The origins and early development of Copenhagen International School, 1962-1973

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Submitted for the Degree of PhD
I, Anne Collignon, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.
Abstract

This thesis critically examines the origins and early development of Copenhagen International School (CIS, Denmark), which evolved from an American outpost secondary school, attached to the American embassy, to one of the first International Baccalaureate (IB) trial schools, in 1968. The case study places the school’s history in the Danish context of the mid-1960s and early 1970s, and in the wider international and geopolitical configurations of the same period. Using an insider approach, as a full member of the school, I apply a participative method which includes the role of school’s informants particularly in the preservation and the access to the data. By drawing on cross-analysis of the school unexplored records, donated materials, unofficial written histories and oral testimonies from alumni and staff members, the research addresses three questions:

1. What does the school’s early history reveal about the inception of international schooling in the mid-1960s and early 1970s?

2. Why and how did the foundation years of the school embody and reflect broader aspects and interests at stake in the world order?

3. What does the school’s early history unveil about its institutional identity?

The findings provide insights on the interplay and power games between multiple actors in a small international institution under a strong American influence where many interests were at stake. More specifically, it shows how the concept of internationalism embodied a range of different interpretations and had to be negotiated in the school day-to-day life between the different board members, students, parents, headmasters and teachers. Finally, the findings give evidence on the sensitive role and newly increasing power given to international schooling in the changing world order of the mid-twentieth century.
Impact Statement

In researching the early years of Copenhagen International School (CIS), I see three major contributions that the findings can offer to the academic and public knowledge.

The literature on the history of the International Baccalaureate (IB) and on the development of international schooling in the 1960s has, until now, mainly acknowledged the role of three well recognized international schools (Geneva International School, United Nations International School in New York, and the Atlantic College of Wales) leaving uncovered the establishment of other pioneer IB schools such as Copenhagen International School. However, CIS’s history provides a unique perspective of the American cultural influence on the foundation of international schools, specifically in Europe, during the Cold War. It uncovers new socio-historical knowledge on the beginning of the IB, as well as new knowledge on the Danish Cold War social history. More broadly the research highlights how some Cold War dynamics influenced not only the world’s geopolitics but also the society and the culture, such as educational institutions, of the nations involved in the conflict.

My research uncovers the identity-construction of CIS during its first decade. I believe that the research’s process itself participates in the construction of the school’s identity by unveiling to the school community some unknown aspects of its past. The research had already made some institutional impacts as it helped to create a formal school’s archives programme to secure CIS’s records and facilitate their access. Moreover, some aspects of the research
have been already shared at CIS during an evening of celebration for the 50th anniversary of the IB in 2018 and will possibly be shared during the celebrations of the school’s 60th anniversary. The preservation of school records is a sensitive topic that needs greater attention, especially in a time where documents are kept electronically. It is all the more true for a Danish private school where the Government does not have any authority on the archival system. Furthermore, I observed a general lack of awareness on the importance of the school history in CIS’s everyday life, and its possible impact on students’ learning about their environment and their perception on changes over time. I hope that my research can encourage CIS to continue exploring its own history as well as other schools.

Finally, I believe that the insider and collaborative methods used in this research can bring new knowledge on the possibilities to explore school histories, both to historians in education and school leaders. My experience showed that being an insider researcher in an educational institution helped building bridges between two separated worlds: school and academia. In fact, the research journey gave me the opportunity to share my experience at different history of education’s conferences as much as during my teaching practice with colleagues and students, hoping that some of them foresee themselves into similar academic journey.
Acknowledgements

This thesis is dedicated to CIS’s early members: students, parents, teachers, headmasters and Board members, who sowed the seeds of the school.

The research would not have been possible without the support of many people, a few of whom are explicitly acknowledged here. The support of Professors Gary McCulloch and Mark Freeman has been invaluable, thanks to their soft approach, kind guidance and erudition. Doctor Steven Cowan inspired me by sparking my interest in history of education. CIS and the support of the four past directors gave me the possibility to access to the school records and helped me to create the archives in the new school. Many CIS’s colleagues, past and present encouraged me at different stages of my thesis. A special thank you goes to Charles Gellar (1933-2020), Jim Keson, Oliver Todd (1964-2016), Suzanne O’Reilly, Cindy Jull-Larsen, Urania Beyer, and Flemming Nielsen. My fellow Doctors, Chris Hambley, Nicolas Collignon, Maria Williams, Meritxell Simon-Martin, Ida Brænhdolt Lundgaard, and Professor Lisser Ejersbo provided me with so much encouragement, inspiration and, for some of them, precious proofreading times. The Institute of Education has been my intellectual home for many years, and I particularly want to thank Emeritus Professors Felicity Armstrong and Len Barton who inspired me immensely during my Masters in Inclusive Education as well as Emeritus Professor Eric Plaisance from Université Paris-Descartes (now Paris-Cité).

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### 5 CIS: a school under three influences

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## Abbreviations

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CEIC</td>
<td>Centre for the study of Education in an International Context</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIHS</td>
<td>Copenhagen International High school</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIS</td>
<td>Copenhagen International School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIJS</td>
<td>Copenhagen International Junior School.</td>
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<tr>
<td>DOD</td>
<td>Department of Defense</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECIS</td>
<td>European Council of International Schools</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ecolint</td>
<td>Geneva International school (Switzerland)</td>
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<td>EEC</td>
<td>European Economic Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>ERP</td>
<td>European Recovery Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>IB</td>
<td>International Baccalaureate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBDP</td>
<td>International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBO</td>
<td>International Baccalaureate Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDEA</td>
<td>Institute for Development of Educational Activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISA</td>
<td>International Schools Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISF</td>
<td>International Schools Foundation</td>
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<tr>
<td>ISS</td>
<td>International Schools Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAAG</td>
<td>Military Assistance Advisory Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>NDEA</td>
<td>National Defense Education Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIS</td>
<td>United Nations International School (New York)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USIA</td>
<td>United States Information Agencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USIS</td>
<td>United States Information Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UWC</td>
<td>United World Colleges</td>
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<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organisation</td>
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1 Introduction

Introduction

The year 1962 was marked by the escalation of the intense Cold War conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States (US), with the discovery of the presence of Soviet strategic missiles in Cuba by US President Kennedy’s administration.¹ The world was, according to Odd Arne Westad, at a critical stage where ‘nuclear war could have broken out by accident, or as a result of intelligence failures’.² On the other side of the Atlantic, Denmark, ‘a small state, strategically situated’ at the entrance of the Baltic Sea, sharing ‘naval borders with East Germany and Poland’, was playing its part in the conflict, with the accepted storage of US nuclear weapons on its soil in Greenland from 1958 to 1965.³ The US embassy in Copenhagen, with its military and information presence, was according to the executive officer of three armed services (Military Assistance Advisory Group, MAAG), of necessity in the country, partly because of its membership of NATO since its foundation in 1949.⁴ It employed foreign service officers, information service officers and armed forces posted in Copenhagen with their dependents.

Also in 1962, an American correspondence secondary school was established in the suburbs of north-west Copenhagen by a small group of parents, mainly attached to the US embassy. The school, which organised support for high school correspondence courses with the University of Nebraska (US), consisted in a one-room classroom, rented from a Danish private school, Bagsværd Kostkole og Gymnasium. The secondary school aimed at offering, as a continuity of the Department of Defense (DOD)'s overseas primary school, also based in Copenhagen, the possibility for American teenagers from the age of fourteen to stay with their families, while doing correspondence courses for credit toward American university entrance.

Originally called Bagsværd International School and hosting fewer than twenty-five students, the institution, in 1968, hosted by a Danish high school, Søborg Gymnasium, in a suburban neighbourhood of north-west Copenhagen, became Copenhagen International School (CIS). In May of the same year, CIS volunteered with six other schools – Atlantic College (Wales), International School of Geneva, United Nations International School (New York), International College (Beirut), Iranzamin International School (Tehran) and North Manchester High School for Girls – to register eight of its students for

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5 Students’ papers and exams were sent by email to Nebraska for marking and were sent back to the school. This process took more than a month.


7 The school took different names during the first decade as explained in Chapter 5.1. From 1962 to 1964, the school’s name was Bagsværd International School, then from 1964 to 1968, it became Copenhagen International High School (CIHS). In 1968, it took its permanent name as Copenhagen International School (CIS). To avoid any confusion to the reader, I decided to use the school’s permanent name CIS across the thesis.
tralling examination papers of the International Baccalaureate (IB).\textsuperscript{8} The school, despite its small size compared to most of the others, became then one of the pioneer schools of the IB. This innovative educational project conceived in 1962 by the International Schools Association (ISA) in collaboration with the International School of Geneva, commonly called Ecolint, aimed at creating a school-leaving certificate recognized globally by any university, ‘for many adolescents displaced by commercial or political need for their parents’ services’.\textsuperscript{9} The IB diploma, which in 1968 was trialled by a total of 349 students from seven schools in seven different countries, was in 2021 taken by 165,857 students from 3,072 schools established in 153 countries.\textsuperscript{10} In 2021, Denmark had 774 candidates registered for the Diploma from 16 IB schools of which 13 were public and three private, CIS included. In 2021, CIS, whose examination code is 000004, is an all-through continuum IB school, considered as the leader in international schooling in Denmark, with 900 students, 170 staff members, 80 nationalities represented, and 60 languages spoken.\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{8} CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, September 18, 1964. R. L, Email, March 2, 2018.

The examination code refers to the IB authorization rank. 000004 shows that CIS is one of the first schools authorized for IB exams. Continuum means that the school delivers the Primary Years Programme (PYP), the Middle Years Programme (MYP) and the Diploma Programme from the International Baccalaureate Organisation (IBO). CIS, Copenhagen International School, last modified November 17, 2021, https://www.copenhageninternational.school/. CIS, "Welcome from our Director Sandy Mackensie," Copenhagen International School, last modified November 2, 2020, https://www.copenhageninternational.school/directors-welcome/.
This study, mainly based on primary source documents and oral history, examines CIS origins, and identifies the driving forces that made the school exist and develop over the years 1962-1973. This timeframe, examined in more details at the end of this chapter, corresponds to the period that I characterize as ‘the foundation years’, from its creation to its financial stability and ‘high academic standard’ recognition with its first accreditation by the European Council of International Schools (ECIS). The school’s historical materials, analysed and placed in a broader socio-political, and economic context, evidence how the school’s formation and its community’s daily life were intermingled with wider international influences present at larger scale in the conflicted and changing world of the 1960s. The thesis explores the process of the school’s identity-construction, shifting from an outpost of American ‘soft power’ in Europe to a more broadly conceived internationalist institution and uncovers the forces and influences at stake within the school: American, Danish, and international communities. Furthermore, the case study fixes the history of international education during the post-war period in Europe in one particular location, and sheds light on the emergence of different types of international schools. It builds on the already existing history of the IB by exemplifying at a small-scale level the struggle of its beginning and justifies in closer detail ‘the vital and essential role of the initial body of the

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12 CIS, "CIS awarded full accreditation," CIS Highlights, June 12, 1973, 1. I explain what ECIS was in Section 4.2 on p. 145-146.
international schools as voluntary laboratories’, as pointed out by Tristan Bunnell.\textsuperscript{14}

Thus, the case study exemplifies how, in the mid-1960s and early 1970s, international relations and the Cold War conflict affected not only political life within a Western nation-state like Denmark but also many aspects of its society, including the conduct and culture of schooling. For this reason, the research lies at the junction of two research fields, the history of the early development of international education and the Cold War social history.

1.1 Aim and research questions

The overall aim of the study is to examine the school’s creation and development during its first decade. This broad investigation leads to three specific aims and three research questions, which revolve around the school’s identity, framed by its connectedness with local, national, and international socio-geopolitical circumstances and its early involvement with wider educational endeavours.

While the three ‘founder’ IB schools – Atlantic College, Geneva International School (Ecolint), and United Nations International School (UNIS) – have written and published aspects of their history, CIS has not. And yet, its early history provides a distinctive example of a school originally conceived as an American school overseas, the first English-language secondary school in

Denmark, which in a few years evolved to an IB school, while still largely subsidised by state and private American funds and grants. More specifically, it features, at a small scale, the presence of American soft power enterprise, through cultural infiltration with education as resource, in action or in tension with ‘the idealism of those who see in international education the best hope of promoting international understanding’, as expressed by Alec Peterson, first director general of the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO). The first aim of the thesis is then to concentrate on the school’s educational project. This requires analysis of the circumstances that made the school implement the IB at an early stage by reconstructing the different networks and identifying school actors as connectors or intermediaries of broader international educational spheres. The first aim leads to the research question:

What can the school’s early history reveal about the inception of international education in the 1960s and early 1970s?

The second aim is to uncover aspects of Danish social history during the Cold War period. Over the last decade, historians of the Cold War started to call for a shift of perspective, moving from a traditional strategic and geopolitical approach to one exploring possible ‘ways in which Cold War dynamics influenced policy, society and culture’. Richard Himmerman and Petra Goedde have encouraged ‘the effort to transcend the strict separation of the political, economic, ideological, and cultural aspects of the cold war’, recognizing their reciprocal relationship, and stressing at the same time the

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importance to ‘underscore the synergy between domestic and international developments’.\textsuperscript{17}

In the same vein, Danish Cold War historians have emphasised the need to look at the conflict through a less conventional lens. According to Poul Villaume:

No doubt, the challenge of the ‘cultural history’ approach to the Cold War, as well as other methodological trends in Cold War scholarship, are healthy and welcome, and should be encouraged. New approaches and methods and interdisciplinary cooperation in Danish Cold War research would probably also attract more scholars to our area of historical research, which is still – and is indeed likely to remain for some time – dominated by (male!) specialists in security, defence, and diplomatic issues.\textsuperscript{18}

More recently, Rasmus Mariager called for the same necessity by explaining that ‘large parts of the history of daily life still need to be told as well: the periphery of the circle of decision-makers is the closest historians have come to presenting the individual citizen’s encounter with the Cold War’.\textsuperscript{19}

Under this perspective, the empirical research exemplifies how a small private educational institution, hosted by a municipal Danish High School, Søborg Gymnasium, was influenced by wider issues and social changes. It provides valuable historical evidences on, including but not exclusively: the infiltration of the American culture, the presence of the American secret services, and the resistant position of the Danish Ministry of Education to the establishment of

\textsuperscript{17} Immerman and Goedde \textit{The Oxford Handbook of the Cold War}, 3.
\textsuperscript{18} Villaume, "Denmark During the Cold War, 1945-1989: A Stocktaking of Post-Cold War Research Literature," 32.
\textsuperscript{19} Mariager, "Danish Cold War Historiography," 209.
an atypical international private institution. The research illustrates, through foreign Eastern and Western teenagers’ written and visual expression how Danish and international culture, social and political life in the mid-1960s and early 1970s impacted their schooling and daily life. The second research question of the project asks therefore:

How and why did the origins and development of the school embody and reflect broader aspects and interests at stake in the world order of the 1960s and early 1970s?

The third aim is to build some historical knowledge of an educational institution and contribute to its institutional heritage awareness. Only a small number of historical short accounts, individual reminiscences from past actors, have been written about the school. The procedural documents and publications such as students and teachers’ newsletters and yearbooks have stayed non-archived and unexplored until this research. The examination and analysis of these primary source documents not only reveal their precious value as artefacts, objects which are part of the school heritage, but also highlight the vivid knowledge they provide ‘to create a ‘collective social memory’. This is all the more true for the collected interviews of past members of the school community from the 1960s, holding first-hand reminiscence, and whose voices have become increasingly urgent to listen to.

Furthermore, the research occurred at a turning point in the school’s history with its move to a new campus, inaugurated in January 2017, to respond to its

20 In Section 2.4, I give more details on CIS’s primary sources.
growing population of students. Since 1962, as the school grew in student numbers the buildings it occupied had to change and adapt. CIS high school has moved eight times to different geographical locations within Copenhagen’s centre and around the suburbs. It has also split and re-merged with the lower school on two different occasions. This new futuristic school now based in the redeveloped residential neighbourhood of Nordhavn, which previously housed Copenhagen’s industrial port, can give for new school entrants a biased impression of newness. The director’s message on the school website exemplifies this possible perception: ‘[o]ur modern facade belies a history of being cutting edge for over 50 years’. This recent step in the school’s history can be seen as being a radical new beginning or, as mentioned by Mary Hayden about recent transformations of such international institutions, as being a school in total ‘mutation’. This special circumstance offered an additional incentive to look backward to the past and open questions around the role of heritage at a time of unprecedented changes within the institution. Thus, this third aim leads to the research question:

What does the school’s early history reveal about its institutional identity?

The three research questions are explored within the timeframe 1962-1973 and the next section explains the reasons for choosing these specific boundaries.

22 The new building could expand the school’s capacity from 900 to 1200 students.
23 CIS, "Welcome from our Director Sandy Mackensie".
1.2 Timeframe of the research

The exploration of the school’s board meeting minutes as well as some preliminary data gathered during interviews with former staff members helped identify the year 1962 as the very beginning to the school and 1973 as turning point in its history in terms of finance, governance, curriculum, and expansion and by consequence, the time frame 1962-1973 as periodization of its origins.\textsuperscript{25}

The school, which had been struggling for financial survival from 1962, became financially more stable in the year 1972-73, mainly due to the increase in student numbers. The first data recorded on student lists mention 30 students in September 1964 and 105 students in October 1973.\textsuperscript{26} Table 1.1 shows the growth of CIS’s student body from 1964 to 1975.\textsuperscript{27}

Table 1.1: CIS’s student body 1964-1973

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>End of school year</th>
<th>Total number of students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>36</td>
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<td>1966-67</td>
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<td>1971-72</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{25} See Appendix 3: List of interviews and dates.
\textsuperscript{26} CIS, Board Minutes. Copenhagen International High School Student List, Binder 1,1964; CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 2, October 24, 1973.
\textsuperscript{27} Data are collected from the school’s board minutes and yearbooks. More details on student body are found in Section 5.4.
The Danish rector of CIS’s host-school, Ulf Østergaard, member of CIS Board, confirmed the financial milestone:

As I see it, it is now on the verge of phase two of its existence [sic] where it must find permanent quarters, and where its immediate pecuniary problems seem to be eliminated.28

In the year 1972-1973, the school governance reached a significant phase. As further developed in Chapter 5, after a quick turnover of five successive American chairmen since 1964, the board elected, in 1972, Ulf Østergaard as new chairman. Being Danish and an expert in the field of international education, Østergaard’s chairmanship during thirteen years opened a new era to the school direction and set up stability.29

Still in 1973, the school received its first ECIS’s accreditation, which gave an official and international recognition of its ability to prepare students for the IB. This first accreditation set the beginning of a long-term partnership between the school and ECIS, its ongoing commitment to the IB, and offered an alternative to the American high school diploma.

A last significant turning point in 1973 was the creation and opening of a lower school, Copenhagen International Junior School (CIJS). It was created under the same board governance as the upper school but independent financially, administratively, and geographically. In fact, it was situated in Copenhagen city centre, while the high school stayed in the north-west suburb of the capital until

28 U. Østergaard, To the Board of C.I.S, (Board Minutes Binder 2, August 3, 1972).
29 Ulf Østergaard’s personal and professional background is narrated in Section 6.2.
1977. From 1973, the school’s board meeting minutes became less exhaustive about the high school development as more focused on the new project of what the board initially called the ‘feeder’ school.

The period 1962-1973 is significant not only for this case study, but also because it corresponds, according to Paul Tarc, to ‘the founding phase of innovation and experiment’ of the IB.\textsuperscript{30} In the year of 1962, a first small conference in Geneva International School was organised by the teachers of the social studies Department, Bob Leach acting as chairman. He then made special mention to the words ‘International Baccalaureate’.\textsuperscript{31} This corresponding period in the development of the two institutions is far from being coincidental but rather, as further developed in Section 6.2, instrumental in the school’s shift into its international character.

The case study places the school’s history in the larger context of the twentieth century and is examined under wider international influences and geopolitical configurations of the period mid-1960s to early 1970s. This period was marked by intense, economic, social, political and technological transformations, when transnational corporations began to grow and develop. The United States continued to increase their power, sometimes perceived as global hegemony, ‘the worldwide dissemination of their culture’ being one dominant aspect through the export of’ the symbols, lifestyles, consumerism, and core values of

their society’. This rise of power was justified by the perceived danger coming from the Soviet Union. The Cold War was not only an ideological conflict but also represented an international system. It was an acute and dangerous phase in international rivalries. The period from 1962 to the early 1970s evolved into the era of détente, and Nordic countries took a specific role in this process. The year 1973 marked a period of economic decay in Europe with the first oil crisis and the end of the long 1960s. The same year, Denmark entered the European Economic Community (EEC), the only Nordic country to do so at that time. The post-World War II period saw an increase of intergovernmental and international nongovernmental organisations, which played an influential role in the worldwide cooperation and on ‘the awareness of global interconnectedness’. Among such awareness, education became a matter of international concern embodied for instance by the mission of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

The late 1950s to the middle 1970s saw, coming from the young generation, a new expression of protest against capitalism, consumerism, nuclear threat and societal authorities, but also an expression of dreams for a new society, leading to what Arthur Marwick named a ‘cultural revolution’, expressed through some movements of counterculture, present in capital cities like

Copenhagen. All these major changes, briefly introduced in this section, are further developed in Chapter 3, Context Chapter, and used as reference and interpretation tools for the analysis of the data presented in the core chapters of the thesis.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 introduces the case study historical research and sets the direction of the research by defining the aims, the research questions, the timeframe, and the structure of the research. Chapter 2 clarifies the researcher’s insider position within the field of study, explains the access to sources, defines the methods of investigation, presents the different types of sources, and the process for their interpretation. Chapter 3 sets the case study within the wider context of the mid-1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, with the Cold War as major backdrop. It looks at the exerted economic dominant position of the US internationally and its implication at local level, the US world politics and influences through US international education programmes, the major role of international organisations from the post war period and the ideal of internationalism, and finally the position of Denmark during the Cold War with the transformation of its society in the mid-1960s. Chapter 4 provides an overview of the literature and significant research findings published in areas related to the classification of international schools, to the study of education and international life in the 1960s, and to new perspectives on the history of the IB. In sum, the chapter locates the present thesis’ arguments alongside

those of previous works. Chapter 5 explores the school’s formation through the examination of its organisation – school names, locations, facilities, governance, finance, and population – based on the records of the Board meeting minutes. It shows that, even though the high school’s first aim was to respond to the educational needs of transient teenagers relocated in Copenhagen with their families, the school formation was indeed much more complex. It became the result of multi-influential forces carried out by different actors with their own agenda, at the international, national, local, or individual levels. The school then became a distinctive institution, a product of the interactions and negotiations between these different influences. Chapter 6 concentrates on CIS’s educational mission and most particularly analyses the shift that the school operated from offering an all-American high school curriculum to pioneering the International Baccalaureate. It explains how one type of internationalism, seen as educational principle by some CIS’s actors and the rector of the Danish host school, took ascendance over the perception that Americans – CIS’s board members and US governmental agencies giving subsidies to the school – had on internationalism. Chapter 7 examines the embedded school’s culture during its foundation years, based on the reminiscences and primary publications of students and teachers of the 1960s and the early 1970s, thus giving a different light on the school’s purpose and its connectedness with the national environment and the international context. It uncovers other aspects of internationalism, this time embodied by students and teachers in their school daily life and shows that a range of concepts of internationalism were present which shaped the small international institution’s
ethos. Finally, Chapter 8 brings the research findings together with reference to the three research questions.
2 Methodology

Introduction

This chapter attempts to define the methodological framework that structured the historical single-case research. Firstly, I examine my position as insider researcher. Secondly, I explain the process to secure the primary written sources and to access to oral sources, from which the data are extracted. Thirdly, I define the different research methods used throughout my research process. Finally, I describe the type of sources used in this work and the approach I employed for their interpretation.

2.1 Insider approach

Being a member of the school community as high school teacher, I adopted an insider research position for the conduct of the historical single-case study.\(^1\) This position brought benefits and constraints which are necessary to acknowledge. Additionally, the insider status can raise ethical considerations and validity issues which need to be identified before the research process.\(^2\) The position needs also to be clearly explained to the reader for the sake of transparency. In this case, my position required a shift from being a teacher, part of the field, to being a researcher in the field, which involved a double insider/outsider status. First, I explain how my teacher’s role in the field already includes the use of techniques which are similar to the ones used as insider researcher.

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\(^1\) I started to work at CIS in 2007 as learning support teacher and coordinator. I taught the first 6 years at the junior school and to present time I have been teaching at the high school.

The position of learning support teacher at the high school level requires one to work with all stakeholders of the high school and more importantly, to work in close relationship with subject teachers. The work, which in the first instance is collaborative, is based upon shared discussions of teaching practices, pedagogical methods and understanding of psycho-social and educational concerns presented by students, where teachers are encouraged to question their own practice, find solutions to continually arising new problems in the classroom and during their interactions with students. This has come to be recognised as ‘reflective practice’. Collaboration of this type requires a high level of trust, confidence, and respect from both sides as teachers are exposing themselves to what they experience as difficult. The role therefore challenges historical accounts of the work of teachers as individuals and foregrounds the idea of teaching as being an essentially collaborative pursuit. The position of learning support teacher necessitates undertaking some in-class co-teaching and accessing many lessons in all subjects with almost all teachers. It is a privileged position for getting a wider insider view of what is going on at the high school level, which is rarely experienced by anyone else. The position requires the qualities of an observer who can understand the situation experienced by the teachers as well as the students. These subtle qualities and the acquired knowledge of the field are transferable to the position adopted as insider researcher. Herbert Blumer acknowledged that it is a necessity for a researcher who is part of the field to adopt a strong sense of observation, a careful scrutiny and a deep respect for the empirical world.

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under study. As he explained, ‘the empirical social world consists of ongoing group life and one has to get close to this life to know what is going on in it’. 

Being part of the school community brought some benefits. It gave me the possibility to grasp some knowledge on the present context of the field, while not having a preunderstanding on its history. My presence at the school and my daily interactions with the school’s leaders facilitated the access to the school’s records which led me to take the unexpected role of school’s archivist, as explained in Section 2.2. My teaching position at CIS generated a natural association with the interviewees and thus eased the dialogue. The historical distance that I had from the interviewees’ own time at CIS brought some advantages as it gave them more willingness to explain in detail events to someone who was not there. Furthermore, the insider approach led to an interactive research collaboration with some past and present school’s members, which resulted in unforeseen research outcomes and methodological tools as explained in the collaborative method in Section 2.3.

Finally, I believe that the chosen time frame of the research which kept the study in a relatively distant part of the memorable past, minimised the potential challenges.

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5 Blumer, *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*, 38. 
6 In section 2.3, I explain the oral method that I used and the fact that I did not know the individuals I interviewed, prior to our contact. L. Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (London: Routledge, 2016), 63. 
7 See in Section 2.3: Collaborative method. 
8 M. C. Wiser, "Opportunities to interpret: a methodological discussion of insider research, perceptions of the researcher, and knowledge production," *Sport in Society* 21, no. 2 (February 2018).
However, it is also clear that familiarity with the empirical world of the research setting can present some constraints that are important to consider. As such, Gary McCulloch mentioned ‘the complexity and ambiguity’ of being an insider as part of the institution and at the same time an outsider, as trying to interrogate the field from the outside.9 During the research process, I assessed how my insider status provided greater access to historical materials and knowledge. I also carefully examined when my researcher role could possibly impact my teaching role and practice at CIS.10 To do so, I regularly wrote reflexive notes in a diary and kept a reflective conversation with my supervisors on this matter. The main identified tensions were linked to the difference of perception and awareness on the preservation of the school’s records with the administration, further explained in Section 2.2, and to the relative lack of interest on the value of CIS’s history within the school. My role as historian led me to take a persuasive role on the benefit to secure the school’s records and to make the school’s history more visible and known to the CIS’s community.

One important aspect of the research is that the school did not commission it. Thus, the output of the research has not been restricted by any specific institutional requirement and was based only upon my individual responsibility, while still being part of the school’s community. I clearly communicated to the school’s director my intention to conduct a well-researched socio-historical

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piece and not a commemorative text to celebrate its history. However, these conditions do not prevent potential dilemmas arising, for example in the case of unexpected findings or revealed information from written or oral sources that could potentially harm the school’s reputation. In this situation, being an insider researcher can lead to some complex ethical choices, which are necessary to anticipate. McCulloch, referring to possible issues raised by this position, explained that:

In mitigating these risks, the insider researcher should be as clear as possible from the outset about the nature and aims of their proposed project, negotiating agreement on access to records and individuals and the use of such sources in the same way that would be expected of outsiders to the institution.  

The necessary negotiation with the school director was done early in the research process, including a signed consent form for accessing and exploring the school records.  

The conduct of an insider research in a single institution can raise some ethical issues which are important to consider when engaging oneself in the research process, and when concluding the research. The insider researcher has a ‘responsibility and duty of care’ towards the individuals involved and towards the institution. Notably, the research’s outcomes can impact its reputation as I already mentioned or can put my status as member of the community at risk. It can also close the opportunity to pursue further historical research on the

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12 See the consent form signed by the school on Appendix 1.
13 K. Lillie and P. Ayling, "Revisiting the un/ethical: the complex ethics of elite studies research," *Qualitative Research* 21, no. 6 (December 2021): 891. Lillie conducted research in an elite secondary school in Switzerland and Ayling examined the elite identity formation in post-colonial Nigeria.
school. On this matter, the reflection of Karen Lillie after her insider case study research in one international elite school, Leysin American School (LAS), made me aware of a potential harm appearing after the research. In fact, Lillie realised the potential danger of closing the doors of possible further research in the field of elite institutions due to the outcome of her research.

The name of the CIS has been deliberately identified. Its status as the oldest IB school in Denmark made it easily recognisable; thus, it made no sense to keep its anonymity. I believe that the outcomes of the historical investigation do not put the school or myself in a difficult political or ethical position as it has happened in other more sensitive sociological and historical cases studies, such as the ones within the field of elite schools and schools in conflicting communities. The interviews did not involve tensions around power relations between the interviewees and me, even when I explored, with American interviewees, the American dominance within the school and the possible tensions that it could have generated. The question of ‘naming names’ is still important to consider when embarking on case study research as highlighted by Aline Courtois in her study on ‘the hidden world of elite schooling in Ireland’. In Section 2.5, I further explained the decisions that I made regarding the anonymity of the interviewees.

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14 Lillie and Ayling, "Revisiting the un/ethical: the complex ethics of elite studies research," 901-902.
15 In Section 2.3 on p.40-41, I refer to case-studies within these two fields.
In summary, the position as insider researcher raises some critical challenges concerning distance, and objectivity. Being too close and too familiar to the empirical world may prevent from stepping back to adopt a critical investigator’s position. However, if these dangers are carefully considered and clearly analysed through a reflective and continuous process throughout the research, the position can provide valid and unique insights such as, in this single-case study, the possibility to locate unclassified school’s records, access to unique sources, unveil unexplored institutional knowledge that can entice further historical investigation.

2.2 Accessing the school’s records

When the research began, CIS’s records were stored in a small lockable room in the school basement, which contained multiple formal and non-formal documents accumulated in shelves and moving boxes. The documents were put there once they were not for ongoing use. The condition of storage exposed the records to humidity and flood. Their treatment clearly reflected the lack of awareness on their potential utility and value. Their unclassified condition made the beginning of the archival research daunting. Once the very first binder of the Board meeting minutes was identified and made accessible to some preliminary investigations, its exploration provided immediate evidence on the high-quality value of its historical significance and the worthwhile character of the case study investigation.\(^{17}\) Its original state, after fifty years, instilled some excitement to the uncertain nature of the investigation. At this stage though, it was still difficult to anticipate the long

\(^{17}\) CIS, *Binder 1: Board Minutes*, (CIS Archives, September 1964-June 1968).
process of creating a formal school’s archives programme necessary to secure the sources and thus to facilitate their access.

On May 23rd 2016, when the school’s director, on the verge of retirement, signed a consent form authorising me to gather information and materials at CIS, he also informed me about the necessary decision to destroy former students’ files before the imminent move of the school to its new premises. The plan was to keep only the secondary-school record transcripts from each student, with the original IB certificates if taken by the student. The three reasons given for the destruction were the lack of space in the new building, the EU regulations that required the school to dispose of personal information from students, and the fact that until now and apart from this present research, no one had ever contacted the school during the previous fifty years for information from the historical archive. Such situation of neglect and ignorance on the importance of ‘material culture of the school’ and its embedded social memory is not uncommon as exemplified by Luciane Sgarbi Santos Grazziotin and Maria Cláudia Dal’Ignna. Their experience, when transforming a collection of Masters’ dissertations (1967-2010) into historiographical sources for pedagogical purposes, was very instructive.

Despite my attempt to provide evidence from archives’ specialists on the necessity to look at the historical value of the files before taking any irrevocable decision, negotiations were unsuccessful but marked

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simultaneously the beginning of a necessary collaboration with the new CIS’s director and a close partnership with some past and present staff members concerning the archives’ retention.\textsuperscript{19} In fact, and as a result of two years of teamwork, an archive room was officially inaugurated in the new building on October 24\textsuperscript{th} 2018, dedicated to CIS’s alumni, where official and non-official records were catalogued in a safe environment under secured storage conditions of preservation.\textsuperscript{20} The first headmaster’s widow, Inez Venning, and the second headmaster of the High School, Charles Gellar, cut the red ribbon of the archive store accompanied by Pietrov, the first IB school graduate in 1972. The historical event happened on the day when the whole school celebrated the 50\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of the IB, with an evening of testimonies. Seven school members from the 1960s or representatives shared reminiscences on the school’s beginning, with projected photos and visual documents from the preserved records in the background. This two-year process of securing and storing the archives was the result of a close collaboration with a few members of the school community. The process became an integral part of the research method as explained in the next section.\textsuperscript{21} Finally, this process provided insightful evidence of the strong but at times vulnerable link between archives and historians, as acknowledged by many historians such as John Tosh.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{19} I had some exchanges of email with the specialist of the archives at the Institute of Education, UCL London in June 2016. I shared with CIS’s director the advice received from the archivist. In June 2016, I also contacted Professor Ning de Coninck-Smith from Aarhus University to get her advice.

\textsuperscript{20} J. Keson, \textit{CIS Archives Main Catalogue}, (CIS Archives, 2018).

\textsuperscript{21} See collaborative method on p. 42.

\textsuperscript{22} J. Tosh, \textit{The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of History} (London: Routledge, 2015), 90.
2.3 Methods

I used a qualitative insider method, where the data collected aimed at finding diversity, experience, variability but not generalisability. I employed a mixed methods approach to uncover the specificity of the field and to respond to the historical investigation. The different inter-related methods sat together in relationship to each other and included: a single-case study method, a collaborative research method involving the participation of some actors or informants from the field, a social history method, diverse methods of data collection including a documentary and oral history methods. The aim of using a mixed method approach was to optimise the access to multiple sources of evidence for the purpose of the case study. Robert Yin acknowledged the importance, when doing case study research, to collect a variety of relevant data and to rely on multiple sources.\(^2^3\) For qualitative insider research, Annabel Teusner acknowledged the advantage to use a triangulation of methods to examine the information from different perspectives and reduce potential threats to validity.\(^2^4\)

**Single-case study method**

The research questions focus on one single educational institution during its pioneering years, where uncertainties and decisions about its direction are explored within a wider context. This unique entity, framed in time for the purpose of the research, and made distinct by the richness of its unexplored


historical sources in their original state (written and visual), provides substantial material to constitute a case ‘of special interest’. This is the key starting point considered by Robert Stake when a researcher takes the decision to use a case study as method. Stake explained that:

We study a case when it itself is of very special interest. We look for the detail of interaction with its contexts. Case study is the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances.25

In the same way, Michael Bassey highlighted the relevance of pursuing such method in educational settings and explains that ‘one of the advantages cited for case study research is its uniqueness, its capacity for understanding complexity in particular contexts’.26 Robert Yin adds that carrying out this method ‘arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena’ and requires to ‘retain a holistic and real-world perspective’.27 CIS as a case study institution, created under the impetus of human necessity and largely influenced by significant changes and complex phenomena inherent to the world of the mid-twentieth century, offers the conditions for a close observation of what is going on in the field.28 The three following examples of single-case historical studies provide additional incentives and some clear evidence of the academic value of this in-depth investigation method in educational settings and thus transferable to CIS.

27 Yin, *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods*, 5.
Pollyanthi Giannakopoulou-Tsigkou investigated the growth and development of Athens College, a Greek private non-profit educational school, founded by the Hellenic-American Educational foundation in the 1920s. The historical case study, which covered the period from 1940 to 1990, aimed at comparing the school’s educational ideal and practice through the schooling experience of students from diverse social origins and their choice of further studies and careers. While Giannakopoulou-Tsigkou acknowledged that Athens’ case had an intrinsic interest with no attempt ‘in making claims for ‘typicality’’, the outcomes of this research provided evidence for the leading role that the school played in modern schooling in Greece, being at the forefront of progressive educational reforms in the country. Finally, the research findings shed light on the tight relationship between Athens College’s development and the evolution of Greek education and society over the same period.

Karen Lillie, who also adopted an insider approach, explored the case of a private Swiss boarding school for children of international economically elite families where she used to work. Founded in 1961 and initially created for American overseas children, the boarding school started from a private initiative of an American fellow who had previously worked for the Dependent Schools of the US Air Force. Interestingly as bringing evidence to our case, Lillie exemplified how the school’s goals during its first decade ‘reflected social and political needs related to the Cold War’ and were linked to a wider

30 Ibid., 46.
American foreign policy. The school applied in 1971 to become an IB school and was rejected because the ‘student body consisted primarily of overseas Americans’, but was finally approved to the programme in 1991. The research went beyond the historical investigation to participate in the sociological understanding of elite class formation, by exploring whether elite schools can create a transnational elite class. In fact, Lillie’s investigation, which used documentary, oral, and observational methods, offered a theoretical contribution to the field of elite schools and elite class formation. By doing so, she emphasised the complexity and particularity of each individual elite school, filling ‘different kinds of roles in class formation’.

Another single case research was made by Annita Ventouris. Ventouris looked at the sensitive case of the English School of Nicosia in Cyprus, and more specifically investigated how the school’s integration policy for educating both Greek and Turkish Cypriot students was implemented, accepted, and perceived by various groups within the school community. To do so, Ventouris first conducted an historical investigation, with the use of documentary and oral sources, starting at the origins of the school, in 1900, to understand how the wider socio-political context, plunged into a prolonged ethnic conflict, influenced the development of the school, which evolved from a local grammar school to an elite institution. She then adopted an ethnographic approach to interrogate how far the school’s policies, procedures

32 Lillie, "Transnational Class Formation in a School for the Global Elite," 140-143.
33 Ibid., 134.
34 Ibid., 273.
36 Ventouris, "The English School of Nicosia: A model of Integrated Education?" 130.
and pedagogies were aligned with the overall goal of promoting reconciliation between conflicting communities through education. While Ventouris acknowledged the difficulty of generalising her findings due particularly to the unique status of the elite English school in Cyprus, she believed that it ‘can contribute to the ongoing effort to understand the dynamics surrounding the shared education of students from two conflicting communities’.\(^\text{37}\)

These three historical investigations, whose common aim was to use a particular case as object and method of research, succeeded in outreaching the outcomes of the historical investigation of an institution to further explain and reflect social changes at a larger scale. They illustrated how the close observation and questioning of one bounded case, not only offered insight and knowledge on what is going on in a specific institution, and thus underlining complexity in particular contexts, but also gave valuable inputs and guidelines on how to conduct an historical case study.

**Collaborative method**

This method, which is particular to this case, was not anticipated from the beginning as mentioned earlier, but happened to be a vital resource for the historical investigation, and more specifically for getting access to some primary documents and oral testimonies. The conduct of the first interviews, which took place before the access to documentary sources, established some acquaintances with former teachers and headmasters. One of them, Jim Keson, a Maths, Film Making and Theory of Knowledge teacher at CIS from

\(^{37}\) Ventouris, "The English School of Nicosia: A model of Integrated Education?" 290.
1969 and headmaster of the High School from 1979, worked at the school for 36 years. In 1992, he wrote a small booklet of twenty pages, titled ‘The beginning years: a history of the Copenhagen International School, 1962-1988’. It was the first and hitherto only attempt to write a history of CIS. Over the years, Keson collected some school’s informal publications: brochures; articles; newspaper clips; visual materials and personal photos; which he kept in his office and then at his home when he retired in 2005. He also collected two complete preserved collections of the school’s magazines, *The Copenhagen Internationalist* and *Thyme Magazine*. The first collection, which was a students’ newsletter, has been a particularly instrumental source upon which Chapters 6 and 7 have been drawn. Not only did Keson tacitly act as the historian of the school for many years, but he also played a discreet but still influential role to help me secure the archives and create an archival facility in the new school building. As soon as the archive room was secured in 2018, he donated all his personal archives, after having registered each individual piece in a catalogue. Additionally, he created an alumni directory with information about their lives after CIS and a detailed staff list from 1963 to 2005, including the role, the subjects taught, the number of years at CIS, and the nationality. In 2017, he started to write reminiscences, which were according to him, inspired by the dynamic of this historical research project:

Since we last met at the inauguration of the new building, I have been going through old documents, newsletters, yearbooks etc… from the early days of CIS. Looking through the memories of all those years has in fact inspired me to begin an article about how the people, programs

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and traditions from the early years have helped to inform the ethos of CIS as it is today.40

His recollections made him wonder: ‘Is there in fact an institutional memory at CIS and what does it recall?’41 Question which indeed finds some echoes with my case study research.

Stephen Ball’s description of the role of informants in his case study of secondary schooling, Beachside Comprehensive, corresponds to Keson’s role for the present research. As Ball explained:

> These individuals were not chosen by me according to any carefully worked out criteria, rather they emerged from the relationships I made in the school or were self-selected in some cases, on the basis of an interest in my research.42

Other staff members acted as informants, by collaborating with the set-up of the archive room and helping to contact with alumni. One colleague, responsible for alumni relations, systematically directed visiting alumni and teachers from 1965 to 1973 to my classroom for a brief impromptu interview, which provided valuable data. The collaborative efforts had direct and parallel benefits for the research and the school heritage: the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the IB on the 24th of October 2018 and the inauguration of the school archives being two concrete examples. Finally, the collaborative method shows that, while the conduct of the school history is being written by

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40 Keson. Email correspondence, September 17, 2017.
a single individual, many other members of the community contribute to it, shaping it in direct or indirect ways.

**Social history method**

The case study looks closely at the creation of a small educational institution, which acted as a laboratory for a nascent international educational endeavour. The study does not concentrate on the historiography of the school only but attempts to use social history as mean of investigation, by looking at the school’s development in response to the broader social, political, economic, and educational changes and demands. John Dewey’s educational ideas, which influenced the IB due to ‘his insight on the importance of tapping into students’ natural curiosity’, stressed the tight relationship between *The School and Society* and clarifies what is a socio-historical perspective in education:

> Whenever we have in mind the discussion of a new movement in education, it is especially necessary to take the broader, or social view. Otherwise, changes in the school institution and tradition will be looked at as the arbitrary inventions of particular teachers; at the worst transitory fads, and at the best merely improvements in certain details -- and this is the plane upon which it is too customary to consider school changes. It is as rational to conceive of the locomotive or the telegraph as personal devices. The modification going on in the method and curriculum of education is as much a product of the changed social situation, and as much an effort to meet the needs of the new society that is forming, as are changes in modes of industry and commerce.43

While the history of CIS' origins is explored through actions and motivations of individuals and groups of individuals such as the parents, social history helps to analyse the school's development within a wider new movement of

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international education, the International Baccalaureate, under broader societal forces and influences.

Other examples of socio-historical research within the field of education give clear evidence of the insight this method provides to better understand the shaping and evolution of societies. McCulloch and Steven Cowan, in their study of the historical development of educational studies and research in the UK from the beginning of the twentieth century, demonstrate how social history helps to ‘establish a deeper historical understanding’ of such developments over time by taking into account, in particular, the changing context.44 In the case of their study, they identified among others, the role of the State, the change in the social background of students accessing higher education, the financial resources available and processes of internationalization and transnationalism as key determinants to the evolution and orientation of educational studies and research in the UK. Still in the field of education, McCulloch and Woodin showed how the construction of a social history of learners and learning can ‘offer the potential to comprehend the significance of learning within changing social formation across time’.45 The authors emphasised, through the analysis of multiple historical studies on learning and learners, that learning is a social process, which takes place under multiple forms, and is always interconnected to its wider context. In the same vein,

Tosh explains that social history ‘always indicates a focus on society as a whole – even if only a small fragment has actually been investigated’.\(^46\)

In our case, social history gives the possibility of examining how a small private institution, created by international necessity, and incorporated under Danish law as a non-profit making and self-owning institution became an echo chamber of international forces and interactions. Most importantly, it gives an understanding on how it was shaped by and responded to new societal demands as developed in the finding chapters. More broadly, it exemplifies how education lies at the heart of any given society and in this case, not only at the heart of a nation-state but also at the heart of wider international spheres as discussed further in Sections 3.2 and 3.3. It reinforces what Richard Aldrich stated: ‘in that education as a field of study is central to human existence and values’.\(^47\)

**Methods for the collection of data**

The case study research drew on both school documentary sources in their original state and first-hand memories through individual interviews. In both cases, these sources were neither explored nor collected before, and this opportunity gave at times the impression of a fresh field waiting for harvest. For the documentary method, I already explained, in Section 2.2, the daunting process to first secure and then access the school records. In the case of oral history, there has also been a character of urgency with securing the

\(^46\) Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, 56.

interviews. In fact, as the school opened in 1962, at the time of commencing the research project it was still possible to contact many of the early teachers, including school leaders who were still alive and alumni who were mostly in their seventies. However, access became more challenging as each month passed. In fact, the second headmaster, Charles Gellar, one of the key personalities in the creation of the school, whose background and role is portrayed in Chapter 6 and whose testimony is referred to across the thesis, was interviewed in 2014, 2018 and 2019 before his death in early 2020. This process of collecting oral testimonies became an urgent duty acknowledged by Aldrich: ‘the duty of the historian of education is to rescue from oblivion those voices whose have not yet been heard and whose stories have not yet been told’. Before giving a detailed account on the written and oral sources of the research, it is worth considering further the two chosen methods, documentary and oral history.

**Documentary method**

While the collaborative method paved the way for getting access to the school’s primary documents and the social history method set the direction of the research by locating the case study within a broader view of socio-political context, the documentary method concentrates on the nature of the documents available and the possibility and constraint it gives for the research. McCulloch suggested that ‘a document may be defined briefly as a record of an event or process’. Tosh defined historical sources as:

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48 Aldrich “The three duties of the historian of education”, 135.
every kind of evidence that human beings have left behind their past activities – the written word and the spoken word, the shape of the landscape and the material artefact, the fine arts as well as photography and film.\textsuperscript{50}

These two definitions brought together suggest that the documentary method allows the use of a wide and unrestricted range of documents or materials. The collection of sources is at same time, dependent and limited by the number of records left, and for CIS’s case, left by the different actors present during the school’s pioneering years. Malcolm Tight reported that ‘it is limiting in the sense that there will only be so many sources available to interpret, and you will always wish to access to other sources which no longer exist, or perhaps never existed’.\textsuperscript{51} Tosh added that what the historian can achieve ‘is determined in the first instance by the extent and the character of the surviving sources’.\textsuperscript{52} In CIS’s case, more clear evidence on the true intention of the American Embassy to strongly support the school’s creation would have eased the process of interpretation. Unfortunately, my request to access to the US Embassy’s records in relation to the school has not been considered.\textsuperscript{53} CIS’s primary sources, described in Section 2.4, were restricted in quantity probably due to both the small scale and the initial private character of the project with much uncertainty about its long run. As reported by Inez Venning about the school’s first years, ‘we all felt that this was something that could work or may be not work, and that we were very important in helping it to work and we wanted it to work’.\textsuperscript{54} Educators and parents could have been possibly too busy

\textsuperscript{50} Tosh, \textit{The Pursuit of History}, 71.
\textsuperscript{52} Tosh, \textit{The Pursuit of History}, 71.
\textsuperscript{53} A request to the US ambassador was made in person at CIS in October 2018.
\textsuperscript{54} I. Venning, Personal interview, CIS November 19, 2014.
in action for thinking to keep evidence of their operations. In fact, Keson wrote in the introduction of his school history: ‘[T]hen as now, most of the people most deeply involved at CIS were too busy to take notes of what was developing, and thus, much about the origins of CIS lies unrecorded’. It is difficult to estimate which documents have been lost or not kept, and which have never existed. As example a major lack has been the record of the taught curriculum, and archival educational materials – e.g. books, students’ works – which set some limits to the research on CIS’s early curriculum which is addressed in Section 6.1. However, as described in Section 2.4, the quality in precision and authenticity of the primary sources like the Board meeting minutes and the students and teachers’ newsletters, compensate for the low quantity of material, thus opening possibilities for the socio-historical method.

In addition to the school records, the documentary method includes the exploration of primary and secondary documents related to other institutions such as UNIS and Ecolint, and organizations such as the IB, ECIS, and UNESCO, all linked to some extent to the school. The overlap of information between CIS’s records and these entities helped me to better interpret and analyse some facts or decisions that were only briefly mentioned in the school’s documents. The role of these additional documents was then to help ‘to read between the lines’ the school records, ‘elucidating …and placing them in their historical context’. The same is true for the role of oral history used in

56 See Section 6.1 on p. 247.
conjunction and triangulation with the documentary method, which provided additional benefits.

**Oral history**

Unlike the documentary method where primary sources are contemporary to the event narrated and produced by the author involved in or witnessing the event, oral history produces data made with hindsight from the event and created for the purpose of a project, and in CIS’s case about fifty years after the narrators’ experience. Therefore, history sources are materials constructed during the interaction between the interviewer (researcher) and interviewee (informant). As described by Lynn Abrams, oral history ‘refers to the process of conducting and recording interviews with people in order to elicit information from them about the past. But an oral history is also the product of that interview, the narrative account of past events’. This process of producing and using a narrative account can bring some complexities which are important to consider. As Abrams explained:

> it is almost impossible for the historian to really represent the point of view of the narrator, the insiders’ perspective, because their interests are so often in opposition: the historian often inserts the oral history evidence into pre-existing historical framework whereas the narrator has provided a version of the past as it was experienced in all of its complexity, usually containing much that appears tangential to the topic under discussion.

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60 Ibid., 29.
This complexity can be reduced by the gathering of multiple oral testimonies and by cross-referencing them with other sources such as documentary sources. The two following examples of research using oral sources have been instructive for the conduct of this socio-historical case study.

The socio-historical research that Ning de Coninck-Smith conducted at Gladsaxe Gymnasium (Denmark), where CIS was located from 1965, highlighted such complexity and divergence in agenda between the historian and the narrator.6¹ De Coninck-Smith interviewed 21 persons, 25 years after their graduation in 1980 and collected data concerning their high school’s experience in the Danish educational system in the 1970s and 1980s, a period of intense social, political and cultural tensions, including students’ demonstrations.6² De Coninck-Smith analysed the collected narratives from the interviewees in order to understand the meaning of education in their life. She expected to collect some interpretations of their high school experience in relation to the tensed historical context. De Coninck-Smith finally found out that even if the secondary school was ‘among the front-runners of the student movement, …the informants seemingly [had] forgotten all about it’.6³ This finding made her question:

which historical context would be more appropriate if we are to understand their stories and narratives? Much more than ephemeral events, social and cultural structures are embedded in their educational

6¹ A Danish gymnasium is the equivalent to an upper secondary school.
6³ Ibid., 743.
narratives. Most fundamental among these are gender and social class.\(^6^4\)

The reflections of Abrams and de Coninck-Smith were important to have in mind while conducting my own interviews. As Abrams mentioned, the informants take the role of insiders in the case study, and the insider researcher shifts her/his position to become an outsider, an attentive listener of stories that can deviate from the set framework of questioning or be divergent from what is found in the documentary sources.\(^6^5\) The informants’ narrative and interpretation of the past, as exemplified by the former students of Gladsaxe Gymnasium, can then shed light on new elements that helps recount a history within broader perspective.

Philip Gardner and Peter Cunningham echoed the same observations in their research on teacher-pupil relationships in England and Wales during the interwar years.\(^6^6\) Gardner and Cunningham examined the change in these relationships over time by looking more particularly at the impact of the evacuation of teachers and their pupils to safe areas during the Second World War. Their oral sources guided them to some unexpected findings about the critical and long-term impact of the evacuation on teachers’ ‘professional sensibilities and their pedagogical practices’ due to the acute situation experienced with the children, that no official documentary sources have recorded. This made them conclude that oral history ‘is likely to offer us a

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\(^6^4\) De Coninck-Smith, "The class of 1980: methodological reflections on educational high school narratives from Denmark in the 1970s and 1980s," 743.
\(^6^6\) Gardner and Cunningham, "Oral History and Teachers’ Professional Practice: a wartime turning point?".
closer proximity to original meaning than many historical texts can afford us.’

They found out that:

hidden within the collective experience of evacuation we might find those shifts in attitude and expectation which made post-war teachers so much more receptive to progressivist educational ideologies and classroom pedagogies than they had ever been during the first three decades of the twentieth century.

Finally, the two authors stressed the importance of considering the relationship between the different sources of information available and argued that the relationship between their two types of sources, spoken and written, were not ‘competitive nor complementary nor corroborative’ but clearly distinct. The three finding chapters of this research show that at times the oral sources were complementary to the documentary sources and at other times distinct as they added information not found in the written records.

