is not enough, one's 'mindset' or *cognition* must change, and this must be modelled (so
impacting *culture*). Finally, we are reminded of the underpinning regulative and normative pillars
to this predominantly cultural cognitive institutionalization in a reinforcement of the imperatives
here with a more direct language of compliance in reference to 'quality and fidelity in the
implementation of IB programmes' (IBEN PSP Introductory Course, 2020, Module 1:
Introduction, p.1)

The cultural cognitive language of 'mindset' is then built-up again (the interdiscursivity
here is nimble) as we are told is a effusively upbeat voiceover accompanying a video montage of
giddily-smiling educators, cherubic students and a 'feel-good' muzak backing-track (snapshots
indicating this below in Figure 5-8 that 'The 2020 *Standards and Practices* are grouped according

to four elements to provide a schema of a school's ecosystem' (IBEN PSP Introductory Course, 2020, Module 1: Introduction, Video 1, 52 seconds-1 minute) .

Figure 5-0-8: 'Feel-good' IB Ecosystem Montage (IBEN PSP Introductory Course, 2020, Module 1: Introduction, Video 1)
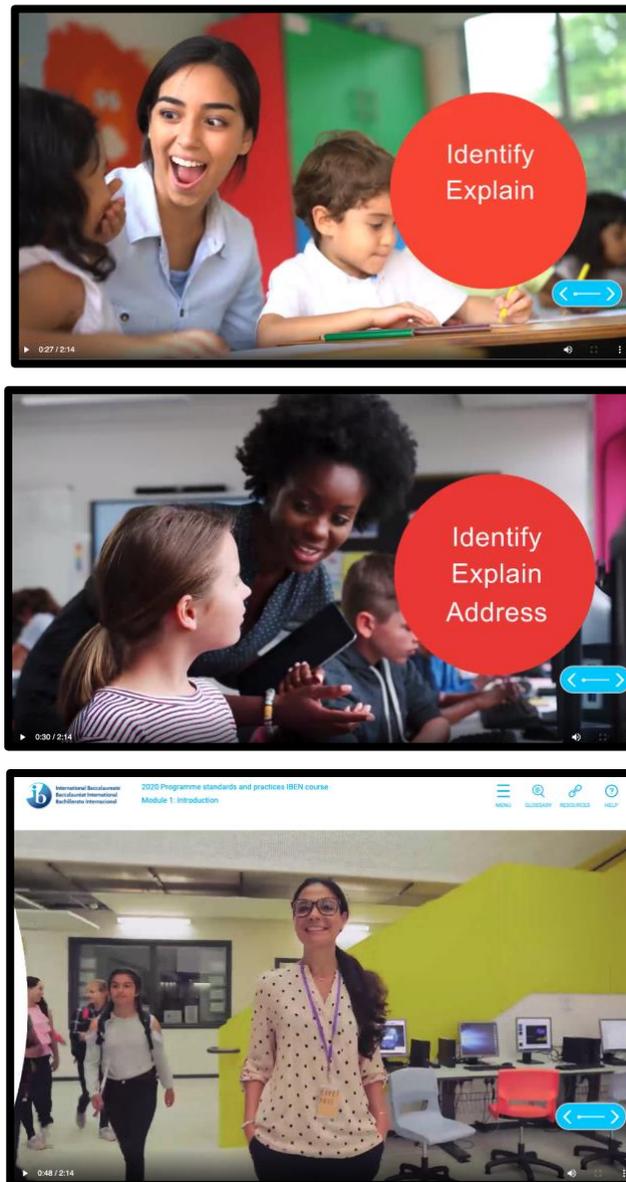
The use of organic analogies such as 'ecosystems' is, of course, now commonplace in imbuing organizational models with a sense of natural order and evolved efficiency. But, in combination with the reference to schema – which describes mental sets or representation of complex phenomena as unified wholes in human psychology – this builds on the earlier 'mindset' to develop an emergent semantic field of internalized compliance; an anthropomorphic compliance

that pervades one's identity; visually denoted by the shining light within the human mind icon at the top of the next infographic of said four elements as shown in Figure 5.8, below, which, indeed, accompanies the aforementioned description of the 'ecosystem':

Figure 5-0-9: IB's Infographic of the Four-element Schema of a School's Ecosystem (IBEN PSP Introductory Course, 2020, Module 1: Introduction, Video 1)
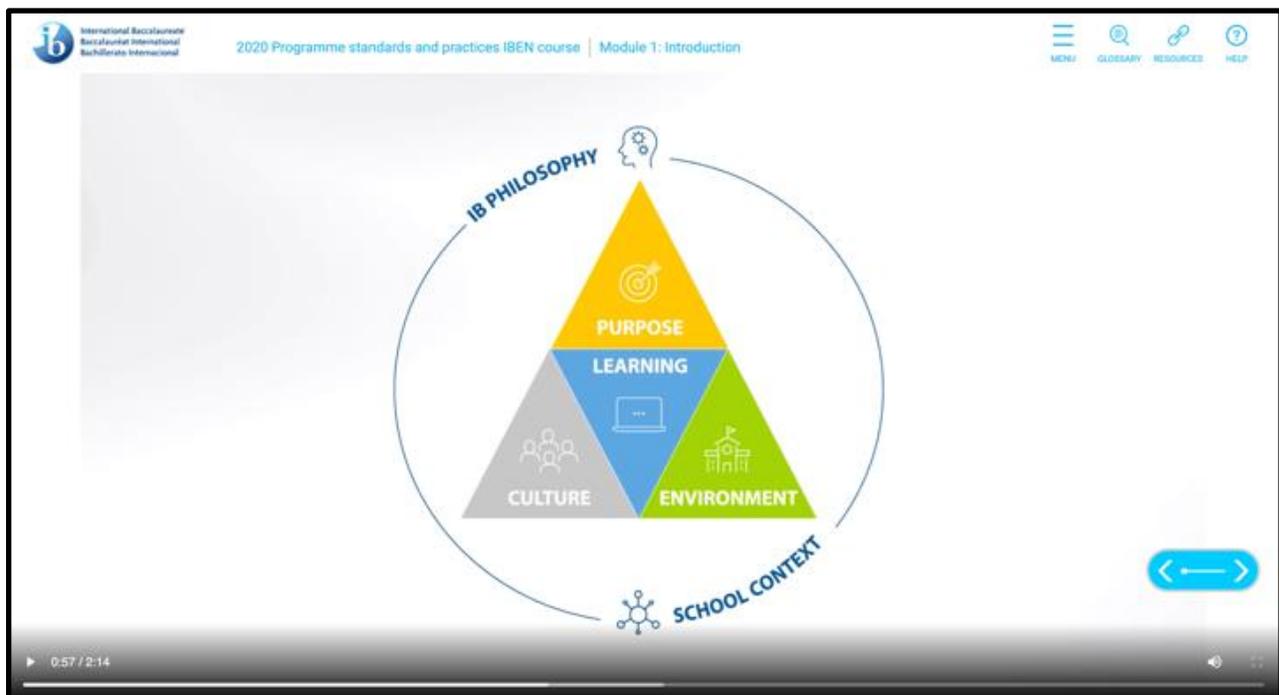
5.3.4   GOVERNMENTALITY: A CREATIVE INTERFACE; A PASSIVE, COMPLIANT TRAINEE

The detailed critical framework, reproduced from Chapter 3 (below) for the reader's convenience, contains representation of *creativity* whereby the creation of meaning by individual *actors* (or Agency) operates in diametrical opposition to a meaning-making *institutionalization* process (or Governmentality).

Figure 3-5: Detailed Critical Framework: Foucauldian Governmentality and Institutional Legitimacy vs the capacity of Individual Actors for Decoupling and Agency
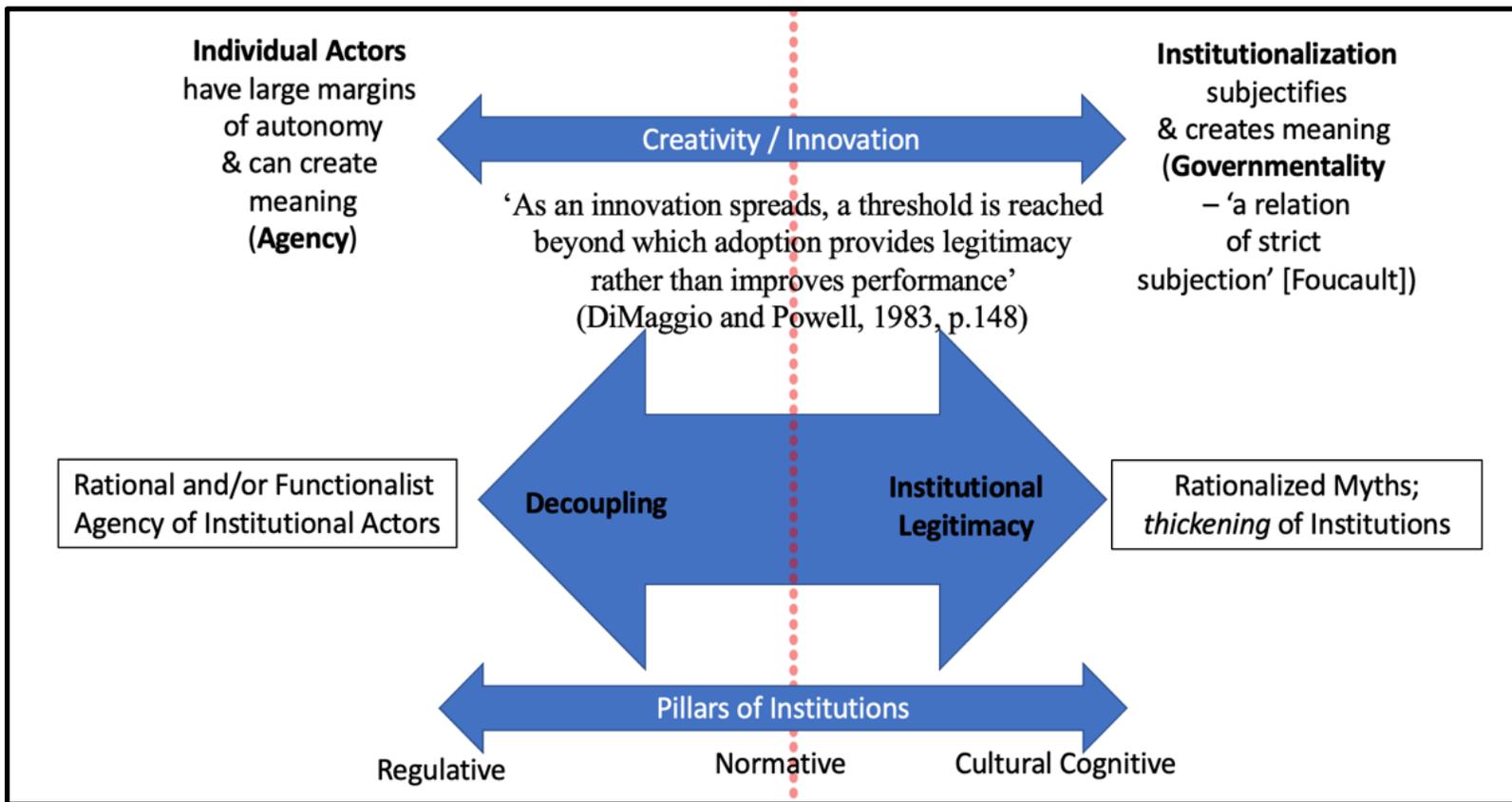
IBEN trainees are given various semblances of active engagement within the compliance training, which serve, rather, to mute any active or critical engagement. One such occurs early in the training (immediately following the viewing of the 'feel-good' video, above) where the trainee is invited to compare the 2020 PSP with its predecessor – the 2014 PSP, as shown in Figure 5.9, below. An objective side-by-side comparison of this key institutional text with its historical predecessor is certainly informative in the current study of the institutionalization *process*, but – moreover, from the perspective of the trainees – could serve as rich stimulus for critical engagement within the training. The richness of stimulation provided by the interface, however, is definitively oriented away from such individual actor critical/creative meaning-making, and instead towards cultural cognitive hegemony. Against an emotively biased visual background of celebratory children on soft pastel colours, we are invited to 'slide the arrow to see a comparative description between the two versions'. The semblance of active engagement and critical utility is,

in fact, the opposite: the interface rather prevents true comparative critical engagement, since not only is a cultural framing of celebratory young children discouraging us from anything but adulation at the changes, but moreover the slide-function of the interface means that one cannot view both 2020 and 2014 PSP simultaneously to perform a comparative analysis.

Figure 5-0-10: The Interface invites – yet precludes – Comparison of the 2014 and 2020 PSP (IBEN PSP Introductory Course, 2020, Module 1: Introduction)

However, if one does set these alongside one-another on a static, unemotive background, as per the arrangement of screenshots in Figure 5.10, below, it is very quickly apparent that the most immediately visible differences are – indeed – the miscegenation of cultural cognitive institutional discourses throughout the formerly almost entirely regulative institutional discourse. The aforementioned anthropomorphic descriptions and more broadly humanist discourse genre predominate in 2020, with references to designing and describing 'developmental journeys', 'be[ing] mindful', and 'the heart of being an IB school'.

But in the midst of this humanist language, connoting human creativity and agency, Criteria D belies rather an inverse correlation – as per the conceptual model – between human agency and this creative institutionalization process in the 2020 PSP. Beyond these cultural cognitive signifiers (which do not appear to refer meaningfully to any new material elements in the 2020 PSP) we have further detailed 'Specifications, which are included with requirements and detail programme-specific elements.'

Figure 5-0-11: Critical Juxtaposition of the 2014 and 2020 PSP (IBEN PSP Introductory Course, 2020, Module 1: Introduction)

The IB 2014 PSP

The 2014 PSP are the general requisites established for schools to implement any IB programme. They indicate what schools must have in place to implement the programmes and are what schools demonstrate in order to maintain authorization; they can be reached by implementing the practices identified for each standard.

The PSP include:
a. Standards, which are general requisites established for schools to implement any IB programme.
b. Practices, which are further definitions of the standards.
c. Requirements, which are programme-specific, as each programme has unique features and demands-specific requirements.

The IB 2020 PSP

The 2020 PSP framework helps schools describe and design their developmental journeys, and provides guidance on presenting evidence for authorization and evaluation.

The PSP include:
a. Standards, which are general principles that lie at the heart of being an IB World School.
b. Practices, which are further definitions of the standards that include references to implementation.
c. Requirements, which are more specific and refined measures of implementation.
d. Specifications, which are included with requirements and detail programme-specific elements.

The revised PSP framework asks all IB educators to be mindful both in language and practice. Now that you have reviewed the differences between the versions, let's take a closer look at the 2020 IB PSP framework.

And herein lies the central mechanism in this apparatus of control and compliance: a language of mindful development and organic differentiation that in fact manifests in greater levels of specificity and regulative behavioural (and associated normative attitudinal) compliance.

This framing/obscuring of regulative and normative practices and discourses in cultural cognitive discourse is built-upon in the next screen, shown below in Figure 5-12, through a further

paragraph profuse with promotional discourse through the now extended conceit of a humanist/organic 'creative developmental model' and an 'exciting evolution'. A tension inherent in the IB's neoliberal global market positioning – an elite educational model, with utopian / inclusivist rhetoric – also becomes pronounced here as this developmental model combines with 'an aspirational approach… that together belong uniquely to the IB' (IBEN PSP Introductory Course, 2020, Module 1: Introduction). The semiotics and composition here are highly emotionally manipulative: a modestly plaid-shirt dressed young man of colour is depicted alongside this statement, his aspirational gaze upwards, he is warmly lit, against a soft-focus background where we can just discern another (neoliberal corporate) archetype – gray-bearded, red tie against dress-shirt, older, Caucasian male. This first of six modules – 'Module 1: Introduction' – thus draws towards its emotive conclusion in semiotics powerfully aligning with the prose text here in an emergent globalist discourse of corporate-elitist-aspiration-meets-constructivist-utopia.

Figure 5-0-12: 'An Aspirational Approach' (IBEN PSP Introductory Course, 2020, Module 1: Introduction)

This screen concludes in a question, and so the semblance of critical inquiry again – 'As we revised the framework, what did we do to increase understanding, balance creativity and

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consistency, and allow for flexible and customized adoption?' – again, followed by the semblance of active engagement as we must 'Advance to the next screen to learn about the building blocks of our new model' (IBEN PSP Introductory Course, 2020, Module 1: Introduction).

This false semblance of constructivist inquiry is perhaps most pronounced in the culminating activity to each section of the PSP training, shown below in Figure 5-13.

Figure 5-0-13: 'Pause and Reflect' (IBEN PSP Introductory Course, 2020, Module 1: Introduction)

Pause and reflect

Pause and reflect on the following:

What most excites you about the revised PSP? How might you express the aspirational nature of the standards in your conversations with educators and schools?

Go to the Resources section and download your Reflection Journal. You will be able to use this Reflection Journal throughout the orientation to write down your personal reflections and any notes you would like to take. At the end of the orientation, you will be able to download your reflections for reference and consideration in the future. Before advancing to the next screen, we encourage you to pause and reflect, recording your reflections on all or some of the questions above.

In addition, we encourage you to log into my IB, click on IBEN Engage, and access "PSP 2020 Discussion Group" to join in further discussion on these and the other reflection questions to continue the conversation. See what your colleagues are saying and participate in a conversation on this exciting new shift to a development approach to using the standards and practices.

We have concluded the introduction to the evolution of the PSP, and will now continue exploring the framework in greater detail.

We are invited to 'Pause and Reflect'. To reflect is to engage in serious thought or consideration – to pause before this implies even greater measure and temperance to the cognitive process. However, the prompts to reflection here are 'What most excites you? How might you express the aspirational nature of the standards in your conversations with educators and schools?'; two exercises in positively-biased information recall, rather than anything remotely like considered, creative or critical reflection.

5.3.5 CULTURAL COGNITIVE INSTITUTIONS AND/AS DISCOURSE IN IB GOVERNMENTALITY

The PSP Interface demonstrates institutions to thicken from *discourse* in initially the (abstract noun) sense of language-use conceived as social practice, through to the (continuous noun) sense of a way of conceiving experience from a particular perspective. Discourse as discrete, contingent practices has been shown to be a key part of the regulative pillar of IB institutions, building on their earlier foundation in these in the previous iteration of the PSP. In their new, more ambitious PSP and particularly this IBEN training interface, the intentional miscegenation of *genres* within discourse as a way of conceiving experience is central to their more ambitious (or, we might say, creative) institutionalization process. This exercise in *interdiscursivity* – where these organisational texts are constituted from diverse discourses and genres – is central to their building on the normative towards a totalizing cultural cognitive pillar of institutions. So *discourse* in this secondary (continuous noun) sense is developed from this application of discursive strategies in the IB's institutionalization process. The margins of *agency* accorded to individual actors within the IBEN training interface have been demonstrated to be diametrically opposed to the IBs exercise of *governmentality* – where they are strictly subjectivised – through discourse.

These conditions and processes through which cognitive institutions and/as discourse in IB governmentality develop can be visually mapped alongside the earlier elements in the detailed critical framework (Figure 3.5) to develop an explanatory framework. This development of an explanatory framework through CDA demonstrates important connections between institutionalization and/as discourse and the creative tension between decoupling and institutional legitimacy. It appears in Figure 5-14, below.

Figure 5-0-14: Explanatory Framework for Cultural Cognitive Institutions and/as Discourse in IB Governmentality
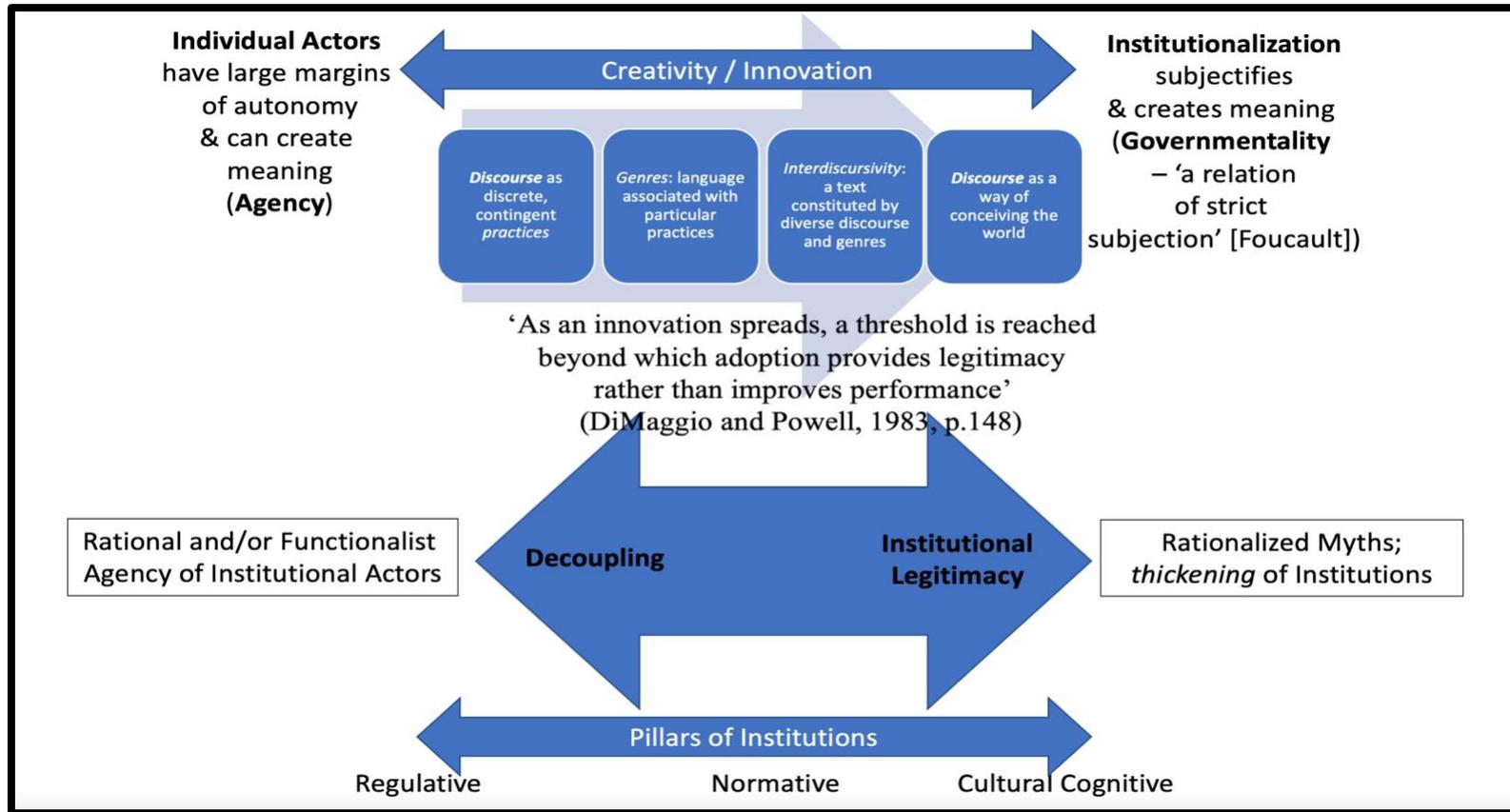
5.4 DATA SYNTHESIS: TEXTS AND LIVES; EXPOSITING THE INSTITUTIONAL AND THE INDIVIDUAL THROUGH A CRITICAL LENS

The two preceding phases of data exposition – life stories followed by CDA – have developed with and through various empirical tools in data extraction, in particular: the elucidation of conditions and processes referred to by individuals to make sense of their life story within the IB; and various conditions and processes of institutionalization through discourse used by the IB in their IBEN training interface. These are replicated, along with the Conceptual Framework from Figure 4.5, for the reader's convenience, below.

