International Understanding and the Creation of the International Baccalaureate: Teaching and Learning at Ecolint, 1948-1975

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I, Conan de Wilde, 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 explores the historical relationship between the teaching of international understanding and the creation of the International Baccalaureate (IB) at the International School of Geneva (Ecolint) from 1948 to 1975. Utilizing archival materials, surveys, interviews, and published histories, it critically examines Ecolint's curriculum in classrooms, co-curricular activities[1], language learning, and student engagement in relation to perceptions of international understanding.

While the IB certainly aimed to advance international understanding, this research demonstrates that such teaching was already embedded in Ecolint's curriculum long before the IB's establishment. The ethos of international understanding was prominent at Ecolint and within the cultural context of the 1950s and 1960s.

The IB project energized Ecolint's teachers and leaders, driving efforts toward international understanding. However, the 1968 introduction of the IB Diploma examinations, prioritizing content-heavy courses for university recognition, does not appear to have been perceived as central to increasing student and teacher engagement around international understanding.

Despite Ecolint's pioneering curriculum development for international understanding, the IB's institutionalization may have restricted teacher innovation and student participation and does not appear to have been closely associated at Ecolint with international understanding. This thesis highlights the complexities of integrating innovative educational frameworks, the power of co-curriculars in creating links between competences and identity, and the potential limitations of formal assessment structures at Ecolint from 1948 - 1975.

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[1] I use the term 'co-curricular' to cover all intentionally designed learning experiences that complement the formal academic curriculum by extending students' skills, dispositions, and knowledge through non-formal, often experiential, environments. This includes extra-curricular activities outside of class hours as well as school trips and activities such as simulations of international diplomacy which might be linked to a course's objectives but do not constitute a formal academic course in its own right.

Impact Statement

The impact of this thesis on the academic and educational communities is multi-faceted, though it should be viewed within the context of its intrinsic case study. By providing a detailed examination of curricular innovation at the International School of Geneva (Ecolint), the research enriches the academic history of international education. Scholars of educational history and curriculum development will find the insights into the complexities of Ecolint, the IB, and education for international understanding particularly valuable.

Firstly, the thesis offers a nuanced understanding of the early relationship between the International Baccalaureate (IB) and the goal of international understanding. It reveals that international understanding was a curricular priority at many schools, including Ecolint, before the IB's introduction. This insight challenges the often-assumed narrative that the IB was the primary catalyst for international education, suggesting instead that Ecolint had a robust ethos of internationalism in the 1950s and 1960s, only partly due to its involvement in the IB project. This should prompt a re-evaluation of the IB's early impact among educational historians and policymakers.

Secondly, by addressing the complexities of the relationship between curricular innovation and student experience, the thesis underscores the importance of multiple actors in educational change. It highlights the roles of action research, conferences, alliances, examination boards, and grassroots teacher involvement. This comprehensive view can inform contemporary educational leaders and policymakers about the multifaceted nature of curricular innovation and the potential need for diverse inputs in curriculum development.

Lastly, the thesis explores the use of 'international understanding' as an identity construct as well as a competence. By including personal responses, this thesis aims to reflect student experience and it acknowledges the exclusionary aspects of international identity. This critical perspective can inform discussions among educators and curriculum developers about the inclusivity of international education programs and the potential need for more inclusive practices.

This thesis provides historical insights and prompts critical reflection on the development and implementation of international education programs, making it a significant contribution to both academic scholarship and practical educational discourse.

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Abbreviations

CASS: Creative Aesthetic or Social Service Activities (later Creativity, Activity, Service: CAS)

CIS: Council of Internationally-Minded Schools

Ecolint: International School of Geneva

ECIS: European Council of International Schools (est. 1965)

IBE: International Bureau of Education

IB or IBO: International Baccalaureate (Office, later Organization)

IJJR: Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau

ILO: International Labour Organization

ISA: International Schools Association

ISES: International Schools Examination Syndicate

ISS: International Schools Services

IBDP: International Baccalaureate Diploma Program

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

UN: United Nations

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF: United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

UWC: United World College

YMCA: Young Men's Christian Association

Chapter 1: Ecolint, the International Baccalaureate, and the Research Questions

1.1.   Introduction

The International School of Geneva is the oldest international school in the world and, when it opened its doors in September 1924, it was the only school in the world to feature 'International' in its name.[2] Commonly known as Ecolint, the school was founded in Geneva in 1924 by international civil servants who believed education was essential to building lasting peace, and by pedagogical experts from the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau who were searching for a testing ground for their progressive pedagogies. After forty years of pedagogical experimentation, in the 1960s, Ecolint succeeded in developing an international baccalaureate, an idea first put forward in 1926 by Adolph Ferrière (1879 -1960), one of Ecolint's founders.[3]

Ecolint is worth singling out for in-depth study because, as the oldest and largest international school during the period examined by this thesis (1948 – 1975), it played a pivotal role in the early international school organizations. It contributed to the Conference of Principals of International Schools and the Council of Internationally-Minded Schools in 1949, the International Schools Association in 1951, International Schools Services in 1955 and Ecolint's teachers were the first to develop syllabus guides for the International Baccalaureate (IB).[4] In the 2020s, the International Baccalaureate supports a continuum of learning from the start of primary school to the end of secondary school. In the 1960s, the objective was to support syllabus development for the final two years of secondary school that was truly international in nature and would prepare students for examinations which would be recognized by universities around the world. This thesis focuses on Ecolint's pioneering role in developing curriculum and assessment structures, often collaborating with the organizations listed above, to support international understanding.

Despite Ecolint's role in creating the International Baccalaureate and its status as the oldest and one of the largest and therefore most significant international schools in the world, little academic social history has examined the interactions between Ecolint and the International Baccalaureate and the ways in which early interactions during these organizations impacted teaching and learning.

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[2] Yokohama International School, the second school with the word 'international' in its name, opened a little over one month later on October 27, 1924. https://www.yis.ac.jp/about-us/history (10.09.2023). Michael Knight and Robert Leach, "International Secondary Schools," in *The Year Book of Education 1964: Education and International Life*, ed. George Bereday and Joseph Lauwerys (London: Evans Brothers Ltd, 1964), 454.

[3] Ian Hill, "Early stirrings: the beginnings of the international education movement," *International Schools Journal* XX, no. 2 (2001).

[4] Ian Hill, "International Education as Developed by the International Baccalaureate Organization," in *The SAGE Handbook of Research in International Education.* ed. Mary Hayden, Jack Levy, and Jeff Thompson (London: Sage, 2007).

Further, outside of research about and sometimes by the IB's founders, very little academic historical research has been directed to try and understand the experiences of students and teachers who participated in the IB's experimental years at Ecolint. My thesis will provide a social history of learning in the sense that it will link "changing social structures, relationships, and ideals"[5] to the changes experienced by students and teachers. Social histories of learning explore the relationships between social relations, cultural norms and the educational experience.[6] I aim to reconstruct student and teacher experiences in ways that will complement accounts provided by existing institutional histories. This thesis aims to encourage reflection on the process of curriculum innovation in the international school context and the importance of teachers, students, parents, governance, and external organizations to this process. This thesis is the first detailed study to focus exclusively on Ecolint's teaching and learning linked to international understanding (including the learning which took place outside of the classroom) during the period of 1949 – 1975 and, in so doing, it seeks to provide some further explanatory purchase on the origins of the IB.

The origins of the International Baccalaureate and its links to Ecolint are historically interesting for several reasons that predate its rapid growth or current status as the market leader in K–12 international education.[7] First, the International Baccalaureate is arguably, globally, the most significant teacher-initiated curriculum reform since the Second World War.[8] Second, because teachers did not popularize the IB program, develop its examinations, or establish university recognition on their own, the creation of the IB provides one example of how transnational networks between teachers and schools can work with international organizations as external partners. Third, the International Baccalaureate is the first examinations regime that explicitly sought to develop students' international understanding. According to its mission statement, the IB aims to develop "inquiring, knowledgeable and caring people who help to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect."[9]

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[5] John Lawson and Harold Silver, *A Social History of Education in England,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), p. xxi.

[6] Gary McCulloch and William Richardson, *Historical Research in Educational Settings* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2000).

[7] "As of October 2025, there were over 8,700 programs being offered worldwide, across over 6,000 schools in 160 countries." "IB facts and figures," International Baccalaureate Organisation, https://www.ibo.org/about-the-ib/facts-and-figures/, last accessed 10/11/2025.

[8] This could be argued based on the geographically widespread impact of the reform across thousands of schools and over 100 countries or in terms of depth in terms of the impact the IB has had on creating teacher training, learning curricula and assessment materials independently from governmental watchdogs.

[9] International Baccalaureate Organization Mission statement, [online] https://www.ibo.org/about-the-ib/mission, last accessed 03/25/2022.

When I began this research in 2017, I was working as the academic assistant principal at Ecolint's La Grande Boissière Campus[10] where I observed parallels between the history of the development of the International Baccalaureate and the work we were doing with UNESCO to develop the Universal Learning Program, a competence-based curriculum framework.[11] I found myself drawing comparisons between our work and the partnership Ecolint developed with UNESCO in the 1950s and 1960s that led to the creation of the IB. Curriculum reform is something of a mysterious process, even to those whose jobs require them to write syllabus guides and visit classrooms. The idea for this thesis grew out of a desire to look more closely and historically at the extent to which reforming the written curriculum and stated educational values influences both teaching and learning.

This thesis also aims to provide a 'bottom up'[12] (as opposed to 'top down') social history, documenting the experiences of teachers and students as opposed solely focusing on leaders. As such, it explores the social factors that led to the school becoming a laboratory for international education. All previously published histories of the International Baccalaureate have focused on the people and processes that led to its creation and development; this thesis also addresses how the IB's creation impacted a school, its teachers, and its students. It aims to answer the following research questions:

1. What did it mean to teach international understanding in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s at Ecolint?
2. What were the impacts of the curriculum innovations at Ecolint which aimed to support both international understanding and the development of the IB?
3. What insights might this social history give us into the interplay between social values, identity, and curriculum reform within the context of this case study?

To answer these questions, I draw on over 140 survey responses, 21 semi-structured interviews with former students and 9 semi-structured interviews and numerous exchanges with former educators; and a vast range of archival material at Ecolint, much of which has never been shared through published academic research. In addition to these sources, I refer to a wide range of secondary materials including memoirs, histories, and academic theses. These research questions represent lines of inquiry that are threaded throughout all the chapters of this thesis.

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[10] La Grande Boissière is the oldest of the three campuses and at the time during which the IB was being developed in the 1960s it was Ecolint's only campus.

[11] https://sites.google.com/ecolint.ch/ulp/ULP-EN, last accessed 01/20/2022.

[12] Peter Stearns, "The old social history and the new," in *Encyclopedia of American social history* 3, edited by Mary K. Clayton, Elliot J. Gorn, & Peter W. Williams (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1993), 237-250.

But Ecolint did not pursue its mission of international education in isolation. Its efforts to develop international understanding were part of a much wider trend in education, rooted in historical precedent and evident across Europe, the United Kingdom, the United States, India, and Japan. Historically, advocates of international education, such as the Czech educator Comenius in the 17th century[13] or Victor Hugo and Charles Dickens in the 19th century, had long trumpeted the benefits of international educational exchange for the development of internationally minded elites.[14] Spring Grove School, founded in 1866, was a rare pre-20th century attempt to develop an international school,[15] but it did not survive the 19th century. Schooling in the 19th century typically remained wed to nationalist and patriotic ideals[16] and those "who mooted an education for world unity and peace were ahead of their time and often attracted suspicion."[17] Sylvester describes the rise of international education as a 20th century phenomenon that began when Adolphe Ferrière set up the International Bureau of New Schools / Bureau International des Écoles Nouvelles in 1899.[18]

Between 1899 and 1950 interest and experimentation in the field of international education grew rapidly. William Brickman's *International Education* (1950) provides evidence of at least 30 "formal plans" to support education for international understanding at the school level in the decades leading up to 1950. The founding of Bedales in the UK in 1900 as a school where "international goodwill … [will] be encouraged in every possible way"[19] provides an example of one such school. In 1901, Rabindranath Tagore also began working towards founding an international school near Calcutta.[20] In the United States, the International School of Peace in Boston was founded in 1910 to educate "the peoples of all nations to a full knowledge of the waste and destruction of war and of preparation for war, its evil effects on present social conditions and on the well-being of future generations and to promote international justice and the brotherhood of man."[21] In 1924, shortly after Ecolint opened, Yokohama International School opened its doors on

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[13] Jean Piaget, "Jan Amos Comenius," *Prospects* XXIII, no. 1-2 (1993): 173–196.

[14] Robert Sylvester, "The 'first' international school," in *International Education in Practice: Dimensions for National and International Schools*, eds. M. Hayden, J. Thompson and G. Walker (London: Kogan Page, 2002), 3–17.

[15] Sylvester, "The 'first' international school," 3-17.

[16] David Scanlon, ed., *International Education: A Documentary History* (New York City: Teachers College of Columbia University-Bureau of Publications, 1960).

[17] Ian Hill, "Evolution of education for international mindedness," *Journal of Research in International Education* 11, no. 3 (2012): 248.

[18] William Brickman, "International education," in *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, ed. W.S. Monroe (New York: Macmillan, 1950), 617–27.

[19] Adolphe Eric Meyer, *The Development of Education in the Twentieth Century* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1949), 137.

[20] Robert Sylvester, "Historical Resources for Research in International Education (1851–1950)," *The Sage Handbook of Research in International Education,* ed. Mary Hayden, Jack Levy, and Jeff Thompson (London: Sage, 2007), 14.

[21] Walter Scott, *World Education: A discussion of the favorable conditions for a world campaign for education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1912), 389.

the other side of the world, in Japan. In 1938, still in the United States, the "National Education Association's annual meeting discussed 'The Responsibility of Education in Promoting World Citizenship.'"[22] In France, also in 1938, the Collège Cévénol was founded to "facilitate international understanding [and a]…sense of idealism for world peace."[23]

Further indication of the widespread interest in international education can be found in 1949, in the invitation list issued by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) 'Conference of Principals of International Schools' in Paris. The list, based on school heads with whom the Dutch internationalist Kees Boeke had already corresponded on questions of international education, included:

> Kurt Hahn of Gordonstoun School in Scotland; Madame Hatinguais of the Centre International d'Études Pédagogiques in Sèvres; Madame Roquette of the International School of Geneva; Prince of Hanover from the Salem School in Germany; Quakerschool in Eerde-Ommen in the Netherlands; the Dartington Hall and Badminton Schools in England; the Pestalozzi Children's School in Switzerland; the Odenwaldschule of Germany; the Collège Cévénol in France; Viggbyholomsskolan in Sweden; and the Riverdale Country School from the United States.[24]

Although international schools were by no means common before 1950, it is equally clear that Ecolint was not alone in its work to develop a school environment that supported international understanding. The International Bureau of Education (IBE), was founded by some of the same pedagogues, such as Adolphe Ferrière, who founded Ecolint, but the IBE had also been working directly with governments since 1925 to establish a fruitful exchange among countries around global aspirations for education.[25]

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[22] Caroline Woodruff, "Into one great educational brotherhood," in *Proceedings of the Seventy-Sixth Annual Meeting of the National Education Association, New York City, July 26–30, 1938* (Washington, DC: National Education Association, 1938), 40–7.

[23] Hill, "Early stirrings,"16.

[24] Hill, "Early stirrings," 18.

[25] Rita Hofstetter and Bernard Schneuwly, "The International Bureau of Education (1925 – 1968): A Platform for Designing a 'chart of World Aspirations for Education," *European Educational Research Journal* 12, no. 2 (2013): 215-230.

1.2.   The Structure of this Thesis

Chapter 2 outlines my methodology. I lay out ethical considerations central to the research as well as how I gather and interpret a wide range of data. I explore the advantages and risks of curriculum history written by an 'insider' and lay out the theoretical framework which justifies the conclusions I am able to draw from this research.

Chapter 3 maps out the existing literature to define key terminology such as "international education," "international school," "international mindedness," "international understanding," "intercultural understanding" and "internationalism" and also attempts to identify appropriate terminology when discussing the 1950s and 1960s. The chapter reviews a wide range of literature on Ecolint, the International Baccalaureate, and education for international understanding so as to better situate the contribution made by this thesis. I introduce the argument that international education is linked inextricably with the maintenance and promotion of power, more specifically, Anglo-American hegemony. In discussing the historical and theoretical treatment of education for international understanding I posit that we need to study policy talk as well as policy action[26] if we are to better understand the relationship between curriculum reform and student experience.

Chapter 4 introduces Ecolint as a school and explores the actions taken by educators at Ecolint to further educational understanding in the period from the founding of the school in 1924 up to 1948. Curriculum reform in the humanities aimed at promoting international understanding was already well underway in the 1930s. By analyzing the rhetoric of educators at conferences and in school publications we can establish that there was a discernible 'Ecolint approach' before the Second World War. By 1940, Ecolint had established a distinctive, although not unique, approach to international education. The chapter provides the background which allows me to demonstrate that this tradition continued to influence both teachers' discussion and practice well into the 1970s.

Chapter 5 begins with Ecolint director Marie-Thérèse Maurette's speech to UNESCO in 1948 as a starting point for defining teaching for international understanding. Before 1948, there were pioneers who sought to advance international understanding at Ecolint, but 1948 marks the first comprehensive and public articulation of Ecolint's efforts to *teach* international understanding. This rhetoric was adopted by William Oats, an Australian Quaker who was close to Maurette and who worked as a teacher and as a director at Ecolint. Maurette's rhetoric also provided the cornerstone

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[26] David Tyack and Larry Cuban, *Tinkering toward Utopia: A Century of Public School Reform* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).

for the influential contributions on international understanding by Robert J. Leach, an American Quaker who taught history, was head of the Ecolint history department for many years, and wrote the IB's first curriculum guide. Many others at Ecolint joined these two central figures in implementing curriculum reforms, but Maurette, Oats and Leach were leaders in articulating and advancing education for international understanding. Archival research as well as interviews with former teachers and students demonstrates that the community arrived at a common understanding of education for international understanding based on four factors: the international diversity of the community, a pluri-lingual approach to education, an internationally representative curriculum, and a drive to create proactive students by treating them as responsible actors in their education. The chapter also argues that major tensions emerged between the ideal, based on representative, egalitarian internationalism, and the reality: the school was dominated by American students and British teachers. These tensions emerged because of the pull between the school's pragmatic response to operational imperatives (the ease of hiring teachers from the U.K. and the presence of large numbers of American students due to the international expansion of American influence) and a small number of vocal idealists, led by Robert Leach, who believed in multilateral internationalism and argued that a true international school should not be dominated by one or two cultures.

Chapter 6 draws on student testimony to demonstrate that former students and teachers refer to Ecolint's international composition with pride but also argues that there is little evidence that this led to a greater knowledge of other countries. The number of nationalities enrolled at Ecolint was frequently used as an exercise in branding or group identity construction that would allow members of Ecolint to refer to themselves as 'international.' A cosmopolitan identity in which teachers and students felt 'at home in the world' was vividly articulated by all, but the interviews hint at significant shortcomings when it came to being 'interactive cosmopolitans.'[27] Some of the limitations to international understanding may have been linked to the fact that the school was dominated by Anglo-American culture or that the curriculum had taken only small steps to be international. Ecolint graduates from this period seem proudest when they are able to demonstrate an indifference to nationality in their individual interactions while at the same time highlighting what an accomplishment this was in such a diverse community.

Chapter 7 argues that Robert Leach and others in the humanities and the languages departments made significant efforts to write and teach a more international curriculum that covered a wider range of cultures and geographical regions. It considers that these efforts were energized by a

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[27] Konrad Gunesch, "International Education's Internationalism: Inspirations from Cosmopolitanism," in *The SAGE Handbook of Research in International Education*, ed. Mary Hayden, Jack Levy & Jeff Thompson (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2007), 92. doi: https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781848607866.n9

supportive head of school and by the transnational links created through the ambitious International Baccalaureate project. These experimental projects and pioneering teachers were aligned with the mission and values of Ecolint, but it remains true that, for many teachers and students, the curriculum was more closely aligned with national standards in United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Switzerland. Right up until the mid-1970s, curriculum content was driven to a large extent by syllabi for the O and A level, Advanced Placement, Maturité Suisse, and French Bac exams. The move towards International Baccalaureate exam preparation in 1969 represented a small, incremental shift to an international curriculum, but the chapter considers other by-products of the IB exams such as the student and teacher workload, which was perceived as considerably higher than other exams and may have impeded some of the educational activities which had previously been used to develop international understanding.

Chapter 8 explores the relationship between multilingualism and international understanding. The fact that Ecolint was bilingual, operating in French and English, and that most students were required to take a minimum of three languages for most of their secondary schooling was, for most students, the most visible manifestation of internationalism in their daily studies. Examples of international understanding gained through the study of multiple languages often appear superficial in the recollections of former students, but the archives demonstrate a concerted effort to introduce more 'world literature' and to teach culture alongside language. For teachers, the 1960s and 1970s introduced them to a new range of technological tools for learning languages in the form of language labs. These decades at Ecolint also placed an emphasis on using the language as opposed to learning its grammar, within the context of a conversation around student-centered education. These advances were met with a certain skepticism on the part of many students and teachers. It is worth noting that despite a lot of progressive rhetoric language classes were also used to reinforce 'correct pronunciation' and 'proper English' rather than encouraging the kind of diversity in linguistic expression which, today, might be considered more in line with international understanding.

Chapter 9 argues that student autonomy was culturally anchored in the school and was seen as a strategic tool to support the capacity of students to act independently. Both teachers and students regularly commented in their later testimonies that Ecolint was less rigid than national schools and that students were treated as adults from a young age. The justification for this also seemed clear to everyone: students had to learn to make decisions and to use their time in a way that would reflect their values and those of the school. In practice, although students appreciated the freedom of Ecolint, many also felt that they would have learned more and 'done better' academically had the school pushed them a little harder. Students balance this criticism by noting that they felt more

mature than their peers when they arrived at university and that they were confident in taking decisions and managing their time. Relating student autonomy in school to values-driven life choices is a complex matter, but qualitative analysis of over a hundred survey responses and in-depth interviews indicates that former students frequently made a causal link between the freedom they experienced at school and the confidence they felt as adults working in complex multi-cultural contexts. Students and teachers alike perceived that this freedom suffered due to the content-heavy International Baccalaureate examinations. Additionally, there is little evidence to demonstrate that service activities and experiential learning played a larger role after the introduction of the IB's mandatory CASS (creativity, aesthetic, or social service) component than they did before at Ecolint.

Chapter 10 concludes this thesis.

1.3. Education for International Understanding

At the heart of this thesis are the interactions between the professionals tied to Ecolint and those affiliated with the IB as they collaborated to develop a curriculum and an internationally recognized qualification that would develop students' international understanding. The IB aimed and still aims to inculcate certain virtues in its students. It is a non-profit, values-driven organization[28] focused on developing intercultural understanding to promote peace. Ideologically, the value placed on internationalism can be traced from the founding of the IB in 1968 back to the 1920s and the founding of the International School of Geneva (Ecolint). The superficial alignment in terms of rhetoric between IB and Ecolint values is not surprising, but how were these values acted upon and what influence did they have on students and teachers experimenting with the IB project? And, more fundamentally, why should we be interested in a curriculum project to develop international understanding?