When I started to interrogate my colleagues about the school’s past, they thought that oral history was the obvious method. ‘Meet old staff members and alumni and ask questions’ was their answer. Thanks to them, access to names and contacts were easily made. Only one colleague referred to the school archives and their values for data collection. The first interviews gave prominence to the adventurous and uncertain character of the school’s beginnings and its pioneering role and directed my attention to some possible conflicts of interest towards the school’s educational mission—American High School diploma versus IB diploma—created under, what I delineated as the

68 Ibid., 335.
69 Ibid.
three influences: American, Danish, and international communities. It helped me shift the enquiry from a simple reading of factual knowledge reported in the Board meeting minutes to a more complex layer of understanding and interpretation. Tosh explained that ‘[w]hat a researcher can learn from a set of documents is not confined to its explicit meaning’.\textsuperscript{70} In this way, oral sources counter balanced what James DiCenzo described as a possible limitation in reading documents, ‘without shared presence and reference we cannot ever be fully in conversation with some documents’.\textsuperscript{71} Interviews with alumni offered vivid details on the school daily life through the use of anecdotes and testimonies, embedded with emotions, as their memories recalled their teen age as the golden age. Even if their memories from five decades back might have been transformed by what happened to them since this time, and if they highlighted aspects or events and omitting others, it is the collection of several voices that directed the findings to general trends and recurring themes, which slowly became discernible.

Finally, I agree with Abrams when stating that oral history is ‘a joint enterprise, a collaborative effort between respondents and researchers’ and ‘a creative, interactive methodology that forces us to get the grips with many layers of meaning and interpretation contained within people’s memories’.\textsuperscript{72} For this reason, oral history takes part in the collaborative method described earlier,

\textsuperscript{70} Tosh, \textit{The Pursuit of History}, 153.
\textsuperscript{72} Abrams, \textit{Oral History Theory}, 18 and 24.
where narrators give an insider perspective, whose voices need to be listened to.

### 2.4 Sources

In Section 2.3, I mentioned that the data collection included primary written, visual, and oral sources. This section provides additional details on what the sources contain and what they bring to the research. There are two types of primary written sources. The first are directly related to the school’s life, either found in the school’s records (formal and procedural documents) or donated from a private collection by one school’s member (school’s newsletters). The diversification of documentary sources analysed was a central aspect of the methodology. In fact, exploring official school sources left by the administrators and ‘leaders’ of the school was as important as analysing unofficial sources (e.g. newsletters), which foregrounded spontaneous voices, ideas and experiences of students and teachers, and thus avoiding the ‘top-down’ method often used in history of education methodology. The second primary written sources were found in published books, reports or articles dated from the period covered by the research – mid-1960s and early 70s. These publications provided additional and complementary data on CIS and its early involvement in international education, and on the wider context. Primary visual sources came from the school records, and from private photos given by students and staff members. The collection of data from oral sources was based on individual voices from staff members, alumni, or closed family of previous CIS’s members.

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73 See Section 2.3: Collaborative method on p. 42.
Procedural school documents

I include in the procedural documents of the school, the documents which relate to its governance, its finance, its premises, its educational vision, and its teacher and student body. The school’s procedural records, from the period 1962 to 1973, have been stored in two ring binders, labelled on their side: CIS Board Minutes Oct 1964 – June 1969 and CIS Board Minutes Aug 1969 – June 1975.\(^\text{75}\) The two binders contain, kept in chronological order, the typed minutes of the monthly meetings of the Board of Education and the Parents Association meetings. The minutes have been saved in their original format, hand signed by the Board secretaries, with detailed records of dates, locations of the meetings and names of participants, which confirmed their authenticity. Some documents were annotated by handwritings, and a few were handwritten. In the second school constitution adopted in 1967, the fifth paragraph of section 4 stated that ‘it [the Board] shall keep a written records of all Board Meetings, which shall be available to any parents’.\(^\text{76}\) In between the monthly minutes, kept in same chronological order, stands a rich quantity of formal documents such as, but not limited to, the agenda of the Board meetings, the school budgets, some lists of students, some letters written by the chairman or received from the outside, speeches for school events, names of school’s visitors and purpose of their visit. The written records provide detailed information on the financial and administrative situation of the school: grants and subsidies, students’ fees, salaries of staff, school expenditures,

\(^{75}\) It is a chance that CIS’s early Board meeting minutes have been kept despite the different moves of the school, if we compare with the early records of the European Council of International Schools (ECIS), which have been mislaid. The history of its first ten years was recorded from account of primary interviews of founders.

surplus and deficit, and premises; with more succinct notes on its educational status or on the school daily life, suggesting that the emphasis of the meetings was put on the operational aspect of the school conduct. Some limitations on these sources are that some issues were written in bullet points, and thus lacking details. Additionally, a few important documents such as the results of the International Baccalaureate examination on July 12, 1972, and some financial accounts are mentioned in the minutes but not kept in the binder and not traceable in other places.

The thorough minutes recorded by the four successive secretaries provide a vivid sequential understanding of the actions taken, occurring problems and conflicts, with the names of the different protagonists, giving thus the possibility, through in-depth and careful analysis, to retrace major aspects of the school’s origins and early development. The consistency and quality of the Board minutes, in addition to the information reported, reflect a clear sense of dedication from the protagonists and emphasise the seriousness of the enterprise they aimed to put in place. The secretaries’ holding time was more stable than the Board chairs who did not stay longer than two years until the presidency of Østergaard in 1972.\footnote{See Table 5.1: Chairmen’s presidency turnover}
Table 2.1: Board secretaries’ terms of office (1964-1975) ⁷⁸

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Secretaries</th>
<th>Holding Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M. Guy</td>
<td>Sept 1964-June 1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R. Palmer</td>
<td>June 1966-June 1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Sullivan</td>
<td>Oct 1967-January 1968*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Sommer</td>
<td>March 1968-1975</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Interim position taken by the principal

When exploring procedural documents, such as minutes of meetings, it is necessary to question their reliability and objectivity. As Tosh explains, [w]here a document takes the form of a report of what has been seen, heard or said, we need to ask whether the writer was in a position to give a faithful account”. ⁷⁹

The first item of each Board meeting was the approval of the previous minutes, which demonstrates that they were carefully considered and even sometimes amended. While we can assume that not all details were reported and some items were selected or less described than others, thus leading to potential biases in their interpretation, the fact that topics under debate and sometimes disagreements were also recorded illustrates that the secretaries wrote the minutes as accurately as possible. The two binders are the most significant documents used for the collection of data for Chapter 5 and for Sections 6.1 and 6.2.

In addition to the two binders, the school’s records contain students’ files from 1962, reduced since 2017 to a one-page document – school transcript – with, in some cases, copies of the IB certificates and Diploma. The transcripts

⁷⁸ Data collected from school’s Board minutes
contain some valuable primary information on each individual student, such as the previous school attended, the number of years at CIS, the class records with subjects taken and marks, awards and honours when applicable, and some information about supplementary achievement tests when the student applied to an American university.

Apart from the documents presented above, no other school’s formal and procedural documents have been found in the school records. I am thus aware of some limitations in the collection of primary sources due to their loss or destruction. In particular, I have not been able to find the self-study report of the school accreditation in 1973, which includes ‘a document of 340 pages, analysing all aspects of the International School’, a document which could have offered further significant insights into the early history of the school.\(^8^0\) An investigation at the Danish National Archives, Rigsarkivet, on the written exchange of communications between the Danish Ministry of Education and CIS, and reported in the minutes, ended also without results as well as a request to the access to possibly existing school records in the archives of the US Embassy in Copenhagen, as already mentioned.\(^8^1\)

**School’s publications**

The school’s publications comprise:

- the student’s newsletter: *The Copenhagen Internationalist*, with 19 publications from 1965 to 1971

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\(^8^0\) CIS. "CIS awarded full accreditation," *CIS Highlights*, June 12, 1973, 1.  
\(^8^1\) The investigation at the Danish National Archives took place on May 21, 2018 with Jim Keson, followed by and exchange of emails with Peter Edelholt, archivist of the Danish National Archives in May 25, 2018.
• the CIS faculty humour magazine: *Thyme magazine*, with 8 publications from 1969 to 1973

• a biannual newsletter for alumni, parents, and friends of CIS: *CIS highlights*, with 4 publications from 1970 to 1973

• the annual school's yearbooks from 1966 to 1973

• two school's brochures from 1966 and 1968

Different from the procedural documents, these school publications shed light on the school’s daily life, as described by staff members and students, and capture their perception of the school’s ethos and the representation of the world they lived in. As mentioned in a students newsletter’s editorial, ‘we consider that our sole purpose is to entertain the reader’. The students’ newsletters provided a rich material, with emphasis on some individual students’ profile and on a comprehensive description of the students’ population attending CIS, including but not exhaustive, their teenage interests, emotions, mood, social life, friendship, representation of the world, social awareness, and school’s perception. English was the vernacular language, and thus the most used in the magazines. However, quite a few articles were written in the students’ native language, in the taught foreign languages – Danish, French and German –, or in Danish, the host country's language, reflecting the international and multi-national school’s character. Chapter 7 is mainly drawn from the students’ publications and from interviews.

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82 CIS. "Editorial," *The Copenhagen Internationalist* II, no. 3 (March 1967). The world sole was underlined in the original text.
The two school's brochures from 1966 and 1968 gave valuable information on the way the Board advertised the school to the public, with the written description of its objectives, organisation and curriculum as well as visuals of its facilities and school life. Finally, the contrast of style between the free writing of the teachers and students' magazines and the official tone of the minutes, as well as the difference in their content, provide a rich variety of relevant data about the institution, still complementary to each other.

Jim Keson, who I referred to as informant for the case study and the first school archivist through his personal collection of school records, wrote two different CIS's histories, one in 1992 and one in 2017. I collected quite a few data from his recollection. However, the documents have been written years after the events happened. As explained by McCulloch, these types of documents ‘seek to analyse changing times through which the autobiographer has lived’ and must be regarded as secondary sources.83

**Visual sources**

The use of visual sources has mainly been to reinforce my own understanding of the school’s setting and atmosphere. In the three finding chapters, I used a few images to give some additional insight to the schools’ settings (photos of premises), its atmosphere (groups’ photos) or its communication (e.g. visual extracts of Board minutes and images used in brochures). I also used some visuals to stimulate respondents’ memories during the interviews. In fact,

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83 McCulloch, "Documentary methods," 269.
mainly with alumni, I used the yearbooks and newsletters corresponding to their time at CIS to activate vivid reminiscences.

Finally, I believe that the richness of the students and teachers’ newsletters would merit further considerations and academic research on the collective and individual expressions from the first generation of ‘third culture kids’ and on their interpretation of their life in the world order of the mid-twentieth century.

Interviews

I conducted a total of 19 interviews with one headmaster, six teachers, eleven alumni, the son of the Danish rector, Ulf Østergaard who died in 2002, and the widow of headmaster Godfrey Sullivan who died in 1973. The headmaster was interviewed twice in Brussels, his city of residence, and once in Copenhagen during a focus-group interview with him and one alumnus and conducted by a student and me. Three of the interviews were conducted with two persons at the same time - couples and siblings. The interviews lasted from one hour to one hour and thirty minutes. Most interviews were face to face, and some took place through skype or by exchange of emails. Interviewees signed a letter of consent and were asked for the recording of the conversation when possible. I gave them possibility to withdraw their sharing after the interview. No one used this possibility.

84 See Appendix 3 for full details of interviews including the dates, places, role of the interviewees and their years of presence at CIS. It also gives detail on the interview type: face to face, skype or email.
Most of the interviewees were first contacted by email with a short statement about the research project. At first, all informants were very surprised to be contacted. As one wrote after receiving my request: ‘Wow, this is a bolt out of the blue’. All, then, expressed interest into raking up the past, a special period of their life described by the same respondent as ‘days of wine and roses’.85 These expressions used by one informant were representative of others’ reactions. These overall positive responses eased the whole process of data collection. The teachers and alumni who visited the school, mostly coming from abroad and attracted by visiting the new school building, felt very privileged to be interviewed as they could see that their experience and testimonies add some value to the school heritage. I realised that the location of the interviews influenced the discussion. For the ones which took place in the new school, the size and modernity of the building, in complete contrast with the school that the respondents used to know, influenced their discourse and reminiscences towards the precarious state of the school in the 60s and its ‘family’ size and atmosphere.

The interviews were semi-structured qualitative with some guiding questions sent in advance, when possible, to open up and set a framework to the dialogue, giving at the same time some flexibility to let new themes or information not even thought about emerge.86 The main intention of the first interview with informants was to collect as much information as possible on their background, the reason for their stay in Denmark, and their learning and

85 Reference to: Days of wine and roses, directed by Blake Edwards. (1962; Warner Bros), Film.
86 See Appendix 2 for the guiding questions sent to alumni and teachers.
social experiences at school. I always tried to keep the door open for the possibility of a second interview to dig into emerging and recurring themes such as, the American influence versus international communities, the influence of the Danish culture into the school, the school ethos, and international education. The interviews conducted with the school headmaster and the teachers were based on questions about their life and the path that led them to international education, as well as the intentionality beyond the creation and origins of the school, to uncover the forces and influences that shaped its development.

Selective memories

It is important to acknowledge the sense of consensus among all interviewees on their shared positive memories during their time at CIS. The reminiscences of students and teachers are based on events that happened more than 50 years ago and include necessarily selective memories. For the students, it was their teenage years, which can be remembered with nostalgia as the best days of their life. The selective memories of the ‘happy young times’, ‘with rose-tinted glasses’, was indeed well expressed by some interviewees: ‘those were the days of wine and roses’ – ‘a longing for those days’ – ‘thank you for bringing back the pleasant memories’. Additionally, some interviewees had more vivid and specific memories than others. One teacher was wise to say that by staying long years at CIS, the first years ‘sort of blurred’ in the next 30. So paradoxically, memories of people who stayed only for a few years tended to be more specific and descriptive than others, which was the case for all
students who stayed for a maximum of four years.\textsuperscript{87} In Chapter 7, I quote some extracts of interviews where some interviewees started to speak using the past tense and suddenly changed to present times as if what they recalled was still very much present in their life.

I made a transcript of all interviews and, most of the time, I sent back the transcript to give the chance for the respondents to add details and check the accuracy of my understanding. Three interviewees sent me additional information or clarifications after having read the transcript. The transcripts are now part of the school heritage and will be kept in the school archives. All narrators were open to the dialogue and sent some positive comments afterward about their enjoyment to talk about their experience at school. Most of the time, interviewees would recommend new names of persons to interview, a technique known as snowball sampling.\textsuperscript{88} I decided to end up the number of interviews when the given information re-appeared many times and when emerging themes started to saturate.

2.5 Interpretation method and writing

Before starting any interpretation of the documents, I immersed myself into the school’s primary sources by reading them over and over. I used the same repetitive technique for the readings of the interviews’ transcripts to uncover emerging themes. The repetitive and thick reading of the Board meeting minutes, as example, was necessary to make sense of the sequencing of the

\textsuperscript{87} Keson, Personal interview, 2019.
actions and decisions taken, and to understand existing constraints and
different forces at stake. The complexity was that the Board’s decisions were
not always linear but relative to events and opportunities, most often linked to
subsidies, influences of people, parents coming in or leaving the school, and
linked to wider influences more complex to uncover.

I decided to organise the finding chapters under themes, still respecting the
temporal sequence of events for the narrative, rather than looking at the
chronological developments of events only. This thematic approach aimed to
facilitate the blending of narration, description and interpretation of evidence
and to foster the analytical process. For this purpose, four main recurrent
themes were identified to classify data related to the development of the
school during its early development. The first entry chosen was ‘CIS’s mission
and vision’ and included information on its foundation, the key personalities,
the school’s culture, tradition and ideology and the main influences: American,
Danish and its international communities. The second entry was ‘CIS’s
organization’ with information on its constitution, the legal framework, the role
of the Board and its members, the national context, the student and staff’s
bodies, and its finances and facilities. The third entry encompassed ‘CIS’s
academic and extra-curricular programme’, including the taught subjects, the
examinations, international education, alumni’s further studies and other
activities. The last entry concerned ‘CIS’s daily life’ with the school’s ethos and
sense of community. As recommended by Giannakopoulou-Tsigkou among
other scholars, it is this thematic approach to data-gathering [that] facilitated
the identification of chapter headings.\textsuperscript{89} For each entry, I would blend data from the school’s formal documents, more spontaneous writings from the newsletters, and oral sources.

To convey a vivid sense of the institution, hold the reader’s attention and give credibility to the interpretation, I enriched the writing with some extracts from the interviews, and quotations from documentaries.\textsuperscript{90} I kept the anonymity of the alumni and teachers by using different first names but kept the name of the key protagonists, as I felt that in any case, it would be easy to identify them via official publications. For the informant Keson, I asked if he would accept not to be anonymised. As he wrote some published materials, it made sense to also have his name from his oral sources. As already explained, the fact that the research is based on a single case study, with the necessary thorough description of its character, it then became evident to uncover the name of the institution and even use it for the title. This decision was also based on the findings that are not detrimental to the school’s reputation. On the contrary, I hope the thesis to become a new school’s record and a distinctive document about its social history that the following finding chapters are about to develop.

\textbf{Conclusion}

The methodology chapter clarified how the socio-historical investigation became possible. It particularly uncovered some critical aspects during the research process, especially for the gathering of the data. The long process of the preservation of the school’s archives and the collaborative method which

\textsuperscript{89} Giannakopoulou-Tsigkou "Educating the whole person?", 18.
\textsuperscript{90} Ventouris, "The English School of Nicosia: A model of Integrated Education?", 128.
led to the unexpected donation of some primary sources turned as key moments in the conduct of the research. I believe that my insider position not only opened some possibilities of collaboration, which enriched the collection of archival materials but also made the historical investigation happened. Furthermore, the process of securing the archives and of creating a particular space for them in the school intrinsically participated in the uncovering of CIS’s history. In fact, while the present thesis will become one additional item to add to the main catalogue of CIS’s archives, I suppose that, in the long term, the archive room as physical space will take greater significance in the preservation of CIS’s history.

The record of voices from the past happened at a time when it was still possible to listen to them, which add to the research a character of urgency. In fact, one interviewee, Charles Gellar, whose voice was recorded during three interviews, and whose memories unveiled precious information for the writing of the thesis, died from his old age before the end of the research.

Finally, one of the key aspects of the methodology was to use a diversity of sources. Each different source, oral and written, enriched each other. The process of weaving the sources together helped to unveil CIS’s ethos and unique history.
3 Context: the mid-1960s and early 1970s

Introduction

The data analysis chapters uncover how CIS’s character, during its first decade, emerged from multiple influences and phenomena central to the mid-1960s and early 1970s. Its life was intrinsically dependent on the presence of the US Embassy in Copenhagen, the international trades and affairs’ activities, the development of international organisations such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and with the Danish society in which it was dwelt. The international activities, which took place within the school as well as in relation to the outside, in terms of exchange of ideas, educational vision, and subsidies, can only be explained if linked with wider circumstances and developments.

This chapter sets the scene of the case study by considering the geo-political, economic, and socio-cultural context of the period, both at a domestic and international level. While covering all aspects of the period is unattainable, some key features constitutive of the research’s background provide already significant material for the understanding of the data chapters.

Section 3.1 highlights the dominant economic and cultural role of the US during the post-Second World War and the emergent superpowers’ conflict period. Section 3.2 considers the American discourse and position on international education in the 1960s, both from a governmental perspective as
well as from the involvement of US private foundations and non-governmental organizations in overseas education. Section 3.3 concentrates on the central role played by the international governmental and non-governmental organisations (IGOs and NGOs) during the Cold War and explains the link between their existence and the nascent movement of international schools. Finally, Section 3.4 looks more closely at the position of Denmark in the bipolar conflict, and Section 3.5 to its changing society due to broader transformations at stake in the mid-twentieth century.

3.1 US as dominant global power

Whereas the beginning of CIS cannot be drawn without acknowledging the dominant role of its American community, the same statement about the US dominance is true, admittedly at an unparalleled level, when considering the world in the twentieth century. Some economists referred it as ‘the American Century’.¹ This hegemonic position which became more tangible in the first two decades, with the US production and overseas trade of manufactured goods acting as one of the main drives, contrasted with previous epochs as explained by David Held et al:

By the close of the twentieth century, empires, once the principal form of political rule and world organization, had given way to a worldwide system of nation-states, overlaid by multilateral, regional and global systems of regulation and governance. Moreover, whereas previous epochs were dominated by the collective or divided hegemony of Western powers, the contemporary era can claim to have only a single potential hegemonic power: the United States.²

Held et al’s synopsis refers to four major components which marked the twentieth century: the emergence of new states through decolonisation and their role in international organisations – from 50 independent nations existing in 1945, there were more than 120 in 1964 –, the establishment of liberal democratic nation-states, the intensification of regional and global relations and connections, as well as the hegemony of the US. While these different elements will be addressed in this chapter, it is worth stressing in a first place the role of the US as key player, a crucial point for the research context.

**US as economic dominant actor**

Claudia Goldin and Lawrence Katz evidenced how, in the beginning of the 1900s, US education policies towards the access to free education in secondary schools, ‘the High School movement’, propelled US economic dominance, and made it the first nation to have mass secondary school education. According to the authors, the enrolment of youth in public and private US secondary schools grew from 18 to 71 percent between 1910 to 1940. Goldin and Katz highlighted how ‘America’s approach to schooling was critically important to its technological dynamism, rapid economic growth, more equal income distribution, assimilation of great waves of immigrants, and transition to mass college education’. This educational revolution, which placed human capital at the centre of the US economic growth, found its equivalence in Western Europe and particularly in Scandinavia, only in the 1960s, with the ‘comprehensive education’ movement, further discussed in

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4 Ibid., 217.
5 Ibid., 12.
Section 3.5. This transformative process which used education as driving force could possibly be paralleled with the future role of the nascent international schooling movement at educating young people to be on the front line of the interconnected world. 

The transformative process made the US economically stronger than any other country when entering the Second World War, with its advancement in technology, productivity, and arms industry. This leadership position, boosted by the post-war European Recovery Program (ERP), not only fostered the spread of an economic model based on liberal capitalism to Western Europe but also a lifestyle in the American image, with new ways to consume, live and entertain. In the 1960s, the US market was at its peak and represented 40 per cent of the global economy, with the dollar as the only currency used for large international transactions. Odd Arne Westad explained that, with the United States at the centre of a global capitalist economy, their position was used for Cold War purposes. He thus argued that the bipolar conflict added another ‘stage in the advent of US global hegemony’, culminating with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of the Soviet Union around 1990. According to Alexander Stephan, the Cold War was the driving force of US-European

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8 See more details on the ERP in Denmark in Section 3.4 on p.102.
10 Ibid., 223.
relations in the second half of the twentieth century. Stephan added that ‘Americanization’ of Western Europe, and tentatively beyond the iron curtain, occurred not only through economic hegemony but also through soft power means with the dissemination of the American culture.

An extract of a report written by US senator Ellender, published in 1961 and commissioned by the US government to evaluate a decade of foreign operations in its embassies around the world, Copenhagen included, illustrated the subtle interweaving of the economic and the political in the scramble for ideological supremacy.

Whether from today's chaotic competition of ideology can come an atmosphere conducive to the maintenance of individual and economic freedom remains the challenge of the sixties...[U.S.] approach should be based upon an effort to create within the Soviet people a desire for more economic, political and spiritual freedom. The most tangible of these, and, for that reason the most susceptible of relatively quick achievement, is the economic aspect of U.S. life... To a large extent, the nuclear deterrent of the fifties has been succeeded by the economic deterrent in the sixties... the strength and productive capacity of the U.S. economy now, to an unprecedented extent, controls the configuration tomorrow's world will take.

Moreover, Senator Ellender's report highlighted the ambiguity of US politics having the objective of disseminating ‘the merits of the American way of life’ and of building cultural bridges between the East and the West:

By every means at our disposal, an attempt should be made to bring about a vastly enlarged exchange program and a broadening of cultural contacts between the East and the West, as it is believed this is the best means of promoting mutual understanding, the merits of the U.S.

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13 Ibid., 2.
way of life, and the dissipation of the theory that communistic and free world countries cannot peacefully co-exist.\textsuperscript{15}

Senator Ellender acknowledged such ambiguity by targeting the role of the US Information Agencies (USIA), ‘regarded in most countries as purely propaganda outlets for spreading imperialism’.\textsuperscript{16} He instead advised the implementation of community centres ‘where the best of Western, particularly American, culture and technology can be displayed’.\textsuperscript{17}

**US Cultural dissemination**

A US Information Services (USIS) agency, serving for propaganda, was present in Copenhagen. Its role was to oversee: the cultural section (Fulbright and Smith-Mundt exchange programmes, library, shows and communication with the Danish Ministry of Education and School and universities’ leaders), the information section (US materials in press, radio, TV, and films), and the Public Affairs Office.\textsuperscript{18} According to Nils Arne Sørensen and Klaus Petersen, from 1948, the US warfare was primarily military and political, but became also cultural, with the strategy to influence ‘Danish opinion makers within media, politics, and the educational system, as well as arts and culture’.\textsuperscript{19} Sørensen and Petersen stated that:

The information activities were organised around the American institutions and agencies in Denmark, the most important being the U.S. Embassy. Setting up a library and a film distribution program in the Embassy in Copenhagen may have helped the raise Danish awareness

\begin{footnotes}
\item Ellender, "A Report on United States Foreign Operation," x.
\item Ibid., x-xi.
\item Ibid.
\item Ibid., 31-33.
\end{footnotes}
of American literature and culture. In 1950, the US information Agency (USIA) library collection in Copenhagen totalled some 6,500 books and 3,000 pamphlets, as well as a music collection.20

Some representants of USIS were actively involved in CIS’s Board and some American teachers worked at CIS, through the US-Danish Fulbright exchange programme.21

The educational exchange programmes were part of wider international education policies and practices, that emerged in the US during the post-war era, based on a blend of governmental and private or philanthropic activities. Paul Tarc stated that the number of these programmes in the 1960s signalled a growing interest of America in international education and were tied to ‘American interests in winning support against Communism’.22 It represented an American ‘internationalist’ approach in the World as opposed to isolationism.23 Stephan, referring to the US anti-communist politics, acknowledged the American commitment in Europe through military, economic and political means but also through it cultural presence, with not only the establishment of a dense network of military bases but with numerous cultural facilities. The following section expands on the US approach on the development of international education, which provides some background information the school’s educational endeavour.

21 According to Ellender, the Fulbright programmes were implemented in Denmark in 1951. In 1961, the programme included 49 grants to Americans coming in Denmark and 53 grants to Danish nationals going to the US. It was addressed to lecturers, researchers, teachers, and students.
23 Ibid., 22.
3.2 US perspective on international education

Robert Sylvester, in his attempt to map the territory of international education between 1944 and 1969, gave a clear representation of the prominent role of the US in this field and highlighted at the same time, through the use of primary sources, the authority of the American scholars.24 Sylvester explained that during the pre-Second World War period, international education was associated with ‘education for international understanding’ and ‘education for world citizenship’.25 During the post-war period, and mainly during the post-colonial decades of the 1960s and 1970s, international education became associated with foreign aid programmes due to the emergent national development process throughout the world. This new objective became an international concern, materialised in 1961, by the United Nations (UN)’s declaration for a Decade of Development with the support of the UNESCO.

In the 1960s, US international education programmes were developed by a multiplicity of public and private actors involved in the field and reflected the rapid expansion of overseas government agencies and private businesses.26 The analysis of CIS’s Board meeting minutes from the mid-1960s to the beginning of the 1970s exemplifies such reality, with the diversity of the US partners, including state agencies, private organisations, and corporations involved in the financial and technical assistance to the school; to an extent that it makes it difficult to distinguish their roles. This complexity at a small

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25 Ibid., 186.
scale reflected, to some extent, what Robert Chiappetta, in 1969, then chairman of the Department of International and Comparative Education at Indiana University, reported at larger scale while describing the US programmes in international education. He said: ‘there is duplication and anarchy inherent to the myriad programs conducted and supported by an unnecessarily large number of separate agencies’.27

Phillip H. Coombs, first Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs during John F. Kennedy’s presidency from 1961 to 1962, listed 43 types of educational, scientific and cultural activities, provided by five main US agencies primarily concerned with foreign affairs: The State Department, the United State Information Agency (USIA), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Defence Department, and the Peace Corps.28 The activities were classified under six main programmes which were the exchange of persons, the exchange of educational materials and exhibitions, the allocation of grants, loans and contracts for educational development, the promotion of research and exchange of knowledge, the participation in official international organisations and some special programmes which included the support of US sponsored schools and colleges abroad. The last program was the one to which CIS was related.

The dates of creation of these agencies (USIA in 1953, AID and Peace Corps in 1961) show how international educational and cultural programmes came into prominence during the 1960s. In 1961, the Fulbright Act which was established in 1946 to promote bilateral exchanges of scholars, financed by the sale of surplus US war material abroad, was extended through the Fulbright-Hays Act. The later Act, also called the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act, grouped the different programmes into the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA). According to R. Freeman Butts, associate dean for international studies at the Teachers College of Columbia University (New York), ‘educational exchange now had considerable visibility in the Department of State and in America’s foreign policy’.

Also in 1961, the Foreign Assistance Act established the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). In 1963, the Foreign Service Act encouraged financial aid for dependents of US government officers and in 1964, the US State Department created its Office of Overseas Schools (OOS).

US scholars, with leading position in some renowned universities’ department of international education, recognised international education as a crucial

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31 Ibid.

mission for the federal government as well as for academics, reaching its peak in the late 1960s. This culmination was evidenced by President Johnson’s message to Congress on international education on February 2, 1966, by the appointment of the Task Force on International Education by the House Committee on Education and Labor, and by the passage of the International Education Act of 1966. Irwin Sanders and Jennifer Ward, in a book published in 1970 by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, mentioned the rapid increase of international activities in the academic sector, explaining that:

In 1964, Education and World Affairs identified about a dozen international offices in American colleges and universities; by 1969 this number had grown to 1986…Many offices were created as a result of the passage of the International Education Act of 1966 and in anticipation of federal funds for their support.

In addition to federal funds, which indeed were turned down by the Congress in the years following the act, notably because of ‘anxieties associated with the terrible Vietnamese war’, US private and philanthropic foundations had an active participation in sponsoring international studies’ programmes in US universities and overseas educational activities.

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34 Sanders and Ward, Bridges to understanding, 187.
Their financial support encouraged the exchange of students and teachers, in parallel of the Fulbright programme.\textsuperscript{36} Sanders reported that the foundations, ‘a twentieth-century invention’, were so large in number that the task to classify them by purpose, source of funding and countries involved, was impossible.\textsuperscript{37} The Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, the W.K.Kellogg foundation and the Twentieth Century Fund, were the most active among many. The American foundations, which arose from to the prosperity of firms and individuals during the economic upswing mentioned earlier, played a major role in the creation of international nongovernmental organisations.\textsuperscript{38} As example, the sponsorship of the Twentieth-Century Fund and the Ford Foundation made the launch of the International Baccalaureate possible.\textsuperscript{39} 

Financial support was also coming from American companies settled abroad which occasionally supported educational institutions.\textsuperscript{40} Coombs acknowledged that ‘despite the considerable international activities of federal agencies, there could scarcely be an educational component of U.S. foreign policy were it not be for the willingness of private agencies and individuals to cooperate’.\textsuperscript{41} Under the private sector, he included ‘individuals, the academic

\textsuperscript{38} Iriye, \textit{Global Community}, 12.
\textsuperscript{40} Sanders, "Private, Non-Governmental U.S. Aid to Education Overseas," 117.
\textsuperscript{41} Coombs, \textit{The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy}, 64.
community, voluntary organizations, foundations and private business’. Section 5.3 gives evidence on the complex financial set up from American state subsidies, private companies and foundations (e.g. the Ford Foundation) to support CIS’s sustainability during its first years.

Beyond such financial support, it is important to consider the underlying ideas and discourses. An extract from President Lyndon B. Johnson’s remarks of the Smithson bicentennial celebration, pre-empting the International Act of 1966, encapsulates the government’s position and discourse towards international education.

For we know today that certain truths are self-evident in every nation on this earth; that ideas, not armaments, will shape our lasting prospects for peace; That the conduct of our foreign policy will advance no faster than the curriculum of our classrooms; that the knowledge of our citizens is the one treasure which grows only when it is shared.

Together we must embark on a new and a noble adventure:

First, to assist the education efforts of the developing nations and the developing regions. Second to help our schools and universities increase their knowledge of the world and the people who inhabit it. Third, to advance the exchange of students and teachers who travel and work outside their native lands. Fourth, to increase the free flow of books and ideas and art, of works of science and imagination. And, fifth, to assemble meetings of men and women from every discipline and every culture to ponder the common problems of mankind. In 1966, Johnson’s words were resonating with the Cold War conflict, the ‘revolution of nationalism’, and with the fear to see the emergence of the new

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42 Coombs, *The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy*, 64.
nations become embroiled by communist propaganda.\textsuperscript{44} The political discourse about the US responsibility to ‘meet the requirements of world leadership’, or ‘the moral obligation to become “the ‘school’ for the free world”’ was prevalent.\textsuperscript{45} International education, and more specifically overseas education, were part of the US foreign policy and public diplomacy, and justly described by Coombs as ‘the fourth dimension of foreign policy’.

However, Coombs admitted that international education being used as political tool was not without raising problems and concerns. His thoughts echoed the ones already mentioned by Senator Ellender. Indeed, Coombs’ questions reflected the political concern of the 1960s.

Should educational and cultural activities – at least those sponsored or supported by the federal government – be consciously aimed at foreign policy objectives? Or should they be treated as ends in themselves, best divorced from foreign policy?

Should educational and cultural programs be intermingled with foreign information activities (“propaganda”) or sharply divorced from them? Is there, in fact, a clear distinction?\textsuperscript{46}

These concerns were in fact also handled sensitively at a governmental level. According to President Johnson in his address of the International Education Act of 1966:

Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to authorize any department, agency, office, or employee of the United States to exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration, or personnel of any educational institution, or the selection of library resources by any educational

\textsuperscript{44} Coombs, \textit{The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy}, 11.


\textsuperscript{46} Coombs, \textit{The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy}, 23.
John Lunstrum, professor of Education at the University of Georgia, mentioned that this reference to governmental control was partly due to reported participations of scholars in intelligence activities. At a smaller scale, CIS’s written, and oral records reveal some tensions and power forces exerted by some US actors when the implementation of the International Baccalaureate was considered, and the analysis of the data evidence it in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

The dilemma of considering international education as part of the cultural diplomacy or as an aid programme through the nation’s genuine efforts reflects the mix of shared interests and divergence of views from the actors involved, politicians, the intellectual community, and the wealthy philanthropic foundations. This was sharply addressed by Lunstrum, when saying:

It seems at first glance that the motives for supporting overseas education are mixed-running the gamut from a humanitarian commitment to social and economic improvement to a desire to manipulate persons and ideas in order to establish the supremacy of an ideology.

Lunstrum’s point was not only including the position of the US but of other great powers – Great Britain, France, Soviet Union, and Communist China.

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49 Lunstrum, "The U.S. and Other Great Powers in International Interaction," 221.
In Section 4.1, I concentrate on the American support on overseas education, and acknowledge the complex role and dominance it had on the establishment of international schools specifically in Europe.

Finally, these contrasting views on the US position in international education were also representative of a period of ‘pathetic paradox’ as described by Adam Curle, Harvard professor in Education and Development, when ‘countries of the world are busily preparing to destroy each other [,] they are also making unprecedented efforts to help each other’.\(^{50}\) In fact, the founding of the UN and its core institutions and agencies was a major attempt to instil a new international political order, based on the concept of internationalism ‘in the sense of cooperation and coexistence among nations’, and distinct from the prevailing international geo-politics.\(^{51}\) ‘Internationalism’, an ambiguous term which according to Sandrine Kott could be understood as another type of ideology during the Cold War period.\(^{52}\)

### 3.3 International organisations and international education

**International organisations**

The US commitment in international education, unilateral or bilateral, was also carried out through multilateral efforts. In 1945, America became co-founder

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and the main financial contributor of the United Nations, with 50 other countries. In 1946 America co-signed in London the constitution of the UNESCO with 36 other states. Denmark took part as founding countries for both organisations.

In his seminal work on ‘the role of international organizations in the making of the contemporary world’, Akira Iriye explained the instrumental and influential role of international governmental and non-governmental organisations in the world order of the mid-twentieth century. Iriye’s main argument was that the close partnership between intergovernmental organisations and international nongovernmental organisations (IGOs and INGOs) challenged the geopolitics of the emerging Cold War. The organisations did so by building transnational connections at a political, economic, and cultural level, and thus transcended state-centred concerns to foster international peace. Iriye stated that:

> most of the Soviet-bloc nations as well as the rest of the world joined the agencies of the United Nations as well as the international nongovernmental organizations attached to them. At these agencies, the measure of consultation and cooperation among the nations belonging to the two camps in the emerging Cold War was far greater that at Security Council meetings. To ignore this fact … is to distort the history of the immediate postwar years.

IGOS and INGOs played an essential role in the creation of a global community. According to Iriye, this global consciousness defined post-war internationalism, ‘a determination to strengthen movements and institutions that would reunify the world’. The UN, established on the legacy of the

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53 Iriye, *Global Community*.
54 Ibid., 44.
55 Ibid., 41.
League of Nations, was at the centre of the work of such organisations whose number and influence sharply increased from the afterwar period. In 1951, 188 international NGOs were officially affiliated with the United Nations.\textsuperscript{56} The UN charter, written in San Francisco in 1945, reaffirmed the faith in fundamental human rights, the equal rights between women and men of any nations, the maintenance of international peace and security, and the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.\textsuperscript{57}

From these international organisations, a new balance of power emerged with a shift from western dominance to the participation of the newly independent or non-aligned states. A striking example of this new representativeness was the number of African independent states admitted as UN members over 25 years. From three present in 1945, it evolved to 26 in the end of 1960, and to 41 in 1970.\textsuperscript{58} The conference of Bandung in 1955, with 29 African and Asian nations as participants, gave a clear proof of a new ascendancy and collaborative action of emergent countries under the UN auspices that influenced the agenda of the superpowers.\textsuperscript{59} Amy Sayward paralleled the shift in representativeness with the change in ‘the lens through which people and national governments view, think about, and interact with the world’.\textsuperscript{60}

International civil servants, who fostered the UN charter’s principles, were

\textsuperscript{56} Iriye, \textit{Global Community}, 43.


\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., 377.
developing networks of shared interests and concerns outreaching frontiers and thus inventing ‘an alternative world, one that is not identical with the sum of sovereign states and nations’.  

One of the main UN specialised agencies, established in 1948 in Geneva, was the World Health Organization (WHO). Its European Regional Office has been established in Copenhagen in 1957. Nine European cities offered some space to the new headquarter and the city of Copenhagen beat Nice (France) by one vote. This geographical choice rendered the presence of CIS very attractive for the mobile families relocating with their teenagers. In return, the organisation helped the school develop its international character or even vision, thanks to the diversity of students whose parents were working at the WHO, but also thanks to the influence that those parents had in the school as explained in Chapter 5. The first non-American CIS’s Board member, Reginald Palmer, was translator at the WHO, with a British nationality.

**Nordic influence in international institutions**

In reference to international organisations and their efforts in developing global consciousness, it is important to highlight the special strength of Nordic individuals at taking leadership positions and becoming effective mediators or

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61 A. Iriye, *Global Community*, 43.  
62 World Health Organization, *Sixty years of WHO in Europe*, (Copenhagen: WHO Regional Office for Europe, 2010), 4. In 1962, another UN agency, UNICEF, relocated its Packing and Assembly supply Centre from New York to Denmark and built its global humanitarian warehouse in Copenhagen with the support of the Danish Government. Copenhagen was made attractive by its international shipping lanes as well as the infrastructures of Copenhagen’s Freeport. UN City Copenhagen, "Sixty Years of the UNICEF Global Supply and Logistics Hub for Children -", UN City in Copenhagen, last modified October 5, 2022, https://un.dk/sixty-years-of-the-unicef-global-supply-and-logistics-hub-for-children/.
facilitators in such organisations. To give a few examples from the 1960s, Trydve Haldvan Lie, from Norway, was sworn in as first Secretary-General of the UN and took this position from 1946 to 1952. Following on this position, Dag Hammarskjöld, from Sweden, was Secretary-General from 1953 to 1961. In J.F Kennedy's word, Hammarskjöld was the ‘greatest stateman of our century’.\textsuperscript{63} Alva Myrdal, from Sweden, became in 1961, head of the UN eighteen Nations disarmament Conference in Geneva. At CIS’s scale, Rector Ulf Østergaard, the director of CIS’s Danish host-school and active CIS’s Board member and Board chair for many years, was previously director of the renowned United Nations International School of New York (UNIS) from 1959 to 1961, under Hammarskjöld’s UN leadership. UNIS is considered as one of the first three schools, with Geneva International School and the Atlantic College (Wales), which developed an international curriculum and initiated the IB project. Sections 5.2 and 6.3 give larger details on Østergaard’s strong belief and commitment to international education and his distinctive role in establishing international education at CIS and later in Denmark.

Poul Villaume justified this Nordic ‘authority’ in international institutions by referring to the fact that small countries must develop some adaptable skills and find compromise as not interested or not even able to compete for selfish power position. For this reason, they are not being suspected to act for belligerent purpose.\textsuperscript{64} This is also how Østergaard understood his recruitment

\textsuperscript{63} United Nations, "Death of Dag Hammarskjöld," Archives and Records Management Section I, accessed September 5, 2021, \url{https://archives.un.org/content/death-dag-hammarskjold}. Kennedy’s words were said just after Hammarskjöld died and thus biased.

\textsuperscript{64} Villaume, "Pathfinders and Perpetuators of Détente," 233.
among 100 candidates for the UNIS director position. ‘Coming from a small
nation like Denmark, they couldn’t suspect him to look for power. At least, that
was dad’s belief’, shared his son.⁶⁵ This position, also true for Denmark, will be
further examined in the following Section, Denmark and the Cold War.

**International education**

Another specialised UN agency was UNESCO, created in 1945, in the wake of
the International Commission of Intellectual Cooperation (ICIC). Article 1 of its
constitution stated that its first objective was to maintain ‘peace and security by
promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and
culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and
for human rights and fundamental freedoms’.⁶⁶ One of its main projects was
called Education for International Understanding and promoted international
education to ensure peace in the long term, while enhancing international
networks of professionals in education.⁶⁷ The organisation became a major
arena for intergovernmental collaboration through education and collaborated
with numerous non-governmental organisations.

**Creation of the International Baccalaureate (IB)**

Indeed, it is under the encouragement and sponsorship of the education
section of UNESCO that, from 1948 to 1968, the ideas and initiatives for
creating an international diploma materialised. The view on international

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⁶⁵ F. Østergaard, Personal interview, Charlottenlund September 13, 2019.
⁶⁶ UNESCO, "UNESCO and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights," UNESCO, last
⁶⁷ Sylvester, "Further Mapping of the Territory of International Education in the 20th
education conceived of a multilateral perspective laid the groundwork to
different projects, one being the establishment of the International
Baccalaureate Organisation (IBO), an international non-governmental
organisation created in 1968.\textsuperscript{68} Ian Hill, Deputy Director General for the IB from 2000 to 2012, explained that the International Baccalaureate (IB) project ‘was
related to the educational challenge of devising curricula from a multicultural
perspective, which would promote intercultural understanding. This was all
undertaken against the political backdrop concerning world peace and
cooperation’.\textsuperscript{69}

The initial IB project emerged from seminars organised under the auspice and
incentive of UNESCO, and associations created under its sponsorship. It is
worth mentioning a few milestones in the long building process, which ended
up in 1968 with the official set up of the IB as organization. This background
information forms the base of Sections 6.2 and 6.3, which uncover the reasons
for the experimentation of some IB examinations at CIS from 1968 and its
involvement with the IB project in the long run.

The very first UNESCO educational seminar, a six weeks ‘International
Seminar for International Understanding’, took place at Sèvres (France) in
1947. It was attended by 80 educators from 31 nations, with the objective to
‘stimulate further thinking and planning by key educators in different countries

\textsuperscript{68} Peterson, \textit{The International Baccalaureate: An Experiment in International Education}, 109.
\textsuperscript{69} Hill, \textit{The International Baccalaureate: Pioneering in Education}, 60. Kenworthy, L.
"UNESCO." \textit{Friends' Intelligencer}, July 26, 1947.
\url{https://leonardkenworthy.files.wordpress.com/2014/06/1947-unesco.pdf}.
on ways of fostering international understanding among their pupils’. The seminar gathered prestigious note speakers from political, international and academic spheres, such as Leon Blum, French President of the provisory government from 1946 to 1947, Joseph Lawerys, British comparative educationalist from the Institute of Education (University of London), Margaret Mead, American cultural anthropologist, Jean Piaget, Swiss psychologist, Stephen Spender, British poet, and Henry Wallon, French philosopher and psychologist, to name a few.

Leonard Kenworthy, one of the UNESCO summer seminar leaders, reported how much the trauma of the Second World War was still very present among the participants and the disillusion for some of them to teach peace and international understanding after the failure of the League of Nations’ ideal.

Among the participants, three Danish educators were registered. In the seminar’s attendance list, I found the name of Ulf Østergaard, recorded as secondary school teacher at the State School of Gentofte, Copenhagen. The idea to look at his name in the conference’s list came from Ulf Østergaard’s son, Frank, who mentioned during an interview a seminar that his father

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72 Leonard Kenworthy was a member of the Education section at UNESCO and Professor of Social Science Education at Brooklyn College of the City University of New York.

attended in 1947 at Sèvres. According to Frank, it is since this first seminar experience and thanks to some contacts made with other participants that Østergaard’s career shifted from being a national teacher to an international educator. Twenty years later, Østergaard became one of the main influential educators of CIS’s foundation as explained in Chapter 5 and 6.

The teaching of history and geography was one of the main topics discussed at the summer seminar from 1947. Another noticeable aspect of the seminar was the special role given to the social studies which started to bring to light aspects of human complexities in relation to mutual understanding. In fact, different presenters talked about the development of the adolescents seen from different cultural perspectives and looked at the possible influence of the cultural environment on adolescents’ development. The following titles of papers from the seminar illustrate this new approach: ‘Psychological factors in group tensions’, ‘Some persistent problems in the development of inter-group understanding’, ‘Education for international understanding in the light of cultural differences’ and ‘The moral development of the adolescent in two types of society, primitive and “modern”’. Fifteen years after, the affective element in the acquisition of knowledge became one of the main pedagogical aspects discussed in the IB summer courses, where emphasis was put on

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74 Østergaard, “Personal interview.”
educating the whole person. Later in this section, I will further comment on the role given to the teaching of history and social sciences in the initial design of the IB’s syllabus and examination.

After the first seminar, UNESCO organised in 1949, at its headquarters, a ‘Conference of Principals of International Schools’ attended by 15 schools based in Europe and one based in the US; ‘the first such meeting concerning international education ever to be held’ according to Ian Hill. Were present Kurt Hahn, later founder of the United World College movement, Fred Roquette from Geneva International School, as well as other participants who later came to play an important role in the development of the IB. A second meeting followed in 1951, still at UNESCO, with 20 schools represented, which led to the foundation of the ‘Conference of Internationally Minded Schools’ (CIS). The association CIS, not to be confused with the acronym CIS as school, was composed of national schools which sought to foster peace and international understanding through education. The objectives of the association CIS were to train teachers in international schools, to facilitate exchange of students via its schools’ network, and to work for the development of international diplomas accepted in any university around the world. The International School of Geneva had a leading role in the association and was organizing summer courses for teachers around the world, with the first one in

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80 Kurt Hahn and the United World College movement is discussed in Section 4.1 on p. 135.
81 According to Hill, schools involved were based in France, Germany, Holland, Hong Kong, India, Jordan, Scotland, Switzerland and the USA.
82 Hill, The International Baccalaureate: Pioneering in Education, 22.
1950 sponsored by a UNESCO grant. Hill explained that the association CIS ‘brought together Heads mainly from national schools in Europe, with an increasing interest for American schools’. 83

In 1969, the association CIS coalesced with the International Schools Association (ISA). ISA, created in 1951, played an additional vital role in international education with a consultative status with UNESCO. It received its first contract with UNESCO in 1963. 84 ISA was closely linked to the United Nations schools — Geneva UN Nursery School, New York UNIS, and Paris Nursery School — and was administered by parents who were international civil servants. 85 The aim of ISA was to assist international schools around the world, by offering consultations, stimulating educational research with conferences gathering educators, and helping with the creation of new international schools. 86 Robert Leach became an ISA consultant during the year 1961-62 and visited 24 schools of international character in 16 countries and three continents. From these visits, he wrote his seminal book 

*International Schools and their Role in the Field of International Education*,

which I use as one of the main primary published sources for the research. Leach explained that ISA ‘decided to form a taxfree body in New York to help channel money to genuine international schools’. 87 The body was called the International Schools foundation (ISF) and later became the International Schools Services (ISS). ISS changed its purpose as caught up by the interest

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86 Ibid., 29.
87 Leach, *International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education*, 135.
of the US State Department which needed an agency to look for the interest of
the American schools overseas. According to Leach, the ISF ‘found itself
promoting schools which, by the very nature of things, competed with the
internationally international schools’.\textsuperscript{88} Copenhagen International School
received subsidies from ISS and maintained a close contact with ISA as
explained in Section 6.2. George Walker and Ian Hill stated that it was the
collaborative effort and the share of resources between the association CIS,
the International Schools Association (ISA) and UNESCO that brought to light
the IB curriculum project.\textsuperscript{89} In Section 4.2, I elaborate on the role of different
associations such as ISA, ISS, and others in the establishment of international
schools in Europe and the existing competing interests between them.

From Alec Peterson’s perspective, the first Director General of the
International Baccalaureate Office (IBO, 1966-77) based in Geneva, it was the
teachers from Ecolint (Geneva) who brought from the ground the international
Baccalaureate with the support of ISA, and with a pivotal event in 1962.\textsuperscript{90}
Peterson recalled that:

\begin{quote}
[\textit{t}he first practical step was taken in 1962, when the I.S.A conference
on Social Studies instructed its executive to ‘explore the possibilities of
a joint social studies examination, as a first step towards the
establishment of basic standards’, and a small grant was secured from
UNESCO to finance a workshop for this purpose.\textsuperscript{91}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{88} Leach, \textit{International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education}, 17.
\textsuperscript{89} G. Walker and I. Hill, “The Early Pioneers of the IB,” in \textit{The International Baccalaureate: 50
Years of Education for a Better World}, ed. J. Fabian, I. Hill, and G. Walker (Woodbridge UK:
John Catt Educational, 2018), 25.
\textsuperscript{90} Peterson, \textit{The International Baccalaureate: An Experiment in International Education},
9.
\textsuperscript{91} Hill, \textit{The International Baccalaureate: Pioneering in Education}, 33. Leach, \textit{International
Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education}, 15.
\textsuperscript{10} Peterson, \textit{The International Baccalaureate: An Experiment in International Education}
Sixty teachers of social studies, with Robert Leach being the prime force, gathered at Ecolint in the summer 1962 to draft an international contemporary history syllabus (1913-1963). One of the presenters at the ISA conference was Godfrey Sullivan, history secondary teacher from UNIS (New York). Sullivan moved to Copenhagen International School three years after the conference, settling the school as headmaster and becoming its first history teacher (1965-1968). At the Social Studies conference, Sullivan gave a lecture based on his teaching experience in History at UNIS, which has been recorded in a book on the history of UNIS. Sullivan brought with him a world history syllabus designed for the secondary school level and the tutorial classes (6 grades). The lecture provides a clear understanding of his perception of international education, internationalism and the teaching of history in a United Nations school. Thus, it provides some valuable data on what Sullivan brought to CIS during his headship, which are analysed in Section 6.3.

The teaching of history in international schools

During the conference of social studies of 1962, a history syllabus was finalised for the last two years of secondary school as well as an experimental international paper’s examination. According to Hill, this first attempt opened the door to the outline of other curricula such as languages and eventually for the design of a full international diploma, officially taken for the first time in 1970 by 39 candidates from four schools. The diploma was then already

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accepted by a few universities (East Anglia, Gröningen, Leeds, London, M.I.T, Ottawa, Oxford, Sussex and Yale). Copenhagen International School was one of the eight schools to trial some examination papers in 1968, with eight volunteer students. As mentioned in the introduction, the first CIS's candidate, Pietrov, child of a WHO civil servant, who passed the full IB diploma in 1972, was Czech. In 1972, the IB diploma was not recognised in Czechoslovakia and the political climax forced him to come back to his home country and retake his Czech High School certificate. The geopolitics had clear impact on the education of some young teenagers. In Sections 7.1 and 7.4, Pietrov's atypical educational journey from East to West and West to East is further discussed.