Figure 4-5: Conceptual Framework with Data Extraction Methods
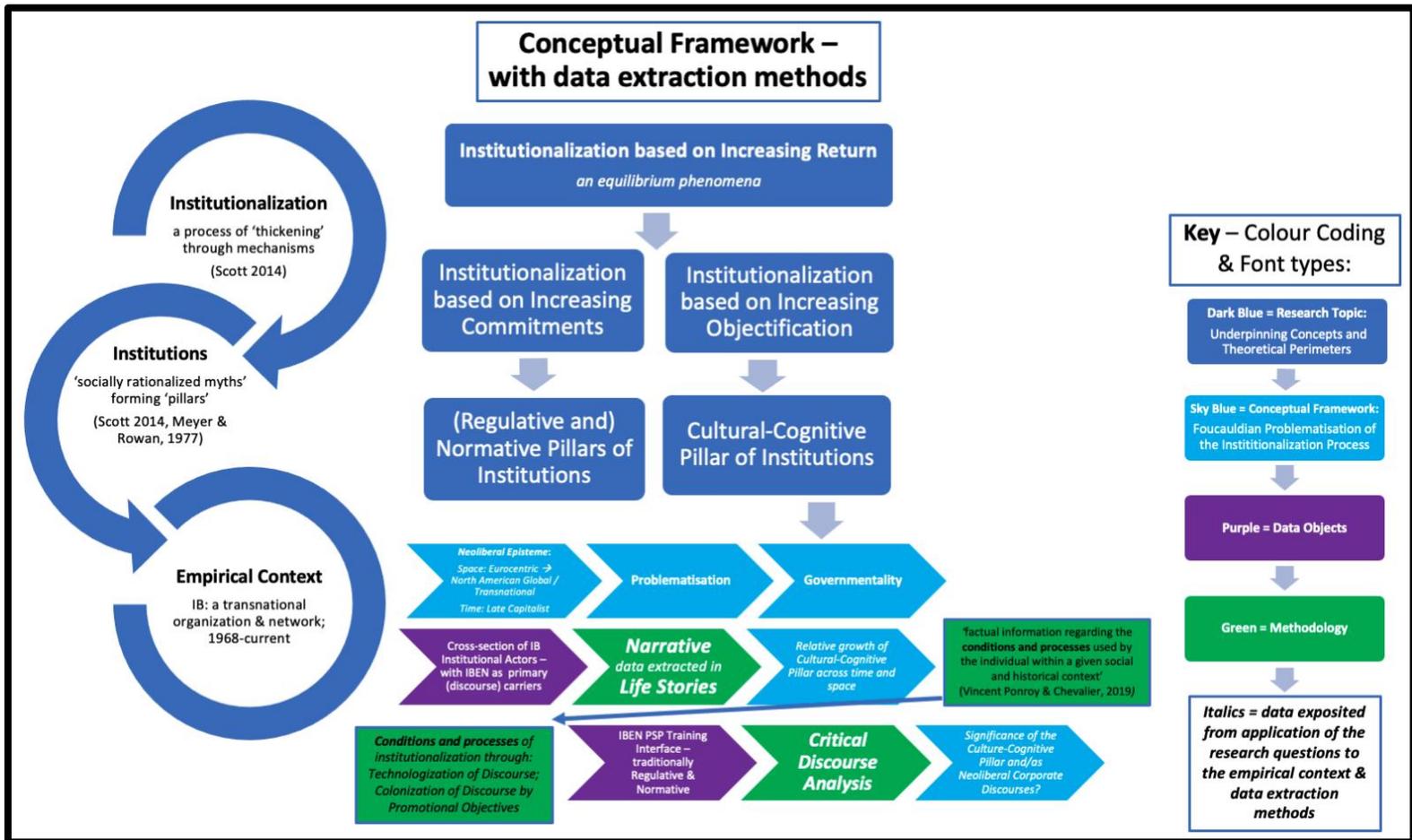
Building-upon the autobiographical/researcher-practitioner narrative preface, synthesis and thematizing of these several life stories alongside the outcomes of the CDA is performed at this stage in the research. As per the earlier infographic of the levels of discourse analysis (reproduced below for the reader's convenience), such a processing of the life story microcosms, in the ethno-sociological lexicon of life story analysis, takes us beyond mere 'sociology of work', through this 'subjective data' and towards developing 'exploratory frameworks' and 'theory building'.

Figure 4-4: Levels of Analysis and associated Conceptual and Interview Discourses and Practices

Research Design: Levels of Analysis	Research Method: Conceptual and Interview Discourses and Practices			
Institutionalization Theory-Building	Identifying the consequences of institutional discourses and practices on the verbal constructs of actors – and (in a tentative, dialectical addition to Chevallier and Miccaelli's original conceptualisation) vice versa i.e. whether / how actors can exercise their own agency in affecting the institutional discourses and practices of the IB			
Developing Exploratory Conceptual Frameworks of Institutionalization Processes	Research discourses and practices that organise individual and collective relations: networked and/or hierarchical relationships and identity, belonging and cohesion as based on individual and collective constructs. Explore the margins & limits of these, so problematizing & elucidating awareness of competing institutional logics			
Subjective Data on Institutionalization	Research questions that examine the actor's feelings and beliefs about and relationship with the IB and IB schools based on trajectories and membership in several groups: social, family and ethnic, and organizational			
Sociology of Work	Developing knowledge of the social characteristics of the individual	Developing instruments of historical documentation by means of hitherto neglected data	Confronting the past of the individual with the verbal reconstruction that he or she presents	Developing knowledge of the beliefs and opinions of an individual

The rich detail and personal stories of lived experience through the growth of the IB enriches the more prosaic Critical Case Study presentation of timelines of organisational development. Moreover, with regards to the above-described theory building endeavour, the thematization of these various data points – case study delineation of the IB, life stories of IB Actors, and CDA on the IBEN interface – in a narrative synthesis greatly adds to their plausibility and explanatory veracity. This triangulation of data through themes exposits the mechanisms that govern the social environment as a whole (or mesocosm) – the institutions that operate in the IB organizational field. From here, we may also be able to draw further inferences about the epistemic (or macro-level) context of neoliberalism.

5.4.1 THEME 1: THE IMPORTANCE OF CULTURAL COGNITIVE INSTITUTIONS AND/AS DISCOURSE

All of the life stories subjects articulate an appreciation of the importance of cultural and

personal-psychological conditions and processes within their educational and (organisational) institutional experiences. From Kashvi's emphasizing the value of these elements alongside ritual and celebration inculcating values in her childhood, through Harriet's insistence that these – beliefs and principles – must be meaningfully aligned with her vocation, to Jacob's, Raphael's, Abbie's and Sam's endorsement of 'international mindedness' as being produced by certain material conditions, there is a common theme and sophistication of understanding expressed: that cultural cognitive institutions are incredibly important. That discourse is central to these is implicit throughout of course – it is through (interview) dialogue that this rich data is exposited – but moreover explicit reference is often made to the importance of language; from Abbie and Helen's pragmatic professional wisdom of needing to simplify IB pedagogical jargon to develop teacher confidence and innovation, through to Raphael's 'code switching' propensity to adopt different ideological positions according to the language system he is using.

Needless to say, the performance of CDA upon the IBEN training interface likewise amply demonstrates the incredibly important nature of cultural cognitive institutions. Indeed, we can observe within the development of this training interface, and broader trends in the evolution of the 2020 PSP from its earlier iteration, an endeavour in the IB's institutionalization process to subsume the regulative and normative pillars of institutions within the cultural cognitive through discourse.

5.4.2   THEME 2: COMPETITION AND DIFFERENTIATED MODELS FOR SUCCESS SUPPORTING HOLISTIC DEVELOPMENT

Another common theme is competition and differentiated models for success. All of the interview subjects express a positive relationship with competition and differentiating themselves academically – ranging from Harriet's expression of finding in this a developmental scaffold with which to move beyond problematic family background/attachment issues, through Raphael, Kashvi and Sam's adaptive absorption in this, to the more pragmatic relationship with this expressed in Jacob and Abbie's narrative. What they have in common is an appreciation of competition in education as being perhaps inevitable and certainly important but also – particularly when discussing the global university credentialism associated with IB Diploma results, and as exemplified through Sam's story in this respect – with the power to be extremely damaging

culturally, and cognitively. The manner in which academic competition can take shape in adaptive or, alternatively, traumatic narrative strands is shown to be interdependent with wider aspects of culture and cognition: from Kashvi and Sam's experience of (something like) trauma (both articulate a something like a depressive episode and period of several months 'recovery') when they are denied time and space to differentiate themselves academically; through to the value that all identify with the challenge but the great potential value that the MYP and PYP frameworks offer in providing differentiated (i.e. non-standardised) models for 'success'.

The CDA demonstrates the IB to be more than cognisant of this in the development of their institutions; indeed, the training interface is shown to be a wholesale (mis)appropriation of a constructivist developmental psychology lexicon. However perhaps cynically employed towards 'compliance' in this interface, they certainly know the preferred discourses of their stakeholders/institutional actors: a humanist developmental-psychological and socially constructivist semantic field of 'aspirational approach[es]… the IB'[s] developmental journeys… be[ing] mindful… the heart of being an IB school… a creative developmental model…. exciting evolution and… ecosystem' (IBEN PSP Introductory Course, 2020, Module 1: Introduction).

5.4.3   THEME 3: THE IB AS A PERSON-CENTRED DEVELOPMENT IN A COMPLEX WORLD

A narrative structure is apparent across the chronology of different life stories – or, we might say, these narratives share a common plot. This relates to narratives of differentiated (i.e. non-standardised) models for 'success'. All of these IB actors, appropriately enough, express an appreciation of the challenging but worthwhile endeavour to produce richly engaging and differentiated inquiry-based learning environments. The narrative patten takes shape in an experience of disenchantment with the societal institutions associated with education at some point in their (learning) journey as a prelude to the world of experiential, inquiry-based learning (associated with the IB) opening-up as an exciting and engaging alternative to institutionalized mediocrity. The IB thus emerges as person centred development – and the preferable institutional logic – in a complex world. In the case of Kashvi, this is an experience of deeply institutionalized gender bias that denies her ongoing engagement with meritocratic competition just before she discovers inquiry-based learning at grad-school; in the case of Harriet, this is her first year in the international sector in an awful school in Cairo before VSO temple-teaching and then her great

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experiences in international school leadership in Bangkok; in the case of Abbie, Jacob and Raphael it is most explicit in their discovery of the IB field, having previously had a purely pragmatic and 'non-mission driven', or transactional relationship with learning; in the case of Sam it is likewise in his finding space to flourish in the IB PYP and then MYP programmes at YYY International School after the profound sense of invisibility and mediocrity he has experienced in Singapore. Of course, while this positive narrative structural framing of IB institutions is pervasive and remains significant, the inverse trajectory must also be noted in Sam's story and endorsed by the observations of others: the transition from the MYP into the IB Diploma being a profound experience of standardised-assessment induced pressure.

The IBEN interface can be seen to pervasively appropriate such (emotive) 'growth narratives' through CDA – from its explicit use of 'aspirational' and 'developmental' discourses, to the more implicit embedding of these within its visual semiotics.

5.4.4   THEME 4: PROGRESSIVE GROWTH FROM WITHIN THE IB

Self-evident, perhaps, in the selection of the educator life story subjects – since all but Sam'snmare deeply embedded within the field, in IB educator/leader roles – but nonetheless noteworthy, is a relatively common expression of an endeavour to push the IB's institutions constructively from within, rather than outright rejecting them. From Kasvi's skepticism of 'disruptive innovators' and valuing of deep classroom experience in (IB) leadership, through Abbie's demonstration of a model of effective pedagogical leadership in the ability to adopt a dynamic position between institutional legitimacy and elective decoupling, to Raphael's championing of a model for progressive, incremental ideological change through IB globalist expansionism, all see value in the ongoing growth of IB institutions from within. Even those who have a more critically detached relationship with IB institutions – be that due to not currently being employed within them (Sam and Harriet) or to having relative strategic agency/power within a wider plurality of educational institutions (Jacob) – express an appreciation of their value in some times and spaces: they would change some elements, or elect not to use them in certain contexts, but still see value in their distinctive character. The demonstration of a pervasively cultural cognitive institutionalizing endeavour in the application of CDA on the IBEN training interface certainly aligns with this: there appears to be an assumption of profound stability to the regulative and normative institutional pillars; a stable foundation upon which the wholesale development of

the cultural cognitive pillar is to be built.

5.4.5   THEME 5: TIME AND SPACE IMPLEMENTATION COMPLEXITIES AND PERVASIVE DECOUPLING

The exposition and thematization of these life stories demonstrate the later assumption – of profound stability to the regulative and normative institutional pillars – to be invalid. All life story subjects express – and narrate compellingly – instances of where the reality of IB institutions have been profoundly decoupled from their practices. This is most tangible and pervasive – and aligns with research delineating the case study – in the reality of the IB Diploma as a competitive standardised university admissions credential rather than a truly student-centred, holistic and balanced learning experience. But this might be only the most consistently visible example of a broader phenomenon. From Harriet's experience of the tendency for IB Coordinators to assume the role of 'malcontent gatekeeper' – rigidly parroting IB rhetoric and inhibiting innovative organizational/educational growth, a testament to the narrow, subjectivising 'success' of the model exposited through CDA on the IBEN interface – through Raphael and Jacob's acknowledgement of the great challenges in implementing its more ambitious and distinctive pedagogies properly, to Abbie's concession that it was only with the time, space and institutional maturity to know when to institutionally decouple that she really led the MYP Programme well, all acknowledge this: that implementing IB programmes well requires great organisational commitment, expertise and, crucially, the dynamism/agency to move beyond being crudely subjectivised objects of an IB governmentality. To remind ourselves of a useful set of parallel critical concepts: our life stories here do not demonstrate the reductive functionalism of being simple objects in the 'transmi[ssion] of shared beliefs to third parties—individuals who played no role in constructing them'(Scott, 2014, p.148). The critical awareness and agency of these life story subjects instead demonstrates that institutions, like the culture from which they are formed, 'is certainly managed, powerful groups within organizations are more able to define meanings than their subordinates, but it does not necessarily follow that [culture or its associated institutions are definitively] 'manageable' in the neat sense proposed by the culturalist gurus [and their organizational institutionalist counterparts]'. (Parker, 2000, p.5)

This challenge to the development of IB institutions is in a wider context – another pervasive theme – of a goldrush sector where each of the senior leader subjects articulates a phase in their

career development where they fell-into seniority by virtue of necessity in a relative paucity of talent commensurate to the demands of the role. This also meaningful corresponds with the postructuralist, radical humanist leanings to Parker's investigation as he concludes 'Firstly, that terms like 'organization' and culture'' – alongside which I am asserting "institutions' – 'should be understood as processes that, in some way, draw together history and everyday practice , or what sociologists call structure and agency.' (Parker, 2000, p.81). The point Parker goes on to make regarding 'temporary stabilizations of meaning' might well be considered analogous to "institutions" as, 'Secondly , that these processes continually involve making shifting and temporary stabilizations of meaning with a wide variety of human and non-human resources.' The point with which he concludes this argumentation then supports the (postructuralist) conception of institutions are being socially (rationalised, mythic) constructued: 'Finally, that these meanings are contested because there are always competing understandings of what people and organizations are and should be doing' (Parker, 2000, p.81). Parker 'conclude[s] by situating [his] arguments within sociological accounts of the structure-agency dualism and argu[ing] for a form of understanding that recognizes the practical inseparability of structure and agency' (Parker, 2000, p.82), so moving from a conception of dualism to one of duality – i.e. one of interdependent vs oppositional relations. Such a form of understanding is, as Parker argues, indeed greatly enhanced by 'the usefulness of middle range terms like 'organization ' and ' culture ' as ways to avoid getting stuck on one side or another' (Parker, 2000, p.82) of this duality – of avoiding a reductive dualism. The endeavour here is likewise to frame "Institutions" and Institutionalisation" as such middle-range terms, or terms that helps us to understand the meso-level space of mediating between individuals, organisations and (a globalised, neoliberal) society.

6) ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

'a threshold is reached beyond which adoption provides legitimacy rather than improves performance' (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p.148)

The initial research question of this thesis has been: (RQ1) 'How do (organizational) institutions develop: the case of the IB?' This question allowed us to explore differentiated development of these institutions across time and space; exploring and so better understanding their (epistemic) context. In the process of developing a framework for answering this question, two sub research-questions were developed to help bring a sharper focus to different elements of this inquiry:

RQ2: How are (organizational) institutions thickened through actors and discourses within the IB?

This question allowed us to mobilize Scott's model of institutionalization as the process of institution thickening, of making institutions more permanent, particularly through the effects of discourse and related practices on institutional actors.

RQ3: How does organizational institutionalization operant within the IB interact with the wider societal context?

This question allowed us to mobilize Foucault's critical mode of problematization; deepening our understanding of the IB's institutions and institutionalization practices through awareness of socio-historical specificity and marginality.

The Conceptual Framework developed the perimeters through which these questions can begin to be answered. The Data Exposition chapter created the premises and developed the theories from which conclusions can be drawn in an attempt to answer these research questions. This chapter concluded in a data synthesis, where the development of themes across these data objects presented analytical categories.

RQ1 will be answered with reference to the conceptual framework as partly constituted by RQ2 and RQ3: that is to say that organizational institutions develop in the IB around a process of thickening – or institutionalization – through actors and discourses. RQ2 and 3 will then be answered with detailed reference to the data exposition. The answering of these questions, and in particular consideration of RQ3, and the problematisation of organizational institutionalization with reference to the wider societal context, will facilitate a looping back to RQ 1 and further analysis and discussion of the IB case study and what it might tell us about the larger phenomenon of how (organizational) institutions develop.

The elements of the conceptual framework will be mobilized with reference to the data exposition towards answering these questions. The concept of the institution, primarily conceived

through Scott's (2014) model, treats the elements of diffusion, decoupling, organisational fields, and isomorphism as inseperable. Practices and discourses that create and perpetuate institutions across time and space constitute institutional carriers and pillars; *institutionalization* is concerned with how these become permanent, how they 'stick'.

In the Data Exposition chapter, the analysis and thematization of data exposited how cultural cognitive institutions are incredibly important in the case of the IB – particularly and/as discourse. IB institutional actors were shown to be critically aware of this, and so sceptical of some of the cruder attempts to mobilize this such as in the IBEN training interface. This resistance to being subjectivised in a wholesale exercise of IB governmentality does not preclude, however, an enduring commitment to IB institutions for many of these institutional actors. Appreciation of the IB's provision of a powerful set of institutions supporting positive developmental framing of (academic) competition and differentiated models for success supporting holistic development were significant factors in this enduring commitment to IB institutions. The significance of time and space implementation complexities, and an awareness of pervasive institutional decoupling complicated this commitment. Nonetheless, a commitment to development of the IB institutions from within was typically the preferred response of these IB institutional actors to its challenges. In this chapter, the first objective is to elaborate on the critical conception of the development of institutions in light of this data exposition. The second objective is to analyse and draw conclusions about the broader context to this, particularly with consideration to transnationalism and neoliberal corporatism.

6.1 INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS AS PLURALIST NEXUSES OF INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS, CULTURES AND NETWORKS

As an outcome of the critical method of problematization – and particularly extrapolating from the life-stories – we can draw analytical depth from the finding that individuals within this IB world often do enjoy relative margins of agency, resistance and creativity as institutional actors. This problematisation can be expressed by revisiting the life stories of these institutional actors as nexuses of different institutional logics, with the IB as only one of these.

Drawing initially from my own problematizing preface (an element of Data Exposition –

displaced here from the linear sequence as per the constructionist/reflexive endeavour), we can start to identify a multiplicity of institutional logics, tensions and change dynamics. In my experience of them, and the aforementioned body of research most visibly led by former Director General of the IB George Walker (2000, 2004, 2010) IB institutions are certainly convergent with Eurocentric liberal humanist, and late capitalist institutions. Various complementary and competing institutional logics can be identified at the convergence of these different institutions. And this is just 'me', as one in a plurality of nexuses for institutional logics and change dynamics; one life story in the midst of a plurality of institutional actors.

If we draw upon the earlier schematic for institutional logics and change dynamics applied to the empirical context —

Figure 3-3: An Illustrative Model of Institutional Logics: Tensions and Change Dynamics applied to the Empirical Context
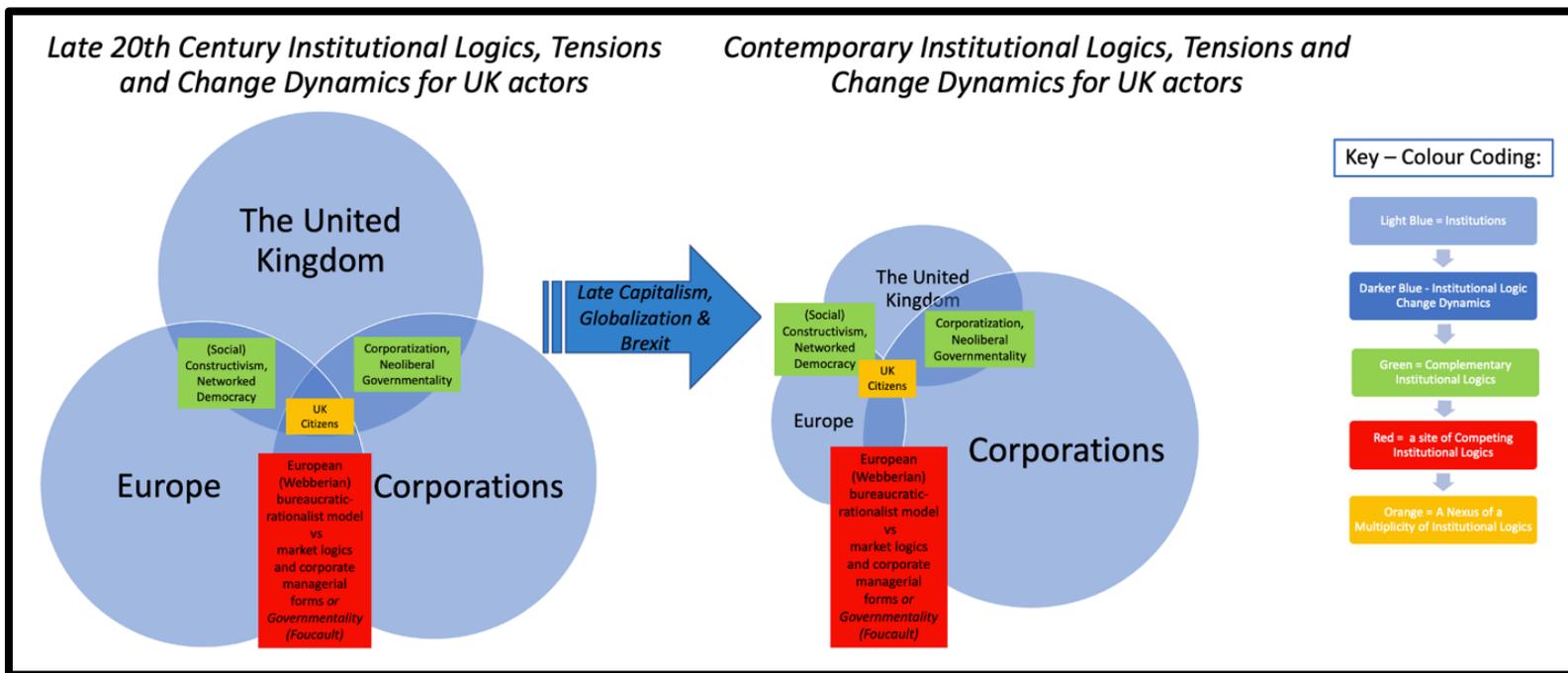
—we can quickly conceive of a dense proliferation of such pluralist nexuses of institutional logics.