The first reason to study education for international understanding might be the number of people (teachers, students and parents) involved in international education. As of July 2024, over 5,800 schools in 160 countries profess to furthering the IB's education for international understanding.[29] Given these numbers "it may come as a surprise that within the literature on international education, there is no single coherent picture of the 'internationalism' or 'international-mindedness' within the individual that, presumably, international education aims to develop."[30] Part of the problem is rooted in the fact that all forms of international understanding find their unity in how they embrace diversity as an essential value. Given that the concept of internationalism centers on diversity it is

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[28] Lodewijk van Oord, "Moral education and the International Baccalaureate learner profile," *Educational Studies* 39, no. 2 (2013): 208-218. doi: 10.1080/03055698.2012.717260.

[29] https://www.ibo.org/about-the-ib/facts-and-figures/ last accessed July 15, 2024.

[30] Gunesch, "International Education's Internationalism," 90.

not surprising that a single definition remains elusive. Many definitions of internationalism are circular or tautological, but they all agree that an international education should result in improved international understanding. For example, UNESCO defines an international education "as a process resulting from international understanding, cooperation and peace" and one that "is education for international understanding."[31]

The second reason to research international understanding in education is the intellectual vibrancy of the debate around cosmopolitan identities. Cosmopolitan idealism, which has existed at least since Diogenes of Sinope proclaimed himself a "citizen of the world"[32] in the 4th century BCE, has a long history. Before exploring its historiographical ramifications (chapter 3) and the historically situated nature of the debate in the context of Ecolint (chapter 4), it is worth introducing the key ideas that underpin cosmopolitanism, a term which, I argue, most effectively addresses the educational goal of international understanding during the period under review (1949 – 1975) in Ecolint.

Immanuel Kant's philosophy provided the moral framework behind the League of Nations and the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights and, by extension, Ecolint and the IB, which both drew their legitimacy from their close association with international organizations such as the UN. Kant's request that we "step from the lawless condition of savages into a league of nations…[wherein] even the smallest state could expect security and justice"[33] articulates one approach to moral cosmopolitanism, which he further developed in his categorical imperative and support for the common rights of all human beings.[34] Whether it was coining the term "League of Nations" or influencing the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human rights, Kant's impact is undeniable. Subsequent chapters discuss the close reliance of international schools such as Ecolint on the foundational ideals of the League of Nations and the United Nations for articulating a clear language of moral purpose. Understanding that the moral purpose of international schools – to inculcate international understanding – has been pursued with a quasi-religious zeal due to its being

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[31] Juan Ignacio Martinez, *What is International Education? UNESCO Answers* (San Sebastian: San Sebastian UNESCO Centre, 2004).

[32] Pauline Kleingeld and Eric Brown, "Cosmopolitanism", in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward N. Zalta (Winter 2019 Edition), https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2019/entries/cosmopolitanism, last accessed 2/10/2022.

[33] Immanuel Kant, *Foundations of the Metaphysics of Morals*, translated by Lewis W. Beck (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1995), 19.

[34] Gerard Delanty, "The Cosmopolitan imagination: critical cosmopolitanism and social theory," *British Journal of Sociology* 57, no. 1 (2006): 25-47; P. Kleingeld, "Six Varieties of Cosmopolitanism in Late Eighteenth-Century Germany," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 60, no. 3 (1999): 505-524.

linked to global security and justice, may sometimes appear absurdly grandiose, but it is essential to understanding the history of Ecolint as part of the international schools movement.

Cosmopolitan culture in schools promoting international understanding is often articulated in its most elementary form as 'tolerance' or acceptance of 'the other'. Cosmopolitanism supports cultural pluralism[35] while also supporting universal human rights.[36] It encourages cultural diversity because this provides fertile ground for the kind of dialogue that gives rise to international understanding. Moreover, because exposure to cultural difference can reinforce cultural norms and lead to personal transformation, Kwame Anthony Appiah has posited that cosmopolitanism requires an acceptance that identity is fluid.[37] These cosmopolitan approaches can be further refined by the 'contact hypothesis' of international understanding popular in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1954, Gordon Allport argued[38] that contact with cultural difference only leads to increased understanding if that is the common goal of those who come into contact with each other. In other words, according to this theory, cultural plurality (such as diverse nationalities and identities) in an international school is a necessary but insufficient condition for promoting international understanding.

A third and further use of cosmopolitan theory in discussing international understanding is that it moves us closer to intercultural understanding. It allows us to take a much broader view of cultural exchange than viewing international understanding as someone with one nationality trying to understand someone from another country. Internationalism does little to address the myriad other identities that are critical to the personal development of students: class, ethnic, gender, linguistic, or sexual identities risk being sidelined in a discussion of 'international understanding.' Cosmopolitanism, as rationalized by philosophers such as Martha Nussbaum, acknowledges a much wider range of identities and identifications, positing that "we should…give the circle that defines our humanity special attention and respect."[39] But cosmopolitan approaches describe a broad church. Konrad Gunesch identifies a continuum of cosmopolitanism: 'Advanced Tourist', 'Transitional Cosmopolitan,' and 'Interactive Cosmopolitan,'[40] terms which are useful analytical tools for reflecting on individuals' interactions with difference. Gunesch, referring to the title of Brennan's 1997 book, argues that Cosmopolitanism can be understood as "feeling at home in the world." "This 'feeling at home in the world' could be specified as interest in, or engagement with,

[35] Delanty, "The Cosmopolitan imagination," 25-47.
[36] Kleingeld, "Six Varieties of Cosmopolitanism," 505-524.
[37] Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Ethics of Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).
[38] Gordon Allport, *The Nature of prejudice* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1954).
[39] Martha C. Nussbaum, "Patriotism and cosmopolitanism," in *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism*, edited by J. Cohen (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1996), 9.
[40] Gunesch, "International Education's Internationalism," 92.

cultural diversity by straddling the global and the local spheres in terms of personal identity."[41] So, cosmopolitanism, which in Diogenes's context arguably meant refusing to accept his duties as a citizen of Sinope, increasingly has been framed as a willingness to acknowledge the multiplicity of human affiliations.

1.4.   Conclusion

This thesis focuses on how values linked to cosmopolitanism have been implemented, nourished, and articulated in the specific context of Ecolint.[42] The experiences of Ecolint's students and teachers from the 1950s to the mid-1970s, when the International Baccalaureate outgrew its status as an educational experiment, provides the richest imaginable case study of curriculum experimentation in education for international understanding. This chapter aimed to demonstrate the importance of such research and to outline the organization of this thesis. It affirms the goal of this research is to use as wide a range of data as possible from archival sources, surveys, interviews, and academic writing to explore this experiment in curriculum development and understand as fully as possible the experiences of the students and teachers who participated in it.

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[41] Gunesch, "International Education's Internationalism," 90.

[42] Appiah argues this point forcefully: "When we describe past acts with words like 'courageous' and 'cowardly', 'cruel' and 'kind', we are shaping what people think and feel about what was done – and shaping our understanding of our own moral language as well. Because that language is open-textured and essentially contestable, even people who share a moral vocabulary have plenty to fight about." Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a world of strangers* (London: Allen Lane, 2006), 60.

1.5. Timeline of the Period

- **1947**: UNESCO Seminar on International Understanding, Paris

- **1948**: "Educational Techniques for Peace. Do They Exist?" Speech to UNESCO by Maurette, Director of the International School of Geneva.

- **1950**: UNESCO course for teachers interested in international education (Sec.1 delivered by Ecolint)

- **1951**: International Schools' Liaison Committee (changes name to International Schools Association in 1956 - offices are located within Ecolint).

- **1951**: Council of Internationally-Minded Schools Founded (Ecolint leads international conferences).

- **1953**: Student United Nations founded as an association by Robert Leach (Ecolint teacher).

- **1954**: Council of Internationally-Minded Schools given consultative status with UNESCO.

- **1961**: Robert Leach travels to international schools around the world to check for interest in an International Baccalaureate.

- **1962**: International Schools Association (ISA) organizes a conference sponsored by UNESCO to develop a joint examination for international schools. Historians presented a contemporary history course (1913 - 1962 / present day).

- **1963**: Twentieth Century Fund donates 75,000 USD to International Schools Association allowing it to found International Schools Examination Syndicate (ISES) which would develop into the IB.

- **1964**: Draft Proposal for an International Baccalaureate published in the ISA bulletin

- **1965**: International Schools Examination Syndicate separates from International Schools Association.

- **1965**: Ecolint hosts International Colloquium which produced first iteration of the IB framework (higher and subsidiary level subjects). 25 Ecolint staff visit universities in Canada and USA to lobby for acceptance of the IB.

- **1967**: Alec Peterson begins serving as full time Director of the IB Office. Ford Foundation provides 300,000 USD to carry out a feasibility structure for an international university entrance examination. Sèvres International Conference established the framework of the proposed IB exams.

- **1968**: International Baccalaureate Office founded as a separate legal entity from the ISES. Volunteer students across 8 schools sit pilot exams. IB experimental exam period begins.

- **1970**: First Official full IB examinations.

- **1974**: UNESCO issues "Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding."

- **1975**: End of the IB's Experimental Period.

Chapter 2: Methodology

2.1. Introduction

This thesis is a historical account and, as such, the methodological choices are grounded in ideology and in theories of what constitutes good historical research.[43] My methodology involves original interviews, survey data and archival materials, as well as discussion of more widely available secondary sources, in order to better represent the individual experiences of students and teachers at Ecolint (1948-1975) and their relationship to teaching and learning international understanding. My account of Ecolint's interaction with the IB project complements the existing historical accounts of the period produced by Ian Hill,[44] Robert Sylvester,[45] Paul Tarc,[46] Alec Peterson,[47] Robert Leach,[48] Michael Knight,[49] Martin Mayer,[50] and Marie-Thérèse Maurette,[51] all of which will be reviewed in Chapter 3. But it also challenges many of the assumptions made in these histories and aims to enrich the historical record of the complex relationship between the IB and Ecolint's teachers and students. This research could be presented as a case study of curriculum reform, innovation in education, action research, or transnational cooperation between teachers, universities, and international organizations, but the data does not fully support these sorts of generalizations and my aim is rather to highlight the intrinsic value of studying the particulars of a curriculum project which was to prove hugely influential.

In this chapter, I begin by defining a case study as a methodological tool and discussing the valuable role it plays in my methodology. I then present the ethical guidelines used in designing my methodological approach. This includes the ethical dimensions of my own position as an 'insider researcher.' Finally, I explore why I gathered the historical data I refer to in this thesis and how it has allowed me to study the relationship between the discourse around international understanding

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[43] Gary McCulloch and Ruth Watts, "Introduction: Theory, methodology, and the history of education," *History of Education* 32, no. 2 (2003): 129-132.

[44] Ian Hill, "The History and Development of International Mindedness," in *The Sage Handbook of International Education*, ed. Mary Hayden, Jack Levy, and Jeff Thompson, (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2015), 28-44.

[45] Robert Sylvester, "Historical Resources for Research in International Education (1851–1950)," in *The Sage Handbook of International Education*, ed. Mary Hayden, Jack Levy, and Jeff Thompson, (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2015), 11-24.

[46] Paul Tarc, "What is the 'International' in the International Baccalaureate: Towards a Periodization of the International Baccalaureate," (PhD diss., York University, 2007).

[47] Alexander Peterson, *The International Baccalaureate* (London: Harrap, 1972); Alexander Peterson, *Schools Across Frontiers: The Story of the International Baccalaureate and the United World Colleges* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing, 2011).

[48] Robert Leach, "The International School of Geneva 1924-1974," Unpublished (1974), 38. International School of Geneva Leach Archives.

[49] Michael Knight, *Ecolint: A Portrait of the International School of Geneva: 1924-1999* (Geneva: 1999).

[50] Martin Mayer, *Diploma: International Schools and University Entrance* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1968).

[51] Marie-Thérèse Maurette et al., *International School of Geneva: The first 50 years,* (Geneva: Ecole Internationale de Genève, 1974).

and the learning which took place at Ecolint during the IB project, right up until the end of the experimental phase in 1975.

2.2. Case Study as Methodology

Chapter 1 began by introducing Ecolint as a 'case study', a term central to the methodology of this thesis, and one which I must now define. Case studies represent a prominent research method in history and other disciplines and are characterized by their in-depth exploration of a single case within its real-life context or of several cases in order to support comparative analysis. Case studies aim to uncover detailed insights into complex phenomena that may be difficult to capture through other research methods. Robert Yin defines case studies as empirical inquiries that investigate phenomena within their real-life context, particularly when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.[52] This approach is widely adopted in historical research due to its ability to provide rich, contextualized understandings of specific events, individuals, or institutions.

One key characteristic of case studies is their holistic nature. My application is no exception, and it draws on various sources of evidence, including documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations, to construct a comprehensive picture of the case.[53] This multi-faceted approach allowed me to explore the complexity and nuance of phenomena such as educational experiences and include evidence which challenges views which are dominant in any one of these individual sources of evidence.

Case studies can be categorized into different types, each serving distinct purposes. Intrinsic case studies focus on the case itself, driven by the researcher's intrinsic interest in the unique aspects of the subject.[54] Instrumental case studies, on the other hand, use the case to gain insights into broader issues or theories.[55] Collective case studies involve the study of multiple cases to draw comparative insights and develop a deeper understanding of a particular phenomenon.[56] Case studies can provide detailed narratives of specific schools or educational reforms but they also offer insights into broader social, cultural, and political contexts.[57]

My initial goal with this research was to develop an instrumental case study from which conclusions could be drawn about international education reform and curriculum innovation.

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[52] Robert Yin, *Case Study Research and Applications: Design and Methods* (London: SAGE Publications, 2018).
[53] Helen Simons, *Case Study Research in Practice* (London: SAGE Publications, 2009).
[54] Robert Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1995).
[55] Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research*.
[56] Yin, *Case Study Research and Applications.*
[57] Ivor Goodson and Pat Sikes, *Life History Research in Educational Settings: Learning from Lives*. (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2001).

However, understanding the historical context and the individual actors, and attending to the specific experiences of students and teachers made my data more suitable for an intrinsic case study. Intrinsic case studies in the history of education are valuable because they provide deep, nuanced understandings of unique events, individuals, and phenomena. An important aim of this intrinsic case study was to preserve and explore the rich, contextual details of Ecolint's relationship with teaching and learning around international understanding from 1949 - 1975. This aligns with Stake's perspective that the intrinsic case study is driven by a researcher's intrinsic interest in the case itself, aiming to grasp its unique aspects, in this case linked to the development of curricula for international understanding, rather than generalize findings to other institutional contexts.[58] That said, I hope this intrinsic case study explores phenomena and presents arguments which resonate with practitioners and researchers in other educational contexts, enabling the insights from this research to reach and inform a broader audience.

Intrinsic case studies can also illuminate lesser-known or underrepresented historical narratives. They can bring attention to marginalized movements, institutions, voices or events that mainstream historical research might overlook. In this case, I sought to highlight student and teacher experiences rather than simply focusing on policy documents of historical record developed by the International Baccalaureate or Ecolint. According to Yin, this method supports historical research which aims to capture the complexity and richness of historical phenomena and can provide a comprehensive understanding of a specific phenomenon which, in turn, broadens the scope of historical knowledge.[59]

At their best, intrinsic case studies can provide critical insights that challenge existing historical interpretations or theories. By focusing intensively on a specific case, researchers can uncover new evidence or perspectives that may prompt a re-evaluation of broader historical contexts or trends.[60] Context-specific studies can contribute to the development of historiography and historical theory and advance educational understanding through this historical approach.

Lastly, intrinsic case studies contribute to the preservation of cultural heritage and memory. By documenting and analyzing the intricate details of a historical case, researchers help ensure that valuable historical knowledge is recorded and accessible for future generations.[61] This detailed

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[58] Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research*.
[59] Yin, *Case Study Research and Applications.*
[60] Simons, *Case Study Research in Practice.*
[61] Bent Flyvbjerg, "Five misunderstandings about case-study research," *Qualitative Inquiry* 12, no. 2 (2006): 219-245.

documentation enriches the historical record and supports the continuity of cultural and historical identity.

2.3. The Application of Methodological Theory

Ethically and methodologically, my motivation for conducting this research underpins my approach. Through studying the period of significant innovation at Ecolint which accompanied the founding of the International Baccalaureate, I aim to gain a better understanding of the relationship between what Tyack and Cuban referred to as 'policy talk' and 'policy implementation'[62].

Use of Archives

I draw on archival material found in three archives in Geneva, Switzerland, interviews, and online surveys that I hope provide the platform for open ended, discursive recollections.

The Leach Archives, the first of these archives, covers 1951-1981, the period during which Robert Leach was employed by Ecolint. The archives can be found in the basement of the middle school at the International School of Geneva's La Grande Boissiè re Campus and consists of two large multi-drawer filing cabinets donated by Robert Leach that have not yet been integrated with the rest of the school's archives. This collection includes class teaching journals, lesson plans, departmental minutes, course notes, lists of textbooks, private correspondence with a range of individuals ranging from A.D.C. Peterson (the first Director General of the IBO) to heads of other international schools to philanthropic foundations, pamphlets, resource books, student magazines, examination papers, and annual departmental reports. The Leach Archives are centered around Leach's work at the Ecolint and cover numerous aspects of his professional life from his classroom teaching to his work as head of department as well as his part time voluntary work with the International Schools Association, the Council of Internationally-Minded Schools, UNESCO, and the International Schools Examination Syndicate. It includes a large amount of professional correspondence of all kinds. It is rare to have such an abundance of records for the professional activities of a full-time teacher. We do not know the extent to which Leach curated these archives before donating them, but he did choose to donate many of his other personal papers involving private correspondence, his private research interests, and his sexuality to the Cornell University Archives.[63] The presence of the Leach Archives, at Ecolint, donated by Robert Leach, is not widely known, even in the school that houses them.

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[62] Tyack and Cuban, *Tinkering toward Utopia*.
[63] Robert J. Leach papers, #7609. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library. https://rmc.library.cornell.edu/EAD/htmldocs/RMM07609.html

The Ecolint Archives, the second archive collection I used, covers the period from 1924 to the present. It includes all manner of documents that support the writing of institutional history including financial details, policy changes, decisions around school leadership, and records of school events deemed worthy of inclusion in the school archive by assorted school leaders, historians, and archivists. The school archives also house student magazines, yearbooks, and correspondence with and records of visits from notable school alumni. The archives were catalogued by professional archivists hired at the request of Dr. Nicholas Tate, Director General, who wanted to build a stronger sense of Ecolint's history to support institutional memory and preserve the traditions and loyalties that might accompany this history. The re-organization of the newly categorized International School of Geneva Archives was completed at the end of 2008 and is housed in two rooms on the ground floor of one of buildings in the La Grande Boissière Campus of Ecolint. Within the Ecolint archives there are several sections: The Stereva Archives (1907-2004), The Foundation Archives (1928-2009) and several cupboards of publications about Ecolint including student and PTA magazines, books which include references to the school, and a wide range of miscellaneous items.

This dissertation's third archive is UNESCO's International Bureau of Education archives and library in Geneva, which are useful in creating context for the transnational networks that Ecolint's humanities teachers sought to develop. Although I visited the archives in person, the IBE began extensive digitization of its archives in 2016 so I was able to access these archival sources online.

To gain further insight into how teachers taught and students learned, I also identified, selected and analyzed textual documents from the Leach archives and the school archives including:

- Textbooks, overhead projections, and tests teachers used as well as gradebooks and academic subject reports
- Teacher reports on how and what they taught, and why they taught it
- Administrative reports
- Student writing in the school newspaper and yearbooks

My use of archival material aims to consider context, audience, and the relationships between documentary evidence and between this evidence and the data I gathered through surveys and interviews.

Survey Data

In addition to analyzing archival sources, I surveyed students from the 1950s and 1960s at Ecolint. For the online survey, I collected contact details for 788 students who were educated for one year or more in the secondary school between 1960 and 1975, the period when the bulk of the curricular experimentation linked to the IB project occurred. In choosing a survey, the goal was to identify alumni whom I might interview or correspond with by eliciting as many open-ended responses on experiences which promoted international understanding. To this end, I solicited the advice of 15 former students and teachers from the period to provide advice on the design of a pilot survey targeting 30-50 ex-students and ex-teachers from the period. I consulted with the initial 15 to involve them in the recruiting of respondents as I was unsure how many people would respond to a survey sent from a researcher they didn't know. As a result of the feedback I received from the pilot group, I made some changes before asking Ecolint's alumni office to send the final survey to 750 email addresses. The changes I made based on focus group feedback were the following: adding a question allowing alumni to identify if they were predominantly in the English Language Program or the French Language Program and if they were boarders or day students; adding a clearer introduction to the goals of my thesis; adding a choice to complete the phrase "I am… male / female / prefer not to say"; adding an open-ended question which read as follows: "When you were at school, how would you have described your family background?" These questions, especially the final one, resulted in some very interesting reflections on identity construction. One respondent to the pilot survey pointed out that my open-ended questions would result in some interesting responses but would present a challenge to code. This proved to be true on both counts.

The final online survey was delivered through an alumni office mailing with a short blurb outlining my connection to the school and my research objectives as well as questions (in French or English depending on the form selected) designed to spark engagement. The survey, accessed by an electronic link, was introduced by one central question:

"What memories do you have of internationalism during your time at Ecolint?"

This question was followed by these survey questions in the electronic survey:

- "During which years did you attend Ecolint?"
- "What did you learn from humanities classes at Ecolint?"
- "I am…male / female / prefer not to say."
- "Did you spend most time enrolled in the… English Language Program / French Language Program?"
- "When you were at school, how would you have described your background (family, nationality, ethnicity, etc...)?"

- "What activities (books, films, plays, debates, etc.) took place in Ecolint classroom and for homework which served to develop your international understanding?"

- "How did extra-curricular activities contribute to better international understanding?"

- "What connections do you see between the school's emphasis on international understanding and your life after Ecolint?"

- "Is there anything else you would like to add about how Ecolint did / didn't teach international understanding during your years at school?"

These questions were followed by:

- "Would the researcher be able to contact you by email if he has further questions to do with your responses? (Yes / No)

- Would you prefer to be… quoted by name/ have your responses anonymized?

- Click HERE if you wish to receive a copy of your response by email.

- By pressing the 'send' button below you agree to allow your comments to be published as part of this research project and understand that you may be cited as a historical source by this research project and other researchers in the future.

  If at any stage you wish to change your answers or withdraw your comments, please email: [my email address featured here]."

I received 143 complete responses to the survey, including the responses to the pilot survey. My analysis of this data involved reading the responses, question by question and identifying key themes within each question and then reading responses respondent by respondent to pick out key themes by respondent. The central themes associated with supporting education for international understanding were defined iteratively and emerged as related to trips, co-curricular activities, specific teachers and classroom activities, language learning, student government and a culture of student agency, and the international nature of the students and teachers. Organizing and reorganizing responses in the different thematic categories is a standard methodological approach when it comes to qualitative analysis of open-ended questions[64] even if a selection of representative quotations has the drawback of not providing a quantitative illustration of the strength and depth of the evidence.[65] Ultimately, my aim was to solicit authentic responses which would be diverse and representative and also allow me to structure my exploration of international understanding in a way

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[64] William N. Suter, "Qualitative data, analysis, and design." *Introduction to educational research: A critical thinking approach* 2 (2012): 342-386.