It was by no coincidence that the first subject to be examined as international IB curriculum was Contemporary History. Already after the First World War, many activists, private organisations, and politicians called for the need to add the topic of the teaching of History to the agenda of the newly created League of Nations. They saw the imperative mission to instil international mindedness in the service of peace in young people's minds. The practical concern was to rethink the way history should be taught in schools, which would ‘lead to a reconsideration, not only of the history programs, but of the principles on which they are based’. Ken Osborne explained that:

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96 Pietrov, Skype interview, November 18, 2019.
98 Ibid., 217.
The League was always careful not to challenge the sovereign authority of national governments. Its only tools were persuasion and argument. Nonetheless, it did what it could to promote an internationalist approach to the teaching of history to which national governments were urged to commit themselves.99

After the Second World War, some League supporters of the change on national history curriculum became fervent actors on the establishment of UNESCO. One of them, Alfred Zimmern, deputy director of the League of Nations International Institute of intellectual Cooperation (IIIC) from 1926 to 1930, and Oxford University’s first Montague Burton Professor of international relations in 1930, acted as secretary-general of the London conference that established UNESCO in 1945.

The first UNESCO seminar of 1947 at Sèvres, previously mentioned, brought back to light the concern of the teaching of history. On this matter, UNESCO, on the basis of multiple seminars and conference with historians, educationists, and social scientists, launched a 10-year project, the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values (1957-1966), strongly influenced by the writing of the syllabus of contemporary history finalised in 1963.100 The aim of the Major Project was to work with national educational authorities on the improvements of national textbooks, curricula, teaching methods, and on the implementation of the teaching in the

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classroom worldwide cultures to promote understanding between nations.\textsuperscript{101} As evidenced in a report on the Danish UNESCO-School project (1961-1964), what had to be taught appeared like ‘a radical reorientation of the school history curriculum to educate for international understanding’, based on a strong idealistic view.\textsuperscript{102} The report cited that:

UN and its separate agencies must be included in the lessons in an attempt to demonstrate to the children, in a concrete and realistic manner, the work that had been carried out by these organizations, made to solve the problems common to all mankind in a fine and peaceful spirit of international cooperation…Our young people should be taught not only to see themselves as Danes or Scandinavians or Europeans but as members of one great brotherhood including all nations of the world…\textsuperscript{103}

This concept of brotherhood echoed another important UNESCO project instigated at the same period by its first director-general, Julian S. Huxley. According to Poul Duedahl, the idea was to write a multi-volumes \textit{History of Mankind}, a global history, far from a eurocentrism point of view. The main goal was to emphasise the reading of history through cultural exchanges, transmissions and interdependence between nations, as opposed ‘to the kind of history taught in many schools focusing on military and political events and based on ethnocentric biases and preconceptions’.\textsuperscript{104} The History of Mankind could be then used as source for school’ textbooks in all countries. The project became overly ambitious, met multiple obstacles, raised controversies and


\textsuperscript{102} White, \textit{“The Peaceful and Constructive Battle”}, 317.


was finalised years after it was initiated, with the multi-volumes published between 1963 and 1976.

According to John White, the UNESCO’s Major Project of Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values was also an ambitious project which became too theoretical and complex to implement at national level.\(^{105}\) However, White argued that the IB, which received some grant from the UNESCO Major Project, became the most-well-known result of the Project with Leach and other teachers putting in place the first international curriculum.\(^{106}\) At this time, Leach was quite critical towards international organisation and their projects, and claimed that ‘education is pretty universally recognised as national prerogative for nations, but as well so viewed by international organizations’.\(^{107}\) He saw in the development of international schooling a ‘radical departure in the nationalist epoch in which we live’, where the independency from any national requisite would be the necessary condition.\(^{108}\) From 1967, CIS implemented the experimental history examination conceived by Leach, Sullivan and other teachers involved in the project. The reason why this experiment happened to take place at CIS will be one of the main investigations of Chapter 6.

With the US power dominance and the vital role of international organisations, notably in giving the impulse to international schooling in Europe, as backdrop of the case study, the Danish context – geopolitical, economic, social, and

\(^{105}\) White, "The Peaceful and Constructive Battle," 317-318.,  
\(^{106}\) Ibid.,317.  
\(^{107}\) Leach, International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education 6.  
\(^{108}\) Ibid.
cultural – also contributed to the shaping of the school character. The next section focuses on CIS’s host country in the mid-1960s and beginning of the 1970s. As the international political context of the mid-1960s is intrinsically linked with the Second World War’s aftermath, the next section covers the period from the post-war reconstruction of Europe to the diplomatic agreements of the Helsinki Accords in 1975, with a special focus on the relations between Denmark and the US.

3.4 Denmark and the Cold War

Geo-politics

In the summer 1947, Denmark, state member of the United Nations (UN) since its creation in 1945, had no solution than to accept the proposed American reconstruction programme of Western Europe, the Marshall Plan, to safeguard its supply of consumer goods, minimise its rationing problem, encourage its exports and support its hard currency scarcity and dollar shortage.109 This situation followed the Second World War that plunged the European economy into chaos. Its participation in the European Recovery Plan (ERP) made it de facto part of the Western alliance.110 Yet, the decision to be part of the ERP was not easy to take, as, according to Leon Jensen, ‘at this time a cardinal element in Danish foreign policy was a desire to avoid being placed in either the Eastern or the Western block’.111 In fact, Denmark was aware of its

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sensitive geographical position, acting as buffer state between the East and West conflict, and was also cautious at keeping its national sovereignty against a possible US interference in its economic policy and internal politics.\textsuperscript{112} In 1947, Denmark already believed in relaxation of political tension in a period of rising hostility between the two blocks and was prospecting for the creation of a non-aligned Nordic defence union with Norway and Sweden.\textsuperscript{113} This position reflected ‘the country’s long-standing foreign policy tradition of neutrality, anti-militarism and great power scepticism’.\textsuperscript{114} During the Marshall Plan’s negotiations of 1947-1948, the Danish Social Democrats, governing party from late 1947, claimed the necessity to trade with both East and West and made clear that the recovery plan consisted in an economic cooperation only and not in a military alliance, thus to reassure their non-offensive position to the Soviets.\textsuperscript{115}

However, with the increasing threatening signals of Soviet aggression towards some small states in Europe, Denmark included, and the invasion of Czechoslovakia in March 1948, Denmark did not keep its neutrality position for long, neither committed itself in the planned regional defence union but chose to join the military alliance of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in April 1949. In the backstage of the treaty signature was the high interest of the US to build a military base at Thule, Greenland – a Danish sovereign territory,

\textsuperscript{115} Hanhimäki, Scandinavia and the United States: An Insecure Friendship, xii.
increasingly vital for North America’s security, military planning and communication. The Defence of Greenland Agreement was signed in 1951 between the US and Denmark, and then followed the secret stocking of US nuclear weapons from 1958, governmental sensitive information only disclosed to the Danish public in 1997. This strategic site, which put Denmark ‘under the American nuclear umbrella’, provided an increased necessity for the presence of US militaries at Copenhagen Embassy, built in 1954, and for the creation of CIS, in 1962, to accommodate for the schooling of the US population of students.

At the edge of the Cold War confrontation, the epicentre of the conflict, symbolically situated in Berlin, was only at approximately 400 kilometres from Copenhagen. In 1961, the construction of the Berlin Wall ‘brought a strong demonstration of popular support for Danish membership in NATO’. In the same year, Denmark signed an agreement on a joint Baltic command (COMBALTAP), formalizing a close armed force cooperation with West Germany to protect Northern Europe and the Baltic Sea and solidifying its transatlantic alliance.

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119 Einhorn, National Security and Domestic Politics in Post-war Denmark, 78.
120 Villaume, "Anticipating European Détente," 126.
The two partnerships, Marshall Plan and NATO from the late 1940s, marked a shift of position and a clear decision from the Danish politicians and society to play an active role in the Western economic and military alliances, which at the same time strengthened the political relation between the US and Denmark. In 2021, the Office of the Historian, US Department of State, recognised that ‘since its liberation in 1945, Denmark has been one of the United States’ closest allies’ and ‘the US being ‘Denmark’s largest non-European trading partner’.\(^{121}\) However, Danish Cold War historians recently mitigated this interpretation of tight alliance, reinforcing the idea that Denmark was ‘a loyal ally with reservation’ which persistently looked for an alternative way, and acknowledging its overlooked distinct role, by historical international research, in the early détente process.\(^{122}\)

In fact, Denmark in collaboration with other small Nordic countries – Norway, Sweden and Finland – played an influential role in the relaxation of the international crisis throughout the 1960s and 1970s, acting as bridge-builders across the iron curtain notably through the use of non-confrontational means, counter-balancing NATO’s firm defensive position.\(^{123}\) According to Poul Villaume, ‘Danish foreign minister Per Hækkerup (1961-66) engaged in what could be termed a Danish Ost-Politik, including rather intense mutual visits and bilateral diplomatic, commercial, and cultural contacts with most of the Warsaw


\(^{123}\) Villaume, “Anticipating European Détente,” 129.
Pact countries’. The early, proactive and purposeful Danish’s ‘East diplomacy’ was significant in mobilising NATO support to the proposed Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) by the Warsaw Pact in 1966. During the preparation of the Helsinki Accords (September 1973 - July 1975), the Danish delegation took a leadership role in coordinating the general topic ‘Basket III’, on humanitarian and cultural cooperation, one of the fourth topics that prepared the final Act signed in August 1975.

Denmark, strategically situated in Europe and largely dependent on the dominant powers, maintained a national defence policy of relaxation that Danish politicians considered as a moral responsibility to ensure the safety of mankind, the prevailing struggle of the Cold War. This position influenced its bilateral relation with the US government, summarised by Villaume:

Denmark may well be characterized as both a pathfinder and a perpetuator of European détente during the last decades of Cold War. At times this was explicitly appreciated by Denmark’s strongest ally, the United States, and could also account for the State Department’s 1975 characterization of Denmark as “a sophisticated NATO ally.”

This background of political-military bilateral collaboration between Denmark and the US, entangled within the wider international context, helps the analysis and interpretation of the Board meeting minutes with reference to the different negotiations between the school, perceived mostly in this period as an

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American overseas school, and the Danish ministry of Education, topic further developed in Section 5.3.128

US military and diplomatic presence in Copenhagen in the 1960s was active due to the Danish geographical mainland position, close to the Warsaw Pact countries, and the strategic situation overseas with its territory in Greenland, the world’s largest island. From 1965 to 1967, the first chairman of Copenhagen International School Board was the US army attaché. Other members of the Board were in majority employed at the embassy, with some strategic roles such as the political officer. The US Ambassador acted as resource and support to the school and all Board meetings took place in the Embassy. Majority of students from the beginning years were American with part of them having parents working at the US Embassy. The Cold War context, through the close affiliation of the school with the US Embassy, had with no doubt some impact on the school’s origins and ethos, statement that I further develop in the data chapters.

**International trade and alliances**

Beyond the Cold War conflict, the international trade was developing fast with companies settling their quarters in strategic market places. In fact, in parallel or as consequence of the post-war transatlantic political agreements, new economic partnerships, through different organisations, played an important role in the international life of the 1960s. Denmark was integrated into various trading networks, generated by the massive expansion of international trade –

128 See in Section 5.3 on p. 219.
volumes grew at 5.8 per cent per annum – from 1950 to 1973, period
described as the quarter-century Golden Age, mostly in developed capitalist
countries. In April 1948, Denmark became a founding member of the
European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), entered the General Agreement on
Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1950, and in 1960 became one of the seven
founding members of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). In 1961,
following the British lead, Denmark applied for the European Economic
Community (EEC) membership, which was rejected in 1963 by French
president De Gaulle and finally approved in 1973. One of the major underlying
arguments for the refusal was that Denmark and the Great Britain were in
favour of a reinforcement of collaboration with the US, especially in terms of
defence, while France feared that Europe loses its economic, military, cultural
and political independence towards a perceived danger of the American
supremacy.

As highlighted by Eric Einhorn, Danish security policy was influenced by the
economic developments and ‘the same political leaders and interest groups
which, weighed security policy divisions were very much preoccupied by
questions of trade and economic stability’. This last point calls attention to
the complex interplay that existed between political, economic and social
actors, and the tensions and inventiveness that arose in any decision-making.

130 C. Hollingworth and T. Prittie, “French Determined to Block Britain’s Entry to Common
common-market-de-gaulle-1963.
131 Einhorn, National Security and Domestic Politics in Post-war Denmark, 6.
At a micro level, such interactive dynamic, as we will see in the core chapters, was traceable within CIS’s early history.

The early 1960s were at the height of the economic boom where prosperity in Western Europe was marked by unprecedented rates of economic growth, historically unique, until the OPEC oil crisis of 1973. From 1950 to 1973, Western Europe’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP; rate of increase in the income of the entire population) growth per capita growth was at 3.93%. From 1950s to 1960s, Denmark’s annual GDP growth per capita was at 2.6%, and from 1960s to 1973 at 3.8%. Overseas trade accelerated spectacularly, with the US acting as driving force, quadrupling its exports worldwide between 1950 and 1970. Measured in value, world exports doubled between 1953 and 1963 and then more than trebled in the subsequent decade, with a particularly strong growth in manufactured products.

In Denmark, US investments rose from 1957 at a continued pace until 1972, both in number and size, particularly thanks to some pro-active incentives from the Danish Minister for Economic Affairs, like for example a published brochure in 1960, *Investment of Foreign Capital in Denmark*, by the Royal Danish Consulate in New York. The main attracting points mentioned in the

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brochure were the liberal legislative and administrative rules applying to firms, the Danish political stability, the skilled labour forces, and the advanced technical level of industry like the petro-chemical sector. In 1961, 100 American enterprises were established in Denmark. The biggest US investments were in the oil market (Tidewater, Gulf and Esso), the automobile sector (Ford and General Motors), business machines (IBM) and hotels (Sheraton). All these US firms sponsored CIS during the beginning years as recorded in the Board meeting minutes, and thus played a significant role in its financial security alongside the US State Department’s subsidies as further analysed in Section 5.3. Peter Sørensen and Kenn Tarbensen mentioned the extremely fine relations between the American business people and the Danish authorities between 1945 and 1972 as well as a sort of fascination of America from the Danish political and business circles. A typical example of such admiration was the name, John. F. Kennedy, given in the early 1960s to the municipal Danish school that hosted CIS in 1965. The mayor of Gladsaxe, Erhard Jakobsen, initiator of the Kennedy school, and one of the representatives of the Social Democrats at the Danish parliament, was in close contact with the US Embassy and provided the first location to CIS.

The US business companies played a crucial role in the school through financial support and governance, with the involvement of some firms’ directors in the Board. In 1968, the chairman and treasurer was the CEO of the Gulf Oil Company. The school gradually provided education for other

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138 Ibid., 276.
139 Ibid., 273-274.
international expatriate families involved in business. In fact, in the 1960s, the main Danish trading partners were not the US, but the Federal Republic of Germany, the UK and Sweden.\textsuperscript{140}

3.5 Danish society in the 1960s

Transformation of societal model

From 1957 to 1970, the Danish economy transitioned from one of the slowest to one of the best performing ones among Western countries. This was principally due to the growth of industries which took advantage of the new international trade agreements, and the rapid expansion of service-based sector, particularly with the public sector.\textsuperscript{141} In fact, in almost one generation, Denmark went through radical societal changes by moving from ‘a dominantly rural, agricultural society to the post-industrial age’.\textsuperscript{142} According to Harry Haue, the agricultural labour force reduced by 68 per cent from 1950 to 1980, with the rapid progress towards mechanisation in the agriculture industry and the emergence of strong agrarian cooperatives.\textsuperscript{143} This profound changes transformed the social dynamic of Denmark with the disappearance of the peasant life and the movement of population from land to town and cities, who were able to access to new job opportunities in the service sector and in the


industry, and thus to a new lifestyle and advantages. To house the migration of population, rural districts around big cities were transformed with new neighbourhoods made of modern all-concrete blocks. Gladsaxe commune where CIS settled in 1965 was one example of a new suburban city made of giant apartment blocks that housed both the old, industrial working class and the newly urbanised rural population. According to Thomas Ekman Jørgensen, the suburb cities such as Gladsaxe became also places for expression of new forms of culture, such as concert venues and clubs, attracting young people who lived in the surroundings.

In the 1960s, the Danish government realised almost full-employment and was able to create a community with an almost all-encompassing social welfare, reaching soon the highest standard of living in the world, which is still the case in 2021. As highlighted by Eric Hobsbawn, in 1972, Denmark spent an average of 48 per cent of the state expenditure to housing, social security, welfare and health. The state income devoted to social security increased by 250 per cent between 1950 to 1973. US senator Ellender wrote in his report from 1960 after his visit to the US embassy in Copenhagen, ‘There is no unemployment here, and, I repeat, prosperity reigns’.

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144 Ekman Jørgensen, "Utopia and Disillusion," 341.
145 Ibid., 340.
147 E. J. Hobsbawn, "The Golden Years,", 408.
Indeed, in the 1960s, the age of affluence transformed the Danish society. ‘Motorization’ modernised Danish infrastructures, impacting spheres such as transport, heating, industrial production, and housing. The first motorway in North Copenhagen was built in 1956 and national main roads expanded. New patterns of domestic consumption appeared with access to new items mostly coming from the US: family cars, TV sets, radio, telephone, refrigerators, washing machines. The number of cars quadrupled from 1957 to 1973. Workers started to get paid vacation and family could plan some travels. Between 1958 and 1973, the number of vacation days increased by an average of six days.

The post-war baby boom impacted Denmark the same way as other Western European countries, with its population rising by 17 per cent from 1950 to 1973. In 1962, when CIS was created, post-war babies were just entering the high school level. The World Yearbook of Education 1965 was justly titled *The Education Explosion* and described the educational upheaval. Suddenly, demand for education for all and for secondary schools hit strongly. In Denmark, the percentage of students entering high school went from five per cent in the mid-1950s to 12 per cent in the mid-1960s, and to 23

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151 Ibid.
per cent in the mid-1970s. Additionally the number of female students at high school level became significant and equalled for the first time the number of male students. Ning De Coninck-Smith stated that:

The expansion of the educational system during 1960s took place in an era of prosperity, and the ruling Social Democratic party could join the Conservative and Liberal opposition in the massive investment in the educational system. Education was “the only raw material” and a precondition of economic growth but it was also a way to a more equal society.

In Section 5.1, the massive investment in education is illustrated by some description of the newly schooling complex where CIS was hosted during the years 1965 to 1975.

Social democracy and education

Susanne Wiborg established a clear link between the power of the social democratic parties in Scandinavia through political alliances, and the creation of a radical and egalitarian comprehensive school system in the 1960s, which however appeared much earlier in the US as already mentioned in Section 3.1. Wiborg argued that, in England, such political coalitions between the Labour Party and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) never happened and can explain why the comprehensive education was never fully implemented. The Scandinavian comprehensive schooling established a nine-year unselective system combining the elementary and the middle school, with

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156 Ibid.
157 Ibid.
159 Wiborg, Education and Social Integration, 226.
mixed ability classes throughout, to reduce social inequality.\textsuperscript{160} In Denmark, the programme came to a political agreement in 1969 with the School Act passed in 1975.\textsuperscript{161} According to Wiborg, especially from 1950 to 1970s, the ability for the Scandinavian social democratic parties to weld alliances, notably with the liberal peasantry and later with the emerging white-collar middle class, permitted their dominance at the government level.\textsuperscript{162} Between 1945 and 1964, eight out of ten Danish governments were led by social democrats.\textsuperscript{163} In 1964, the Danish Social democratic party collected 42 percent of the votes. There were decades of unbroken control.\textsuperscript{164} According to Tony Judt:

\begin{quote}
The social democratic parties were the vehicle through which traditional rural society and industrial labour together entered the urban age: in that sense Social Democracy in Scandinavia was not just one politics among many, it was the very form of modernity itself.\textsuperscript{165}
\end{quote}

The sense of consensus-seeking in politics and found also in the everyday life has been one strong characteristic of Danish society.

**Danish cultural liberalism in the 1960s**

Denmark was the first country in the world where the ban on pornography was lifted ‘first on written erotica (in 1967 via the social-democrat government), then for pornographic images (in 1969, via a conservative Minister of Justice)’.\textsuperscript{166} It was also the first country where adult censorship of films was

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\textsuperscript{160} Wiborg, *Education and Social Integration*, 127.  
\textsuperscript{161} Ibid., 189-190.  
\textsuperscript{162} Ibid., 129 and 131.  
\textsuperscript{163} Ibid., 189-190.  
\textsuperscript{164} Ibid., 129 and 131.  
\textsuperscript{165} Judt, "The Social Democratic Moment," 363.  
\textsuperscript{166} Ibid., 365.  
\end{flushright}

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abandoned. In the 1960s, the Danish government, under the National Health system, made family planning services and contraceptive available and free of charge to all citizens.\textsuperscript{167} By law, since 1970, sexual education including contraception became compulsory in the schools. On October 1\textsuperscript{st}, 1973, legal abortion before the end of the 12\textsuperscript{th} weeks of pregnancy became legalised for any woman resident in Denmark and free of charge.\textsuperscript{168} In the 1960s, the consumption of beers by teenagers was commonly accepted by adults. The rector of Gladsaxe gymnasium where CIS was hosted explained to CIS’s parents in 1968, that ‘beer is served at three evening dances [per year], when they can drink as much as they like’.\textsuperscript{169} The liberal conditions inevitably clashed with the cultural background of the Americans as further explained in Section 7.2.

The Danish students’ revolt of 1968 and the governmental response highlighted other aspects of the liberal society. In Denmark, the revolt took place at the Psychology Department. According to Steven Jensen, when the students’ revolts were, in France and Germany, repressed violently by state authorities, in Denmark, ‘the national context was almost supportive to the students’.\textsuperscript{170} The political parties were in favour of university reform at least at the beginning of the revolt which started in 1968. During the spring 1970, a law was passed at the Danish parliament, known as the world’s most liberal law on

\textsuperscript{168} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{169} CIS, \textit{Board Minutes. Binder 1}, September 16, 1968.
university rule, to offer students influence in many areas of university rule.\textsuperscript{171} Thomas Jensen, in his research on the countercultural activities in Copenhagen in the late 1960s and on the creation of utopian collectivist groups such as the \textit{communes}, argued that ‘Danish society was on the whole tolerant, even more so than other societies at the time’.\textsuperscript{172} Jensen gave two explanations on the tolerance: the general consensual political culture of the northern societies as already mentioned in this chapter, and left-wing ideas which were predominant in the late 1960s.\textsuperscript{173} This experimental and revolutionary period saw the creation of the self-governing community of Christiana, known as the free city, in 1971. The project started when some squatter activists occupied a vacated Danish army plot of 35 hectares within Copenhagen, to create a ‘classless urban commune’.\textsuperscript{174} This alternative community is still existing in 2022.

The new expression of the Danish youth culture was largely influenced by the American culture. Ekman Jørgensen explained:

\begin{quote}
Danes returning from the United States, as well as American draft resisters seeking refuge in Scandinavia, brought new music and, not the least, new drugs to Copenhagen...Bands like Country Joe and the Fish, the Doors, Pink Floyd, and the local Burnin’ Red Ivanhoe had considerable success among a wide audience.\textsuperscript{175}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{171} Jensen, "Youth Enacts Society and Somebody Makes a Coup," 236.
\textsuperscript{172} Ekman Jørgensen, "Utopia and Disillusion," 342.
\textsuperscript{173} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{175} Ekman Jørgensen, "Utopia and Disillusion," 336.
Young people of CIS were part of this transfer of culture coming from America, not only by participating to some concerts of the bands at the Gladsaxe Teen Club, but also by bringing new music from America to their peers, such as ‘a Smokey Robinson record’. CIS’s students formed their own rock group called the Moondogs and were very popular in the school. Some CIS’s students had contact with the draft resisters as recalled by an American alumna:

A lot of us loved these cute young long haired hippy types, who didn’t want to go kill people in Viet Nam, who were just a few years older than we were, who were traveling through Copenhagen on their way to hide from the draft in Sweden. P, a student in our school, she especially liked and befriended these draft dodgers, and her dad was a Military Attaché with the US Embassy!

This example shows how the Danish context of the mid-1960s and the beginning of the 1970s is important to consider when analysing the school’s culture through the records and interviews from the alumni.

**Conclusion**

The two decades of the 1960s -1970s portrayed a complex world in which were present at the same time two antagonist forces. In one hand, globalization, agent of interconnectedness and interdependence, was present in multiple domains such as ‘politics, law and governance, military affairs, cultural linkages and human migrations, in all dimensions of economic activity and in shared global environmental threats’. On the other hand, Cold War geopolitics, agent of division and threat, instigated a global struggle for power,

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177 Peter, Email interview, January 12, 2020.
178 Michelle, "Skype interview".
where the US had a leading role. In the realm of education, this period revealed the urgent need for governments and international organisations to invest into human capital through education not only to promote justice, development, and equal rights (UNESCO) but also to prepare young generations to contribute to the changing world and its economy.

Denmark, with its geo-strategic position in Western Europe and with its northern territory of Greenland, saw an intensification in its political, military, and economic relations with the US after the Second World War. Its economic development was boosted by the European Recovery Plan and by the international trades which increased rapidly in all Western countries. These changes transformed the Danish society, its structure, and the culture of everyday life. In the 1960s, modern youth culture developed, with its expression of revolt, and the Danish society with its consensual political culture under the dominance of the Social Democrats took a tolerant approach to these new ways of expression compared to other countries of Europe. The transfer of transatlantic culture came in Denmark.

CIS, despite its small size, took its part in the evolving Danish societal changes of the 1960s, bringing through its creation a new educational concept of secondary schooling in Denmark. Hosted by a Danish high school, influenced by its American origins, and attended by a population of students with a diversity of backgrounds, CIS’s character evolved under the influence and the complexity of many factors. In relation to such complexity, Chapter 4 uncovers the limits to define the concept of international school and examines the
ideological tensions present at the beginning of the international schooling movement and seemingly present at CIS.
4 International schools and internationalism: a review of literature

Introduction

This chapter addresses three distinct topics of research which form the basis of the case study. Drawn from the literature on international schooling, the first section looks at different ways schools, which label themselves as ‘international school’, have tentatively been classified and defined since the 1960s. It then discusses the complexity to fix schools under categories and questions the rationale behind such attempt. The recent growth of international schools, described as booming since 2014, and the unexpected shift in their geographical activity – from Western Europe to Asia and the Gulf Region – and characteristics – e.g. body of student population, private versus public schools, financial model – amplify such complexity. This changing landscape has generated new literature and further questioning upon the label ‘international school’ which enriches the present analysis. While the historical case study questions the existence and origins of Copenhagen International School (CIS), it is relevant to the wider academic inquiry of ‘what are international schools?’ from the early years’ debate. The second section relates to the ideological tensions present in the beginning of the International Baccalaureate movement. More specifically, it examines how the literature from the 1960s uncovered the American presence, influence and interference on the nascent International Baccalaureate project in Europe and the ideological tensions that this presence created. While these tensions were addressed in a few primary sources of the 1960s to 1980s, to the best of my
knowledge, they have not been considered in recent literature on the IB history. I believe that these tensions merit further consideration as there were constitutive of the struggle that some pioneer international schools, originally created as American overseas schools, had to go through to become IB schools. The present research uncovers some aspects of the American influence in the conduct of CIS during its first ten years. Therefore, I argue that CIS as historical case study participates in the wider research on the spread of the American culture through education in a Western country and the role of its cultural diplomacy, Denmark, during the Cold War. The third section discusses recent accounts which highlight other enduring tensions during the foundation years of the IB, still important to consider for the present research.

4.1 What are international schools?

In the literature on international schools, it is recognised that the development of international schools started in the mid-twentieth century. Before this period, only two schools had an international character: Geneva International School (Ecolint, Switzerland) created in 1924 to respond to the needs of the League of Nations’ employees, and Yokohama International School (YIS, Japan) also created in 1924 in the Yamate Bluff district to educate the children of the first foreign community in Japan. It was more common that nation-

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states, with a colonial supremacy, developed their own school system abroad to educate the children of their foreign community and to disseminate their educational values to the local elites. The chain of the overseas French Lycées represents one clear example. The first association of French schools abroad, La Mission Laïque Francaise, was created in 1902.³

Education was considered political and it was the responsibility of each country to form their own citizens. Leach stated in 1968 that education was viewed as a national prerogative by the nation states and by international organisations; he named the League of Nations (1920-1946) and the UNESCO established in 1945. The idea of an International Baccalaureate (IB) emerged from the liberal humanistic values of the 1960s, as already mentioned in Section 3.3, ‘with a focus on individual autonomy and social responsibility’.⁴ However, according to Alec Peterson, the first director general of the IB, the new educational project shifted from being solely an internationalist idea with the underlying objective to develop a sense of common humanity in the mind of young people, to becoming a practical necessity for the internationally mobile community, which was increasing in size and influence.⁵

Since the 1960s, the landscape of ‘international schooling’, a term recently used by Tristan Bunnell to differentiate the field of international schools from Higher Education institutions, has changed drastically, with a marked

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⁵ Peterson, Schools Across Frontiers, 17.
numerical growth since 2000.\textsuperscript{6} Even if, for many years, international schools were considered as a ‘well-kept secret’ unheard by educators and policy-makers around the world, this situation has evolved.\textsuperscript{7} From 50 international schools in 1964 to 1000 in 2000, more than 12 000 were recorded in in 2020, with a prediction of 19 000 by 2029, with an extensive growth in Asia as further highlighted later in this section.\textsuperscript{8}

The high level of autonomy of these schools from any national educational system, and the nonexistence of a supra-national educational system to act as framework, can be the explanation of the exponential growth not only in numbers but also in diversity. As highlighted by James MacDonald, ‘a school doesn’t have to meet any criteria to call themselves an international school’.\textsuperscript{9} Many other factors have contributed to the exponential growth, such as, among others, the development of communications and travels, the flows of ideas and goods, the equivalence of diplomas internationally, ‘the desires of middle classes to access to educational advantages’, and for the global elites to access to high-ranking universities.\textsuperscript{10}


received an increased interest from different stakeholders involved in education and a special attention from experts, who lately raised some concerns.¹¹

The first attempt to categorise international schools appeared in an article of the 1964 Year Book of Education: Education and International Life, from Michael Knight and Robert Leach who were at that time history teachers at Geneva International School (Ecolint) and actively involved in launching the new concept of the IB.¹² Despite a small number of these schools in the early 1960s, Knight and Leach identified seven types of international schools worldwide, categorised on the basis of the schools’ financial sponsorship and type of governance. Leach, who described himself as the original promoter of the IB, was commissioned in 1962 by the International Schools Association (ISA) to visit international schools in the Eastern Hemisphere.¹³ After a three-month study trip, Leach already realised how ‘the field is fluid to an incredible degree. Each institution is different from the others (except perhaps among the six Common Market schools)’.¹⁴ The Common Market Schools, also known as

¹³ R. J. Leach, International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education (Pergamon, 1969). In Section 4.2, I come back to the role of ISA in the beginning of the international school movement in Europe during the mid-1960s and highlight some competing aspects with the International Schools Foundation (ISF) also present in Europe to give support to American overseas schools.
¹⁴ Leach, International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education, 11. The Common Market schools were linked to six governments – France, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg and Italy part of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) founded in 1952. The governments paid half of the ECSC schools, and the community paid the other half.
the European Schools, emerged from a multilateral agreement in 1956 from
the six countries part of the European Economic Community (EEC) with an
inter-state financial partnership. The schools had a West-European curriculum
and had most of their students from Europe. In the book that Leach wrote after
his trip, still considered in the literature on international education as one of the
historical landmarks, he looked at the role of the different schools and, to
circumscribe the field, narrowed their classification in four categories.¹⁵

Group 1 included the ‘national international’ schools, privately owned
profit-making, with a large group of them based in Switzerland.

Group 2 included the ‘overseas’ schools, mainly educating expatriates’
children from one nation, such as the American, British, German, French or
other nations’ schools abroad.

Group 3 contained the schools founded from the collaboration of
different governments with notably the European schools.

Group 4 included what Leach called the ‘multilateral international’
schools affiliated or eligible to the International Schools Association (ISA), from
which the International Baccalaureate emerged. ISA’s criteria for an
international school were that:

No one government nor national grouping (especially the host nation
and largest expatriate community) should control the international
school nor hold half of the seats in its board of governors, however
selected. In addition, no special privilege may be given any social
grouping religious body or ideological point of view. It is, on the
affirmative side intended to educate young people to be at home in the
world anywhere.¹⁶

¹⁵ Leach, International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education, 8-9.
¹⁶ Ibid., 10.
In 1962, Leach recorded seven schools affiliated with ISA, six being in Europe and one in the US (New York). In comparison, he listed 43 American schools in Europe with an expatriate or international orientation and 59 of them in the Americas. In Section 4.2, I further discuss ISA’s criteria under the light of the socio-political context in Europe and the American presence of its overseas schools in Europe. Particularly, I examine the position of ISA which rejected the applications of some international schools based on its criteria and discuss the underlying tensions in this process.

Leach admitted the ‘blurred lines’ in the four groups’ classification, using Geneva International School as evidence. According to him, this school was possibly part of group 3 as founded from the initiative of Swiss, French, and American nationals but also part of group 4 as member of ISA.

Leach was a partial observer in the field of international schooling, as a strong promoter of the type of school he was working in, Geneva International School, which, he believed, had a vocation ‘of integral internationalism’ that should be replicated around the world. According to him, the classification of international schools relied on the way internationalism, as opposed to nationalism, ‘the greatest divider of human kind’, was embodied within a school. At the same time, Leach acknowledged that the concept of internationalism was complex and encompassed a range of meanings. He stated:

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17 Leach, *International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education*, 153-165.
18 Ibid., xi.
19 Ibid., 5.
Each nation state cherishes its own way of life and develops its educational system to assure its continuance. Each nation maintains foreign relations intending that its own image be projected as creative, particularly as its internationalism. Thus each nation develops its own national-type internationalism.\textsuperscript{20}

Leach concluded that the national-type internationalism was unilateral, and when applied to international schooling, it meant that each country was only concerned with its own citizens abroad. In this thesis, the detailed chapters (Chapter 5, 6 and 7) highlight how internationalism and the range of ideas covered by internationalism became a key element within the school’s development, a research’s finding which support Leach’s statement.

Finally, in his last chapter, Leach described the mission of ‘the ideal international school’ as participating in the survival of man, a recurrent theme in the years after the Second World War, as mentioned in Chapter 3.\textsuperscript{21} The two reasons to emphasise Leach’s ideas are that they were representative of the thinking of the innovators of the IB, including CIS’s educators, and most of all because Leach’s thinking is still used as reference of what Bunnell and other academics call the ‘ideal’ mode of activity or the ‘old era’ in international schooling present until the late 1990s.\textsuperscript{22}

The literature on the first period of international schooling, embedded in the context of the aftermath of the Second World War and the following decades of the bipolar conflict, tends to emphasise its ideal vision, with Ecolint (Geneva),

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{20} Leach, *International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education*, 12. \\
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.,186. \\
\textsuperscript{22} Bunnell, *International Schooling and Education in the 'New Era'*, 34.
\end{flushright}
UNIS (New York) and the Atlantic College (South Wales) referenced as benchmarks in the field. These ideal values are still representing the core of the IB mission statement, which is ‘to develop inquiring, knowledgeable and caring young people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect’, and are present in CIS’s motto: ‘educating champions of a just and sustainable world’. However, Bunnell, when referring to this pioneer period with the ideal mission of ‘transforming young people into well-rounded potential peace-seeking’, admitted that ‘this romantic and rather elitist view of the field…has always been too simplistic and never fully explained the composition and diversity of the field’.

Two decades after Leach’s book, an article from Mary Hayden and Jeff Thompson, both involved at this period at launching the Centre for the study of Education in an International Context (CEIC, University of Bath, UK), marked another landmark in the literature on international schools and on their classification. Their article offered a detailed literature review on the different ways, some key protagonists in international education defined an international school. They identified that some scholars established categories from the

23 Bunnell, *International Schooling and Education in the 'New Era'*: 35.
25 Ibid., 35.
school’s observable characteristics such as Leach (1969), Sanderson (1981) and Pônish (1987), and others based their classification on the school’s purpose. They particularly highlighted the study of Matthew (1981), who set up a dichotomy between the ‘ideology-driven’ schools with international understanding and cooperation as the main purpose and the ‘market-driven’ or ‘pragmatically-oriented’ schools created to respond to the need of expatriate and mobile families.\(^{28}\) Hayden and Thompson contested this ‘watertight dichotomy’, using again Ecolint as a counter-example and suggested that the more accurate way would be to combine the two approaches and find a compromise for a definition. They also emphasised the holistic perspective of Charles Gellar (1993), second headmaster of CIS from 1968 to 1977 and CIS’s administrator officer from 1978 to 1985, who innovatively took the opposite angle of categorisation by stating that ‘any school in the world, public or private can be international’ as soon as it nurtures the child’s life experiences with others, the enjoyment of differences, the richness of togetherness, skills that are learnt and experienced beyond the taught curricula.\(^{29}\) Hill (1994), in contrast with Gellar, defined clear criteria to differentiate an international school from a national school, still based on observable characteristics – students and teachers’ cultural and ethnic diversity, curriculum, governance, financial status and location.\(^{30}\) Hill did not include the national schools abroad as a category of international school.

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\(^{29}\) C. Gellar, "From the Editor: How international are we?," *International Schools Journal*, Fall 1993, 6.

\(^{30}\) Hayden and Thompson, "International Schools and International Education: a relationship reviewed," 338.
From their review, Hayden and Thompson concluded that looking for a common thread that binds international schools together was more accurate than concentrating on differences and categories. The level of exchanges and quality of togetherness that occur in schools and that students experience, as mentioned by Gellar, could be the thread to be examined. They insisted that international education should encompass the nurturing of attitudes for appreciation and value of others learnt informally by students and surpass what is learnt in the formal curriculum. They concluded that ‘international schools and international education do not necessarily go hand to hand’ and advocated for the conduct of more research-based studies, as developed at the Centre for the study of Education in an International Context (CEIC), to give a clearer picture of the international education’s experiences within international schools.\(^{31}\) Retrospectively, Hayden and Thompson, in 1995, forecasted the growing interest of an international curriculum in some national school systems and the tensions this could generate from an internationalist point of view.

In fact, in 2013, Hayden and Thompson, approximately two decades after their first article, pointed out ‘the increase in numbers of educational programmes designed to be international rather than national in focus that are proving increasingly attractive in national state-funded education systems’.\(^ {32}\) They mentioned as example the IB Diploma in US high schools and the International

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\(^{31}\) Hayden and Thompson, "International Schools and International Education: a relationship reviewed," 341.

\(^{32}\) Hayden and J. Thompson, "International schools: antecedents, current issues and metaphors for the future," 3.
Primary Curriculum (IPC) in state-funded schools in England and Wales.\textsuperscript{33} While still acknowledging the complexity to interpret the ‘international school’ label, they opted for a wider definition that would include a larger number of schools. They substituted their initial idea of defining a school by the nature of the education experienced by students, which was obviously qualitative-based and ambitious, by recognizing that their common characteristic is that they offer a curriculum that is not of the ‘host country’, with English-medium being the dominant language.\textsuperscript{34} This over-broad definition, including the identification of three subgroups of international schools described further in the next paragraph, has indeed become a reference in the field of international schooling. In fact, the definition is quite similar to, for example, what ISC Research, the leading provider of international school data, trends and intelligence, UK based, uses in 2021.\textsuperscript{35} ISC considers a school as international,

\begin{quote}
[\textsuperscript{[I]}\text{If the school delivers a curriculum to any combination of pre-school, primary or secondary students, wholly or partly in English outside an English-speaking country, or, if a school is in a country where English is one of the official languages, it offers an English-medium curriculum other than the country’s national curriculum and the school is international in its orientation.}\textsuperscript{36}
\end{quote}

Explicitly, these approaches cross out non-English state schools abroad and moreover positions the English language as dominant in international schooling, standpoint which is debatable and not always used at national level.

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\textsuperscript{33} The tensions in the US are also studied by Bunnell in his book: T. Bunnell, \textit{Global Education Under Attack: International Baccalaureate in America} (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012).
\textsuperscript{34} Hayden and J. Thompson, "International schools: antecedents, current issues and metaphors for the future," 4 and 10.
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid.
\end{flushright}
For instance, the Danish Ministry of Children and Education states that an international school offers an education in other languages than Danish – either for the whole school or for part of it and is addressed for children staying in the country for a short period of time.\textsuperscript{37} Other languages include French, German and English, but nonetheless English stays largely dominant.

Based on their definition stated in 2013, Hayden and Thompson identified three subgroups of international schools – Type A ‘traditional’, Type B ‘ideological’ and Type C ‘non-traditional’.\textsuperscript{38}

The Type A ‘traditional’ international and non-profit schools have been created for pragmatic reasons by communities consisting of families in residence abroad for different purposes (embassy staffs, international organization staffs, and multinational company staff) who sought a school for their children with English language as medium for communication and future university progression. Until the 1990s, these schools represented the vast majority of international schools and with most of them being members of associations such as the European Council of International Schools (ECIS). Today, they still represent a niche market addressed to a transnational elite workforce moving around the world with their family. Ecolint is referenced as the first school of this type.\textsuperscript{39} Copenhagen International School is also fitting in this category.

\textsuperscript{38} Hayden and Thompson, "International schools: antecedents, current issues and metaphors for the future," 5.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid.
The type B ‘ideological’ international schools, limited in numbers, have always had a much clearer educational mission, promoting mutual understanding and respect between students from different cultures. The United World Colleges are the most representative of this category. The Atlantic College, the first United World College was co-founded in 1962 by Kurt Hahn and Sir Lawrence Darvall at St Donat’s Castle (Wales), the same year as CIS. Darvall was an Air Marshall in the Royal Air Force and became the first British commandant of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation’s (NATO) Staff Training College. Kurt Hahn, well known for his educational leadership at Salem school (Germany), became, in 1934, founder of Gordonstoun School (Scotland). With Lawrence Holt, in 1941, Hahn established the first Outward Bound school at Aberdovey (mid-Wales). Outward Bound schools aimed to educate young people and fulfilled the educator’s duty to “impel them into experiences”.40

The original idea of Hahn and Darvall at creating the Atlantic College in Wales was to apply the principle of the NATO Staff College, which trained international men in the activity of military defence to the education of young boys’ education in their pre-university years.41 Young international people stayed at a boarding school where they developed trust, friendship and cultural understanding through shared activities such as challenging outdoor tasks.42 Their education would ideally instil international understanding that in the

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future would supplant the use of force in international affairs. During this time, the sense of threat from the Cold War was very serious, and the need for a cultural and human effort to complement the military alliance was urgent.

The first Promotion Committee of the Atlantic College of Wales included well-known industrialists and politicians as well as Alex Peterson, who was the Director of the Institute of Education of Oxford University, and became a few years later the first General Director of the IB. The collaboration between Hahn and Peterson led to the design of a pre-university course less general than European courses and less specialised than the GCE Advanced level requirements of the British sixth form. Each student had to spend four afternoon on activities, such as services (beach rescue service patrolling local beachers, inshore rescue boats and cliff rescue services or community services) or other activities (games, art and creativity, with outdoors activities), which were part of the school life. The first United World college founded by Hahn was an attempt to demonstrate ‘the values of the Atlantic community and therefore [as] a challenge to other political systems’; its international life was combined with the spirit of the Outward Bound courses. Van Oord explained that Hahn’s educational ideas ‘embraced elements of both conservative and progressive education’. Hahn’s theory of ‘Outward Bound’s Four Pillars initiated the idea of an active community service, which is still in 2021 one of

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44 Ibid., 113-114.
the three core elements of the IB Diploma and is named Creativity, Activity, Service (CAS). For these reasons, Hahn in collaboration with Alec Peterson, the first Director General of the IB, played a key role in the development of the IB.

Finally, the type C ‘non-traditional’ schools are relatively newcomers to the scene. Since 2013, their number has significantly increased and has changed the international education landscape. Their common characteristics are that they are for-profit or market-led and not community-led schools. According to Bunnell:

Much of this growth is driven by complex inter-connected flows of investment from (secretive) Swiss-based private equity funds and public Sovereign Wealth Funds belonging to arguably illiberal nations such as Abu Dhabi and Barhain, compromising the ethical and ideological stance of many “liberal” International Schools. This is now driving the funding opportunities, and even many of the traditional (IB) International Schools are now in the ownership of commercial bodies backed by profit-driven private equity.

Most of the ‘non-traditional’ schools are aimed to educate the children of the emergent wealthy upper and middle class of developing countries using English as language in their national context, in order to acquire the necessary cultural global capital and thus access places at top international ranking

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49 Hayden and Thompson, "International schools: antecedents, current issues and metaphors for the future," 7.


51 Bunnell, "The crypto-growth of "International Schooling," 42.
international universities but also to get higher educational qualification at local level. Hayden named this process ‘credentialism’. James Cambridge and Jeff Thompson described the type of education provided as ‘transnational practices’ assisting in the maintenance of the privileged position of the transnational capitalist class, both locally or globally. These schools diverge from Type A and Type B schools because of their local clientele, their business and profit-driven governance, and their geographical location with a ‘shift from Northern Europe, with Geneva-Paris as its nexus of activity, towards Asia and The Middle East, with the United Arab Emirates (UAE) currently at the epicenter (although China is catching up). Dave Speck’s data, based on The 2019 Global Opportunities Report from ISC, reflect the recent geographical booming in Asia and the Middle East.

In Dubai, there are now 309 international schools; Shanghai, China, has 168; Abu Dhabi, in the Unites Arab Emirates, has 164; Beijing, China has 151 and Doha, Qatar, has 144 international schools. A total of 22 new international schools have opened in the United Arab Emirates alone in the past two years, mostly in the mid-market sector where fees are more affordable …In China, where international schools for expatriate children are segmented from those that Chinese national can attend, it is the international schools for local Chinese children that have experienced most growth.

Recent academic education researches have been stimulated by the growth of Type C international schools, the current dominant form of international schools, as well as by the conversion of Type A schools in Type C (e.g

Southbank International School in London and The International School of Milan bought by private equity firms both in 2014).\textsuperscript{56} As explained by Hill, ‘type A and C schools can incorporate a mission similar to type B schools, but that was not their primary \textit{raison d’être}’.\textsuperscript{57} More specifically, from an IB perspective, the major shift has been ‘from being “a programme for international schools” to being “an international programme for schools”’.\textsuperscript{58}

In the field of international schooling and the debate on typologies, how is CIS situated? The first ten years of its history, the main topic of this thesis, evidence its evolution from an American ‘overseas school’ model (group 2 – Leach) to a ‘pragmatically-oriented’ model (Type A traditional – Hayden and Thompson), to respond to the need of a gradually more mixed population of students and families by nationalities.\textsuperscript{59} Additionally, the need of finding more students to make the school financially sustainable led it to become ‘market-driven’ at least until 1973. However, during the same period, Godfrey Sullivan (first headmaster), Frank Østergaard (rector of the Danish host-school and later chairman of the Board) and Charles Gellar (second headmaster), part of the ‘strong-minded visionaries’ group of idealist educationalists and pioneers of the IB curriculum, as described by Boyd Roberts, imposed their values through practice by establishing CIS as one of the first IB schools.\textsuperscript{60} The school then

\textsuperscript{56} Bunnell, "International Schooling: implications of the changing growth pattern," 226.
\textsuperscript{57} Hill, "What is an ‘international school’?" 63.
\textsuperscript{59} See Table 5.5 on p. 231: CIS’s American and non-American students (1964-1975).
shared some attributes of the Type B ideological school while keeping a
market-driven orientation for pragmatic reasons.

In the twenty first century’s context of international schooling, CIS has kept its
IB profile since its first accreditation in 1972. It is the only ‘IB continuum school’
in Denmark, emphasising its idealistic vision related to global justice and
sustainability as asserted in its logo.\(^{61}\) CIS claims to be the leader in
international schooling in Denmark, justifying it by its long-standing history, by
its futuristic new state-of-the-art building, by the instant international network
offered by the families and by its inclusive ethos.\(^{62}\) These selling points
advertised on the school’s website, social medias and in the regular
advertisements in the national and local newspapers, uncover the highly
competitive context of international schooling in Denmark. In fact, in the last 15
years, the landscape has drastically changed.\(^{63}\) In 2021, the Ministry of
Children and Education registered 26 ‘international basic schools’, described
as elementary private schools, and 19 ‘international upper secondary schools’,
private and public. If we look more specifically at the secondary school level,
which the thesis concentrates on, 15 of the 19 international upper secondary
schools offer the IB diploma programme in English. The four other schools
offer a bi-national curriculum (Danish /French and Danish/German) and a

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\(^{61}\) An ‘IB continuum school’ is a school which offers at least three of the fourth IB programmes.
European curriculum. Among the 15 IB schools, six are private and the others are public, thus with no fees. CIS, which is the most expensive secondary non-profit private school in Denmark with an annual fee of 20 000 GDP for the High School section, competes with other public and private non-profit Danish schools which for some of them obtain comparable diploma results. For this reason, CIS needs to diversify its clientele by attracting local children from the Danish wealthy families who want their children to study in an international expatriate environment and take advantage of networking opportunities. In 2021, about 30 % of the CIS’s student population is Danish. One could argue that the local population’s configuration could make CIS move to a type C school, with a hypothetical shift to a business and profit-driven governance if the market’s context continues to weaken the school’s economy. This last point is purely speculative.

In conclusion, the field of international schooling worldwide has changed drastically if we compare with the 1960s due to the increase of schools in number, the geographical shift (Western to Eastern hemisphere), the attraction of a more diverse students’ population by social category (international elite class versus local middle class) and the educational provisions (international private schools versus public state schools). The exponential growth and the diversification and purpose of the international schools make the task to classify international schools complex and a single definition obsolete. Each school, CIS included, is very individualised and difficult to fix.
However as argued by Bunnell, ‘the overall role and existence of these organisations has rarely been directly questioned’. The present research illustrates the value of CIS as case study, which evolved in its own way in Denmark. It can be seen as a mixture of a type A and B school, which could possibly evolve towards a Type C school. CIS offers the example of an institution which, since its creation, has adapted to respond to its students’ population, to societal demands, and adapted to the changing context of international schooling at the local, national, and international level; adaptation which challenges any attempt to situate international schools into fixed categories. This is confirmed by James Cambridge and Jeff Thompson who stated that ‘[s]chools that offer international education appear to be heterogeneous because each reconciliation is unique to the historical, geographical and economic circumstances of each institution’.

4.2 Education and international life

Writing about the role of the US in international affairs and their perspective on international education (Sections 3.1 and 3.2) convinced me to avoid a simplistic interpretation of the creation of the school as a unique response to the schooling needs of American teenagers in transit with their families. The analysis of the data collected in CIS’s Board meeting minutes reinforced this conviction. The ambiguity about the purpose of the American cultural diplomacy under the Cold War most probably existed in US overseas institutions such as CIS. Therefore, my interest focused on the existence of

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64 Bunnell, "The crypto-growth of International Schooling," 3.
65 Cambridge and Thompson, "Internationalism and globalization as contexts for international education," 173.
recent literature on the American presence and influence and the role of its active cultural diplomacy during the rise of the international schooling movement in Europe in the 1960s.

The main idea to look for such literature was to understand if CIS was an isolated case enduring the tensions of the American presence and influence in its origins or if there were other international schools in Europe in the 1960s going through the same experience. In a broader perspective, was the American strong influence in the development of international schooling in Europe perceived as a threat or as an advantage to the IB founders?

The literature published during the early years of the IB within the field of international schools helped me find some possible answers to my questions. I also found more recent historical works which problematise the role of the American cultural diplomacy in Europe and one specific study on the American students’ exchange programmes in the 1960s within the field of international education. However, there has not been any recent literature on the American influence in the establishment of international schools in Europe, which makes me conclude that it is an overlooked or un-explored academic theme.

Four books on the making of the IB Diploma Programme in the field of international schools, written by Martin Mayer, Robert Leach and Alec Peterson between 1968 and 1987, give some evidence, frankly or allusively, of the tensions caused by what the authors called the ‘Americanization’ of international schools overseas and on the main divide between two groups of
international schools: the ‘international American’ and the ones that would participate in the early development of the IB. Leach called the laters, ‘genuine international schools’. These two different groups were affiliated to two distinct associations, the International Schools Association (ISA) and the International Schools Foundation (ISF), already mentioned in Section 4.1. A small booklet, written in 1990 by John Paterson, provides additional details on the role of these two associations in the development of international education in Europe and on the creation of a third association, the European Council of International Schools (ECIS), which became a vital network of heads of international schools in Europe.

A short genesis of the different associations is necessary to understand the divide and even the competition which existed between ISA and ISF, and the reason for the creation of ECIS in 1965. ISA was created in 1951 at the UNESCO house in Paris, under Swiss law. Until 1956 it was named the International Schools Liaison Committee. ISA started as an initiative from Geneva International School. ISA’s members were UN officials working in Geneva and were affiliated with Geneva International School. The organization was financially supported by the UNESCO and became in 1966 a consultative organisation of UNESCO for the work done on the International Examination programme. Its mission stated that the schools involved in the organization

66 Leach, International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education, 10.
67 The three authors, quoted across the thesis, have been recognised in the more recent literature as the major contributors on the early history of the IB.
69 The main information on ISA is found in Robert J. Leach, "The International Schools Association," in International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education (Oxford: Pergamon, 1969), 15-44.
‘adhere to certain key principles of internationalism based on the UN Charter and the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights’. The aim of ISA was: to ‘establish curricula and educational norms for international schools’, to foster collaboration between schools, and to promote the creation of new international schools with the same vision. ISA became the breeding ground for the IB Diploma. Section 6.2 gives some details on the affiliation of CIS with ISA. From ISA’s website, it is explained that ‘since 1951, ISA has been dedicated to consulting and providing educators with the necessary guidance needed to help schools define their understanding of the term ‘international’ in education’. This type of guidance gives one more evidence on the recurring questioning of ‘what are international schools?’ in the sphere of international schools.