Figure 6-0-2: A Schematic Demonstration of a Proliferation of Institutional Logics: me
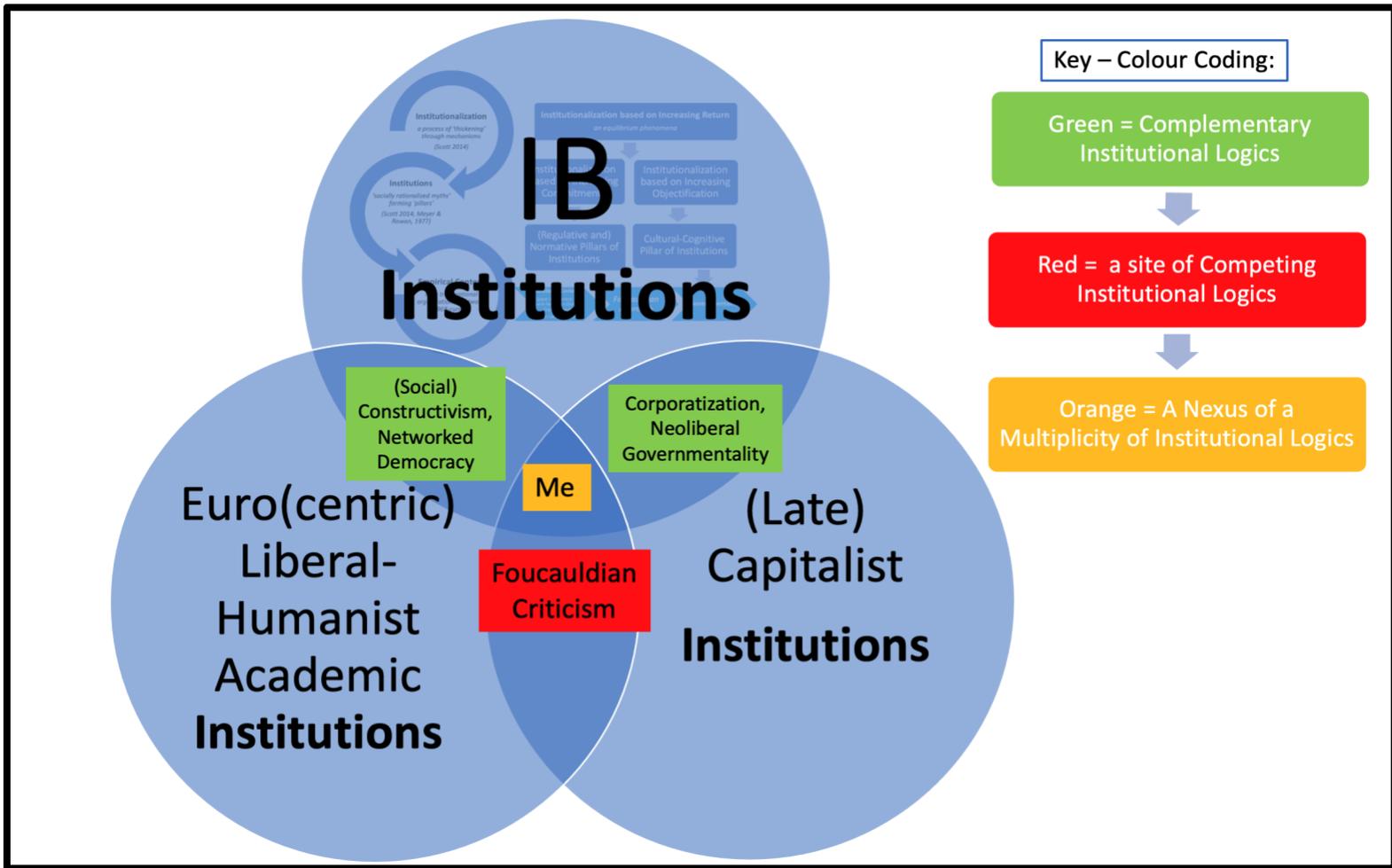
Figure 6-0-3: A Schematic Demonstration of a Proliferation of Institutional Logics: *Kashvi*
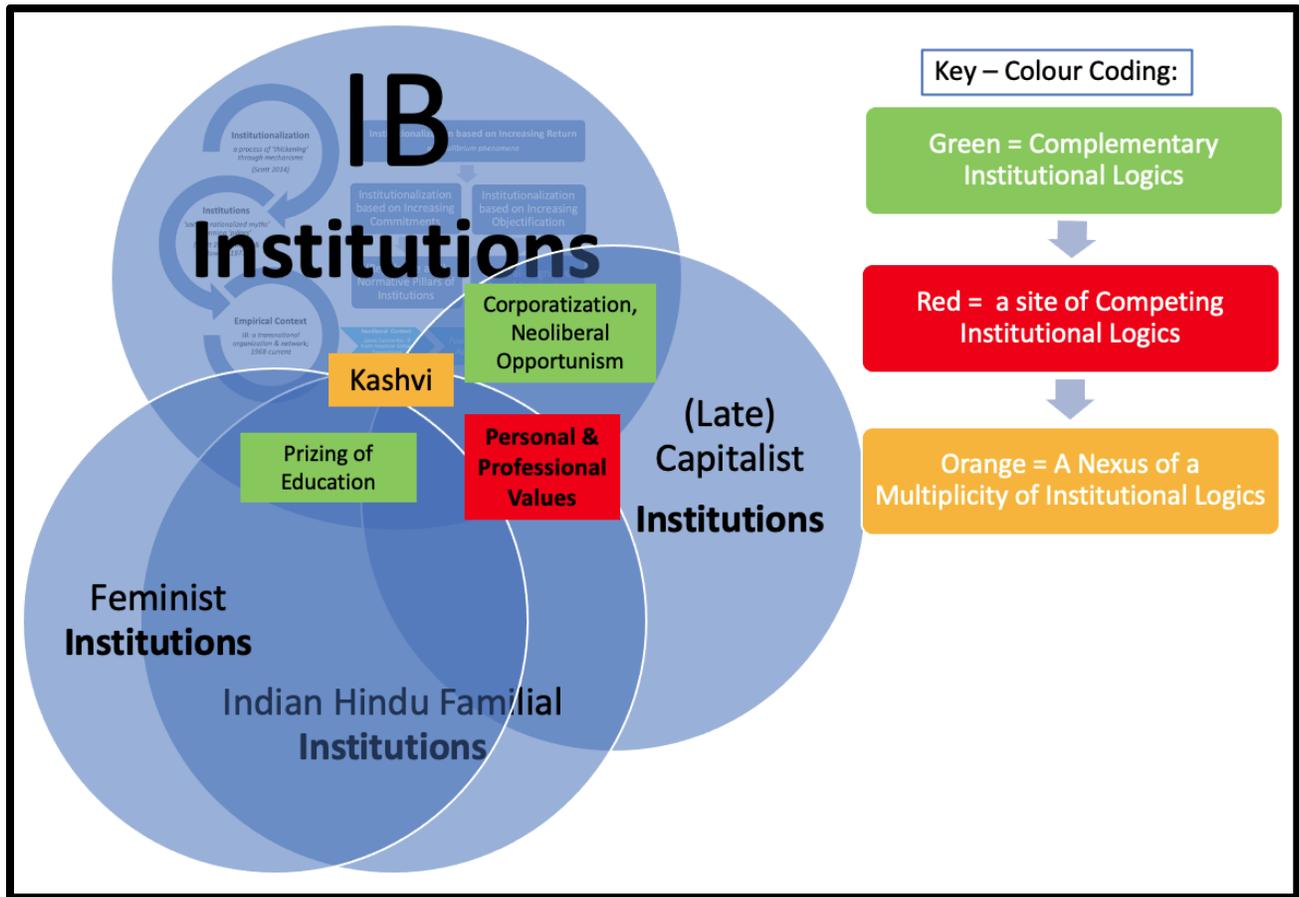
Kashvi's life story exposits the great social currency and opportunities for social mobility that that engagement with the IB world and its institutions can present; the credentialism of becoming an IB teacher launching her beyond the comparatively poorly paid domestic Indian education sector and into a profitable globalism. Such neoliberal opportunism presented a very complementary institutional logic with that of feminism – as did the prizing of education within IB, feminist and Indian Hindu familial institutions. This later institutional logic though, the domain of the Indian Hindu familial, also contributed to a site of competing institutional logics. Kashvi describes a field in which, for all their 'internationally minded' rhetoric, elite international schools were invariably profoundly Anglo-American. And, for good or bad, we can observe that the same neoliberal opportunism that took Kashvi and her children into the international education field, becoming an 'ex-pat', nomadic employee, took her away from the cultural identity and the institutions related to life within a family, culture and community in Mumbai. Additionally, that

same corporatist, neoliberal opportunism which had presented such careerist and social mobility for Kashvi herself was also associated with the ascendance of various educational leaders who lacked her own deep classroom experience and prizing of education. So, like me, Kashvi finds that the same IB international education field that has presented her with such rich opportunities is simultaneously a site of competing institutional logics as the (corporate, neoliberal, opportunist) growth of a goldrush sector sees educational leadership be driven by institutional logics (such as those of late capitalism) for which the prizing of education and the valuing of educator experience is not always foremost.

Figure 6-0-4: A Schematic Demonstration of a Proliferation of Institutional Logics: *Abbie*
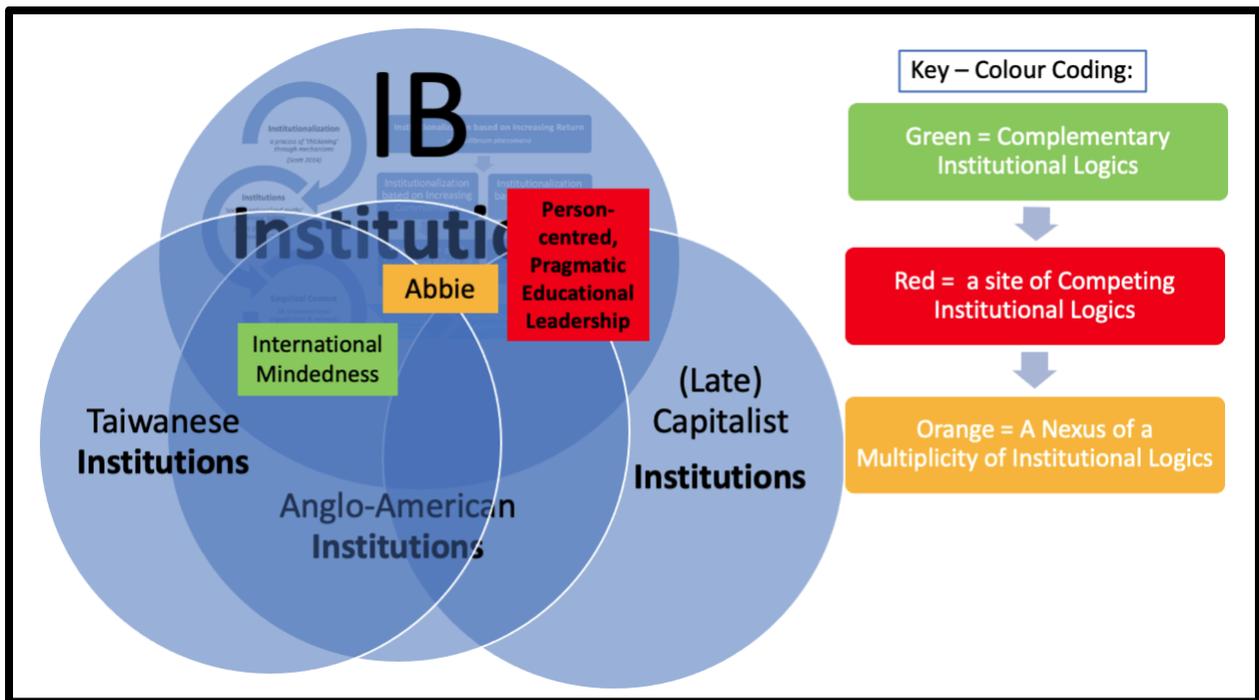
Abbie's life story is another testament to the value that the international school field and IB institutions can bring to the lives of individual actors through globalist institutions and credentialism. Contrasting, in this respect, Kashvi's familial position amidst competing institutional logics, Abbie's working alongside and marriage to a North American man exemplifies the manner in which IB World Schools can, indeed, be sites of powerful 'international mindedness'. Abbie's formative years of rose-tinted 'West is Best' far-eastern aspiration have matured into a position where Taiwanese and Anglo-American cultures and institutions are truly unified in the familial harmony (versus the competing institutional logics in this domain within Kashvi's life story) of being an 'international school family'.

But where the maturity of her familial 'international mindedness' is a site of complementary institutional logics, with professional maturity, a site of competing institutional logics has emerged in Abbie's relationship with the IB. Recognizing the over-complex, intimidating (linguistic and regulatory) institutions of the IB MYP (Middle Years Programme) Abbie describes how she will ignore elements of (/electively decouple from) IB regulatory orthodoxy in order to be as effective and person-centred, pragmatic a leader as possible. These competing institutional logics are apparently resolved positively in Abbie at the personal level

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('I'm Buddhist now'). Likewise at the institutional level: since we can conceive of the cultural-cognitive pillar of Abbie's leadership superseding the regulatory over-complex, intimidating (linguistic and) regulatory institutional pillars of the IB (such as MYP curriculum). But their apparent resolution in an exceptional individual is not to diminish the significance of these competing institutional logics.

Figure 6-0-5: A Schematic Demonstration of a Proliferation of Institutional Logics: Dr. Harriet
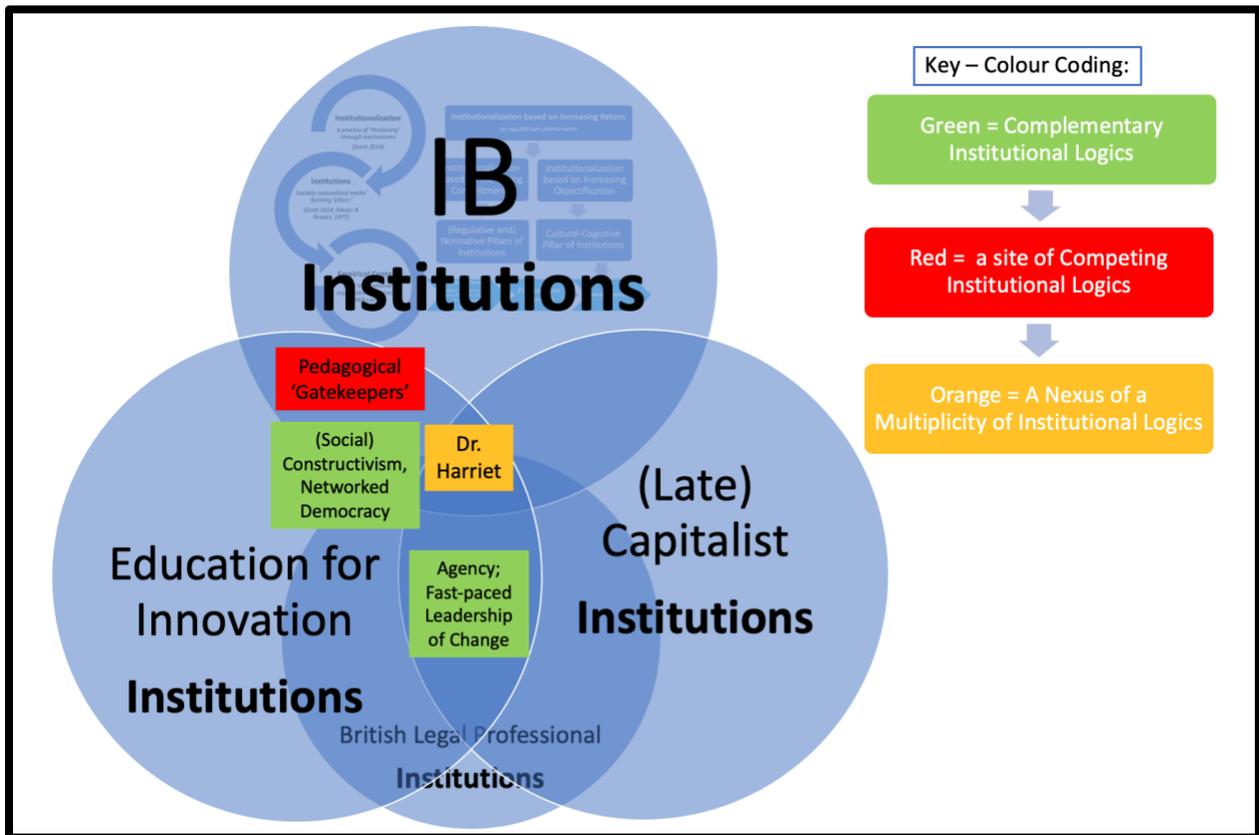
Dr. Harriet's life story presents another example, like Abbie's, of where IB Institutions compete with other institutional logics as an educational leader attempts to realise exceptional educational outcomes. With a professional dynamic pragmatism and ideological commitedness indebted to her background in the British legal profession, Harriet's story about education for innovation begins with the IB presenting a competing institutional logic to fast-paced leadership of change. IB Coordinators present as 'Gatekeepers' to Harriet, where her previous professional

experiences (including that of leading within a school implementing the less cultural-cognitive institutional pillar-oriented British curriculum model in a growing school in Bangkok) had allowed her to be the uncontested pedagogical leader as a Principal, implementing change quickly and within a distinctive vision for that school. This fast-paced change leadership was enhanced by the complementary logics of late capitalist institutions, and such neoliberal globalist organisational innovations as the hiring of cheap, highly skilled teaching assistants from the Philippines.

But in the context of mature IB Programme schools in Europe and Hong Kong, Harriet found that such fast-paced change leadership was hampered by the IB Institutions – particularly in the form of its curriculum coordinator 'Gatekeepers'. Where her story starts to aligns with that of Abbie's is in the dichotomy that emerges from these tensions: the same site of competing institutional logics ('Gatekeepers') ultimately yielded a complementary institutional logic when she mobilized the social-constructivist, networked democratic model of pedagogical leadership within the school to generate consensus and work with the (institutionalized) IB teachers and programme leaders to realize the complementary nature of Education for Innovation institutions with those of the IB – in a perhaps more enduring establishment of the later institutions.

Figure 6-0-6: A Schematic Demonstration of a Proliferation of Institutional Logics: Raphael
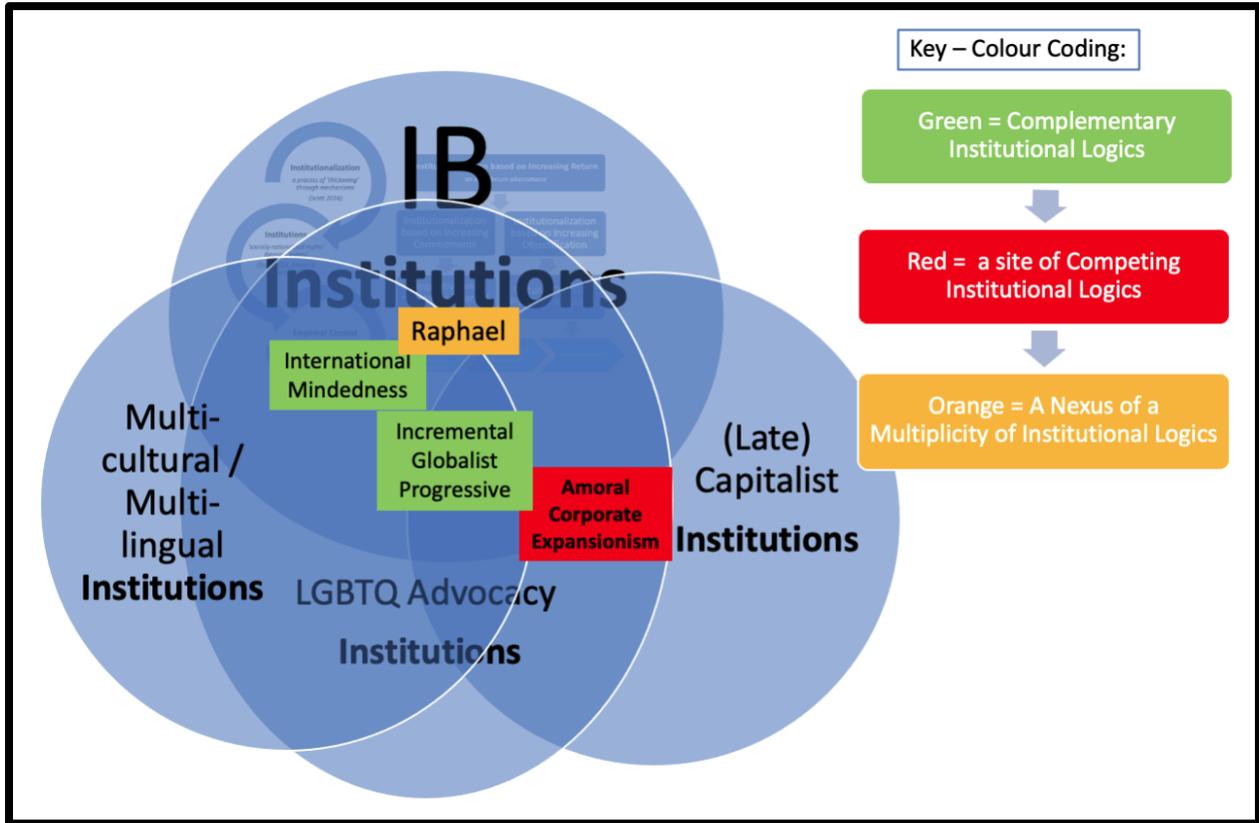
Raphael's life story is pervaded by 'International Mindedness', from his foundations in multi-lingual Switzerland, to his progressive vision for our future. He does recognize sites of competing institutional logics within the IB world, with its amoral corporate expansionism associated with late-capitalist institutions coming into most urgent conflict against LGBT advocacy institutions for Raphael.