[65] Eleanor Singer and Mick P. Couper. "Some methodological uses of responses to open questions and other verbatim comments in quantitative surveys." *Methods, data, analyses: a journal for quantitative methods and survey methodology (mda)* 11, no. 2 (2017): 115-134.

which was nuanced enough to allow for an accurate representation of the tensions involved in the student experience of international understanding.[66]

Where responses to the survey demonstrated a high level of detail or when they presented an insight either characteristic of or at odds with the other responses, I contacted the respondent (when I had permission to do so) by email to ask for further information / clarification. In follow-up exchanges, I selected for gender parity and diversity of background and historical representation when it came to the cohort years. This resulted in dozens of written exchanges with individual respondents. The figure below indicates representation of survey respondents by time period and history. Respondents were counted for each 5-year period during which they attended Ecolint. Further interviews and exchanges ensured as balanced as possible a representation from different 5-year periods.

Dates attending Ecolint	Number of survey Participants	Male	Female
1950 – 1955	8	5	3
1955 – 1960	33	25	9
1960 – 1965	70	43	27
1965 – 1970	60	39	21
1970 – 1975	38	26	12

Figure 1: Survey respondent numbers representing different 5-year periods (1950-1975)

Representation by social background was less methodologically rigorous, though I made sure the samples I drew on in the thesis represented as wide range of national and cultural affiliations and 'types of families' as possible (profession of parents, religious convictions, and other identity affiliations respondents mentioned). However, there were limitations to the representativeness of the data. For example, only 11 of the respondents attended the French Language Program.

Phase two of information gathering selected a group of twenty former teachers and students, who were particularly responsive to the survey and to follow-up questions, and whom I was able to interview in greater depth. I was able to record 19 videos of these interviews successfully and had to cancel one of these due to health-related concerns. In all my exchanges from the survey to private correspondence by email to interviews I tried to foster honest exchanges. The possibility to remain anonymous when I quoted them was attractive to some respondents. As with all responses, the data

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[66] Mike Allen, ed. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods*. SAGE publications, 2017.

gathered from anonymous responses was triangulated with other responses and documentary evidence to establish how representative the perspective was.

I carried out interviews with seven teachers who taught at Ecolint between the 1960s and the 1970s. The 1950s was not represented in teacher interviews directly, though former teachers were able to refer to stories former colleagues had told them, in the 1960s and 1970s about the earlier period.

Teachers Interviewed	Arrival Date (all stayed beyond 1975)	Male	Female
Frank Lunt	1968	x	
Andy Bassam	1970	x	
Michael Knight	1961	x	
Elizabeth Knight	1961		x
Phil Thomas	1963	x	
Joan Holden	1965		x
Burt Melnick	1968	x	

Figure 2: Data on Teachers Interviewed

The interviews are semi-structured with a minimum of six prompts, lasting around 90 minutes. (See Appendix 1 for the consent form.) The interviews were transcribed using software and the parts selected for quotation in the text were verified a second time by comparing the text with the original recording. Where fillers and discourse particles distracted from the meaning these were omitted in the final transcription of quotations which appear in the thesis. The same method was applied to interviews with former students.

The prompts for teacher interviews were inspired by those used by Larry Cuban to elicit specific historical details around classroom practices.[67]

1) How did you settle on teaching the content of your courses?
2) Why did you use the teaching materials you did?
3) What was your attitude towards the use of textbooks in classes?
4) What would I see in a typical lesson of yours? How would that be similar or different from the lessons your humanities colleagues might teach?
5) How was your classroom arranged and how did students behave in this space?
6) What question should I be asking you to really get a sense of what teaching was like in the 60s and early 70s?

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[67] Larry Cuban, *Teaching History Then and Now: A Story of Stability and Change in Schools* (Harvard University Press, 2016), 200.

By asking questions about course content, teaching materials, attitudes towards textbooks, lesson dynamics, classroom arrangements, and student behavior, these prompts are designed to draw out detailed, personal recollections from teachers. Questions similar to these prompts helped create a rich, qualitative data set that Cuban was able to draw on in his histories to capture the complexities of teaching experiences. For instance, understanding why teachers chose specific materials or how they arranged their classrooms provides insights into their instructional philosophies and the broader educational context of the period. This approach aligns with a social history methodology, which links individual teacher experiences to broader trends in educational practice and policy.

Former teachers were also able to share documents and perspectives that were not included in the school's archives and which may also balance my heavy reliance on the Leach Archive for teacher perspective. Interviews with Ecolint's humanities teachers in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s were also critical because, as Goodson has argued: "in understanding something so intensely personal as teaching it is critical we know about the person the teacher is."[68] Understanding who teachers are, in this case specifically their idealism with respect to international education and their commitment to Ecolint, adds context and clarity to the documentary analysis of assessments and written curricula even if the teachers' personalities and backgrounds are not the focus of this research.

2.4. Ethical Considerations and Research Design

Ethics: Use of Survey and Interview Data

My approach to gathering and using data aligns with both the British Educational Research Association (BERA) ethical guidelines and specific protocols for historical research involving interviews, surveys and archival usage. The methodology was approved and granted the following project number: Z6364106/2020/01/53 by UCL's Data Protection authorities and I completed mandatory GDPR training.

One of the primary ethical considerations in my research was obtaining informed consent from all participants.[69] According to BERA, informed consent involves providing participants with clear and comprehensive information about the nature, purpose, and potential consequences of the research.[70] In this study I ensured that all former teachers and students were fully aware of the study's aims, the

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[68] Ivor Goodson, "Becoming an academic subject: Patterns of explanation and evolution," *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 2, no. 2 (1981): 169.

[69] "Participants" in this thesis refers to both those who responded to the survey and those who consented to be interviewed.

[70] British Educational Research Association [BERA]. *Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research* (London: 2018).

nature of their participation, and their rights, including the right to withdraw at any point without any repercussions.

Participants were specifically asked if they wished their responses to be anonymized. This step respects the autonomy and preferences of each individual, as recommended by ethical research guidelines.[71] Anonymity was guaranteed to those who requested it, ensuring their identities would be protected in all publications and presentations of the research findings. For those who consented to be identified, I ultimately decided, given the difficulty of assessing the impact of some of the participants' statements on others and themselves to include their first names to acknowledge their contributions, but to remove last names to prevent easy public identifications. First names were only included provided their statements were deemed to be of minimal reputational risk to themselves and others. In contexts where participants said anything which would risk damaging their reputation, I anonymized the response even when I had permission to publish, out of concern not to cause unnecessary damage or distress to individuals. The decision to do this was partly in response the age of some of the participants and their occasional lack of awareness as to the offense which might be caused by portions of some interviews. The decision was also taken because I was unable to guarantee that, in my thesis, I provided all the relevant context to each response which the respondents might wish for. I also aimed to remove any risks that participants might be targeted because I omitted context which was important to them. If names or identifying features were critical to understanding historical dynamics and individual contributions, such as in the case of teachers, I included these as a matter of historical record when I had permission to do so and when other ethical considerations could be satisfied. When participants were critical of Ecolint as a school or the International Baccalaureate as an examination system I named these institutions because they are in robust health, no one working there during the historical period is still employed by either organization today, and the criticisms are part of what allow for a more balanced portrayal of student and teacher experiences.

An important aspect of ethical historical research is the protection of third parties who have not given their consent to be part of the study.[72] When analyzing and presenting data, I took care to anonymize any quotations or references that might damage the reputation of individuals who were not direct participants in the research. This precaution ensures that the ethical principle of "do no harm" is upheld, protecting individuals from the unintended consequences of the published research findings. This principle is not applied to public figures who are part of the historical record and was

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[71] British Educational Research Association [BERA]. *Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research* and Valerie Yow, *Recording Oral History: A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences* (3rd ed.). (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014).

[72] Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

most often applied when alumni told stories of other alumni who did not participate in the interview or survey responses.

Data management to uphold confidentiality is a cornerstone of ethical research and I adhered to strict protocols for data management, ensuring that all recorded interviews, transcripts, and survey responses were securely stored. Access to this data was limited to myself. Digital files were password protected and physical documents were kept in locked rooms in the archives or locked cupboards in my personal work space. These measures align with BERA's recommendations for safeguarding participant data.[73]

When reporting findings, I took care to present quotations and narratives in a way that accurately reflects participants' views while maintaining their confidentiality. In cases where quotations could potentially harm reputations, I paraphrased the content or used pseudonyms to obscure identities. This approach is supported by the ethical guidelines for oral historians, which emphasize the importance of balancing accurate reporting with the protection of participants.[74] Ethical considerations were not confined to the initial stages of consent and data collection; they were an ongoing part of the research process. As new issues arose, I revisited ethical guidelines and consulted with colleagues to ensure my approach remained sound. This iterative reflection is crucial in qualitative research, where unexpected ethical dilemmas can emerge at any stage.[75]

While transparency is desirable in historical research, it must be balanced with sensitivity to participants' wishes and potential impacts on their lives. Stenhouse highlighted the importance of respecting participants' narratives and contexts in his participatory curriculum research,[76] an approach I adopted. By maintaining open communication with participants about how their data would be used, I put in place methods which would support ensured ethical and accurate reporting.

Ethical Considerations in Accessing Archive Material

Accessing archival materials or documentary materials shared by former students and teachers also requires ethical research design. The use of documents donated by individuals requires the researcher to respect the intentions and, on occasion, the privacy of the donors. Gary McCulloch emphasizes that archival research must balance the pursuit of historical knowledge with ethical responsibilities, particularly regarding confidentiality and the potential impact on living subjects

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[73] British Educational Research Association [BERA]. *Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research,* 21-25.
[74] Donald Ritchie, *Doing Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
[75] Mathew Miles, Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* (London: SAGE Publications, 2014).
[76] Lawrence Stenhouse, *An Introduction to Curriculum Research and Development*. (London: Heinemann, 1975).

related to the records.[77] Other ethical considerations included having the necessary permissions to access and use archival materials. In the case of the Ecolint Foundation Archive, all the materials were catalogued by professional archivists who attended to ethical guidelines, ensuring that donors knew that personal documents would be used to promote better historical understanding of the school and related institutions. In his donation of teaching materials, official documents and personal reflections spanning over 30 years, Robert Leach also indicated that he wanted these to be of use to historians of education. Nevertheless, his archive was so voluminous that it was not able to be integrated into the professionally catalogued Foundation Archive, and it still remains housed apart and uncatalogued. Through UNESCO's IBE archive, I only accessed policy documents and conference minutes which are also available to public online and do not have any ethically sensitive material in them. I will explore the contents of all three archives in more detail later in this chapter.

Marek Tesar, albeit dealing with more sensitive archives than those I used, notes a number of important ethical dimensions which require sensitivity to the personal nature of archival documents, particularly those containing private reflections or sensitive information.[78] This sensitivity is crucial in maintaining trust between archives and the communities they serve.

It was also imperative that I consider the ethical implications of my findings and how to present them. It is, for instance, vital to anonymize sensitive information, such as report card comments, to protect the privacy of individuals mentioned when they have not granted permission for the records to be used or when that information is not publicly available or in published records such as year books, school magazines or board minutes. Additionally, researchers must be transparent about their methodologies and the potential limitations of their findings, acknowledging the partial and subjective nature of archival records

Historical Richness of School Archives

Before acknowledging the specific ethical challenges of school archive use, it is important to emphasize their value. School archives, such as those housing curriculum documentation, assessments, teacher reflections, yearbooks, minutes of meetings, and other forms of documentary evidence, offer a wealth of historical richness. These archives provide valuable insights into the educational practices, cultural norms, and social dynamics of the period in question.[79] Curriculum documentation can reveal shifts in educational priorities and pedagogical approaches between

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[77] Gary McCulloch, *Documentary Research in Education, History and the Social Sciences*. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004.)

[78] Marek Tesar, "Ethics and Truth in Archival Research." *History of Education* 44, no. 1 (2015): 101-114.

[79] Richard Aldrich. *Lessons from History of Education*. Routledge, 2006.

teachers and schools and over time. Assessments and examination papers provide a window into the academic standards and expectations of different periods. Teacher reflections and meeting minutes offer a glimpse into the professional lives and challenges of educators, as well as the decision-making processes within schools. Yearbooks and other memorabilia capture the student experience, extracurricular activities, and the broader school community's culture. Student and teacher-created materials in school archives offer distinct perspectives on educational history. Student-created materials, such as yearbooks and personal reflections, provide unique insights into the lived experiences and social dynamics of students. These documents often reveal the informal and social aspects of school life, capturing the voices and perspectives of the student body. In contrast, teacher-created materials, including curriculum documentation and assessments, focus on formal educational practices and pedagogical approaches. These materials reflect the educational objectives and institutional priorities of the time, offering what is often a more structured view of the teaching environment and instructional methods. Together, such materials can illuminate the lived experiences of teachers and students, offering perspectives often absent from official records. This richness has, I hope, allowed me to construct a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of Ecolint's educational history.

Limitations of Archival Research

I found that while archival research is immensely valuable, the records I used presented some limitations when it comes to supporting a balanced social history. One primary limitation is the partial and selective nature of archival records. Archives reflect the perspectives of those who created or donated or preserved the materials, potentially omitting marginalized voices or alternative viewpoints such as students' honestly presented lived experience - which may not align with teacher or school expectations. In this case the school archives were catalogued to promote historical consciousness of the school and Leach's personal archive largely reflects one man's work. Whilst I have no evidence of censorship or curation designed to promote one perspective over another it is worth recognizing that I also don't know the logic which led some materials to be preserved and others not. Gary McCulloch argues that archival research, particularly when supplemented with oral histories and interviews where possible, can capture the experiences and memories of individuals and broaden and deepen the historical account in the written record.[80] Furthermore, archival documents may not fully convey the context or significance of certain events or practices. Interviews and surveys can fill these gaps, providing additional context and explanations that are not evident from the documents alone. These complementary methods, in my

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[80] Gary McCulloch, *Documentary Research in Education, History and the Social Sciences*.

case the use of surveys, interviews, and correspondence did provide an alternative set of data which I hope led to a more balanced, representative, and inclusive historical account. Ultimately, the triangulation of sources helps to contextualize and interrogate findings and offers a more robust understanding of historical phenomena.

Conducting research into education for international understanding requires a rigorous and ethically sound approach, particularly when it involves interviews with former teachers and students, but also when engaging with sensitive archival data. Adhering to BERA's ethical guidelines and principles of historical research, I ensured informed consent, respected participants' wishes regarding anonymity, and protected third parties. Through careful data management, confidentiality, and iterative ethical reflection, I maintained the integrity of my research while honoring the contributions and rights of all participants. This ethically robust approach not only safeguards the well-being of individuals involved but also upholds the credibility and trustworthiness of the research findings.

Insider Research and the Ethics of Positionality

This thesis can be considered an insider history and since this sub-genre comes with its own nuanced relationships, it is worth considering those dynamics up front. Sikes and Potts[81] argue that stating one's 'positionality' has become the norm, especially in the case of insider research. There is no doubt that I am an insider. I attended Ecolint as a student, I am an IB graduate, and I was employed by Ecolint from 2006 to 2022. I have even written an institutional history of Ecolint.[82] It would be easy to argue that I have a vested interest in reinforcing the place Ecolint holds in the history of international education. As a researcher it would be hard to argue that I am 'objective.' Nevertheless, I am struck by the truth of Adler's remark that "we are all insiders in some contexts and outsiders in other situations."[83] Certainly I am no insider when it comes to the 1950s and 1960s. Not only was I not employed by the school then, but I was not yet alive. The 'situation' I find myself in as a historian of the curriculum and classroom practices of the 1950s and 1960s is a context in which I am an 'outsider', separated as I am from the subject matter by time. I would hope that my readers would be able to look beyond the identity of the historian and focus on the veracity of claims I make. The history I aim to write is not one that claims absolute objectivity, or

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[81] Pat Sikes and Anthony Potts, *Researching Education from the Inside: Investigations from Within* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008).

[82] Conan de Wilde and Othman Hamayed, *Ecolint: A History of the International School of Geneva* (International School of Geneva, 2014).

[83] Susan Matoba Adler, "Multiple Layers of a Researcher's Identity: Uncovering Asian American Voices," in *Decolonizing Research in Cross-Cultural Contexts: Critical Personal Narratives*, ed. Kagengo Mutua and Beth Swandener (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 107.

incontestable and stable truth, but one that seeks to employ a systematic and internally consistent process to gather data and analyze it, supported by a clear chain of evidence grounded in sound ethical practices. McCulloch[84] states that part of escaping the kind of 'house history' that may be amateurish, sentimental, and institutionally aggrandizing is to subvert the traditional approach to insider research. He argues that criticism of the institution is important to demonstrate the historian's independence or, at the very least detachment. This is very much in line with Armstrong's admonition that the historian sharpens his or her 'voice' by "positioning their own voice 'reflectively and critically' at the intersection of biography and history."[85]

The delicate balancing act involved in creating a sound insider history, comes with rewards as well as risks. The University of Chicago sociologist Robert Park argued that a researcher's need to immerse him or herself in the data also favors insiders. For instance, I benefit from several advantages conferred on 'insider' researchers. I had unfettered access and proximity to the archives and the support of the school's alumni office in contacting students from the 1950s and 1960s as well as retired teachers. The school's archivist is a knowledgeable colleague with whom I have discussed my research.

I left Ecolint two years before completing this thesis and finalized this research during a period when I was no longer an insider researcher employed by Ecolint. However, my subsequent return to Ecolint is further evidence of my insider status.

2.5. Analysis of Interview Techniques as a Methodological Approach

In conducting interviews with former teachers, I aimed to elicit rich, detailed narratives. Traditional questions such as "Why did you use the teaching material you did?" or "How did you settle on teaching the content of your courses?" often generated short, factual responses that did not capture the full depth of the teaching experience. Similarly, questions like "How was your classroom arranged and how did students behave in this space?" tended to yield straightforward and succinct answers that lacked narrative richness. In contrast, questions that invited comparison, such as "How would that be similar or different to the lessons your colleagues might teach?" or reflective prompts like "What questions should I be asking you to really get a sense of what teaching was like?" tended to open up a more extensive dialogue and elicit more comprehensive stories. Oral historian Michael Frisch emphasizes the importance of a collaborative approach to interviews, where the interviewee

[84] Gary McCulloch, "Historical insider research in education," in *Researching Education from the Inside: Investigations from Within,* ed. Pat Sikes and Anthony Potts (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008).
[85] Derrick Armstrong, "Historical voices: philosophical idealism and the methodology of 'voice' in the History of Education," *History of Education* 32, no. 2 (2003): 217.

feels empowered to direct the conversation and share their experiences in depth.[86] This aligns with the broader oral history practice that values the interviewee's narrative control and engagement.

Theory and Practice of Interviewing

Historians of education, like other qualitative researchers, seek to uncover the complexities and nuances of past experiences. Alessandro Portelli argues that the value of oral history lies not just in the factual accuracy of what is recounted, but in the meaning and interpretation that interviewees give to their experiences.[87] To access these deeper layers of meaning, I found that I was better off adopting a more flexible and open-ended approach to interviewing.

Paul Thompson, a pioneer in oral history, emphasizes the creation of a space where interviewees feel their experiences and opinions are valued.[88] This often means allowing the interview to follow the natural flow of the interviewee's narrative, even if it means the interviewer relinquishes some control over the direction of the conversation. Thompson stresses the importance of active listening and the use of follow-up questions that encourage interviewees to elaborate on their stories and reflections.

Reflection on Effective Interview Strategies

My interviews were most effective when they adopted the following types of questions:

1. Open-Ended Questions: Questions that invited detailed responses rather than simple factual answers were crucial. For example, instead of asking, "Why did you use the teaching material you did?" a more effective question was: "Can you tell me about some memorable lessons or moments of learning and why they stand out for you?" This approach aligns with Yow's advocacy for questions that prompt detailed storytelling.[89]

2. Comparative Prompts: Questions that invited interviewees to compare their practices with those of their colleagues stimulated more reflective and detailed responses. Asking, "How would that be similar or different to the lessons your colleagues might teach?" encouraged interviewees to think critically about their practices in a broader context, an important element in the interviewing as oral history, as noted by Ritchie.[90]

3. Reflective Questions: Questions that prompted interviewees to reflect on the interview process itself, such as "What questions should I be asking you to really get a sense of what

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[86] Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990).
[87] Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997).
[88] Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*.
[89] Valerie Yow, *Recording Oral History*.
[90] Donald Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*.

teaching was like?" led to unexpected insights and stories. These questions highlight the value I placed the interviewee's perspective on the interview process and encouraged a more collaborative approach to knowledge production.

Balancing Structure and Flexibility

While I found it useful to prepare a set of questions before the interview, being too rigid in the order or the syntax can stifle the flow of conversation. This was less true when I managed to establish strong rapport, but I quickly came to the realization that I should introduce them as prompts to stimulate thinking rather than as questions which necessarily needed to be answered. Valerie Yow[91] suggests that interviewers should be willing to follow the interviewee's lead, allowing them to explore topics they find meaningful. This approach requires a balance between maintaining enough structure to cover key topics and allowing enough flexibility for the interviewee to take the conversation in unexpected but valuable directions.

Interview Variations with Former Students

For former students, I wanted to explore comments they posed in their survey responses or follow-up emails and I used the following categories as an initial filter to organize our exchanges:

a) Pedagogy: student centered vs. teacher centered
b) International understanding in the school and the curriculum
c) The extent to which they were aware of the IB and / or other curriculum developments / experiments.

For material linked to pedagogy, I was inspired by Cuban's checklist of teacher centered practices,[92] and framed questions in as open-ended manner as possible. The following are examples of the questions I asked:

- How were humanities classrooms arranged? What did they look like? What was on the walls?
- Can you recall the nature of classroom discussions in the humanities? What was the role of the teacher?
- What kind of support materials do you remember teachers using (textbooks, pictures, films, recordings, models etc.)?
- How much involvement or input did students have into the curriculum and class discussion?

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[91] Yow, *Recording Oral History*.
[92] Larry Cuban, "How did teachers teach, 1980-1980," *Theory into Practice* 22, no. 3 (1983): 161.

- What memories do you have of humanities classes at Ecolint?

For international understanding (Section B), I asked questions such as:

- Were the humanities classes you experienced at Ecolint 'international' in nature?
- What was 'international' about humanities classes?
- What wasn't 'international' about these classes?

To gauge students' awareness of the IB project and associated curriculum development (Section C) I asked questions such as:

- Were you aware, at Ecolint, of the efforts of humanities teachers to develop the international curriculum that would develop into the IB? (yes / no) If 'yes',
- Which efforts, if any, did you notice to 'internationalize' the curriculum or teach international understanding?
- Did the school's involvement in setting up the IB change anything for you in the classroom?

Although these questions were useful to frame discussions and signal some of my interests, the reality was that many participants spent a very long time on open ended questions such as "what memories do you have of humanities classes at Ecolint?" and had much shorter answers to questions about what the classrooms looked like or the support materials used by teachers. It was frequently easy to identify when respondents veered away from answering a question in favor of a well-rehearsed anecdote. Or, when the pace changes in an interview from the conversational to a deep thinking, often slow and hesitant exploration of their memory. Awareness of these tonal changes and the kind of exchange I was having meant that I could apply a higher degree of criticality and often meant recognizing that, although the details might need to be corroborated, the values represented in what participants chose to emphasize, was of significant value in terms of steering the conversation to improve my understanding of their experiences.