The second association, the International Schools Foundation (ISF), which became later known as the International Schools Services (ISS), was originally created in 1956 by ISA, to promote the work of international schools in the US (New York and Washington), and mostly to attract American fundings. According to Leach, ISF caught the interest of the US State Department which was looking for an agency to supervise the interests of the American overseas schools. Leach explained that ‘ISF found itself promoting schools which, by the very nature of things, competed with the internationally international schools’.

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73 Leach, *International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education*, 17.
74 Ibid.
Leach admitted that ‘[i]t is this very American prevalence which makes the growth of the genuine international school so vital’.\textsuperscript{75} From Leach’s perspective, a sense of competition and dominance existed within the field of international schools, where the main tensions were linked to the definition of the term ‘international’, already discussed in Section 4.1. Leach recognized that from 1966:

\begin{quote}
The notion of multilateral internationalism has gained adherents within the US State Department, and the orientation of ISS has changed in such a way as to appreciate rather than denigrate what ISA has set as an ideal.\textsuperscript{76}
\end{quote}

This description and the terms ‘adherents, denigrate, and ideal’ denote the ideological conflict present at this period and illustrate at the same time the gradual change of approaches.

In Paterson’s book, I found some information on the creation of the European Council of International Schools (ECIS) which highlights again the underlying conflicts of interest and ideology between what I would call the conservative or national Americans, affiliated with the US State Department who promoted American schools overseas, and some progressive Americans, some of them being heads of international schools in Europe, having different views on international education. Each year, the ISS, affiliated and sponsored by the US State Department, organised a conference for the heads of American overseas schools in Europe and Asia. Representatives of the US Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools (US accrediting agency) were also

\textsuperscript{75} Leach, \textit{International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education}, 145.
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., 33.
During the conference of 1964 in Athens, the head of the International School of Brussels, Arthur Denyer, called for the creation of a regional association of international schools, independent of ISS. Paterson reported Denyer's belief: ‘[t]he ISS is not a membership organization and cannot, in any case, do many things for us which we should properly be doing ourselves. Nor can we join the State Department’. Under the impulse of Denyer and with the collaboration of other international school’s heads, ECIS was created, and its beginning sounded almost like an uprising from the US State Department. One of the most important roles taken by ECIS was to create the first accreditation for international schools in Europe from 1972 to 1981, with an extension of its service to Yugoslavia and USSR in 1981, and in some African countries from 1984. Even if there was no direct link between ECIS and the IB, ECIS was a platform where most of the heads of the first IB experimental schools met. CIS was one of them and was the second school accredited by ECIS in 1973. During this time, ECIS’s accreditation was ‘recognised by anyone other than ourselves’, explained Paterson. Section 6.2 elaborates on the role of ECIS in the shift that CIS operated from being an American overseas school to an international school. The information on the roles played by ISA, ISF (later named ISS), and ECIS in the development of international schools in Europe in the 1960s helps to understand the underlying tensions, evoked by Mayer, Peterson and Leach.

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78 Ibid., 3.
79 Ibid., 26. Paterson acknowledged the key role of the school boards, administrators, and faculty members of CIS and of the three other schools (Antwerp International School, Stavanger American School and International Schule, Hamburg) in this accreditation project.
in 1968, Mayer was asked by the Twentieth Century Fund to investigate the potentialities of a new project that they heard from Geneva: the creation of an International Baccalaureate. The Twentieth Century Fund, an American non-profit foundation which made analysis on significant economic, social and international issues through research and publication, could see the interests of such examination: ‘a Nansen passport’ that, according to the Fund, would ‘remove artificial barriers presently disfiguring education’.\textsuperscript{80} Mayer’s critical account on the American way of approaching international education clarified his position on this matter. He said:

While everyone talks internationalism, the trend of the last half-decade has been toward the Americanization of "international" schools which formerly educated a wider sample of mankind’s children.\textsuperscript{81}

To evidence his statement, Mayer quoted an extract of a letter from Frank S. Hopkins, the Director of the Programs and Service of the US Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs explaining that ‘schools [abroad] which we help must have sufficient American influence to demonstrate American education to host-country nationals if the intent of the Congress is to be realized’.\textsuperscript{82} Chapter 5 explains that CIS received some grants from the US Department of State for scholarships for host-country nationals.\textsuperscript{83}

Mayer knew the interest and necessity of such education for the American students abroad as according to him ‘one American child in every hundred will

\textsuperscript{81} Ibid., 11.
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid., 12.
\textsuperscript{83} See Figure 5.10 on p. 211.
have some experience of a school abroad’. Furthermore, the students abroad represented a specific segment of the American population coming largely from ‘the intellectually, economically and socially prominent family’ and thus considered as ‘a vital national resource’. Mayer’s ideas highlighted the twofold objective of the US interest on international education: to form its transient population of teenagers while being abroad and to disseminate its education and values to the host-country nationals. It is under this backdrop that we can interpret the tensions, and even competitions created by the educational and ideological divide between two distinct approaches: ‘international American’ and ‘internationalist’.

Mayer described in clear terms the development of the IB schools, looking for their independence from governmental control and national accreditation. He explained:

The schools which started to move toward an International Baccalaureate are all private schools of Anglo-Saxon origin, cherishing an independence from the state and suspicious that all official bodies are at bottom hostile to them. They are prepared to accept only the barest minimum of governmental inspection, and virtually no governmental supervision. By and large, the American schools in Europe have avoided even the accreditation procedures of the various American voluntary regional schools and university associations.

Mayer most probably referred to the American accreditation system from the US Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools. His account gives a sharp description of the first IB schools and shows their necessary

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84 Mayer, Diploma: International Schools and University Entrance, 12.
85 Ibid., 11.
86 Ibid., 237.
independence from the American dominance to experiment the new
programme, while establishing their own accreditation system with ECIS.

In Peterson and Leach’s books, I identified additional information on the
tensions reported by Mayer. While Peterson mentioned some issues but did
not elaborate on the reasons, Leach put more bluntly his thoughts and
expressed even freely his critical view on the process of ‘Americanisation’,
while himself being American from origin. Peterson, a Scottish fellow, had a
key political role in the formation of the IB and became the first director general
of the organization (IBO). One of his responsibilities was to raise some funding
that mostly came from America, situation that probably forced him to keep a
more neutral view. Peterson, in describing one of the first schools, Iranzamin
(Tehran, Iran), involved in the six-year experimental period of the IB (1970-
1976), explained that the school was formed as ‘a break-away’ from the
American Community school in Tehran. Peterson explained further that the
school intention was to give ‘an international rather than an American
education’.  

Peterson did not expand on the reason for a ‘break-away’.

Leach developed much more on the existing divide between the American
overseas schools and international schools. He mentioned Brussels
International School, member of the International Schools Association (ISA)
from 1957, which resigned from the association in 1964, ‘having been
"Americanized"’.  

He mentioned the American School of Alexandria (Egypt)

87 Peterson, Schools Across Frontiers, 72.
88 Leach, International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education, 22.
whose candidacy to ISA membership was rejected, ‘partly because of its frankly American orientation’.\footnote{Leach, \emph{International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education}, \textit{28}.} Still according to Leach, the International School of Belgrade (Yugoslavia in 1968), which could only exist under the wing of an Embassy, was dependent of the US Embassy. Leach explained:

The ‘internationalism’ of the Belgrade School has depended upon the ‘internationalism’ of the American community at any given time. The Yugoslavs connected with the school try at all times to promote ISA connection, but their voice is muted.\footnote{Ibid.}

Leach also reported on Djakarta International School, the International School in Rome and The Hague, which joined ISA in 1956 and ‘were all swept into the American overseas schools orbit and, in 1962, were dropped from the membership’.\footnote{Ibid.,\textit{25}.} The International School of Yokohama (Japan), already mentioned in Section 4.1 as one of the oldest international school (1924), ‘hastened to become a member [of ISA] in 1963’.\footnote{Ibid.} Leach added that ‘a strongminded refusal to be influenced by the Americanization normal in the Far East was a major motive in determining Yokohama’s adherence to ISA’.\footnote{Ibid.,\textit{26}.}

The information found in the literature on international education in the very beginning of the 1960s, and clearly stated in Leach’s book, underlines the dichotomy that existed within the system of international schools predominantly in Europe. The number of American overseas schools in Europe with an international orientation, as listed by Leach after his trip in 1962, was dominant compared to other nations: 43 American, 36 British, 17
French, 12 Swiss and 11 West German.\textsuperscript{94} Leach’s list, which included 372 schools in total around the world (Europe, Africa, Asia, The Americas), educating expatriate students or having an international orientation, showed the overall dominance of the US with a total of 154 schools. Therefore, one can presume the political tensions or pressure around the American overseas schools either to stay ‘Americanised’ or to shift their educational programme towards an international curriculum as highlighted by Leach. In Leach’s list, CIS was still recorded as an American school, not yet registered as a member of the International Schools Association (ISA), which proved its complex position in the shifting of its educational mission as developed in the finding chapters.\textsuperscript{95}

In more recent literature, the book of Alexander Stephan, \textit{The Americanization of Europe: Culture, Diplomacy, and Anti-Americanism After 1945}, unveiled, with the use of case studies in different European countries, some aspects of the American public diplomacy through cultural dissemination.\textsuperscript{96} Stephan uncovered alliances and tensions arising from such politics. One sustained idea across the book was that the Cold War became the driving force of the US-European relations in the mid-twentieth century and furthermore that the American presence helped Europeans to find their common identity. Furthermore, Stephan claimed that ‘in a sharp reversal of its withdrawal from Europe later 1918, after the end of World War II, Washington employed all

\textsuperscript{94} Leach, \textit{International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education}, 153-157.
\textsuperscript{95} Ibid.,153.
available tools of public and cultural diplomacy to influence the hearts and minds of Europeans'.

Most recently, David Clarke showed how American educational programs abroad were closely associated with the US cultural diplomacy. Clarke stated that ‘[i]n the Western world, the expression “cultural diplomacy” was established in U.S. policy by the late 1950s (e.g., International Education Exchange Service, 1959), albeit with reference exclusively to exchange programs and educational programs’. In Section 3.2, I already discussed the American discourse and policy on international education, exchange programmes included, during this period. Joseph Nye identified these exchanges as part of the American ‘soft power’ policy and described them as part of ‘the slow media of cultural diplomacy’ with the use of books and art, in contrast with ‘the fast information media’ through the radio, movies and newsreels. One particular historical study from Campbell Scribner on the US high school exchange programmes during the Cold War caught my attention. Scribner highlighted the complexity or ambiguity of the American discourse on the exchange programmes, which promoted a type of internationalism, with international understanding and peace as driving values,

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while at the same time prompted an ideological approach against the Soviet communism. Speaking about the exchange programmes, Scribner stated:

Improved international relations remained the intent, but maintaining relevance in diplomatic circles necessarily compromised some of the ideals of youth exchange, blurring distinctions between dialogue and indoctrination, for instance, or between peace and stability, often in ways that adults themselves failed to recognize.¹⁰¹

Scribner’s work emphasised how, at the height of the bipolar conflict, the US federal agencies and nongovernmental organisations combined their efforts to expand high school student exchange ‘as a mean to reconcile America’s lofty ideals with its superpower status, affirming the nation’s self-conception as a defender of freedom and equality while softening its image among Western allies and nonaligned nations’.¹⁰² Moreover, Scribner unveiled how American returning students developed a deeper understanding on the relationship between their native and host country, with many of them raising sharp questions about the American foreign policy. Scribner explained:

Students perceived American power less as an instrument of peace than of subtle domination. The social conscience that exchange organizations hoped to instill proved difficult to control, resulting in more diverse, multilateral organizations and greater voice for students by the early 1970s…Those who continued with higher education found themselves drawn to world politics or campus activism, and many became involved in the student protest movements of the era.¹⁰³

The international exchanges broadened students’ worldviews and, at the same time, led them to challenge the very principle of the exchanges, ‘prompting curricular and governance reform in sponsoring organizations by the late

¹⁰² Ibid.
¹⁰³ Ibid.
1960s'.\textsuperscript{104} Scribner’s problematization on the exchange programmes helped me draw some parallel with the ambiguities and tensions present at CIS, further developed in Chapter 5 and 6, due to the American presence and influence in its governance and educational mission. Furthermore, Chapter 7 shows that the experience of some American teenagers at CIS made them reflect and even become aware and critical about the American foreign policy abroad, a process quite similar to what the students involved in the exchange programmes experienced as reported by Scribner. Some CIS’s interviewees defined their school experience as an \textit{eye opening} or kept from it a \textit{total commitment to world citizenship}.\textsuperscript{105}

Lastly, an article, from Mabel Mary Manzitti, marking the 65\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of ISA, outlined the development and progress of the association over time, its philosophy and hard work.\textsuperscript{106} One of the article’s aims was to honour the contributions of its key members over time. It also mentioned Copenhagen International School as part of the first schools present in the ISA forums for teachers. However, under the section '65 years of hard work', a long list of accomplishments from the association was drawn, but no critical account was made on its beginning and the existing tensions of the early years, which gives more evidence on the lack of recent critical literature on the underlying tensions in the beginning of international schooling in the 1960s.

\textsuperscript{104} Scribner, "American Teenagers, Educational Exchange, and Cold War Politics, 567.
\textsuperscript{105} See Section 7.5 on p. 333.
\textsuperscript{106} M. Manzitti, "A tribute to ISA – 'The International Schools Association' – on its 65th anniversary". Mabel Mary Manzitti was chair of ISA from 2001 to 2003.
4.3 New perspectives on the history of the IB

Paul Tarc wrote an historical account of the IB, *Global Dreams, Enduring Tensions: International Baccalaureate in a Changing World*, where he explores the limits and the possibilities that it offered over four decades (1962-2009), as a progressive and internationalist educational programme. His study considered the creation of the international schooling movement in the 1960s in reference to the wider social, economic and geopolitical context. Interesting to my study is that Tarc used tensions as a framework of his research and argued that ‘in the founding moment of IB, the global dreams and the practical demands for producing a mobile diploma produced a set of structuring tensions of IB'.

Tarc’s book traced the evolution of these tensions over four decades within a changing context and analysed how these tensions have been defused to make the IB still relevant in the twenty-first century. The first chapter of the book ‘creation and experiment’ explores the founding period of the IB (1962-1973), which corresponds to the timeframe of the present case study and informs the research.

Tarc identified three core tensions constitutive of the creation and experimental period of the IB. The first tension, ‘the citizenship tension’, was created by the conflict between the ideal view of the founders on education based on ‘international understanding’ and the purpose of nation-state schools ‘to produce loyal national subjects’. The second tension, ‘the curricular tension’, emerged from the contradiction between the progressive ideas of the IB

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108 Ibid., 23.
founders to educate the ‘whole person’ and the practical needs to prepare students to university entrance in different countries based on conservative standards. Finally, the third tension, ‘the operational tension’ was created by the paradox of the establishment of a diploma addressed to a mobile elite while its dream was to make ‘a better world in an era of democratization’.109 Tarc did not make explicit reference to the tensions related to the American cultural diplomacy. However, the first motive for the US State Department to have their overseas schools teaching an American curriculum was to have their students being educated as American citizens and be prepared for the American college. It was the ultimate condition to give financial support to American schools abroad. In relation to Tarc’s findings, Section 6.1 gives specific examples on ‘the citizenship tension’ within CIS.

In 2018, the IB published a book for its fiftieth anniversary, written by 23 contributors with a majority having long years of involvement and key responsibilities in the IB development.110 A first part, Roots, includes 40 pages structured in four chapters and, as indicated in its title, concentrate on the origins of the IB. The first three chapters are related to the present research. In the first chapter, International education, George Walker drew a brief overview on the development of international education from 1867 to the 1960s.111 Walker considered the creation of the United World Colleges movement

and the philosophy inspired by Kurt Hahn as the main influence for ‘the building blocks of international education’.

He qualified international education in the 1960s as ‘a realistic “education for international-mindedness”’, responding to ideological ideas at the same time as to practical schooling needs. Walker believed that the creation of the IB gave structure and cohesion to the diversity of international schools and claimed that ‘the IB brings order to international education’. Walker emphasised the practitioner-based programme where, since the beginning, teachers and school leaders have been the main curriculum’s designers and developers. He gave to the creation of the three major international schools a sentimentalist explanation, justifying their existence as a response to the three main twentieth century conflicts (first World War (Ecolint), Second World War (UNIS), and Cold War (Atlantic College of Wales)) and the IB as an educational programme that gave to students ‘the capacity to build those defences of peace that will make the world a better place’. In the second chapter, *The early pioneers of the IB*, George Walker and Ian Hill narrowed the early beginning of the IB to the result of ‘a remarkable international collaboration between Ecolint, UNIS and Atlantic College’ and presented Alec Peterson, the first director general of the IB, as the key instigator of this early development. They made a brief overview of the origins of the three schools and gave tribute to Peterson. In the third chapter, *The contribution of the United World College movement to the development of the IB*, Andrew Maclehose, an educator who started his career in the UWC and pursued it as head of IB schools, justified the close interaction between

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113 Ibid., 19.
114 Ibid., 21.
the two movements by showing how, from the beginning, many influential figures were committed to the two projects which led to the design of the international curriculum. Maclehose briefly explained that over the years, the relationship between UWC and IB, which was originally ‘clear and unambiguous’, slowly unravelled due to the rapid growth of the IB, its centralisation and the concern of both organisations to deal with their own development.¹¹⁵

In sum, the recent short account of the roots of the IB, apart from paying tribute to the organisation, proposed a decontextualised and uncritical history, which hardly gives any academic contribution to the history of the IB, neither clear justification on the main claim which is that the IB brought order in the field of international education. Nevertheless, I read this historical account as an incentive for some more in-depth archival works on the early IB history and its pioneer schools, small one included, to uncover more complex ideological tensions within the educational endeavour, constitutive of its early history and representative of wider socio-political conflicts at the international level. The present research aims to be part of such academic prospect.

A book from Tristan Bunnell, *Global Education Under Attack: International Baccalaureate in America*, is worthy of mention in this literature review in relation to Section 2.2 and to some modern tensions experienced by the IB.¹¹⁶


Bunnell explained by facts the rather rapid increase of IB programmes offered in the US, representing, in 2012, 36% of all IB programmes worldwide.\textsuperscript{117}

Bunnell stated that ‘[a]s the IB grows, it becomes noticeably more US-centric. As it grows more US-centric it attracts more critical attention in that country’.\textsuperscript{118}

Bunnell identified some attacks coming from a variety of US conservative agencies, which identified the IB as being ‘fundamentally “anti-American”, “un-Constitutional”, and even “un-American”.\textsuperscript{119}

I believe that by mentioning the tensions created by the shift that some American overseas schools operated in Europe when implementing the International Baccalaureate, as CIS did, and by explaining the divide between the ‘Americanised international’ and the ‘genuine international’ schools, Bunnell could have added an interesting historical perspective to the recent attacks in the US on the presence of the IB.

There is a lack of literature on the development of international schooling in Denmark, and on the establishment of IB schools. In 2022, there are 16 high schools in Denmark offering the IB diploma and 13 of these high schools are public. In 2016, I had some exchanges of emails and a meeting with Ning de Coninck-Smith, professor at the Danish School of Education (Aarhus University, Denmark), who had just finished editing a five-volume history of the Danish school system with Charlotte Appel, not yet translated in English.\textsuperscript{120} De

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., 8.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid., 11.
Coninck-Smith admitted that CIS was not included into the history, while acknowledging its importance. A recent article in English from de Coninck-Smith and Appel, based on their seminal research on ‘500 years of Danish School history’, highlighted through the use of educational institution’s examples, how in Denmark, ‘schooling was not always dependent on specific buildings or formal legislation’.\(^\text{121}\) I believe that the case study of CIS could add further knowledge on this statement as the private high school developed unconventionally inside of a new municipal Danish complex of schools constructed in the early 1960s. As fact, a CIS brochure from 1968 emphasises its unique status, being ‘an integral but independent part’ of the developing campus of schools at Høje Gladsaxe.\(^\text{122}\) This unique situation of being part of a municipal school and at the same time an independent school, challenged the dichotomies between Danish public and independent schools and proved some possible adaptation or agency within official norms. For this reason, but non exhaustively, international schooling in Denmark should be considered as fully part of the Danish school history.

**Conclusion**

This chapter provided a review of the literature on international schools. The different attempts to classify schools into categories since the 1960s prove that it is a challenging task. Their increase in number, over the last two decades, their geographical spread, and the politics and motives for establishing new

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international schools has rendered the possibility to establish categories and definitions even more complex. The following chapters will evidence, through the case of CIS, that even in the beginning of the international schooling movement in Europe, each school was unique due to its historical, geographical, economic, and political context. However, the different categories and models discussed in Section 4.1 helped to delineate the situation of CIS in its early development compare to other international schools in Europe.

Section 4.2 focused on the exiting literature on the international education movement in the 1960s and its establishment in Europe under the dominant American cultural diplomacy. The review acknowledged some evidence of tensions created by the American dominance as explained in the literature of the 1960s and 1970s. It also revealed how the US power position in the geopolitical context of the Cold War had a direct impact on the development of international schools in Europe. I argued that this phenomenon has been overlooked in more recent literatures and that CIS as socio-historical case study can make a significant contribution to the field.

The last section concentrated on the review of recent publications on the history of the IB. While one publication is a commemorative piece for the 50th anniversary written by some IB insiders, which gives a sense of the uncritical questioning on its early establishment, the second interrogates the development of the IB diploma from 1962 to 2009 within wider forces and unveils the tensions endured by the international organisation to grow and
adapt to changes. This critical account brings important knowledge to the building of CIS’s history. According to the information I have, no recent literature in English on the history of international education in Denmark exists which leaves the door open to new contribution.
5 CIS: a school under three influences

Introduction

The chapter aims at exploring the school’s formation through the examination of its organisation: school’s names, locations, facilities, governance, finance, and population and at identifying the different influences – American, Danish and from other nationalities – at play in this process.

The following sections will show that five main concurrent factors impacted the school’s organisational development during its first decade: its financial survival state and the need of finding more students until 1972; the American dominance in the school governance and economy in the context of the Cold War; the steadily shift of its student body from an all American to a more diverse international population; its location in some Danish institutions; and the role of a few key actors involved in internationalism through national political engagement or educational commitment within the experimental International Baccalaureate prior to its implementation into the school.

The main idea is to show that even though the primary school purpose was to respond to some practical schooling needs for transient teenagers – mostly American in the beginning and relocated in Copenhagen with their families – its formation was indeed much more complex. In fact, it involved multi-influential forces, acting in similar and opposite directions, carried out by different actors with their own agenda – at the international, national, local or individual levels – and whose synergy led to the creation of ‘the first secondary
English language program in Copenhagen’. The school then became a distinctive institution, a product of the interactions and negotiations between these different influences.

Section 5.1 uncovers the school formation, evolving from an American correspondence high school to an international secondary school with formal classroom instruction. It gives details on its five consecutive locations within different Danish educational institutions and sheds light on the precarious status of its facilities despite the support of some Danish, US and international influential personalities.

Section 5.2 examines the school governance, with its Board composition and chairmanship over the ten years studied. It explains the shift from a US dominance, under the US Ambassador’s strong influence, to a more diverse formation, with the Danish rector Østergaard’s role and his gradual authority on the school’s international direction.

Section 5.3 looks at the school finances and the evolution of a self-reliant institution from financial insecurity to stability. The analysis of the school budget from 1964 to 1967 shows the dependence on US grants and subsidies from governmental, business, and philanthropic supports to cover the persistent deficit. It exemplifies the soft power US policy in action in a small but possibly influential school, as well as the synergy of multiple influences. It also highlights the unsuccessful negotiations with the Danish authorities towards financial support and exemplifies the position of an atypical school, neither a

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1 CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, September 2, 1966.
Danish nor an overseas national nor a bi-national school, which had to fight for its own existence and character.

Section 5.4 gives an overview of the students and teachers' population in number and origins over time and shows how the change into a broader student body furthered the development of an international institution.

The chapter thus addresses my second research question, *How and why did the origins and development of the school embody and reflect broader aspects and interests at stake in the world order of the 1960s and early 1970s?* and my third research question, *What does the school’s early history reveal about its institutional identity?*

### 5.1 School names, locations, and facilities

Between 1962 and 1975, the international school has been based in five different settings, all of them situated in a Danish school, apart from a few months during the summer 1965 where the school operated, mostly for administrative tasks, in the basement of the US embassy. The five locations are shown on Figure 5.1, page 166. This section highlights the precarious status of the school's facilities with its many temporary solutions, reflecting the hazardous part of the project from its beginning, but also the support offered to the school by influential personalities from the Danish society and from the American embassy. This contrast between its unsettled state and the high level of influence is indicative of the emergence of a small atypical, self-dependent, and pioneer educational project which responded to contrasted and common interests from various actors.
Figure 5.1: Locations of CIS 1962-1973

Source: author, using Google My Maps

1 Bagsværd Kostkole: 1962 - June 1964
2 Youth House: September 1964 - June 1965
3 US embassy: Summer 1965
4 J.F. Kennedy school: September 1965 - June 1966
5 Søborg Gymnasium: September 1966 - 1977

An American correspondence school

There are no primary sources which indicate the official starting date of CIS. There is also no record on its first decade anniversary, as if celebration for its existence during this period of uncertainty was off topic. The first school record kept in the binder of the Board meeting minutes dated from September 1964 and only some archival speculations give 1962 as the initial school year, as explained by Jim Keson:

It would be nice to be able to report that CIS began on such and such day with the freshly scrubbed faces of students x, y, and z appearing. But the day even the month of the start of the school is unclear. An undated document states that the school was begun three years previously. From the position of the paper in the stack of yellowing
documents, one can guess that the report dates from 1965, thus making
the beginning sometime in 1962.²

Recently, Robert Lockwood, an alumnus from 1963, validated the school
beginning in 1962, when he wrote that he was not ‘one of the very first who
were there in 1962’.³ However, the 20th anniversary of the school celebrated in
1983 enacted its official start in 1963. In fact, Keson acknowledged that it was
only a few months before the 25th anniversary celebration that they found out
that CIS had started 26 years before. Invitations to the Danish Minister of
Education and to other officials were already made and thus impossible to
withdraw.⁴ Since this celebration, 1963 has been kept as the official date. This
made Keson conclude that ‘like many things at CIS, there was more than met
the eye’, an expression that will be worth coming back to in the concluding
chapter.⁵

Thus in 1962, the high school started as a small correspondence American
high school, facilitating distance courses with the University of Nebraska
Extension Division (Lincoln, Nebraska, US). Students were receiving their
assignments, completed them individually at the school, under the supervision
of a teacher. The assignments were then sent to Nebraska University and
returned graded to Copenhagen after three long months.⁶ Peter, an alumnus,
recalled that ‘the University of Nebraska did a good job in those pre-internet

² J. Keson, The Beginning years: A History of the Copenhagen International School 1962-
1988 (Copenhagen: CIS Archives Main Catalogue, Item 18, 1992), 3. In the Methodology
Chapter, Section 2.3, I explained the different roles of Jim Keson at CIS and his role of
informant in my research.
³ Lockwood, R. Email to Suzanne O’Reilly, March 2018.
⁴ Keson, "The Beginning Years," 20.
⁵ Ibid.
⁶ Ibid., 3.
days, with very detailed commentaries on our essays and tests, though we would need to wait for weeks to get feedback as the postal service took a week each way.\(^7\) From 1962 to October 1964, the first facilities of the correspondence school were in one and then two rooms rented to a Danish school, *Bagsværd Kostkole and Gymnasium*, situated at 20 kilometres Northwest of Copenhagen, as shown on Figure 5.1, page 166. The correspondence school was called by the parents ‘Bagsværd International School’.\(^8\) It started with twelve students who needed to prepare a school leaving certificate to apply to an American university. Most of them were following their parents based in Denmark, ‘primarily Embassy connected’, while a few other students lived in a boarding school, part of the host Danish high school, with their American parents based in other Northern countries.\(^9\)

The only primary source on the correspondence school found in the school records is an article from a Danish local newspaper about the first American student, Johan Thurmann, who earned an American High School diploma in Denmark.\(^10\) The article from 1964 mentioned 40 students, all Americans, and named the school, ‘the little school in a school’ or ‘the American school in Bagsværd’ and explained that the school ‘covers, in addition to Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and a piece of North Germany’.\(^11\) Johan explained to the journalist that he was living in the boarding section of the Danish school,

\(^7\) Peter, Email interview, January 12, 2020.
\(^11\) Translation made by the author. The word ‘covers’ meant that the American students’ families were settled in these five different countries.
while his mother was based in Finland. Other written reminiscences come from the alumnus, Robert Lockwood, recalling his year 1963-1964 as a student:

It all started with two spartan school rooms in Bagsværd Kostkole, a Danish high school on the windswept plains of northwest Copenhagen. Despite physically belonging to the Danish school, we were a separate entity…Although some of the Danish kids were very nice and friendly, all of the Danish boys hated all of the foreign boys…We were about 20 kids doing correspondence courses through the University of Nebraska. Nebraska is located on the windswept plains of North America.\(^12\)

Robert’s input gives already some insight on the clash of culture coming from the co-existence of the two different groups of students, experiences further shared by other alumni in the later years and described in Section 7.3. Lockwood and Keson mentioned Mrs. Frank Gallagher as teacher in 1962-1964. Lockwood recalled that she was ‘a major force behind starting the school; us boys called it the “Gallagher School”’.\(^13\)

The school’s records do not give any explanation on the reason for the correspondence with the University of Nebraska.\(^14\) However, in 1949, Leonard Kenworthy listed some ‘outstanding’ institutions which developed a programme to educate students for a world society in association with the emergent UNESCO educational programme for world understanding already mentioned

\(^{12}\) Keson, "The Beginning Years," 3.
\(^{13}\) Lockwood, "Email to Suzanne O'Reilly."
\(^{14}\) I had an exchange of email with the Archives Manager of the University of Nebraska-Lincoln University, Joshua Caster, to further investigate the partnership between the University and the correspondence school in Bagsværd. The only documents they could find were linked to the University of Denmark training programme. A. Collignon. Archives request from Copenhagen International School. Email. December 16, 2018.
in Section 3.3.\textsuperscript{15} The University of Nebraska and the University of Minnesota were the only US universities involved in such programme since 1947. This international awareness could give a hypothetical reason for the University of Nebraska to be pro-actively involved in correspondence courses with an overseas school in Denmark. The educational programme for a world society occurred at the same time as the first UNESCO 'International Seminar for International Understanding' discussed in Section 3.3.

In October 1964 and for one school year, the correspondence school found its second location in a Youth House in the inner city of Copenhagen – the Thomas P. Hejles Ungdomhus at Nørre Voldgade 23, shown on Figure 5.1, page 166. The Board minutes recorded that ‘it was by Sgt. Foster that the new facility be accepted and that the school be moved’.\textsuperscript{16} The fact that the decision was taken by a US Army officer is further discussed in Section 5.2. The move was motivated by financial pressures. The school faced a deficit of 12,370 Danish Krone currency (DKK) from the school year 1963-1964 and tried to re-negotiate a lower contract for the coming year, not accepted by Bagsværd Kostkole.\textsuperscript{17} Charlotte Metz, one of the teachers of this time, who acted as first school principal from May to June 1965, and a significant school’s figure

\textsuperscript{16} CIS, \textit{Board Minutes. Binder 1}, October 12, 1964.
\textsuperscript{17} CIS, \textit{Board Minutes. Binder 1}, September 18 and October 11, 1964. 12,370 DKK is equivalent to 114,059 DKK in 2021. There are no records of school budget for the year 1963-1964. However, the estimated school budget for 1964-65 was at 75,450 DKK (644,135 DKK in 2021) for a school of 28 students and 3 teachers. In this chapter, all conversions of currency are done with: Inflation Tool, https://www.inflationtool.com/danish-krone/1967-to-present-value.
according to some alumni and teachers, described, some years later, the poor state of the second premises.\textsuperscript{18}

Our hosts, kindly and youth-minded men, made the best arrangements possible at considerable expense to their own programme. We had the use of three cramped, ill-lighted rooms plus a kitchen which, in addition to its normal function, also served as a lab, snack bar, and first-aid center. There were no blackboards, dining tables substituted for desks, book spaces were non-existent, and the intersection of Nørre Voldgade and Frederiksborrgade was our athletic field.\textsuperscript{19}

Nevertheless, the informal premises described by as ‘our little niche in the underground youth club in Nørrebro’ nurtured pleasant memories, ‘the most fun [early days] though the least academic’.\textsuperscript{20}

‘A formal, classroom instruction, college-preparatory institution’\textsuperscript{21}

In September 1964, the parents of Bagsværd International School organised themselves into an association and elected a Board of Education including four members, with the US Press Attaché, Mr. Jessé, as chairman.\textsuperscript{22} The school became a not-for-profit institution incorporated under the Danish law and was named Copenhagen International High School (CIHS). A few lines found in the Board minutes justified the use of the adjective \textit{international}, based on the number of nationalities represented in its student population. It was explained that with an average of 33 students enrolled in 1964-1965, half of them were children of US government employees, many others were American but ‘there were a significant number of non-Americans of several nationalities, which

\textsuperscript{18} On p.186 and 308, I give more details on the role of Charlotte Metz. Charlotte Metz was the only teacher who started to teach under the correspondence school scheme and continued under the formal teaching scheme. She left CIS in 1975.

\textsuperscript{19} Keson, "The Beginning Years," 7.

\textsuperscript{20} Peter, Email interview, January 12, 2020.

\textsuperscript{21} Keson, "The Beginning Years," 7.

\textsuperscript{22} CIS, \textit{Board Minutes. Binder 1}, September 18, 1965; Metz, "Once Long Ago..."
gave the school an international population in keeping with its name’. The main purpose of this new self-supporting institution was to make the shift from a correspondence school to a ‘teaching high school with formal classroom instruction’, in order to better respond to the needs of the fast and slow students, to reduce the amount of written work and to increase teacher-student contacts. On October 12, 1964, the Board of Education signed a seven ‘Standing Rules’ document establishing the foundation of the school and stating that a principal will be appointed and teachers recruited. This new project implied the search for more suitable premises for the coming school year 1965-1966.

During the summer 1965, CIHS moved temporarily from the Youth House to ‘a basement cubbyhole office at the American Embassy’, thanks to the courtesy of the American Ambassador, Her Excellency Katherine E. White. Metz recalled that:

Mr. Charles F. Pick, Jr. Administrative Officer at the time, conjured a desk, a telephone, a filling cabinet, and – yes – a typewriter! We were all set. Mission: to administer final examinations to departing students and to keep registrations going for the coming school year 1965-66, our first year as a formal, classroom instruction, college-preparatory institution.

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23 CIS, "Prospectus." Board Minutes, Binder 1. Date estimated 1965.
24 CIS, "Information On High-School Possibilities In Denmark."; CIS, "Prospectus."
26 Keson, "The Beginning Years," 7. In June 1965, the American Ambassador appointed Charles Pick as member of CIHS’s Board.
27 Metz quoted by Keson, "The Beginning Years," 7.
The school project originally conceived from a private initiative of parents was obviously carried by the highest hierarchical level at the American embassy, though with minimal resources.

In September 1965, CIHS, which became for the first time a school with formal teaching classes, was re-settled ten kilometres north of Copenhagen in the municipality of Gladsaxe. The school location was found at the beginning of 1965, through some political connections between two of the international school’s board members – Colonel William W. Bailey and John Lyles – and the Mayor of Gladsaxe municipality, Erhard Jakobsen. In fact, even if the American character of the school was predominant during its first years, a few Danish people played a key role in its development and Jakobsen was one of them. The board minutes reported that the mayor ‘would be glad to have the American students at the John F. Kennedy School’ and ‘that there is no question about the students being accepted’. This intriguing last quote gives the impression that when American students were welcome, students from other nationalities, as listed later in Section 5.4, could have caused some concerns for a municipal school.

In the 1960s, Jakobsen was a prominent figure in Danish politics. Member of the Danish parliament from 1953 and chairman of the European Movement in Denmark since 1964, he became member of the European Parliament in 1973

\[28\text{ See the location of Gladsaxe Municipality on Figure 5.1 on page 166.}
\[29\text{ CIS, The Copenhagen International High School: Brochure, 1966, 5. Colonel William W. Bailey, CIS Chairman, was the US Army Attaché and John Lyles was the Managing Director of the 3M Company in Denmark.}
\[30\text{ CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, March 7, 1965. On p.176, I explain why the name John. F. Kennedy was given to the Danish school.}]}
when Denmark entered the EU, as well as a long-standing leader in the
Danish Centrum-Demokraterne party (CD Central Democrat party) from 1973
to 1995.  
In 1958, Jakobsen became mayor of the Gladsaxe commune.
Portrayed as a strong public speaker, Jakobsen’s vision was to transform the
suburban city into an iconic model of a social-democrat municipality. In fact,
the rapid economic growth of the happy sixties, the explosion of population
migrating to big cities due to industrialisation, and the baby boomers arriving at
the high school level gave the mayor the opportunity to plan a modern urban
settlement including five sixteen-floors all-concrete blocks, some individual
housings, a shopping centre, a school complex, some culture and sport
infrastructure – swimming pool and ice rink – and some provisions for younger
and older generation.  
Thanks to the fast changing character of the
municipality and the good connections of Jakobsen, Danish national TV and
Radio, TV Byen, was moved from Copenhagen to Gladsaxe in a brand-new
modern building, from where, in 1964, the first television programme was
broadcast.

In the beginning of the 1960s, Gladsaxe’s budget for schooling represented 30
per cent of its total budget and increased to 34 per cent in 1968-1969. It was a
political consensus that the school system should be the first priority for the
‘child-friendly’ municipality. According to Karen Sørensen and Per Boje,

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'Gladsaxe was in the 1960s and 1970s the place where new pedagogical trends and ideas were tested', which inspired the new Danish school law of 1976. In the year 1962-1963, ‘Høje Gladsaxe’ – High Gladsaxe – the modern architectural district of Gladsaxe, included a school complex planned by the local City Council with: two primary schools (Dag Hammarskjöld school and John F. Kennedy school), a high school finished in 1966 (Søborg Gymnasium), and some shared sport commodities and halls, pictured on Figure 5.2, page 176. It was in this newly constructed municipal schools' complex that, from September 1965 to 1977, the small independent international school found its base, becoming the fourth school of the complex as acknowledged by Østergaard. The complex's location is shown on Figure 5.1, page 166. Thanks to the close connection between the American embassy and Jakobsen, CIHS, despite its modest status, gradually expended its international character in the middle of the emergent Danish welfare state society and modern way of life of the 1960s.

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36 Røjbek, "Høje Gladsaxe Komplekset," 16. The Danish Gymnasium is the equivalent of the British comprehensive sixth forms and includes three years of education.
Jakobsen, whose mayorship was the most talked in Denmark at this time, was perceived as being American in his leadership style, with a strong emphasis on public relations. Jakobsen named the two new-built primary schools – Dag Hammarskjöld school and John F. Kennedy school – after the death and assassination of the two personalities respectively in 1961 and 1963. Their busts placed in the school’s entrance as shown on Figure 5.3, page 177, were a symbol of Jakobsen’s affiliation with the UN and the US. On December 1\textsuperscript{st} of 1966, Kennedy’s bust was unveiled during a ceremony with the presence of the Danish and international students, some representatives of the US embassy and some members of CIHS board. Jakobsen gave a speech in Danish and English ‘expressing the general feeling of the Danes toward John

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\textsuperscript{38} Røjbek, “Høje Gladsaxe Komplekset,” 153.

\textsuperscript{39} See Figure 5.4, p. 177.
It was then by no coincidence that Jakobsen worked closely with the US embassy and offered the integration of the small educational project to the new Danish school complex, recognising ‘the mutual advantages to Danish and International students in sharing facilities and educational experiences’. An alumnus, Peter, mentioned that even if Mayor Jakobsen was very helpful for CIS, he was at the same time using the school to promote local initiatives.

Not only did Jakobsen propose to CIHS board some affordable facilities within John F. Kennedy school from 1965 to 1966, and within Søborg Gymnasium from 1966 to 1978, but also most importantly he put CIHS board in contact with the new Danish rector of Søborg Gymnasium, Ulf Østergaard, who just came back from New York where he was, as already mentioned in Section 3.3, Director of the United Nations International School (UNIS). As we will see in Sections 5.2 and 6.3, Østergaard played a decisive and active role in the development of the school and in the implementation of the International Baccalaureate. In particular, he suggested to CIHS’S Board the name of one

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41 CIS. "Prospectus." Board Minutes, Binder 1. Date estimated 1965.
42 Peter, "Interview."
of his previous colleagues at UNIS, Godfrey Sullivan, to become CIHS headmaster from July 1965 to June 1968.

Despite the modernity of CIHS’ s new location, its blending with the Danish host-school forged a sense of adaptation to multiple solutions, as evidenced by the endless discussions at the Board meetings, time-consuming actions from the Board and the headmasters where various options for facilities were considered. One extract of some Board minutes gives a sense of such dynamic:

Colonel Bailey [Board chairman at this time] said that Dr. Østergaard, Principal of Søborg Gymnasium, the present home of the school, had informed him that, owing to the coming influx of Danish Gymnasium students, he regretted that it would be impossible to house the school for more than a further two years. There was a possibility that the School might be housed, together with the “Dependents” School, in a new type of Gymnasium which it was planned to build in Gladsaxe. (...) A visiting group of Congressmen had intimated to Colonel Bailey that some U.S. Federal funds might become available for use in helping to finance the construction of such new building.43

The school, with a handful of students compared to 1300 students in the Danish school complex, yet attracted the attention of various actors, all involved at different political levels, municipal in the case of the plan of a new building in Gladsaxe and international with the hypothetical finance from US federal funds.44 One could wonder the reason for such attraction if it was not for what the school represented for the Danish community of international affairs of the 1960s and for some American political actors under Lindon

44 CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, September 16, 1968.
Johnson’s presidency. Figure 5.5 represents the small international school with its handful of students.

**Figure 5.5: CIS’s staff and students in June 1966**

![Picture of staff and students in June 1966](source: Copenhagen Internationalist, June 1966)

Figure 5.5 was found in the students’ newsletter written at the end of CIHS’s first year of operation as a ‘proper’ school. It gives a sense of the school’s population and its small size. It included with six full-time or part-time teachers,

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45 In Section 3.2 on p.80, I already explained the vision of President Johnson on the role of international education as a tool for cultural dissemination aligned with the US foreign policy.
a principal who was also the History teacher, and thirty-two students, five
being absent on the day of the photo.\textsuperscript{46} The title given to the page, ‘we few, we
happy few’, reflects the self-awareness on the institution’s special character.\textsuperscript{47}
In fact, Section 7.2 further explains how its size and ethos gave a strong sense
of family atmosphere.

In 1966, when CIHS moved to the newly finished Søborg Gymnasium, it
shared some teaching rooms, high quality facilities laboratories, sports and
recreational facilities, and a cafeteria.\textsuperscript{48} In the spring 1968, as Søborg
Gymnasium became over-populated, Mayor Jakobsen was informed of the
vacancy of a temporary real school in a factory building or of some free land
near the present school location on which a barracks-type building could be
constructed.\textsuperscript{49} The Board opted for the temporary-type barracks, finished
sometime in April 1969, financed by Gladsaxe municipality, and leased to the
international school ‘at a nominal rent’.\textsuperscript{50} The school’s barracks, also called
‘the temporaries’, are pictured on Figure 5.6, page 181. The description of its
plan indicated some basic premises: ‘four classrooms, be clean, warm, well
lighted and ventilated, but will not contain water or bathroom facilities’.\textsuperscript{51} The
cleaning was a problem due to the lack of water facilities, and an outdoor tap
was installed.\textsuperscript{52} The international school was still sharing an office space,
some classrooms, laboratories, and restrooms with Søborg Gymnasium.

\textsuperscript{46} CIS. "We few, we happy few," \textit{The Copenhagen Internationalist}, (June 1966).
\textsuperscript{47} The quote is taken from a speech by King Henry V in Shakespeare’s play Henry V.
\textsuperscript{48} CIS, "The Beginning Years", 11.
\textsuperscript{49} CIS, \textit{Board Minutes. Binder 1}, March 27, 1968.
\textsuperscript{50} CIS, \textit{Board Minutes. Binder 1}, October 7, 1968.
\textsuperscript{51} CIS, \textit{Board Minutes. Binder 1}, September 16, 1968.
\textsuperscript{52} CIS, \textit{Board Minutes. Binder 1}, April 10, 1969.
Already in October 1968, while the project of what the Board named ‘Barracks I’ was under development, a second project ‘Barracks II’ was in discussion to extend Barracks I. The moving day in the extended Barracks facility happened on the 6th of January 1971. As detailed in the alumni, parents and friends’ newsletter:

The new school encompasses 600 square meters including the earlier building of 4 rooms. The entire structure will contain 4 large classrooms, 2 small classrooms, a library, offices for the principal, secretaries, guidance counselor, teachers’ lounge, workrooms, storage rooms, and toilets.

The newsletter added that ‘after much delay, CIS finally has a home of its own’. This step marked the school’s relative independency from the Danish

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53 CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, October 7, 1968.
55 CIS, "Moving Day January 6th,"
56 Ibid.
Gymnasium and helped the international school find ‘its own identity’. It also impacted the interaction between the two students’ communities, Danish and international, as explained in Section 7.3.

Even with the solution of the Barracks, the temporary state of the school was still persistent as the area where Barracks I and II were built was soon needed by the municipality. One year and a half after the move to Barracks II, some plans were made to merge the international school with Dag Hammarskjöld school where a new building was planned to be constructed. This project finally never happened, and the school stayed in the ‘Barracks’ of High Gladsaxe until 1978. According to the interviewees, the precarious state of the school’s facilities did not leave bad memories but rather was seen as contributing to the special family atmosphere.

Finally, in September 1968, before the move to Barracks I, the school adopted its permanent name ‘Copenhagen International School’ (CIS), dropping the letter H from High to avoid some possible conflict of understanding with the terminology ‘Højskole’ in Danish, meaning adult education. This new name was recommended in June 1968, by Sullivan, before he left the school to start a PhD at Miami University, Oxford-Ohio (US). Sullivan, who died in 1973, left as legacy to the school its permanent name. The change of name corresponded to the change of headmaster, with the appointment of Charles J. Kesons.

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57 J. Keson, Personal interview, CIS January 22, 2019.
60 See Section 7.2 on p. 308.
Gellar. Gellar’s long commitment to the school – from 1968 to 1985 – helped to seal the new International Baccalaureate curriculum, already introduced by its predecessor as explained in detail in Section 6.2.

Differently from other American post-Second World War overseas schools in Europe, which used the descriptive word ‘American’ in their name – the American School of Paris, the American School of Brussels… – the parents of the small school in Copenhagen, still mostly American and rooted to the US embassy, decided from the very beginning to include ‘international’ in the school’s name. Was this choice aligned with the US political discourse about international education in the mid-1960s, seen as the ‘fourth dimension of foreign policy’ or was it linked to the need to attract a wider student population in Copenhagen? Did the word ‘international’ in CIS’s name have an impact on its long-term’s mission?

5.2 School governance

In September 1964, a group of parents elected the first school Board. Since this time, the school governance remained an important topic discussed at the monthly Board meetings, mainly due to the short rotation of the chairman, treasurers, and members and to the need to find and elect new members. This section, with the use of quantitative data collected in the Board minutes and thoroughly recorded by three successive appointed secretaries, gives an overview of the school Board composition during the first decade and the
turnover of its members. More specifically, it examines the shift in its
cairmanship from being almost exclusively held by American officers from the
embassy to being held by Ulf Østergaard, the Danish rector of Søborg
Gymnasium with an international educational profile. Finally, it gives evidence
of the various influences at play in CIS’s decisions making.

**Board composition**

The school’s first official document, dated from October 12, 1964 and kept in
the Board minutes binder 1, included seven Standing Rules. ‘Rule 3’ stated
that ‘the school will be directed by a committee consisting of 3 to 5 members,
chosen by the parents of the pupils from either within or outside of their circle.
The school will be organized by a majority of the members of the committee’. A second constitution in January 1967, extended the number of members to
eight, including the school’s principal as ex-officio member. The Board’s
monthly meetings took place at the US embassy, except on a very few
occasions, at the chairman’s house, at Søborg Gymnasium, or at the WHO
headquarters.

During the period covered by the research, the Board composition stayed
predominantly American. The minutes of March 1968 gives a clear idea of this
dominance as shown on Figure 5.7, page 185.

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62 See Table 2.1: Board secretaries’ terms of office (1964-1975) on p. 59 in comparison to the
high turnover of the chairmen as shown on Table 5.1: Chairmen’s presidency turnover (1964-
1985) on p. 191.
63 The binder 1 included the minutes from 1964 to June 1969.
64 CIS, "Standing Rules."
65 CIS, *The Constitution of the Copenhagen International High School*, (Board Minutes
Binder 1, 1967), 1.
Figure 5.7: Board composition March 1968

This extract of the Board minutes is quite unique as it recorded the Board members’ job affiliation, details not often found in other Board minutes. The extract highlights the American dominance with a majority of officers from the US embassy having influential roles such as the US political officer. The administrative officer was automatically elected as Board member and was appointed by the Ambassador.66 The presence of a US Army representative was also systematic until 1972: Captain Cumins, Colonel Bailey, Sergeant Foster, Colonel Berger, Captain Ecker, Colonel Melbye, and Lieutenant Colonel Cornetti. The business sector was exclusively represented by American firms, such as in 1968, the Gulf Oil Company and General Motors, two dominant US companies already mentioned in Section 3.4. Additional information from this extract indicates that Board members were exclusively

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men except one woman, Charlotte Metz, Board participant from May to June 1965 when she was ‘acting principal’ before the appointment of Godfrey Sullivan in July of the same year. Only later, in 1973, Inez Venning, the first Junior School Principal, was invited to the Board meetings to report on the school’s development. I noticed a general lack of acknowledgement on the contribution of Metz to the school in the official records. I only found one comment from Ulf Østergaard, the Danish rector, who said: ‘I have together with Mrs. Metz been the only so to speak permanent “feature” in the history of the school’. On the opposite, in Section 7.1, students in their newsletters and some alumni during the interviewees, genuinely recognised the presence and professionalism of Metz, the first ‘acting principal’ of CIS.

To some extent, there was an attempt to open the Board to other nationalities. In fact, in October 1965, Colonel Bailey, the US Army attaché and chairman of the school, expressed that ‘to make the organization a truly international one, it is hoped that the new member will be non-American’. To fill this position, the school appointed a parent of the school, British and translator at the World Health Organisation (WHO). The WHO kept a permanent representation in the Board until at least 1975, except between 1967 and 1969. Both institutions, the US embassy and the WHO, shared mutual interests in supporting the

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68 Inez Venning was widow of CIS headmaster Godfrey Sullivan. Inez graduated from Albion College, Michigan US (B.A) and from Columbia University, New York US (M.A). She taught intermediate grades and Junior high in Michigan, Ohio and Indiana, She also taught at UNIS in New York and at CIS from 1965 to 1968 as Special English and typing teacher. In 1973, she was called back from the US by Charles Gellar, principal of CIS, who proposed her to take the head position at the Junior school. In 1973, her last name was Sullivan.
70 CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, October 25, 1965.
71 Peter, "Interview."
school with different aims. The American saw the benefit to make the school financially sustainable with an increase in the number of students and to create a space for cultural dissemination. The WHO saw the benefit of having an institution providing instruction adapted to the needs of the transient teenagers.\(^72\) The WHO’s representation at CIS’s Board exerted a counterpower in the face of the American dominance, yet with soft means. Dr Paul van de Calseyde, the director of the WHO Regional Office for Europe, in an address at the first graduation ceremony of 1966 stated that ‘the countries of origin of the WHO children who have been with you this first year bear witness: Australia, India, Switzerland and the United Kingdom’.\(^73\) In a letter to the Board from 1969, the new director of the WHO Regional Office suggested three names of parents to be Board members. He explained that:

> One is of Norwegian nationality and, who from the language point of view, will be in a position to negotiate with the Ministries of Education, etc., if necessary, as I think one of the most important developments of the School is to ensure support also from outside USA sources.\(^74\)

This last sentence indicates the belief from the WHO to create a multi-national school, not only by the number of nations represented but also by the diversity of its incomes supposably to guarantee some financial security but also to counterbalance the American dominance also present in the school’s finance, a topic discussed in the next section.

Still, there were some limits for the school to move away from its American dominance, possibly maintained through the discrete but marked presence of

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\(^72\) CIS, Board Minutes. Letter to the Board from L. Kaprio Binder 2, November 11, 1969.
\(^73\) CIS, Board Minutes, Annex II. Binder 1, June 29, 1966.
\(^74\) CIS, Board Minutes. Letter to the Board from L. Kaprio Binder 2, November 11, 1969.
the US Ambassador Katherine White, who was particularly involved in the school's beginning years and its economic survival as further detailed in Section 5.3. According to the Board minutes, apart from the WHO officers, the Board did not have other 'non-American' members, except in 1975, when the counsellor of the Japanese embassy was appointed. This fact was confirmed in 1968, in a fund-raising letter for the Barracks’ project written by the Board chairman to fifteen US companies based in Denmark and in the US. It said, 'although the Copenhagen International School was organized and is currently administered by Americans, it is a community school, existing for the benefit of all individuals and nationalities and, as such, warrants the full support of the community and industry'.