Raphael's commitment to international mindedness, to the concept that 'other people with their differences can also be right' (*IB Mission*, 2020) aligns with the narrative development of his life, where different chapters describe the finding of 'rightness' in different sets of linguistic and(/as) cultures and institutions. His intellectualisation of this experience is a very post-structuralist one, and in this respect his reconciliation to the imperfect yet nonetheless progressive globalist positioning of the IB in a diverse world is entirely coherent. This is perpetuated by his operating within a more nascent division within the IB's networked/organisational structure: its Francophone schools. That the site of most urgent conflict

against the IB's globalist expansionism – against LGBT advocacy institutions – is one that is deeply personal, and so resists abject intellectualization for Raphael, is noteworthy.

Figure 6-0-7: A Schematic Demonstration of a Proliferation of Institutional Logics: Jacob
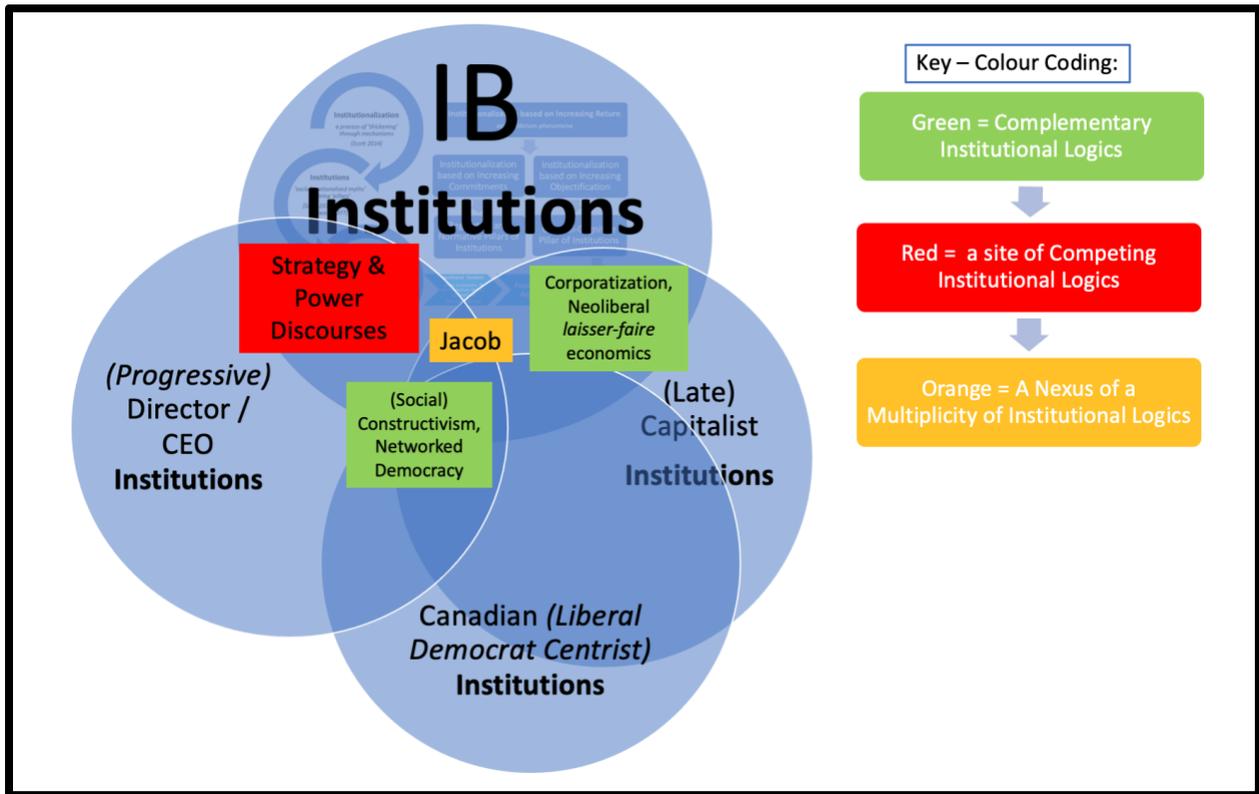
Jacob's life story contrasts with Raphael's, perhaps, as its protagonist operates from a position of greater distance from the IB and its institutions. Though sharing an appreciation of its more networked and porous golden years, in which early-career chapter he describes an experience of agency within the IBs institutions and their growth, Jacob's story acquires a critical distance from the contemporary IB and its neoliberal corporatization. Operating at Director/CEO level, his rejection of IB Institutions is strategic and context-based: they add little value in organizational institution-building in his current context; here they present a site of competing institutional logics. Meanwhile, in an affirmation of Raphael's description of the same, Jacob recognizes the complementary value that such institution-building can have in parts of the world where liberal progressive institutions are contested by other, less desirable institutional logics.

Figure 6-8: A Schematic Demonstration of a Proliferation of Institutional Logics: *Sam*
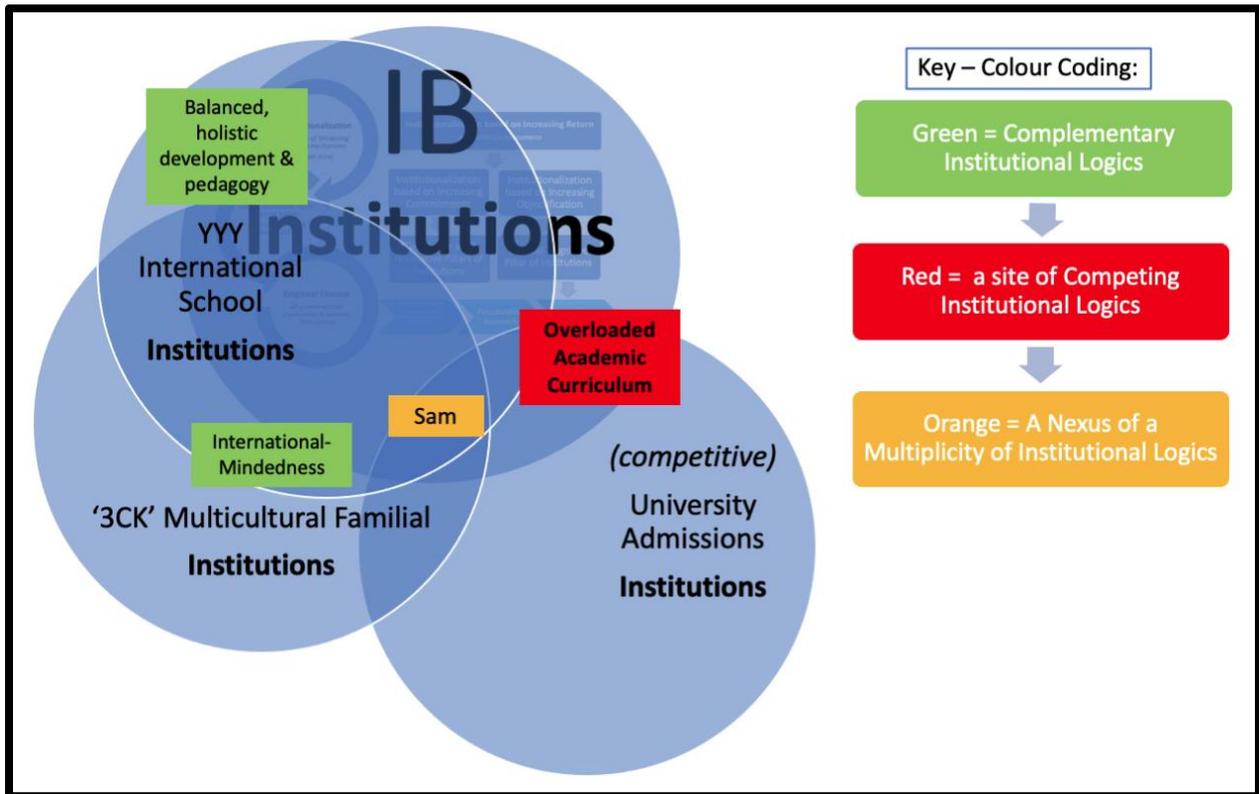
Sam's life story presents another embodiment of International Mindedness, and – in the context of YYY International School – an exemplary IB success story; a model of how its institutions support balanced, holistic development and pedagogy in a manner that is particularly complementary to the cultural complexities of multicultural 'third culture kid' (Pollock, Reken and Pollock, 2010, p.1) families.

Sam's story is deeply personal and subjective; his academic and developmental flourishing within these institutions is deeply indebted to the 'micro-cultures' of YYY International School, his mixed Thai-British heritage, and his healthily-competitive high-functioning jocular friend circle, amongst others. Such nuanced alignment of IB institutions with cultural, pedagogical and developmental complexity is shown to be delicately balanced; Sam acknowledges that other students did not flourish as he had within the middle years and elementary IB programmes (MYP & PYP) at YYY International School. Moreover, though, the academic and affective skills that these programmes incrementally developed supported Sam through the IB Diploma (DP) and to his chosen university destination, with relatively little scarring. However, the pedagogical and developmental 'leap' between MYP and DP – in the context of competitive university admissions

and how these shape the reality of DP programme implementation – is shown to be one that produces an experience of an overloaded academic curriculum, which Sam handled better than many of his peers. Sam's story elucidates how the competing institutional logics that the IB's Diploma programme in combination with competitive university admissions present to balanced, holistic development and pedagogy through the PYP & MYP is highly significant.

6.2   THEORIZING INSTITUTIONS AND INSTITUTIONALISATION

The plurality of the IB organizational field demonstrates Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) description of fields as sites of contestation, competition and the strategic self-interested (inter)actions of field-level actors. Scott's critical perspective of the concept of the organizational field is worth revisiting with reference to the 'helpful… point that contention is difficult if not impossible if players do not agree on what they are fighting about.' (2017, p862). While diffusion is a distinctly inter-organisational phenomenon, which has not been extensively explored here, institutionalization has been show here to be an intra-organisational phenomenon – i.e. one concerned with the relations between individual actors and the organisation(s) to which they belong. The (relatively) dynamic, contested and interactive space of the IB institutional field can be seen to present challenges to the IB as an organization aiming to develop pervasive institutions; in turn such have forces have shape the evolution of ever more sophisticated mechanisms of institutionalization.

Scott's (2014) description of the third of his pillars of institutions has been exposed as central to the IB's neoliberal corporate institutionalization. This endeavour towards knowledge-as power through (institutional) has, in turn, been conceived as a (cultural-cognitive) exercise in bio-power. The sense-making, identity and narrative formation of individual actors within such a process has been exposed through exploratory analysis. Drawing parallels with the aforementioned importance of Weber to critical management studies and how 'Governmentality brings Foucault very close to Max Weber's concern with rationalization and the ways that individuals come to govern themselves' McKinlay, Carter and Pezet's definition whereby 'Governmentality [is] Foucault's term for how institutions are imagined, [and] offers a way of understanding how specific

forms of knowledge and power emerge, develop and decline' (2012, p.3) is pertinent; it can help us to conceive of the manner in which IB institutionalization is a specific 'rationality' – or scientificity – which we can problematize and so critically interrogate.

This concept has great explanatory value in studying the IB and its institutionalization carriers. As an organization that espouses a liberal progressive, socially constructivist ideology, pedagogy and organizational ethos, with which its utilitarian/ideological foundation and initially 'networked' organisational structure in the late 1960s – early in neoliberalism's epistemic ascendence – was largely congruent, we can see its contemporary neoliberal corporate institutionalization as a problematization. Governmentality offers a useful language, then, for exploring how the emphasis in the institutionalization process in an increasingly neoliberal (and transnational) context like the IB leans into the cultural-cognitive pillar; how actors within the IB are subjectivised within governmentality and so become carriers of its institutionalization. Alongside the approach of subjectivisation, the Foucauldian lens facilitates theorizing institutions and institutionalization theory in a language that connects with such broader epistemic trends as neoliberalism and associated globalism and transnationalism.

6.3 (ORGANIZATIONAL) INSTITUTION THICKENING THROUGH ACTORS AND DISCOURSES

With consideration to RQ2 —

RQ2: How are (organizational) institutions thickened through actors and discourses within the IB?

—The (performance of CDA upon the PSP Interface demonstrates how the) IB attempt to implement institution thickening through discourse as a way of conceiving experience from a particular perspective.

Their attempt to subsume the regulative and normative institutional pillars within this wholesale emphasis on the cultural cognitive pillar of institutions in their institutionalization process can be usefully conceived as an attempt to exercise governmentality – that is to say: to totally objectivise its institutional actors through the unconditional subjectivisation of their primary institutional carriers (IBEN). The normative and regulative pillars are being developed, but there is an endeavour to subsume these within the cultural cognitive – to eliminate the possibility of

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divergence from these discursively, and so, cultural-cognitively, in a more pervasive form of power.

CDA exposited how the IB PSP training course presents a striking example of the manner in which the traditional discourses of power and control and such notions as 'standards', 'practices' and 'compliance' are intentionally miscegenated with a more indirect, disingenuous discourse of power and such language as 'mindset', 'ethics', 'development' and a broadly organic and often anthropomorphic discourse. The later discourse mode is a much more ambitious (and, we might say, creative) discourse of power and control, of securing categorical institutional legitimacy – primarily cultural cognitive, which is a shift from a simple time-and space contingent 'practice' to a more holistic, continuous 'way of seeing the world' – central to the IB's neoliberal institutionalization process, which we can conceive as governmentality. The anthropomorphization of the IB through this discourse is correlated with IBEN institutional actors experiencing a loss of agency, of opportunities for creative or innovative meaning-making; as the organization itself is imbued with human characteristics its actors are objectified – as per the 'Creativity/Innovation' axis of the Detailed Critical Framework. The performance of CDA and life stories data extraction supported eliciting narrative accounts of this institutionalization process, and also developing explanatory frameworks that articulate and problematize the relationship between the institutional and the individual.

6.3.2 CRITICALLY CONCEIVING, EXPOSITING AND PROBLEMATIZING INSTITUTIONS THROUGH DISCOURSE

Building upon Tolbert and Zucker's Component Processes of Institutionalization Model (1996, p.182) a critical model has been developed here that is expressive of the margins of creativity and relative autonomy that institutional actors can have within different phases of the institutionalization thickening process. Depicted in Figure 3.2, this is replicated below for the reader's convenience.

Figure 3-2: Institutionalization 'thickening' Mechanisms; from Regulative through Normative to Cultural Cognitive; a conceptual framework derived from Scott's (2014) model
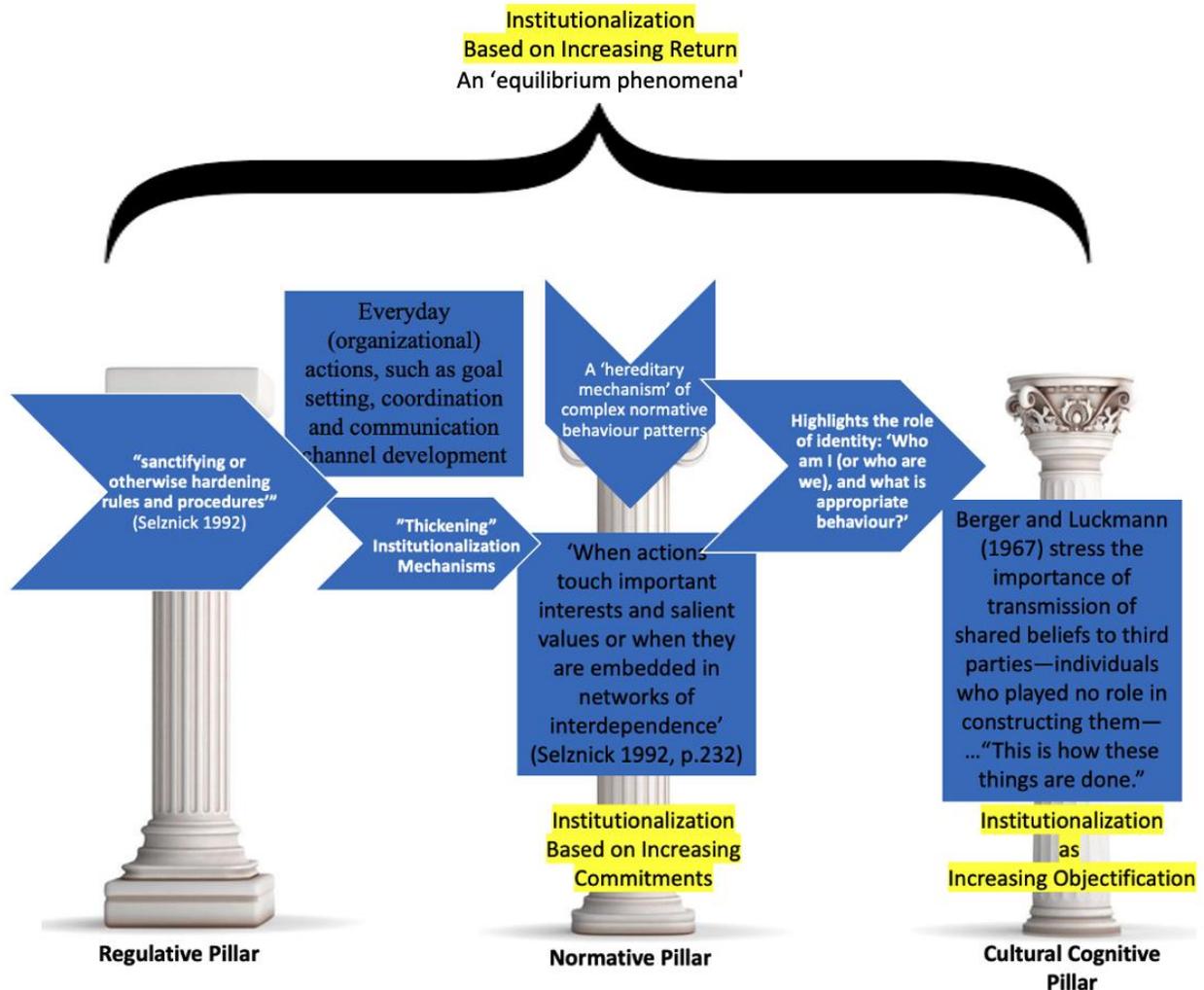
From here, a detailed critical framework and, in turn, an explanatory framework that mobilizes these concepts from institutional theory alongside Foucauldian critical theory has been developed. Critical discourse analysis fits elegantly within this model as the method of data extraction within a focus on discourse and/as cultural cognitive institutions in IB governmentality (Foucault, 1984). This explanatory framework (Figure 5-13) is reproduced below for the reader's convenience.

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Figure 5-13: Explanatory Framework for Cultural Cognitive Institutions and/as Discourse in IB Governmentality
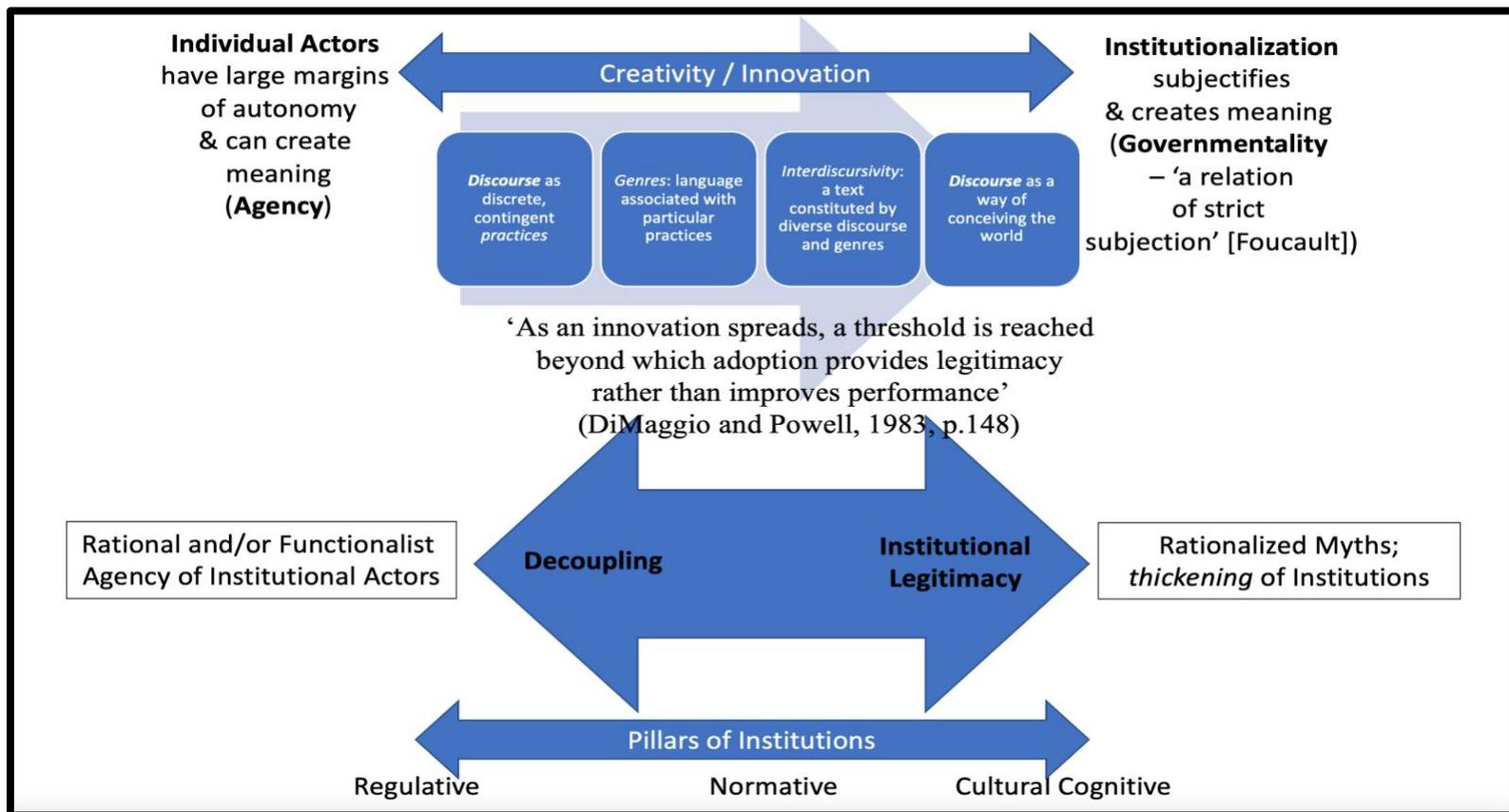
This explanatory framework expresses the (IB) institutionalization process as a (creative) exercise in total subjectivisation (Foucault, 1984) through particularly the cultural cognitive institutional pillar. In elucidating the (creative) tensions between decoupling and institutional

legitimacy the above schematic may be useful but, as Parker has persuasively argued, it may also be dangerous in participating in the same 'classic social thought… [that has] shaped much of the history of organization studies' (Parker, 2000, p.92) – and certainly neo-institutionalism. The findings here support a move away from such binary/polarizing conceptions, and instead towards, as Parker (2000) describes, something more postructuralist, akin to the langue-parole duality of Sausurrian linguistics, or of Giddens (1984) sociological vision: conceiving daily speech acts and grammar within which they produce meaning as interdependent and co-evolving; conceiving institutional actors and the institutions within which they act as being likewise interdependent and co-evolving (however more relatively stable or socially rationalized institutions may be, their foundation remains mythological). The risk with any such schematic as the above Figure 5-13 and 3-2, then, is that they instead participate in the more conventionally dualistic classical thought pattern that pervades through organisational science; they perpetuates a 'dualism that may be existentially and linguistically forced upon us' (Parker, 2000, p.92). Such schematics then, must be carefully treated as such in their support of analysis and discussion of the findings: as precisely schematics; as perhaps useful but inevitably also reductive modes of representing complex processes as being comprised of discrete elements, in order to better understand their complex interconnectedness.