2.6. Organizing and Interpreting the Qualitative Interview and Survey Data

My research on the teaching and learning of international understanding produced and relied on dozens of hours of recorded interviews with former teachers and students, as well as over 140 survey responses. This rich dataset required organization and analysis to draw meaningful conclusions about what aspects of international understanding were deemed important by the

participants. The process was iterative, involving multiple stages of categorization, coding, and triangulation with archival materials to ensure comprehensive and accurate insights.

Data Collection and Initial Organization

I reviewed each video and transcript and survey response to identify initial themes and patterns. Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña write that it is typical for the initial coding phase to involve highlighting significant phrases and sentences associated with the research questions.[93] This was also my approach and I sought to add new codes to responses or stories which were unexpected and did not necessarily respond to a research question directly, but did represent a vivid memory of an experience.

Iterative Coding Process

The coding process was iterative and evolved as more data was analyzed. Initially, I used broad categories such as "teaching methods," "curriculum content," "student engagement," and "international experiences." These categories were color-coded for visual distinction. For example, teaching methods might be highlighted in blue, while curriculum content was marked in green. As I continued to analyze more interviews, it became evident that some categories were too broad and needed further refinement.

For instance, within the "teaching methods" category, sub-categories such as "co-curricular learning," "trips and experiential learning," and "educational conferences" and "teacher values" emerged. This refinement was guided by Saldaña's recommendation to use coding cycles to narrow down themes and sub-themes iteratively.[94] Similarly, "student engagement" was further divided into "participation in discussions," "response to multicultural content," "critical thinking," and "relationship to school rules."

Adjusting Categories

As new interviews were conducted, additional themes and sub-themes emerged, necessitating adjustments to the existing coding scheme. For example, the importance of language learning and linguistic competence as a distinct category became apparent, warranting a separate color code and further sub-categorization into "communication skills," "empathy," and "cultural awareness." This dynamic adjustment aligns with the grounded theory approach advocated by Charmaz, which emphasizes the iterative nature of qualitative data analysis where categories are continually refined and developed as data is collected.[95] The challenges involved in creating these categories and the

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[93] Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña, *Qualitative Data Analysis.*
[94] Johnny Saldaña, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* (London: SAGE Publications, 2015).
[95] Kathy Charmaz, *Constructing Grounded Theory* (London: SAGE Publications, 2014).

reality that there were often contradictory evidence presented within an individual category meant that this methodology was highly suited to highlighting tensions and made developing arguments a challenge because there was clearly not a unified, homogenous student or teacher experience. There were, however, distinct patterns which emerged.

Triangulation with Archival Material

To enhance the reliability and validity of the findings, I triangulated the interview and survey data with archival materials, including curriculum documents, lesson plans, school reports as well as academic research. This triangulating process, applied in qualitative research such as this, is used to corroborate the data from multiple sources.[96] By comparing the narratives from interviews with written records, I was able to supplement data and confirm the consistency of themes and identify any discrepancies.

For example, archival materials often provided concrete examples of curriculum content and teaching methods that were described in the interviews. This cross-referencing helped verify the authenticity of the participants' recollections and added a layer of depth to the analysis. Additionally, the archival documents often highlighted the evolution of Ecolint and IB's approach to international understanding, providing a historical institutional context that enriched the interview data.

Part of this triangulation also involved gauging the significance of responses and my interpretation of them vis à vis other surveys. In 1951, Bill Oats, a former teacher and administrator at Ecolint, sent a survey to Ecolint alumni in order to write a master's thesis on international and intercultural understanding.[97] To my knowledge, this is the only academic survey analysis of student perceptions on internationalism carried out during the period in question. Familiarizing myself with the results (presented in Chapter 5) allowed me to interrogate similarities and differences between his findings and mine.

The conclusions from Oats' survey and from mine are also very similar to Hayden et al.'s publication: "Being International: student and teacher perceptions from international schools."[98] The paper provides a more recent (2000) and more extensive data set when it comes to defining 'being international' in relation to 'international understanding'. Their analysis included 1263 respondents living in 28 countries who responded to the questionnaire. Participants were asked to

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[96] Michael Patton, *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods* (London: SAGE Publications, 2002).

[97] William N. Oats, *"The International School of Geneva: An Experiment in International and Intercultural Education"* (MA Thesis University of Melbourne, 1952) International School of Geneva Archives, STE.E.1/3.

[98] Mary Hayden, Bora Rancic, Jeff Thompson, "Being International: student and teacher perceptions from international schools." *Oxford Review of Education* 26, no. 1. (2000): 107-123.

rate, on a Likert scale, their agreement or disagreement with items derived from the common stem: "In order to be international it is necessary to…" A list of attitudes was then shared with respondents in order to determine the relative importance of specific attitudes in terms of constituting 'being international.' 'Being informed about the world', 'being open-minded,' and 'showing respect for opinions which might be different from your own' were all rated as very important. Hayden et al. also point out that one pragmatic competence, namely speaking more than one language fluently, was also a widely agreed upon criteria of being 'international.'[99]

Although our surveys ask different questions, and Oats is more interested in how Ecolint shaped students' lives and less in what happened during their schooling at Ecolint, both my and Oats's surveys seek to identify the impact of Ecolint's education on international understanding.[100] Triangulating with a third survey on a similar theme but with a new population allows for rich reflection.

2.7. Oral History and the Role of Memory

The purpose of this research project is to situate the experiences of humanities students and teachers within the context of significant curriculum change. My objectives are, in this sense, similar to what Medway, Hardcastle, Brewis, and Crook accomplished in *English teachers in a postwar democracy: Emerging choice in London schools, 1945–1965*.[101] They explore the teaching of English in three London schools, using a historiographical framework and methodology which included interviewing former teachers and students as well as an analysis of architecture, notebooks and other artefacts which give texture to the student experience. This effort to understand how education is experienced by different actors, using a wide range of sources is compelling, and one which I sought to apply to the curriculum history of the humanities in the international school of Geneva. Similar to the investigation above, I interviewed large numbers of teachers and students and, in the realm of documentation, I moved beyond official documentation of the school curriculum to documents of a more personal nature such as classroom notes, teaching materials and student-produced sources. Just as the study of English teachers highlights the role of individual teachers such as Harold Rosen, my research sought to highlight the contributions of Robert J. Leach. In short, I aimed to write what Harold Silver referred to as a social history of the

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[99] Mary Hayden, Bora Rancic, and Jeff Thompson, "Being International."

[100] William N. Oats, "The International School of Geneva," 84-86. Questions around extra-curricular interests at university, choice of occupation, the extent to which students had made use of their "language training" and the extent to which they had kept in touch with friends from school from their own country and from other countries all provide insights into perceptions around internationalism and international understanding in the early 1950s in Ecolint.

[101] Peter Medway, John Hardcastle, Georgina Brewis, and David Crook, *English teachers in a postwar democracy: Emerging choice in London schools 1945-1965* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

classroom[102] by drawing on the rich potential of oral history. One of the advantages of interviews is that they allow the researcher not only to record frequently repeated stories, which the teachers believed 'crystalized' their experience at Ecolint, but also to check their narratives against those provided by other teachers who worked with them, and the students they taught. Phil Gardner and Peter Cunningham, in their efforts to archive the professional memories of twentieth century classroom teachers, echo the above approaches and demonstrated the rewards of oral histories of the classroom and the importance of relating oral evidence with documentary data.[103] In their desire, as oral historians, to allow teachers to present their own stories, there are large sections of the text which are almost devoid of analysis and leaves the reader to make what they will of the testimony. Although my oral history is focused specifically on a theme and is, therefore, not a full life-history approach, the desire to share the whole stories which reveal a perspective and a person, is difficult to balance with the need for a clear academic argument.

One of the challenges of oral history lies in maintaining what the anthropologist Victor Turner calls "an objective relation to our own subjectivity" – a methodological approach which requires a reflexive alertness to interviews and their interpretation.[104] I was collecting and analyzing the memories of people who had known Ecolint as students and teachers in the 1950s,1960s and early 1970s. These interviews are oral history and conform to Janesick's definition of oral history[105] as a collection of memories belonging to those with first-hand experience of the historical subject. She reduces all of the methodological challenges to a single (though by no means simple) endeavor: "In the end, however, oral history still boils down to listening with care to personal memories that might transform historical understanding."[106]

To transform my own historical understanding, it was also my aim, during the interviews to probe beyond rehearsed anecdotes to uncover memories. The more my research progressed the more I felt able to identify scripts or 'template' responses which seemed to reflect what the interviewee felt others wanted to hear rather than any individual and specific recollection of their own. Anna Green writes of how "individual memory is either subsumed under 'collective memory' or assigned to the realm of the passive unconscious."[107] Exploring the frontiers between collective and individual

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[102] Harold Silver, "Knowing and Not Knowing in the History of Education," *History of Education* 21, no. 1 (1992).

[103] Peter Cunningham and Phil Gardner, *Becoming Teachers: Texts and Testimonies, 1907-1950* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2004).

[104] Valerie Yow (1997) "'Do I Like Them Too Much?' Effects of the oral history interview on the interviewer and vice-versa," *Oral History Review* 24 (1997) 55–79.

[105] Valerie Janesick, *Oral History for the Qualitative Researcher: Choreographing the Story* (Guildford: Guilford Press, 2010) 2.

[106] Alistair Thomson and Robert Perks. "Oral History." *In Sage Research Methods Foundations*, ed. Paul Atkinson, Sara Delamont, Alexander Cernat, Joseph W. SakShaug and Richard A. Williams. (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2019.) 20.

[107] Anna Green, "Individual Remembering and 'Collective Memory': Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates," *Oral History* 32, no. 2 (2004): 35–44, 36.

memory and belief was a necessary pursuit which was further complicated when memories and beliefs were accompanied by nostalgia. Nostalgia occasionally complicated my ability to access memory because nostalgia is as much a commentary about the present as it is a truth about the past. Nevertheless, if nostalgia could and frequently did point to an interviewee's values, I was attentive to the possibility that "nostalgia among teachers can be used as a tool for examining educational change as lived and felt by teachers."[108] All of these attempts to use people's individual stories to narrate a collective truth require the application and re-application of critical analysis as new evidence comes into view. It is also necessary to highlight that these memories and stories are over 50 years old and that they may be distorted not just by nostalgia and factual inaccuracies but by all the distortions (and perhaps some of the clarity) which 50 years of historical distance brings to the evaluation of an experience.

2.8. Conclusion

In my archival research the process of moving from data to conclusions involved examining documents within their historical and sociocultural contexts, and connecting policies or events to the shaping of educational practices. For interviews and survey data, the iterative coding and categorization process, combined with triangulation with archival sources, allowed for a comprehensive analysis of the data. This methodological approach and the conclusions drawn are those of a historian highlighting the complexity and richness of the educational experiences described by former students and teachers. Important insights emerged from this process, as I attempted to synthesize what was important to former students and teachers both in terms of their experiences and in terms of Ecolint's education for international understanding.

Although critical analysis is not a novel or technical methodological tool, Barry Franklin has made it abundantly clear the role this plays in writing good histories about curriculum and it is central to the process of allocating significance to data. His approach[109] to understanding how people place value on certain types of knowledge is linked to the argument that curriculum is a social construct representing value systems. Franklin also argues forcefully that this construct is never monolithic, and that curriculum and the value of knowledge is always, in any era, contested terrain. Much of the curriculum historian's duty, then, is to discern who is contesting that terrain, how, and to what end. Franklin's approach linking the curriculum with societal influences strikes me as essential to the work of the curriculum historian and is the aim of this research. I seek to provide a detailed account of humanities teaching in one school for over twenty years whilst linking local pedagogy to what

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[108] Ivor Goodson, Shawn Moore, and Andy Hargreaves, "Teacher nostalgia and the sustainability of reform: The generation and degeneration of teachers' missions, memory, and meaning," *Educational Administration Quarterly* 42, no.1 (2006): 42–61.

[109] Barry Franklin, "Review Essay: The state of curriculum history," *History of Education* 28, no. 4 (1999): 459-476.

was happening in the wider world of international education as well as in education and politics in general. My investigation, focusing on one school, provides an intrinsic case study of education which aimed to promote international understanding, and the effects which changing curriculum had on students in and out of the classroom. The value of the case study, Ivor Goodson argues, is a useful approach when faced with a "comprehensive range of information about new programmes" which encourages the historian to identify "the uniqueness of each event."[110] In the case of Ecolint, I harbor the hope that this unique instance can illuminate at least one instance of the obscure art through which curriculum and experience become learning.

Through this investigation, I sought to illuminate the complex interplay between curriculum, pedagogy, and the shaping of educational values within an international context. By examining the curriculum changes at Ecolint over two decades, this study reveals the nuanced ways in which educational practices at a single institution both reflected and contributed to broader global dialogues about curriculum, citizenship, and international understanding. The archival records, personal narratives, and statistical insights gathered here offer a lens through which to view education not merely as a transfer of knowledge but as a dynamic field where values, ideologies, and identities are continually negotiated. Ultimately, this thesis underscores the importance of localized educational histories in revealing how larger educational ideals—like those of international understanding—are practiced, contested, and transformed at the ground level. Ecolint's story, though particular, invites broader reflection on the curriculum's role in shaping individual and collective worldviews, highlighting how one school's approach to international education may inform our understanding of curriculum as a living document, deeply interwoven with the social, political, and cultural forces of its time.

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[110] Ivor Goodson, "Case Study and the Contemporary History of Education," in *Curriculum, pedagogy and educational research: The work of Lawrence Stenhouse*, ed. John Elliott and Nigel Norris (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), 106-121.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

3.1. Introduction: Idealism, Ideology, and Curriculum

Historical accounts of the origin of International Baccalaureate tend to portray it as an adventure whose roots can be found in an idealistic education for peace.[111] International education, in this narrative, is the underdog, struggling against the blinkered hegemony of national (or even nationalist) curricula. But it is worth reviewing the literature to question this 'underdog' narrative. How compatible is this narrative with the influential role played by the powerful forces of educational philanthropy and international business in supporting international education? Did the origins of the IB at Ecolint have less to do with idealism and more to do with political backing from the ideological forces supporting capitalist democratic humanism?

Franklin and Apple argue that curriculum and "schools were not necessarily built to enhance or preserve the cultural capital of classes or communities other than the most powerful segments of the population. The *hegemonic role of the intellectual,* of the professional educator, in this development is quite clear."[112] Such a perspective offers an interesting alternative narrative to the 'underdog story' of international curriculum development. This chapter will explore how the figures who influenced early international curriculum work through pilot programs at Ecolint had links to some of the most powerful universities, think tanks, philanthropic foundations, and multinational companies in the world. Educators working on curricula for international schools, such as Robert J. Leach, A.D.C. Peterson, and Desmond Cole-Baker rarely received the full financial support that they felt their cause deserved, but they did receive hundreds of thousands of dollars in support and they had plenty of reason to remain confident in the strength of their community and the common values it shared. "It is this commitment to maintaining a sense of community, one based on cultural homogeneity and valuative consensus, that has been and remains one of the primary, though tacit, legacies of the curriculum field."[113] While Franklin and Apple were not writing specifically about the field of international education, their assertions nonetheless encourage historians to identify the links between power and values in the field of curriculum history. In international education, the paradox is that 'cultural homogeneity' was forcefully grounded in a rhetoric that glorified diversity through presenting a utopian community of internationalists as an example to the world of how peaceful (and prosperous!) co-existence might be achieved.

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[111] Robert Sylvester, "Mapping international education: a historical survey 1893–1944," *Journal of Research in International Education* 1 no. 1 (2002): 90–125; Hill, "Early stirrings."

[112] Michael Apple and Barry Franklin, "Curricular History and Social Control," in *Ideology and Curriculum,* ed. Michael Apple (New York: Routledge Falmer, 2004), 59.

[113] Apple and Franklin, "Curricular History and Social Control," 76.

Rather than treat the history of developments in international curricula as an inevitable and inexorable force in an increasingly globalized world[114], I hope to highlight through a review of the literature how those values were contested within the field of international education. At Ecolint in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, the priority for many teachers and school leaders was not academic excellence or canonical cultural transmission but inculcating students into a global cosmopolitan understanding and identity. The language used in policy formation was democratic, internationalist, and idealistic, focused on the global good, but the economic motor behind this ideology was globalized economic interest. The language of 'education for peace' was instrumentalized, and even weaponized, in the interests of a new global super-elite whose economic interests were furthered by education credentialing that was supra-national. Such credentials and experiences would allow elites to benefit from international elite universities in the knowledge that the world, the whole of it, was their oyster. This confidence came not only from plurilingualism and familiarization with elites from a range of countries, but also from a sense of duty that internationalists, as a new elite, were called upon to think beyond the boundaries of their own nation state(s). These changes would clearly benefit international business as well as the democratic, capitalist, humanist values of NATO and NATO-friendly citizens. In short, international education was a relatively inconspicuous, values-driven virtue vehicle for maintaining and furthering Anglo-American hegemony.

3.2. Terminology

In my approach to terminology, I strive to use language that would not seem anachronistic to students and teachers from the 1950s, '60s, and '70s, and I frequently quote and refer directly to the language they used. When they mentioned 'international schools,' it typically referred to institutions that self-identified as such, often including the word 'international' in their names. The term 'international' when applied to people was used interchangeably to mean 'international understanding,' 'internationally minded,' or 'intercultural.' To contemporary scholars, these terms have distinct meanings, and given that my data spans from the late 1940s and my audience is living over seventy-five years later, it is crucial to clarify how I use these terms.

The term 'international understanding' was most prevalent in the curriculum literature from this period. It was an established term, familiar to teachers and alumni, avoiding definitional ambiguity, which was important to elicit a broad range of responses. Due to its dominance in the data, I have made 'international understanding' the primary term in my analysis. However, it is essential for

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[114] James Cambridge, "Global Product Branding and International Education," *Journal of Research in International Education* 1 no.2 (2002): 227-243.

readers to recognize that 'international understanding' encompasses not just the cognitive domain, but also includes the more holistic approaches of international-mindedness and intercultural understanding. The following section will address the nuanced meanings of these terms and clarify the scope of this inquiry.

International Schools and International Education

The term 'International School' and the concept of 'International Education' have generated considerable scholarly debate. This discourse is central to understanding the diversity and dynamics within international schooling and within this thesis. The focus of this section will be on terminology used in the academic literature after the year 2000. The following section will consider the evolution of key terminology over time.

One primary tension arises from the ambiguity of what constitutes an 'international school.' Mary Hayden and Jeff Thompson highlight that international schools are often defined by their student population's diversity, their international curricula, and their educational philosophies.[115] However, this broad definition encompasses a wide variety of schools, from those serving expatriate communities with a highly mobile population to schools in non-English speaking countries offering an international curriculum to local students seeking global opportunities.

Tristan Bunnell further complicates this by noting that the rapid growth of international schools, especially after the year 2000, has led to a variety of models and types, creating a landscape where schools branded as 'international' may differ significantly in their mission, curriculum, and student demographics.[116] This diversity challenges the notion of a unified definition and raises questions about the coherence of the international school sector.

Robert Sylvester explores the historical context, indicating that many international schools were initially established to serve the children of expatriates, promoting an education system that prepares students for a globalized world.[117] However, with globalization, there has been a shift, which gathered momentum over the second half of the twentieth century, towards schools serving local elites who desire an education that provides a competitive edge in the global market. This shift creates a tension between the original mission of international schools and their current realities.

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[115] Mary Hayden and Jeff Thompson, *International Schools: Growth and Influence.* UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning. (2008).

[116] Tristan Bunnell, "The Changing Landscape of International Schooling: Implications for Theory and Practice." *International Education Journal: Comparative Perspectives*, 13(1) (2014), 23-37.

[117] Sylvester, "Historical Resources."

Ian Hill introduces another layer of complexity by examining the philosophical underpinnings of international education. He suggests that international education aims to develop globally minded individuals who can navigate and contribute to an interconnected world.[118] However, the implementation of this philosophy can vary widely, leading to debates over whether schools are genuinely promoting intercultural understanding or simply offering a Western-style education under the guise of internationalism.

Another significant tension lies in the economic dimensions of international schools. As Bunnell points out, the proliferation of for-profit international schools has led to concerns about the commercialization of education.[119] The pursuit of profit can sometimes overshadow the educational mission, leading to a prioritization of marketability over educational quality. This commercial aspect introduces a disparity in access, as high tuition fees make international education accessible primarily to affluent families, contradicting the ideal of providing global education to a diverse student body.

The term 'international education' itself is subject to scrutiny. Hayden and Thompson argue that while international education should ideally promote global citizenship and intercultural understanding, it often falls short due to the varied interpretations and implementations across different contexts.[120] This inconsistency challenges the efficacy of international education in achieving its purported goals and raises questions around how to differentiate between schools for whom 'international' is simply branding and those for whom it is a central part of their mission.

The International School of Geneva[121], as mentioned in Chapter 1, is the oldest existing school with 'international' in its name; it has a history of 100 years of promoting international and intercultural thinking (a history partially explored in this thesis), and it has always prided itself on the range of nationalities represented in its student and teaching bodies. For these reasons, it can be categorized as an international school.

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[118] Ian Hill, "Do International Baccalaureate Programs Internationalize or Globalize?," *International Education Journal* 7 no. 1 (2006): 98-108.

[119] Bunnell, "The Changing Landscape of International Schooling."

[120] Mary Hayden and Jeff Thompson, *International Education: Principles and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2001).

[121] 'Ecolint,' as the International School of Geneva is commonly called, is a portmanteau word which combines 'école' with 'internationale.'

International Understanding

International understanding typically refers to the cognitive aspect of learning about the world beyond one's immediate national or cultural context. It involves acquiring knowledge about different countries, cultures, histories, and global issues. According to Hayden, international understanding is rooted in the academic curriculum and is often measurable through students' knowledge and awareness of international events and cultural practices.[122] It emphasizes the importance of understanding global interdependence and the cultural, political, and economic connections that bind different parts of the world.

Hayden posits that international understanding is often associated with a factual comprehension of global issues and cultural diversity. It is about knowing the 'what' and 'why' of international phenomena.[123] For instance, students might be expected to learn about an issue which is internationally relevant, such as the causes and effects of global warming, or the culturally specific traditions of various societies, or the realities associated with the economic disparities between nations. This fact and knowledge base in international education is crucial in fostering informed global citizens who can engage with and analyze international issues critically.

International Mindedness

International mindedness, on the other hand, extends beyond cognitive understanding to encompass attitudes, dispositions, and values. It is more affective and holistic, involving an openness to and respect for different perspectives, as well as a commitment to intercultural understanding and global engagement. In the past decade, the IB has defined international mindedness as "a view of the world in which people see themselves connected to the global community and assume a sense of responsibility to its members."[124]

Hayden emphasizes that international mindedness is not only about understanding global issues but also about fostering a sense of empathy, ethical responsibility, and a willingness to act towards making a positive impact in the world.[125] It involves the 'how' of engaging with the world—how individuals interact with and respond to cultural diversity and global challenges. This dimension of international education is reflected in the affective and behavioral outcomes, such as students' participation in community service, their ability to work collaboratively with peers from different backgrounds, and their commitment to social justice and sustainability.

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[122] Mary Hayden, *Introduction to International Education: International Schools and their Communities* (London: SAGE Publications, 2006.)
[123] Mary Hayden, *Introduction to International Education*.
[124] IBO, *What is an IB Education?* (The Hague: International Baccalaureate Organization, 2013).
[125] Mary Hayden, *Introduction to International Education*.