CIS was undoubtedly a place of interest for the Information Service of the US embassy. The school's evolving character as international institution, under the Cold War context, with more and more families coming from various Western, Eastern, Middle East and Asian nations – diplomats, business, international servants – made its existence resourceful at many levels. A sentence in the Board minutes of 1965, 'Colonel Bailey reported that Mr. Pick [Administrative Office] feels the U.S.I.S. representative [US Information Service] should be a

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77 See Table 5.6: Countries of origin of the student body per year (1970-1974) on page 234.
member of the Board rather him’, gives some thought in this sense. During many years, the school principal had to fill a yearly document giving some details on each CIS’s parent to the State Department. Some brief references on this matter can be found in the minutes such as, in 1968, the principal reported ‘62 students enrolled. State Department questionnaire received and commenced’. Also in 1972, it was noted in the minutes that ‘the forms for the State Department’s annual questionnaire have been received and are due in the Department by October 1’. Some school current affairs were classified in the United States Government’s documents as shown in a letter from 1971 written by the Board chair, Edward Fenstermacher, Administrative officer at the US embassy.

Figure 5.8: Transfer of chairmanship between US officers

Source: Board minutes Binder 2 May 4, 1971

78 CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, November 17, 1965.
79 C. Gellar, Personal interview, Brussels July 12, 2019. I contacted by email the US National Archives (College Park, Maryland) which has the custody of the records of the US Information Agency to get access to the forms filled by CIS. The request did not go through due to the COVID-19 pandemic. A. Collignon. Access to archives. Email. April 2020.
81 In Section 2.3 of the Methodology Chapter, I explained my attempt to access the US embassy archives with no success.
Chapter 7 gives more evidence on the interference between the US politics and the school as educational institution.

Finally, the turnover of the Board members was frequent due to the temporary posts assigned to the families as shown on Figure 5.9. It also reflects the character of the school as a place of constant changes.

Figure 5.9: Turnover of the Board Membership

6. Board Membership:
   a) Mr. Westrick surrendered his position as Chairman and member of the Board as of this meeting;
   b) Mr. Piliero has been transferred to the Netherlands;
   c) Captain Ecker will be leaving Denmark in June and wishes to resign his position as Board member and Treasurer as of the next meeting in order to be available to facilitate the takeover of the books.

   Lt. Colonel Melbye was nominated to replace Captain Ecker as Treasurer and was unanimously approved by the Board.
   d) Colonel Berger will be leaving approximately July 1, 1970.

Source: Board minutes Binder 2 March 2, 1970

The next paragraph shows that the turnover of the Board members was also present at the chairmanship level. Eventually, this situation came as an advantage for the few long-standing members, education-professionals determined to give to the school an alternative internationalist character.

Turnover and shift in school governance

On October 25, 1964, five members of the Board met and elected the first chairman, Mr. Jessee, the US Press Attaché. This date marks the official status of the school as an organization, recognized under the Danish law.
Between 1965 and 1972, the school Board elected six chairmen; each of them stayed in this position for a maximum of one to two years as reported in Table 5.1. The short turnover was due to their professional relocation. Among the first six chairs, at least four had prominent position at the US embassy, one was the manager of Gulf Oil Company in Denmark, and all were American.

Table 5.1: Chairmen’s presidency turnover (1964-1985)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Dated of Presidency</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Professional Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Jessee</td>
<td>Oct 1964- May 1965</td>
<td>9 months</td>
<td>United States Press Attaché</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Col. Bailey</td>
<td>May 1965-Feb 1967</td>
<td>21 months</td>
<td>United States Gov., Army Attaché</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Halvorsen</td>
<td>Feb 1967-Feb 1968</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>Information not found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Westrick</td>
<td>March 1968-March 1970</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>Gulf Oil Company of Denmark, Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. Fenstermarcher</td>
<td>March 1970-March 1971</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>United States Gov., Administrative officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lt. Col Melbye</td>
<td>May 1971- July 1972</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>United States Gov., Army Attaché</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Østergaard</td>
<td>Aug 1972-May 1985</td>
<td>13 years</td>
<td>Rector Danish host-school</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Board Minutes collected in binders 1 and 2

During the summer of 1972, Ulf Østergaard, the rector of the Danish host-school, Søborg Gymnasium, and Board member of CIS since December 1965, was elected chairman. He left this position in May 1985 after twenty years of active participation in the school development. Not only did his long-standing membership give some stability in the school governance but also a power balance to the dominant American representation in the Board. As mentioned in Section 5.1, Østergaard had previously worked with CIS headmaster,
Godfrey Sullivan, at the United Nation School of New York (UNIS). Østergaard was UNIS director while Sullivan was the deputy director and head of the Social Studies department. From this previous association, Østergaard acknowledged Sullivan, still at UNIS, of the nascent international school's project in Copenhagen. Inez Venning, Godfrey Sullivan’s widow, recalled:

Ulf Østergaard said there was a group of people at the American Embassy who wanted to start a little international school and would Godfrey come and start? We were very happy in the international school in New York. We both had very strong feelings about the value of international education and Ulf did too...It was for him [Godfrey], for both of us, but mainly for him a challenge he couldn’t resist, you know, to start a new one. So we came here in the summer of 65.

The two educational leaders jointly and gradually instilled the internationalist ideal that they built during their collaborative experience in New York as developed in Section 6.3.

When CIS’s next headmaster, Charles Gellar, was interviewed in April 1968, Østergaard was part of the panel. Gellar recalled vividly their first interaction:

We saw eye to eye, just automatically. That’s probably why I got the job. He hired me with four guys. One person of the U.S. Embassy was on the board, another guy from an Oil Company. You know four or five, a lot from the American Embassy, some were American, but he was the key. He was Dane. He was there.

The tight collaboration that existed between Østergaard and Sullivan passed on to Gellar. Gellar explained that Østergaard ‘was interested in this school

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83 I. Venning, Personal interview, CIS November 19, 2014. Inez Venning is the widow of CIS headmaster, Godfrey Sullivan. She became the first head of the CIS Junior school from 1973 to 1989.
84 Østergaard and Sullivan are portrayed in Section 6.3. Østergaard was Danish and Sullivan Irish.
85 C. Gellar, Personal interview, Brussells, November 30, 2014.
becoming international’ and described their working relationship as ‘if I needed something to be done, then he was on the Board. I just talked to him and that was done’.66 Venning described what the three actors built together:

I think of Ulf Østergaard, without him there just wouldn’t have been a school because he let us use his facilities and must have persuaded somebody higher up to allow that. So him and my husband, and Charles … they are the people that I think of as the building block of the early school.67

For many years, the Danish rector and the two principals were the only permanent members of the Board while the others stayed on an average of one or two school years. The prominent position of the rector increased in June 1972, when he was asked to ‘serve as Chairman for a six-month period commencing September 1, 1972’.88 In July of the same year, the rector proposed the Board to become a paid consultant to the school while becoming chairman. The reason of this proposal was that he was ready to stop one of his teaching activities at a post-graduate school for Danish teachers to ‘ensure the school’s continuing growth.’ In a letter to the Board, he lengthily justified his request.

During the last 8-9 years I have been acting as a sort of consultant and overall “manager” of the international school insofar that I have had daily consultations with both Mr. Sullivan and during the last 4 years with Mr. Gellar.

The problems I have dealt with comprise not only educational and administrative matters, but also negotiations with authorities – particularly the Danish Ministry of Education and the local school superintendent’s office.

67 Venning, "Personal interview."
Particulars as to the educational advice and counselling would involve the establishment of courses in various subjects, textbooks, the international baccalaureate and inter-schools-exchange of students of the two schools and teachers....

I have with Mrs. Metz been the only so to speak permanent “feature” in the history of the school and I have on an average used a minimum of one hour daily during several years in the service of the school.89

These sections of his letter underline Østergaard’s involvement to CIS, acting almost as co-principal, intermediary with the Danish authorities and most importantly pathfinder to the IB. These last two roles will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

The immediate answers from the Board to Østergaard’s request exemplifies the turnover and thus lack of knowledge that the members had about the school and shows at the same time their appreciation of the service he rendered to the school.

The matter [of Østergaard consultancy] was discussed in general by the Board, but an immediate final decision was not arrived at, in that the majority of the Board members are new to the Board and as yet only slightly acquainted with the background of the operation of the school, and the part played by the principal of the Danish host-school. (…) The Board (…) expressed its whole-hearted appreciation (…) he being the only person who has served on the Board since the establishment of the school nine years ago.90

Østergaard’s request was then shortly accepted, with a yearly contract at 20,000 DKK and renewable by mutual consent.91 It was explained that ‘the

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89 U. Østergaard, To the Board of C.I.S, (Board Minutes Binder 2, August 3, 1972). I quoted some extracts of the letter respecting the format with independent paragraphs.
91 CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 2, August 17, 1972. 20,000 DKK is equivalent to 172,682 DKK in 2021.
Board is desirous of taking advantage of Dr. Østergaard’s special skills and knowledge…This position as consultant would in no way be related to Dr. Østergaard’s position as a member of the Board or his Acting Chairmanship’.  

The last sentence seems quite ambiguous as the three roles – consultant, member of the Board and chairman – became inevitably entangled and gave to Østergaard a dominant power position, reinforced by the tight collaboration and shared internationalist vision that he had with the school principal. His chairman position weakened the American governance in place since 1962. This situation happened at the same time as the school transitioned to the IB curriculum as explained in Section 6.2 and into a more culturally diverse entity thanks to the profile of its students, as evidenced in section 4 of this Chapter. It was in June 1972 that the first CIS’s student passed the full IB diploma with merits.

Hill, in his exploration of the characteristics of policy formation and implementation of the IB Diploma Programme from the early 1960s until 1978, explained how the project was successfully implemented thanks to three actors from Geneva International School, Cole-Baker (director of the English language section and secretary to the International Schools Association (ISA)), Alfred Roquette (school director), and Robert Leach (head of history department); all closely connected and trusted by the decision-makers of ISA. Hill concluded that ‘when the main agenda setters also have a role in the decision-making process, there is greater chance of success’. At a smaller

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92 CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 2, August 17, 1972.  
scale, this is what happened at CIS for the implementation of the International Baccalaureate. This parallel of situation underlines the close affiliation of the school with the new international high school experimental project.

Finally, the tight collaboration between the Danish rector, elected chairman and school consultant, and the successive school principals, was not without creating some tensions at the Board meetings. For example, in September 1973 during a discussion about the project of the opening of a Junior School, one of the Board members, a US embassy officer, expressed that he ‘wished at this point to make his position clear, for the record. He felt that the Board were now in the position of being left with no choice in the matter…the school has actually been started and a locked-in position established’.94 Gellar, then school principal, recalled this time:

I was very good at dealing with boards. Really. I had the board right in the palm of my hands almost, except for a couple of people from the American Embassy who didn’t like what was going on. They didn’t like the IB. […] But they had no chance. It was no way. […] By the way, the Junior started. The board voted for it because I wanted it. We started with 16 kids. The Senior was always small but IB.95

Jim Keson, Maths teacher in 1969 who became principal after Gellar, when asked about the power at play during the implementation of the IB, explained that ‘we were focusing on the needs of the kids. That kept us out of the ideological debate. Because there were so much going on at school in the daily life, we didn’t have time to do much of the rest’.96 In fact, Chapters 6 and 7 will demonstrate that while the governance and the different influences at

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stake represented one important aspect of the school’s development, the influence of the successive principals and the teachers through what was taught in the classrooms and what they shared with students outside of the classrooms, also played major influences in the school’s evolution.

5.3 School finance

A.D.C Peterson, the first Director General of the International Baccalaureate Office (IBO) from 1968 to 1977, wrote in 1972 that the non-profit-making international schools ‘have to support themselves from fees and are permanently short of money for capital development’.97 This statement was clearly applicable to CIS during its first decade with its finance constantly under pressure. Inez Sullivan recalled that the school was a make-or-break project.98 Teacher Wiebke Keson explained that, in its beginning, the school was always on survival mode, which put teachers in precarious status. ‘We would not know if we would have a contract for the next year depending on the number of students…The foreign language teachers were part-time and had very poor working conditions’.99 Teachers Mary and Daniel Hall mentioned that still at a time where the finances were more stable, there was a strong sense of battle for money and lack of furniture, where ‘everybody was working hard to make the school exist’.100

98 Venning, "Personal interview."
99 Keson & Keson, "Personal interview." In September 1968, there were 4 full-time teachers (with a total of 72 hours of teaching per week) and 10 part-time teachers (with a total of 81 hours of teaching per week). Six part-time teachers were teaching a maximum of 7 hours per week. CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, September 16, 1968.
100 M. Hall & D. Hall, Personal interview, CIS, October 11, 2017.
Sullivan, with his position as ‘teaching principal’ from 1965 to 1968, was recruited on a one-year contract basis, renewed each April.\(^{101}\) One short note found in the board minutes, almost anecdotal, gives the measure of how tight the budget was:

> It was agreed to provide $125 expense money for Mr. Sullivan to attend an educational conference in Switzerland and to amend the budget to transfer funds from Transportation and Field Trip and Insurance accounts to meet this expense.\(^{102}\)

Obviously, some priorities had to be made for the principal to attend an international educational conference that would indeed mark the school’s first official involvement in international education as explained in Section 6.2.

One short sentence in the first school yearbook edited in 1969, shows that students were also aware of the school’s tribulation. In the first page, the student editor mentioned how the school has come a long way ‘continually fearing that it would not be able to operate the next year’.\(^{103}\) However, based on the data collected from alumni’s interviews, with time gone by, the school financial situation did not leave special memories.

The financial struggle was due to the small number of students enrolled compared to the number of teachers that had to be hired when, from September 1965, the school started to operate as a proper school. In June 1966, the teacher-to-student ratio was for example equivalent to 1 to 6.\(^{104}\)

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\(^{102}\) CIS, *Board Minutes. Binder 1*, April 26, 1966. 125 USD was equivalent to 860 DKK in 1966 and 7,425 DKK in 2021.  
\(^{103}\) CIS. *Yearbook 1969*, p.1  
Therefore, alternative incomes besides school fees had to be found.\textsuperscript{105} Rule 5, from the school’s foundation text ‘Standing Rules’, stated:

The funds necessary for the operation of the school will be obtained through school fees from the pupils and contributions from individuals and private and public institutions.\textsuperscript{106}

This section uncovers the different actions that the Board took to keep the school afloat and identifies the different partners – public and private – reached by the Board and their participation into the school financial support.

In fact, the only way to make the school survive was for the Board members to take advantage of their political and professional network, markedly American as the data will show. In 1964, the first school’s donors were the American Women and Men’s Clubs in Copenhagen, which remained active supporters for long years, thanks to donations from fund-raising events.\textsuperscript{107} In September 1965, the start of the first year as proper school was made possible by the receipt of immediate working capital thanks to twelve families who paid in advance one year’s tuition for one child, by the support of the two American clubs, by the donations from the US industry, and by a first grant received from the US State Department.\textsuperscript{108}

\textsuperscript{105} The problem of covering the school operation deficit until it built up its number of students was true for any international private school. A. Peterson reported the same problem for Atlantic College in the 1960s. A. D. Peterson, \textit{Schools Across Frontiers: The Story of the International Baccalaureate and the United World Colleges} (La Salle Illinois: Open Court Publishing, 1987), 7.

\textsuperscript{106} CIS, "Standing Rules."

\textsuperscript{107} See details of donations in Table 5.3 on p. 206.

The school operation’s account between 1964-67, collected from the information on the budget found in the Board minutes and summarized in Table 5.2, on page 201, provides a clear view on its financial status with information on the expenditures and the origins of its incomes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Budget</th>
<th>1964-65 (DKK)</th>
<th>1965-66 (DKK)</th>
<th>1966-67 (DKK)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Expenditure</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers’ salaries and recruitment</td>
<td>48,550</td>
<td>243,577</td>
<td>283,069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent of premises</td>
<td>16,300</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other expenses (supplies, books…) and reserve</td>
<td>10,600</td>
<td>12,423</td>
<td>41,861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total school expenditure</td>
<td>75,450</td>
<td>269,000</td>
<td>339,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Incomes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School tuition + registration fees</td>
<td>62,720</td>
<td>144,458</td>
<td>160,646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. State Depart. Education grant</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>41,342</td>
<td>108,443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donations (private sector)</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>68,843</td>
<td>69,673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interests on current accounts</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous incomes</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>785</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total incomes</td>
<td>67,720</td>
<td>254,928</td>
<td>339,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School deficit</td>
<td>7,730</td>
<td>14,078</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first observation from Table 5.2 is the sharp increase – times five – in the budget of teachers’ salaries from 1965 to 1966 and 1967. This corresponds to the transition from a correspondence school to ‘a teaching institution in its own right’ with, as example in 1966, the hiring of a principal-teacher, two full-time and five part-time teachers, a Physical Education instructor, some janitorial...

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109 The private financial donations were received in Danish Krone while the US grants were received in US Dollars. To facilitate the reading of the budget, all data have been converted in Danish Krone with the use of an historical currency converter [https://fxtop.com/en/historical-currency-converter.php](https://fxtop.com/en/historical-currency-converter.php) 1 DKK in 1968 is equal to 8.64 DKK in 2021. [https://www.inflationtool.com/danish-krone/1968-to-present-value?amount=1](https://www.inflationtool.com/danish-krone/1968-to-present-value?amount=1)

110 More information on the private donations, see Table 5.3 on p. 206.
help and a clerical assistant. The staff’s salaries went up from representing 64% of the total expenditure in 1964-1965 to 91% and 83% in the following two years. Concomitantly, the part of tuitions in the total budget decreased steeply. Tuitions represented 92% of the total incomes in 1964-1965, while in the following years their amounts decreased to 57% and 47%.

The second observation is that the rent of the facilities remained almost the same, and thanks to the interest of Mayor Jakobsen in the school, stayed nominal as stated by the Board, representing 5% of the total budget.

The third observation is that school tuitions more than doubled from 1964-1965 to 1965-1967 while the total number of students during these three years stabilised with an average of 35 per year. This was the result of the increase in the price of tuition per student. From 200 DKK per month in 1965, it moved to 4,800 DKK per year in 1966, and to 6,000 DKK per year in 1968, with an addition of 150 DKK per family to provide ‘full membership in the Parents Association’. However, this increase did not balance out the additional expenditures associated with the operation of the proper school.

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111 CIS, *Copenhagen International School: Brochure*, 1968, 1. See Figure 5.5: CIS’s staff and students in June 1966. The list of staff was found in CIS. "Operational Budget 1965-66." Board Minutes, Binder 1.n.d.

112 See Table 5.5: CIS’s American and non-American students (1964-1975).

The fourth observation based on the incomes is the sharp increase in 1965-1966 of the US State Department Education grants and the donations from the private sector. This increase was the result of the multiple contacts taken with the American Business companies, the marked interest of the US embassy and the State Department into the school, and the pro-active fund-raising campaigns organised by the school Board. The next sub-section looks closely at the private donations, the US State Department grants and at different examples of fund-raising activities. The data shed light on the American financial empowerment and thus on the school’s US reliance.

**American financial support and influence**

The Board members established long-standing contacts with multiple actors and organisations from the public and private sectors to get donations and grants to the school: the International Schools Services (ISS) in New York already mentioned in Sections 3.3 and 4.2; the US State Department; the American Women and Men’s Clubs in Denmark; the American legion; Copenhagen Rotary; the American Business community in Denmark; the Director of the US Dependents Schools in Europe as well as the Coordinator of the Secondary schools, other embassies in Copenhagen; the WHO; the Rebild Society; the Overseas Schools office of the US State Department; some US congressmen, the Ford Foundation; and IDEA. What appears

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114 This list is based on the records founds in the minutes from 1964 to 1973. From the Board Minutes, ISS was reported as a Ford Foundation activity. According to Robert Leach, the program was to support American schools overseas. ‘Its budget was met by matching grants from the US State Department and the Ford Foundation—very reasonable grants they were indeed’. Leach, *International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education*, 135. The Rebild Society is explained on p. 204 of this section. IDEA stands for Institute for
immediately from this list is the almost exclusively American origin of the organisations. However, it is worth noting that, since 1965, the Board made repetitive and persistent approaches to the Danish Ministry of Education to receive Danish State subsidies which were finally given in 1992. This process is further developed on page 219 of this section.

The Board minutes reveal significant communications with private business companies. One example is a communication in the minutes of June 8, 1965, which record the action of the school chairman and U.S. Army Attaché, Colonel Bailey stated that:

He [Colonel Bailey] had written a letter to 32 members of the American Business community inviting them to a meeting to acquaint them with the plans of Copenhagen International High School and to ask the support of the firms to help bring about the plans.\textsuperscript{115}

The members of the American business community in Denmark were invited to Colonel Bailey’s house with the US Ambassador present. She expressed the ‘urgent need for a school such as the Copenhagen International High School’ and said that ‘she wanted to do all she could to help it become a worthwhile educational facility’.\textsuperscript{116} A few months after, the request of support was also extended to ‘160 Danish brotherhood Groups in the U.S. as well as 36 other Danish organizations in the U.S’, with some letters sent to various philanthropic organisations.\textsuperscript{117} Table 5.3 on page 206 summarises some data

\footnotesize{Development of Educational Activities, Inc.) affiliate of Charles F. Kettering Foundation founded in 1927, which in 1960s was engaged in education projects in the US and abroad. In the board minutes of 1973, IDEA grants are explained as an American firms’ contribution to overseas schools supported by the Department of State.}


\textsuperscript{116} CIS, \textit{Board Minutes. Binder 1}, June 8, 1965.

\textsuperscript{117} CIS, \textit{Board Minutes. Binder 1}, September 1, 1965.
found in the treasury report of 1969 with a detailed account on private donations and contributions given to the school over four school years. The data highlights the American origin of the donors.
Table 5.3: List of donations and contributions to CIS (1965-1969)\textsuperscript{118}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gulf Oil</td>
<td>10,250</td>
<td>10,250</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>35,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Harvester Company\textsuperscript{120}</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>25,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esso</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>21,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American’s men club</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>10,500</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ford Motor Company</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Women’s club</td>
<td>3,499</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>18,499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading &amp; Bates Offshore Drilling Co.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13,813</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13,813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M Company</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Motors International</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>9,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBM</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caltex/Chevron Oil A/S</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Coe Foundation</td>
<td>1,720</td>
<td>1,725</td>
<td>1,725</td>
<td>1,875</td>
<td>7,045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbia Carbon</td>
<td>2,422</td>
<td>2,422</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4,844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colgate</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobil Oil</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank of America</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rayserv ved/Raytheon A.G</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The business companies which sponsored the school were almost all mentioned in the report from the US senator Ellender during his visit at the US

\textsuperscript{118} Table 5.3 is based on information collected from School Board Minutes. Treasurer’s report: March 3, 1969.

\textsuperscript{119} Oil companies are highlighted in dark grey. Their donations represented 40% of the total amount over four years.

\textsuperscript{120} Manufacturer of agricultural and construction equipment, automobiles and trucks.
Danish embassy in 1961 and already mentioned in Section 3.1. Ellender’s report stated that:

We are predominant in the oil industry, the car assembly business, and are strong in the farm machinery and office machinery fields. Firms long in business here are General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, International Harvester, International Business Machines, Remington-Rand, Standard Oil, Caltex, Gulf, Mobil Oil, and Moore-McCormack. Some newcomers of importance are Westinghouse, R.C. Smith, Borden’s and Kraft.

Ellender’s companies list showed the massive US investments of the 1960s in the oil market, car industry, farm machinery and office machinery fields also mentioned in Section 3.4, and equally dominant in the school donors’ list. Gulf Oil Company of Denmark was the top donor to CIS. The company’s manager, E.W. Westrick, was the school chairman from 1968 to 1970. Gulf Oil invested massively in Denmark since 1919, as well as Ford Motor Company with the settlement of an assembly plant in 1962, Gulf Oil established an oil refining unity in Denmark. According to Peter Sørensen and Kenn Tarbensen:

The refinery was very productive and the share capital was extended several times and the company took a lot of loans in the following 8 years. In 1970 Gulf Oil Corporation enlarged their capital with DKK 328 million. The Danish authorities –both the Ministry of Commerce and the National bank were very concerned about the size of the enlargement and possible “consequences”, but finally approved the huge enlargement.

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122 Ibid.

This example helps to understand the positioning of Denmark vis-à-vis US investments, having clear economic interests and being also protectionist for its national economy. It also gives a representation of the massive amount of US Dollars injected into the Danish economy to make profit and to boost the Danish society, at the time when the school was founded. In 1961, Ellender evaluated the total American investments in Denmark at about 275 million Danish Krone.¹²⁴ Nine years after, Gulf Oil Corporation enlarged its capital to more than the total US investments made in 1961. It is thus easy to imagine the fascination with America at the level of the Danish Government and authorities.¹²⁵ Sørensen and Tarbensen explained that in addition to the economic benefit – ‘employment, know how, innovation, improvement of the balances of trade and payment’ – the investments were seen by the Danes as tightening the bonds with their major ally during the Cold War.¹²⁶ All these considerations are important to have in mind when looking at the Danish Government’s response to the school request for subsidies in the next subsection.

Sørensen and Tarbensen also exposed the human and personal component in these business investments as they explain that both Gulf Oil and Ford’s choice to invest in Denmark rather than in other Nordic countries was mainly due to the Danish origins of Albert Gregersen, leader of Gulf Oil in Scandinavia, and William S. Knudsen, counsellor of Henry Ford.¹²⁷ This

¹²⁶ Ibid., 273-274.
¹²⁷ Ibid., 242 and 250.
reflects the crucial aspect of interpersonal contacts which also existed between
the various actors involved in the school creation. Finally, the Gulf Oil example
gives the measure of the high level of representation that the school benefited
from, with its manager acting as chairman, and the empowerment that this
type of actor might have given to the small school, thus making it closely
intertwined with the US political, defence, and economic spheres.\textsuperscript{128}

In 1973, the school’s search for financial support was still active with a
noticeable change in its targeted donors. 140 letters were sent, this time not
only to American companies but also to ‘international companies’, reflecting
the transitioning international character of the students’ body, developed in the
next section, as well as the internationalisation of trade in Denmark at a period
when it entered the EU.\textsuperscript{129} The school records do not include the summary of
donations for the period 1969-1970 to 1972-1973, and thus do not give details
on the names of the international companies.

From 1965, CIS received a significant financial support from the US State
Department, as summarised in Table 5.4 on page 210, which was followed by
a close monitoring from official visitors as later explained. Table 5.4 gives the

\textsuperscript{128} At the same period, Atlantic College, one of the three IB founding schools, was also looking
for capital foundations. A. Peterson stated that, in the 1960s, fund-raising was quite easy for
idealistic and international project. In the case of Atlantic College, funds came mainly from
steel companies in Wales and private foundations (Dulverton Trust and the Bernard Sunley
Foundation) with small contributions from The British and Federal German Government. One
of the reasons for giving the name Atlantic College was to attract USA financial support which
proved to be illusory. Only a US personality and the Ford Foundation participated.

details of both private donations and public grants by years over the first four years of the school's operation.\textsuperscript{130}

Table 5.4: Private donations and public grants to CIS (1965-1969)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Private donations and Public Grants</th>
<th>Donations and Grants in Danish Krone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Private Donations</td>
<td>57,392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total US State Depart. Grants</td>
<td>41,341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total school expenditure</td>
<td>269,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4 shows that while the total contributions from the private sector decreased over the four years, the State Department grants increased and became a significant source of income, with a peak in the year 1966-67 when the school was on the verge of closing as explained on page 226. The US grants represented around a third of the total income. If we consider that, between 1964 and 1969, American students represented 60 to 80% of CIS’s student population, as detailed in Section 5.4, and that from June 1967, the US dependent Schools paid CIS tuition of the military personnel's children, in the end, fees coming from non-American students represented a very small percentage.\textsuperscript{131}

The summary of the US public grants from 1965 to 1969, shown on Figure 5.10, on page 211, gives a comprehensive statement of their amount and purpose.

\textsuperscript{130} The table is based on information collected from School Board Minutes. Treasurer’s report: March 3, 1969 and Financial Statement: October 7, 1965.

\textsuperscript{131} CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, June 7, 1966.
The US grants were mostly attributed to staff's salaries and equipment, with some very restricted conditions such as in November 1966, where the

supplement salaries were for American teachers. Still in 1973, the school received 11,000 US dollars ‘to supplement the salary of a U.S. trained American Principal and U.S. teaching staff’. The school had also, for example, ‘to request permission to transfer State Department Book Funds to the teachers’ Salary Fund in order to help meet the deficit in that Fund’. At times, the Board tried to adapt the US rules to its students’ body by for example asking the US State Department to extend the scholarship for host-country nationals, as noted in Figure 5.10 – year 1970 – to all non-US children. The grant for the ‘School- to-school’ project corresponded to an exchange programme between CIS and the Wheatland-Chili High School in New York (US) with some mutual visits from the principals and the exchange of teachers from Wheatland-Chili high school to CIS.

There was also a close monitoring of the expenditures with regular visits from the representatives of the US public services to control the condition of the premises and assess the quality of the education to give eligibility for the grants. One example taken among many highlights this practice:

Dr. O’Kane, Director of the U.S. Dependents Schools, European Area had an opportunity to visit the John F. Kennedy building, to discuss the school activities with the board and Mrs. Metz, and to meet the American Ambassador.

He told the board he could not make a final decision as to whether or not he would make a favorable recommendation of the school until he

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135 CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, June 29, 1966.
136 CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, March 20, 1967. The aim of this exchange was to transfer some educational practice from the US to the school. One reason given for Sullivan and Østergaard to visit the schools was ‘to enable them to see for themselves the methods used in that school (in particular the ungraded classroom system) and to discuss their applicability to CIS’. CIS, "Board Minutes," 1967.
had a copy of the curriculum, class scheduling, information on the teaching staff and such other details as could be provided regarding the academic activities of the school.¹³⁷

Clear prescriptions were given by these US representatives, with reference to the American way of teaching. During a visit from Dr Stanley W. Krouse, the Regional Education Officer from the Overseas Schools Office of the Department of State, it was said that:

The teachers’ salaries should be higher, that the library should be expanded and that special attention should be paid to the rapid changes which were taking place in educational thinking in the United States, and in the new types of equipment, e.g. closed-circuit television, language laboratories, tape-recorders and films, and teachers’ “preparation” rooms.¹³⁸

Dr. Gordon E. Parsons, another officer from the same service, impressed by the cooperation between the CIS and its host Danish School, ‘strongly recommended its present situation be retained if at all possible’ but criticized the library which ‘did not correspond to the grants made available for this purpose’.¹³⁹ Another inspection visit from the US Dependents Schools and related to the tuition payments for the children of the military personnel, stated that the school should add some formal counselling service, a programme of Arts and Crafts, more library facilities and some typing courses.¹⁴⁰ At times, the school received some unexpected guests such as one MAAG inspector (Military Assistance Advisory Group) who came for ‘a short unannounced visit’.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, June 22, 1965.
¹³⁸ CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, November 14, 1966.
¹³⁹ CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 2, November 12, 1969.
¹⁴⁰ CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, June 7, 1966.
¹⁴¹ CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, December 2, 1968.
These examples illustrate the constraints, dependence, and marked US influence under which the school was operating but at the same time thanks to which it was able to survive financially and to gradually shift its purpose towards a pioneer international programme. Some signs of positive collaboration between the school and some US Department of State officers were also reported. The headmaster Sullivan wrote in *The Copenhagen Internationalist* that ‘Dr. Krouse of the U.S State Department is a very good friend of this school’, after Krouse’s visit at CIS in November 1966.\(^{142}\)

Obviously, in terms of finance, the Board’s most arduous work was to search for funds in all possible ways, with a constant set of ideas and actions to make up for the school’s deficit. A few examples of fund-raisings selected over the years provide an insight on the level of creativity and sometimes humour, but mostly bring to the fore the exclusive network that the school was part of, through its community.

In November 1964, the American Women and Men’s club organized a school’s fund-raising event at the American Ambassador’s residence. It was a fur and champagne fashion show, in collaboration with the well-known Danish retailer Birger Christensen and some popular Danish models of the time. According to an article about the event in *Se og Hør*, a Danish celebrity journalism magazine, the event raised 2 000 DKK and welcomed 275 guests.\(^{143}\) In May

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1966, a square dance was organised at the General Motors auditorium.\textsuperscript{144} Later, in 1971, a Monte Carlo night was organized for the funding of the Barracks’ project mentioned in Section 5.1, still at the Ambassador’s residence, where ‘teachers and students ran the blackjack and roulette tables and the Ambassador’s wife served hors d’oeuvres dressed as a showgirl’.\textsuperscript{145} The school minutes recorded that were invited ‘all employees of the American Mission, the American business community, the Foreign Office and the two senior officers of each foreign embassy located in Copenhagen’.\textsuperscript{146} The invitations were also extended to ‘certain select Gladsaxe Kommune officials’\textsuperscript{147}

Figure 5.11 on page 216 represents another example of a fund raising event, a flyer distributed for the construction of the same Barracks with an illustration representing some teaching activities in the open field area of Høje Gladsaxe, with the accompanied text ‘Copenhagen International school won’t have a roof over its head, unless…’. An alumnus shared this photo for the research and titled it ‘they were getting desperate’.\textsuperscript{148}

\textsuperscript{144} CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, March 29, 1966.
\textsuperscript{146} CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 2, April 14, 1971.
\textsuperscript{147} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{148} Philipp, shared photo folders. 2019.
In 1966, another Board’s idea was to contact the Rebild Committee with the proposal to make a pamphlet concerning the school with a giro attached, and ‘place it on every seat’ at the Rebild ceremony.\textsuperscript{149} Some historical investigation on this event gives some insight on long-term bonds between the US and

\textsuperscript{149} CIS, \textit{Board Minutes. Binder 1}, June 7 and 29, 1966.
Danish immigrants from the end of the nineteenth century, bonds that the school Board tried to take advantage from or reimagine under the school project.

Since the 1910s, the Rebild ceremony has happened every 4th of July in Denmark – Northern Jutland – to celebrate the US Independence Day, ‘arguably the largest Independence Day outside the US’.\textsuperscript{150} From 1880 to the beginning of the twentieth century, approximately 12 percent of the Danish population immigrated to the US – 300 000 persons by 1912 for a total population of 2 432 000 – attracted by a better economic life or due to their conversion to the Mormon religion.\textsuperscript{151} In 1911, a group of immigrants bought a 200-acre parcel in Northern Jutland ‘as a place of homecoming for all Danish Americans’. In 1912, the land was given to the Danish King Christian X, who established the first Danish National Park – Rebild Bakker or Rebild National Park – where all Danes can come with the agreement that every year the Rebild National Park Society organises a ceremony to celebrate the US Independence Day and at the same time the friendship between the two countries. In 2021, the Queen of Denmark, Margrethe II, is the protector of the organization and ‘the celebration still attracts thousands of people and dignitaries from countries as well as US military representatives and prominent speakers and entertainers’.\textsuperscript{152} Even if the ceremony and the Rebild society are only mentioned once in the Board minutes because of the fund-raising

\textsuperscript{151} Ibid.
opportunity, the society gives a sense of the special ‘Atlanticist streak’ present in Denmark as well as in Sweden and Norway, due to the massive immigration of their population to the US in the turn of the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{153} This US-Danish legacy is important to take into account for the analysis of the Danish perception towards America and its role in the 1960s.

Finally, these few examples show the contrast between the elitist group of people involved in the school’s creation and the financial struggle to run the project, a contrast exemplified by the fur and champagne fashion show to subsidise some basic temporary facilities. Additionally, the different actions and events exemplify how much the school’s creation was almost seen as a mission from the US embassy’s point of view. Ambassador White, in a letter sent to the Board after the official opening of the proper school, commended ‘the almost superhuman efforts to keep the plan moving along. With great odds against you, you stuck firmly to your convictions, and I was indeed proud to be able to take part in the opening ceremonies’.\textsuperscript{154} This sense of mission was also shared by some staff members during some interviews.

In addition to the financial support to cover salaries and to sponsor educational materials, the school received some tangible donations: some printing service from the WHO for a school’s brochure prepared by the USIS, an overhead projector and a copying machine from 3 M company, one set of Encyclopaedia Britannica, two sets of Britannica Junior, one copy World Atlas, one set of


Grolier’s Book of Knowledge, a book of Popular Science and Lands and Peoples, a cassette slide projector, and a 30-volume set of film strips on Animals, Biology and Ecology from the State Department, the loan of typewriters from the US embassy, and some photographs taken of school activities at no cost for the school brochure by the Gulf Oil Company.\textsuperscript{155} This list gives again a sense of the dominant role of the US in the school’s operations but at the same time shows the joined efforts that were sometimes made from different entities, such as the WHO and USIS for the making of a school brochure. This aspect of joined efforts is further examined in the next sub-section. It shows how the different influences present in the school aimed at working together for common interests even if, at times, they had contrasted views on the school’s educational mission.

**Negotiations with the Danish Ministry of Education**

Section 5.1 highlighted the municipal support to the school through the instrumental role of Mayor Jakobsen in finding and offering a nominal rent for CIS’s facilities. The support was also educational with the close partnership between the two schools developed in Chapter 6 and 7, and thanks to the role of Østergaard explained in Section 5.1 and later in the thesis. The support became also political when, in 1967, Jakobsen used his influence to approach the Prime Minister regarding Danish governmental subsidies to the school.\textsuperscript{156} His initiative to reach Danish higher spheres was not isolated, but part of a wider process engaged by the Board and other influential persons.


\textsuperscript{156} CIS, *Board Minutes. Binder 1*, February 9, 1967.
In fact, in parallel of the search for contributions from the US private and public sectors, from 1965 the Board with the support of other Danish and international actors engaged some long negotiations with the Danish Ministry of Education and the Foreign Office to qualify for governmental subsidies.

Since 1964, the school, a non-profit institution called the Copenhagen International High School, has been registered, at the request of the Board, under the Danish law. In November 1965, when the school opened as a teaching institution and not anymore as a correspondent school, the school chair, Colonel Bailey, the school head, Godfrey Sullivan, and the rector of the Danish host-school, Dr. Østergaard, visited Mr Højby, the director of secondary schools at the Danish Ministry of Education, to present the ‘International High School’ project and ask for some financial support. Three options were broached by Højby: an assistance to reduce the budget such as the provision of a teacher, a grant, and some ‘annual fiscal support of 90% of the school budget’. The last option was applicable under the School Law No. 81 from Mars 1961 related to governmental subsidy to private high schools, with the condition to meet the legal requirement which was to provide a curriculum that would prepare students for the entrance into Danish universities. The minutes noted that:

It would not be necessary to conduct classes in Danish although the amount of Danish taught might need to be increased and in times classes might be taught in several major languages. Mr. Sullivan and Mr. Østergaard felt we could meet these standards and that it was desirable to do so. It was felt that it would require two or three years’ time before we could qualify.

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157 CIS. "Prospectus." Board Minutes, Binder 1. Date estimated 1965
158 CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, November 17, 1965.
159 Ibid.
Østergaard had already a strong experience with the school’s financial instability and negotiations at high political level from his directorship (1959-61) at the United Nations International School (UNIS) in New York, when Sullivan was Østergaard’s school deputy. According to Halina Malinowski and Vera Zorn:

“During Østergaard’s two-year tenure, the General [UN] Assembly had continued to concern itself with the problem of finding suitable permanent accommodations near Headquarters for the school… It was at that session [fourteen UN Assembly session] that the Secretary-General decided to recommend a solution, reached in consultation with the Board of Trustees, whereby the Assembly could act to ensure greater financial stability for the school.”160

In 1959, UNIS was still looking for financial stability and was also pioneering an international curriculum at the primary and secondary schools’ levels. The two educators, Østergaard and Sullivan, were much aware of the curriculum’s development, further detailed in Section 6.2. Their common agreement to meet the standard of the Danish Ministry of Education was most probably based on their previous experiences on how to fit a curriculum under constraints, while still having in mind the long-term goal of introducing an international curriculum.

It is worth mentioning that another small private primary international school, based in a host-Danish private primary school in the suburbs of Copenhagen, received some governmental subsidies in the 1960s. Martin Mayer, in his book from 1968, recalled his visit to Bernadotteskolen, a Danish primary school,

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'private and “progressive” as nothing in the homeland of progressive still is’. Bernadotteskolen had a small international section of 60 students out of a total population of 500. Mayer mentioned the 80% governmental subvention for the private school, international section included, where fees were at 111 DKK per month, creating a waiting list for places. In comparison, the international high school’s fees were in 1968 approximately at 600 DKK per months due its self-financing.

In November 1966, one year after their first visit to the Danish Ministry of Education, the same three people – Bailey, Sullivan, Østergaard – met again Mr Højby, the director of secondary schools, and this time were also accompanied by Krouse, chief of the Overseas Schools Office of the US State Department – European region. De facto, with Krouse present, the U.S. Department of State’s support to the school became not only financial and educational but also political. According to Højby, the national elections on November 22, 1966 were blocking any decision for subsidies and the school had to wait at least until after April of 1967 when the new fiscal year started. In addition to the election’s matter, Højby explained that:

The final decision doesn’t lie with the Ministry, but with the appropriate financial committee of Parliament. The school did not come exactly under the heading of a Gymnasium and its case would have to be

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161 M. Mayer, *Diploma: International Schools and University Entrance* (Hartford, Connecticut: Twentieth Century Fund, 1968), 123-124. Mayer explained how “progressive” the school was, using the example of workshops-based curriculum according to students’ interests. The school did not want to have a secondary international section as the school had no interest in examinations. Until 1963, Mayer mentions that the Danish students were not prepared for the exams for entrance to Danish Universities.

162 Krouse visited the school on a regular basis until his resignation in September 1968 and was, from Sullivan’s words, a strong supporter and ‘a very good friend of the school’ as written in the ‘Copenhagen Internationalist,’ 1968 retrospect.
presented as a special matter. It was therefore necessary to proceed with caution.\textsuperscript{163}

Højby underlined that the Danish Central Government paid about 90\% of the salaries of teachers and that the school could possibly get a grant equivalent to the percentage of their total teachers’ salary. In the same minutes of November 1966, it was written that ‘Mr Højby appeared now to be convinced that the school was a genuinely international effort as a result of Mr Krouse’s representations’. The expression ‘genuinely international effort’ strongly suggests that for the Danish authority and until 1966, the school was perceived purely American in its purpose.

It is important to note that at the same period, Leach, in his book’s chapter \textit{What Is an International School?}, used the expression ‘genuinely international’ to qualify a certain type of international schools.\textsuperscript{164} In his opinion, ‘genuinely international’ meant that ‘no one government or national grouping (especially the host nation and largest expatriate community) should control the international school nor hold half of the seats in its Board of governors, however selected’.\textsuperscript{165} Leach was thus making a clear distinction between the schools with a multilateral internationalist character and the ones with a unilateral and bilateral character. Based on his experience at Geneva International School where three different nations were competing – American, French and Swiss – he claimed that ‘investment of money must come from at

\textsuperscript{163} CIS, \textit{Board Minutes. Binder 1}, November 14, 1966.
\textsuperscript{165} Ibid.
least three national sources’.\textsuperscript{166} Leach was making the point that the school’s governance and finance were strongly influencing and shaping its character. In the case of CIS in the 1960s, and based on Leach’s definition, the school operated under a unilateral international scheme, where ‘genuine internationalism’ was not seen as realisable, despite Højby’s belief. The US financial unilateral dominance as well as the governance and the failure to get any Danish Funding most certainly played a distinctive role in this configuration.

A few months after the meeting at the Danish Ministry of Education, the Board received a letter from the Ministry explaining that financial support couldn’t be given to the school, first because the school did not meet the Danish academic requirements and second because the Danish Foreign Office has advised the Ministry that ‘European governments did not normally subsidize “foreign” schools on their territories, but expected them to be financed entirely by the foreign nationals who set them up’.\textsuperscript{167} The school, ‘genuinely international’ as expressed by Højby, could only count on the subsidies from the country that set the school, which was dominantly American. The ministry was not yet seeing the potential interest or necessity to foster the establishment of a magnate school for business companies, as it became years later.\textsuperscript{168} Even if international education emerged as a national concern in the 1960s in Danish schools through the Danish UNESCO school project already mentioned in Chapter 4, CIS was not seen as a new concept of international schooling, but

\textsuperscript{166} Leach, “What is an International School?,” 13.
\textsuperscript{167} CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, January 27, 1967.
\textsuperscript{168} Mayor of Copenhagen, Frank Jensen’s speech at the inauguration of CIS’ new building, February, 2017. Personal notes from the author taken on the inauguration day.
rather as a ‘foreign school’ in the Danish territory financed by US dollars, where many families from different foreign services and international organisations were exempt from Danish income tax.\textsuperscript{169}

At the time when the Board received the negative answer from the Ministry, the Board meeting of January 1967 reported an optimistic view on the financial situation for the current school year, anticipating a deficit equivalent to the rent that they owed to Gladsaxe Commune, which ‘appeared to be well covered by saleable assets’.\textsuperscript{170} In fact, even if the end of the year 1966 was marked by a period of strong financial insecurity, it was finally stabilized by an additional grant of $10,000 received in November 1966, from the US Department States.\textsuperscript{171} Nevertheless, during the same Board meeting, the chair anticipated some further financial struggle for the coming school year 1967-68. The chair, Colonel Bailey, shared his impression that ‘business firms in Copenhagen were becoming increasingly reluctant to donate funds to the School for the third year running’.\textsuperscript{172} He was also pessimistic about some possible Danish State’s subsidies. Equally, the WHO’s representative at the Board reported that, despite the organization’s willingness to support the school, their budgetary situation did not give the possibility for a financial support. All these concurrent events forced Bailey to conclude that:

\begin{quote}
Failing financial support from the Danish Ministry of Education, it might be necessary to close the [S]chool at the end of the current year. A
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{171} In 1966, 10,000 USD was equivalent to 69 000 DKK.
\textsuperscript{172} CIS, \textit{Board Minutes. Binder 1}, January 27, 1967.
decision would soon be reached, so that both parents and teachers take
the necessary steps in good time.\textsuperscript{173}

A following Board meeting, one month later, was set up to discuss the future of
the school. The minutes taken exemplify the strong diplomatic connections that
the school was able to use through its Board members and the persuasive
strategies that influential people were ready to display in joined efforts to find
financial assistance. It was reported that: the American and Canadian
Ambassadors approached the Danish Ministry of Education; the British and
Turkish Embassies and two regional Directors of WHO made some positive
actions vis-à-vis the Danish Foreign Office; while the Mayor of Gladsaxe
accepted to meet the Prime Minister as mentioned earlier.\textsuperscript{174}

Based on these collaborative political efforts and a new response from the
Minister of Education stating that ‘he would try to find ways of helping the
school’, the Board, while acknowledging the need to increase the size of the
student body, convinced the Parents Association to vote for the continuation of
the school, a proposal which was approved by the 20 parents present.\textsuperscript{175}

In February 1967, the American Ambassador and Colonel Bailey met the
Minister of Education to ask again for financial assistance and in March 1967,
Østergaard and Sullivan presented a draft curriculum ‘for developing a Danish
gymnasium taught in English’.\textsuperscript{176} Finally, the Ministry of Finance responded

\textsuperscript{173} CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, January 27, 1967.
\textsuperscript{174} CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, November, 14 1966 and February, 9 1967.
\textsuperscript{175} CIS, Minutes of the Parents Association. Binder 1, February 9, 1967.
\textsuperscript{176} CIS, Application to Ministry of Education for Financial Assistance, (Board Minutes. Binder 1, 1968).
positively for some possible funds but this time with ‘the restriction that 50% of
the enrolment be Danish students’. However, a new Danish general election
took place in January 23, 1968, which led to the change of government and
ministries. All connections that CIS established at a high Danish political level
and the negotiations in progress had to start from zero.

This long process of negotiation, which took enormous time and energy from
the Board and other actors such as Rector Østergaard, not only demonstrates
the Danish official position towards an independent atypical schooling project
but also gives insight on its perception towards the nascent international
school’s identity.

Even if the financial uncertainty persisted until 1972 when the student
population reached 88, and despite the deadlock concerning the Danish
State’s subsidies which started to be received for the secondary school only in
1992, the Board never had to anticipate again a possible school closure.

Each April, the Board voted for the continuation of the school’s project. During
the period 1965-1973, the school stayed financially afloat thanks to the private
and public US grants and donations, a situation which confirmed what Leach
wrote in 1969:

But the essential here is to realize that the international school is a
sufficiently radical departure in the nationalist epoch in which we live as
to be forced to build its own way without the normal governmental
subsidies which are essential to make schools viable institutions.

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178 CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 2, August, 3 1972.
179 Leach, International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education, 6.
In the same period, the IB project was also fighting for its own growth with the search of donors and philanthropists. Peterson described the project as a 'co-operative venture' with multiple founders: the Ford Foundation from 1966 to 1976, the Dulverton Trust from 1967 to 1973, The Gulbenkian Foundation, the Twentieth Century Fund, and the Wenner Gren Foundation, in addition to the UNESCO financial support.\textsuperscript{180} Hill explained that by the end of 1975, the grants were not sufficient, and a closure was considered. To make the project continue, ten heads of IB schools pledged an annual subscription fee and nine countries guaranteed funding for the next two years, Denmark being one of them.\textsuperscript{181} Hill highlighted that in addition to Peterson’s strong profile as ‘educational official’ and ‘university academic’ – Director of the Department and Institute of Education at Oxford University 1958 -1973 – some public international figures ‘with an extremely high degree of leverage’ helped the IB to be accepted at the ‘highest diplomatic, political, and government levels in many countries’.\textsuperscript{182} Hill mentioned how the influence of those well-known actors helped to ‘break through national prejudices for what then amounted to (and still does amount to) a tiny percentage of the world’s student population’.\textsuperscript{183} This parallel between the development of the IB and CIS shows that, even at different scales, the necessity to fight for subsidies, to convince national governments to recognise a new type of school and to get

\textsuperscript{180} The Trust gave a 30,000 GDP grant from 1967 to 1973. The Dulverton Trust, "70 Years of The Dulverton Trust," The Dulverton Trust, last modified August 14, 2019, https://www.dulverton.org/tag/history/.

\textsuperscript{181} I. Hill, "The International Baccalaureate: Policy process in education," Journal of Research in International Education 1, no. 2 (2002): 201. The nine countries were: Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Italy, Morocco, Netherlands, Switzerland, UK, USA, Finland and Germany.

\textsuperscript{182} Hill, "The International Baccalaureate: Policy process in education, 200.

\textsuperscript{183} Ibid.
international and political actors involved at the highest level remained the same. The shared struggle between the different international institutions, fighting for the same educational endeavour, fostered a sense of unity among the educators, which is explained in Section 6.2.\footnote{In 1966, Ecolint was also on the brink of bankruptcy as reported by Leach. Leach, \textit{International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education}, 6.}

If the American influence in the school governance and finance was unquestionable, as the last sections evidenced, there is less evidence to prove that the school project was more than a pragmatic solution to respond to the problem of educating US teenagers abroad. Was it part of a wider US ideological enterprise through cultural infiltration present in Europe after 1945 and more specifically during the Cold War as mentioned in Section 4.2, or part of ‘a larger operation’ as described by Sørensen and Petersen?\footnote{Stephan, A. (2006). \textit{The Americanization of Europe: Culture, Diplomacy, and Anti-Americanism After 1945}. New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 5.} The two authors who researched on the cultural Americanization and Anti-Americanism in Denmark after 1945 point out that ‘once we have entered the “grey zone” of US activities in Denmark, our knowledge is naturally very scarce’\footnote{Sørensen, N. A., & Petersen, K. (2006). Ameri-Danes and Pro-American: Cultural Americanization and Anti-Americanism in Denmark After 1945. In A. Stephan (Ed.), \textit{The Americanization of Europe: Culture, Diplomacy, and Anti-Americanism After 1945} (pp. 115-146). New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 119.}.

### 5.4 School population

The school's financial survival was an initial problem that the Board addressed by using its immediate network and connection with influential actors, mainly Danish and American, and both from the private and public sectors as seen in the previous section; however, increasing the size of the student body was the
key solution to the financial problem and until 1972, it was a recurrent topic raised at the Board meetings. In 1968, the Board estimated that the school would be financially sustainable ‘when the average enrolment exceeds some 80 students’. In fact, in 1972, Østergaard stated that the school was moving to a new phase, ‘where its immediate pecuniary problems seem to be eliminated’, with its population reaching 88 students.

Over the years different solutions have been considered to raise the number of students, such as contacting other embassies in Copenhagen, having boarding students from Scandinavia and other European countries, or having Danish students sent by the US organisation People-to-People to meet the requirement for Danish governmental recognition. Even though the last two ideas did not go through, the number of students naturally increased probably due to the growth of international trade and other non-profit or diplomatic activities settling in Denmark. The data presented in Table 5.5 on page 231 show clear trends in the student population’s representation. For the period of 1964-1969, the data come from the minutes shown on Figure 5.10 on page 211 and for the period of 1970-1975 from CIS’s yearbooks.