First, with respect to Figure 3-2, we might reconsider the critical thrust of Foucault's approach of problematization: to explore how interrelations between individuals, institutions and society are not inherently reason-based, but rather rationalized *post hoc*. Complementing Scott's model of institutions (2014), whereby all of the components of diffusion, decoupling, organizational fields and isomorphism are fundamentally inseparable and interrelated, the findings here support a 'practice-based ontology' on institutions, where there is no (dualist) predetermining rationalized model here. In light of the preceding chapter's explication of a multiplicity of pluralist nexuses of institutional logics, cultures and networks, this analysis can be deepened with reference to Foucault's description of his Genealogical method.

To explore the phenomenon of decoupling as inseparable from the diffusion it accompanies is to engage critically, and bring meaning to 'the minute deviations… the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations' that characterize an organizational field and its development, alongside the isomorphism whereby institutions 'continue to exist and have value for us' (Foucault, 1984, p.81). It is to reinforce the understanding expressed of the

institutionalization process here whereby contestation, competition and the strategic self-interested (inter)actions of field-level actors are central, often reinforcing elements of the (organizational) field – but that this is processual, time and space contingent (and not singularly linear on any of these variable axes), or we might say 'accidental' (Foucault, 1984, p.81). So, through the complex multiplicity of institutional logics, we can see that the 'truth or being' of a given (set of) institution(s) 'does not lie at the root of what we know and what we are, but the exteriority of accidents' (Foucault, 1984, p.81) where institutional theory has presented a rigorous apparatus for exploring the causal mechanisms determining the interrelatedness of those 'accidents'. Such an approach is to problematize the schematic of Figure 3.2 – it is to suggest that this process is *not* necessarily causally linear, even as some data exposition (such as the CDA of the IBEN interface) presents it to be so. Throughout the IB's corporate endeavour to totally subjectivise institutional actors through particularly the cultural cognitive institutional pillar, a creative tension exists between this corporatist institution-building and the capacity for the relatively autonomous (creative) agency of institutional actors.

Conceiving of different positions within this duality is helpful. To turn our problematizing lens to the other schematic, **Figure 5-13,** then, when the pillars of institutions are no more than simply regulative, at the far left-hand side of the schematic– where the institution provides a simple regulatory 'baseline' – then institutional actors can have a high degree of cultural cognitive autonomy. Within the margins of these regulations, these actors are allowed space to create meaning/innovate for themselves. As the institutionalization process shifts from merely regulative, through normative, towards the more cultural cognitive pillar of institutions, this (relatively) autonomous agency is absorbed within the IB's (creative) institutionalization process, which so functions as governmentality.

The exposition of this through CDA demonstrated interdiscursivity to be deployed strategically by the IB in an attempt to subsume the practice of (regulative) compliance within the (cultural-cognitive) genre of such discourses as developmental and positive psychology, and morality. But, as in Sam's (life story) concluding dismissal of the ostensibly morality/values-based dimension of the IB Diploma *Creativity Activity and Service* – the transactional framing (IBEN are coerced to complete this Critical Action; IB Diploma students must score certain standardized scores to secure university admission) – belies the reality behind this rhetoric: 'Bullshit… it just feels like it teaches kids that you do the bare minimum and you get a Gold

Star, I mean…' And the critical thinking faculties with which a central institutional actor – indeed, in many ways an exemplary outcome of its (educational) model – such as Sam can recognize this demonstrates the remarkable irony that a critical-thinking oriented, 'mission driven' organization such as the IB attempts to exercise such reductive, objectivising governmentality.

However, the life story of another ostensible exemplar of the IB model – Abbie, demonstrated how the cultural-cognitive pillar ultimately supported both the organization in its primary institutional task (Bunnell et al, 2016) and a dynamic mode of mature leadership that allowed Abbie to mitigate the regulative and normative awkwardness of such programming as the MYP curriculum. Here, the (resistance to) binary opposition seems truly Foucauldian/poststructural: Abbie's mature professionalism presents a model where the cultural cognitive pillar of institutions ultimately supports the institution by ignoring(/electively decoupling from) elements of its own normative and regulative pillars. Other key institutional actors such as Raphael, and his story of the good and the bad of corporatist neoliberal expansionism in terms of a progressive ideological globalism, present other problematizations of a reductive binary. Such analysis of our multiple data points demonstrates the multi-dimensional interdependence between institutions and institutional actors to be far more complex than is intimated by Figure 5-13's two-dimensional schematic, and certainly by any more reductive conceptions of (neo-institutionalist) dualisms.

6.4 ORGANIZATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE WIDER SOCIETAL CONTEXT

With consideration to RQ3 —

RQ3: How does organizational institutionalization operant within the IB interact with the wider societal context?

—the life stories triangulate and thematize the central thrust of my own critical (discourse analysis) reading of the IBEN interface (as myself an IBEN): such an ambitious mode of organizational institutionalization as the interface attempts to realize through the cultural-cognitive pillar cannot be realised entirely within the IB. The IB's wider societal context – and, indeed, its own networked origins, and its own 'Mission-Driven' identity – is too complex and pluralist. In an IB world where 'other people, with their differences, can also be right (IB, 2020), the life stories of IB Institutional

Actors illuminate the limitations of organizational institutionalization.

Powell and Oberg's exploratory integration of network theory and institutional theory is worth revisiting here. Remembering their contrasting of 'networks [that]look more horizontal than vertical. In contrast institutions… reflect… sources of power and influence… appear[ing] more vertical… [with] a strong constructivist imagery' (2017, p.446), Powell and Oberg exposit the nature of institutions as cognitive constructions – predetermining schema, one might say – versus the more fluid 'active forms of engagement' (p.446) posed by networks. In an argument that is extremely appealing in the light of the preceding data exposition – where a dense plurality of institutional logics and horizontal networks come to light – Powell and Oberg wish to 'disrupt the current division of intellectual labour' (p.447), asserting that 'a close reading of some of the early theoretical statements in institutional analysis and some of the most notable empirical papers suggest that the perceived disjuncture is flawed and unnecessary' (p.447). The IB, through a focus on its institutions and institutionalization process, has been exposited as being (now) a simultaneously corporate hierarchical (vertical) and in many senses (still) a thoroughly networked (horizontal) organizational structure. To express it another way; the IB world is one where a plurality of institutional logics resist homogenous organizational institution-building.

6.5   PLURALIST INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS AND INSTITUTIONAL DECOUPLING; STRATEGIC RESPONSES

6.5.1 'BULLSHIT' – CYNICAL DECOUPLING

If we reconsider just one particularly visible example of the IB's institutions existing within a field of pluralist and often competing institutional logics – the conflict between competitive university admission institutional logics and those of the IB here – we can see a domain in which IB institutionalization of learning has not extended convincingly beyond the regulative, or indeed the rhetorical (i.e. the semblance of the regulative). Schools claim to be delivering balanced, student-centred holistic learning, it is stated as such in their Mission statements, their regulative rhetoric; the reality, however, is that the institution of university admission is a more powerful one here. The individual actor of the school has assumed agency here, as they decouple from IB student-centred, holistic learning institutions and instead adhere to competitive university admission institutions (which are uncompromising in terms of their regulative pillars), improving

performance in these. Such competing institutional logics are inevitable in a highly transnational and highly competitive (regulatively robust) university admissions context. It should be recalled that even the equilibrium phenomena of institutionalization based on increasing return is relatively contingent on imperfect, uncompetitive markets; such institutions will not be strong against a highly competitive/robust transnational set of university admissions institutions.

The place of the IB's educational discourse here is complex: on the one hand, in principle, it offers an alternative model to that of accelerated academic curricula associated with competitive university admissions and their negative effects upon adolescent well-being: it can compete with 'the main danger'. On the other hand, in practice, when this theoretical model is decoupled from a school's organizational practices and experienced as 'bullshit' (Sam), it might be seen to erode the capacity for truly student-centred practices to exist at all; it functions as a *mis*-appropriation of progressive, student centred pedagogy, akin to the manner in which the dog-charities work at YYY International school constitutes '*false* praxis' (Adorno, 2005, p.265) or that Marcuse makes for 'repressive desublimation' (2013). The progressive, person-centred discourse reassures powerful institutional actors that they are doing the right thing and need not consider radical institutional change/innovation; thanks to the decoupling of these institutions from the ongoing pre-eminence of competitive university admissions institutions.

6.5.2 TENTATIVE OPTIMISM – AGILITIES AND DUALITIES BETWEEN INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURATION AND INDIVIDUAL ACTOR AGENCY

Jacob's more gentle expression of scepticism of this widespread nature of field-level decoupling from the IB's institutions is worth revisiting here. Tempered with acknowledgement of the authentic and positive outcomes of IB institutions that operate alongside this decoupling, Jacob describes the evident decoupling from IB institutions of learner-centred, humanistic, ideological learning outcomes due to competing institutional logics in the field-level reality: transactional credentialism based on standardised academic scores. And in the recognition of these nuances, his exemplary qualities as a diplomatic, politically-centrist senior leader in this field are amply evident – and articulate something at the centre of this thesis, and perhaps institutionalisation itself: that decoupling and institutional legitimacy often function as value-neutral oppositional forces, that can simultaneously occupy the same space, but not without this

impacting the institutions themselves. It is worth recalling that the dialectical relationship between these – decoupling and institutional legitimacy – expressed by DiMaggio and Powell in the context of technological innovation is one where 'As an innovation spreads, a threshold is reached beyond which adoption provides legitimacy rather than improves performance' (1983, p.148). In the context of the development of the critical framework here, the dialectical inverse is also exemplified by the tensions with university admissions institutions. That is to say: where an institution is supportive of innovative (educational) outcomes, but commercial pressures (such as fee-paying parents desiring credentialist results supporting competitive university admission) work against it, decoupling can be seen to work against innovative outcomes of institutions. Moreover, and so moving beyond a simple dialectical binary, where this 'bullshit' (Sam) is apprehended, the IB institutions lose both innovative impact and institutional legitimacy; the critically aware, pragmatic actors are instead preoccupied with university admissions institutions.

Jacob acknowledges that the academic [score and credentialism based] outcomes, particularly in the context of expensive international school fees, are the priority for many parents and students. Against this (bleakly) transactional model of globalist credentialism, Jacob harkens back to his earlier identification with the IB as a networked organisation within which he had participatory agency, leading schools, students and staff in a genuinely mission-driven fashion – and the manner in which that sense of belonging, of meaningful agency within a participatory network – has diminished as the IB has become more 'machine'-like. He describes how, as the institutionalization process has thickened, with the dismantling of their previously networked inclusive/porous organizational structures that intentionally included 'people immediately outside of the payroll on the IB' his sense of agency within it has diminished. This led him to suggest that that 'the[se] organizational changes are also sort of changes in philosophy' – though the overt philosophy i.e. the 'Mission' and wider organisational discourses remain unchanged, and claim to be socially-constructivist. But for someone with Jacob's field-level awareness and metacognition this presents an institutional impasse, his ability to critically conceive of the contradictions in the IB's interdiscursivity, and his resistance to their burgeoning governmentality leads to a resistance to the IB's reflexive project (Giddens, 1991) – to being subjectivised. Jacob subsequently articulates distancing from self-identification with the IB – so from the cultural-cognitive pillar of IB institutions (or 'de-subjectification' in a Foucauldian sense) we might say, as per the conceptual framework for exploring Institutionalization through CDA (Figure 4.5). Jacob here presents a

model for the tentative optimism that Fairclough articulates in the 'creativity in discursive practice suggested by the concept of interdiscursivity – an endless combination and recombination of genres and discourses' allowed to cognitively agile (institutional) actors (1997, p.137). This links with Fairclough et al (2013)'s more recent exploration of how 'analysis of practical reasoning offers the advantage of showing how the power of social and institutional structures manifests itself in the reasons for action that people recognize. In our view, structures constrain (or enable) agency by providing people with reasons for action' (2013, p.93). This is also very much in keeping with Parker's aforementioned endeavour to 'to move past (or work with) these binary oppositions' (2000, p.92) into a more usefully fluid duality between (institutional) structuration and (individual) agency.

Yet another framing to this tentatively optimistic conception of individual critical actor agency to be revisited here is that of Scott's countering of the ascendance of neo-liberal logic in 'encounter[ing] pre-existing fields organized around divergent normative beliefs and cognitive frames' (Scott, 2017, p.861). What is so fascinating/ironic here – both in Jacob and, indeed, this researcher-practitioner – is that many of the divergent normative beliefs and cognitive frames facilitating critical distance from contemporary IB institutionalization derive from not (only) other 'pre-existing fields', but from an earlier iteration of the IB field *itself*, which Jacob describes as being precisely organized around divergent normative beliefs and cognitive frames. This truly is a field of rich dualities, rather than binarily opposed dualisms.

The earlier framework (Figure 5.13) is adapted, below, to represent how Jacob's critical/creative positioning, his own analysis of practical reasoning, presents an example of a reason for action in resistance to the institutionalization process, with his variety of critically-aware institutional actor agency plotted in red in Figure 6.1.

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Figure 6-0-1: Critical Thinking / Field-level Metacognition Effects Resistance to Institutionalization
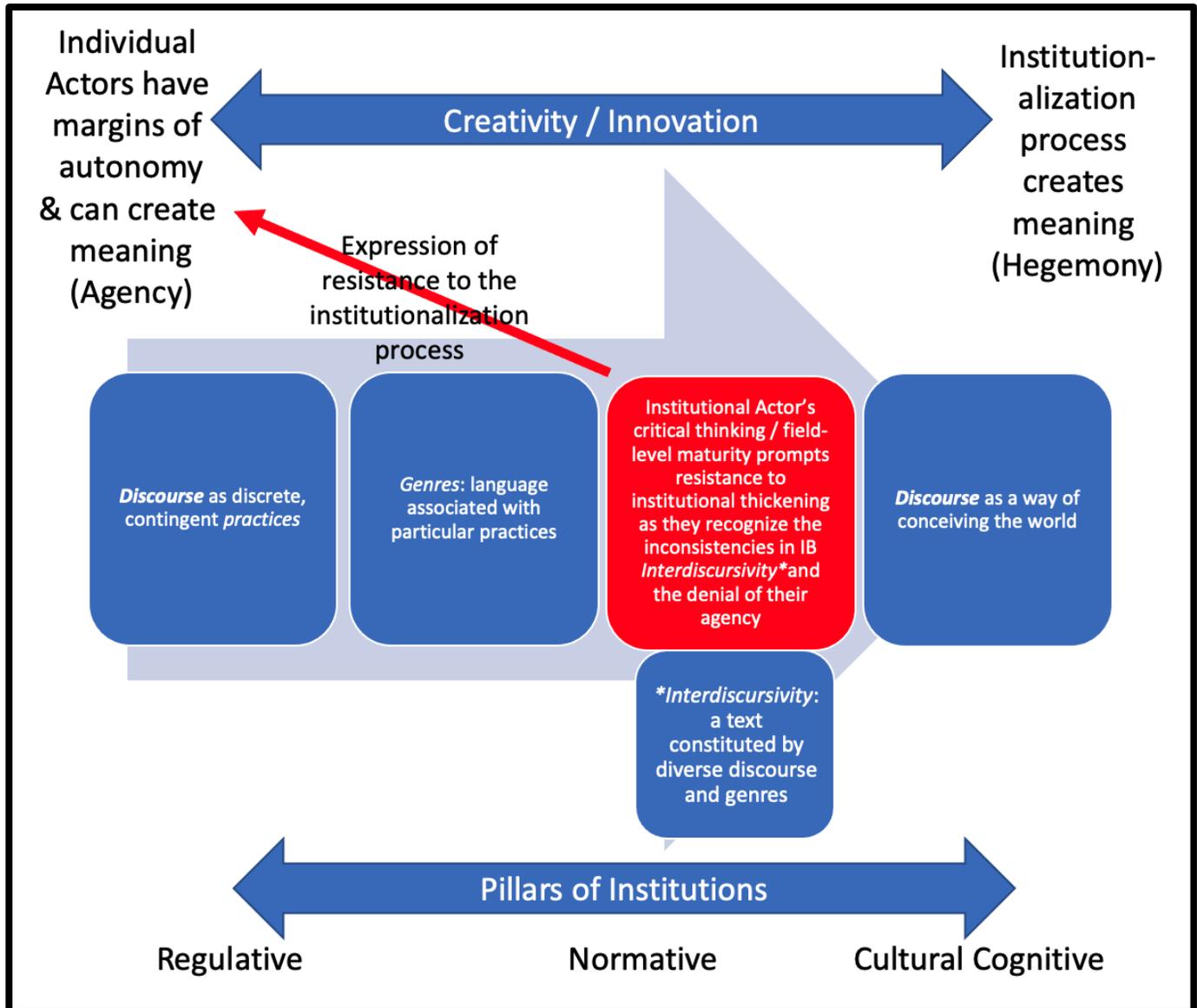
In many ways, from this point, Jacob describes how the IB's previously networked organizational structures facilitated his institutionalization as a deeply enriching globalist experience and – indeed – the institutional thickening within the organizations under his leadership through the Normative Pillar of institutions. Describing a field level cooperative nature in keeping with Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) aforementioned suggestion that fields are sites of contestation, competition and the strategic self-interested (inter)actions of field-level actors, or

Parker's notion that 'organizational culture might be best formulated as something like the 'contested local organization of generalities'' (2001. p.188) Jacob describes a kind of 'golden age' of IB networked actor-agency growth. So, whether we conceive this at the field level or the IB organizational level, the IB created and perpetuated a cooperative network where institutional actors such as Jacob developed deep professional knowledge, agility and active agency through these networks: how 'actions touch[ed] important interests and salient values when they [were] embedded in networks of interdependence' (Selznick, 1992, p.232). This was possible within a model of inclusive networking perpetuating Institutionalization Based on Increasing Commitments, as per the earlier **Figure 3.2: Institutionalization 'thickening' Mechanisms; from Regulative through Normative to Cultural Cognitive: an infographic explicating Scott's (2014) Conceptualisation** (reproduced below for ease of reference) This conceptualisation supports the preceding analysis within a *successful* Foucauldian model of governmentality: when included as a networked, semi-autonomous agent, Jacob was both institutionalized (objectified) and – simultaneously – an agent of institutionalization (subjectified); he enjoyed a dialectical relationship with the IB institutions. However, when the IB's institutionalization discourses shift away from this fluid duality (Parker, 2001) towards a cynical, totalizing development of the Cultural Cognitive Pillar, to the 'transmission of shared beliefs to third parties—individuals who played no role in constructing them—…"This is how these things are done." Berger and Luckmann (1967)' (Scott, 2014, p.148), Jacob responds with critical agency. As a critically-aware semi-autonomous high level (School Director) actor, he resists ongoing institutionalization and, indeed, contemplates removal of himself and those he leads from the IB organisational field; retaining the practices and discourses he developed during its golden-years, while recognising that they are no longer/not universally optimal in a pluralist and fast-changing world. The IB is no longer, for Jacob, a three-star Michelin restaurant (Bouty & Gomez, 2013) or – indeed – if it is, he does not wish to remain one of its sous-chefs. Jacob is far more interested in local level/his own creativity as a School Director than in being a carrier for the IB's (innovative) organizational institutionalization.

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Figure 3-2: Institutionalization 'thickening' Mechanisms; from Regulative through Normative to Cultural Cognitive; a conceptual framework derived from Scott's (2014) model
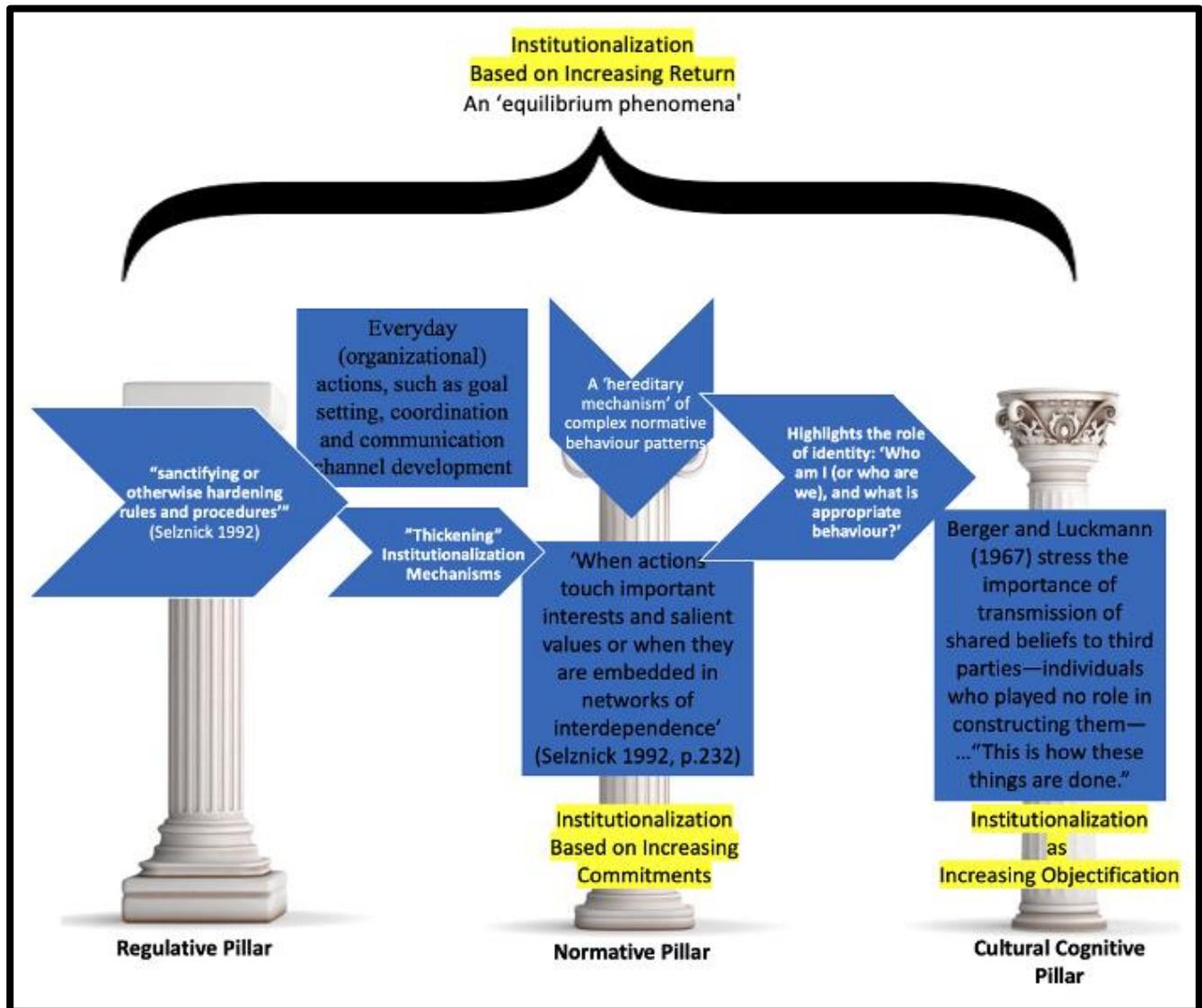
Jacob's observations support precisely the conception of institutional actor agency operating in diametrical opposition to excessive thickening around the cultural cognitive pillar of institutions for already institutionally progressive and innovative international schools. His description of how at schools such as his current employ as Director, the IB has limited value

now since inquiry-based learning and the other innovative[18] and progressive elements of an IB education are already deeply embedded is most relevant here. This motivation for rejecting IB institutions demonstrates a context where for further institutionalization of the IB 'a threshold is reached beyond which adoption provides legitimacy rather than improves performance' (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983, p.148). In such an institutionally mature and agile international school, the IB models no longer add much value; the school will benefit more from individual actor level agency and creativity/capacity for innovation than it will from further IB institutionalization. Much as in the consideration of the university admissions context, we encounter (pre-existing/other) competing institutional logics that negate the IB's value to actors. As per the earlier Figure 5.11 (replicated above), further IB institutionalization for an actor like this will largely produce Institutional Legitimacy to the deficit of its Margins of Autonomy, Meaning-Making, and Capacity for Innovation – or its 'Agency'. We should recall, Jacob then contrasting this with precisely how the globalist model of contemporary IB institutionalization provided an extremely strategically useful tool for organizational, pedagogical and – indeed – ideological scaffolding in the Middle East.