Differences and Interconnections

While international understanding focuses on knowledge and awareness, international mindedness also emphasizes attitudes and behaviors. International understanding can be seen as the foundation upon which international mindedness is built. Knowledge about the world is essential, but without the accompanying values and attitudes, it may not translate into meaningful global engagement.

The literature suggests that effective international education – or the kind of education which develops 'international' people - should integrate both concepts to develop well-rounded global citizens. Studies by Castro, Lundgren, and Woodin highlight that international schools aiming for holistic development should ensure that students not only learn about global issues but also cultivate a mindset that encourages active and empathetic participation in the global community.[126] Arguably, this integration has been part of the IB since its inception. Advocating holistic development through student engagement can be seen, since the 1960s, through its focus on service as part of education and in rhetoric associated with education for peace and social justice. But only since 2006, with the development of the Learner Profile did the IB explicitly and officially articulate the kinds of students it seeks to develop in terms of their attributes.[127]

Differences in Terminology Between Intercultural Understanding and International Understanding

The critical literature also explores the nuanced differences between intercultural understanding and international understanding. Intercultural understanding is often viewed as a subset of international understanding but with a focus on the skills and attitudes required for effective and respectful communication between people from different cultural backgrounds. Geert Hofstede defines intercultural understanding as the ability to recognize and respect cultural differences, and to communicate effectively and empathetically across cultures.[128] This concept is grounded in the development of intercultural competence, which Deardorff describes as the ability to interact effectively and appropriately with people from other cultures based on one's intercultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes.[129]

In contrast, international understanding can encompass a broader scope, including not only intercultural understanding but also an awareness of global issues, political and economic systems,

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[126] Paloma Castro, Ulla Lundgren, and Jane Woodin, "International Mindedness through the Looking Glass: Reflections on a Concept," *Journal of Research in International Education* 14, no.3 (2015): 187-197.

[127] George Walker, "East is East and West is West," *International Education* 21, no. 2 (2010): 21-36.

[128] Geert Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions and Organizations Across Nations*, (London: SAGE Publications, 2001).

[129] Darla Deardorff, "Identification and Assessment of Intercultural Competence as a Student Outcome of Internationalization." *Journal of Studies in International Education* 10, no. 3 (2006): 241-266.

and international relations. According to Heyward, international understanding is about recognizing the interconnectedness of global communities and developing a sense of global citizenship.[130]

The Terminology Reflects Long-Standing Tensions

The terminology of internationalism in schools has been explored by numerous scholars. Paul Tarc discusses how the term 'internationalism' in education often oscillates between a focus on cosmopolitan ideals and pragmatic approaches to global competitiveness.[131] He suggests that internationalism encompasses both the ethical dimension of fostering global citizenship and the practical dimension of preparing students for a globalized economy.

James Cambridge and Jeff Thompson explore the semantic landscape of international education, distinguishing between 'international education' and 'education for international mindedness.'[132] They argue that while international education broadly refers to the curriculum and institutional frameworks promoting global awareness, education for international mindedness specifically aims to develop students' capacities to engage with and appreciate cultural diversity.

Implementing international understanding and international mindedness in educational settings requires a multifaceted approach. Hayden and other scholars, such as Skelton (2007), argue for a curriculum that goes beyond traditional subject boundaries to include interdisciplinary and experiential learning opportunities.[133] For example, incorporating service learning projects, international exchanges, and collaborative projects with schools in other countries can help students apply their knowledge in real-world contexts, thus fostering international mindedness.

3.3. The Historical Treatment of International Understanding

To study the history of international education in the 1950s and 1960s requires an understanding of globalization, concepts of internationalism, and transnational historical analysis. Ian Hill argues that the most exceptional quality of the international schools working with the IB during the 1960s and 1970s, when compared with other educational actors, can be found in their efforts to teach international understanding. I do not believe that the IB was exceptional in its desire to open students' minds up to the diversity of the world. These same objectives can, for example, be found

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[130] Mark Heyward, "From International to Intercultural: Redefining the International School for a Globalized World." *Journal of Research in International Education*, 1 no.1 (2002): 9-32.

[131] Paul Tarc, *Global Dreams, Enduring Tensions: International Baccalaureate in a Changing World*. (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2009).

[132] James Cambridge and Jeff Thompson. "Internationalism and Globalisation as Contexts for International Education." *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 34 no. 2 (2004): 161-175.

[133] Mary Hayden, *Introduction to International Education*. And Martin Skelton, "International-Mindedness and the Brain: The Difficulties of 'Becoming'." In M. Hayden, J. Levy, & J. Thompson (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Research in International Education* (London: SAGE Publications, 2007) 379-389.

in Bruner's *Man: A Course of Study* used in the United States and Stenhouse's *Humanities Curriculum Project*, which were also projects of the late 1960s and early 1970s. International understanding and academic generalism were the two most important ideological driving forces of the International Schools Association and the development of the International Baccalaureate's curriculum, but these objectives were shared by a wide range of educational movements around the world that were in no way linked to the International Baccalaureate or Ecolint.

The term 'internationally-minded' was first used in an educational context in 1949 when UNESCO convened the "Conference of Internationally-minded Schools" in Paris to discuss international education.[134] The term 'international mindedness' was occasionally used as early as the 1950s but, within the IB, as a term 'international mindedness' was not in widespread use outside or inside of international schools before 2006 (see Ngram graph below) and the publication of the Learner Profile Guide. International mindedness has provided an alternative to the use of 'global citizenship,' which James Cambridge, Joanna Geller, Fazal Rizvi and others have shown to be a potentially contentious and problematic term for the International Baccalaureate because the term emphasizes the risk of international education undermining national democracies and local communities by prioritizing the 'global' or the 'international' above the local.[135]

 In the first 20 years or so of the IB, the term 'international understanding' was much more commonly used than 'international mindedness,' which broadly associated with the education of the whole person in a context where students are exposed to teachers and students from many nationalities. I have seen this in the archival materials – both institutional communication by Ecolint and those working towards the IB tended to use the term 'international understanding.' A comparison using Ngram word frequency search on pre-2019 publications indicated that this was also true for published material beyond Ecolint and the IB. During the period under question (1948 – 1975), international understanding was over 200 times more likely to be used as a term in the published material available in google books.

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[134] Ian Hill, "The History and Development of International Mindedness."

[135] James Cambridge, "Global product branding and international education." *Journal of Research in International Education* 1, no. 2 (2002): 227-243. Joanna Geller, "Global citizenship education and national pride: incompatible or complementary?" *Journal of International and Comparative Education* 3, no. 2 (2014): 77-92. Fazal Rizvi, "Globalization and the dilemmas of Australian higher education." *Australasian Journal of Educational Technology* 23, no. 1 (2007): 79-91.
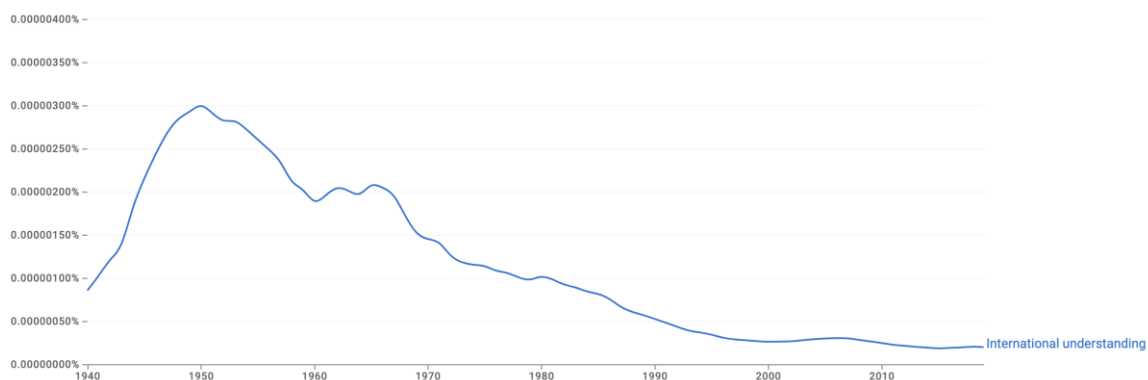
Figure 3: Ngram search of 'International understanding'[136]
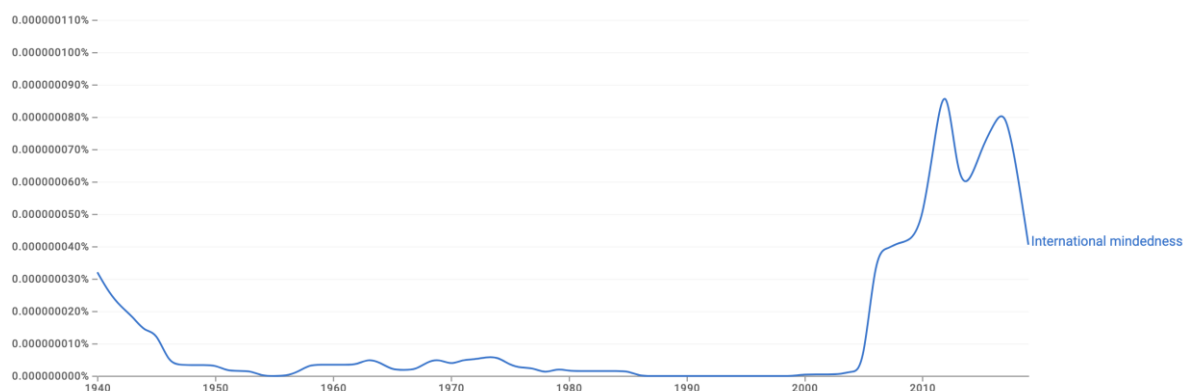
Figure 4: Ngram search of 'International mindedness'[137]

The shift in emphasis from a description of a pluri-national context and student experiences' of 'otherness' to more carefully articulated curriculum goals did not shape the IB's examinations and assessments until the 1990s, though this reform was preceded by rhetoric in the mid- to late-1980s. Leach had already identified this as a necessary goal for the humanities curriculum in the 1950s and 1960s, and before the IB was founded, he pioneered the development of curriculum and assessments to promote international understanding.

Given the importance of summative assessment in determining what happens in schools and classrooms,[138] it would be useful to analyze the assessment practices at the International School of Geneva with an eye to how they have sought to encourage and measure international understanding. After all, the IB's original name until 1967 was the International Schools Examination Syndicate (ISES), clearly indicating the central importance of examinations and yet, to date, there has been no

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[136] Google Ngram, search term: 'International Understanding', no case sensitivity applied. Date range: 1940 – 2019. Accessed July 13, 2024.

[137] Google Ngram, search terms: 'International mindedness', no case sensitivity applied. Date range: 1940 – 2019. Accessed July 13, 2024.

[138] Paul Black and Dylan Wiliam. "Assessment and Classroom Learning," *Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy and Practice* 5, no. 1 (1998): 7-74.

systematic study of these examinations' development. Furthermore, if we accept Byram's assertion that what is not tested is not taught,[139] then assessment may also provide valuable insight into the reality of international mindedness in the IB Diploma Program Curriculum.

The dynamic, globalizing US economy as much as any idealistic universal humanism helped to fund the International Schools Examination Syndicate, the precursor of the IB. The Ford Foundation grant of USD $300,000 in 1964 to Alec Peterson was responsible for financing the creation of the first IB curricula and examinations. At this date students' parents were typically expatriate Americans employed by American companies. Thus, the globalization of the American economy spurred the growth of international schools. Globalization, here, refers both to "the compression of the world" and to "the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole."[140] Theories of globalization underpin transnational histories by providing explanations for the flow of ideas, money, and people. Modernist theorists find the explanation for the increased speed of globalization in the 1950s and 1960s in technologies. From a modernist perspective, ideas travel in a similar manner to technology; just as people increasingly chose to take to air over maritime routes, so curricula or academic program widely accepted as better will come to be widely adopted.[141] Technology certainly made possible the frequent long-distance trips that international educators had to be willing to undertake to exchange ideas in person. In addition, global telecommunications, air mail, and telex exchanges also go some way to explaining how ideas travelled.

A useful approach to understanding not *how* ideas travelled in the 1960s but *why* they travelled can be found in "World Culture Theory"[142], which posits that people and institutions adopt ideas not because they are necessarily better but because they are fashionable, typically because perceived leaders aligned with the liberal progressive west and have presented these ideas as 'modern'. In the case of Ecolint's partnerships and the fact that the development of the IB project relied on ideas borrowed from technical experts primarily in Switzerland, the United States, France, and the UK, this theory can also explain the program's development.

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[139] Michael Byram, "Evaluation of Intercultural Competence," *Sprogforum* 6, no. 18 (2000): 8-13.

[140] Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London: SAGE Publications, 1992) 9.

[141] Thomas Friedman, *The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 2005).

[142] John Meyer at Stanford University began writing about World Culture Theory in 1971 to explain that mass schooling was expanding globally and taking similar forms around the world because of a "world system." Other writers on World Culture Theory have also argued that this development was closely linked to liberal western understandings of notions such as 'progress', 'the individual' and childhood development. In many educational questions the argument around the best methods are often linked to the systems run by the most economically powerful countries or economic elites.

But 'internationalism' at Ecolint was more than just a pragmatic effort to identify and emulate the best pedagogical ideas in the world. The transnational efforts that led to the eventual creation and development of the IB were rooted in a consciousness of the world and humanity as a single entity. In this perspective, globalization is not just the flow of people, things, and ideas; it is a state of mind where it is natural to view problems and their solutions on a global level rather than at the level of nation-states.[143] This last definition fits Leach's internationalist discourse. In another sense, although part of a rapidly globalizing world and benefiting from the arrival of hundreds of new expatriate families in Geneva in the 1950s, Ecolint's teachers and leaders were not in favor of globalization as the homogenization of culture or alignment with the values of a highly mobile, capitalist cosmopolitan elite. If anything, the school constructed its identity around commitments to and stories of radical diversity. Leach and others were consistently strong advocates for the kind of "Internationalist international education that celebrates cultural diversity and promotes an international-minded outlook."[144]

On numerous occasions, Leach states that as an American crusading for multilateral international education, he was wary of the United States and American philanthropic organizations interested in curriculum development precisely because it was patently clear that so much of the funding and interest "was neither personal development nor social reform but national power. We were a warfare state seeking international supremacy in military-related scholarship."[145] Indeed, an International Schools' Foundation, set up in New York in 1955 that partnered with the Ford Foundation and the US State Department, undermined the work of the International Schools Association, and Leach denounced it as an agent of "American cultural imperialism."[146] One might also note Leach's alarm when Mr. Pearsall Helms, the brother of the director of the CIA, joined the school's governing board in 1956.[147] Leach was not alone in recognizing the importance of geopolitics in curriculum development, but these examples demonstrate that teachers were not only influenced by their context, but aware of the influences it was having on their school and professional practice.

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[143] Robertson, *Globalisation.*

[144] James Cambridge and Jeff Thompson, "Internationalism and Globalization as Contexts for International Education," *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 34, no. 2 (2004): 161-175.

[145] Daniel Tanner and Laurel Tanner, *History of the School Curriculum,* (New York: MacMillan, 1990) 178.

[146] Leach, "The International School of Geneva 1924-1974," 38.

[147] Leach, "The International School of Geneva," 37.

Much research[148] on the Rockefeller, Ford, and Carnegie Foundations in the post-war period/in the Cold War has indicated that among American policy elites working at these foundations, there was confidence that democratic principles of free speech would lead to better research than that which the Soviets could produce. Organizations such as the Ford Foundation, the Twentieth Century Fund and other American companies and Foundations which supported Ecolint and the International Baccalaureate clearly sided with the national interests of the United States. They were pursuing what John Krige has termed the "co-production of hegemony," an approach that documents how "Western European knowledge elites adopted, adapted and in turn redefined American values and policy aims."[149] In the case of Leach, Cole-Baker, Peterson, and others seeking financial support to develop the International Baccalaureate, money meant the United States and it often meant visiting and attending conferences there. So, even if the US government was not actively trying to develop the IB as a foreign policy tool, those who were looking for money from US sources were clearly influenced to pitch what would align with the US global interest. Scholars such as Alexander Stephan[150] have demonstrated the significant importance which soft power through international organizations creates clear American bias in these structures – and the IB was no exception. The case of the financing of the International Baccalaureate project is interesting in this regard because it was by arguing that the power, expressed through the dissemination of American popular culture, also had in terms of influence in Europe. It is almost inevitable that, given the participation of American NGOs in financing the IB, it would be a useful vehicle for the education of elites in "developing countries,"[151] It is in this context that Martin Meyer, a journalist and Ecolint parent with experience on school boards, won a grant[152] to finance his feasibility study of the IB in 1965, which would involve him travelling to twenty-four countries and publishing a book.[153]

3.4. Histories of Ecolint and the IB

The International School of Geneva has commissioned several insider histories. Marie-Thérèse Maurette, Ecolint's longest serving director, led the publication of a volume of historical anecdotes in 1974 known as "The Red Book,"[154] featuring contributions by students, teachers, administrators,

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[148] Volker Berghahn, *America and the Intellectual Cold Wars in Europe: Shepard Stone between Philanthropy, Academy, and Diplomacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Olivier Zunz, *Philanthropy in America: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 148; John Krige, *American Hegemony and the Postwar Reconstruction of Science in Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2006).

[149] Krige, *American Hegemony*, 4-9.

[150] Alexander Stephan, *The Americanization of Europe: Culture, Diplomacy, and Anti-Americanism After 1945* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006),1.

[151] Meyer, *Diploma*, 9.

[152] Leonora Dugonjic-Rodwin, "Les IB Schools, une internationale élitiste: Emergence d'un espace Mondial d'enseignement secondaire au XXe siècle." (PhD diss., Université de Genève, 2014.)

[153] Meyer, *Diploma*.

[154] Marie-Thérèse Maurette et al., *International School of Geneva*.

and alumni to celebrate the school's 50th birthday. "The Red Book" was created to celebrate the school's survival as well as its achievements in the field of international education. However, as it does not feature a single author or clear narrative, it is fragmented and does not cohere into a systematic investigation of the links between the school and the wider world. Its reflections on classroom practice consist of quotations from students and teachers to celebrate the best the school had to offer and many of the recollections are not only anecdotal, but nostalgic in tone and laudatory in nature.

Robert Leach, head of the history department at the time, also wrote a history of Ecolint in 1974 in which he argued that the school's history was a history of cultural conflict between the Francophone and Anglophone language programs. The school, however, deemed this history too controversial to publish and it has languished in the archives largely unread. Instead, the "Red Book" replaced Leach's history, which he had hoped would appear for the school's 50th anniversary. Because Leach found his narrative in the tensions between the Anglophone and Francophone sections of the school, the history ended up being a political rather than an educational history. Remarkably little space in his unpublished history concerns what had happened in Ecolint's classrooms during the first 50 years of the school.

Michael Knight's *Ecolint: A Portrait of the International School of Geneva: 1924-1999,* published in 1999 three years after his retirement from the school, offers a more balanced institutional history.[155] Considering he served as a teacher at the school from 1961-1996, he strains to separate his personal and professional experiences and remain impartial. Knight's history lacks the provocative, argumentative edge found in Leach and, because it is for the most part a chronological history written for the general public, at times it can be superficial. The focus of Knight's history remains on the school's institutional developments.

In 2014, Othman Hamayed and Conan de Wilde published *Ecolint: A History*[156], the most recent history of the International School of Geneva. Chapters alternate between addressing themes of lasting importance to the school and chronological developments. The sections I authored in the 2014 history constitute the only history of the school written by someone not involved in the historical period about which they are writing. All other histories are participant histories and arguably should be classified as primary sources as they rely heavily on the authors' memories of events that they themselves witnessed. An academic social history of the school that focuses on student and teacher experiences using a historical lens has not yet been produced. The existing histories do not adequately consider the relationship between trends in education and their effects

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[155] Knight, *Ecolint*.
[156] Conan de Wilde and Othman Hamayed, *Ecolint: A History* (Geneva: International School of Geneva, 2014.)

on Ecolint's classrooms, nor do they situate themselves within the historical sub-field of curriculum education.

Because educators associated with the International School of Geneva helped start the International Baccalaureate in the 1960s, another range of histories that explore Ecolint's past are accounts of the International Baccalaureate. Mostly written by IB insiders, some authors, such as Gérard Renaud,[157] also worked at Ecolint. These histories tend to cast the founding of the IB as the beginning of the period worthy of analysis and, therefore, treat all that comes before 1968 as a kind of preface. IB histories, as institutional histories, tend towards narratives which glorify the founders, without whose vision and hard work the IB would never have materialized. This is certainly the case for Leach's[158] and Peterson's histories[159]. There are also more policy driven accounts, as in the case of Ian Hill; academic intellectual histories of the movement as in the case of Sylvester[160] or Tarc[161]; or pragmatic, evaluative histories such as Martin Mayer's 1968 feasibility study.[162] Both Mayer and Peterson's 1971 history use historical narration, but were texts designed to report on and support the project itself. And, in Peterson's case, he wrote with the aim of popularizing the IB.

In 1964, the Twentieth Century Fund, a philanthropic organization based in New York and intent on advancing security and prosperity in the United States, was considering sponsoring projects linked to international education. The fund was interested in evaluating the work being done by the International Schools Association (ISA) and the International Schools Examination Syndicate (ISES). They hired Martin Mayer, a journalist, to chronicle the viability of the ISA and ISES projects and the progress they were making towards establishing educational norms for international schools. At stake was the future of what, by Mayer's reckoning, were 2.5 million expatriates, half of whom were Americans, who found themselves educating their children overseas in International Schools of one kind or another. Mayer's *Diploma: International Schools and University Entrance*[163] focuses on the problems international school students faced when applying to university. The book is organized as follows: two chapters are devoted to university applications; five to organizations sponsoring the ISES (the ISES was to become the International Baccalaureate); three chapters exploring the contexts of the International School of Geneva, the United Nations International School in New York, and Atlantic College. The remaining two

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[157] Gérard Renaud, "La période expérimentale du baccalauréat internationale : objectifs et résultats," Director's Report (Paris : Les Presses d'UNESCO, 1974).

[158] Robert Leach, *International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education* (London: Pergamon Press, 1969).

[159] Peterson, *The International Baccalaureate*; Peterson, *Schools Across Frontiers*.

[160] Sylvester, "Historical Resources."

[161] Tarc, "What is the 'International' in the International Baccalaureate."

[162] Mayer, *Diploma*.

[163] Mayer, *Diploma: International Schools*.

chapters address the interests of American Overseas Schools and French Lycées in cooperation with other European schools (Scholae Europaeae). Mayer argues for the importance of an international educational passport, but also highlights the many difficulties (external and internal) that the IB faced in designing and executing this passport. Thus, what is sometimes considered to be the first history of the IB's early years was also a feasibility study. Mayer was a critical outsider who felt that the pioneers of international education had a tendency towards grandiosity that was at odds with the prosaic reality and amateurishness of their efforts. Nevertheless, Mayer understood the importance of the project in a world in which diplomats and the employees of multinationals were required to be geographically mobile. Mayer's mandate was to chronicle the progress made by ISES and ISA in establishing an internationally recognized, secondary school diploma. In 1967, the year before the publication of his study, the Ford Foundation granted USD $300,000 to the International Baccalaureate, allowing the organizers to pursue the project and address the criticisms of assessment structures and the lack of university recognition that Mayer levelled at the ISES.