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188 U. Østergaard, To the Board of C.I.S. (Board Minutes Binder 2, August 3, 1972).
189 CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, April 27, 1967. People-to-People was a programme initiated by US President Dwight D. Eisenhower and inaugurated in September 1956. The aim of the programme was to promote world peace and to increase international understanding through the interactions of the people of the US with people of other nations. It was seen as an experiment in personal diplomacy as part of a wider international diplomacy. G. Leppert, “Dwight D. Eisenhower and People -to-People as an Experiment in Personal Diplomacy: A Missing Element for Understanding Eisenhower's Second Term as President,” (PhD diss., Kansas State University, 2003), ProQuest (3113958).
Table 5.5: CIS’s American and non-American students (1964-1975)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School year</th>
<th>Total number of students</th>
<th>Number of non-American students</th>
<th>Number of nationalities</th>
<th>American students’ population in %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data collected from school archives (Board minutes and yearbooks)

Over the first decade, the total number of students trebled. This increase maintained the school afloat while at the same time gave justification for its existence. Even though the percentage of American students decreased from 74% to 53% over ten years and the number of students from other nationalities increased, making the school more and more international, it kept a strong American tinge. As we will see in Chapter 6, the dichotomy between American and non-American students created some divergence of opinions on the curriculum taught, with the underlying questioning of whether the school should be a regular high school preparing students for the American universities or a school with a new international programme opening doors to other alternatives in higher education.
Figure 5.12 on page 233, found in the Board minutes of 1968, highlights which information on the student body was considered important by the school administration – the origins of students and teachers and their number, and the distinction between the number of non-American students versus American.
The list of countries represented, 13 for 66 students, shows the geographical spread, quite atypical for an American-based institution in a period of ideological and geo-political confrontations between Western and Eastern countries. It also exemplifies the need of schooling for a new transient population – foreign service officers, business, or international civil servants –
which, as shown in Table 5.6, increased over the years. The list of countries represented provides a first glimpse of the mix of cultures within the classrooms as developed in Section 7.1. The origin of teachers was dominantly American as further explained on page 237, with a significant representation of Danish teachers.

Table 5.6: Countries of origin of the student body per year (1970-1974)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries of students’ origin from more to less represented</th>
<th>Number of students per countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China (mainly HK)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-Africa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of nations represented per year</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data collected from the yearbooks

Starting from the yearbook 1970, each CIS’s student was represented within his/her year group – Freshmen, Somophores, Juniors, and Seniors – with a photo and the place of birth and nationality, which helped create the table. In
the first yearbook, dated from 1969, only the Seniors’ nationalities were listed. From 1972, five continents were represented in the student body. The African continent was not included, except South Africa in 1973. African countries were just beginning to take their independence, except South Africa which had been independent since 1910. Many African countries used the French school system for their diplomatic families due to the colonial history. The school population was then quite representative of the geo-political context of the world in the 1960s.

The student’s country of origin did not automatically match the student’s place of birth. For example, in the yearbook of 1971, 11 US students among 40 had a birth place outside of the US – Egypt, Pakistan, Taiwan, Peru, Denmark, Germany, Yugoslavia, Vietnam and Norway. A few had two nationalities. This is representative of the phenomenon that the socio-anthropologist, Ruth Hill Useem, started to identify in the 1950s, and that she called the ‘Third Culture Kids’. She observed the experience of American children accompanying their parents to live abroad and ‘enrolled in makeshift schools assisted by the Department of State’. \(^{190}\) Hill Useem mentioned three coincidental major changes that impacted the movement of human beings: ‘the ending of colonialism, the dramatic increase in science and technology, and the rise of two relatively new world powers – the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R’. \(^{191}\) Chapter 7 will look in more details at the school culture in reference to the diversity of


\(^{191}\) Ibid.
students’ culture and will show how the school was part of this new observed phenomenon.

Table 5.7: CIS’s students and teachers’ population at CIS (1964-1973)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>End of school year</th>
<th>Total number of students</th>
<th>Total number of full-time and part-time teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Data collected from school’s board minutes and yearbooks by Keson for the teachers and by the author for the students.¹⁹²

Table 5.7 highlights the high increase of students from the school year 1970-71 to 1971-72. At the same time, the total number of teachers stabilised, which explains the financial security when the school reached over 80 students. The data on the number of teachers is based on Keson’s archival work from the student magazines and the yearbooks from 1969 to 1974.¹⁹³ There is no clear information found in the school records on the number of part-time and full-

¹⁹² The students’ data are already given on Table 1.1: CIS’s student population (1964-1973).
time teachers, and several unknown nationalities, making a more specific
analysis difficult.

However, according to Keson’s list of CIS’s teachers by years, nationality and
subject taught, those teaching the core subjects (English, maths, science, and
history) were most often American, while teachers from other nationalities
were teaching foreign languages (Danish, French, and German). Sport
teachers were Danish.\textsuperscript{194} One possible reason for the US dominance was that
the US State Department’s grants were allocated to supplement American
teachers’ salary as already explained. Alec Peterson mentioned the ‘excessive
mobility’ of the staff of the international schools involved in the beginning of the
IB.\textsuperscript{195} He linked this situation to the precarity of the teaching positions offered,
including short contracts, no pension system nor career structure.

\textbf{Conclusion}

The first data chapter concentrated on the school’s organisation. It aimed at
evidencing how a small US embassy-based school in Copenhagen evolved
into an international institution through the interaction, collaboration, and
collusion of different actors, representing three main influences: American,
Danish, and other international communities. It demonstrated how the shift
happened due to the necessity of concerted efforts from multiple actors to
make the school survive.

\textsuperscript{194} Keson, \textit{teacher Data 1963-2000}.
\textsuperscript{195} A. D. Peterson, \textit{The International Baccalaureate: An Experiment in International
The school governance, whose Board chairmanship was occupied by a high turnover of American officers from the embassy and US businessmen from 1965 to 1972, passed under the long-standing leadership of a Danish internationalist rector. This shift clearly gave a new direction to the school which, symbolically, the same year graduated its first student with the full IB diploma as further detailed in Chapter 6.

From 1965 to 1977, the school was integrated into a new Danish school’s complex, with a first period of four years within the Danish facilities and the next eight years in some barracks settled on the campus’ ground. The special situation of a small private school being hosted by a Danish municipal high school instilled some ‘Danishness’ into its character.

The school finances were dominated by American donations and grants, both from the private and public sectors. This financial dependence had some clear effects on the school’s operation, which was not without creating tensions for an institution becoming more and more international in character, notably with the shift in the composition of its student body. This American over-dominance, representative of the American hegemony of the post-war period, was amplified by the implacable Danish governmental position which would not accept to subsidise the school in the same way as other Danish private secondary schools.

Already in this chapter, it is thus possible to perceive wider forces at play in a small independent school, such as the US political activity through cultural
dissemination at the time of the intense ideological Eastern-Western conflict, the role of international institutions in the 1960s – represented in this case by the WHO –, and the nationalistic view on education by the Danish government in contrast with the internationalist approach of some Danish local actors such as mayor Jakobsen and rector Østergaard. The next chapter reveals how these two personalities played a significant role on the early development of CIS’s educational mission.
6 An ‘American entity?’ from a US high school to an IB school

Introduction

Chapter 5 showed how the school formation was the result of a co-operative venture under three main influences – American, Danish, and international communities. This chapter examines the development of the school’s educational mission and more particularly its shift from offering an American high school diploma to becoming one of the first seven schools to trial the experimental International Baccalaureate (IB).

The main idea of the chapter is to show that, despite a dominant belief that, for CIS, ‘the primary emphasis should be American, with “internationalism” being strongly stressed as the secondary influence’, the IB project prevailed. This was mainly due to the determination of a few CIS’s actors, and the result of their early affiliation with the nascent network of international educators present in Europe and in the US in the early 1960s.

During the very first interviews conducted with Inez Venning, Charles Gellar and Jim Keson, my attention was caught by the sense of resistance, or ‘breakthrough’, expressed by the educators towards the implementation of the school’s international educational project.¹ For instance, Venning recalled that ‘they [the American embassy people] didn’t have any high thought about

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¹ Inez Venning is the widow of the CIS headmaster, Godfrey Sullivan, from 1965 to 1968. She became first headmaster of CIS Junior school in 1973, position that she kept until 1989. Charles Gellar was CIS headmaster and chief administrator from 1968 to 1985.
internationalism, not at all, but we just worked through all that’. Similarly, Charles Gellar explained:

I had the board right in the palm of my hands almost, except for a couple of people from the American embassy who didn’t like what was going on. They didn’t like the IB. I had an expert recommended to the board who said we shouldn’t do the IB. But they had no chance. It was no way.

Jim Keson added:

When half of the students were American, the Americans could say, the job of the school is to prepare them to go back to American high school or universities. Americans no longer had that power to decide that the school should be American in the mid-1980s. The school’s job was to look after the interests and the needs of the individual student rather than make a programme that the student would have to fit into.

Even if I did not succeed to collect additional personal testimonies on this idea of ‘breakthrough’ or resistance, it seemed that Sullivan, Gellar and Keson unveiled some points of tension, possibly crucial in the early development of CIS and at least important to explore to understand the shift in the school’s educational mission.

In Section 6.1, I choose to make a documentary analysis, using chronological order, to uncover how CIS’s educational mission was defined and discussed across various school records – Board minutes and promotional material – and thus to highlight its transformation over time.

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2 I. Venning, Personal interview, CIS November 19, 2014.
3 C. Gellar, Personal interview, Brussels, November 30, 2014.
4 J. Keson, Personal interview, CIS, April 4, 2019.
In Section 6.2, I concentrate on the implementation of the International Baccalaureate within the school, still using chronological order. In doing so, I pay particular attention to the connection established between CIS and the network of international schools in Europe, and analyse the impact this connection had on the school’s educational shift. The data comes from the school records, some published primary and secondary sources, and some interviews.

In section 6.3, my research focuses on the background and role of three school actors – Ulf Østergaard, Godfrey Sullivan and Charles Gellar – who I identified as the main agents of change in CIS’s educational mission during its foundation years. I argue that their individual and collaborative commitment toward internationalism established a recognizably stable continuity in the overarching international ideal of the school. The data are mainly based on interviews and books published in the 1960s and 1970s.

The chapter thus addresses my first research question, *What can the school’s early history reveal about the inception of the international education in the 1960s and early 1970s?* and my third research question, *What does the school’s early history reveal about its institutional identity?*

### 6.1 Changes in school mission

The section traces the evolution of the school mission as written in different school records. The chronological analysis of the documents shows how, gradually, the narrative around the school’s purpose changed, thus reflecting its transitioning from preparing students to a university entrance examination in
the US to offering an internationally recognized secondary school-leaving
diploma delivered by the IB. Moreover, the analysis uncovers some ambiguity
and conflict around the school project.

The first school’s document, ‘Standing Rules for Copenhagen International
High School’, the school constitution which included seven rules, stressed that
the purpose of the high school, under formal classroom instruction, was to
prepare students to access US universities’ entrance while at the same time
offering an English acquisition program to non-American students. Rule 2
specified that:

The purpose of the school is to give pupils of all nationalities a thorough
knowledge of the English language as well as such normal and special
knowledge as is necessary for them to pass a university entrance
examination in the U.S.A.\(^5\)

The quote shows no ambiguity on the high school mission which was
ultimately to prepare students for applying to US universities. According to the
draft of a school ‘prospectus’ from the same period, the taught curriculum for
the school year 1965-66 was based on standard American high school
subjects, which included ‘4 years of English, 3 years of Mathematics, 3 years
of Science and 4 years of Social Sciences as a minimum’.\(^6\) Table 6.1 on page
244 gives an overview of the subjects taught by class levels in the scholastic

\(^5\) CIS, "Standing Rules." In Table 5.5, I already explained that, in 1965, although the school’s
student body was represented by most Americans with a high number being children of US
government employees, five other nationalities were present.

\(^6\) CIS. "Prospectus," Board Minutes, Binder 1. Date estimated 1965.
Table 6.1: Subjects taught at CIS at the 4 grade levels (1966-1967)\textsuperscript{7}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Class levels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Level I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>World History I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maths</td>
<td>Elementary algebra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sciences</td>
<td>General Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Languages</td>
<td>French, German, and Danish at all 4 levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>At all grade levels</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same ‘prospectus’ specified that the objective was ‘to provide a sound college preparatory curriculum, based primarily on the English language \textit{but} exploiting the foreign environment’.\textsuperscript{8} The expression ‘foreign environment to exploit’ can be interpreted as a dominant US discourse where Denmark was perceived as the foreign place to exploit, whereas the reality of the school was to be a foreign institution, hosted by a Danish school, and supposedly adjusting and learning from its surrounding community. This dominant discourse can be read in connection with the US’ leading world position of the 1960s as already illustrated in Section 3.2. Still, in 1965, at the first CIS’s parent meeting, Colonel William Bailey, the chairman, explained that ‘the high school [changed] from a correspondence school to a full-fledged high school operating much in the American concept \textit{but} with the idea that it is an international school’.\textsuperscript{9} It is worth pondering on the use of the conjunction \textit{but} in the two examples previously cited, as it can suggest the existence of some

\textsuperscript{7} CIS, \textit{Brochure}, 1966, 10.
\textsuperscript{8} CIS. "Prospectus." 1965. Emphasis on ‘but’ made by the author.
contrasting realities in one institution and some ambiguity around its initial mission.

The expression ‘being American but international’ can be contextualised in the wider US socio-political context of the 1960s where international education was put at the forefront of international relations. In fact, and as already mentioned in Section 3.2, US President Johnson, in a special address to the Congress advocating for the need of international education programmes, stated that ‘education lies at the heart of every nation’s hopes and purposes. It must be at the heart of our international relations’.10 International and overseas education were thus seen as a tool to build bridges, to promote international understanding and peace while at the same time hardening America’s position as world leader against the spread of communism.11 US overseas education was also, according to Dr Stanley W. Krouse, the chief of the Overseas Schools Office of the Department of State for the European Region, mostly considered as a mean to strengthen US national education.12 Indeed, during one of Krouse’s visits at CIS, the minutes recorded his statement:

Mr Krouse said that approaches to Congress for direct support of overseas programs run up against the very conservative attitude of influential members of the body. The President [Johnson]’s program is designed to help overseas education as a part of overall aid to education in the United States.13

12 See footnotes 163 on page 223 for more details about his visits and his role at CIS.
13 CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, November 14, 1966.
A brochure from 1966, written at the end of the first scholastic year of formal classroom instruction, provides additional evidence on the development of CIS’s mission with two distinct purposes. The primary purpose was academic, to ‘help young people, many of whom have been long abroad, master the curriculum areas required by the best American universities’, while the secondary introduced the idea of cross-cultural exchange.\textsuperscript{14} It stated that:

\begin{quote}
Our second purpose is to bring together young persons of diverse nationalities, through school associations and extra-curriculum activities and trips. Exchanges with Danish schools and required courses in Danish culture and Danish language will increase cross-cultural experience.\textsuperscript{15}
\end{quote}

While the first objective was utilitarian and competitive, as to prepare students for the best American academic future, the second one, cultural and humanistic, recognised the benefit of the diversity of the student body, sharing social and life experiences, and the advantage of being hosted by a Danish school, ‘a unique position to contribute to the students’ intelligent and appreciative adjustment to life in Denmark’.\textsuperscript{16} After one year of operation as a school with taught courses happening in the classroom, a change in the school narrative, from exploiting the foreign environment to adjusting to the Danish life, was noticeable and seemingly purposeful.

In Section 2.2, I discussed some limitations in the archival research due to destroyed or unkept materials. Records on curriculum and titles of books have not been kept. The Board minutes mentioned that the textbooks used for the

\textsuperscript{14} CIS. "Prospectus.", 3.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{16} CIS, \textit{Brochure}, 1966, 5.
core subjects were coming from the US. The teaching of some modern foreign languages – French and German – was also part of the curriculum, and was in accordance with the US National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958, where Title III promoted the instruction of modern foreign languages. The school was then aligned with US high schools and universities’ requirements thanks to the recognition of its units of academic credits, and because of its involvement in a process of evaluation by a US accrediting agency, ‘the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools’. This agency was the only US agency operating in Europe until 1972 and was accrediting American overseas schools.

Some visuals included in the brochure of 1966 give a sense of how the school advertised itself while at the same time provide some information on the applied teaching methods which corresponded to those on-trend in the US. All images put emphasis on students in action. One student was shown using an object in a Biology class with the teacher explaining the hands-on material and other students were doing laboratory experiments in a Physics class (Figure 6.1). Other figures represented some students in a language laboratory (Figure

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20 Ibid., 25.
6.2) with the caption ‘tape-recorder aids language teaching’ and some
students playing volleyball in Physical Education class.21

Figures 6.1 and 6.2, taken in the ‘modern and well-equipped educational
facilities’ of the Danish host school that CIS rented at a low price, show that
the new Danish secondary schools were also in tune with these new methods
of teaching.22

CIS used Søborg Gymnasium’s laboratories as well as their computer facilities
to work on theoretical and practical maths problems such as solving complex
functions. The computer programming was introduced to the students by an
American student who attended CIS through a teacher-training exchange

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21 CIS, Brochure, 1966, 4, 7, 8, 14. CIS used the brand-new equipment from Søborg
Gymnasium as already mentioned in Section 5.1.
programme. It was described that ‘the computer terminal, which looks much like a large typewriter, is connected via a telephone to an extensive computer bank in Glostrup’. The 1960s marked the beginning of the use of technologies in the classroom and the presence of American student teachers brought to the school new teaching ideas and techniques that they learnt in their state-side training. This process was one example of the transfer of American technological advancement and knowledge in Europe.

The emphasis put on the ‘learning by doing’ was aligned with the educational programmes that were introduced in the US in the beginning of the 1960s. These programmes were part of a wider curriculum reform movement for the teaching of sciences at the high school level, and initiated by the National Science Foundation (NSF) under the Eisenhower administration. The Biological Sciences Curriculum Study (BSCS) and the Physical Science Study Committee (PSSC) were two projects among many that ‘generated a host of new instructional materials including elaborate films presentations, innovative laboratory apparatus, case studies…textbooks’. The PSSC Physics course officially started in US high school classrooms in 1960, while the BSCS Biology

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23 Since 1969, CIS was part of an exchange programme with Moorhead State College, Minnesota, and Western Michigan University. Between 1969 and 1973, the school received 29 student teachers to do their practical under the supervision of CIS teachers. CIS, "Fourth Year of Teacher Training at the International School," *CIS Highlights*, June 12, 1973, 4.


26 The ‘learning by doing’ was a method developed by John Dewey in the early twentieth century. Dewey is considered as one of the IB influential educationalists.

27 J. Rudolph, *Scientists in the Classroom: The Cold War Reconstruction of American Science Education* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 68. This reform was also the continuation of the US National Defense Education Act of 1958, in response of the launch of the first artificial satellite Sputnik by the Soviet Union. The act established the legitimacy of federal funding for the development of scientific, mathematic and foreign language’s programmes in higher education.

28 Ibid., 2.
course started in 1963 and was recorded as ‘Biology course’ in CIS’s curriculum in 1968.\textsuperscript{29} CIS received some consultation and visits from the Office of Overseas schools from the US Department of State, its European office being based in Rome (Italy), and some visits from science advisors from US schools.\textsuperscript{30}

Under the section ‘Curriculum’, the same brochure of 1966 started to introduce the school’s intention to participate in the creation of the International Baccalaureate (IB).\textsuperscript{31} Additionally, the brochure reported the association of CIS within the wider network of international schools. Under the section ‘Objectives’ of the brochure, it was explained that:

\textit{In common with other international schools our objective is to provide instruction of such kind and at such level that any pupil may, with a minimum of difficulty and loss of time, transfer to a school in his own or another country.}\textsuperscript{32}

This first reference to other international schools, mainly based in Europe at this time, was made at the same time as Sullivan, headmaster, participated in an educational conference in Switzerland, as explained in Section 6.2.\textsuperscript{33}

During the Parents Association meeting of February 1967, a second school constitution was adopted in replacement of the ‘Standing Rules’ of 1964, which

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{29} Rudolph, \textit{Scientists in the Classroom}, 133 and 163. CIS, \textit{CIS: Brochure}, 1968, 12.
  \item \textsuperscript{31} Ibid., 9.
  \item \textsuperscript{32} CIS, \textit{Brochure}, 1966, 6.
  \item \textsuperscript{33} The participation of Sullivan at an educational conference is mentioned in the board Minutes of April 26, 1966. A list of international schools in Europe comparable to CIS in 1970 found in the board minutes mentions 34 schools, 9 being boarding schools mainly in Switzerland.
\end{itemize}
was considered ‘out of date’.\textsuperscript{34} It is the only motive that I found in the Board minutes to explain the change in the constitution. However, the new constitution was written during the application process for financial assistance to the Danish Ministry of Education, discussed in Section 5.3. It is then possible to infer that the school constitution needed some adjustments to respond to the Danish regulations before it was submitted to the Ministry with a proposed curriculum.\textsuperscript{35}

There are three noticeable changes from the ‘Standing Rules’ constitution to the second constitution. First, the number of Board members changed from three to five members in 1965, to eight members in 1967, with the school principal becoming an ex officio member. Second, in 1967, the constitution stated that the school accounts had to be audited by an outside auditor differently from 1964 where ‘two of the pupils’ parents’ were elected to audit the accounts.\textsuperscript{36} The third and major change on the 1967 constitution was the school mission, which was extended. Table 6.2, on page 252, put in parallel Rule 2 of the two constitutions, related to the school mission to emphasise the evolution.

\textsuperscript{35} CIS, "Application to Ministry of Education for Financial Assistance," Board Minutes, Binder 1. Date estimated February 1968. The mentioned curriculum has not been found in the school archives.
\textsuperscript{36} CIS. "Standing Rules."
Table 6.2: CIS’s mission statements of constitutions (1964 and 1967)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The purpose of the school is to give pupils of all nationalities a thorough knowledge of the English language as well as such normal and special knowledge as is necessary for them to pass an university entrance examination in the U.S.A.</td>
<td>The purpose of this coeducational day school shall be to provide a secondary education through the English Language for students from the international community in Copenhagen and to contribute to their intelligent and appreciative adjustment to life and language in Denmark. While the curriculum shall be mainly that followed by United States high schools, every effort shall be made to serve the educational needs of students from many countries.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The statement from 1967 recognised the role played by the school in broadening students’ minds to their new cultural environment. It emphasised its mission towards the international community that it served by recognising the diversity of educational needs. While still referring to a US curriculum, the text implied possible necessary transformation to respond to the changing student body. It is thus not surprising that during a meeting when the second constitution was amended, Sullivan reported to the Parents Association that:

> The International Baccalaureate scheme was making excellent progress and, already in 1967, it would be necessary to consider what changes in the curriculum would be needed to take advantage of all that it had to offer.\(^{37}\)

The announced changes from Sullivan occurred quite fast, as one year later, two students from CIS volunteered to take the first trial examinations for the International Baccalaureate.\(^{38}\) CIS was chosen with ten other international schools to be part of the first IB preparatory experiment, a venture highly

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recommended by Mr. Sullivan. Alec Peterson, the first director-general of the IBO, explained that the schools participating in the experiment had to be ‘of high standard, inspected by the I.S.E.S and approved by their national authorities’. Peterson added that ‘in the initial group of schools the deciding factor was usually a convinced and convincing principal’. This argument applied to CIS and is one of the objects of analysis of Section 6.3. The European network of international educationalists was an arena of power forces in play where some CIS’s actors were fully involved as explained in Section 6.2.

From 1968 onwards, the main themes, related to the school’s educational mission and found in the records, covered the school’s participation within the International Baccalaureate programme and its accreditation by the European Council of International Schools (ECIS) which occurred in the spring of 1973. The process of accreditation with the American system, mentioned in the school’s brochures of 1966 and 1968, was no longer considered as it was ‘long and costly’ and a self-evaluation was sufficient as ‘students [were] not

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39 CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, March 27, 1968. Alec Peterson, in his book from 1972, mentioned only seven schools proposing volunteer candidates, CIS being one of them, p.18. He wrote that ‘the International High School and Søborg Gymnasium, Copenhagen’ presented 8 students. This reference to Søborg Gymnasium additionally to CIS can raise the question if some Danish students from the host school were also involved in the trial. Robert Leach in his book from 1969 wrote that in 1968 ‘a full battery of trial examinations is expected to be offered at the Geneva International School, at Atlantic College and at the International School of Copenhagen’, p.76. The mention of CIS shows its early involvement in collaboration with the two oldest IB schools.

40 A. D. Peterson, The International Baccalaureate: An Experiment in International Education (London: G. Harrap, 1972), 17. ISES was the International Schools Examination Syndicate created in 1964 which was affiliate to ISA, the International School Association.


encountering difficulties in being accepted by American Universities'.

The reference to a US high school curriculum which was predominant in the school documents from 1964 to 1967 ceased, even though the school was still preparing most students to US universities and was centre for the administration of the Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test (PSAT), the National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test and the Advanced Placement Program Tests. However, the US cultural infiltration remained through the existence of partnerships and exchanges between CIS and US programmes such as the ‘School-to-School’ project, the teacher-training exchange, and the Fulbright programme, all subsidised by the US State Department.

The shift in the direction of the school mission, reflected by the growing emphasis on the IB diploma, did not happen without resistance, particularly from parents, US Board members affiliated with the US embassy, and US representatives. Gellar reported in an interview: ‘Do you know who I had to persuade the most? the parents. [They were saying] What are we doing with

43 CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, November 4, 1968; CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 2, November 12, 1969. The school's brochure of 1968 mentions that over the last three years, students were accepted to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Earlham College, Yale University, Denison University, Northern Arizona University, Hanover University, Syracuse University, College of William and Mary, Wake Forest College, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and the University of Michigan. CIS, CIS Brochure, 1968, 10.
44 CIS, CIS Brochure, 1968, 10. According to Peterson, as explained in a chapter on 'I.B. and National Systems', in the 60s-70s, the content of a typical US college preparatory courses was very similar to the IB subject's requirement. Differently, there was a marked difference between the IB and the English and Welsh curriculum where pre-university specialization started earlier to satisfy university entrance's requirements. Peterson, The International Baccalaureate, 89-107.
45 The School-to-School project was a twinning programme. CIS was twinned with the Wheatland-Chili High Schools, Scottsville, New-York. Headmasters of the two schools were visiting and exchanging practices. CIS, Board Minutes. Binder 1, March 20, 1967. Under the Fulbright programme, CIS received some US teachers under a limited period who had competencies needed by the school. M & D. Hall, Personal interview, CIS, October 11, 2017.
that? What happened to the American curriculum? and so on and so on’.\textsuperscript{46} In 1969, similar resistance came from Dr. Gordon E. Parson, Regional Education Officer from the State Department.\textsuperscript{47} In a visit at CIS, he urged the need for keeping the school as ‘American Entity’.\textsuperscript{48} He argued that:

100\% participation in the [IB] program might harm State Department support as the purpose of the State Department grant is to assure the education of Embassy children within the American system. The aim of the Board was explained as being to help the American children into the American school system, and the European and other children to be helped towards the Baccalaureate and subsequent higher education within their own educational systems.\textsuperscript{49}

The quote shows the strong influence that the State Department had not only on the school organisation, as seen in Chapter 5, but also on its mission through the mean of subsidies. Furthermore, Parson asked at the same meeting to be placed on the distribution list for the minutes of future Board meetings. Additionally, the discourse highlights how much the education systems were strongly associated with the concept of nation, an aspect that was clearly challenged by the early educators of the IB and CIS as further discussed in Sections 3.2 and 6.3.

At the school level, this battle was supported by the idealist educators and by the pragmatic need of non-US parents mostly aware of their children’s future. During a parents’ meeting in 1968, when a parent asked ‘What is being done toward looking ahead after graduation from CIS since some 1/3 of the students are of European families and school backgrounds’, the answer given was that:

\textsuperscript{46} C. Gellar & Pietrov, Personal interview, CIS, October 25, 2018.
\textsuperscript{47} I already referred to Dr. Gordon E. Parson in Section 6.2.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid.
CIS is cooperating with the development of the International Baccalaureate which will require curriculae that will prepare students for university in their respective areas. Every effort is expended now in scheduling for non-U.S. students to assist in their covering the subjects that they will be required to have when they want to enter university in their respective countries.\textsuperscript{50}

Keson recalled that ‘the main interest of the US parents (mainly from the embassy) was that their kids get accepted to prestigious universities in the US. The other 50\% parents, non-Americans, wanted something else. It was a point of tension’.\textsuperscript{51} According to Keson, the tensions, which were created by the new expectations coming from the growing number of non-American parents and by the necessary adjustment of the curriculum, were still present in the 1970s and 1980s. He explained that ‘resources were taken from specifically American subjects like Geometry and American Government and put into expanding IB course offerings’ and this caused dissatisfaction among the American community. The next section explains in detail the reason why the cooperation between CIS and the International Baccalaureate happened and developed and the impact it had on the school’s mission.

\section{Implementation of the International Baccalaureate}

Peterson, in his ‘non-official history’ book on both the founding of the Atlantic College (Wales) and the IB, explained that the two projects were neither ‘the product of governments, international organisations, universities, or established bodies of any kinds’.\textsuperscript{52} Instead, he underscored the human aspect

\textsuperscript{50} CIS, \textit{Board Minutes. Binder 1}, September 16, 1968.
\textsuperscript{51} W. Keson & J. Keson, Personal interview, CIS January 22, 2019.
\textsuperscript{52} Peterson, \textit{Schools Across Frontiers}, xi. Peterson played a crucial role in the pioneering of both institutions. He was the first director-general of the IBO and the second chairman of the international board of directors of the United World Colleges. It is important to have in mind that the three institutions, the Atlantic College, the IB and CIS started in 1962.
of the two projects and believed that ‘without these human commitments the projects would never have survived’. This type of narrative that glorifies the role of individual actors and most of the time those with leadership roles, is commonly found in institutional histories. Such narratives could also be found in some personal records on CIS. Just to cite a few, Charlotte Metz, in her personal recollection of CIS’s beginning years, praised Mrs. Donald Guy, the first Board secretary and Colonel William Bailey, the second Board chairman, for their ‘extraordinary work’, ‘their dogged determination’, and ‘their willingness to sacrifice precious time’, attitudes that, according to Metz, made the school exist. In The Copenhagen Internationalist, a student wrote that ‘if it had not been for Colonel Bailey’s enthusiasm, his refusal to be beaten, his persistence and his hard work, our school would not exist’. In like manner, Venning and Gellar believed that without Østergaard ‘there wouldn’t have never been a school’ as he was ‘the key person for the beginning of the school’.

The object of CIS’s socio-historical research is not to reduce the school formation to the action of a few, but to explain it because of its link with wider external forces. Therefore, this section explores more broadly the connection that was established between CIS and the nascent movement of international schooling in Europe, particularly the European Council of International Schools (ECIS) and the IB, and the role this connection played on the school.

53 Peterson, Schools Across Frontiers, xi.
55 CIS. The Copenhagen Internationalist II, no. 4 (June 1967).
development. To do so, I recorded in a table and by chronological order all the information found in the Board minutes and in the parents, alumni, and friends’ newsletters, that were specifically related to the IB and to broader aspects of international education. Table 6.3 on page 259 sets out details of the gradual involvement of the school within the International Baccalaureate endeavour.
Table 6.3: CIS and its link with the European international education sphere

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Events and actors as chronologically recorded in CIS Board minutes 1966-1977</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sept 1965</td>
<td>CIS becomes a coeducational day school institution from grade 9 to 12 under the headship of Godfrey Sullivan. Its curriculum was based on standard American high school subjects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1966</td>
<td>Sullivan participates in an educational conference in Switzerland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 1966</td>
<td>Visit of the educational committee of ISA at CIS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 1967</td>
<td>Sullivan shares with the Board the progress of the IB project and explains the coming need to change the school curriculum to take advantage of this new programme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1968</td>
<td>Sullivan informs the Board that CIS has been chosen among ten other international schools to trial some IB examinations. Two CIS students are participating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 1968</td>
<td>Gellar, new CIS headmaster, attends the bi-annual ECIS conference in Frankfurt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1969</td>
<td>Desmond Cole-Baker, ISA director, visits CIS. CIS Board minutes records that 12 CIS students will participate in the IB trial exams.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1969</td>
<td>The IB office requests CIS to host a two-day history curriculum conference.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1969</td>
<td>IB history curriculum conference takes place at Søborg Gymnasium with 20 guests representing 14 nationalities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1969</td>
<td>Gellar attends a conference in Geneva.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1970</td>
<td>CIS approves the implementation of the IB curriculum with additional necessary cost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1970</td>
<td>Gellar attends the ECIS Spring conference in Lausanne. 66 international schools in Europe are represented as well as some admission officials from 26 US colleges and universities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 1971</td>
<td>CIS enters 25 students in the official IB examinations. In total 601 students are registered from 12 international schools.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1972</td>
<td>Gellar is one of the 3 members of the first accreditation team made by ECIS at the International School of Antwerp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1972</td>
<td>The first CIS student takes the complete IB examination and passes with merit. 18 CIS students take 47 IB examinations with a pass rate of 79% against an overall average of 65%.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 1972</td>
<td>Discussion at the Board meeting about the possibility of the ECIS accreditation at CIS in March 1973.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 1972</td>
<td>Gellar and Metz attend the Autumn ECIS conference in London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 1973</td>
<td>Østergaard is elected as member of the Council of Foundation, governing authority of the IB programme.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1973</td>
<td>CIS is officially accredited by ECIS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 1973</td>
<td>Gellar is elected member of the Board of Directors of ECIS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 1973</td>
<td>CIS is visited by the president of ISA, Dr. Paul Scheid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 1974</td>
<td>Visit of Mrs. A. Hampton, IB Curriculum Development Officer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 1974</td>
<td>ECIS conference hosted by Copenhagen International School.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Gellar becomes the Chairman of the ECIS Accreditation Committee from 1975 until 1986.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb 1977</td>
<td>Seminar on the IB and United World Colleges opened by Lord Mountbatten, with Gellar and Østergaard as speakers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

57 ISA: International Schools Association  
58 ECIS: European Council of International Schools
The succession of the recorded events from 1966 to 1977, in Table 6.3 shows a clear link between the attendance of CIS’s principals at ECIS conferences and the school’s involvement in the transnational movement of international schooling and more particularly in the IB experiment. Under Sullivan’s headship and just before he left the school, CIS became part of the small circle of international schools trialling the IB examinations. Under Gellar’s headship, CIS became an ECIS member and the second ECIS accredited school while having its first student taking the full IB examination in 1972. The following paragraphs analyse in more details the data collected in Table 6.3 and connect them to a larger context.

CIS’s headmasters became active participants of the networking of international schooling in Europe, which included the International Schools Association (ISA) and the European Council of International Schools (ECIS). In 1966, one year after Sullivan’s arrival at CIS, he went to a conference in Switzerland, which was most probably the ECIS Conference at Lugano, regrouping 25 delegates from European international schools. It was the first international event that the school was part of.

In 1968, two months after Gellar’s appointment as CIS’s headmaster, he attended his first ECIS conference in Frankfurt with delegates from 100

59 In Section 4.2 on page 145-146, I gave information on the organization ECIS and its role in the development of the international schooling movement in the 1960s.
60 The associations ISA and ECIS and their role have been described in Section 4.2.
Following the Frankfurt conference, Gellar quickly engaged himself in the non-profit organisation, ECIS, while involving the school too. In fact, in 1972, Gellar became one of the team members (science coordinator) of the first ECIS accreditation at the International School of Antwerp, at the time when CIS became an ECIS’s member. A few months later, Gellar persuaded the school Board to have the school accredited by ECIS, a process which happened in the spring of 1973. In October 1973, Gellar was elected member of the Board of directors of ECIS. He then became the chairman of the Accreditation Committee from 1975 to 1986 and the ECIS’s treasurer from 1981 to 1985. Finally, he became ECIS’s honorary member for 25 years of work for the Council and for the cause of international education. He was also offered to be the development leader of the IB in the United States in the 1970s, an offer that he declined for family reasons.

CIS, in a few years, became part of the ‘first batch’ of the twelve IB pioneer schools, which would, in the long run, give a special status. Fifty years later, Tristan Bunnell acknowledged that the pioneer schools should ‘have a greater case for historical and moral “ownership” of the IBDP [IB Diploma Programme] than the others’. In the same way, John Paterson believed that special credit should be given to the first four accredited schools by ECIS – Antwerp

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International School, Copenhagen International School, Stavanger American School and International Schule-Hamburg – at a time when this accreditation was not recognised by any national education systems.67

Table 6.3, on page 259, also shows that not only did CIS’s headmasters connect with the international school’s movement through their attendance to conferences, but also the school received the visit of influential personalities such as, among others: the educational committee of ISA and its directors, Desmond Cole-Baker and Paul Scheid; the Head of the IB programme, A.D.C. Peterson, and the IB Curriculum Development officer, Mrs A. Hampton.68 The school was also asked by the IBO to host a history curriculum conference in 1969 and hosted the ECIS Conference in the spring of 1974. All these visits and activities framed the school to be, as stated by Robert Leach, a ‘genuine international school’.69 In fact, according to Leach, a genuine international school ‘should be an active member of the International Schools Association and should prepare at least those who are academically capable to take the International Baccalaureate’. CIS became an institution that was part of the international education movement while at the same time part a Danish high school.

68 Desmond-Cole worked at the International School of Geneva since 1955 as head of the science department. In 1961, he became head of the English language section and became head of the whole school in 1964. Information on Desmond-Cole was found in Hill, The International Baccalaureate: Pioneering in Education, 53.
69 R. J. Leach, International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education (Pergamon, 1969), 176.
The ECIS’s conferences were more than a place for professional collaboration. Paterson described them as ‘a close-knit gathering of school administrators’ who knew each other well, and where existed an ‘intimate club-membership feeling’.\(^{70}\) Paterson described the conferences as having ‘been invaluable for making contacts, for the exchange of ideas, for stimulating sessions which encourage administrators to “take stock” and for an opportunity to recharge batteries in a relaxed, convivial atmosphere among colleagues and friends’.\(^{71}\)

After 50 years, Gellar still recalled this intimate atmosphere and close-knit relationship:

> I knew all the heads of schools at the beginning of the IB. My friend Francis Clivaz was one of the founding members. 3 years later I became a member. Then we were close friends.\(^{72}\)

Gellar’s affiliation with ECIS, which he transferred to the whole school, stresses the special entanglement that existed between the educators’ professional and personal connections. In fact, Keson recalled that Gellar insisted on sending all teachers and school secretaries to conferences to help the social bonding. He explained:

> It was also for us, teachers, the only way to connect to other teachers in Europe and to exchange ideas, books etc... We couldn’t do that in Denmark. The conferences kept us international as teachers.\(^{73}\)

Peterson justified this tight relationship – professional and personal – by the fact that ‘individuals shared a common purpose and enthusiasm and developed over the course of these years those deep ties of friendships which

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\(^{70}\) Paterson, "International Endeavour," 22-23.
\(^{71}\) Ibid., 25.
\(^{72}\) Gellar, "Personal interview," 2014. Francis Clivaz was head of Collège du Léman, Versoix, Geneva.
\(^{73}\) Keson & Keson, "Personal interview," 2019.
often do emerge from shared devotion to a cause’. In the context of the International Baccalaureate, Hill used the term ‘educational aggregations’ to refer to events or structures – conferences or associations – that influenced its creation and development. There were places where individuals pooled ‘similar opinions to support a particular view’ and ‘build consensus through forming interest groups’. For him, the ‘summer seminar in education for international understanding’ at Sèvres, Paris, in 1947, that Østergaard joined, or the ‘conference of teachers of social studies’ at Geneva International School (Ecolint), in 1962, that Sullivan joined, were two examples of educational aggregations, constitutive of the IB project.

Similarly, Tristan Bunnell and Michael Fertig, reflecting on the purpose of international schooling 50 years after Leach, pointed out the significance of the relationships and bonds in the early IB history: ‘Schools shared a sense of common purpose, and direction’. Bunnell and Fertig acknowledged the almost ‘tribal’ system, where schools were accredited and evaluated by colleagues from ‘fellow-schools’. While Peterson used the concept of devotion, usually part of the religion repertoire, Bunnell and Fertig used the sociological concept of ‘mechanical solidarity’ developed in 1893 by Durkheim which, according to the authors, ‘represents a rather simple, traditional form of society characterized by loyal, family-style bonds’ where ‘each player has a

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74 Peterson, *Schools Across Frontiers*, xi.
77 Ibid.
strong sense of identity, belonging, and purpose'. This sense of family-style bonds is one of the main themes that emerged from the alumni and teachers’ interviews when describing the school culture as developed in Chapter 7.

Paterson recalled that these bonds were also extended to some US State Department officials who played an active role at the ECIS’s conferences. The conferences were funded by the generous grants from the Office of Overseas Schools of the US State Department who also provided speakers and workshop leaders from the USA. Among the US personalities who were instrumental in these conferences was Dr. Gordon E. Parsons, the regional officer of the Office of Overseas Schools. Parsons visited CIS a few times and was the one to urge the need for keeping the school as an ‘American entity’ as cited in Section 6.1. The US officers’ presence and the US funding show again the special bonds and reciprocal interests that existed between the international educators, many of them being American headmasters of international schools in Europe, and the American public diplomacy.

The presence of American officials at the conferences was also used as justification for CIS’s educators to participate in such events. Gellar, particularly, used the US presence as an argument to convince the Board, under US dominance, to be part of these international gatherings. It was for example reported that ‘Mr. Gellar and Mrs. Metz will be attending the ECIS Conference to be held in London late November (where it is expected that Dr.

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78 Bunnell and Fertig, "Re-thinking the purpose of International Schooling: 50 years after Leach," 11.
80 Ibid.
Parsons, Office of Overseas Schools, Department of State, will be one of the 250 participants’.81 In 1971, the Board minutes stated that, ‘at ECIS’s conferences, [there is a] notable presence of US State Department (Education and Labor committee), having high interest in the international schools programme’.82

CIS’s headmasters had to convince their Board about the school’s participation in the international endeavour and inform and persuade the community of parents. From 1966, Sullivan and Gellar wrote detailed entries about the international visitors and the conferences they were attending, using both the school magazine *The Copenhagen Internationalist* and the school newsletter *CIS Highlights* as channels of information.83 Early in 1966, Sullivan described the role of ISA and its objective to create an International Baccalaureate and added: ‘I can think of quite a few of our students if such an ideal were realized. So as a school we will cooperate’.84 In 1973, when the school was given the seal of ECIS accreditation, a long article in *CIS Highlights* explained the accreditation process. The article glorified the International Baccalaureate ‘as evidence of the high academic standards of International School’.85 The newsletter article reported comments from the accreditation team who ‘stated [that] the competency, loyalty, and dedication of the staff were some of the strongest features of the school’.86 Educators were using their persuasive tools

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83 *The Copenhagen Internationalist* was first published in 1965. *CIS Highlights* started in 1970.
84 CIS, "Retrospect." 1966.
86 Ibid.
in all possible ways, knowing that, as Gellar stated, it was the parents that were the hardest to convince.  

Finally, the chronological analysis of the school’s records uncovered the gradual connection of CIS with the nascent movement of international schooling in Europe. It highlighted how Østergaard and Sullivan sew the seed of what they conceived as international education at CIS and passed it on to the next headmaster, Charles Gellar, as well as to CIS’s educational team. The three educators undoubtedly changed the school’s direction despite its strong internal American influence and its location in the Danish host school.

The following section unfolds their personal and professional journey mainly prior to their affiliation with CIS, which thus explains in more depth the shared idealistic view on international education that they aimed to implement at CIS.

### 6.3 Three educators with a shared internationalist ideal

This section brings to light the individual path of Østergaard, Sullivan, and Gellar, which led them to work at CIS and to collaborate towards a common educational vision. In fact, despite their different disciplinary background, their personal and professional experiences rooted in the context of the Second World War and the Cold War conflict made them become strong advocates of UNESCO’s first principle which was ‘to contribute to peace by promoting collaboration among nations through education, science and culture’.  

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87 C. Gellar & Pietrov, Personal interview, CIS, October 25, 2018.
vision was also part of the hope present in different European societies in the 1960s and 1970s that ‘the younger generation would produce the desired awakening that would overcome the ceaseless alternation of war and crises which hitherto had characterized the history of Europe’.\textsuperscript{89} The three international educators, individually and collaboratively, have been able to establish a coherent and stable continuity in the overarching international ideal of CIS and built a legacy that was passed to generations of students and teachers. As described by Inez Venning, they were ‘the building blocks of the early school’.\textsuperscript{90}

\textbf{Ulf Østergaard}

Ulf Østergaard (1915-2002) pursued a long-life commitment to ‘international understanding through education’ abroad and in his own country, Denmark. It is mainly through his daughter and son’s reminiscences that fragments of his personal and professional life were recorded.\textsuperscript{91} Østergaard’s background information, which follows, gives details on the reasons for a life committed to peace through international education that he instilled in CIS.

Østergaard was born to a German-Jewish mother and a Danish Germanist father. Her mother moved from Germany to Denmark in 1912 and her whole family fled Germany in the 1930s to settle in the US and South America.

\textsuperscript{90} Venning, "Personal interview," 2014.
\textsuperscript{91} B. Østergaard Glyberg, "My father, Ulf Østergaard" (Speech, 50th Anniversary of the IB, CIS, October 24, 2018). F. Østergaard, Personal Interview, Charlottenlund December 13, 2019.
Ostergaard’s father was a linguist and literary scholar who studied and taught classics and German. He occupied different educational positions such as rector of a Danish state school. He was also leader of the teaching of German at the Danish national level and worked at the Danish university in the German Department, notably during the German occupation. This position became difficult to hold during the occupation, particularly with the presence of pro-Nazi colleagues which led him to depression. Østergaard’s father published some collections of German poems, one being published with his son Ulf.92

Ulf Østergaard spoke German at home and at an early age participated in guided tours for Danes in Germany, ‘until what he saw there, before the Second World War, disgusted him too much’.93 After the Second World War, Østergaard became very involved in the organization ‘Holland Aid’. His son linked this early personal involvement with ‘the pressure of the Second World War, the occupation of Denmark, and this new world that was opening in 1945’.94 In 1947, Østergaard was selected as Danish delegate to the first UNESCO educational seminar, the ‘International Seminar for International Understanding’ (Sèvres, France) as already mentioned in Sections 3.3 and 6.2. At this time, he was secondary school teacher at the state school of Gentofte (north Copenhagen, Denmark).95 At the three-week summer conference, he made an acquaintance with another participant who proposed

94 F. Østergaard, Personal Interview, Charlottenlund, December 13, 2019.
that he teaches classics in a school in Kansas (USA) where he moved with his wife and children and stayed for three years from 1948 to 1951. In fact, the list of the summer conference recorded as participant, Rees Hughes, president of the State Teachers’ College at Pittsburgh, Kansas, US.

Then Østergaard and his family moved for three years to the Philippines, in Manila, where he supervised a UNESCO project called ‘Project Bayambang’ which gave assistance to the Philippine government for the development of urban and rural education. After a return in Denmark, Østergaard applied for the position of director of UNIS (New York, US). He was chosen among 100 candidates and became director between 1959 and 1961, under Hammarskjöld’s UN presidency. The rest of the family stayed in Denmark while he was working at UNIS, which explained his short tenure. It is important to emphasise that during Østergaard’s directorship at UNIS and under his initiative, teachers of the Secondary Department worked on the internationalisation of courses such as mathematics, physics and history.

After New York, he then received an offer to work in Iran but declined for family reasons. It is after his directorship at UNIS that Østergaard went back to Denmark to become rector of the newly constructed municipal school complex in Gladsaxe commune, under Erhard Jakobsen’s mayorship. In 1965, at the request of Jakobsen, Østergaard accepted to host the small international school within the Gladsaxe school complex and persuaded his previous

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96 Østergaard, “Personal Interview,” 2019.
97 UNESCO, "Directory of (teaching) staff members and participants. Summer Seminar Sevres 1947".
99 See Section 5.1 on page 173-177.
colleague, deputy director at UNIS, Sullivan, to come to Copenhagen to take
CIS’s headship. The international schooling project of CIS became a real
opportunity for Østergaard to pursue his commitment in international
schooling.

In CIS’s Board minutes, Østergaard’s involvement in the IB was only
mentioned once when, in 1973, he was unanimously elected member of the
Council of Foundation, the governing authority for the IB programme.100 The
most significant tribute found in the school records is a text in the school
magazine written by Sullivan when he left CIS in June 1968.101 Sullivan
explained the chance that CIS had to be hosted by a Danish school, thanks to
reector Ulf Østergaard who lived his internationalism. Sullivan explained:

   My readers, the students of our school, should realise that they have
knowed a remarkable man. When in the future they hear flowery
speeches about international living they should remember that once
they knew a man who did something about it.102

The only historical published document I came across referencing Østergaard
was in Martin Mayer’s seminal book who described him as,

   a cooly intelligent Dane who had come to international work almost
accidentally, through attendance at a UNESCO meeting in 1947. There
he met a Philippine Senior civil servant who later got him seconded by
the Danish authorities for work in Manila as an educational adviser.
(International education seems to get into the blood: safely returned to
Denmark and director of one of Copenhagen’s newest and best
secondary schools, Østergaard has become sponsor and nursemaid to

members representing major educational organizations in the world. Peterson reported that
the members were ‘eminently representative, government, and international circles, who are
101 G. Sullivan, “A school is a school is a school,” The Copenhagen Internationalist III, no.3,
(June 1968).
Between 1964 and 1967, Mayer was commissioned by the Twentieth Century Fund, a non-profit US foundation, to visit international schools, universities, and ministries of education, mainly in Europe. During the visits he met Østergaard in Copenhagen at the beginning of CIS’s settlement. The content of the quote supports the information collected through interviews and the term ‘nursemaid’ confirms the special role that Østergaard played to CIS.

Østergaard’s son, Frank Østergaard, described his father as a practical visioner, who was able to build educational programmes as well as houses thanks to his carpenter’s skills. Østergaard perceived himself as a public servant and carried during his whole career this idea of creating a better world through international understanding and education.104

The recollection of information on Østergaard’s life helps to explain the link between his early life in a bi-national home closely affected by the war in Germany and the Holocaust with a German-Jewish mother, and his early commitment in the post-war reconstruction in Holland, which led him to become a fervent advocate of international education in alignment with the UNESCO ideology. When he came back to Denmark in the 1960s, the project of CIS as a small international school resonated strongly. He became, with Sullivan, the first promoter of the IB in Denmark. In 1975, Østergaard left the municipal gymnasium of Gladsaxe, to take, as his father did, the directorship of

the state gymnasium of Ordrup (suburb of Copenhagen) until his retirement in 1984. At Ordrup gymnasium, his firm wish was to establish the IB in a Danish public school. The project never took place, rejected by one vote by the Board of Ordrup school, as it was perceived too elitist. 105

Between the year 1972, when CIS registered its first candidate to the full IB diploma – the first school in Denmark to do so – and the year 2021, when thirteen Danish state gymnasium and three Danish private high schools registered 774 candidates to the IB Diploma, some milestones have been paved. Through the research, I have not found any Danish published records on the very beginning of international schooling in Denmark, including the pioneering role played by Østergaard and CIS. Nevertheless, as public legacy, Østergaard left some German poem collections and a Latin Grammar book still used in Danish high schools under in its 11th edition and, without any public or institutional recognition, he left a deep mark on CIS, especially by bringing to the school his colleague Sullivan. 106 In fact, their longstanding collaboration laid the foundation for CIS’s early ‘genuinely international’ character and in the long term for the implementation of the IB in Denmark. 107

Godfrey D. Sullivan

In the school yearbook of 1973 dedicated to the memory of Godfrey D. Sullivan (1923-1973), who died the same year, it is reported that Sullivan was

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107 Leach, International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education, 10.
Irish and got a Master of Arts and a Master of Letters degrees from Trinity College (Dublin, Ireland). He taught history in an upper school in Ireland and in England. He worked at UNIS as history teacher and head of the Social Studies Department, and became deputy director under Østergaard’s directorship. Sullivan became CIS’s headmaster and history teacher from 1965 to 1968 and went back to the US in August 1968 as he was offered a fellowship for a PhD at Miami University (Oxford, Ohio, US). He then became professor of history at Earlham College (Richmond, Indiana, US). The college was deeply rooted in the Quaker movement and was created in the mid-nineteenth century as the first coeducational Quaker college in the world.

Possibly due to Sullivan’s early death and differently from Østergaard, I have not been able to collect data on the reason of his commitment to international education and his appointment at UNIS (New York). When I interviewed Sullivan’s widow and asked for possible personal motivation, she could only refer to his ‘deeply-held international interests’ and justified his early involvement in the design of an international curriculum at UNIS, due to his ‘top-notch’ teaching quality in history; however, the history book of UNIS, written in 1973 by Halina Malinowski and Vera Zorn, gives valuable data on Sullivan’s beliefs and influences in teaching history at a United Nations school which were undoubtedly brought to CIS a few years later. The data collected

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109 T. Hamm, “Campus and History : Earlham College,” Earlham College, last modified March 30, 2021, https://earlham.edu/about/campus-and-history/#:-text=Earlham%20was%20the%20second%20Quaker,non-Quaker%20professor%20in%201886.
from UNIS’s book consist mainly of a report written by Sullivan in 1962 that he presented at the International Schools Association (ISA) Conference on the teaching of social studies which took place at Geneva International School (Ecolint). The conference, according to Leach and Peterson, marked a significant stage in developing the pilot project in Contemporary History which ‘provided the launching platform for the financing of the International Baccalaureate’.111 Hill saw the conference as the catalyst of the IB, which set the agenda for its development.112 Sullivan’s report is then a proof of his early participation and role in the development of the IB curriculum experiment in social sciences and thus of his collaboration with Leach and the Ecolint team.113

When Sullivan was history teacher at UNIS (New York), the curriculum for the tutorial classes (equivalent to the two pre-university years) ‘had only a hint of international spirit’, differently from the primary department where an international curriculum was developed since 1954.114 Students were prepared for either the British GCE – ordinary and advanced levels – or the American CEEB – College Entrance Examination Board – even though under Østergaard’s directorship in 1960, ‘the school hoped ultimately to establish a UNIS diploma that would be recognized internationally by institutions of higher education’.115

113 In addition to Robert Leach, Hill listed Desmond Cole-Baker, head of Ecolint’s English language section, and Alfred Roquette, director of Ecolint.
115 Ibid., 113 and 128.
The history curriculum for the tutorial classes was a topic of controversy in the UNIS' Education Committee. In fact, the teaching of national history required by the British and American examinations was not appealing to a United Nations school's context. An extract of an article of *United Nations Review*, written in 1958 by the principal of UNIS, S.A Vaughan-Thomas, highlighted the issue at stake.