In this, Jacob also presents a demonstration of how individual actors and organisations can selectively couple intact elements prescribed by competing logics and 'can survive and thrive when embedded in pluralistic institutional environments' as per Pache and Santos' (2013, p.1) seminal exploration of these. Just as Parker conceptualizes organizational cultures after the fluid model of *langue et parole* – 'a conceptualization of culture generated from an analogy with language suggests that organizations are unitary and divided at the same time' (2000, p.94) – we can take such a 'broadly poststructuralist position' towards institutions, where the IB is only one within 'multiple cross-cutting dialects [and institutional discourses] and hence many possible cultures of [and institutions] within an organization' (Parker, 2000, p.94).

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[18] At the organizational level of the school where Jacob is Director – as opposed to the organizational level of the IB, for whom their institutionalization practices can be conceived as an innovation (Bouty & Gomez 2013), to the extent that they are organizationally succesful.

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6.5.3 ORGANISATIONAL INSTITUTION-BUILDING IN A TRANSNATIONAL, GLOBALIST, DIGITALLY NETWORKED TIME AND SPACE

Further to two of the foundations to the conceptual framework to this research – that institutionalization is a socially constructed process, and that institutions manifest materially – the character of the IB in time and space is highly significant here. The delineation of the case study demonstrated IB school communities to often be deeply culturally insulated from their local communities. Additionally, a key aspect to the model for institutionalization as conceived here must be recalled: that institutionalization is a fundamentally material process. At a macro-level of conceptualization, institutionalization can be seen as complex nexuses of individual, organizational, social, economic and political developments; at a micro-level as constituted by practices, within which one can distinguish discourses. Therefore, in our currently increasingly transnational, globalist, digitally networked world – where social and organizational groups can be simultaneously geographically dispersed / networked, while socially and ideologically insulated behind the echo-chambers of their digital-device screens (Lu, D, 2020) – a network in as transnationally disseminated and often locally isolated field such as the IB will be one in which increasingly digital network/institutionalization development tools/platforms such as the IBEN interface studied here are increasingly significant. Scott's note that the 'concept of organizational field celebrates and exploits the insight that 'local social orders' constitute the building blocks of contemporary social systems' (Scott, 2014, p.224) is significant here – but the semantics of 'local' clearly must be reframed in the transnational (digitally) networked case of the contemporary IB .

With this reframed, then, for a transnational, (digitally) networked organisational field, Scott's institutionalist argument clearly applies: such (relatively) dynamic, contested and interactive spaces present challenges to organizations aiming to develop pervasive institutions; such forces shape the evolution of ever more sophisticated mechanisms of institutionalization. Hence their strategic adoption of increasingly neoliberal corporate institutionalization methods, such as that exposed here through CDA on the IBEN Training Interface. However, as can be seen in Jacob's narrative, when an organisation such as the IB succeeds in stifling such central, often reinforcing elements of the(organizational) field level institutions as (networked) contestation, competition and the strategic self-interested (inter)actions of field-level actors, this field can become less organizationally attractive, in a normative sense. In a functionalist sense, we might

say that the process of institutionalization has surpassed the point of maximal returns for actors such as Jacob.

6.5.4   CRITICALLY CONCEIVING THE NEOLIBERAL INSTITUTION-BUILDING ORGANIZATION

The preceding analysis can be usefully framed within the language of critical management studies – a harkening to the ontological core and origins of organizational institutionalism itself, as has been argued throughout this research. Recalling Parker's aforementioned post-structuralist position (2018) that organizational science is inherently political since resource finitude will always result in differing positions on how to organize their distribution, he further writes that

> The conditions for our individual and collective flourishing are also institutional and cultural, and hence any responsibility to the future must also have regard to the sorts of people we create, and the sort of organizational arrangements that they make, and that make them. This means, for example, being attentive to what technologies do to us and for us; what sort of assumptions about democracy and hierarchy we embed into our workplaces; or how we imagine people can own organizations, and hence other people's labour. I take 'responsibility' to be a term which presses us to think about all sorts of consequences, which encourages us to respond to the 'long future', and not insulate ourselves with the usual arguments which merely end up displacing problems to some other place, and some other time. (2018, p.141).

The life stories – perhaps most explicitly in the case of Jacob – supported by CDA on the IBEN interface, show how the IB succeeds in supplanting organizational field level institutions of networked contestation, competition and the strategic self-interested (inter)actions of field-level actors with a neoliberal corporatist governmentality. To express this through Parker's above idiom: the IB's organizational structure increasingly deploys its organizational resources and technologies in embedding non-democratic, hierarchical cultures and institutions. The cessation of pluralist networks; the embedding of governmentality through digital training interfaces.

In this, as Parker admonishes the institution of the business school in the above text (2018), it is reasonable to demand more reflexivity and more taking of responsibility from the IB. The IB have been shown to underestimate their own constituents (/institutional actors) in their attempt to implement corporate governmentality. The findings in Chapter 5.4.5 (Theme 5: Time and Space

Implementation Complexities and Pervasive Decoupling) demonstrated that the IB's assumption of profound stability to the regulative and normative institutional pillars as a stable foundation upon which the wholesale development of the cultural cognitive pillar is to be built is not valid. Their neoliberal corporate outsourcing of the cultural cognitive pillar of institutions in the implementation of their IBEN Training Interface has been met with due skepticism in such actors as Remy and – indeed – the development of CDA here. Most pithily expressed by Sam, sophisticated IB actors see through such corporatist 'bullshit'. But what kind of a response to such a prescient analysis moves beyond the merely critical to take 'responsibility' for the 'long future'? One response of Parker's leans into the localism suggested by Jacob's strategic response: exit the (irretrievably corporatized/compromised) institutional field and find other local, networked, porous opportunities for agency in such responsibility-taking (educational) organizing.

But, in keeping, perhaps, with Parker's sustained endeavour to avoid reductive dualisms or binary opposition, Jacob's avoidance of any outright rejection of the IB and its institutions sits alongside Raphael's commitment to progressive globalist change from within the IB. Raphael's case for an incremental globalist liberalism in the context of LGBTQ advocacy shows the power of the globalist institution, whereby 'small isn't always beautiful, particularly when it comes to the avoidance of insularity and the building of (real and metaphorical) bridges' (Parker, p.145, 2018). Such critical discourses from within such organizations as the IB might, indeed, 'encourage what we might call 'prefigurative organization' – 'reflexive organizing', or 'meta-organizing' – a form of working which deliberately and continually reflects on how people and things are being put together' (Parker, p.143. 2018) from within the organization, alongside external critical voices and those – such as this researcher-practitioner – occupying some interstitial space.

7)   CONCLUSIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

The target of analysis wasn't "institutions," "theories," or "ideology" but practices—with the aim of grasping the conditions that make these acceptable at a given moment; the hypothesis being that these types of practice are not just governed by institutions, prescribed by ideologies, guided by pragmatic circumstances—whatever role these elements may actually play—but, up to a point, possess their own specific regularities, logic, strategy, self-evidence, and "reason." It is a question of analyzing a "regime of practices"—practices being understood here as places where what is said and what is done, rules imposed and reasons given, the planned and the taken-for-granted meet and interconnect.

(Foucault, 2019, p.225)

'one has to proceed by progressive, necessarily incomplete saturation… as a way of lightening the weight of causality… the number of whose faces is not given in advance and can never properly be taken as finite.'

(Foucault, 2019, p.227).

As a transnational organization that has experienced rapid growth and is now in a more mature phase of institutionalization, the case of the such the IB demonstrates the importance of research into how organizations in such a(n epistemic) context build and sustain institutions. The thickening of the cultural-cognitive pillar of institutions (Scott, 2014) has been shown to be the most pronounced contemporary outcome of the IB's institutionalization process; the foremost 'means' to its 'ends' of organisational growth as an increasingly neoliberal corporate organisation.

Various conceptualizations and their interdependent relationships are presented within the conceptual framework. Institutions are shown to be socially constructed, and institutionalization the process through which these become more permanent. Institutionalization is explained through governmentality in the IB's neoliberal, transnational organizational context – one where market managerialism looms large. Governmentality, as a neoliberal apparatus of control, is shown to manifest as incremental growth of the cultural cognitive pillar in the institutionalization process: this is how the institutions become more permanent in a neoliberal context.

Two important premises of this research have been that institutionalization is a socially constructed process, and that – as a process – it must manifest across time and space. This has been demonstrated through the case of the IB where, within the traditions of organizational institutionalist theory, institutions are neither inherently rational nor functional instrumentalist in their growth and practices. Instead, they have been shown to be fundamentally material: at a macro-level of conceptualization, as complex nexuses of individual, organizational, social, economic and political developments; at a micro-level as constituted by practices, within which one can distinguish discourses. Moreover, in our currently increasingly transnational, globalist, digitally networked world – a organisation as transnationally disseminated and increasingly digitally networked/institutionalized as the IB presented an incredibly prescient object of study for contemporary institutionalization trends.

7.1 METHODOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

7.1.1 EXPLORATORY TO EXPLANATORY THEORY-BUILDING

This research proceeded through an intentional sequence of phases of data exposition – schematically represented in Figure 1-1, replicated for the reader's convenience below:

Figure 1-1: Mixed Methodology Module Sequencing: from Exploratory to Explanatory
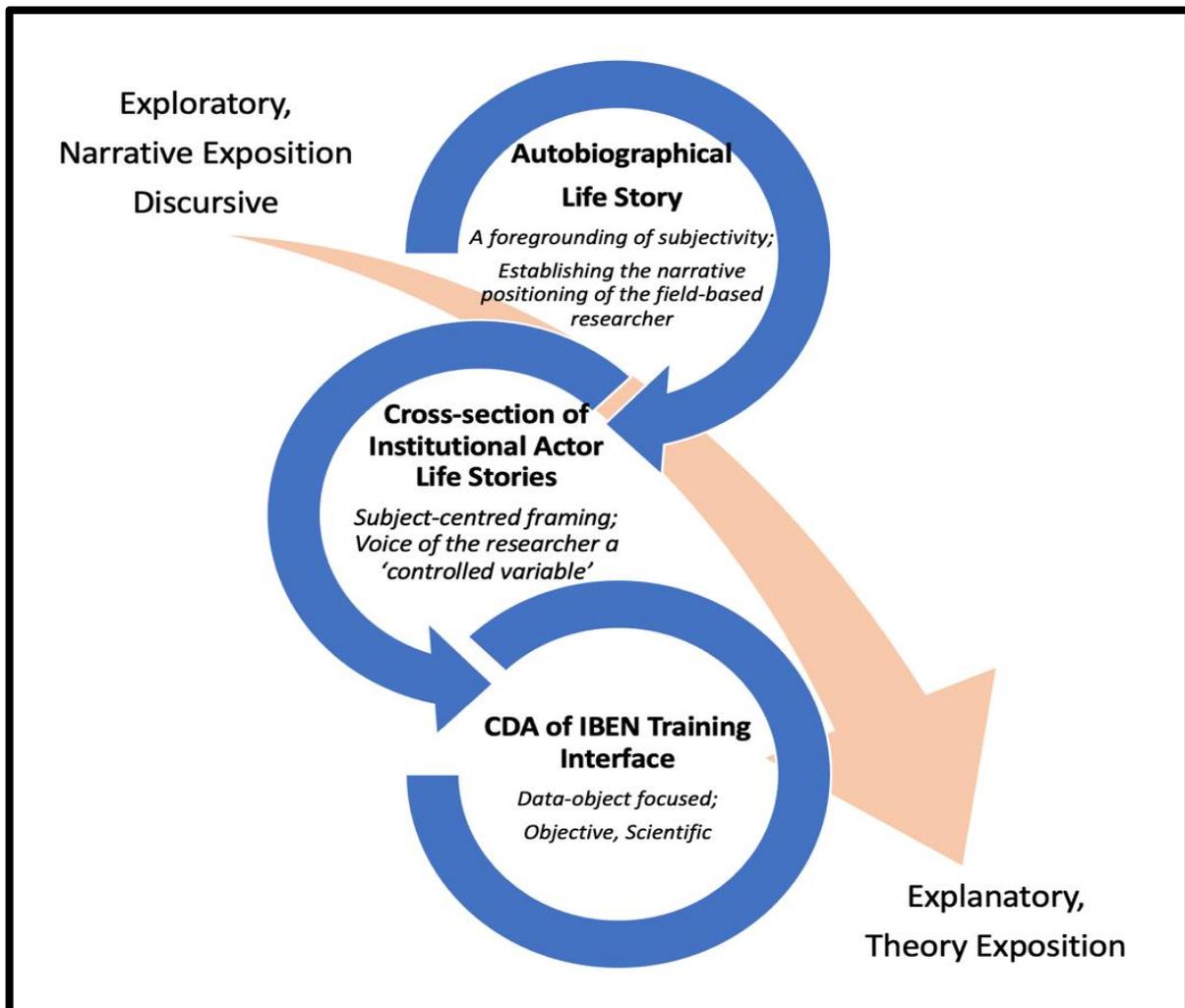
Foucault defined his method by stating that 'one has to proceed by progressive, necessarily incomplete saturation.' Moving from the exploratory through to the explanatory, the Foucauldian approach here functioned 'as a way of lightening the weight of causality… the number of whose faces is not given in advance and can never properly be taken as finite.' (Foucault, 2019, p.227). Such an approach facilitated the above theoretical contributions, but might also be considered to be a methodological contribution itself. Complimented by case-study delineation and data from the life stories synthesis, the empirical context was identified as one of distinctly neoliberal corporatist cultural cognitive institution-building. This, in turn facilitated powerful data-object focussed exposition through CDA of a significant organisational artefact. These data sources were then synthesized towards an explanatory / theory-building mode.

7.1.2 LIFE STORY DATA EXTRACTION AND SYNTHESIS: PROBLEMATIZATION AND MARGINALITY EXPOSITION

The development of life story data extraction and synthesis drew from Foucault's genealogical method, and his finding of critical insight in the qualitative nuances of individual human subjects – especially those at the margins, outside of the general 'order of things' (2005).

Through the life story method, and paying particular attention to the culturally and institutionally complex worlds narrated therein, one outcome of the synthesis here has been that all of the institutional actors here have been conceived in terms of their marginal positioning within IB institutions. Rendered most explicitly visible through the Venn diagram schematics of chapter 6.1, these 'Institutional Actors' have been shown to be not merely cognitively passive, institutionalized carriers, but rather 'Pluralist Nexuses of Institutional Logics, Cultures and Networks'. The qualitative depth of the life story methodology extracted rich individual histories of institutional actors. The application of the problematization method then facilitated the conception of these as nexuses of marginality. From here, with these deeply localised (immersed in understanding the qualitative depth of the subjective experience) findings from multiple such life stories thematized and synthesized, the phenomenon of institutionalization has been problematized – and so also conceived in terms of its spacial and temporal relativity (its epistemic context). This contributes a series of data processing acts whereby 'problematization is thus the way to analyze questions of general import in their historically unique form' (Rabinow, 1984, p.49).

7.1.3 CDA AS A DATA EXPOSITION TOOL SUPPORTING THEORY-BUILDING IN THE IB FIELD

The application of CDA to an IBEN digital training interface is a novel approach to data exposition, and this supported meaningful theory-building around the role of discourse in the institutionalization process. In an increasingly digitally networked, transnational social and organizational global context, methods that can facilitate such critical (discourse) analysis of digital artefacts have great explanatory veracity, particularly in terms of organizational strategy as associated with institution-building.

This theory building suggests fertile ground for further research in this nascent-to-intermediate empirical setting (IB as/and international schools) for important organisational institutionalist research.

Alongside this insight as to the value of CDA methodologically, the place of discourse theory within/proximity to a broader practice theory has been explicated here, and must be drawn attention to; as must the fact that, though the primary focus here is upon discourse, this is not to ignore wider practices, nor to necessarily privilege discourse above other (institutional and meaning-making) practices, 'the hypothesis being that these types of practice are not just governed by institutions, prescribed by ideologies, guided by pragmatic circumstances—whatever role these elements may actually play—but, up to a point, possess their own specific regularities, logic, strategy, self-evidence, and "reason." ' (Foucault, 2019, p.225).

Nonetheless, a substantial element of the theory building and data extraction here has focussed on discourse, and yhe (ontological) positioning of discourse theory within materialist traditions has been established as a foundation for the emergence of critical discourse analysis – and the growing value to such an approach in a late capitalist context for organizational research is particularly apparent in increasingly digitally networked organizational contexts. Fairclough's work, indebted to Foucault, is shown to provide rigorous tools for application to organizational discourses – in particular as manifest in digital artifacts/organizational practice documentation.

7.2 THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

7.2.1 EXPLORATORY TO EXPLANATORY THEORY-BUILDING IN THE IB FIELD

Moving from the exploratory through to the explanatory in a Foucauldian mode of problematisation, this research has cumulatively developed theoretical insights around the institutionalization process. The critical synthesis exposited a distinctly neoliberal corporatist apparatus of cultural cognitive institution-building in the organisational practices of the IB. Traditional discourses of power and control and such notions as 'standards', 'practices' and 'compliance' are shown to be intentionally miscegenated with a more indirect, disingenuous discourse of power and such language as 'mindset', 'ethics', 'development' and a broadly organic and often anthropomorphic discourse. The mobilization of Scott's model of institutionalization as the process of institution thickening, of making institutions more permanent, particularly through the effects of discourse and related practices on institutional actors enabled an appreciation of the centrality of such (discursive) practices in institutionalization. Alongside insights from the life

stories, this can be aligned with other distinctive features of neoliberal corporate organisational institution-building, such as the replacement of distributed networks of power with a more conventionally corporate hierarchy.

Another distinctive theoretical insight emergent from the Foucauldian, iterative approach taken here pertains to the complexity and interdependence of factors determining institutions and institutionalization. So, while we have observed the IB's organizational institution-building to attempt to 'thicken' its cultural cognitive pillar of institutionalization, we can also observe how institutional actors can have a whole range of (creative, innovative, agentic, meaning-making etc) responses to this. In such a context, modelling such as **Institutionalization 'thickening' Mechanisms; from Regulative through Normative to Cultural Cognitive; a conceptual framework derived from Scott's (2014) model** contributes to the theoretical understanding of institutionalization as precisely such a *schematic* should: a simplistic, reductive representation of a complex process. When developed through further modes of exploration and explanation, as in life story development and further schematics such as **Figure 6-0-1: Critical Thinking / Field-level Metacognition Effects Resistance to Institutionalization**, the theoretical contribution is further nuanced and problematized. Another way to express this later point is to say that the theoretical contribution starts to become indistinguishable from the methodological contribution – because the theoretical insights are only available in the synthesis of multiple data-sets and methods of extraction. But, within the critical realist ontology taken here, the endeavour to treat the theoretical contributions and methodological contributions as discrete phenomena (however empirically interdependent) remains worthwhile in terms of explanatory veracity.

7.2.2 PROBLEMATIZING THE CONCEPT OF THE PRIMARY INSTITUTIONAL TASK

Bunnell et al's (2017) exploration of the primary institutional task is persuasive in the international school context, where the myriad cultural complexities make the singularity and tangibility of the international curriculum provision the one institutional(izing) activity that can be clearly recognized – or, to use a more research-oriented idiom – operationalized in such a plurality of contexts as characterizes the organizational field of international schools. What such neat operationalization might threaten, of course, is the depth of qualitative engagement with (pre-existing) cultures in diverse international contexts. The intellectual efficacy of focussing on only

one institutional primary task could, indeed, emerge as the 'main danger' (Foucault 1984) against a socially constructivist model of institutional logics, their tensions and change dynamics (Scott 2014). The current research, with its depth of qualitative data, contributes deep problematisation where Bunnell et al. provide a shallow (positivist) certainty. However admirably rigorous their work may be, the current research at the very least offers a complementary qualitative depth – however perhaps sprawling and exploratory. Indeed, in this the findings and analysis here aligns with Bunnel's questioning of the IB's growth in his earlier work through the lens of growth scepticism (2011), answering his call for a 'much wider framework of analysis, viewing the global growth of the IB within a social and moral lens' (Bunnell, 2011, p.1)

7.2.3 THE IB WORLD: EXPOSITING THE INTERDEPENDENT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POWERFUL ORGANISATIONS, INDIVIDUAL ACTORS AND INSTITUTIONALISATION

Scott's aforementioned conclusion to the Sage Handbook calls for more research within the 'practice lens, calling attention to 'the awareness, skill and reflexivity of individual and collective actors… as they work to create, maintain or disrupt institutions' (2006, p.219) to this end. Within such an approach, particularly in considering discursive practice, the current research has developed an understanding of the complex interdependent relationship that can exist between powerful organizations, individual actors, and institutionalization. It has been demonstrated that, as it has grown, the IB clearly models the process described as early as 1977 by Meyer and Rowan whereby 'powerful organizations attempt to build their goals and procedures directly into society as institutional rules' (p.29–30).