In 1969, Robert J. Leach was the first to publish a book-length historical account of the International Baccalaureate, *International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education*.[164] A detailed account of the International Schools Association and the International Schools Examination Syndicate, Leach follows the two organizations as they developed the first curricula and examinations used by the International Baccalaureate. His preface is very personal, almost biographical, citing his Quakerism and how he arrived at his own formulation of what an international education should be. Chapter titles are general and ambitious in their scope, but their content focuses largely on his personal experiences as a teacher at the International School of Geneva, and his role as a central figure in the foundation and development of the ISA, the ISES, and promotion of the International Baccalaureate. Arguably, the most influential and certainly the most cited of his chapters, poses and answers the question, "What is an international school?" and develops a typology of the different kinds of international schools.

Leach's *International Schools*[165] is also a valuable primary record of the curricular developments and institutional partnerships implemented from the 1950s to 1967. It is also an unapologetic argument in favor of multilateral internationalism, which in his view meant that a true international school should not be dominated by the interests and ideologies of any one nation. Leach believed that this approach is essential if students are truly to be exposed to and invested in other ways of

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[164] Robert Leach, *International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education* (London: Pergamon Press, 1969).
[165] Leach, *International Schools and Their Role*.

thinking. He asserts that international education will only be an education for peace if the school genuinely places equal weight on a number of competing national traditions.

Leach's history includes extensive financial information as well as details of the curriculum meetings he attended, schools he visited as an ambassador for the International Schools Association, and collaborations with NGOs and international organizations such as UNESCO. He was critical of his colleagues in the early years of the IB and what he saw as their closed-minded European perspective when it came to curriculum and assessment. It seems clear that his uncompromising position on what 'international' meant made it difficult for him to continue his close collaboration with the International Baccalaureate after the early 1970s. He was such a zealot that Phil Thomas, the Director of the International School of Geneva, had to provide him with a stern official warning when in 1976 Leach said that he and his department would no longer teach 'O-levels' because the IB had made them redundant (the parents were not yet convinced by the new qualification).

The second history of the International Baccalaureate was written by Alec Peterson, a Fellow of Wolfson College, Oxford and the first Director General of the IB, who published *The International Baccalaureate, An experiment in international education* in 1972. In 1987, Peterson published *Schools Across Frontiers: The Story of the International Baccalaureate and the United World Colleges* (UWC), which recounts his contributions to the two organizations that have played such an important role in international secondary education. Though full of institutional details, this history is highly personal, and its purpose seems to be to illustrate the impact Peterson himself had on the IB and the UWC. In a second edition of the book (2003), Ian Hill, a historian of the IB and one-time Deputy Director General of the same organization, added three additional chapters to Peterson's account, one of which is entitled, "The People Who Made the IBO." Alec Peterson features front and center, whereas Robert Leach is subsumed into the nebulous phrase, "a group of visionaries clustered around the International School of Geneva."[166] *Schools Across Frontiers* deals largely with the operational challenges of the IB and only one chapter out of eight ("From Educational Aims to a Curriculum and Examination") deals with the matter of a curriculum framework and assessment structure. Peterson's 1972 *The International Baccalaureate: An experiment in international education* is dedicated to a far more granular appreciation of the IB curriculum and also provides a valuable primary source. Peterson's work represents an especially important series of sources when it comes to establishing curriculum and assessment policies.

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[166] Peterson, *Schools Across Frontiers*, 281.

Robert Sylvester has done as much as anyone to explore a broad historical approach to international education at a secondary school level. His historical writing spans the period from the 1890s to 1998 and charts the ascendency of international education through clubs, schools, international organizations, and transnational networks. Sylvester lends his full-throated support to the growth of international education as a moral imperative. He has also been a principal in international schools and completed his doctorate at the University of Bath. The International Schools Journal and the International Baccalaureate Organization have supported many of his publications and he features prominently in the *Sage Handbook of International Education*, arguably the most important academic publication on international schooling in the past fifty years.

Ian Hill and Paul Tarc consider international mindedness to be the thematic key to understanding the IB's historical narrative. Ian Hill, a former Deputy Director General of the IB and the closest the IB has to an 'in house' historian, is the most prolific author on the IB's history. His historical accounts provide institutional and ideological contexts for the IB's policy developments. He has documented the organization's astonishing expansion during its first 50 years. Hill, for example, explores the different actors' intentions in founding the IB. Essentially, whether at Ecolint or UNIS, there was a strong pragmatic push for a single curriculum that could be used to teach students of all nations who would be applying for university places in a range of countries. This pragmatism was articulated in terms of the spirit of internationalism of the United Nations. This approach underplays the tensions within the international schools and resistance to what some saw as Americanization. Outside the context of international secondary education, Martin Lawn[167] also explores the widespread 'Americanization' of educational research, which demanded data driven statistical work and a scientific language and methodology. This was an influence that was keenly felt and hotly debated at the International School of Geneva, but which has been glossed over by Hill in his historical accounts.

Like Hill, Paul Tarc[168] is focused on the major policy shifts the IB has undergone from 1968 to the present day and the degree to which the IB is ideologically international. A Canadian academic, his thesis on the periodization of the IB is one of the few scholarly works that systematically connects what was happening within the IB to what was happening in the wider world. He is more critical of the IB's record than Hill. Tarc considers two major shortcomings in the IB's claim to be 'international' in its early years. First, he argues that the IB was mostly the product of Western pedagogies; and second, that there was little interest to include communist ideologies in the

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[167] Martin Lawn, ed., *An Atlantic Crossing? The Work of the IEI, its Researchers, Methods and Influence.* (Oxford: Symposium Books, 2008).

[168] Tarc, "What is the 'International' in the International Baccalaureate."

curriculum. Tarc writes that Peterson is first and foremost a progressive and second an internationalist. Peterson had a kinship with many of Kurt Hahn's goals but was himself less international. Still, he disliked the highly specialized sixth form curriculum and examinations in England and the IB provided him with a platform to develop the intellectual, physical, moral, and aesthetic dimensions of students. For Peterson, the IB's aims are not exclusively nor even primarily 'international' in nature. He was seeking to create, in the IB, an education that would allow students "to develop to their fullest potential the powers of each individual to understand, to modify and to enjoy his or her environment, both inner and outer, in its physical, social, moral, aesthetic, and spiritual aspects."[169] For Peterson, the highest quality education is necessarily universal and hence international. His approach emphasized excellence rather than diversity of perspectives.

Tarc positions Peterson as a moderate when it comes to international mindedness. But when Peterson quotes Lord Boyle in his epilogue: "We live in an age when it is not enough to be a nationalist: it is the plain truth that we must be internationalists too,"[170] I sense not so much a 'moderate' as a grudging internationalist who only became involved with international education so as to have the freedom to develop his own ideas on curriculum and assessment reform, ideas which he had been unable to put into practice in England. Compared to Peterson, Robert Leach was a radical internationalist. Leach saw nationalism as the antithesis of an internationalist ideology. He stated that international schools should "submit ethnocentric shibboleths to universal standards."[171] Leach was not alone. In the foreword to Mayer's 1968 report on the feasibility of the IB, the chairman of the IB board of trustees Adolf Berle implied that the IB should be the educational equivalent of a "Nansen passport" (a passport for stateless people in use between 1922 – 1938) and made the claim that national systems were "disfiguring" education.[172] Peterson saw the international context as a creative space where, free from national politics, he could experiment with curriculum and assessment. He says that the Ford Foundation was interested in a 'living laboratory'[173] which might inform and influence education at a national level, and it is clear that he shared this interest; Peterson was not interested in dismantling national allegiances. Leach and others, on the other hand, wanted to create cosmopolitans who would think of the good of the world and humanity over any particular tribal allegiance.

Peterson focused on the funding and recognition of the Diploma Program as an end in itself, while Leach argued that an internationally recognized diploma was not an end in itself, but merely "a pre-

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[169] Peterson, *Schools Across Frontiers*, 33.
[170] Peterson, *Schools Across Frontiers*, 124.
[171] Leach, *International Schools and Their Role*, 186.
[172] Mayer, *Diploma*.
[173] Alexander Peterson, *The International Baccalaureate* (London: George G. Harrap & Co., 1972), 14.

requisite for teaching 'International Understanding'."[174] From the perspective of an outsider such as Mayer, international education was a confused attempt at an alternative system that had neither widespread recognition, nor clear educational and pedagogical objectives. International education in 1968 was, for Mayer, an ill-defined term represented by a number of struggling and confused schools. Far from presenting international education as a set of formally established procedures, Mayer saw that these schools' ideologies positioned themselves as intrinsically better than any national system of education.[175] Tarc explores the range of thought expressed by the IB's founders as a tension between the pragmatic progressive, Peterson, and the other practitioners who were committed internationalists. Because of his dominant position in the IB, Peterson receives the bulk of Tarc's attention. Tarc does not consider a wide range of published and unpublished material by Robert Leach, who was extremely vocal in meetings and, with Phil Thomas, was responsible for creating the first international history and geography curriculum models and assessments. Tarc, like Ian Hill, is primarily writing about policy rhetoric as opposed to policy implementation.

Tarc tempers the claims made by Peterson and Hill that the IB was revolutionary when it came to its content. Indeed, the Director General of the IB, Gérard Renaud acknowledged that certain universities "dictated the content of some Programmes…and sometimes imposed a greater degree of conservatism than the promoters desired."[176] Perhaps this is partly because Tarc is looking for explicit instruction in 'international mindedness' as proof of internationalism in the IB, but spends no time analyzing the taught or assessed curriculum, only the select documents summarizing what IB leaders considered to be the essential elements of the intended curriculum. I would argue that by moving beyond the policy analyses of Ian Hill and Paul Tarc and towards an analysis of the classroom and curriculum at the school level, practical efforts to teach international understanding appear far more visible. However, I do want to interrogate the hypothesis that the IB examinations regime (as distinct from the process of developing the IB courses) dulled the edge of innovative practices that sought to teach international understanding.

3.5. Curriculum History (1948 – 1975) and Teacher Empowerment

My research straddles several topics in the history of education, including: secondary school curriculum, individual school histories, and international / transnational movements. It also touches on areas that have received less attention in the history of education such as examinations in secondary schools.[177] I hope that, to the degree that my research focuses on the impact that the

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[174] Tarc, "What is 'International,'" 67.
[175] Tarc, "What is 'International,'" 67.
[176] Tarc, "What is 'International,'" 27.
[177] Gary McCulloch, "The history of secondary education in the History of Education" *History of Education* 40, no. 1 (2012): 34.

creation of the International Baccalaureate's examinations regime had on school and classroom practices, it provides additional perspectives on this area of study. Although the majority of my research is devoted to curriculum (the intended curriculum, the taught curriculum, and the received curriculum), assessment and curriculum are inextricably linked and assessment practices provide insight into curriculum delivery and even classroom value systems.[178] There is a great deal to be learned about the effects which increasingly rigid International Baccalaureate assessment practices had on curriculum and teaching in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Given the prevalence of what we might call utopian, idealistic discourse at Ecolint during this period, there was significant concern that the IB examinations would overwhelm courses with content and force teachers to 'teach to the test'. Elitism, the relationship between examinations systems, and the identification of student merit were hotly debated subjects at the International School of Geneva in the 1960s and early 1970s after the first cohorts of students received their IB Diplomas.

In an international context with many traditions of curriculum, defining 'curriculum' is an especially difficult task. It would appear that, for many at Ecolint, pedagogy was much more central to defining curriculum than was, for instance, content given that parallel classes often taught entirely different content. Given that there is a practical tension between how students are taught and what they are taught, I prefer to opt for an inclusive definition – that curriculum is: "what is to be taught and how".[179] We can break this down further into the intended curriculum, the taught curriculum, the assessed curriculum, and the learned curriculum.[180] I try to address all facets of the curriculum from curriculum intention through to teacher enactment and student learning.

There is a strong body of historical literature demonstrating that what happens in the classroom is often only minimally impacted by policy talk and the written curriculum. Despite decades of progressive thought and curriculum reform, most Americans continued, through the 1950s and 1960s and, indeed, until the present day, to receive a traditional education dominated by textbooks, recitations, and teacher direction.[181] After visiting over 1,000 classes, John Goodlad wrote in 1984 that he saw no evidence of discipline-centered curriculum reform that was meant to have informed classroom practice. What he saw was teachers talking and students listening in a manner that would

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[178] John Roach, "Examinations and the Secondary Schools 1900-1945," *History of Education* 8, no. 1 (1979): 54.
[179] Robin Alexander, *Culture and Pedagogy: International Comparisons in Primary Education* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2001) 549.
[180] William H. Schmidt et al., *Why Schools Matter: A cross-national comparison of curriculum and learning* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, A. Wiley, 2001).
[181] Carla C. Johnson and Barry M. Franklin, "What the Schools Teach: A Social History of the American Curriculum Since 1950", in *The SAGE Handbook of Curriculum and Instruction*, ed. Ming Fang He, JoAnn Phillion, and Michael Connelly (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2008), 460-477.

not have been out of place in a classroom before the Second World War.[182] Ronald Evans makes similar points, specifically about social studies teaching in the 1950s.[183]

Ian Hill published a useful diagram (reproduced as figure 5 below) that illustrates some of the tensions between traditional and progressive thinking. He has situated the approach taken by the International Baccalaureate and the innovative teachers at the International School of Geneva more towards the progressive end of this spectrum. While there is some practical value to this if we are trying to label individuals or institutions, it ignores the difference between rhetoric and practice (many teachers claim to be constructivist and child-centered and teach 'hermetic subjects' by speaking for long periods of time at the students) and also ignores the effective hybridization strategies employed by those who believed in the 1950s and 1960s that progressive education had been responsible for a decline in standards. The literature review that follows will hopefully demonstrate that few curricular thinkers of the 1950s and 1960s clearly fall into one camp or the other. Furthermore, an investigation of curriculum, assessment, and teaching strategies at the classroom level will almost certainly illustrate that teachers adopt strategies from both columns even if their rhetoric, in many cases, was inclined to favor progressive language when appealing to the world outside the school.
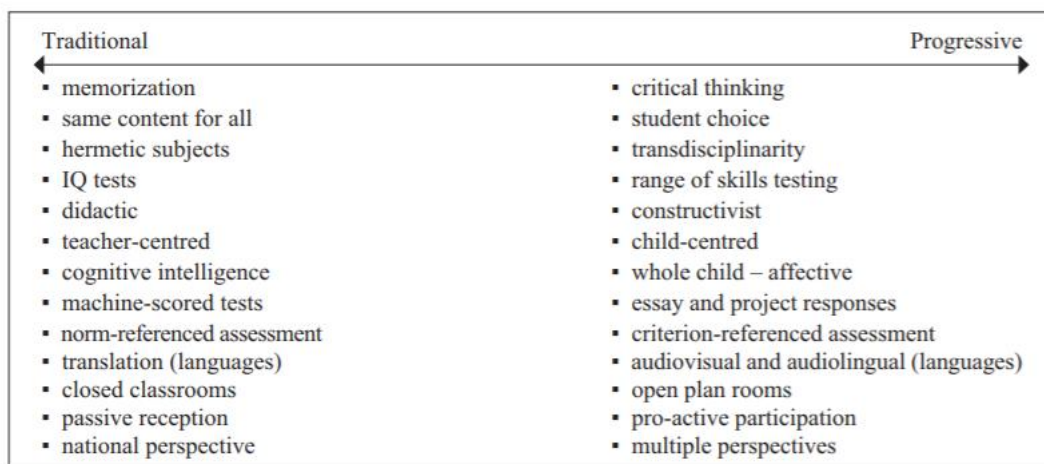
Figure 5: Hill's diagram depicting tensions between traditional and progressive thinking. [184]

Hill's analysis, focusing as it does on the IB's growth, does not consider the wider curriculum revolution of the 1950s and 1960s, which arguably began in 1949 with Ralph W. Tyler's *Basic*

[182] Johnson and Franklin, "What the Schools Teach."
[183] Ronald W. Evans, *The Hope for American School Reform: The Cold War Pursuit of Inquiry Learning in Social Studies* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).
[184] Ian Hill, "Evolution of Education for International Mindedness," *Journal of Research in International Education* 11, no. 3 (2012): 245-261.

Principles of Curriculum Instruction, hailed as "the Bible of curriculum making."[185] Even if academics soon came to criticize Tyler's *Principles,*[186] versions of Tyler's protocol remained in wide circulation in United States public schools.[187] Tyler's work was also influential in Europe and is even referred to in conference minutes at the International School of Geneva. Ralph Tyler was also the UNESCO consultant who in 1967 recommended that UNESCO support the International Baccalaureate not because of its use for international schools, but because it could act as a 'living laboratory' to trial innovative ideas that educational policy experts were unable to accomplish at the national level.[188] Ralph Tyler, Hilda Taba, and Joseph Schwab in the United States shared a similar approach to curriculum construction, as did Lawrence Stenhouse in the UK. Jerome Bruner differed slightly in that his curriculum approach in the 1960s was based on subject logic or epistemology in the 1960s when contrasted with Tyler, Taba, Schwab, and Stenhouse, who sought to develop a universal framework approach to create better curricula across disciplines. Jean Piaget's framework, on the other hand, was based not on process models or epistemological models but on the learner's stages of psychological readiness. From these researchers we can identify some of the dominant ideas and tensions in the curriculum debate that inevitably informed curriculum policy talk as well as policy and practice at the International School of Geneva.

The "Tyler Rationale" found in Basic Principles was developed as Tyler worked on assessment procedures for eight schools he was observing. In 1949, Tyler[189] advised teachers and school administrators to answer these questions when considering curriculum and assessment:

"1. What educational purposes should the school seek to attain?

2. What educational experiences can be provided that are likely to attain these purposes?

3. How can these educational experiences be effectively organized?

4. How can we determine whether these purposes are being attained?"[190]

These four questions could be applied to any subject in any context and sought to replace the arbitrariness of curriculum and assessment construction with a semblance of procedural rigor.

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[185] Philip Jackson, "Conceptions of curriculum and curriculum specialists," in *Handbook of Research on Curriculum*, ed. Philip Jackson (New York: MacMillan, 1992), 24.

[186] Herbert M. Kliebard, *Forging the American Curriculum. Essays in Curriculum History and Theory* (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), 153.

[187] William F. Pinar, "Curriculum Theory Since 1950: Crisis, Reconceptualization, Internationalization," in *The Sage Handbook of Curriculum and Instruction*, ed. Ming Fang He, JoAnn Phillion, and Michael Connelly (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2008).

[188] Peterson, *International Baccalaureate,* 14. This 'vital and essential role of the initial international schools as voluntary laboratories', is also explored in Tristan Bunnell, "The International Baccalaureate and the Role of the 'Pioneer' International Schools," in *International Education and Schools: Moving Beyond the First 40 Years*, ed. Richard Pearce (London: A&C Black, 2013), 179.

[189] Ralph W. Tyler, *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949).

[190] Tyler, *Basic Principles*, 1.

It is generally accepted by curriculum professionals at the time and educational historians shortly thereafter[191] that the launch of the Sputnik satellite by the Soviet Union in 1957 intensified curriculum debates in the United States around why the Soviet Union was 'winning' the space race and whether a progressive, permissive, lax educational system was to blame for America's 'loss'. American educators, in partnership with government and private foundations, sought to raise educational standards through efforts such as the 1959 Woods Hole Conference.[192] Jerome Bruner rose to international prominence through the publication of his synthesis of the conference. Bruner argued that the focus of curriculum and of education should be "understanding a discipline's structure…: how it understood its problems, what conceptual and methodological tools it employed to solve those problems, and what constituted knowledge in the discipline." This assertion was part of a much longer debate in education between subject specific curriculum development and 'life adjustment education,' which argued that curriculum should be organized around life rather than subjects.[193] This dichotomy was complicated by the increased involvement in school curriculum design in the sciences and liberal arts by university faculty, the National Science Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Foundation, and, to a greater degree than previously, the United States government. These experts were not only specialists in academic field but also, and critically, portrayed as practicing scientists, mathematicians, social scientists who could guide teachers towards real world contexts. They largely refused to work with K-12 education specialists and sought to revolutionize curriculum with little sense of existing curricula or the traditions or rationale behind them.[194]

Hilda Taba's 1962 *Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice*[195] tried to address the widening gap between researchers and practitioners by arguing that all those involved in curriculum building should not only use research but *do research*. Like Tyler's work in the 1950s, Taba's Curriculum Development found a receptive audience in the 1960s. For example, she influenced the thinking of Lawrence Stenhouse. Stenhouse (1975) states: "I have chosen to define this model of curriculum development by drawing on Tyler and Taba because, in my view, Tyler offers the clearest statement of the basic principles involved and Taba the best exposition of the relation of those principles to the study of education and to the practice of curriculum development."[196] That said, Stenhouse was critical of Tyler's objectives model of curriculum construction and preferred to focus on process.

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[191] Elliot W. Eisner, "Curriculum Development: Sources for a Foundation for the Field of Curriculum." *Curriculum Theory Network*, no. 5 (1970): 3–15. https://doi.org/10.2307/1179315.

[192] Evans, *The Hope for American School Reform.*

[193] Carla Johnson and Barry Franklin, "What the Schools Teach."

[194] Carla Johnson and Barry Franklin, "What the Schools Teach."

[195] Hilda Taba, *Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1962).

[196] Wesley Null, "Curriculum Development in Historical Perspective," in *The Sage Handbook of Curriculum and Instruction*, ed. Ming Fang He, JoAnn Phillion, and Michael Connelly (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2008), 478-490.

Taba's ideas travelled internationally between the United States and the UK as well as continental Europe's international schools not simply, I would argue, because they were newer or better but because they were democratic in the sense that they supported teacher empowerment at a moment when some would have preferred to wrestle curricular responsibility away from schools and teachers and hand it over to the academy. Taba and Stenhouse seem to be among the first to apply action research principles to curriculum development and are important for my research as I use action research as a lens to make sense of teacher-driven curriculum developments at Ecolint I in the 1950s and 1960s.

Defining Action Research

Action research, as conceptualized by Lawrence Stenhouse, is a form of self-reflective inquiry undertaken by teachers to improve their own practices, understand their educational contexts, and effect positive change within their classrooms and schools. Stenhouse emphasized that action research is grounded in the belief that teachers should be researchers in their own classrooms, systematically investigating their practices to develop practical knowledge and enhance educational outcomes.[197]

Stenhouse's definition underscores the cyclical nature of action research, which involves planning, acting, observing, and reflecting. This iterative process allows educators to adapt and refine their methods based on empirical evidence and reflective practice. According to Stenhouse, action research democratizes knowledge production, positioning teachers as both practitioners and theorists.

Other scholars have nuanced or challenged Stenhouse's definition. Carr and Kemmis expanded on Stenhouse's ideas, highlighting the potential emancipatory dimensions of action research. They argued that action research should not only focus on improving practice but also on empowering practitioners to challenge and transform the social and institutional conditions that constrain their work.[198] This perspective emphasizes the role of action research in promoting social justice causes in education and fits with Ecolint's claims to challenge national and nationalist educational movements in the service of advancing an education for peace.