A school which strives to conduct its life in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations has to recognize, fairly and squarely, that national approaches to history, however genuinely presented in the world’s most modern textbooks, can rarely escape the nationalistic note. (...) But an attempt must also be made to teach history of man with the main emphasis upon the use he has made of the principle of co-operation and upon his attempts to solve the universal and perennial problems arising from his essential needs and aspirations.  

The teaching of history of man intended to include aspects of ‘communications, agriculture, industry, education, architecture, language, literature, the arts, mathematics, science, political and social thought and institutions and religions’ to foster the idea of human exchange and interdependence and encourage students to develop a world approach to historical processes, opposed to a nationalistic one. Vaughan-Thomas’ reflections are essential to be read in relation to the two UNESCO projects, the Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values (1957-1966), and the multi-volumes *History of Mankind*, which were developed in the same period. The two projects were discussed in Section 3.3.

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According to Malinowski and Zorn, it is in 1960, during the second year of Østergaard’s directorship at UNIS, that Sullivan, his deputy, took steps to broaden the existing history curriculum to a world history programme for the tutorial grades and persuaded the History Committee of the Cambridge University GCE Examinations Syndicate to set a world history paper exclusively for UNIS.\textsuperscript{118} The aim of the paper on world affairs since 1919 was to ‘promote objective understanding of the political systems, economic conditions and social life of other nations, with some knowledge of international relations’.\textsuperscript{119} The Cambridge syndicate recommended as reading materials for the preparation of the paper, newspapers, periodicals and pamphlets in addition to textbooks to avoid bias of history books on recent history.\textsuperscript{120}

The world history curriculum designed by Sullivan and the teaching staff of UNIS and its implementation in the four grades of the secondary school as well as in the tutorial classes during the years 1961-62, provided sufficient material and experience to be presented under a report format at the Conference on the Teaching of Social Studies at Ecolint in August 1962.\textsuperscript{121} The report is a valuable source of information on Sullivan’s ideas and practices as history teacher and deputy director at UNIS, one that it is worth analysing. In fact, the

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{118} Malinowski and Zorn, \textit{The United Nations International School: Its History and Development}, 129.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{119} University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate Syllabus (July 1960) cited in Malinowski and Zorn, \textit{The United Nations International School: Its History and Development}, 129.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{120} Malinowski and Zorn, \textit{The United Nations International School: Its History and Development}, 129.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{121} Ibid., 141.}
\end{footnotes}
information collected can give an understanding of Sullivan’s applied principles at CIS.

His first belief, that he himself called a political doctrine, was that the role of the UN was essential to the survival of man and had to be transmitted to students. His belief was in accordance with the first UN purpose which was to maintain international peace and security. Sullivan wrote that:

> Political indoctrination is an integral part of education in every country, and it should be in international school. If we believe that world peace can be secured only through international organization, then we should make that belief as part of our teaching. If a teacher does not hold such beliefs, he should not be in an international school and certainly not in the United Nations School.

Therefore, Sullivan acknowledged that part of the world modern history curriculum in an international school must include information on the background, purpose, principles and structure of the United Nations, as well as some knowledge on the role of its specialized agencies.

Based on this doctrine, Sullivan believed that it was, at the same time, essential to openly discuss the limits of the UN as an organization. Both its successes and failures had to be taught, so that pupils could understand that aspirations are different from realities and ideals different from accomplished facts. In the same vein, Sullivan believed that the classroom should be a space for discussion on controversial topics of current events, still without expression

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of personal bitterness. The open discussion among pupils on controversial topics from the past or the present and mediated by the teacher would make them realise that ‘right is seldom wholly on one side’.\textsuperscript{124} Based on experiences from his classrooms, Sullivan explained that:

If the history teacher, in dealing with current events, insists on judgements and interpretations being based on facts and not on attitudes, this fair-mindedness can be preserved. For example, I do not use such phrases as “the free world”, “the democracies”, or “satellite-nations”, and if pupils use them, I require an explanation. In the usage of this country (the United States) the first phrase denotes those nations in armed alliance for mutual protection against the communist countries. If nations are not members of such an alliance are they therefore not “free”? What, then, is freedom? Similarly with “democracies”? As a US child and a child from one of the “Peoples Democracies” of eastern Europe will undoubtedly be confused by a restricted use of the word…the injunction, “define your terms”, should be constantly addressed to the participants.\textsuperscript{125}

These lines written in 1962 in the US, and the examples used, had a special resonance in a period where two antagonist ideologies dominated the international scene and peoples’ minds. His arguments on the teaching of Modern History proposed a radical shift from the two conflicting worldviews where discussion on ‘controversial topics’ were encouraged. To do so, Sullivan stated that students should be exposed to biased textbooks in the classroom to help ‘distinguish[ing] of truth from falsehood, the detection of bias, the weighing of evidence, the ability to select what is important and to reject the irrelevant – all these are skills which can be taught in within the history course’.\textsuperscript{126}

\textsuperscript{124} Malinowski and Zorn, \textit{The United Nations International School: Its History and Development}, 144.
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid., 143.
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid., 144.
Finally, Sullivan encouraged the instruction of ‘forms and philosophies of Governments and economic systems’ as part of the history curriculum. According to him, this would help students understand that a comprehensive knowledge is necessary to grasp the complexity of past events and is essential before making any value judgments.127 His teaching ideas and methods echoed the main plea of Leach’s book that Leach called ‘ecumenical dialogue’, where people accept to look at problems and situations from different perspectives and are ready to discuss them.128 In Section 7.2, I explain that Sullivan’s ideas on the teaching of history continued to be implemented by his colleague, John Miller, who took his teaching position in 1968.

Sullivan’s teaching principles made sense in a United Nations school where most students were affiliated with the UN through parental civil services. However, these principles might have been more complex to implement when he arrived at CIS in 1965, where most students were American with their families affiliated with the US embassy and its military section. Wisely, Sullivan used the presence of the few non-American students to justify the benefit of implementing an international curriculum at CIS. In fact, in December 1966, when eight students out thirty-five were non-American, Sullivan described the creation of the International Baccalaureate in the school newspaper as ‘a university qualifying examination which would be acceptable in all countries’.129 He added that a ‘few students could benefit if such an ideal were realized’.130

128 Leach, International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education, 142.
129 CIS. "Retrospect." The Copenhagen Internationalist II, no.2 (December 1966).
130 Ibid.
The mix of pragmatic and idealistic objectives used by Sullivan were representative of the existing discourse during the pioneer years of the IB. As an example, Peterson wrote in 1970:

Both the idealism of those who see in international education the best hope of promoting international understanding, and so helping to avert World War III, and the pragmatic realism of those who demand more international schools to serve the growing mobile business community point to the need for more and better organized international schools.131

In June 1968, at the very end of Sullivan’s headship, his discourse shifted from the dual objectives’ nuanced model to a more incisive one, explicitly linked to idealism. This can be seen in an extract of a text that he wrote in *The Copenhagen Internationalist*, before his departure from CIS. He stated:

If from our internationality can come a dedication to true internationalism then our institutional title is justified. Such an idealism does not reject the appreciation of difference and the pride of nationality, but transcends them, reaching for something very old and very new – ‘ahimsa’, non-violence, the way of peace.132

The verb ‘transcend’ can be read in analogy with the international diploma and its pragmatic purpose to transcend frontiers to be recognised anywhere, but also in analogy with the idealistic vision of the IB to foster peace and international understanding through education. Sullivan’s lines were written in a context of socio-political tensions with the students’ revolution movements in Europe and in the US and that Sullivan referred to in the same text, mentioning that the fight for human liberty might lead to ‘student barricades and police wagons’.133

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132 G. Sullivan, “A school is a school is a school.” *The Copenhagen Internationalist* III, no. 3 (June 1968).
133 Ibid.
Charles Gellar, Sullivan’s successor, arrived in this context. The next section shows that his scientific profile as a trained US engineer and teacher did not prevent him from embracing and entrenching the humanistic and internationalist ideals instilled by his predecessor. His personal and career paths unveil a man far from being what Leach described as ‘an internationally minded American’ but rather an ‘internationally minded internationalist’. Leach defined the later expression as the ability for someone to move from one pattern of reasoning associated to one’s homeland values to another. For Leach, it was his teaching experience at Ecolint through the day-to-day community’s life that let him become an ‘internationally minded internationalist’. The following section emphasizes Gellar’s own journey to internationalism, based on the data collected during three interviews, cross-referenced with some of his published articles.

Charles Gellar

Charles Gellar (1933-2020) was born to a ‘yankee’ mother from the Boston area and to a Polish-Russian father who emigrated to the US with his parents at the age of five. Gellar took a Bachelor of Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT, Boston, US), and a Master of Science at Northeastern University (Boston, US) to become an engineer. He worked several years for the technology group Edgerton, Germeshausen, and Grier (EG&G). The company was established in 1947 by three nuclear engineers

134 Leach, *International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education*, ix-x.
135 The three interviews took place in November 2014 in Brussels, in October 2018 at CIS, and in July 2019 in Brussels. In the interview from 2018, Gellar was interviewed with an alumnus.
from MIT. In the 1950s, EG&G was involved in the building of the hydrogen bomb. Gellar, at his work, was involved in the assemblage of what would be an atomic bomb. He then became a US officer to avoid being sent to the Korean War. As an officer, he taught science and started realising that he enjoyed the teaching. From this experience, his career shifted to the teaching of science at Dean Junior College (Franklin, Massachusetts US). He then moved to Europe to teach at the International School of Brussels (Belgium) for one year, which was his first experience in international education. According to him, the reason for this transatlantic move was that both his German wife and him wanted to live in Europe.

When Gellar took CIS’s headship in August 1968, he had no previous affiliation with Østergaard, Sullivan, or with the school. He found the job, a one-year contract, through an advertisement posted in the *Times Magazine* as he was teaching science in the International School of Brussels. He got chosen among three selected applicants by the unanimous vote of five CIS ‘s Board members. His American nationality might have been of significance for being selected to the job. In fact, during this period, the condition for the school to receive the State Department’s grant to supplement the principal salary was to have ‘a U.S-trained American principal’. However, Gellar

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138 CIS, *Board Minutes. Binder 1*, May 21, 1968. The five interviewers were: Ulf Østergaard (Danish rector), Godfrey Sullivan (Principal), Edward. B. Fenstermacher (Administrative officer US embassy), George D. List (Political officer US embassy) and Colonel Roy H. Berger (US Army Attaché).
asserted during our interviews that, even if American, it was the international profile of the school that attracted him. In the three interviews, he expressed his absolute conviction from the beginning to continue Sullivan's project which was for the school to be part of the IB experiment. He stated, ‘international we should belong, my school [CIS] joined immediately, and I joined the first ECIS Conference [European Council of International Schools] in 1968 in Frankfurt'. Since this conference, Gellar became member of ECIS and actively involved in the development of the IB as already explained in Section 6.2.

When I asked Gellar the reason for his commitment in international education, his immediate answer was that he did not know. Later during the same interview, he came back to the question and mentioned that his wife was German and added, ‘I don’t know, I always had that interest from the beginning. Whatever I could do to make it an international school, that’s what I wanted to do!’ It is during a second interview that Gellar suggested a possible reason:

I don’t know how I became an internationalist but maybe I have to go back quite a bit, to go back to the history of what was going on and the war was just over and the Nazis were defeated. When I was 12 years old, what do you think the major event of that year was? The atomic bombing of Hiroshima. And I was a science student and I was so proud of myself that I knew what they were talking about. The atomic bomb. Then I remember that when that happened, I went out where I was living, it was in the States. The streets were filled with all sorts of people yelling and cheering. Why? Because we weren’t going to send millions of troops to fight the Japanese. They could stay home, go home. So

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141 Ibid., 2014.
142 Ibid.
that’s what happened in 1945. I think that made a big difference to me if
I think about internationalism.\textsuperscript{143}

Gellar’s suggestion exemplifies how the War was a motivational factor for
many international educationalists who believed in the building of a better
world through the education of the youngest. From 1968 to 1985, Gellar
worked at CIS, except for one sabbatical year in 1978.\textsuperscript{144} According to him, it
was rather rare to stay so long as head in an international school and quite
common to be laid off by the Board. In this context, the presence of
Østergaard as Board chair until 1985 might explain why Gellar stayed in his
role for more than 15 years. When Gellar started at CIS, Østergaard was the
rector of the host Danish school and CIS’s Board member, and in 1972 he
became Board chair. Gellar considered Østergaard as the key person for CIS
and explained that ‘if I needed something to be done, then he was on the
Board. I just talked to him and that was done’.\textsuperscript{145}

The two educators established a tight collaboration and longstanding
friendship until Østergaard’s death, and both ended their commitment with CIS
in 1985. Their collaboration and shared ambition to establish the school as part
of the international school movement sounded almost like a block against any
nationalistic forces, and in the case of CIS, the American force. A few lines
from one of Gellar’s published articles from 1981 highlights this point:

\textsuperscript{143} Gellar & Pietrov, "Personal interview," 2018.
\textsuperscript{144} Charles Gellar started as head of the school. In 1978, he took a sabbatical year to take a
further degree in education. When he came back, he took the position of chief administrator of
CIS having in charge the administration of the Junior and Senior school. J. Keson, personal
interview CIS, March 16, 2015.
\textsuperscript{145} Gellar, "Personal interview," 2014.
Its [the international school movement] ideals may conflict with national goals of education. Indeed, it is anti-nationalistic, perhaps fundamentally anti-materialistic; its voting constituency is small, and of course to many it is too visionary. But in most of these respects the movement is fortunate. Smallness is of great advantage when your cause is revolutionary and your strength derives from nobility of purpose.\textsuperscript{146}

This text exemplifies Gellar’s strong idealism, described by him as revolutionary and noble, and his unconditional belief in the international education movement. He was a man with conviction who was not afraid to stand up and be counted. This was already perceivable during his first meeting with CIS’s parents where he explained the school’s educational objectives:

The primary objective being to teach the children the activity of thought; that they become active, interested, committed, humane. The secondary objective is to prepare them for higher education: Fully meeting the primary objective will, of course, prepare them academically for university. For those wanting to go to college the problem will not be whether they will be able to or not, but which college to select’.\textsuperscript{147}

These words sounded strongly assertive for a new principal who was novice in the position but were also probably reassuring for an audience of parents who wanted their children to apply to the best American or European universities. His discourse was in clear alignment with the International Baccalaureate philosophy and with Peterson’s words who stated that the objectives of the IB-taught curriculum was not about ‘absorption and regurgitation of facts or of predigested interpretations of facts, but the development of powers of mind or ways of thinking which can be applied to new situations’.\textsuperscript{148} The emphasis was not on what was learnt but on the process of learning how to learn.\textsuperscript{149}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{146} C. Gellar, "International Education: Some Thoughts on What It Is and What It Might Be," 26.\textsuperscript{147} Ibid.\textsuperscript{148} Peterson, The International Baccalaureate, 40.\textsuperscript{149} Ibid, 35.
\end{flushright}
7.4 expands on CIS’s type of education, which happened in and outside the classrooms.

While being principal, Gellar taught physics and chemistry, and from 1969 introduced the philosophy course, an option of the ‘Study of Man’ IB subject.\footnote{The subject ‘Study of man’ included 6 options: History, Geography, Economics, Philosophy, Psychology and Socio-anthropology. The information comes from Peterson, \textit{The International Baccalaureate}, 113.}

For Gellar, the universal and human dimensions were part of any construction of knowledge. He argued \textit{for example that}:

\begin{quote}
In science and mathematics, the universal aspects of their character need to be emphasized much more than at present. Mathematics is not arithmetic; it is a language and a living one with rather strict rules of grammar...Students should understand that science is not technology and that the so-called scientific method is nothing more than rational thinking about nature. In essence it is a theory-building not fact-collecting, and thus still deserves to be called Natural Philosophy.\footnote{C. Gellar, "International Education: Some Thoughts on What It Is and What It Might Be," 25.}
\end{quote}

For him, the building of scientific theory necessarily included a sense of intuition, enthusiasm and involved a dimension of beauty, which made him conclude that ‘paradoxically, science uses irrational means to achieve rational ends’.\footnote{Ibid.}

He also believed in the importance of teaching science and mathematics with a historical perspective to reinforce the human dimension of the disciplines. According to him, ‘the need for integrity, objectivity, even courage, has been crucial in the pursuit of truth and the search for order, and teaching from a historical perspective would make this manifest’.\footnote{Ibid.}
His purpose to teach mathematics and science in relation with history and philosophy was to embody the universal dimension of knowledge. It echoed the United Nations teaching principles that Sullivan brought to CIS and the IB educational philosophy.\textsuperscript{154} Gellar was convinced of the importance of universal values, where ‘cooperation, not competition, is the only viable way to solve the major problems facing the planet, all of which transcend ethnic and political borders’.\textsuperscript{155} However, Gellar admitted that ‘it is a mighty heavy burden of responsibility for any group to bear’.\textsuperscript{156}

Gellar and his colleagues, Østergaard and Sullivan, were part of the generation who grew up with the duty to be happy and to build a new post-war humanist world.\textsuperscript{157} Additionally, multi-culturalism was part of their personal life, with Gellar’s father being an immigrant from Poland and Østergaard’s mother an immigrant from Germany. They were married with a partner having a different national cultural background from their own. Based on their personal and professional experiences, the three educators ‘acted principally out of idealism for a peaceful world’ and strongly believed that international schools provided a unique educational opportunity for students to develop an appreciation of cultural differences, a spirit of tolerance and cooperation that would lead to peace.\textsuperscript{158} Peterson’s statement, saying that ‘in the initial group of [IB] schools, the deciding factor was usually a convinced and convincing

\textsuperscript{154} See page 276 the explanations on the United Nations teaching principles.
\textsuperscript{155} C. Gellar, "From the Editor: How international are we?," \textit{International Schools Journal}, Fall 1993, 6.
\textsuperscript{156} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{158} I. Hill, "The International Baccalaureate: Policy Process in Education," 204.
principal', applied to CIS.159 The role of the three principals went beyond their educational duty as they became political actors, using persuasive and diplomatic tools while working under American dominance. They established the right connections locally and expanded their international network to change the school mission while at the same time realising their educational ideals. Their objectives were both pragmatic and idealist and well summarised by Sullivan during his speech at CIS’s first high school graduation:

A school like this one must necessarily have a great turn-over. But you who have attended it during its time of pioneering will belong to it no matter where you go in the world. And when we learn that one of you has built a bridge, won a contest, or halted a war, we shall reap some part of the glory.160

The examples of educational achievements used by Sullivan show how much the school’s purpose, from a leader’s perspective, was not limited to some simple academic goals, but aimed at pursuing wider humanistic endeavours, linked to the desire to rebuild after the horror of the World War II, and to instil peace in a time of ideological confrontation.

Conclusion

Chapter 6 concentrated on the school’s educational mission. It aimed at explaining the reasons why CIS, despite its prominent American character, took part at an early stage in the experimental International Baccalaureate.

159 Peterson, Schools Across Frontiers, 27.
160 ”Internationalt sudenterkuld,” Berlinske Tidende, July 25, 1966. The quote from the speech was part of a Danish newspaper’s article on the graduation event. The article was translated in English by CIS and kept in the board minutes binder.
CIS was at the intersection of different networks of influence – US overseas education, international organisations, expatriate community, international schools’ movement. Consequently, its establishment responded to contrasting objectives. One of them was to prepare US students to apply to selective American universities. Another one was to be an institution of US cultural influence in Europe, at a time when international education was part of the US foreign policy and cultural diplomacy. A final objective was to respond to the educational needs of the growing population of non-American students, which gave justification to the implementation of the International Baccalaureate.

The data collected for the chapter proved that the educational shift operated by CIS was the result of a change in the students’ representation becoming gradually more international and the result of its affiliation with the international schools’ movement in Europe. However, this affiliation did not occur naturally but was actively introduced by Østergaard, the rector of the Danish host school, his colleague and CIS’s principal, Sullivan, and then implemented by Gellar, who took over Sullivan’s headship. The three educators, despite their different backgrounds and nationalities – Danish, Irish, and American – and trained subjects – classics, history, and science – shared the same educational ideal that they called internationalism, and collaborated to foster in CIS and in students’ lives, educational experiences based upon the principles of cultural exchange, tolerance, and peace. From the perspective of the educators, international education, as opposed to national goals of education, had to play a major role in the life of young generations and was essential for the safeguard of humankind in a context of major geo-political conflict. This
ideology was in accordance with other IB pioneers who believed that ‘the success of a chain of international schools may well be involved in the survival of man’.\textsuperscript{161}

\textsuperscript{161} Leach, \textit{International Schools and their Role in the Field of International Education}, 186.
7 ‘Experience its uniqueness and live its internationalism’: culture of CIS in its foundation years

Introduction

In Chapter 5, the study of the school’s formation, governance, and population highlighted the American dominance and the tensions that its strong influence generated among the school’s international community. In Chapter 6, the shift in the school’s mission evidenced a change in the balance of power where a different form of internationalism as an educational principle became ascendant. In chapter 7 explores the school’s daily life, based on interviews and publications of students and teachers of the 1960s and early 1970s. It shows how the diversity of its students’ background, its Danish location, and its liberal education were important for both students and teachers in how they provided new ways of perceiving and understanding the world. One student, Marty, in the editorial of CIS’s yearbook of 1969, set the tone on what was expected to be fully participant of the school community and its culture:

To stay in this school and not experience its uniqueness and live its internationalism is a gross waste of time and I for one would rather those few go back to their Elm City Senior High…I said “few” because I believe that almost everyone this year has gotten the spirit and the essence of the school.2

Marty’s quote is an invitation to explore the spirit and the essence of the school during its foundation years in relation to the concept of internationalism, as conceived by the students and teachers. This is the aim of Chapter 7.

2 Ibid.
In Section 7.1, I concentrate on the school community and more specifically explain the mix of culture in its population by portraying the background of five students and two teachers before their arrival at CIS. The qualitative data bring to the fore the highly mobile lifestyle of students and teachers and uncover how some of their lives were embedded into the geo-political and economic context of the mid-1960s and beginning of 1970s. The international character of the school was shaped by the heterogeneity of its students’ background. At the same time, the school’s life exposed both students and teachers to what they defined as ‘an open world’.  

In Section 7.2, I uncover the culture of CIS, perceived by students and teachers not only as a school but as a family, at times a refuge, and a social forum. In fact, CIS’s school life covered much more than the academic to become a central role in students’ life. The social life exposed students to new cultural norms, some of them part of the Danish liberal society, and gave them a sense of freedom never experienced before.

In section 7.3, the qualitative data bring to light the precarious equilibrium of the school’s mission. It fostered interactions and respect among its students, exposed them to the Danish culture, and opened their intelligence to different ways at perceiving the world. At the same time, the small school struggled to establish a genuine partnership with its Danish host-school despite the efforts from the headmasters. Thus, the section uncovers the ambiguity and

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3 Pietrov. Skype and email interviews, October 17-18, 2019.
challenges of the beginning of the international school, with its American stamp strongly perceived by outsiders.

In Section 7.4, I dig into what happened in the multi-cultural classrooms, based on reminiscences of students and teachers. During the early years of the International Baccalaureate programme, the curriculum was not prescribed and what was taught was strongly influenced by teachers’ ideas and by the active participation of students. The teaching seemed quite liberal and student-centered, compared to what the students and teachers experienced in their previous schools. The precarious teaching conditions due to the lack of material in English language but also the lack of adequate books for an international audience forced teachers to find creative techniques, which included the participation of guest speakers and the use of field trips. In some classes, particularly in history, government and philosophy, hot topics of current geo-political issues were openly discussed, which left vivid memories both for students and teachers. It reflected the singularity of the international education.

In Section 7.5, I concentrate on the concept of internationalism based on students and teachers’ experiences. The main argument is to show that rather than one clear concept, internationalism at CIS encompassed a range of ideas and beliefs, all present in the same place.

The chapter thus addresses my first research question, *What can the school’s early history reveal about the inception of the international education in the*
1960s and early 1970s? and my third research question, What does the school’s early history reveal about its institutional identity?

7.1 CIS community: a mix of culture

For international teenagers whose families were relocated in Copenhagen, mostly due to the father’s profession, the purpose of completing a high school education was to attend a private boarding school, or stay with kin in their native country, or attend CIS which was the only institution offering an English high school curriculum in Denmark. Therefore, CIS’s student body was made of transient teenagers, often with an intensely mobile lifestyle, with most of them raised in a culture outside their parents’ culture. Michelle’s memories of CIS’s population features the mix of culture:

It was such a mix [of students]. We had the WHO, we had the military…we had the business like the airlines, the oil companies…One student came to school in her private Limo with her chauffeur, as daughter of an ambassador. Some people had to get up like at 5.00 am to walk, take the train, get the bus to walk to the school in the darkness…There was a mixing of culture, mixing of the socio-economic classes: ambassadors along with businessmen and single moms. There was no prejudice about class or race or anything.

The diversity of the student population evolved over the first ten years as already explained in Section 5.4 with a gradual increase in the number of non-

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4 The French and German expatriates had their own school in Copenhagen: Prins Henrik Skole and Sankt Petri Skole. There was a British school, Ryggard Skole, which provided schooling for the primary and middle years as well as a Danish primary school, Bernadotteskolen, with a small international section. There was also a US Dependent school for primary students.


American students. However, even among the American student population, cultural differences existed notably between the diplomatic families versus the military ones. One teacher, John Miller, explained:

American diplomatic kids have lived in other countries and had much a broader view. The American military kids either didn’t live in another country or if they lived in other countries, they went to Defense military schools set up in the big bases around in different countries, so while they were living in Germany, they were going to an American High School. It was like putting a cocoon around that school and to me those schools weren’t and couldn’t be considered international schools. So there were barriers that, some of them were soft, but some of them were hard barriers to break through to get everybody on the same page. But it was part of the experience and I think the students benefited from those kinds of interchanges. 

Miller’s testimony points out the main challenges of the school’s mission which was ‘to get everybody on the same page’, namely, to foster respect and understanding between students who did not necessarily share the same culture. Another teacher, Jim Keson, extended Miller’s idea explaining that Peace Studies was not taught as such, the internationalist character of the school was not overt. According to him, what mattered was the individual’s experience in relation to the other students and their close contacts.

To explain the cultural diversity described by Michelle and John, I chose to portray the journey of five students and two teachers before their arrival at CIS. Their personal experiences and cultural background reflect the diversity among the school body, their highly mobile lives, and exemplify that sharing the same nationality was not necessarily synonymous with sharing the same

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7 US student population represented 82% in 1965 and decreased to 53% in 1975, with a total of students varying from 33 in 1965 to 114 in 1975. See Table 5.5 on page 231.
9 J. Keson, Personal interview, CIS, April 4, 2019.
culture. Additionally, their stories introduce aspects of the cultural interchange, cultural shock or barriers experienced in the school.

Cinthia, a US citizen, arrived at CIS in 1967 for her last year of high school, following her parents but sadly leaving her boyfriend in America.\textsuperscript{10} Her father, a military officer in the US Air Force, was assigned to the Embassy in Copenhagen. She learnt years later that he was working for the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). It was her first schooling experience abroad. Previously, she had lived in five different places in the US (Louisiana, Kansas, California, Virginia, Hawaii), and Puerto Rico, and attended five different American public and private schools. The last school she attended in Grade 11 was a modern public high school in the County of Fairfax (Virginia, US), built in 1963 to accommodate the generation of baby boomers. In 1967, the high school counted more than 1,500 students.\textsuperscript{11} Cinthia obviously found CIS very small in size, with not so much money, and with an academic level lower than her American high school, except in foreign languages. However, beyond the academics, she felt that her one-year experience at CIS, with the interchange with students of other nationalities and the Danish culture, made her learn that ‘we were all different and, at the same time, we were sharing the same humanity’; an experience that she felt unique compared to her previous experiences in the US.\textsuperscript{12}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{10} Cinthia, Personal Interview, Copenhagen, September 10, 2019.
\textsuperscript{12} Cinthia, "Interview." During the interview, Cinthia used the past tense and switched to the present tense, which signifies how much his past experiences were still ‘alive’ in his mind.
\end{flushright}
Michelle arrived at CIS in 1968 at the age of 15 and stayed until her high school graduation in 1971. Born in Atlanta (Georgia, US) where she lived six months, she then lived in nine different places between the US and Japan due to her father’s assignments in the US military. She attended six different military schools on military bases. On the last military base in North Carolina, her father was in command of the training center of 50,000 troops, preparing them to go to Vietnam. In her previous school, it was important to wear the right clothes – Villagers sweaters and Ladybug skirts – and have her hair in a certain way to be popular. When she arrived at CIS, a very small school in comparison to the US Army school, it was a cultural shock. She explained:

There were only 15 people in my class and, for half of them, English was their second language. Everything was different. I got in my classroom and whom I am fitting in with? What are the right clothes to wear to fit in with the cool crowd? There is a guy from Poland, there is Peter from Yugoslavia, there is Maria from Egypt, Gil from Israel. Everybody looks like nerdy to me. There was nobody to be with the popular crowd.

Her experience at CIS was ‘an eye-opening experience’. In fact, she explained:

We [my family] were devout Catholics and I completely believed that the USA was involved in a just war in Vietnam. USA is right and we are the best! Within two weeks at school, an all-new world opened up. There is a different way at looking at things here. I was hearing different things I never heard before. My ideology had changed.

Michelle added that her transforming experience was due to a number of factors, including the interchange with students from different backgrounds,

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13 Michelle, "Interview."
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid.
what was taught in class and the freedom she experienced in her daily life, compared to the US. This will be developed in Section 7.3

Dody’s story was found in the students’ newsletter, *The Copenhagen Internationalist*. Her text, ‘autobiography’, was written in Danish, the language that she learnt during her short stay at CIS:

I was born in London in 1951. I spent the first four years of my life in London, and then moved with my family to the U.S. After four years, we moved to the other side of the world, namely Laos, a small country in the East. After only six months that we were there, the war broke out and we were all evacuated to Bangkok in Thailand. I lived there for two years but my dad was still working in Laos. The last country we were sent to was Columbia in South America. After about four years in this country, I found myself in Denmark with my mother and my brother. I have only been here since July and now I have to leave again to the East, this time in the Philippines. Goodbye to all.

Even if Dody’s writing does not explain the reasons for her different moves, the autobiographical narrative is a good description of the mobile life rhythmmed by short experiences and geographical shifts. It also translates her teenager’s mixed feelings, including both compliance and resignation.

Another student, Pietrov, a Czech national, arrived at CIS in August 1968, two weeks after the invasion of Prague by the Soviet Union. From 1962 to 1964, he attended a Czech school in Prague and, from 1964 to 1966, a Soviet school in Copenhagen as his father was heading the WHO European office for Cardiology. The Soviet school in Copenhagen was grouping students from the East bloc. After the 4th or 5th grade, students were sent back to their countries.

as there was no more possibility of schooling in Copenhagen. In 1966, the political situation was more relaxed, so it was possible to go to Bernadotteskolen (Hellerup, Denmark). Pietrov attended two years in the English section of the private Danish primary school, Bernadotteskolen, which was not offering secondary education. In 1968, when his father met CIS’s headmaster, Charles Gellar, Pietrov was only 12. His father could not send Pietrov back to Czechoslovakia due to the political situation and begged Gellar to take his son. Pietrov recalled that ‘I was 12 years old and if CIS would not accept me, I would have been sent back to Czechoslovakia. That was the kind of atmosphere of the Cold War’. Pietrov entered CIS and jumped three grades to start in grade 9. Four years later, Pietrov became the first CIS’s student to take the full International Baccalaureate examination and passed with merits. ‘My parents were taking political risks when sending me to CIS. My attendance was kept “under the radar” from the Communist authorities, since it was perceived after 1968 as “politically not kosher”’. Each year during his attendance at CIS, he had an individual study plan from distance to follow the Czech curriculum and at the end of every school year had to take an exam to pass the next grade in the Czech system. ‘If not, I had to go back to Czechoslovakia. If not, my parents could go to jail’. After his graduation in 1972, Pietrov went back to Czechoslovakia and again took two years of high school as the IB diploma was not recognized there and he was too young to enter the Czech university of medicine. ‘It was not career promoting to have

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17 Pietrov, "Interview."
18 In Section 5.3 on page 222, I already mentioned Bernadotteskolen and gave more description of the Danish primary private school.
19 Pietrov, "Interview."
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid.
non-Comecon education’. 22 Pietrov summarised his experience at CIS: ‘it was a culture of respect, an open world’. 23 Section 7.4 will come back to his perception on the educational dissimilarities between CIS and the Czech system.

Another student, Helen, was Danish by her father and Austrian-British by her mother. Her father worked for a British company, building factories in Africa. Helen was born in Kenya where she lived with her four siblings until the age of 7. Then, the family moved to Ecuador where she attended a local school for one year and the American school in Quito. As her father died suddenly during their stay in Ecuador, her mother moved with the five children to Copenhagen in February 1972. Helen was 15 years old. She was speaking English and Spanish but not Danish and was coming from an international school. CIS’s fees were too expensive for the mother who decided to meet the headmaster, Charles Gellar, and asked for a scholarship for her daughter. Helen recalled:

He [Gellar] took me and said: “you will stay in this school and your mother will not pay a penny”. It had a massive impact on my life just by the fact that I was able to go to another international school. […] it was very liberating to come to CIS. The teachers were not only teachers but also people to us. 24

Helen graduated from CIS in 1975 and took an IB certificate in Spanish. Helen’s account describes how, for some students, CIS represented more than a school as further justified in Section 7.2. It also emphasizes the tight

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22 Pietrov. "Interview."
23 Ibid.
24 Helen, Personal interview, Virum, August 26, 2018.
relationships that students could establish with their teachers also further explained in Section 7.2.

The diversity of experiences from Cinthia, Michelle, Pietrov, Doddy and Helen gives a sense of the students’ lives and the cultural mix they brought to CIS. It also demonstrates how their lives were embodied within the mid-twentieth century economic and geo-political context. According to some teachers, ‘racial and national issues were met at school, which however created some unlikely friendships possible’. Not only students but also teachers lived a transient life, sometimes also impacted by the socio-political context. The two following examples illustrate this reality.

An article found in the Copenhagen Internationalist, written by a student, Ginger, described the journey of E. Russel, science teacher, who stayed at CIS during the year 1966-1967. Russel was born in New Mexico (US), studied anthropology at the University of Arizona and did a North African research work at the University of California, Berkeley (US), which is referenced at the Smithsonian Institute (Washington DC, US). He worked as a teacher and curator of a museum in Maine (US) and sailed the seas with the US Navy for six years. He taught chemistry, biology and general science in different countries such as El Salvador. This eclectic journey made Ginger conclude that ‘Mr. Russel has the mysterious disease called “wanderlust”’. Teachers with an international teaching experience were not easy to recruit in

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the 1960s. The portrait of teacher Russel, which seems atypical and well spotted by student Ginger, gives a sense of the diversity of CIS's individuals and of the variety within the teaching.

John Miller, CIS's history teacher from 1968 to 1972, came from the US as most of CIS's teachers from this time; he was 24 years old. An article in *The Copenhagen Internationalist* reported that he started pre-medical studies at George Washington University (Washington DC, US), and switched to Diplomatic History in his sophomore year. He became journalist at CBS studios in New York, ‘covering everything from Black Power meetings to peace rallies’. Miller found the position of history teacher in an advertisement in the Danish Newspaper, *Berlingske Tidende*, as he was in search of a job in Copenhagen. Miller gave many reasons for his move to Denmark such as a previous visit which made him love the country, ‘a friendly country with a strong social welfare system’, and a date with a Danish girlfriend. But, most importantly, Miller conceded that the US political situation made him flee the US. He recalled:

I was decided that I was going to leave the country. Even though I have failed the physical exam the army gave me, they didn’t give me the physical deferment forever. They said: “we will keep examining you”. I said: “this is ridiculous! I am leaving the country and I am very good about it as I am going to tell you exactly where I am going to go. I have a plane ticket to Copenhagen tomorrow and I am out of here”. Two years later they tracked me down in Copenhagen and did make me go to Bermerhaven, one of the US army bases in Germany, to do another

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28 In Section 5.4, I gave more details on the predominance of American teachers.
31 Miller, "Interview."
physical exam and they didn’t pass me either. So, I felt freer in Denmark than I felt in the US.\textsuperscript{32}

Miller left his country in disagreement with the foreign policy in Vietnam and because the country was tearing itself apart with the fight for civil rights. At this time, he was involved in Robert F. Kennedy’s presidential campaign for the Democratic Party. Robert Kennedy was assassinated in June 1968, two months before Miller’s application at CIS.\textsuperscript{33} Miller remembered that in the US, ‘it was a very rough time, with almost a civil war. Violence was getting way out of hand. It reached a crescendo with the Kent State University shootings’.\textsuperscript{34} He arrived in his late twenties and made Danish friends who were part of the very left wing. In 1972, he took part in an anti-Vietnam war demonstration in front of the American embassy and was seen by some embassy guards which observed the crowd with binoculars. The event was discussed at the following school’s Board meeting. It illustrates how political issues were impacting the school conduct. This is how the event was reported in the minutes:

The Board held a general discussion on the matter of one of the American teachers of the school attending what was a peaceful demonstration outside the American Embassy. As the teacher in question is leaving the staff, the matter was considered closed, although there was some divergence of opinion among the members of the Board as to the rights of the teaching staff in such a situation. The consensus seemed to be that it could conceivably produce results harmful to the school, in the matter of enrolment, etc.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{32} Miller, "Interview.". During the interview, Miller used the past tense and switched to the present tense, which signifies how much his past experiences were still ‘alive’ in his mind.

\textsuperscript{33} Quote from Miller found in Philipp’s personal memories. Philipp, \textit{CIS Memories: High Times in Happy Scissors}, (2013).

\textsuperscript{34} Miller, "Interview."

\textsuperscript{35} CIS, \textit{Board Minutes. Binder 2}, June 1, 1972.
One can wonder if the term ‘etc’ in the minutes implied more complex political disagreements within the Board, possibly too sensitive to be officially reported. In 1972, the Board composition was not anymore exclusively American; however, the chairman was still the US Army attaché. After four years at CIS, Miller decided to leave as he ‘didn’t want to put the school or Gellar through any kind of problems with the Board’.

Miller was popular among students. He was described as ‘professional cynic’ with his unique teaching style and engaged political ideas in the class discussed in Section 7.4. Michelle remembered that coming back to her house after the demonstration happened, her father, a US army officer at the Embassy, expressed strong disagreement on Miller’s presence, saying, ‘he can’t do that’. Michelle wondered at this time: “Are they going to fire our favorite teacher? They can’t take him away!”

The heterogeneous community pictured in this section, through the lives of a few individuals, nurtured ‘a very cosmopolitan’ atmosphere, where different perspectives of seeing the world or ideologies co-existed and were accepted, but also created tensions, in some families or even within the school as described in the previous paragraph. Still, a sense of homogeneity seemed to be drawn from it. As described by Miller who faced these tensions, ‘to me what went on at CIS in those days was this unbelievable glue that brought

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36 Table 5.1 records the chairmen’s presidency from 1964 to 1985, p.191.
37 Miller, “Interview.”
38 J. Perdersen, “Voice”.
39 Michelle, “Interview.”
40 Miller, “Interview.”
together, all these different ideas and people’. To Michelle’s experience, ‘everybody was very appreciated for who they were and what they brought’. Rusen, who came from a high school in New York (US), described the difference between his previous school and CIS as ‘chalk and cheese’ due to the prejudice he went through: ‘New York was a litany of trying to fit in with the American classmates, of explaining Turkey where I was from and why I didn’t have a camel at the door’. Peter, who defined himself as communist at that time, felt that ‘we respected our different views and didn’t discuss politics much’. According to him, the fact that he openly shared his political conviction did not cause any problem with the other students. Pietrov, from Czechoslovakia, acknowledged that:

Students would joke sometimes. If I made a positive comment about the Eastern Block, they could say that I am brainwashed. I didn’t have to defend myself. It was a culture of respect, an open world.

From Keson’s perspective, students did not share the same cultural norms, for example the clothes, or a common teen-age culture, for example the music. This situation forced them to develop a way of being together, while developing their own identity. He explained that ‘each person was encouraged, almost forced to be himself rather than being shoehorned into the superficial culture of the local youth culture’. The international character of the school was shaped by the heterogeneity of its students’ background and

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41 Miller, "Interview."
42 Michelle, "Interview."
43 Rusen, Email interview, January 24, 2020.
44 Pietrov, "Interview."
45 Ibid.
47 Ibid. It is important to contrast this phenomenon with Alec Peterson’s personal note on the importance of not producing a generation of rootless and disoriented ‘world citizens’. (Peterson, 1987)
by its atmosphere was created by the exchange of culture among its
community.

7.2 More than a school

The school’s characteristic most mentioned by the interviewees was its family
atmosphere and its intimate nature due to the small size. At CIS, ‘everybody
knew everyone across the grades’, ‘we did everything together’, and ‘we were
all living symbiotically kind of’. Keson illustrated the familiarity by explaining:
‘If Maria had a term paper overdue, everyone knew about it. If Tomas’
girlfriend back home hadn’t written in two weeks, there were sympathetic
comments from both classmates and teachers’. The family atmosphere was
particularly unusual for students coming from a crowded US public high school
as mentioned earlier. Nelly recalled that at CIS they were 13 in her class
level compared to 250 in the US, which made her conclude: ‘At CIS I
belonged’. Even the headmaster, Godfrey Sullivan, expressed the change
between working at CIS compared to UNIS where he came from, with 600
students and 70 different nationalities, when he was interviewed by a student
from CIS. Furthermore, the school’s size contrasted with its Danish host-
school complex in Høje Gladsaxe, welcoming about 1 300 students. The
small size was also expressed by some CIS’s teachers. As Keson recalled,
‘we had one staffroom where all teachers came during free periods, making

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48 Keson, "Interview," 2019. Peterson, "Interview."
49 Keson, An Illustrated History of CIS, 13.
50 Cinthia, whose background is explained on p. 298, arrived at CIS in 1967 from a US high
school in Virginia with a capacity of 2000 students.
51 Nelly & Ivan, Personal interview. CIS, January 10, 2020.
52 Marianne, "Irish Savoir-Faire: Our Principal. Mr. Sullivan," The Copenhagen
Internationalist, no. 1 (Fall 1965).
53 CIS. Board Minutes. Binder 1, September 16, 1968.
corrections, making tests, talking, reading newspapers, and smoking for half of them'.

According to all interviewees, the family atmosphere existed not only thanks to the tight relationships among students but also between students and teachers. The terms ‘family bonds, intimacy, glue, familial, friendly, harmonious’ were used to describe the atmosphere. The testimony of Ivan, born in Bratislava (Czechoslovakia), is representative of others:

The most important at school was the relationships and connections we had with our teachers and our friends. We received care from staff and students. The bonds that we constructed lasted and were reconstructed. When we meet long time after, it is the same bounds that still exists.

Charlotte Metz, English teacher and guidance counsellor, who acted as headmaster for a brief time in the spring of 1965 and one of the most remembered teachers by the alumni, was considered as ‘the mother of the school’, a symbolic representation of the family model. Peter explained: ‘the most memorable teacher was the English teacher Charlotte Metz, a Jewish woman from New York in very much the classic tradition – warm-hearted, generous, progressive – in fact also a communist, I believe, and much-loved by everyone’. Teacher Miller recalled that Metz was very close to a lot of students, especially teenage girls who would talk about women’s issues at a

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54 Keson, "Interview," 2019.
55 Nelly & Ivan, "Interview."
56 Philipp, Personal Interview, CIS January 10, 2019. Charlotte Metz died in 2015. There is no specific record on her start at CIS. She worked already when CIS was under correspondence courses and left CIS in 1975. A collection of testimonies, written by some of her students, show the impact she had on her students not only as English teacher but also mostly as guidance counsellor. Metz had to convince European universities to accept CIS’s students at the time when the high school diploma was not officially recognised.
57 Peter, "Interview."
time when it was not completely accepted to address these issues with a teacher.

In general, students found it easy to talk with their teachers and the small size seemed to facilitate these interactions. Michelle qualified these interactions as casual and egalitarian. In a more formal way, the school philosophy mentioned ‘the individualized instruction in small classes supplemented by informal contacts between students and teachers of many different cultural backgrounds’. The close difference in age between some teachers or student teachers and students was an additional factor that influenced the family bonds. In fact, the age difference was sometimes reaching no more than six to ten years. Both students and teachers recalled these special bonds, described as almost peer-like relationships, such as playing cards together, going out to dinner, borrowing cigarettes from teachers, hanging out with them, and having parties in the families’ house where some teachers were invited. Michelle recalled: ‘Madame B. our French teacher invited us in her house where we all spent the night!’ For some teachers, their role was almost like brotherhood overtaking a pastoral role, which can explain the long-lasting relationships maintained and

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58 Miller, "Interview."
59 Michelle, "Interview."
60 CIS, Philosophy, (Board Minutes Binder 2, 1970).
61 CIS started to have student teachers in 1971. For example, from January to June 1971, fifteen student teachers from Western Michigan University, three from Moorehead State College (Minnesota) and one from North Dakota State University made their practical training. The student teachers were shared between CIS, the Danish High School, and the American Dependents school. CIS, "Student Teaching Training," CIS highlights, June 15, 1971.
62 Michelle, "Interview". CIS. "Madame B," The Copenhagen Internationalist II, no. 3 (March 1967).
mentioned by almost all interviewees. Philipp, a student, admitted that for some students, these social interactions were new and unusual to them.

Helen, an alumna, brought to light another characteristic of CIS’s culture, which was to be a ‘refuge’ for some students who experienced difficult circumstances at home. As she explained, it was years later that she learnt what a few of her friends went through. Some expatriate families’ life was impacted by the father often traveling for work while the mother ran the household on her own. The school represented for the teenagers a safe and sane place, with the learning and the fun taking place. Helen concluded that ‘even if some students looked amazing and performing well at school, it was hard to know what was happening behind the scene’. Keson, from a teacher’s perspective, reinforced the same idea:

Teachers got to know their students well and sometimes felt obliged to offer support far beyond what would be normal – to the point of offering them a place to stay if their parents were transferred out of Denmark shortly before graduation, or, as happened on a couple of occasions, when the family split up.

Pietrov mentioned another aspect of the school acting as a refuge. In the end of an interview, he blurted out: ‘it was such a tension in the world and then you

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63 The peer-like relationships between students and teachers can raise the question of sexual misconduct. Across all interviews, this possible issue has not been raised. Furthermore, the interviewer did not get the sense of hidden information. A teacher married a student a few years after their stay at school, a fact which was openly mentioned during some interviews and in CIS written memories. See Keson, An Illustrated History of CIS, 9.
64 Philipp, "CIS Memories."
65 Helen, "Interview."
66 One of the first studies of the sociologist, Ruth Essem, published in 1966, concentrated on an American overseas family in India and the stresses experienced by the family. Useem explored the way wives could find resolutions. It shows that the problem experienced by some expatriate families in Copenhagen was not an isolated phenomenon. R. H. Useem, "The American Family in India".
67 Helen, "Interview."
68 Keson, An Illustrated History of CIS, 14.
have a place where we are just...”\textsuperscript{69} This sense of tension was expressed by others. Peter coming from the US wrote: ‘It was the “Swinging 60s”, but America was becoming very “unswinging”: Vietnam, racial problems… I was young and ignorant but even I could feel the tension’.\textsuperscript{70} Two teachers admitted being happy to leave the US and come to Denmark, not involved anymore with bombs and military issues’.\textsuperscript{71}

The school's third characteristic was the central role it played in the students' social life. More than a school, CIS operated as a social forum. Gellar stated:

\begin{quote}
Because of the special circumstances of life in a small community of transient foreign nationals, the school often plays the central role in the life of the community, and the child comes to view the school in the same way. It becomes the centre of the child's social life.\textsuperscript{72}
\end{quote}

The students’ transient condition gave them little time to create extended social network in the host country.\textsuperscript{73} The Danish language was an additional barrier to make friendships as well as the distance from home to school. In fact, many of them lived with their families in different parts of Copenhagen or its suburbs and spent most of their day at school, a situation that did not facilitate the building of relationships in their neighbourhood. Keson explained that ‘aside from their immediate families, CIS’s students and teachers were the only social network that they had. In consequence we all felt a responsibility to the others whom we were together with every day’.\textsuperscript{74} The school’s philosophy

\textsuperscript{69} Pietrov, "Interview." The last word of the sentence was inaudible in the record but the overall meaning is understandable.
\textsuperscript{70} Philipp, "CIS Memories."
\textsuperscript{71} W. Keson & J. Keson. Personal interview, January 22, 2019.
\textsuperscript{73} Miller, "Interview."
\textsuperscript{74} Keson, \textit{An Illustrated History of CIS}, 13.
explicitly linked the geographical spread of students’ homes with the need to respond to it: ‘for many of our students who live in the suburbs of Copenhagen, the school is also a social forum, and we recognize this by offering a range of extra-curricular activities’.

In fact, teachers, beyond their teaching activities, proposed many extra-scholar activities, including different clubs – newspaper, yearbook, drama production, philosophy, photography, the Model United Nations (MUN), film, sports such as basketball and American touch football, music, bands, and dances. According to a student, ‘teachers were more than one pair of hands, having many roles’. For example, Keson taught mathematics, philosophy, photography, film-making, contributed to the yearbook and was a sport coach. Gellar who was principal, taught chemistry, physics, philosophy and was involved in after-school sport activities. A teacher explained that ‘extra-curricular activities were encouraged and any student who was interested in something could be assured of being accepted’. Finally, all these activities were an integral part of the school culture. They were made to fit all students and to encourage them to be co-authors of its life as explained by Gellar in an address to students:

Your school is a small one. This will enable each of you to participate fully in the life of the school. It also means that what is achieved will

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75 CIS, "Philosophy."
76 The first MUN conference, called ‘International Assemblies’, started at the University of Oxford in 1921, where high school students were modelling League of Nations committees. It was replaced in 1947 by the MUN conferences: conferences which, in 2022, still take place in the Hague (The Netherlands).
77 Michelle, "Interview."
78 Page 325, I give more explanation on Film-Making as IB subject and how the subject started as an initiative from teacher Keson.
79 Keson, An Illustrated History of CIS, 14.
depend in large measure on your active and constructive participation in all its activities. All must pull together.\textsuperscript{80}

Among numerous CIS's activities, parties kept the most significant memories in students' life. They were organised weekly by the 'teen club' and took place in different CIS's families' houses.\textsuperscript{81} There were ‘mildly supervised premises where kids could hang out, drink, play records and cuddle’.\textsuperscript{82} Depending on the years, students mentioned the use and exchange of drugs like hashish to a moderate degree. Helen felt that it was the time when everybody was experimenting, and parents were not that concerned.\textsuperscript{83} Philipp, a student, recalled:

The most important were the parties, the coolness of the curriculum and the general atmosphere of the school. One day I was invited to a party. A girl sat on my lap and started to kiss me. The next party a different girl sat on my lap and started to kiss me. “So this is what education is all about!” I thought.\textsuperscript{84}

Philipp was coming from a Catholic boy school near Washington D.C, (US) and was obviously not used to such levels of freedom in the social interactions among teenagers. Even if Philipp’s example remains anecdotal, it is part of many others cultural differences that American students experienced in the liberal culture of Denmark of the 1960s.\textsuperscript{85}

\textsuperscript{80} C. Gellar, "Dear students," \textit{The Copenhagen Internationalist}, (September 1968). Gellar wrote these lines in his first month as principal at CIS.
\textsuperscript{81} CIS. "Teen Club’ 66," \textit{The Copenhagen Internationalist} II, no. 1 (October 1966).
\textsuperscript{82} Peter, "Interview."
\textsuperscript{83} Helen, "Interview."
\textsuperscript{84} Philipp, "CIS Memories."
\textsuperscript{85} See Section 3.5 on liberal culture of Denmark.
In fact, the freedom to drink beer in Denmark under the age of eighteen was another recurrent theme mentioned during the interviews. Beers were served during the parties. According to Michelle, American parents, especially the militaries, at first were very shocked by the general liberal rules, but then adapted to the surrounding culture as they could see that drinking and other activities were apparently tolerated. Michelle said, ‘we adapted to the culture. We had parties at my house, and we served beers’. Nelly, an American student, coming from what she considered a sheltered military family, remembered her father picking her up after a party with Danish students from the Gymnasium, while some boys were standing outside drunk. ‘My dad told me that it was the last time to go to a party. Later, a friend of him convinced him that it was fine’. Miller recalled that for the American students coming from a conservative background, it was challenging to handle the freedom to access to beers as they could not approach it with moderation. He explained that some students then needed some special attention from the teachers.