These institution-building endeavours are shown to be challenged and complicated, however, by a number of factors. In particular: competing institutional logics and the responses of individual actors within a pluralist, global community of these in transnational (digitally) networked contexts. Alongside organisation-centric institution exposition within the traditions of neo-institutionalist research, the more person-centred aspects of the life story narratives exposition here have demonstrated the relative agency that (individual) institutional actors have within these institutionalization processes. This relative agency, and the ultimate limitations of any given organizational cultural cognitive institution-building, are elucidated through the Foucauldian lens. It has been shown that the process of institutionalization, the

(pillars of) institutions and the institutional actors within them are complexly interdependent; that, as Scott expresses it of a critically progressive model for institutional theory building: 'Actors are guided, constrained and supported by structures which they inhabit; structures are produced, reproduced and altered by the behaviour of actors.' (2017, p866)

Particularly where these actors possess high levels of critical awareness – itself associated with the IB as one of its educational outcomes and demonstrated in a range of its institutional actors – these responses of actors can be highly strategically significant for individual, organizational and institutional outcomes. They can range from a personal and/or organizational rejection of (IB) institutions, through selectively coupling intact elements prescribed by competing institutional logics and/or functionalist pragmatic decoupling from institutions, to critical actions[19] that might evolve the practices and shape of (IB) institutions from within. In terms of the later of these, it is hoped that this research might constitute a contribution towards the IB's critical awareness of its own institution-building endeavours.

Alongside critical awareness and action, creativity and innovation have been demonstrated to be sites of tension between individuals and highly institutionalized organizational practices. Drawing from Bouty and Gomez's model of gourmet cuisine, wider, networked creativity by a plurality of organizational actors has been shown to be curtailed as the IB's organizational identity becomes more strictly institutionalized. The IBEN Training interface is only the most obvious example of an organizational innovation whereby 'creative practices are [more] highly organized in time, space and participants' in accordance with field level institutions, and those working beneath the 'chef' designation – outside of the IB's corporate organizational payroll – are denied agency in 'idea work' (Bouty & Gomez, 2013, p.19). The endeavour within the critical realist ontology here, as throughout, is to present these conclusions without normative bias. It is worth recalling, to this end, Nietzsche's note that man's creativity is greatly to be admired in its building of an infinitely complex dome of ideas upon a moveable foundation – though this does not confer the quality of truth on his construction. The IB's attempt at institution-building is admirable in its

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[19] 'Critical action' here describes something akin to praxis – a critically informed action of an (institutional) actor. This is to be distinguished from the sense in which the IB use the term to describe actions that are imperative to retaining IBEN status.

creativity; that is not to say that there is any truth or legitimacy beyond the socially rationalized institutional.

Where there does appear to be a 'truth' to the IB's appropriation of an anthroporphic, developmental lexicon in their institution-building IBEN Training Interface, would be the manner in which such an approach *is* consistent with their history and statements of organizational identity (and perhaps that of the wider neoliberal episteme – our contemporary scientificity). Jacob's description (consistent with Raphael's) of a kind of 'golden age' of IB networked actor-agency growth at an earlier stage in its organizational growth is, indeed, appropriately framed through an anthropomorphic and psychological developmental model; the IB was going through a developmental phase of profound organizational growth in which Jacob had participator agency, aligned, also, with such a phase in his life and career. We might also note that the most influential models of developmental psychology, such as The Stages of Psychosocial Development (Erikson, 1963) and The Growth Mindset (Dweck, 2008) converge in a focus on growth as characterized by conflict around and ultimately realization of new roles and identities – as opposed to stable (institutionalized) occupation of a single identity. This period in the IB's growth, from at least Jacob (and Raphael's) persepctive, presented a succesful Foucauldian model of governmentality. But, in keeping with models for developmental psychology, active agents seek-out new roles and identities, new opportunities for creative agency. And where the IB's organizational identity is instead going through a period of corporate consolidation – or institutional 'sedimentation' (Tolbert and Zucker, 1996, p.182) – its focus on thickening its cultural cognitive institutional pillar, such actors may find it to be no longer aligned with their own identity.

7.2.4 THE FOUCAULDIAN LENS ON INSTITUTIONAL THEORY

In keeping with the constructivist/post-structuralist approach here, the addressing of theoretical contributions here will inevitably overlap with methodological contributions. Nonetheless, their theoretical treatment as discrete categories, however interdependent, overlapping and complementary, is of value to endeavour to achieve a critical realism.

7.2.4.1 Multi-level Analysis & Genealogy

Foucualt's genealogical method 'one that work[s] by tracing the lines of transformation of what one might call "moral technologies."' (Foucault, 2019, p.244) has supported the multi-

level analysis here. The application of the critical framework to IB institutions has demonstrated the manner in which models for institutional theory such as Scott's (2014) can be seen to enact – at the organizational field level – the same critical models that this Foucauldian approach more conventionally applies at the level of politics and the individual (so oscillating between the micro- and macro-levels – where organisational institutionalism has provided a more robust critical framework as it is concerned with the meso-level) through such concepts as governmentality being the predominant neoliberal apparatus of power.

7.2.4.2 A Theorizing Third Way

The literature review established a critical lens through which to approach institutional Theory in this research. Rejecting the strictly positivist intellectual traditions, along with Hegelian Marxist dialectics, the approach here has endeavoured towards a critical realist 'third way'. This was not a mandate for radical innovation in the theorizing here – or a paradigm shift from organizational science research. Thinking in terms of the academic field through institutional theory: the endeavour has not been to leave the field; nor to write this thesis as a purely sociological and philosophical inquiry. Analogously to the managerial issues: I am not a school leader electing to drop the IB curriculum. Rather, in both instances, in working within the institutions, but in pushing at their boundaries, we have an opportunity to help them grow, while retaining much of their inherent value (even as some of their institutional legitimacy is inevitably compromised). So 'decoupling' can be framed as a creative and productive act at the individual level, and a progressive one at the institutional level through this theorizing 'third way'.

The additional value the Foucauldian lens brings to institutional theory has been demonstrated primarily through the connections that this has helped draw with such broader epistemic trends as neoliberalism, corporatism and associated globalism and transnationalism. In considering the IB's growth after the multinational, corporate model, a critical language for considering how this contemporary 'main danger' of neoliberalism can create powerful discursive institutions through governmentality in the midst of a plurality of institutional logics, and relative actor agency, has been developed that mobilizes the Foucauldian technique of 'problematisation'. This 'defin[ing of] objects, rules of action, modes of relation to [individual] sel[ves]… [as] neither an anthropological constant nor a chronological variation… [but rather] in their historically unique

form' (Rabinow, 1984, p.49) has characterized the inquiry. In keeping also with Weber's analysis of an earlier North American capitalism's deriving of a moral outlook from the Protestant work ethic, we can see how important cultural cognitive institutionalization is in this late capitalist / neoliberal organisational context. This determined sensitivity to the subjective position in time and space of the (IB institutionalization) phenomena investigated here presents an original theoretical contribution to the academic field of institutional theory.

7.3   EMPIRICAL AND PRACTICAL / STRATEGIC CONTRIBUTIONS
7.3.1 MECHANISMS OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION

Scott's mechanism of 'Institutionalization based on Increasing Return' (2014, p.144) has been observed to very much apply to the organizational field of the IB, where competition is inconsistent and efficacy of product can be hard to quantify. An 'imperfect market', it often fails to eliminate inefficient (technologies/) institutions. Another way to conceive of this is that there is an absence of the negative/corrective feedback that more competitive/perfect markets would provide; this absence allows the positive feedback on existing behaviours to be uncontested, and so they become institutionalized. This has been exemplified through such life stories as Helen's, Seb's and Abbie's - where the IB's copious imperfections have not resulted in displacement of or correction of its institutions. Schools continue to deliver the flawed product of the IB because of, we are reminded

> '(a) the presence of high setup costs... (b) learning effects—individuals who invest time and effort in learning a particular approach are reluctant to consider alternatives… (c) coordination effects—the multiple advantages that accrue to a user because others have adopted the same option; and (d) adaptive expectations—as latecomers perceive that a particular approach is widely accepted, they are more inclined to adopt it themselves. (Scott, 2014, p.14).

Scott's mechanism of 'Institutionalization based on Increasing Commitments' (2014, p.145), drawing from Selznick's work, is very much visible in the IB's institution-building endeavors. Their implementation of such 'critical actions' as the IBEN Training interface studied here are precisely attempts at 'Institutionalization [that] constrains conduct in two main ways: by bringing it within a normative order, and by making it hostage to its own history.'

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(Selznick, 1992, p. 232). However, that history - as narrated by Jacob - is seen to be one where the IB's networked development of relational contracts and other forms of explicitly demanded commitment to unifying objectives was (at least for a mature and semi-autonomous institutional actor such as Jacob) more effective. Scott's citation of Toyota's work with its suppliers through the 1970s and 80s as an example of this with reference to Womack, Jones and Roos' (1991) research is of course pertinent: the network forms of organizing and relational contracts are particularly enhanced by such normative-pillar oriented mechanisms of commitment as the organization 'comes of age'. Whereas, following the model of Toyota, such powerfully institutionalizing network forms of organizing and relational contracts appear to prove hard to sustain when an organization such as the IB reaches a certain scale and maturity as a global corporation.

Scott's mechanism of 'Institutionalization as Increasing Objectification' has been amply demonstrated to be the ultimate goal of such critical actions for its key institutional actors/carriers as IBEN in artifacts such as the IBEN Training Interface. Focussing their institution thickening endeavors around cultural-cognitive institutional pillar, the goal such interfaces appears to be to create cognitively passive, self-objectivising subjects - the 'way a human being turns him- or herself into a subject' (Foucault in Dreyfus and Rabinow, 2014, p.82). Emergent from the CDA as a researcher-practitioner, to express it in terms of my own identity, we might say that I am subjectivised as an IBEN pedagogical leader; so I perpetuate the objectifying institutions of the IB.

7.3.2   MARGINS OF AGENCY, RESISTANCE AND CREATIVITY OF INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS

The institutional actors explored here all operate within significant margins of agency, resistance and creativity. The life story exposition and ensuing data processing elucidated a plurality of competing and complementary institutional logics – and a plurality of responses to these.

Scott's assertion that tensions and change dynamics in 'contemporary organizations and organization fields can be fruitfully examined by considering the competition and struggle among various categories of actors committed to contrasting institutional logics' (Scott, 2017, p.90) has been amply explicated through the data exposition, and the development of these through the

analytical lens on Chapter 6.1's 'Institutional Actors as Pluralist Nexuses of Institutional Logics, Cultures and Networks' and the subsequent theorizing of institutions and institutionalization in Chapter 6.2. The framing of the life stories around their respective plurality of institutional logics demonstrated the complex positioning of IB Actors in this neoliberal globalism.

This data exposition and analysis has responded to Scott's inquiry, developing a picture of what emerging institutional discourses of globally disseminated – and simultaneously culturally insulated – of transnational organisations and institutional networks look like. Likewise the inquiry into how organisational institutionalisation interacts with pre-existing fields and a multiplicity of institutional logics has been explicated here.

The IB here demonstrates how neoliberal corporate managerialism increasingly attempts to fill a power vacuum formerly occupied by Nation States. The data exposition herein demonstrates how this multiplicity of logics is sometimes complementary, sometimes competing, etc. The IB's institutionalization endeavours certainly have been shown to align with Scott's description of neoliberal organizational deployment of 'market logics or corporate managerial forms in order to improve its efficiency and accountability (Christensen and Laegreid 2001; Salamon 2002)' (Scott, 2017, p.90) While we have identified limitations to the IB's success in this through the critical, creative and broadly agency-based responses of institutional actors studied here, we can certainly draw one other (normatively neutral) conclusion about organisational institutionalization in this era. In the late-capitalist/neo-liberal globalist context, where (nation-)states are no longer necessarily the most powerful actors, global organizations can create powerful institutions through market logics or corporate managerial forms with less nation-state-derived competing institutional logics. To remind ourself of the Foucauldian critical perspective to this conclusion with reference to some strands of the data exposition herein: this can constitute the 'main danger' when it contributes to the 'stray dog charity' complacency of the global 1% at YYY international school at Northern Thailand (my life story); this can, alternatively, constitute a progressive opposition to the 'main danger' when it contributes to a progressive liberalism against the context of repressive homophobia in a different African context (Raphael's life story). Additionally, individual institutional actors have been shown to have the capacity to critically conceive of and respond to such institutions and institutionalization. Such problematization emphasizes the complex multiplicity to the manner in which institutions operate in this era.

7.3.3 CULTURAL-COGNITIVE INSTITUTIONALISATION FOR TRANSNATIONAL, NEOLIBERAL CORPORATE ORGANIZATIONS

7.3.3.1 Cultural Cognitive Institutionalization

Traditional discourses of power and control and such notions as 'standards', 'practices' and 'compliance' have been shown, through CDA on the IBEN Training Interface, to be intentionally miscegenated with a more indirect, disingenuous discourse of power and such language as 'mindset', 'ethics', 'development' and a broadly organic and often anthropomorphic discourse. The mobilization of Scott's model of institutionalization as the process of institution thickening, of making institutions more permanent, particularly through the effects of discourse and related practices on institutional actors enabled an appreciation of the centrality of such discursive practices in IB Institutionalization.

Such findings are significant in in terms of professional field-level organizational strategic planning – especially in conjunction with rich qualitative data such as in the life stories synthesis here. Organizational actors such as IBEN Strategic Managers would do well to consider: are such (crude) attempts to impose cultural cognitive institutions either strategically efficacious or, indeed, 'mission-aligned'?

The above cautionary note regarding the institutional primary task (Bunnell et al, 2017) also, then, warrants revisiting in the empirical/strategic context as it applies in terms of both research and practice: the intellectual *and* strategic efficacy of focussing on only one institutional primary task could, indeed, emerge as the 'main danger' (Foucault 1984) against a socially constructivist model of institutional logics, their tensions and change dynamics (Scott 2014).

7.3.3.2 Transnational Fields and Neoliberal, Corporate Organizations

Scott's (2017) description of transnational fields is highly pertinent to the conclusions to be drawn here, and warrants revisiting. Scott references Slaughter as he describes how, emergent alongside neoliberalism in the fall-out of World War II, the shifting focus from state-centric to transnational actors in politics, and political science, produced a useful typology of international actors who operate 'above, beside and within the state' (Slaughter, 2002, p.13). In a world where the nation-state no-longer holds primacy, these are also all conceived as rational(ly structured collective) actors. Scott's selected summary of Slaughter's typology details the following actors:

The nation-state; Multinational corporations; Institutional investors; International non-governmental organizations; Professional Associations; and Religious communities. Though most accurately classified within this typology as an International non-governmental organization, the IB has been shown to share distinct characteristics with all of these but nation-states and institutional investors: their subject-making governmentality is that of a Professional Association; their mission-driven cultural cognitive institutional identity is that of a Religious community; their organizational identity is increasingly that of a Multinational corporation. Scott builds towards his conclusion as he 'considers two influential logics active in the transnational realm: the idea of the rational actor and the related ideology of neoliberalism', and the lack of oversight or power (nation-state) governments now hold over corporate behaviour.

Scott then concludes this summary of 'onward and upward' developments in organizational institutionalism research in a subsection entitled 'Alternative Modes of Governance' by describing how 'lacking the legal and regulative authority held by nation-states, the new players, including NGOs, professional associations and information intermediaries ground their control attempts in normative and cultural elements' (Scott, 2017, p.865). Finally, further to a description of how global institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank subsumed national lawmakers into their (neoliberal) agenda through the development and dissemination of normative frameworks for corporate bankruptcy requirements he notes, of great significance to the current study, that,

> As Djelic, Sahlin-Andersson and Quack point out, we are in an era of robust institution building in the transnational arena, and the players processes and mechanisms of control are different from those of earlier times. We are witnessing the Genesis and structuration of new transnational fields with new modes of governance employed: soft power is supplementing if not replacing hard power. (Scott, 2017, p.866)

Scott's conflation of an organizational institutionalist discourse/idiom with one more associated with the academic field of global politics in the reference to 'soft power' is most pertinent to the emergent picture of IB Organizational Institutionalization – indicating the value that the Foucauldian lens has brought to this understanding of the neoliberal, late capitalist context to this analysis.

7.4 FURTHER RESEARCH

The case of the rapid transnational organizational growth of the IB has offered man insights into neoliberal corporate institutionalization. The significance of this within an ostensibly progressive, (social-)constructivist, liberal and critical-thinking oriented transnational organization has been considered and presented as an important area for further research. In an increasingly digitally networked, transnational social and organizational global context, methods that can facilitate such critical (discourse) analysis of digital artefacts have great explanatory veracity, particularly in terms of organizational strategy as associated with institution-building. Further such research, both within the IB and other such institutional contexts, is important in developing understanding of how organizations in such a(n epistemic) context build and sustain institutions. The tensions that surround the organisational institution building through the cultural-cognitive pillar of institutions (Scott, 2014), particularly in a field where actors enjoy and are ostensibly institutionally supported in having high levels of critical thinking and agency has been shown to be a particularly rich area for the development of critical insights.

The ongoing research of Bunnell into the IB through the lens of institutional theory has been noted as significant – indeed, provided a foundation for this thesis. The use of multiple qualitiative methods, and associated depth of qualitative detail to this research, has served to illuminate the deeply variegated and complex nature of the transnational institutional field of the IB. This indicates the value of further such critical interrogation; Engel's recent research (2022) builds on the Bordieuan research of Gardner Mc-Taggart (2018, 2021) to turn a critical lens on the tensions between the IB Field's espoused progressive internationalism against a context of Anglo-European elitism. Engel's noted reference to the IB's 'near-monopolization on 'global education' coupled with a dearth of independently conducted academic studies on the implications of such programmes' does indeed require 'greater scholarly attention' (Engel, 2021, p.1) – and particularly where the IB evidently attempts to appropriate academic scholarship into the marketization (Fairclough, 1993) of its discourses as has been demonstrated here through their tendering out of research third party corporate corporate 'alignment' providers. Independent and rigorous scholarship is imperative if the nascent academic field of research into the institutional character of the IB is not to be cynically appropriated to monopolistic marketization of its discourses

The case study of the IB herein sketched an ongoing trajectory of rapid organizational

growth, characterized by the replacement of distributed networks of power with a more conventionally corporate hierarchy. This has been lent colour and critical insights from the life story methodology, and exemplified through the critical discourse analysis of the IBEN Training Interface. But, particularly since its current and ongoing modes of institutionalization have been convincingly problematized here, further research into precisely what the increasingly corporate organizational structure and the strategic growth plan of the IB look like, is most warranted. There is undoubtedly value with this unfolding within the Foucauldian method of problematization as modelled here, but also within more positivist research methodologies, whereby the findings might be systematically treated with respect to such questions as generalizability in other neoliberal corporate organizational institutional contexts.

2. APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: METHODOLOGICAL DECISIONS AND PROTOCOLS TO CREATE RIGOUR IN LINKING TEXT TO CONTEXTS WITHIN CDA (LEITCH AND PALMER, 2010, P. 1205-1206)

Table II. Methodological decisions and protocols to create rigour in linking text to contexts within CDA

Methodological decision	Key issue	Protocol	Examples of attempts to address each issue
1. Concept definitions	Conceptual	**Protocol 1.1** Define your key terms, including discourse, text, and context	'Context refers to the participants involved, the situations in which the discourse occurs, and the social structures that have an influence on how participants interpret texts' (Pollach, 2003, p. 281) 'However, unlike other forms of discourse analysis, CDA also concerns itself with examining social context along the lines of ideology, power and inequality' (Alvarez, 2001, p. 387)
	Epistemology	**Protocol 1.2** Explain which CDA tradition(s) your definitions draw upon and the implications of this for your subsequent analysis	'CDA lies at the confluence of linguistics and sociology, combining linguistic analysis of texts themselves with a critical analysis of the social conditions and contexts of their production (Fairclough, 1995)' (Cloud, 2005, p. 1575) 'As Fowler (1996, p. 10) suggests, CDA goes "beyond the formal structure of language as an abstract system, toward the practical interaction of language and context". In this sense language is seen as a mode of action that is always socially situated' (Alvarez, 2001, p. 387)
	Ontology	**Protocol 1.3** Either consistently present context as itself enacted or, if you choose not to do this, explain theoretically your rationale, and the implications for your analysis and conclusions	'Requirements, as we have seen, are socially constructed and politically motivated. They are socially situated in a context that is produced through discursive strategies specific to the organizational history, the interviewees and the "experts" present' (Alvarez, 2001, p. 402) 'Financial institutions, their markets, the commodities in which they trade, and the more abstract resources such as "trust", "certainty", and "legitimacy" on which they rely in order to do business are, in part, discursively constituted' (Brown, 2005, p. 1584)
2. Data selection	Social significance	**Protocol 2.1** Identify how the wider social and political issues underpinning your research focus influenced your data choices	'We may usefully interrogate individual texts in order to expose them as exercises in power that serve hegemonic and legitimation functions. To illustrate this argument I analyse the account of the Collapse of Barings Bank given in the Report of the Board of Banking Supervision, and juxtapose this with other versions of the events given by investigative journalists' (Brown, 2005, p. 1579) 'Ordinary people, as opposed to their bosses or their political and official labor leaders, leave less of a trace than do those with access to institutional power and resources enabling the printing, videotaping, recording, distribution, and archiving of movement materials . . . The News From the War Zone publication, though thin in terms of numbers of published issues and pages, is a significant source of evidence for research on the labor movement. Indeed, it is the only bottom-up record we have of this event' (Cloud, 2005, pp. 519–20)
	Boundary	**Protocol 2.2** Outline the criteria you used in your research to establish which data was associated with text and which data was associated with context	'Discursive practice is the analytic level that examines the context of text production. This is a very important level of analysis as it is this which enables an understanding of how different interpretations of the text might be made' (Dick, 2005, p. 1377) 'We do not assume that such agency is without limit but, rather, that individuals engage in discursive activity – produce and disseminate various forms of texts – within a larger discursive context (Hardy and Phillips, 1999). The discourses that comprise this context emanate from struggles between different actors and the accumulation of the activities of many individuals' (Hardy et al., 2000, p. 1232)

Table II. *Continued*

Methodological decision	Key issue	Protocol	Examples of attempts to address each issue
	Multiplicity	*Protocol 2.3* Outline how your choice and availability of data about context both illuminate aspects of your research question(s) and limit your conclusions by excluding other possible interpretations	'In addition to the interactional context (what took place in the meeting and in what sequence), we have to add the organizational context and broader industry context' (Heracleous and Marshak, 2004, p. 1301) 'We do not know very much, however, about how organizational members negotiate these past and future meanings during the process of organizational change. How do language practices allow organizational members to work out new discourses within the context of preferred and historically rooted discourses in the organization, and thereby achieve organizational change? This attention to the discursive practices of change would demonstrate how organizational members negotiate past and future texts as they work out the adoption of new organizational practices' (Anderson, 2005, p. 66)
3. Data analysis	Data inferences	*Protocol 3.1* Outline which aspects of 'what you have found' are based on data, which parts of your analysis are based on extrapolations and inferences, and the basis for these extrapolations and inferences	'At the ideational level, we see evidence of hegemonic struggle, where "lay" ideas about police motivations, in which they are constructed as characteristically coercive and authoritarian, compete with more official and acceptable accounts of their motivations. To construct her motivations as publicly acceptable, she carefully emphasizes and constructs the meaning of arrests: that they are made not by individuals who enjoy this activity, but by individuals who have been authorized to make arrests by license, that is, being allowed or expected to do things that other people are not allowed or expected to do (Hughes, 1958). This is illustrated in line 6, when she comments: "You've done what you've been authorized" ' (Dick, 2005, p. 5) 'The analysed article is an example of journalists reinforcing dominant ideologies with case-specific commentaries. As long as the strategies of the companies and the ideas and actions of the key managers involved correspond with the dominant ideology, the journalists appear to echo the managers' viewpoints' (Kuronen et al., 2005, p. 266)
	Complexity	*Protocol 3.2* Explain which aspects of textual and contextual knowledge are likely to have been lost through the data reduction techniques you used to 'tell the story', and the implications for your conclusions	'It has also been a very "slippery" process – rather than applying a rigorous or standardized set of codes to the data, our search for meanings has been a highly subjective and customized process as we have worked out categories through our engagement with the particular data. One important challenge has been to present the reasons behind the selection and analysis of data in ways that are convincing – either in terms of events in the particular case study or in theoretical terms' (Hardy, 2001, p. 39) 'Nevertheless, data reduction processes necessarily involve abstraction, inevitably losing some of the situated and practical knowledge embedded in narrative forms, and thereby reflexively exhibit the very nature of knowledge loss through organizing that the study itself investigates' (Treleaven and Sykes, 2005, p. 353)
	Reflexivity	*Protocol 3.3* Outline your role as researcher in the production and analysis of data related to text and context	'In describing our study, the term "data construction" is preferred to the more common one of "data collection". The former term more adequately reflects the underlying ontological and epistemological assumptions of a study such as this, which takes reality and the resulting knowledge thereof to be socially and discursively constructed (i.e. as opposed to being objectively pre-existent), with the researcher taking an active role in such processes' (Finch-Lees et al., 2005, p. 1194) 'In retrospect, however, it is obvious that top managers, especially in their attempts at "sensegiving", also tried to exploit the interviewer as a possible mouthpiece in a situation still marked by struggles for position, power and influence, and by debates on how to implement the company vision' (Soderberg, 2006, p. 405)

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APPENDIX 2: COPY OF NDA / EMAIL THREADS EXPRESSING PERMISSION FROM IB TO PERFORM RESEARCH (AND PUBLISH FOR NON-COMMERCIAL PURPOSES) UPON THE PSP 'IBEN PROGRAMME STANDARDS AND PRACTICES INTRODUCTORY COURSE'

NON-DISCLOSURE AGREEMENT
(ONE-WAY)

This Non-Disclosure Agreement (the "**Agreement**") is made as of 16 May 2020 (the "**Effective Date**") by:

Joseph James Holroyd, having its registered address at 234/39 Mountain View Village
Moo 4
T. San Pee Seua
A. Mueang
Chiang Mai
50300
(the "**Receiving Party**"),

and

International Baccalaureate Organization, a Swiss foundation, with a registered address at Route des Morillons 15, 1218 Le Grand-Saconnex, Geneva, Switzerland (the "**IB**"),

collectively referred to as the "**Parties**".