Further, McNiff and Whitehead contributed to the understanding of action research by emphasizing its methodological flexibility and adaptability.[199] They posited that action research is not confined to a single approach but can incorporate a variety of qualitative and quantitative methods,

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[197] Lawrence Stenhouse, *An Introduction to Curriculum Research and Development*. Heinemann: 1975.
[198] Wilfred Carr and Stephen Kemmis, *Becoming Critical: Education, Knowledge, and Action Research*. London: Routledge, 1986.
[199] Jean McNiff and Jack Whitehead, *Action Research: Principles and Practice*. (London: Routledge Falmer, 2002).

depending on the research context and goals. This flexibility allows educators to tailor their research to address specific issues within their unique educational environments.

Stringer also offered a practical dimension to action research, focusing on its collaborative nature. He argued that effective action research involves stakeholders at all levels—teachers, students, administrators, and community members—in a participatory process.[200] This collaborative approach ensures that the research is contextually relevant and that the solutions generated are more likely to be sustainable and impactful.

For Stenhouse, then, "curriculum is an attempt to communicate the essential principles and features of an educational proposal in such a form that it is open to critical scrutiny and capable of effective translation into practice."[201] For this to occur, the gap between teachers and curriculum experts must be bridged. Teachers must engage in their own research and curriculum experts need to have a better sense of what is actually happening in classrooms. Stenhouse's call for teachers and academics to work together in 'action-research' not only helps to explain how teachers worked on curriculum at the International School of Geneva in the 1960s and early 1970s, but also how the IB was viewed by external organizations such as UNESCO. In the preface to Renaud's 1974 report on the IB, published by UNESCO, the Secretariat of UNESCO writes: "The IB project can be considered as an action research project and should continue to interest all those students of educational innovation."[202] Peterson also writes of how he and others were able to "draw on the resources of the university and…colleagues for action research, making use of the IB as a 'test bed'."[203] This emphasis on action research and innovation was typical of how the IB project was portrayed – and portrayed itself – in the 1960s and early 1970.

A further point to keep in mind when analyzing curriculum is the importance of the relationship between tradition and innovation. In young, rapidly evolving institutions such as the international schools of the 1950s and 60s, schools worked hard to establish the 'like-mindedness of teachers' despite being largely unsuccessful in this endeavor. A pedagogical culture begins in the like-mindedness of teachers and Stenhouse points out that this like-mindedness is typically only established through robust traditions.[204] Stenhouse's approach to action research encouraged teachers to experiment and share their findings with colleagues, developing new traditions that

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[200] Ernest Stringer, *Action Research* (London: SAGE Publications, 2007).

[201] Lawrence Stenhouse, *An Introduction to Curriculum Research and Development* (London: Heineman, 1975), 4.

[202] "Le projet peut encore être considéré comme une expérience menée dans le cadre de la recherche-action et à ce titre devrait susciter un intérêt continu de la part des étudiants de l'innovation en général." Gérard Renaud, "La période expérimentale du baccalaureéat internationale: objectifs et résultats," Director's Report (Paris: Les Presses d'UNESCO, 1974), 1. Translation: "This project can be considered as an experience carried out within the framework of action research and as such should be of sustained interest to all students of innovation."

[203] Peterson, *Schools Across Frontiers*, 92.

[204] Lawrence Stenhouse, "Defining the Curriculum Problem," *Cambridge Journal of Education* 5, no. 2 (1975): 105.

advance the curriculum. "Exploration must precede survey, survey must precede charting. This is the basic justification for curriculum experiment."[205] This, I argue, is exactly what happened with the first International Schools Examination Syndicate / International Baccalaureate history examinations. Leach experimented during his early years teaching; his 1961-62 trip was a global survey of the needs of secondary school students and international schools; and the first ISES papers were his 'charting' of his findings. Investigating this period as a case study in action research encouraged me, as a historian, to look less at policy talk and more at policy action and implementation.

3.6. Conclusion

The academic literature in this chapter provides conceptual frameworks to support the analysis of this historical case study of the teaching and learning of international understanding at Ecolint from 1949-1975. Larry Cuban argues that there was little change in American classroom practice between 1890 and 1980 in secondary schools despite all the policy changes. He uses a hurricane as a metaphor for curricular change: curriculum theory whips up powerful waves on the surface of the ocean (discourse changes among policy elites) but, deep down (the classroom), the ocean remains largely unchanged by the storm.[206] I was interested in exploring one case when policy objectives are more 'home grown' and the process is closer to action research to see if, in this one case, including teachers in smaller scale discussions around curriculum change had any more impact on classroom practice.

Cuban and Tyack[207] provide a compelling explanation for why educational reforms are far more frequent and radical than the changes that occur in classrooms. In "Tinkering Towards Utopia," they provide a framework I have found useful for conceptualizing curriculum development at Ecolint in the 1950s and 1960s:

> It is policy talk, we suggest, that cycles far more than practice in education. By policy talk we mean diagnoses of problems and advocacy of solutions. The next phase in educational reform, sometimes, is policy action, or the adoption of reforms - through state legislation, school board regulations, or decisions by other authorities. Actual implementation of planned change in schools, putting reforms into practice, is yet another stage, often much slower and more complex than the first two.[208]

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[205] Stenhouse, "Defining the Curriculum Problem," 108.
[206] Cuban, "How did teachers teach, 1980-1980."
[207] David Tyack and Larry Cuban, *Tinkering toward Utopia: A Century of Public School Reform* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).
[208] Tyack and Cuban, *Tinkering toward Utopia*, 40.

This powerful explanation resonates with the primary source materials in which there is often a significant disconnect between utopian talk (policy talk), tentative policy (policy action), and erratic implementation (implementation) in a classroom context. Tyack and Cuban write about public schools in the United States, but Ecolint, too, with its external partnerships, complex governance structure, and tradition of teacher autonomy can be well understood through their approach.

A historical case study of curriculum, assessment, and teaching practices supporting international understanding at the International School of Geneva (1948 -1975) affords a singular opportunity to explore the relationship between policy talk, action, and implementation in the context of one international school. At Ecolint there were numerous instances involving Schaller, Maurette and Leach, where, unlike Cuban and Tyack's historical model, classroom implementation predated or accompanied evolution in policy talk. Existing accounts of Ecolint's curriculum reforms between 1948 and 1975 draw connections between policy ideology and practice but these are often implicit and, in the rare instances where explicit connections are drawn, these are documented by practitioners reflecting on their own work or those of colleagues. Many of these insider reflections are overtly personal and anecdotal. Some remain unpublished or out of print. Fortunately, they do constitute a wealth of primary source material available through the Ecolint Archives and the Leach Archives that are not readily accessible to the public. There is a paucity of academic histories of the relationship between Ecolint and the IB during its formative (1961-1968) and experimental years (1968-1975), but a rich range of source material.

Lastly, this chapter highlights how the political and social context of the 1950s and 60s is essential to understanding how history, geography, economics and other subjects were taught – even more so because Leach and his colleagues were also teaching contemporary events. Teachers not only grappled with the Vietnam War, the Cold War, racial tensions, and the counter-cultural movements as a backdrop but as subject material. It wasn't until 1971 that Jerome Bruner, offering an innovative curricular response to social malaise, vocally supported teaching the social problems of the time in social studies classes.[209] So, the decision by Leach and others to do so in the early 1960s, though certainly not unique, was certainly not part of the mainstream classroom culture in the United States, the country most represented in Ecolint's student body. My thesis analyses the impacts of wider contexts not just on institutional governance but on classroom curriculum and practice. In fact, as the next chapter will show, Ecolint's approaches to international understanding as far back as 1924 were always closely tied to political and social context and to bridging policy talk with policy action and implementation.

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[209] Johnson and Franklin, "What the Schools Teach."

Chapter 4: Ecolint's Teaching of International Understanding

4.1. Introduction

As discussed in chapter 1, one of Ecolint's founders, Adolphe Ferrière, pursued the creation of an international curriculum and an internationally recognized diploma in 1925, which would give students access to the world's universities.[210] As a pioneer in the *education nouvelle* movement and on behalf of the Governing Board of the newly established International School of Geneva, he wrote to over a dozen experts across Europe. His initiative failed to secure the levels of tangible commitment necessary to implement the idea. But the same spirit of internationalism can be seen when the school made efforts to accommodate refugees and give scholarships during the Second World War. The spirit is again identifiable in Marie-Thérèse Maurette's 1948 address to UNESCO, "Educational techniques for peace. Do they exist?"[211] However, it was not until the 1950s that Ecolint was able to use its idealism to successfully funnel sufficient resources to actually build the transnational networks and the pedagogical support materials which would give it a real chance of developing an international education system appropriate for use worldwide. This chapter demonstrates that, when the IB was ready to launch its first examinations, Ecolint already had a long history of defining and refining what it meant to educate students to be 'international.'

4.2. Ecolint and Teaching for International Understanding Before the War

Ecolint's founders, frequently the employees of international organizations and volunteers with Ecolint, embodied the strong links between organizations such as the League of Nations, the International Labor Organization, and the school. Such links were responsible for the school's lasting dedication to teaching international understanding and remained part of the school's identity. The school's original objective was to meet the specific educational demands of "an international community such as exists in Geneva ... to imbue the new school community in which the students were to live and grow with an earnest belief in 'internationalism.'"[212] In the 1920s and 30s, Ecolint alternately presented itself as an adjunct to the League, an international organization in its own right, a center for pedagogical experimentation, a training ground for future international civil servants, and a peaceful model of a new, diverse, and inclusive world order.[213] Ecolint educated children from across the world in order to secure a peaceful future, while those children's parents

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[210] Ferrière sent his plan for a 'Maturité Internationale' to Decroly in Belgium, Claparède and Bovet in Geneva, Alfred Andreesen of the Écoles Lietz, Albert Thomas and Georges Bertier of the Ecole des Roches, as well as to a number of directors of national education programs in Europe.

[211] Marie-Thérèse Maurette, *Educational techniques for peace. Do they exist?* (Paris: UNESCO, 1948), 3.

[212] Ecolint, *International School of Geneva Student – Parent Handbook* (1924), 1. International School of Geneva Achives, STE.E.2.1/4.

[213] Conan de Wilde and Othman Hamayed, *Ecolint* (Geneva: Imprimerie Genevoise, 2014), 13-39.

worked to secure a peaceful present. Because this thesis focuses on the time period beginning in 1948 with Marie-Thérèse Maurette's address to UNESCO, this section will pay special attention to Maurette and to Paul Dupuy, her father, who taught at Ecolint for over twenty years and influenced both the school and Maurette herself until his death in 1948.

When Ecolint opened its doors to eight students on September 17, 1924 in a chalet loaned to the school by the Swiss pedagogue Adolphe Ferrière,[214] its character was explicitly international. The three teachers represented the United States (1), Switzerland (1), and Germany and Russia (1); the eight original students came from three countries (4 Swiss, 4 American, 1 French), and the school operated, like the League of Nations, bilingually in French and English. Adolphe Ferrière referred to Ecolint as a "miniature League of Nations,"[215] which was what the founders aspired to found: a school where teachers could set realistic contexts in which students might represent their countries, much as their parents, working for international organizations, represented *their countries* on the world stage.[216] This emphasis can be detected from the records the school kept about the nationalities of its students[217] down to the way in which students and the school captioned sporting photos in the annual yearbooks in this period such as in Figure 2, below.
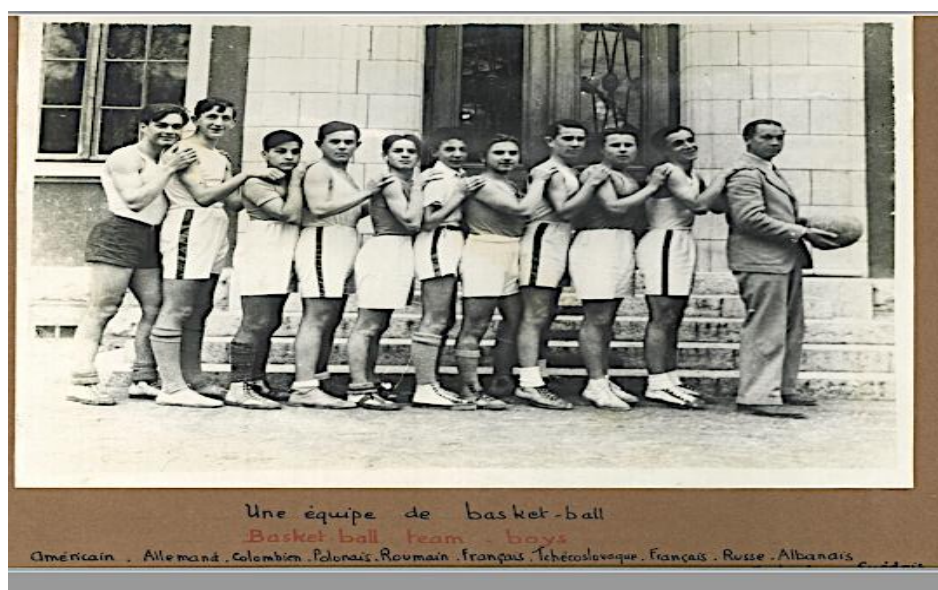
Figure 6: Boys Basketball team in 1937 "American, German, Columbian, Polish, Romanian, French, Czech, French, Russian, Albanian" – each boy identified by a different nationality.[218]

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[214] Professor at the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau in Geneva.

[215] Adolphe Ferrière, "Une Société des Nations en miniature : l'École internationale de Genève 1925," 19. Archives Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Fonds Ferrière, Université de Genève. E.IV.9 bis, 2.3. Articles, Coupures de presse.

[216] Adolphe Ferrière, "Une Société des Nations en miniature."

[217] Number of students by country, 1929-1930 United States: 79 (39.1%); Switzerland: 24 (12%); France: 19 (9.4%); England: 16 (8.0%); Germany: 12 (6%); Netherlands: 10 (5%); Russia 6 (3%); Japan: 5 (2.4%); Austria: 4 (2%); Canada:4 (2%); Columbia: 4 (2%) 15 countries were represented by the remaining 19 students. Source : « Statistique des élèves, année 1930-1931 », Marie-Thérèse Maurette et al., *École internationale de Genève*, 45.

[218] Ecolint: Historic Oversize Photographs: 1920s – 1940s folder, International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.

Ecolint was not the only school to educate students of multiple nationalities. Elite boarding schools in the United Kingdom and Switzerland could boast a larger, more diverse international student body than Ecolint's in the 1920s.[219] Nor was Ecolint the only school linked to international 'new education' movements or experimental progressivism. Experimental schools in the UK such as Alexander Neill's Summerhill (1921), Bertrand Russell's Beacon Hill (1927), and Kurt Hahn's Gordonstoun (1934) – all set up within a decade of Ecolint's opening – also sought to break with traditional educational models and create utopian schools based on a modern articulation of Rousseau's philosophy: "the child's outlook on life… is fundamentally right, while the adult's is fundamentally wrong."[220] Focusing on Badminton School, Christopher Watkins argues forcefully that international citizenship was also a central goal for several British public schools between the wars.[221] Susannah Wright explores the important role of the League of Nations junior branch debating societies in English schools from 1919-1939.[222] The international nature of Ecolint's student body, its transnational links, and its experimental pedagogy were by no means unique. Indeed, before Ferrière played a founding role at Ecolint, he visited and expressed a desire to emulate Cecil Reddie's Abbottsholme in the UK, the Ecole des Roche in France, and Lietz's Landerziehungsheime in Germany.

However, no previous school had chosen to define itself *solely* through its internationalism. And the fact that Ecolint was founded to serve Geneva's international community and educate all its children, whether boys or girls, was a further ideological statement of inclusivity. It could also have been a pragmatic, financially conscious goal, but such a motivation is never mentioned in documents in the school's archives. Quite the opposite, its philosophy always actively included both sexes and multiple nationalities and its mission was always to serve the whole international community. In contrast to Ecolint, other elite private schools in Geneva, such as the Institut Privat (1814-1960), a bourgeois school for the city's Protestant elite, chose to create an institutional identity based on religious affiliation, class status, and patriotic devotion.[223]

Ecolint's founders were internationally-minded individuals, many of whom worked for international organizations. Pierre Bovet was Swiss and a member of the Institut Jean-Jacques

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[219] Ecolint grew to over 200 students by the beginning of 1930.

[220] Laura Tisdall, *A Progressive Education? How Childhood Changed in Mid-Twentieth Centtury English and Welsh Schools.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019) 1. (quoting Edmond Holmes)

[221] Christopher Watkins, "Inventing International Citizenship: Badminton School and the Progressive Tradition Between the Wars," *History of Education* 3, no. 3 (May 2007): 315-338.

[222] Susannah Wright, "Creating liberal-internationalist world citizens: League of Nations Union junior branches in English secondary schools, 1919–1939", *Paedagogica Historica* 56 (2018): 1-20.

[223] Leonora Sonia Dugonjic-Rodwin, "Les IB Schools, une internationale élitiste : émergence d'un espace mondial d'enseignement secondaire au XXe siècle" (PhD diss, Université de Genève, 2014, no. FPSE 590), 70.

Rousseau as well as the first head of the International Bureau of Education. Adolphe Ferrière was Austrian and French, had travelled widely, was also a founder of the International Bureau of Education, and was active in the progressive education movement in Europe. Bovet, Ferrière, and other colleagues linked to Geneva's Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau (IJJR) brought technical expertise, local knowledge, and educational credibility to the new institution. Ludwik Rajchman, born into a bourgeois Jewish family in Warsaw, studied medicine, joined the Socialist Party, and conducted research at both the Pasteur Institut in Paris and the Royal Institute of Public Health in London. He helped establish the World Health Organization and was the founding father of UNICEF. Rajchman was the Chair of the Founders Committee of Ecolint and represented the school in talks with the Canton of Geneva. Fernand Maurette, a French economist, began his career at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 and came to Geneva as the head of research at the Geneva secretariat of the International Labor Organization (ILO).[224] Arthur Sweetser, an American, was first a journalist, then Woodrow Wilson's observer to the League of Nations, and then for over twenty years an Assistant Director at the League of Nations.[225] He acted as the school's volunteer treasurer and financial wizard for nearly thirty years. His connections to the Rockefeller family through the Harvard tennis team, as well as his connections to wealthy Chicago families through his wife's family (the Hibbards of Chicago), provided Ecolint with significant financial and social capital. The same sources also helped finance the school's expansion at its new site at La Grande Boissière.

Marie-Thérèse Maurette grew up in Paris and went to London to study at the Maria Grey Training College where she familiarized herself with the pedagogical methods of Fröbel and Montessori. On her return to Paris, she set up two new primary classes at the Collège Sévigné, her old school, following the student-centered methods of Maria Montessori. The Maurettes, with Fernand employed at the International Labor Organization and Marie-Thérèse a practitioner of progressive education, reflected the two communities that founded Ecolint. When Marie-Thérèse Maurette arrived in Geneva with her husband in October 1924, she described herself as "a worried mother and a frustrated teacher."[226] Marie-Thérèse, who would go on to manage the school for two decades (1929-1949), was ready to work. Perfectly bilingual, she was able to build bridges across the linguistic divides that appeared between Anglophones and Francophones as the school grew. In

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[224] Europa Publications Limited, *International Who's Who 1937*, (London: Europa Publications, 1937), 743.

[225] Sweetser's career is described as follows by a biographical dictionary: "Reporter, *Springfield Republican*, (1912-13); *United Press* 1914; Free-lance journalist (1914-16); *Associated Press*, 1916-17; US Signal Corps, 1917-18; American Peace Commission, 1918-19; Assistant director, Information Section, League of Nations, 1919-1942." See Warren F. Kuehl, *Biographical Dictionary of Internationalists* (London: Greenwood Press, 1983).

[226] Marie-Thérèse Maurette et al., *École internationale de Genève*, 19. "Une mère de famille inquiète et une enseignante frustrée."

1925, Marie-Thérèse Maurette's father, Paul Dupuy, was offered a job at Ecolint. As a charismatic and visually distinctive teacher in his early seventies, with a long white beard, a felt hat, and a green cape, he become an Ecolint legend. The Maurettes also had three children attend the school in the 1920s and early 1930s. A few years later, other relatives joined as students. It is hard to overstate the influence the Maurettes had on Ecolint, an influence that continued past 1974 when Marie-Thérèse Maurette played a prominent role in the school's 50th anniversary celebrations.

The school's proximity, both in terms of geography and human connection, to the headquarters of the League of Nations, the International Labor Organization, and later the United Nations was and is central to Ecolint's identity. In 1927, after leaving Ferrière's chalet and parting ways with the more experimental pedagogical experts at the IJJR, the school's first director Paul Meyhoffer wrote:

> The International School of Geneva is not an experiment; it is a necessity. It was
> founded to provide a broad, liberal education embodying universal values to the
> children of the fifteen hundred international officials in contact with the League of
> Nations and other organizations, and to foreign children wishing such an education.[227]

Examining the student register for the first years of Ecolint's history, the school catered to the children of its founders and to international diplomats. Paul Meyhoffer, Conrad Hoggman, Pierre Bovet, Paul Mantoux, and D.A. Davis all helped establish the school and their children comprised five of the first eight students. The Maurette children, the Sweetsers, and the Rajchman family enrolled their children as soon as they were old enough. With the exception of Meyhoffer, who was employed by the school, all the founding families had at least one member working for an international organization. Lucien Cramer, Head of the International Committee of the Red Cross, sent his son to Ecolint in 1925, as did Erik Colban, a Section Head at the League of Nations, and Inazo Nitobe, the Under-Secretary General at the League. Ecolint quickly became the school of choice for international civil servants in Geneva and attendance signaled dedication to universal liberal values.[228]

A 1950s map of Geneva illustrates in yellow the right bank of the Rhone, where the international organizations were based, and in purple the campus that Ecolint occupied on Geneva's left bank

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[227] Paul Meyhoffer, "L'École internationale de Genève", *Pour l'ère nouvelle*, no. 31 (Octobre 1927). Archives Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Université de Genève, Revue *Pour l'ère nouvelle* (1922-1940). "L'École internationale de Genève n'est pas une expérience; c'est une nécessité. Elle a été fondée pour donner une éducation large, libérale et de valeur universelle aux enfants des mille cinq cents personnages officiels internationaux en relations avec la Société des Nations et d'autres organisations, et aux enfants étrangers désirant une instruction de ce genre."