This cultural difference to deal with alcohol was so marked that, in 1968, the Danish rector Østergaard had to alert CIS’s parents at a general meeting and explained the context of the Danish high school in specific details:

Beer is served at three evening dances, when they can drink as much as they like. Beer for parties is provided on the basis of 400 students and 3 bottles per student for a total of 1200 bottles…no more beer or liquor is to be brought in by the students. These liberal conditions, being

86 Michelle, "Interview."
87 Nelly and Ivan, "Interview."
88 Miller, "Interview."
quite different than many of the Americans are used to, must be accepted by them.\textsuperscript{89}

The minutes of the same meeting gave additional details on the difference of culture between the Danish and international school which had to be accepted by CIS’s parents. It reported that ‘regulations governing the [Danish] Gymnasium students are few. We follow them also’.\textsuperscript{90} The minutes added that smoking was permitted in the recess hall and that CIS was not able to prevent any student from smoking. The headmaster, Gellar, however, asked the cooperation of parents to encourage their children not to smoke, especially the students in 9\textsuperscript{th} and 10\textsuperscript{th} grade.\textsuperscript{91}

Parties were representative of CIS’s social life and were integrated into its culture. It was a way to stay in contact with friends over the weekend but also a means to connect with the Danes.\textsuperscript{92} Some parties, also called ‘School Dance’ by the Danish students, occurred every Saturday in one of the schools of the Gladsaxe municipality where CIS’s students were invited. They were encouraged by both the two headmasters of the host-school and CIS, as a way of creating bonds between the two students’ communities and were considered as ‘education in itself’.\textsuperscript{93} Michelle recalled that ‘the mixing with Danes was probably when people were dating. We mixed during parties, dancing with the Danes to terrific loud bands and drinking Tuborgs’.\textsuperscript{94} Dennis,

\textsuperscript{89} CIS, \textit{Board Minutes. Binder 1}, September 16, 1968. Text underlined in the minutes.
\textsuperscript{90} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{91} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{92} Leslie & Maria, Personal interview, September 20, 2017.
\textsuperscript{93} G. Sullivan, "Retrospect," \textit{The Copenhagen Internationalist} II, no. 2 (December 1966).
\textsuperscript{94} Peterson, "Interview." ‘Temporaries’ was the name given to the Barracks as explained in Section 5.1 on p. 180.
a student from CIS, described in an article the cultural differences between the Danish and the American dance styles:

The “Monkey” and other American dances caused many stares on the dance floor, but the Danes soon became accustomed to the different styles and dances. Once the ice was broken, both schools began to mix and dance. Some Danes were very friendly and wanted to talk, others just said a few words of greeting.95

The half-hearted interactions were representative of some deeper cultural gaps between the two communities of students which were hard to bridge despite the joined efforts of the principals.

7.3 International-Danish relations

In Section 6.1, I identified some changes in CIS’s mission where, from 1966, the cross-cultural exchange between CIS and the Danish host-school and more broadly with the Danish culture became explicitly part of the school mission as written in the official documents.96 CIS’s students had compulsory Danish classes as well as Scandinavian history classes. Teachers organised multiple activities to expose students to the Danish culture such as, from 1971, the annual ‘Danish Week’ when ‘all classes were suspended in favour of films, speakers, field trips, and discussions’.97 Headmaster Sullivan explained that the establishing of CIS within a Danish school complex was even part of the early school philosophy. He explained:

Fundamental to the philosophy of those who founded our school was the concept of it being firmly rooted in its environment. Too many so-called international schools are foreign ‘Islands’ and it is the nature of islands to be insular. Our location in the Gymnasium keeps us from

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96 See Table 6.2 on p. 252.
97 CIS, "Danish Week - Dansk Uge," *CIS Highlights*, June 1971. For example, in 1971, 20 field trips were organized for the exploration of the Danish culture, history, science and technology, manufacturing and education.
such folly. (...) no matter where we have come from every one of us has become a little bit Danish.

Sullivan’s statement cross refers with Miller, Leach and other educators’ reflections from the same period on ‘what makes an international school’.

Leach referred to the problem of the ‘American International schools’ in Europe insulated by “cellophane walls” from the national community in which they lived in. In Section 4.2, I explained how the question ‘what are international schools?’ was key not only to Sullivan, Miller or Leach but to all the educators involved in the pioneering international schooling movement. However, even at CIS, this ideal was far from being easy to implement.

The share of physical space within the same building, and the efforts of both principals of Søborg gymnasium and CIS and the student council to create greater communication between the two communities did not prevent the cultural divide. In fact, testimonies and primary writings from CIS’s students point out some challenges. Michelle remembered the lunch in the huge cafeteria. ‘We ate with the Danes, although we “self-segregated”. We, CISers, ate at our separate tables’. She added that when they had activities together, CIS’s students were thinking ‘Oh f…. god, they are so different from us’. Leslie and Maria who made some friends from the Danish Gymnasium,

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98 G. Sullivan, "This and That," The Copenhagen Internationalist II, no. 4 (June 1967).
100 The actions taken were, for example, changes in the timetable of CIS to increase recess time between the two schools; two places were given to CIS students in the Student Council of the Danish Gymnasium; social hospitality was reinforced between the two schools through events and assemblies; there were exchanges of teachers between the two schools; it was an emphasis on the Danish language studies, etc. In Section 5.1, I already referred to the cultural divide when CIS ran as correspondence school, at Bagsværd kostskole.
101 Michelle, "Interview."
admitted that they had to try harder.\textsuperscript{102} Philipp who was a Danish national could sometimes go with the Danish students but explained that ‘they were scared of us’.\textsuperscript{103} In 1968, before his departure from CIS, Sullivan acknowledged the complexity to establishing a real mix, stating that:

Those who founded the school wanted it to be international and Danish and that, to a great extent, has come about, although we must all admit that we do not involve ourselves enough in our host community.\textsuperscript{104}

While Sullivan seemed to put the blame on CIS’s students for their lack of involvement with the Danish Gymnasium, an article in the students’ newsletter reveals some more complex issues related to the existing cultural barriers.\textsuperscript{105}

The article was based on an interview between Jennifer, a reporter from \textit{The Copenhagen Internationalist}, and Poul Henrik, at the time, ‘one of the more well-known Danes in the Gymnasium’. Poul Henrik stated:

The first G [Grade 10] isn’t too happy about having foreign students in the school. It is a bit of a shock for someone who has never been around foreigners to suddenly be with them. However, the second and the third G’s [Grade 11 and 12] think it is interesting to have an international section and try to have some contact with you […] It does promote tolerance and understanding between the two groups.\textsuperscript{106}

Poul Henrik further explained that the high number of American students in CIS made the Danish students think that it was purely American, with no consideration of other nationalities.\textsuperscript{107} He added that ‘anti-Americanism’ was

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[102] Leslie & Maria, "Interview."
\item[103] Philipp, "Interview."
\item[104] G. Sullivan, "A School Is A School Is A School," \textit{The Copenhagen Internationalist} III, no. 3 (June 1968).
\item[106] Jennifer, "Delving into the area of international-Danish relations."
\item[107] The article reported that at this time there were 10 different nationalities among CIS’s students.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
present among Danish students, mostly instigated by the leftist groups who were particularly upset with the Vietnam War. Poul Henrik also mentioned the shooting of people in the US and the anti-gun law not being passed, which made him conclude, ‘I think Americans are fantastically conservative’.108

According to teacher Keson, the socio-political gap between the students of CIS and Søborg Gymnasium was tangible. He recalled the very leftist and liberal atmosphere at the Danish high school where the ‘Little Red Book’ of Mao Zedong was studied and posters ‘Power to Children Now’ were put on the walls.109 Keson admitted that even though he came from a very liberal university in Michigan (US), it was nothing compared to Denmark. Teacher Wiebke Keson, German by nationality, acknowledged the trouble of being perceived as American even if you were not. She said:

> At the beginning of the school time, teachers wanted to make sure that the Danish community was not seeing the school as an American school, especially the teachers who were foreign language teachers. Mainly because the Danish Society had quite a strong feeling against America, due to the Vietnam war and the nuclear weapons. It was difficult to keep this neutrality. From the Danish students’ perspective, we were the Americans. In Denmark, the youth culture was quite anti-American, extremely upset with the Vietnam war and the nuclear weapons.110

Admittedly, the geo-political conflict of the Cold War was part of the school daily-life and was felt both by the students and teachers. It was also part of the wider society as some American interviewees mentioned the need to lie about

108 Jennifer, "Delving into the area of international-Danish relations."
110 Keson & Keson, "Interview."
their nationality and to pretend being Canadian when they were in Denmark or travelling in Europe, to avoid any discomfort.\textsuperscript{111}

In summary, the split between the two communities were linked to the fear from the Danish students of meeting some foreigners, to some political disagreements with the American involvement in the Vietnam War, but also to the perceived cultural differences between the two students’ communities.\textsuperscript{112} Finally, it was probably easier for CIS students to stay in their ‘own little world’ and have fun with their classmates who shared the same transient reality than to interchange with the Danish students. Peter’s description shows a realistic and detached explanation of the situation, ‘there was very little interaction at all – that side of partnership just didn’t take off, and we operated largely independently’.\textsuperscript{113} This situation highlights the paradoxical position of the international school which fostered open mindedness and mutual understanding among its students but failed to establish a genuine collaboration with the Danish school community. The partnership seemed to remain an ideal shared mostly by the headmasters of the two schools.

In the end of the scholastic year 1968-1969, CIS moved into its first ‘Barracks’.\textsuperscript{114} The new premises gave CIS its own identity. According to teacher Keson, ‘we were in our own premises, not lost in Søborg gymnasium.

It gave a spirit to the school. We could be identified as the International

\textsuperscript{111} Miller, "Interview."; Peterson, "Interview."
\textsuperscript{112} Helen, "Interview."; Jennifer, "Delving into the area of international-Danish relations."; CIS. 
"Editorial," The Copenhagen Internationalist I, no. 2 (Fall 1965).
\textsuperscript{113} Peter, "Interview."
\textsuperscript{114} Section 5.1 explains the move into the ‘Barracks I and II.
School’. This move reduced the interactions between the two schools and most probably increased the international-Danish divide.

7.4 CIS liberal education

According to some CIS’s teachers and based on some school records, the school believed in scholarship, rigour, and hard work. Teachers considered the academic environment greater than an average American high school particularly due to the small size of the classes and the exchange of cultural experiences. The interviews of alumni revealed a more mixed opinion on CIS’s academic level depending on their previous schooling experiences. Some felt that the level was much higher than the school they came from, while others felt that the atmosphere was more friendly than it was academic. Overall, reminiscences from the alumni described a school’s ethos which offered a sense of freedom in line with the Danish high school culture and with the Danish liberal society as illustrated by Michelle:

> Everything is pretty laid back. There is almost nothing we can’t do. So at 15 years old, there is a smoking room. There is no ban on that. So we don’t have to rebel that way. If you don’t want to come to class, you almost don’t have to go. If you want to go to the shopping centre and have a beer, you actually can do that. Some people did that, you know...However it was much more interesting to be in class with Mr. Miller or Mr. Gellar. And this is how it was. Our friends were much more interesting.

Peter came up with a balanced description: ‘you could be academically keen and get encouragement and help, but if you weren’t, that was OK too’. The

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115 Keson & Keson, "Interview."
116 Michelle, "Interview." Miller, "Interview."
117 Michelle, "Interview."
118 Peter, "Interview."
heterogeneity of the students’ academic background required some flexibility in the school’s expectations as later explained.

When Charles Gellar arrived in 1968 as new headmaster, he seemed already confident about CIS’s strong level of performance when he explained to parents that ‘for those [the students] wanting to go to college, the problem will not be whether they will be able to or not to, but which college to select’.119 The prestigious universities that some students attended after CIS confirmed his conviction.120 Teachers agreed that most of the students were eager to learn, alert, and more mature due to their exposure to different cultures, as illustrated in Section 7.1, which made the teaching and learning stimulating.121 The heterogeneity of students and teachers’ background fostered some rich exchange of ideas and increased the opportunities to learn compared to a national school where students were influenced by the same environment.122

Keson said:

we were convinced that international education was more interesting than national education, because the kids not being all from the same neighbourhood, not speaking the same language, not having the same cultural outlook on things, they were more alert, and they had to catch all these things.123

At the same time, the different learning experiences brought a mix of abilities in the classroom as well as some marked differences in the level of English

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119 CIS. Board Minutes. Binder 1, September 16, 1968.
120 For example, in 1968, the students received acceptances in the US from the MIT, Earlham College, Yale University, Virginia Polytechnic Institute...Others were qualified for matriculation by the Joint Matriculation in the UK and by the University of Copenhagen. CIS, “Examinations, Testing and College Admission,” Copenhagen International School: Brochure, 1968, 10.
121 J. Kesón, Personal interview, March 16, 2015.
122 Miller, "Interview."
123 Kesón, "Interview," 2015.
proficiency. In fact, some students came with no English knowledge and received some 'Special English' courses.\footnote{Nelly & Ivan, “Interview.” Special English started to be offered in September 1965 by Ines Sullivan. The programme has continued since this time.}

The academic configuration, with the quick turnover of students and the mix of abilities, required teachers to be adaptable, and led them to adopt a ‘student-centeredness’ approach.\footnote{Keson, An Illustrated History of CIS, 8.} They had to set individual goals to respond to the specific requirements of the different higher educations, which in return made students not able to compare their progress against others.\footnote{Ibid., 6.} Helen recalled: ‘we worked hard as the curriculum had to match the UK, France, Japan etc., and some students were extremely bright and would prepare to Syracuse, MIT and needed to have a high level’.\footnote{Helen, “Interview.”}

In this academic context, the choice of Godfrey Sullivan to trial the IB programme at CIS made much sense. It offered a response to the challenge of having multiple goals in one class, by administrating one single programme that would be recognized by all universities and adapted to the needs of a multicultural population. Keson recalled:

\begin{quote}
IB offered a curriculum, and we could see how it could fit together. We could see how the ideas were articulated, were developed for an international audience; at least to make these students aware of not just the things that were relevant to them at home but to the world, to different experiences.\footnote{Keson, "Interview," 2015.}
\end{quote}
In Section 6.3, I explained that the increase in the number of nationalities in CIS’s student population was one of the main reasons used by the three headmasters to convince the Board to affiliate CIS with the IB. However, their inner motivation remained grounded on their belief that international educational was the best tool to foster international understanding. From the teachers’ position, their motivation to experiment the IB programme was linked to its possibility to respond to the challenges met in the mixed classrooms.129 According to Keson, the IB was more than an examination-preparation programme as ‘the tasks that were assigned often didn’t have simple agreed-upon answers. Students were marked on their approaches as much as their success’.130 This approach gave much freedom to the teachers and matched with their teaching conditions which required adaptation, creativity, and improvisation.

Teachers were free to design their courses and one of the courses became authorised by the IB as subject of examination. It was in 1970 that Keson introduced a Film-Making class, ‘to develop the students’ awareness of the importance of the visual image in modern culture’.131 He taught students how to produce films with the use of Super-8 cameras and cassette recordings. One of the most ambitious films, ‘The Human Race’, was produced in 1973 by three students.132 Film-making as a subject first became recognised as an

129 Miller, "Interview."
130 Keson, An Illustrated History of CIS, 24.
elective by the IB and then was accepted as an IB sixth subject in 1972. In 1973, Charles Gellar introduced the subject Social Anthropology at CIS, which was a new IB option in the third subject, ‘Study of Man’. Keson explained that ‘in the IB early years you could just do it. Coming into the [IB] programme early, everyone was practicing and had the chance to influence it’. In fact, as explained by Peterson, the schools could submit for approval of the IBO an alternative course of its own design, an alternative to the sixth subject. The proposal had to arrive one year before a candidate could be examined in this subject.

Students Leslie and Maria described the curriculum as liberal and inquisitive compared to the US. They felt that it was made up of what teachers were passionate about. Teachers designed their own curriculum; for example, in maths, the teacher would have to select materials from a narrow US curriculum or a broader British “A-Level” one. This is how Keson described the liberal teaching atmosphere:

> With such a mix of educational ambitions, pedagogical backgrounds and strong personalities, discussions in the faculty room were often philosophical but more usually focused on what needed to be taught the next morning. Sometimes we improvised as we went along, making up lessons from what we had read in the paper. The International Herald Tribune was our source of information in the faculty room – have I mentioned that CIS was rather American in the early years? Or we

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133 Keson, An Illustrated History of CIS, 16.
135 Keson, "Interview," 2015.
137 Leslie & Maria, "Interview."
138 Keson, An Illustrated History of CIS, 6 and 7.
would take a student’s perceptive question and develop it into an open-ended piece of homework for the next day.\textsuperscript{139}

Michelle recalled that almost all classes were based on open discussions where students shared their opinions and ideas which made the learning active and opened the students’ minds.\textsuperscript{140} She explained that ‘even in physics class, we had discussion which opened my ideas about philosophy and religion!’\textsuperscript{141}

In history, the challenge was to have in one class an international mix of students, ‘all brought together in this artificial school environment in a new country where nobody was from, who were supposed to learn the histories of where everybody came from’.\textsuperscript{142} Miller explained that he had to teach ‘French history, world history, American history, Japanese history, Chinese history or Eastern Europe history to students who would not have any experiences from these countries’.\textsuperscript{143} He recalled:

> What I tried to do was to teach the world history by using it in a sense that showing that all these histories operate in a vacuum. They all operate in a global regional environment, almost like a chessboard; that the move of one nation does have an effect on another nation, but yet each one has a distinct history.\textsuperscript{144}

Teachers started to participate in some IB curriculum conferences where the aim was to internationalise the curriculum. Miller remembered that in history

\textsuperscript{139} Keson, An Illustrated History of CIS, 6.
\textsuperscript{140} Michelle, "Interview."
\textsuperscript{141} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{142} Miller, "Interview."
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{144} Ibid.
curriculum conferences, teachers were encouraged to teach history from the perspective of many countries and not only one.\textsuperscript{145}

The lack of textbooks obliged teachers to assign projects, performances, and experiments with educational processes based on the learning together, which implied unexpected outcomes.\textsuperscript{146} The British Council and the US Embassy libraries were the only places where students could find some materials in English in Copenhagen.\textsuperscript{147} The content of the scholar books from the school did not always fit the multi-cultural class environment or even suit the teacher’s ideas. Michelle remembered vividly her very first day of 10\textsuperscript{th} grade at CIS: ‘I am in history class in Mr. Miller’s classroom and he announced: “take the textbooks that have been issued to you here, take them home and do not ever bring them back to class again until the end of the school year”’.\textsuperscript{148}

The in-class teaching often involved guest speakers. In philosophy class, Leslie remembered that each time, a guest was invited. Numerous examples of speakers were reported in the student’ newsletters. To name a few, a researcher in biochemistry from the University of Copenhagen, Mr. Truman, gave a talk on the History of science and how its development affected the world in terms of philosophy as well as technology.\textsuperscript{149} Another academic, Ole Karup Hansen, spoke about the conflict between Nigeria and Biafra.\textsuperscript{150} Keson remembered that they invited some representatives of different Danish political

\textsuperscript{145} CIS sponsored a two-day IB history curriculum conference in June 1969 under the request of the IB. The conference took place in the Danish Gymnasium. CIS, \textit{Board Minutes. Binder 7}, May 12, 1969.
\textsuperscript{146} Keson, \textit{An Illustrated History of CIS}, 8.
\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., 12.
\textsuperscript{148} Michelle, "Interview."
\textsuperscript{149} CIS. "No title," \textit{The Copenhagen Internationalist} II, no.2 (December 1966).
\textsuperscript{150} CIS. "Student Activities." \textit{The Copenhagen Internationalist}, (March 1969).
parties to explain their ideas and explain their view on drugs. Sometimes, some guests would bring knowledge that would make parents a bit scandalised, as for example a scientologist.

The teaching could also happen outside of class with multiple day trips and visits reported with enthusiasm in the student newsletters, such as the ‘Danish Week’ already mentioned. Some school activities were more directly related to the political national and international context with the idea to open students’ minds to new realities. To take one example among many, in 1966, the French III class took a day trip to visit the International People’s College (IPC – Den International Høskole, Elsinor, Denmark). An article in The Copenhagen Internationalist written by Liz, daughter of the US army attaché, gave a detailed account on the different lectures – Civil Right movements, Human Cultures, and Problems of Society – she attended. In the same magazine, Liz wrote another long article about one of the lecturers, Dale Smith, member of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and political activist, arrested many times for ‘insurrection and advocating violent overthrow of the [US] government’. Liz’s expression of admiration towards the young

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151 Keson & Keson, "Interview."
153 IPC was created in 1921 as a Danish Folk High School which still gathers international students who want to share time together and take courses on International Relations, Peace Making and Dialogue. International People’s College, "The Exciting History of International People’s College 1921," IPC, last modified June 20, 2022, https://ipc.dk/about/history-of-international-peoples-college/; L. S. Kenworthy, "The Schools of the World and Education for a World Society," in Education for a World Society: Promising Practices Today, ed. C. O. Arndt and S. Everett (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951), 224. The first Folk High School opened in Denmark in 1851 and was part of the Folk School Movement initiated by Bishop Grundtvig.
activist was obvious. She described: ‘although I had never seen him personally, his very air of youthfulness, exuberance and intensity immediately attracted me’. One can imagine the cultural clash between what Liz heard that day and her father’s belief. This example echoed Michelle’s reminiscences, also the daughter of a US military employee at the embassy, about her personal transformation and ideological changes on US politics after a few weeks at CIS.

From 1968, school trips were organized by some teachers of foreign languages. Some other trips marked the end of school for the Seniors. To name of few, in June 1968, some students from the French class went by train to Paris, during the turbulent period of the youth revolution; in 1973, a trip was organized in Prague where students and teachers had to be escorted by a secret police agent from Czechoslovakia; in the spring of 1973, as part of a cultural studies programme in social anthropology, a CIS’s group took a study tour in Egypt; and another trip took place in the autumn of 1974 in East Berlin to ‘expose the students to a different social and governmental system’. The destinations seemed retrospectively quite ambitious for a group of young Americans in Eastern Europe or for international students. Pietrov, from Czechoslovakia, explained that he could not attend the Rome trip in 1972 as he could not get a visa.

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157 See Michelle’s narrative in Section 7.1 on p. 298.
158 CIS. "Ah oui, le printemps a Paris!," *The Copenhagen Internationalist* III, no. 3 (June 1968); Pietrov, "Interview."
159 Pietrov, "Interview."
In Section 3.3, I explained how, since the post-war period, the teaching of history through an internationalist approach became a key topic in the thinking of international education. Not surprisingly, history as subject became the first IB experimental examination designed and trialed for a period of five years – 1962-1967 – by Leach and other historians, such as Godfrey Sullivan, headmaster and first CIS’s history teacher from 1965.\(^{160}\) CIS trialed the first IB examinations in 1968 and, in 1969, had five students who passed the history examination.\(^{161}\) John Miller, history teacher already mentioned, arrived at CIS in September 1968 and took the teaching position of Godfrey Sullivan. In the yearbook of 1972, it was reported that Miller taught ‘World History II, American History, Government, I.B. History II, and Philosophy’\(^{162}\)

Sullivan and Miller knew that the teaching of Modern History was critical in a period of high political tensions and ideological divide, especially in a class where Eastern and Western students were seated together. They both believed that the history classroom should give space for discussion on controversial issues of current events.\(^{163}\) Ivan, coming from Czechoslovakia, realised during the history class that ‘the study of history in Czechoslovakia was fabricated. At CIS, the subject taught was giving another version of history, which seemed more true’.\(^{164}\) Miller recalled that even a student from


\(^{161}\) In CIS’s school records, I found the IB certificates of eleven students from 1969. Five of them passed history as a subject. The first trials at CIS were taken in 1968, but no official certificates were recorded, only a written note was left by Sullivan in one student’s file stating that he participated in a trial examination for the International Baccalaureate 1968 taking subsidiary level English.

\(^{162}\) CIS, "Faculty," Yearbook, 1972.

\(^{163}\) In Section 6.3, I explained in details Sullivan’s ideas on the teaching of Modern History.

\(^{164}\) Nelly & Ivan, "Interview."
Poland, who was ‘pretty hard line with his Cold War rhetoric’, understood that what was taught behind the Iron Curtain was not the all truth and that there were other truths that needed to be considered’. Miller encouraged students to make a shift from the discourse ‘my country is right or wrong, and live it or leave it’ to instead understand the ways these histories and interchanges came from.

The discussions during history classes on current issues which were hot topics raised some concerns during some Board meetings. Miller received some warnings on his approach to the Vietnam War. He explained, ‘quite honestly I ignored it because I thought that truth is more powerful and I firmly believed that it was important if you were going to learn, you have to learn the truth’. His belief was that students had to learn that having different opinions on a topic did not have to be a barrier between people interchanging or being friendly with one another. Nevertheless, two teachers conceded that the teaching of history was complex in a context of high political issues and felt much more comfortable to teach foreign language or maths to make the teaching neutral.

According to Pietrov, Miller encouraged the sharing of different opinions and liked to discuss point of views. Pietrov, while comparing the previous schooling experience in his home country, Czechoslovakia, in a Russian school and at CIS, felt strongly the difference in the teaching style. ‘At CIS, I was taught

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165 Miller, "Interview."
166 Ibid.
167 Ibid.
168 Keson & Keson, "Interview."
analytical thinking and in Czechoslovakia, it was memorization'. As Pietrov came back to Prague to take his high school Diploma after CIS, the return became even more challenging. He explained:

> It was very difficult to come to a very homogeneous environment that was inbred and brain-washed since birth. I "didn't fit" into the authoritarian schooling system, being too analytical and challenging the system and authorities. I didn't fit among the students with my experiences. There was one answer and one solution and that was the teacher's one. Anyone having a different route to the answer was punished. There were long-time favourites and everyone had their place in the system. I was labelled as “too ambitious” and too “disruptive”.

Pietrov, who took the full IB diploma in 1972, took history as a high-level subject and wrote his Extended Essay on the topic: ‘the Munich crisis of 1938 seen by the allies, Russia, and Hitler’. Pietrov still remembered the conclusion of his essay which was that history can be interpreted in different ways, and the winner’s version is most likely to stay. With a flashback of 50 years, Pietrov realised that CIS’s experience changed his life and impacted what he achieved afterward, becoming an international medical researcher. He believed that CIS’s educators were just ahead of their time despite many obstacles and this conviction made him conclude:

> We have to be ahead of our time. It is like Wayne Gretzky, the Canadian ice hockey player. You don’t play ice hockey where the puck is, you play ice hockey where the puck will be. You have to anticipate.

For Pietrov, it was the chance of learning English and developing his analytical skills that made him believe that he was ahead of his time when he returned to

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169 Pietrov, "Interview."
170 Ibid.
171 Ibid.
172 Gellar & Pietrov, Personal interview, CIS, October 25, 2018.
Czechoslovakia. In fact, he felt well prepared for the Western world when the East block system collapsed in 1989. During the same interview, Pietrov switched his memories to his male peers at CIS who had an American passport. He explained that their motivation to go to college was mainly to avoid being drafted to the Vietnam War. ‘That was the fear, if I am not going to get into a college I will end up in Vietnam’.\textsuperscript{173} Pietrov, from his part, got his IB Diploma which did not prevent him from returning to Czechoslovakia where he was forced to take two more years of schooling to get his Czech high school diploma before entering medicine.

Other interviewees acknowledged the challenge to leave the liberal atmosphere of the school and the cultural freedom of Denmark and go back to some more conservative places. Michelle admitted the difficulty for her and some of her friends to adjust to life after leaving what she called the ‘magical land’.\textsuperscript{174} She almost dropped out of college at Vanderbilt University (Nashville, Tennessee, US) due to the conservative culture. Philipp, who was accepted at the University of Canterbury in Kent (UK), felt that ‘after so much fun in Copenhagen, the contrast seemed wider than the North Sea’.\textsuperscript{175}

7.5 ‘To live its Internationalism’\textsuperscript{176}

In the introduction of Chapter 7, I quoted Marty, editor of \textit{The Copenhagen Internationalist} during the year 1968-1969, whose message to the students was that to be at CIS and ‘not …live its internationalism is a gross waste of

\textsuperscript{173} Gellar & Pietrov, Personal interview, CIS, October 25, 2018.
\textsuperscript{174} Michelle, "Interview."
\textsuperscript{175} Philipp, "CIS Memories."
\textsuperscript{176} Marty, "Editorial."
time'. \(^{177}\) What he expressed was similar to the teachers’ beliefs that internationalism was not a lofty ideal but a day-to-day life experience. Keson explained:

> We, teachers, were open to new experiences, we were open to learning and we hoped that the students by our emphasis on the internationalist character of the school would also be looking for mutual understanding. The close contact. It was not something that was overt. We saw that it worked. I mean, just because Israeli and Egyptian sat at the same table, they didn’t start fighting. They might have been good friends.\(^{178}\)

For teacher Miller, mutual understanding meant to overcome or break through the cultural barriers, ‘soft and hard’, created by the diversity of CIS’s population.\(^{179}\) Related to the idea of barriers, a quote from Liz, student, is enlightening. In an article on the Indian culture, she wrote that ‘if the barrier between Western and non-Western peoples is to be broken down, both sides must perform an act of imagination’.\(^{180}\) The analysis of the data collected during the interviews made appear that the interactions in the class, the exchange of viewpoints, the sharing of the teenagers’ life during the educational and extra-curricular activities, and the ethos of the school with its ‘family bonds’ helped students overcome the existing cultural barriers, and perform some acts of imagination. These interactions and bonds became for the interviewees ‘transforming experiences, world changing experiences, or eye-opening experiences’ which favoured the attitude of respect. Section 7.3 evidenced that, paradoxically, the cultural barriers were harder to break with

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\(^{177}\) Marty, "Editorial."

\(^{178}\) Keson, "Interview," 2019.

\(^{179}\) Miller, "Interview."

the homogenous Danish students’ body than within the heterogenous CIS’s population.

Still, what happened in school represented only one aspect of ‘internationalism’ in students’ lives. In fact, some students’ writings from The Copenhagen Internationalist unveiled additional findings on their experience of ‘internationalism’, almost unheard during the interviews. The excitement of the parties, the freedom of liberal Denmark, the beers, the music and what kept teenagers’ life memorable after more than 50 years shaded other aspects of their lives, which they could express clearly in the 1960s. Throughout Chapter 7, I quoted some interviews where teachers and students broached the geopolitical tensions, the ideological divide between the West and the East, the fear to be drafted to Vietnam, and the danger of a nuclear disaster, which directly impacted their lives. During the interviews, some students mentioned being observed by some CIA secret agents, or having some bugs planted in their telephone at home, situations that interviewees had to keep secret from friends.181 Others discovered years later that their fathers were CIA agents.182 Still these memories represented minor details in the total amount of the data collected from interviews; however, the analysis of the primary sources from the students’ newsletter revealed an acute perception of the international tensions which framed their lives. This perception changed their ideas and ways of thinking as if they had developed an ‘internationalist’ reflection on the world.

181 Nelly & Ivan, "Interview."; Peterson, "Interview."
182 Cinthia, "Interview."
To illustrate these findings, I selected three pieces of ‘work’ from students – one sketch, one quote and one poem – found in *The Copenhagen Internationalist* from the years 1965, 1966 and 1968. The message of their work expressed their awareness on the world turmoil and proved their maturity and level of consciousness at discussing global issues.

On October 24, 1965, two months after CIS started to operate as a formal instruction school, the students attended a lecture given by Mr. Gudmandsson, the UN representative in Denmark. The lecture was part of many field activities that students attended as already mentioned in Section 7.4. The lecture marked the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations. Two CIS’s students, Marty and Jill, wrote a short summary of the lecture in the students’ newsletter:

> Part of the speech was related to the dangers of an Atomic War. He [Gudmandsson] told us that we, the younger generation, will have a control of the world in a matter of years. Therefore it will be our goal to run it wisely.\(^{183}\)

The atomic danger and its threat to world peace, and the Cold War threat, overshadowed the seemingly happy life of CIS’s students. In the first students’ newsletter of 1965, an anonymous student made a drawing which was printed on the back side of the cover page as shown on Figure 7.1 on page 337. The drawing was related to the celebration of the United Nations’ day.

The drawing representing a little fat caveman is quite terrifying with his wooden cudgel pierced with a strong nail in one hand and seven national flags in the other hand. The sentence “Peace through understanding” was added to the sarcastic small sketch. On the back cover of the newsletter is another sketch represented the building of the UN headquarters in New York (US) with the text “October 24, 1945-1965. United Nations Day”. The two sketches of the same event give on example of a student’s perception on the international context and the critical view on the role and power of the United Nations, a model which seemed to be at threat from the eyes of the cartoonist. One can wonder what the caveman represented in the student’s mind. From the

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184 The flags are difficult to identify with precision. Some seem to be from Japan, Switzerland, the USA, and the United Kingdom.
student’ perspective, ‘peace for understanding’ was not a slogan that could be taken for granted.

In 1966, a student, Susan, wrote a short story of eight sentences, titled ‘Everlasting Peace?’. It describes the calmness of a city, which had been a few years before ‘the site of rolling tanks and constant gunfire, weeks upon weeks’. The text explained how the city was completely rebuilt with only a few reminders left from the previous disaster – ‘scattered “pox” holes and demolished sides’. The text finished with the sentence: ‘this town would be a happy place………until the next war’. With the use of a few short sentences, Susan expressed the contrast between war and peace, between the destruction and the reconstruction of the city, and finally shared her scepticism towards an everlasting peace.

In 1968, Cyndi, whose father was a military employee in the US Air Force, wrote a poem titled ‘Man’s Struggles’. She depicted a severe view of the world. She drew a pessimistic picture of human nature, showing the divide between the men who fight for their rights and those who hold power and use it for their own benefit. She wrote:

We don't try to help them unless there's some gain
For us in doing so--bringing no pain.
Inside we are nothing but a mess of old knots
Of our mixed-up emotions and tangled-up thoughts.
We set for ourselves the highest of goals,

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185 In CIS’s students’ files, the nationality of Susan is not recorded. She was previously schooled in a public high school in New York, US.
187 Cyndi’s poem can be read in Appendix 4.
And then in the end we’re but playing the roles
Of something we aren’t and never will be. 188

The very last verse, ‘So let’s keep our hope in a realm we can see’, brought a
glimmer of hope in such dark reality. The poem did not point out specific
issues of the 1960s but referred more widely to the fight for human rights and
the conditions of the poor. One can imagine the current issues that have
inspired her in 1968. In fact, the year 1968 was at the epicentre of the civil right
movements in the US, and the poem was written in March 1968, a few weeks
before the assassination of Martin Luther King. The poem was also written
during the period when African countries fought for their independence and
when the United Nations designated a decade of development –1960 to 1970
– to combat colonial dominance, ‘and the concomitant denial of human rights,
oppression, poverty, disease, hunger, illiteracy and ignorance’.189 South
African apartheid was a hot topic. Cyndi’s poem displayed the mature attitude
view toward humanity and a strong and clear view on the challenges facing the
world.

The three examples of students’ expression on the world from the 1960s is a
clear representation of what teacher Keson thought about the teaching in an
international school. According to him, ‘thanks to the IB curriculum, teachers
could make them [students] more aware of not just the things that were
relevant to them at home, but to the world, to different experiences’.190 Not

only the interactions which happened at CIS between students from different cultures but also the level of thinking and reflection let students come up with their own definition and experience of internationalism, which left for some of them long-lasting marks. For Rusen, what he kept from CIS was ‘a total commitment to the world citizenship’.\textsuperscript{191}

**Conclusion**

The last data chapter explored CIS’s daily life through students and teachers’ experiences. It uncovered the main aspects of its culture, shaped by the three existing influences – American, Danish and other international communities. The diversity of individuals’ backgrounds, the location of the school within a Danish gymnasium and more broadly in the Danish society, and the liberal education and inquisitive learning which took place in and outside the classrooms exposed both students and teachers to new ways at perceiving and understanding the world. Most interviewees mentioned their time at CIS as a ‘changing’ or an ‘eye-opening experience’, where values and ideologies were questioned and even transformed.

From students and teachers’ perspectives, internationalism represented the necessary openness to other students, the respect of ideas, and cultural values shared within the heterogeneous community. It also represented the ability to critically question and analyse the complexity of human life in a world fractured by antagonistic ideologies, military conflicts, or socio-economical inequalities.

\textsuperscript{191} Rusen, "Email interview."
At the same time, the school acted as a protective environment. It was described by its actors as a family or a cocoon, going beyond its primary mission. Whilst the international school fostered a culture of respect and tolerance through varied interchanges, it failed to transcend cultural differences with its Danish hosts. CIS was then a contrasted place. In fact, beyond the happy memories of teenagers’ life at CIS and in liberal Denmark, laid some complex, sometimes hidden realities not only linked to the existing cultural barriers with the Danish students, but also linked to the existence of political tensions within the school community, to the challenges of being part of a transient family, or to the fear of living in what Cindy named ‘this cruel world of ours today’. 192

Finally, Chapter 7 unveiled the students’ transitioning from some sort of ‘immaturity’ or typical teenage’s concerns, to a level of maturity and clarity on the world; that is, from drinking or partying to expressing their concerns about the state of the world. From my perspective, this arc represents the complexity and totality of the experience at CIS. The students' maturity most probably arose because of CIS’s unique circumstances and atmosphere.

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8. Conclusion

‘Like many things at CIS, there was more than met the eye’, Jim Keson wrote in the only published short history of CIS. While I found the statement intriguing as I first embarked on this historical case study, it has now come to take a much deeper meaning as I reach the conclusion of this research. In fact, the early years of CIS unveil much more complexity than one would have expected from a small high school ‘continually fearing that it would not be able to operate the next year’.

The study of CIS’s foundation years brings up historical threads that go beyond the single case and place it in a wider socio-political context. In this sense, it participates in the historical study of the modern movement of international education. More specifically, the socio-historical research on the origins and early development of CIS, from 1962 to 1973, yields some substantial knowledge on the seeds of modern international education in Europe, and particularly on the beginning of the International Baccalaureate endeavour (research question 1); it uncovers how the geo-political tensions in the mid-twentieth century were tangible in schools such as CIS, and had impact on its governance and direction (research question 2). Finally, the research sheds light on CIS’s early identity and distinctive character (research question 3).

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8.1 The seeds of modern international education in Europe and of the IB

In the 1960s, the implementation of secondary international schools responded to the needs of an increasing number of transient families sent abroad with their adolescents. It was a period when Western countries experienced an exponential economic growth, due to, among others, the post-war reconstruction of European countries fostered by the US Marshall Plan, the development of international trade, the advancement of new communication technologies and the establishment of international organisations. The economic growth and the increase of international exchanges accelerated the need of transient businessmen, civil servants, diplomats, and other professionals. CIS’s parents were part of this international movement, and were mainly employed by large organisations, corporations, or governments.

Despite the adjective international in its name, CIS was one of several small private and independent schools based in Europe, created under the impetus of American parents affiliated with American embassies. In fact, while a network of primary American schools was well organised for US military families in Europe or wherever the US Department of Defense had its military bases, an equivalent network did not exist at the secondary level, as it was easier to send adolescents in boarding schools in America or in Europe. The creation of high schools for displaced American adolescents with their families in Europe was in the 1960s a new phenomenon and CIS participated in this emerging type of schooling.

CIS’s history provides a substantial contribution to the understanding of the driving forces behind the implementation of these American secondary schools
in Europe, which evolved into International Baccalaureate’s schools. Its first mission was to prepare US students to apply to selective American universities. Its small size and its necessity to have more students to survive financially, the increase of expat families in Copenhagen, the internationalist beliefs in education brought by its first educators: all these combined factors instilled an international character to the school.

The educational shift that the school operated in a few years, from exclusively offering an US high school diploma to trialling the International Baccalaureate (CIS became one of its first laboratories), did not happen without internal tensions between the board members, predominantly American, and the educational leaders; tensions due to the divergence of objectives in the taught curriculum, and to the different meanings given to the concept internationalism through education.

CIS’s history provides evidence that the IB experiment started thanks to the collaboration of some educators with a shared internationalist ideal, who met in different forums and organisations. The IB started as an experimental project, where subject curricula were designed and invented by the teachers in the classroom, at a local level, and then shared and discussed during international conferences based in Europe. CIS’s teachers and headmasters took some responsibility in these nascent organisations and early gatherings. From the review of literature on the origins of the IB, it is noticeable that all historical accounts acknowledge and idealise the key role of three pioneer schools (Ecolint, Unis and Atlantic College of Wales), and neglect the role
played by the ‘smallest’ ones. This omission highlights a lack of recognition of what the early history of these small schools can bring in the understanding of the motives and driving forces behind the IB’s creation. In this sense, I hope this research can remedy to such oversight.

8.2 The early development of CIS in a broader context

The 1960s were marked by the rise of intense geo-political tensions, where the world order was threatened by military escalations due to the ideological confrontation between two opposing political systems (socialist and capitalist); the Soviet Union and the United States acting as the main rivals in this Cold War.

CIS was the product of multiple driving forces, or influences that I identified as American, Danish, and other international communities. These three influences were brought by a diversity of stakeholders: the parents who created the school, mainly affiliated with the American embassy; the parents from other nations, some of them acting as civil servants for the WHO; some idealist educators involved in the new progressive movement of Western international schools; some Danish individuals with political power; some benefactors from the American political and private business spheres; and the foreign students, whose lives were embedded in the Danish cultural and liberal environment of the 1960s.

The American presence was dominant within CIS. I argue that the US influence reflected wider geo-political interests at play in Europe and was part of the American cultural dissemination and soft diplomacy. This influence
evidenced how the school was an echo chamber of wider political tensions. In a broader view, it brings to light the tight link between social institutions, such as schools, and politics. In the case of CIS, it was a mixture of national and international politics.

The interplay between CIS’s actors was not all about disagreement. Rather, the educational project was the result of subtle negotiations between these actors having a shared objective: to create a high school for transient adolescents. The different interests, educational and socio-political, which were brought to the school, shaped its direction and uniqueness, as it responded to global needs at a local level, ‘to meet the needs of the new society that is forming’. The international educators involved in the development of a school, both in the local context (Copenhagen) and at an international level (as part of the European Council of International Schools and the International School Association), were at the same time political actors, negotiating, and fighting for their ideals.

Some primary published sources from the beginning of the movement of international schools in Europe made reference to the existence of two distinct groups of schools: the ‘Americanised’, which were members of the International Schools Services (ISS), and the ones with a more internationalist character affiliated to the International Schools Association (ISA). The tensions created by the existence of two groups of schools, with as background the US

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strong interest to maintain its cultural influence in Europe for ideological reasons, have been overlooked in recent literature on the early development of the European international schools. More investigation on this matter would provide a better understanding on the still existing presence of the European international schools having *American* in their names, and the others, such as CIS, with *international* in their name. The question would be if this difference of appellation reflects some differences in the schools’ orientation and mission today? Would CIS on the long term have been different if the first group of parents from the American Embassy, in 1964, have named it the American School of Copenhagen?

### 8.3 CIS’s early identity

Apart from the three influences already mentioned which shaped its character, CIS in the mid-1960s and 1970s was distinctive by its small size, its location within a Danish school complex, its financial uncertainty, and its small group of adolescents coming from a diversity of places and backgrounds. The liberal education which fostered inquisitive learning, was based upon the principles of exchange, tolerance and peace. Interviewees described their schooling experience as changing and eye-opening. The early development of the school showed already a distinctive institution separate from its local surroundings, despite its immersion within a Danish Gymnasium. This special situation was the first sign of what it became, the oldest International Baccalaureate school in Denmark as well as the most expensive Danish school, which today gives it an elite status.
My insider research hopes to convince CIS’s community of its own historical richness. Time has come to recognise how much the expertise of Ulf Østergaard and Godfrey Sullivan on international education had marked the school and its future direction. Thanks to them and thanks to other educators such as Charlotte Metz, Charles Gellar, Inez Venning and Jim Keson, to name a few, IB has become an integral part of CIS’s DNA. It made CIS having a unique role in the IB and a leading role in the establishment of the IB in Denmark. At the IB level, it is also time to value Sullivan's ideas and contribution to the development of the first IB curriculum in History alongside Robert Leach, Alec Peterson and other well-known educators. Until now, this historical heritage has been unknown and undermined both from CIS and from the IB. This thesis has constructed the foundation of CIS’s history, and as such will be something on which other scholars can build.

Finally, I was not expecting to find such a richness in the school records. Without the preciseness and consistency of the board minutes, this research would not have been possible. Particularly, I believe that CIS’s newsletters written and illustrated by the students, the Copenhagen Internationalist, and by the teachers, the Thyme Magazine, unveiled much of the school’s identity from its early years and much of the school’s atmosphere filled of humour, freedom of speech and creativity. These newsletters would deserve further studies and exploration not only for what they could bring as knowledge for the school itself, but also for a deeper understanding of the first generation of ‘third culture kids’ and for their perspective on the world order of the mid-twentieth century.
I wish to end this thesis with a rather anecdotical note, which indeed 
emphasises how much the past can leave its mark to present times. Recently,
I met a friend in the streets of Copenhagen who asked me: ‘Do you still work at 
the American school?’ I answered: ‘You mean, at Copenhagen International 
School’. ‘Oh yes!’, she said, ‘I don’t know why we call it the American school!’. 
I looked at her with a smile, tempted but not having the time to tell the whole 
story, back to the year 1962.
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Appendix 1: CIS’s consent form

Institute of Education

23 May, 2016

Consent form for the conduct of a case study research at CIS (2016-2019)

The research is part of an MPhil/PhD programme undertaken at University College of London, Institute of Education, under the supervision of Dr. Steven Cowan.

The purpose of the research is to explore the values of the school over time and more specifically the meaning and practice of “Inclusive education” in the school setting.

The themes explored will be about the life and tradition of the school, wider issues related to inclusive education practice and diversity of students, and teachers’ perception about their practice. Additionally, the research will elaborate upon past and future characteristics of this high-profile school.

I will conduct the research to the highest ethical standards following the ethical guidelines for educational research of the British Educational Research Association (BERA- (2011) Ethical Guidelines). An ethics application form has been completed in June 2015 and received the agreement of my supervisor.

I am aware that the research is conducted in a social place where individuals are involved. Therefore, I certify that the case study research is conducted within an ethic of respect for:

- The persons from the school, past and present, that have been and are still involved in its development. This includes the respect, when requested, of anonymity and confidentiality of persons that could be mentioned. No current pupils are featured in this research. All participants are adults. If interviews take place and observations are made, it will be done with the consent of the persons involved.

- The school archives, school documents, brochures, old and recent photographs and visual materials will be used and explored during the research. I guarantee the security of data storage both during and after the research and I ensure that the use of such documents takes into account the context of their production and doesn’t distort their meaning. I will also protect each document so their condition remains as good as when I came across them.
The written document of the PHD will be at the disposal of CIS after being approved and assessed by the University College of London (IOE).

Please could you sign the statement below formally agreeing the use of written and visual records of CIS?

Yours sincerely,

**Anne Collignon**

I hereby agree that Anne Collignon gather information and materials at CIS for the purpose of her Doctoral studies which she is undertaking at University College London, Institute of Education.

**Name** .......................................................... **Signature**

.......................................................... **Date** ...............................
Appendix 2: Questionnaire to alumni and teachers

CIS in the 60s / 70s as a student

About your parents:
When and why did they move to Denmark? For how long?
Which kind of position they had in Copenhagen and for how long?
Was it a first experience (post) abroad?
Were they involved in the school organization (Board) or any school activities?
Did they continue living abroad afterward?

You, as teenager and student in the 60s:
Where did you get your education before arriving at CIS?
What did you do afterward in terms of study and job position?
How was CIS different from your previous schooling experience (academic and social)?
What was the atmosphere /ethos of the school in general?
Which definition of internationalism would describe the word “international” in the school's name at this time?
Do you have any memories of the teachers’ newsletter “THYME”? How was it received by students?
What about your experience of living in Copenhagen; the cultural, social or political context of the 60s?
What did you keep from CIS in the long term (positive or negative!)
Did you keep in contact with other alumni?
Do not hesitate to share anything that comes into your mind when thinking about your years at CIS!

CIS in the 60s / 70s as a teacher

Questions in mind before the interview

His/her background
Why coming to CIS?
Transition of curriculum from High School U.S. to IB from 1968 to 1972?
American influence in the school?
Internationalism: what did it mean at this time?
Danish-American mix between students?
THYME magazine (teachers magazine to students)?
### Appendix 3: Interviews and interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>When / interview type/ where?</th>
<th>Who? Which role?</th>
<th>Years at CIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2014</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal interview CIS</td>
<td>Inez Venning</td>
<td>1965-1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English as 2nd language teacher</td>
<td>1973-1989</td>
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<td></td>
<td>CIS junior school (CIJS) headmaster</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>Charles Gellar headmaster</td>
<td>1968-1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal interview Brussels</td>
<td>Chief administrator</td>
<td>1979-1985</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2015</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal interview CIS</td>
<td>Jim Keson</td>
<td>1969-2005</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Teacher and headmaster of CIS</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>2017</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>October</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal interview CIS</td>
<td>Mary and Daniel Hall</td>
<td>1974-1975</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Secretary and Sc. teacher (Fulbright)</td>
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<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>Leslie and Maria Alumnae</td>
<td>Marylin 1967-1971</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal interview CIS</td>
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<td>Lizzie 1969-1971</td>
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<td><strong>2018</strong></td>
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<td>October</td>
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<td>Panel interview CIS</td>
<td>Charles Gellar headmaster</td>
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<td>Pietrov alumnus</td>
<td>1968-1972</td>
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<td>August</td>
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<td>Personal interview Virum</td>
<td>Helen Alumna</td>
<td>1972-1975</td>
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<td><strong>2019</strong></td>
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<td>January</td>
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<td>Personal interview CIS</td>
<td>Philipp Alumnus</td>
<td>1969-1970</td>
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<td>January</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal interview CIS</td>
<td>Jim and Wiebke Keson Teachers</td>
<td>Jim 1969-2005</td>
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<td>Wiebke 1969-1993</td>
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<td>April</td>
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<td>Skype interview</td>
<td>John Miller Teacher</td>
<td>1968-1972</td>
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<td>April</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal interview CIS</td>
<td>Jim Keson Teacher and headmaster</td>
<td>1969-2005</td>
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<td>July</td>
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<tr>
<td>Personal interview Brussels (3)</td>
<td>Charles Gellar Headmaster Chief administrator</td>
<td>1968-1978</td>
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<td>1979-1985</td>
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<td>September</td>
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<td>Pers. interview Copenhagen</td>
<td>Cinthia Alumna</td>
<td>1967-1968</td>
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<td>October</td>
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<td>Email and skype interviews</td>
<td>Pietrov 1st IB graduate</td>
<td>1968-1972</td>
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<td>December</td>
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<td>Pers. Interview Charlottenlund</td>
<td>Franck Danish rector's son Danish teacher at CIS</td>
<td>1969-1971</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
## Interviews and interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>When / interview type / where?</th>
<th>Who? Which role?</th>
<th>Years at CIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2020</strong></td>
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<td>Rusen Alumnus</td>
<td>1965-1970</td>
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<td>January Email interview</td>
<td>Peter Alumnus</td>
<td>1962-1967</td>
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<td>January Personal interview</td>
<td>Nelly and Ivan Alumni</td>
<td>Nelly 1967-1970</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ivan 1969-1972</td>
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<tr>
<td>February Skype and email interview</td>
<td>Michelle Alumna</td>
<td>1968-1971</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 4: Cyndi’s poem

MAN’S STRUGGLES

In this cruel world of ours today
Man fights himself in every way.
He fights for his rights, whatever they are;
He looks ever upward and prays to a star,
Only to find his ambitions in vain,
His wishes not filled and no -- not again.
This world's full of criminals, fanatics, and such,
The ones who've withdrawn from reality's touch.
We don't try to help them unless there's some gain
For us in doing so--bringing no pain.
Inside we are nothing but a mess of old knots
Of our mixed-up emotions and tangled-up thoughts.
We set for ourselves the highest of goals,
And then in the end we're but playing the roles
Of something we aren't and never will be.
Man analyses others but why can't he see
The faults in himself and correct them before
He tries to be God to those he calls poor.
Often they're much richer in soul than he is;
Their advice may be far better and wiser than his.
Man's struggled for life since time has begun
And will strive ever onward 'til life is but done.
Man are but men and always will be;
So let's keep our hope in a realm we can see.

Cyndi Kemp

Source: The Copenhagen Internationalist, March 1968. Vol.III No.1
Appendix 5: Susan’s text

Everlasting Peace?

The sun was beginning to set but you still had a good view of the town below. The houses looked calm surrounded by large grassland areas and grazing cattle.

Throughout the whole town only a few buildings seemed old. This you could guess because of the scattered "pox" holes and demolished sides.

Many people were still outside trying to catch the last rays of sun before it became dark.

It was hard to picture that just a few years before this serene town had been the site of rolling tanks and constant gunfire, weeks upon weeks.

Now the city was completely rebuilt and only a few reminders were left to let you have a glimpse into what once had been. This town would be a happy place.........until the next war.

Susan Grob