Whereas, the IB is willing to disclose Confidential Information (as defined below) pursuant to the terms of this Agreement for the purpose of research

NOW THEREFORE, THE PARTIES HERETO HEREBY AGREE AS FOLLOWS:

1. When used in this Agreement the following terms shall have the meaning specified below:

   "**Confidential Information**" means any data, personal data, materials, products, technology, computer programs, specifications, manuals, business plans, software, services, marketing plans, financial information, pricing, personnel, operations, customers and other information of the Disclosing Party of a confidential nature or purpose disclosed orally, in writing, or by any other media (whether marked "confidential" or not), to the Receiving Party by the Disclosing Party, either directly or indirectly, and including the existence and all the terms of this Agreement, unless it is stated in writing by the Disclosing Party that such information is not confidential.

   "**Disclosing Party**" means the IB which discloses, communicates or gives access to its Confidential Information to the Receiving Party under this Agreement.

2. The Receiving Party agrees to hold the Confidential Information in confidence and shall not use the Confidential Information other than for the Purpose, and shall disclose it only to its employees, sub-contractors (as approved by the Disclosing Party), accountants or other professional advisers, on a need to know basis, who have agreed in writing to confidentiality restrictions that are substantially similar to those in this Agreement. At the Disclosing Party's request, the Receiving Party represents and warrants that its employees and sub-contractors are bound by such confidentiality obligations during and after the term of their employment or engagement and that its accountants or other professional advisers will also comply with the confidentiality obligations comprised in this Agreement.

3. The Receiving Party agrees that the Confidential Information disclosed is and will remain the property of the Disclosing Party and undertakes not to copy or reproduce, mechanically or otherwise written or printed data included therein, without the express prior written authorisation of the Disclosing Party.

   Upon the written request of the Disclosing Party, the Receiving Party shall promptly destroy or return the Confidential Information to the Disclosing Party, except the Confidential Information retained in its archive/back-up media provided it is retained in accordance with the terms of this Agreement.

4. The obligations of confidentiality and restriction on use in sections 2 and 3 shall not apply if the Receiving Party can demonstrate that the Confidential Information:

   (a) Was in the public domain prior to the Effective Date or subsequently came into the public domain through no fault of the Receiving Party;

   (b) Was lawfully received by the Receiving Party from a third party to the best of the Receiving Party's knowledge free of any obligation of confidence to such third party;

   (c) Was already in the lawful possession of the Receiving Party prior to receipt thereof, directly or indirectly, from the Disclosing Party;

   (d) Is required to be disclosed in a judicial or administrative proceeding, or as otherwise required to be disclosed by law, in any such case after all reasonable legal remedies for maintaining the Confidential Information in confidence have been exhausted including, but not limited to, to the extent legally permissible, giving the Disclosing Party as much advance notice of the possibility of such disclosure as practical so the Disclosing Party may attempt to stop such disclosure or obtain a protective order concerning such disclosure; or

   (e) Is subsequently and independently developed by the Receiving Party without reference and/or access to the Confidential Information.

5. This Agreement does not confer any right, license,

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NON-DISCLOSURE AGREEMENT
(ONE-WAY)

interest or title in, to or under the Confidential Information to the Receiving Party. No licence is hereby granted to the Receiving Party under any patent, trademark, copyright, trade secret or other proprietary rights of the Disclosing Party. Title to the Confidential Information shall remain solely in the Disclosing Party.

6. If there is any personal data transferred or exchanged under this Agreement, the Parties agree to comply with applicable data protection legislation.

7. In the event of any breach of this Agreement by the Receiving Party, the Disclosing Party shall be entitled to seek an injunction and to recover all reasonable attorneys' fees, awarded damages and reasonable expenses incurred in connection with any legal action taken because of such a breach.

8. The Receiving Party acknowledges that any breach of this Agreement by it may lead to instant termination of its right to use the Confidential Information without any right of recourse or damages even when such termination effectively results in the Receiving Party being exposed to claims of damages by third parties. Upon termination of this Agreement, the Receiving Party shall, at the Disclosing Party's option, promptly either return to the Disclosing Party or destroy the Confidential Information and any copies thereof in the Receiving Party's possession or under its control and provide written confirmation of destruction of the Confidential Information.

9. The waiver or failure of either Party to exercise in any respects any right provided for in this Agreement shall not be deemed a waiver of any further right under this Agreement.

10. The Receiving Party may not without the prior written approval of the Disclosing Party assign or otherwise transfer its rights and obligations granted under this Agreement.

11. Any notice to be given hereunder shall be given by registered or certified mail, return receipt requested, postage prepaid, to the other Party at its address appearing at the beginning of this Agreement and shall be deemed to have been received five (5) business days after posting.

12. This Agreement commences on the Effective Date and shall remain in force until Enter end date. The obligations contained in sections 2 and 3 of this Agreement shall survive the expiration of this Agreement until one of the exceptions contemplated by section 4 applies.

13. Neither Party shall issue any public announcements or make any published statements regarding this Agreement or the subject matter thereof without the prior written consent of the other Party, and any such agreed announcements or statements shall be

reviewed and approved by both Parties prior to its issuance or publication.

14. This Agreement and the respective rights and obligations of the Parties shall be governed by and construed in accordance with the laws of Switzerland without reference to its conflict-of-laws or similar provisions that would mandate or permit application of the substantive law of any other jurisdiction.

In the event of a dispute arising out of or relating to any matter under this Agreement, the Parties will seek to have the dispute finally settled by the courts of Geneva, Switzerland which shall have exclusive jurisdiction and both Parties hereby expressly waive any other jurisdiction that may correspond to them by reason of its present and/or future domicile or otherwise.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the Receiving Party has executed this Agreement and acknowledges having received one duly executed original

....
Authorized Signatory

Name: ...Joseph James Holroyd.......................

Title: ....Mr..................................

Date .... 16 May 2020.............................

The above NDA accompanied written permission from both the Head of Research for the IB (Bradley Shrimpton) and the Head of IBEN (Marjie Lope) to perform discourse analysis upon the IBEN course for both doctoral research and (non-commercial) publishing purposes – as shown in email screen-captures below:

Bradley Shrimpton <bradley.shrimpton@ibo.org>   📎 15 May 2020, 21:43   ☆   ↩   ⋮
to Joe ▾

Hi Joe,

You have your approval from Margie below. Can I now please ask you to complete the attached agreement. Basically, this will allow you to do the discourse analysis for your PHD but not (nor use the course materials) for commercial purposes.

Best,
Brad

From: Marjorie Lope <marjorie.lope@ibo.org>
Date: Friday, 15 May 2020 at 3:48 pm
To: Bradley Shrimpton <bradley.shrimpton@ibo.org>
Subject: RE: Doctoral study - longitudinal textual analysis of the IB [ref:_00D20BPOW._5003X1sTx7Y:re [ref:_00D20BPOW._5003X1sTx7Y:ref]

Hi Brad,

Thank you, we're doing just fine. How about you guys?

I absolutely support Joe doing research on the IBEN course and I'd love to see what he writes. I'm glad he found the course useful too.

I appreciate you asking.

Best,
Margie

Re: Doctoral study - longitudinal textual analysis of the IB [ref:_00D20BPOW._5003 X1sTx7Y:re [ref:_00D20BPOW._5003X1sTx7Y:ref] Inbox ×   ✕ 🖶 ⬈

Bradley Shrimpton <bradley.shrimpton@ibo.org>   Mon, 18 May 2020, 13:54   ☆   ↩   ⋮
to Joe ▾

Hi Joe,

You are welcome and yes academic publishing is fine.

Best,
Brad

From: Joe Holroyd <cllanguageA@ptis.ac.th>
Date: Saturday, 16 May 2020 at 8:00 am
To: Bradley Shrimpton <bradley.shrimpton@ibo.org>
Subject: Re: FW: Doctoral study - longitudinal textual analysis of the IB [ref:_00D20BPOW._5003X1sTx7Y:re [ref:_00D20BPOW._5003X1sTx7Y:ref]

Sorry Brad, attached here! In case the last email 'nests':

Please find attached - and thanks again for your support! I will, of course, share with Margie and yourself in due course.

Just to confirm (and thinking optimistically!) the exemption from using the material for commercial purposes doesn't prevent me from publishing in an academic journal, should I rework my thesis for peer-review?

Cheers

Joe Holroyd

APPENDIX 3: GLOSSARY OF IB ORGANIZATIONAL JARGON & ACCRONYMS

Name	Acronym	Description
International Baccalaureate	IB	Refers variously to the organization, its curricula models, and its network of educators and students
Primary Years Programme	PYP	The IB's curriculum programme for primary/elementary school aged students (from pre-school to age 11)
Middle Years Programme	MYP	The IB's curriculum programme for elementary school aged students (from age 11-16)
Diploma Programme	DP	The IB's academic pre-university curriculum programme (from age 16-18)
Careers-related Programme	CP	The IB's vocational pre-university curriculum programme (from age 16-18)
Programme Standards and Practices	PSP	The regulatory documents that describe the standard and practices to which schools must adhere if they are to obtain and retain 'IB World School' status and deliver any of the above curricula modes
IB Educator Network	IBEN	The network of peripatetic employees of the IB such as examiners, workshop-leaders and school evaluation visitors.
Approaches to Learning	ATLs	The IB's systematic expression of their pedagogical approach through such sub-categories as Self-Management Skills, Communication Skills and Thinking Skills
The Learner Profile	LP	An series of human capacities and responsibilities that aspire to help IB learners to develop beyond academic success and become, for example

		'Reflective' and 'Principled' alongside being 'Knowledgeable'.
Creativity, Activity and Service	CAS	A framework for developing extra-curricula engagement – a mandatory element of the IB Diploma Programme alongside its moreconventional academic components

APPENDIX 4: EMPIRICAL SOURCES IN THE CASE STUDY OF THE IB

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APPENDIX 5: THE IBEN TRAINING INTERFACE IN SEQUENTIAL SUMMARY OF KEY SCREENS
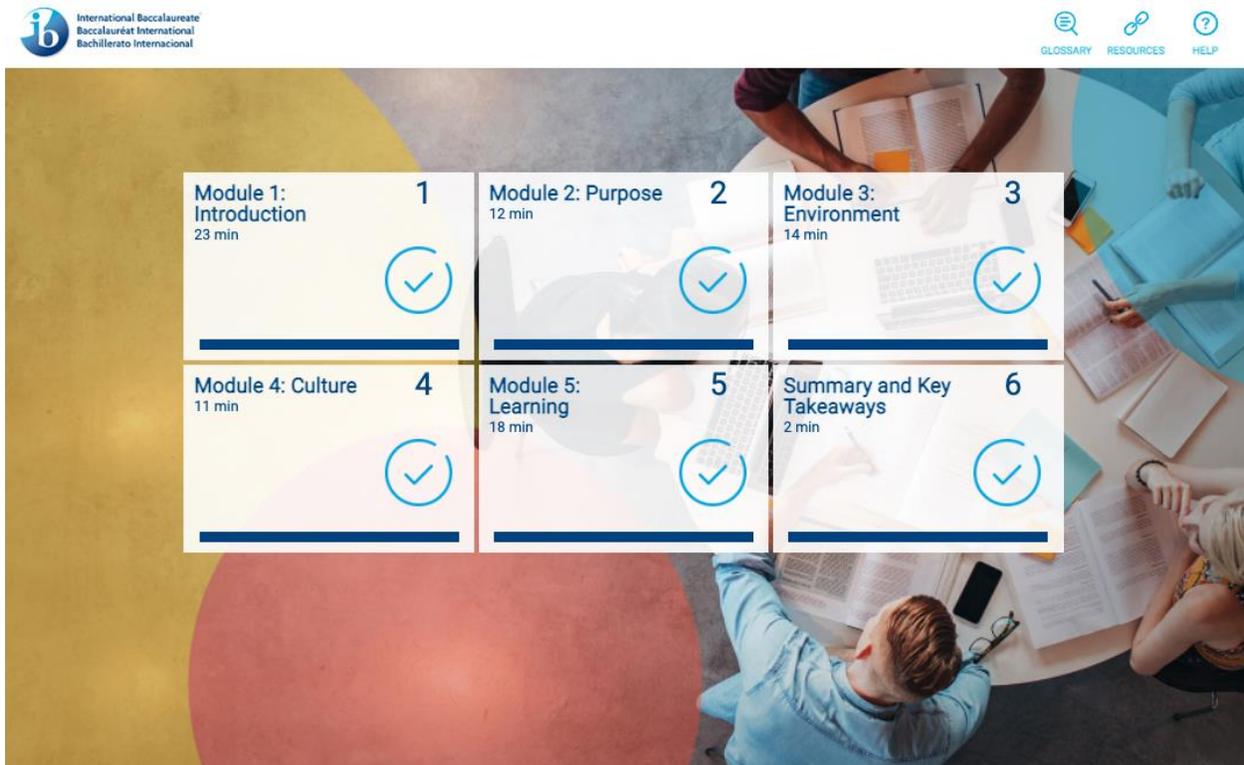
Welcome

This introduction is intended to be an orientation to the Programme standards and practices, or PSP, for educators in the International Baccalaureate Educator Network (IBEN). It aims to help you, as an educator in the network, understand the revised IB Programme standards and practices framework, or PSP framework, regardless of your role. All IB educator roles are impacted by this shift towards a developmental approach to supporting schools. As part of the IB Educator Network, you are responsible for adopting and modeling this new mindset as part of your commitment to the IB mission. This will ensure quality and fidelity in the implementation of IB programmes. The complete list of IBEN educator capabilities and the rationale can be found in the Resources section (see the link above). In the upcoming months, we will provide role-specific training for you to learn how you will use the PSP in each role.

Let's review some key aspects of the PSP.

1 ⊕ Pause and Reflect

2 ⊕ IBEN Engage

3 ⊕ Navigation
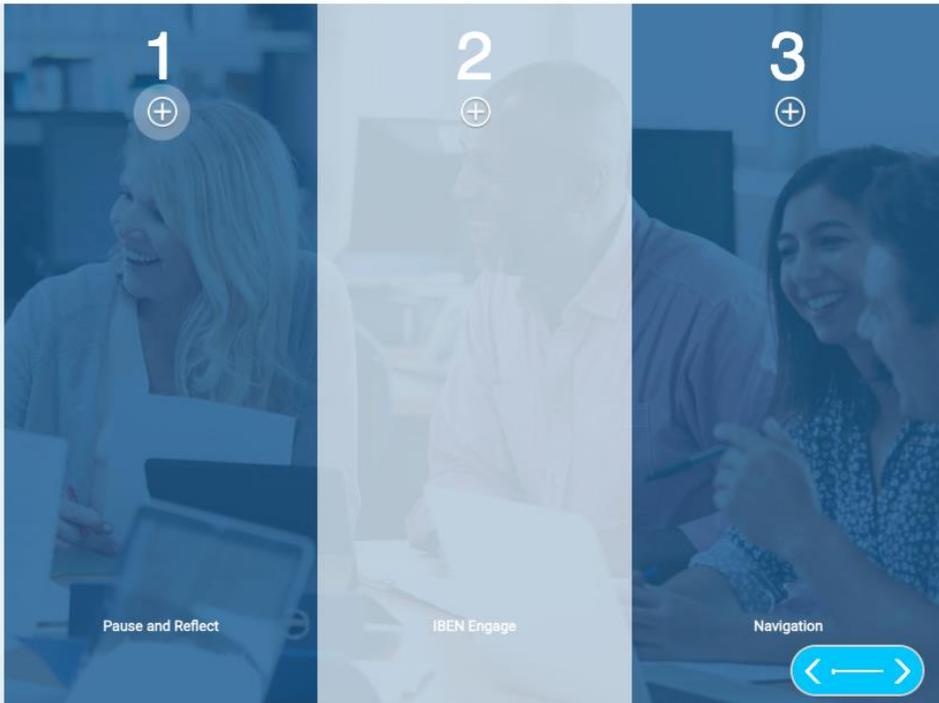
Thinking about purpose

Before we dive into learning more about purpose, consider the following contextual snapshot.

We will present you with a contextual snapshot and ask you to gather your initial thoughts based on your past experiences in your Reflection Journal from the Resources section.

After completing this module's content, you will have the opportunity to revisit the snapshot and consider your thoughts – this time leveraging what you have learned. You will also have the opportunity to reflect and add ideas to your tool kit.

1 ⊕ Snapshot

2 ⊕ Snapshot Details

3 ⊕ Question

1

2

3
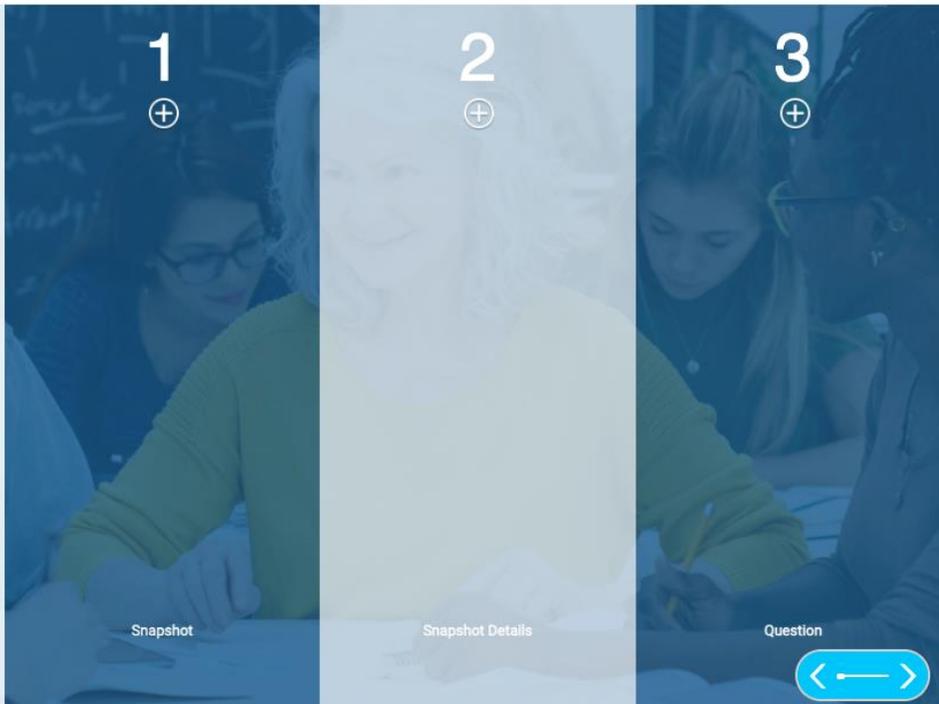
Thinking about environment

Before we dive into learning more about environment, consider this contextual snapshot. We will present you with a contextual snapshot and ask you to gather your initial thoughts based on your past experiences in your Reflection Journal from the Resources section.

After completing this module's content, you'll have the opportunity to revisit the snapshot and further consider your thoughts – this time leveraging what you have learned. You will also have the opportunity to reflect and add ideas to your tool kit.

Snapshot

Snapshot Details

Question

1

2

3

Thinking about culture

Before we dive into learning more about culture, consider the following contextual snapshot. We will present you with a contextual snapshot and ask you to gather your initial thoughts based on your past experiences in your Reflection Journal from the Resources section.

After completing this module's content, you'll have the opportunity to revisit the snapshot and reconsider your answer – this time leveraging what you have learned. You will also have the opportunity to reflect and add ideas to your tool kit.

Snapshot

Snapshot Details

Question

1   ⊕

2   ⊕

3   ⊕

Thinking about learning

Before we dive into learning more about learning, consider the following contextual snapshot.

We will present you with a contextual snapshot and ask you to gather your initial thoughts based on your past experiences in your Reflection Journal from the Resources section.

After completing this module's content, you'll have the opportunity to revisit the snapshot and further consider your thoughts – this time leveraging what you've learned. You will also have the opportunity to reflect and add ideas to your tool kit.

Snapshot   Snapshot Details   Question

< —— >

Congratulations!

You have completed your 2020 Programme standards and practices IBEN orientation.

Now that you have completed this introductory orientation, please continue to revisit the programme resource center to further develop your understanding of the Programme standards and practices and how they are to be applied in your role(s) as a member of the IBEN. This has been an introduction, so your continued reading and reflection of the new PSPs will help you apply them consistently and thoroughly. You will also be contacted with further role-specific trainings.

Please click here to share your feedback about this orientation. All feedback you provide is valuable to us.

Your participation in this orientation has been automatically marked as completed and the IBEN team has been notified.

< —— >

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