[228] The links between Ecolint's founders and Geneva's international organizations are thoroughly explored in Dugonjic-Rodwin, "*Les IB Schools*."

from 1929 onwards – a campus closer to Geneva's university, the old town, and the city's wealthiest neighborhoods than it was to the international organizations.
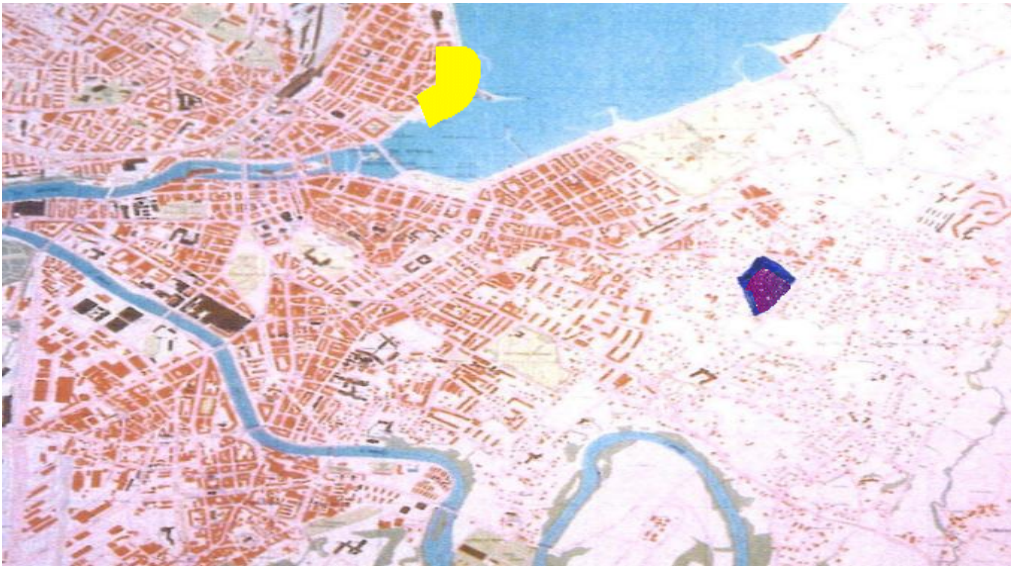
Figure 7: Map of Geneva showing the Ecolint campus in purple and a concentration of international organizations in yellow.[229]

Statistics for the total student body in the first four years tell a more complicated story. Even in the first two years, when international civil servants constituted a high percentage of parents, they never constituted a majority. If we include, as Ecolint did, the League of Nations, national diplomats, the International Labor Organization, the Young Men's Christian Association, the World University Service, and the International Federation of the Red Cross, parents from these organizations accounted for only 44% in the 1926-27 school year, 28% in 1927-28, and 34% in 1928-1929.[230] The category "other" described those parents who did not work for international organizations. That the school lumped these parents together while providing detailed records of their relationship with international organizations speaks volumes. It was not until after the Second World War that the school kept detailed records of fees paid by multinational corporations.

Ferrière, who became less involved with Ecolint after 1929 but continued classroom visits into the 1950s, wrote that internationalism at Ecolint was "the very air we breathe… none of this has to do with any pedagogical theory."[231] There was, despite his protests, a theoretical underpinning to Ecolint's first forays into teaching international understanding. Ferrière described the international

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[229] Map of Geneva, International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.H/1.2.

[230] *École Internationale de Genève* ; *Deuxième rapport annuel 1926-1927,* 17-18 ; *École internationale de Genève. Rapport pour la troisième année scolaire 1927-1928,* 6; *École internationale de Genève. Rapport pour la quatrième année scolaire 1928-1929*, 7. Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Université de Genève, Fonds Ferrière, E.IV.9, 1.2.1.

[231] École internationale de Genève, *Rapport pour les sixième et septième années scolaires 1929-1930 et 1930-1931*, 54; "C'est l'air même qu'on respire… Cela n'a rien à voir avec un enseignement théorique quelconque." Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Université de Genève, Fonds Ferrière, E.IV.9, 1.2.1.

atmosphere as largely unconscious among the six to eight-year-olds as the students exchanged their ideas in one of the two official languages. From eight to ten years-old, the school sought to inculcate a greater consciousness of students' own national cultures and encouraged "sympathetic" relationships with other nationalities represented in the class. From the ages of ten to twelve, classes introduced international current events or thematic explorations so that students could understand the significance of international economic interdependence. From 14 years-old on, Ferrière said the school set aside an hour every morning to address unexpected occurrences of international significance.[232] "Culture Générale" was taught to all students over 14 years old by Paul Dupuy, operating as a further impetus to international understanding through his self-described method: "synthetic geography."[233] Ferrière and Dupuy described this course as "offering a form of instruction that is not divided into airtight compartments… and finding in geography the link that joins them all."[234] Geography was a transdisciplinary subject for Dupuy and his synthetic geography was a method for seeing connections in the world and promoting international understanding. Dupuy's aim was "to bring my students, as I brought myself, to understand and practically sense the earth in its totality, to conceive none of its parts in isolation."[235] Given the nature of these proclamations, his position as the father of the director and as a renowned educator there is reason to think his rhetoric and his practice may have had a lasting impact on his colleagues.

Dupuy explicitly associated the mission of the school with its close ties to international organizations on which depended, in his words, "the salvation of the world." In particular, he referred to the League of Nations and to the ILO. The connection between the school's mission and international organizations cannot be overstated and many teachers derived satisfaction not only from educating young men and women but in supporting the flourishing of a 'Genève internationale'. Dupuy wrote an homage to the close connections between Ecolint and surrounding international organizations at the beginning of the school's second year. Ecolint's hope to be an actor for peace was closely linked to supporting those who worked in the organizations that sought to encourage and support peaceful dialogue between nations.

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[232] École internationale de Genève, *Premier rapport annuel 1925-1926,* 13-17. Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Université de Genève, Fonds Ferrière, E.IV.9, 1.2.1.

[233] Frederico Ferretti, "Geographies of peace and the teaching of internationalism: Marie-Thérèse Maurette and Paul Dupuy in the Geneva International School (1924–1948)," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 41 (2016): 570-584.

[234] Adolphe Ferrière and Paul Dupuy, "Les Centres d'intérêt à l'Ecole internationale de Genève": Ecolint, STE.E.2.2.1/9, 285.

[235] Paul Dupuy, "Essai de l'introduction à la Culture internationale par la Géographie synthétique', handwritten notes cited in William N. Oats, "The International School of Geneva," 20–1. International School of Geneva Archives. STE.E.1/3.

> "The majority of the school's parents also work for international organizations and it
> is because of this that they too have the international spirit in their bones and that
> they dream of this kind of school for their children, which is the only hope there is to
> save the world from strife."[236]

When the League's mission to prevent war collapsed with the rise of fascism and Europe's slide towards another world war, the school shared in its failure. By 1937 even the students were feeling a sense of failure. Writing on the day of the annual armistice celebrations, one 14-year-old wrote, "We cannot represent the horror of this last war well enough to… disgust the young people of today. So now we can't rejoice as they did because we have to think of future wars… but let us hope this generation will be more intelligent."[237] The language of hope was in increasingly short supply as the pessimistic international situation cast a dark shadow over the enthusiastic optimism that had characterized Ecolint's first decade.

4.3. The War Years

While Ecolint did not close its doors during the war, its focus was shifted to survival and navigating what it meant to be a school for peace amidst a global war. Maurette, accompanied by the teacher William Oats, assisted several families, primarily Jewish and British, who had been separated by the 1940 German invasion of France. They escorted twenty students from Ecolint to Hendaye, France, and Oats accompanied them on to Britain "on a Dutch linseed boat to Falmouth only a few hours before Bordeaux, the last port open, fell to the German Army."[238] Ecolint's enrolled numbers were reduced in 1940, 1941, and 1942 as many students and their families evacuated Europe and international civil servants were recalled to their home countries. Almost all the American families had left Ecolint and Geneva by the end of 1940. The school was also heavily impacted by general conscription as all its Swiss male teachers and many of its Swiss female teachers were called up for national service. The Swiss philosopher Jeanne Hersch, who taught at Ecolint during these years, remembered the school's principal goal during this period as survival.

> "The school was looking to survive. Our lives were restrained. We brought chairs
> closer together in a dining hall which was now too large. Teachers' salaries were cut.

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[236] AIJJR, Revue *Pour l'ère nouvelle* (1922-1940). Paul Dupuy, "L'Esprit international à l'École internationale de Genève," *Pour l'ère nouvelle*, no. 18 (January 1925) : 3-5. "La plupart de ses animateurs sont fonctionnaires de cet organisme, pénétrés jusqu'aux moelles de l'esprit dont il vit, et c'est parce que cet esprit vit aussi en eux, qu'ils ont rêvé d'une école où leurs enfants en seraient imprégnés à leur tour, et avec eux les enfants de ceux qui voient dans cet esprit l'unique chance du salut du monde."

[237] Arthur Sweetser, "Ecolint 1937," International School of Geneva Archives, STE.B.1.3.

[238] Marie-Thérèse Maurette et al., *École internationale de Genève*.

> We filled in for those who had been drafted. We tried, battered as we were, to maintain our spirits."[239]

Marie Thérèse Maurette remembered the subsistence approach to food supply that supplemented rations and led them to harvest campus apple trees and store the produce in the cellar of the 'vieille maison.' They also picked mushrooms in the woods and raised ducks on the pond and chickens and rabbits in coops.[240] Comparisons to the pre-war period underlined the hardships they faced, but those who worked and studied at Ecolint during the war years recognized how fortunate Ecolint's teachers and students were compared to others in Switzerland or Europe. In a 1943 article for the school magazine, Roquette wrote, perhaps partly to reassure parents: "We still have everything we could possibly desire. Our day-to-day life is largely unchanged."[241] Student Yvonne Yohannot wrote in 1944 that the year had been "a perfect year…despite being surrounded by suffering."[242] The student and parent voluntary aid group, the "comité d'entr'aide," raised money and collected material donations throughout the war to provide to refugees, but such hardship only reinforced the internal perception that Ecolint was an island of good fortune. Indeed, the most striking element of the student magazine, the *Amoeba*, is how little the war was even mentioned.

By 1943 numbers were back to pre-war levels, mostly thanks to local Swiss Francophone and Allophone students. Student magazines from this period feature French and German language articles but almost nothing in English. In 1944-45, 198 out of 296 students were Swiss or French. German, Dutch, and Italian were the next most prominent nationalities.[243] American and British students, who previously had dominated the student body, were now few and far between. English was as conspicuously absent from the corridors as it was from publications. Fred Roquette noted a substantial rise in behavioral problems and regretted the changing character of students in Ecolint's annual journal in 1945, adding that the "constant arrival of new students has made academic progress difficult."[244]

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[239] Marie-Thérèse Maurette et al., *École internationale de Genève*, 153. **(**Translated from this French: "L'Ecole cherchait à survivre. On se limitait en tout. On rapprochait les chaises, lors des assemblées dans la salle à manger devenue trop grande. On diminua les traitements des professeurs. On bouchait les trous laissés par les mobilisés. On tentait, contre vents et marées, de sauver l'esprit.")

[240] Marie-Thérèse Maurette et al., *École internationale de Genève*, 158.

[241] Fred Roquette, *Ecolint*, 1943. "Nous avons encore tout ce que nous pouvons humainement désirer. Notre vie continue tous les jours son train habituel." In the school magazine cupboard of the International School of Geneva Archives.

[242] Yvonne Yohannot, *Ecolint* 1944, 5. In the school magazine cupboard of the International School of Geneva Archives." Original quotation in French: "une année de rêve… à côté de la souffrance."

[243] Marie-Thérèse Maurette et al., *École internationale de Genève*, 166.

[244] Fred Roquette, *Ecolint*, 1945. In the school magazine cupboard of the International School of Geneva Archives.

The most significant co-curricular educational commitment to furthering international understanding during the 1930s and 1940s was the Current Affairs Club, founded by the Australian sports teacher and boarding parent Douglas Deane, which was later renamed the Deane Club after he left the school in 1939 to accompany a dozen students back to their parents in the United States. The club was taken over by another Australian, the Quaker Bill Oats, and was further developed into the Students' United Nations in 1953 by Robert Leach. In the late 1930s, however, the club met once a week after supper and was attended by both boarding and day students. Topics included Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia, the Spanish Civil War, and German aggression. Speakers included the Quaker Bertram Pickard's views on "Voluntary Agencies" (he helped organize the 1932 and 1936 disarmament conferences in Geneva during this period), William Rappard on the Swiss Press, Salvador Madariaga on "World Federalism," and Henri Guillon on the World Alliance of YMCAs.[245]

4.4. Postwar: Re-establishing Links and Expertise with International Organizations

Maurette's 1948 address to UNESCO, discussed in chapter 5, highlighted the need for UNESCO to coordinate ongoing discussions between international schools. UNESCO responded by hosting the "Conference of Principals of International Schools" on March 31 and April 1, 1949, at its Paris headquarters. Attended by the heads of fifteen schools who wished to promote internationalism in the interests of a more peaceful world, it is striking how close the links were between many of the attendees and the later foundation of the International Baccalaureate. In attendance were: Marie-Thérèse Maurette and Fred Roquette of the International School of Geneva (where the first IB curricula were conceived), Kurt Hahn of Gordonstoun School, Scotland, who had helped to found the Atlantic College, Wales (co-authors of several of the first IB syllabus guides), Madame Hatinguais of the Centre International d'Etudes Pédagogiques at Sèvres (an important French influence on the IB), and C.H. Dobinson, Reader in Education at Oxford, whose Department of Education was later to play a central important role in the development of the IB through Bill Halls (later an IB examinations consultant) and Alec Peterson (who was to become the IB's Director General). At this meeting participants advanced proposals for: an international diploma, an international student exchange program, and a teacher training program for international teachers. This training program, which began in 1950 and was supported jointly by Ecolint and the Oxford Department of Education, was an immediate and tangible outcome of the conference.[246] The "Conference of Principals" was followed by a second meeting in 1951, the Conference of

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[245] Marie-Thérèse Maurette et al., *École internationale de Genève*, 144. Also found in FEIG Archive folder 'Deane Club'.

[246] Ian Hill, "Early Stirrings."

Internationally-Minded Schools (CIS). UNESCO agreed to convene annual meetings. Twenty participants representing schools in France, Germany, Holland, Hong Kong, India, Jordan, Scotland, Switzerland, and the USA attended the first one. Membership was open to schools that "consciously aim at furthering world peace and international understanding through education."[247] Although UNESCO convened annual conferences in April and lent the organization credibility by association, conference organization and CIS's triannual *International School Magazine* were shouldered by Ecolint. Roquette, headmaster of the International School of Geneva, was the first president of CIS and was able to continue close ties through the 1950s when, at the end of this decade, Desmond Cole-Baker, Head of the English Language Program of the International School of Geneva, encouraged Robert Leach, Head of the Social Studies Department, to undertake a global fact-finding mission to international schools around the world to explore the feasibility of an International Baccalaureate. The International Schools Association, also run out of Ecolint, had promoted curricular and pedagogical exchange since its foundation in 1951, but following Leach's trip, in 1961 teachers at Ecolint redoubled the urgency with which they collaborated with colleagues - at other schools and at universities to design an internationally recognized, internationally representative syllabus with a suite of secondary school examinations.

4.5. Growth

In the 1950s and 1960s Ecolint experienced significant growth. In 1945, 218 students were enrolled but by 1967 the number had reached 1500.[248] Other international schools established in cities around the world experienced similar growth in the 1950s and 1960s.[249] Ecolint, as the oldest international school, emerged as a leader of the international schools' movement. It organized teacher conferences, helped create organizations such as the Council of Internationally-Minded Schools, the International Schools Association, Students' United Nations (Model United Nations), and the International Baccalaureate, and it supported and publicized progressive practices in classrooms such as the integration of audio-visual technologies into classroom teaching. Insider historians such as Michael Knight[250] and Robert Leach,[251] and historians of the IB such as Ian

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[247] "Report of the Second Conference of Principals of International Schools and Schools Specially Interested in Developing International Understanding, 1951." International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.K.4.

[248] Conan de Wilde and Othman Hamayed, *Ecolint* (Geneva: Imprimerie Genevoise, 2014), 71, 106.

[249] United Nations International School (UNIS), Copenhagen International School, The International School of Teheran, UWC Atlantic.

[250] Michael Knight, *A Portrait of the International School of Geneva, 1924-1999* (Geneva: International School of Geneva, 1999).

[251] Robert Leach, *International Schools and Their Role in the Field of International Education* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1969).

Hill,[252] have portrayed the 1950s and 1960s as a golden age of educational idealism and innovation as well as a period of political and financial crisis for Ecolint.

Another way to illustrate the growth of the popularity of international education in Geneva, which set the trend for growth in the rest of the world, is to follow the expansion of Ecolint's campus. Figure 8, illustration A shows the facilities in 1930; illustration B shows the substantially expanded school facilities in the 1970s.

Figure 8.[253] Illustration A

Illustration B

[252] Jay Matthews and Ian Hill, *Supertest: How the International Baccalaureate can Strengthen our Schools* (Chicago: Open Court, 2005).
[253] International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.H/1.2.

I · LE SALEVE
INAUGURE EN 1976

J · ADMINISTRATION

K · ECOLE MOYENNE
INAUGUREE EN 1972

L · INTERNAT DES FILLES

M · SALLE DES SPORTS
INAUGUREE EN 1974

Within the school, the History and the Geography departments was comprised of an especially innovative group of teachers who helped define the 'international' in the International Baccalaureate. Many of these teachers also taught the theory of knowledge, economics, world religions, and a range of subjects that can be classified as 'humanities.' I thus use the umbrella term 'humanities teachers' to include the work of all these teachers who taught across departments and sub-departments during this period. This includes Leach (Ecolint: 1951-1974); Phil Thomas (Ecolint: 1963-1998), chair of the geography department and economics teacher; Michael Knight (Ecolint: 1961- 2001), history teacher and audio-video enthusiast, and Victor Schaller (Ecolint: 1925 – 1967) and Gérard Renaud (Ecolint: 1956 –1967), Francophone Language Program teachers and innovators in philosophy, geography, and history.

4.6. Conclusion

Within Ecolint, the impetus to create an international school curriculum that would be recognized in all countries began with Ferrière and Dupuy, and was developed further by Dupuy's daughter

Marie-Thérèse Maurette. Subsequently it was supported by Maurette's successors including Fred Roquette and Desmond Cole-Baker and a large number of Ecolint's teachers and leaders. The creation of the International Schools Association in 1962, based at Ecolint's La Grande Boissière Campus and then the creation of the International Baccalaureate Office, in 1968, were the fruit of decades of work.

This chapter demonstrates that by 1948, Ecolint had established its character and reputation as an experiment in international education that had weathered over two decades of challenges including a world war. During the 1950s and 1960s it grew quickly enough to require greater resources, both for its operations and to be able to allocate more time and money to education for international understanding both for its own programs and for other like-minded schools. Chapter 5 addresses the teaching of international understanding at Ecolint from 1948. Subsequent chapters will analyze the extent to which these efforts to promote internationalism were successful.

Although the 1968 birth of the IB emerged from a significant increase in the urgency of the demand for international educational qualifications, this chapter recognizes that its philosophical and social underpinnings, its conceptualization, and the transnational networks necessary to support its development began decades before.

Chapter 5: Articulating and Refining Teaching for International Understanding

5.1. Introduction

This chapter establishes a historically situated definition of "teaching for international understanding" at Ecolint between 1948 and 1975 based on the writings of three thought leaders: Marie-Thérèse Maurette, Ecolint's Director from 1929-1949; William Oats, Assistant Headmaster from 1949-1951; and Robert Leach, teacher and Head of the History Department from 1951. It argues that, despite Ecolint's growth, there was a high degree of continuity in the way prominent members of the school community defined an education for international understanding.

Marie-Thérèse Maurette's 1948 address at UNESCO headquarters in Paris[254] is an important bridge providing some continuity between pre-war and post-war conceptions of education for international understanding. In the address, Maurette outlined a robust definition grounded in decades of practical experience as a teacher and headmistress. Her definition of international education has had a long-lasting influence on Ecolint and, arguably, on the development of the International Baccalaureate. Maurette's guidelines for teaching international understanding in schools were further advanced by her colleague William Oats and further still by Robert Leach, who arrived shortly after Maurette and Oats left Ecolint. These three educators were known to their colleagues for their interest, expertise, and wide-ranging publications on teaching for international understanding. Their theoretical perspectives and practical examples allow us to define what education for international understanding meant to many international school educators during this period. Their perspectives will also provide a lens through which we can understand the tensions involved in education for international understanding at Ecolint from 1948 to 1975 as the school pursued close links with UNESCO and tried to resist Americanization. Although the school was never able to convince UNESCO to take over their project of building an international school curriculum, Leach harbored the hope, right through to the creation of the International Baccalaureate in 1968, that UNESCO would fund and regulate the creation and examination of international academic curricula.

Finally, this chapter argues that international understanding was an educational priority in many schools and educational organizations at this time and although the programs were not coordinated in detail, there is striking similarity between the language and 'international' objectives of

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[254] Marie-Thérèse Maurette, "Educational techniques for peace: Do they exist?," (Paris: UNESCO, 1948). http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001582/158270eb.pdf. Last accessed 12/06/2023.

institutions around the world, whether public or private schools, governmental or intergovernmental. International organizations, transnational publications, and conferences played a central role in defining the language and enacting international understanding in this formative period.

5.2. Maurette and the 1948 UNESCO Address on "Educational Techniques for Peace"

In 1947, several months before Maurette made her speech, UNESCO organized a Seminar on Education for International Understanding to establish "the basic principles of education for international understanding."[255] The seminar report states:

> If the educators of all the countries in the world would unite in a common effort, they could help very greatly in spreading a spirit of understanding and peace, through which the great problems of the day could be resolved. No national effort is adequate for this purpose…The first condition of success is that all educators should become aware of their social responsibility on the world-wide plane.[256]

Maurette's 1948 speech, "Educational Techniques for Peace: Do they exist?", was a response to this call to arms. Through it she explored Ecolint's approach to building "international collaboration"[257] and "international understanding"[258] through education. Her talk pre-dates the founding of the IB by twenty years and the founding of the Council for Internationally-Minded Schools by several months. Maurette's lecture identified important educational practices used at Ecolint in the 1930s and 40s and provided a blueprint for how education for international understanding should be developed: first, at Ecolint and later through the International Baccalaureate.

Using Maurette's address as a starting point, it is possible to identify the continuity in approaches and draw parallels and connections between the theorization and practice of education for international understanding at UNESCO and the International School of Geneva, and the developments that led to the creation of the International Baccalaureate in 1968. The historian Ian Hill argues that the most exceptional quality of international schools working with the IB during the 1960s and 1970s, when compared with other educational actors, is found in their efforts to teach

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[255] Roger Gal, *UNESCO Seminar on Education for International Understanding* (Paris: UNESCO Press, 1947), 1. UNESCO Archives, Paris.
[256] Gal, *UNESCO Seminar*, 2.
[257] Maurette, "Educational techniques for peace," 1.
[258] Maurette, "Educational techniques for peace," 20.

international understanding.[259] I argue that, if we accept this to be true, then the International Baccalaureate's most 'exceptional quality' is rooted first in Maurette's and, later, Leach's thoughts on educating for international understanding.

The goal of education, according to Maurette, should be to develop a concept of "man as a human being, whatever his race, creed or colour" and she saw the humanities (specifically geography, history, and the study of languages) as the most powerful subjects to build this conception. "Unhappily, these internationally-shared 'humanities' have in no way changed humanity itself"[260] she laments, but instead have created an elite, a "'freemasonry'" which sets the educated person apart from the common man."[261] "True humanities," however, should originate from, and develop in students, a "world conception."[262] This is a critical point for understanding the trajectory of Ecolint's curriculum and the development of the IB. The school that developed the IB sought to minimize differences of culture and nationality in order to promote the unity of all members of the family of man, thereby reducing the likelihood of conflict.

At the 1948 UNESCO Seminar on Education for International Understanding, Maurette outlined what she saw as the relationship between education of international understanding and the unity of the peoples of the world:

> What exactly should be the aim of education of international understanding?...
>
> This goal should be to bring about – by the development of a sympathetic and tolerant mental attitude, by information, knowledge , the practice of social virtues, understanding, interest, mutual respect and finally affection: all those successive stages revealing more and more clearly **what we all have in common** and what is precious in our infinite diversity – a world-wide awareness, the guarantee of understanding, mutual help, and peace.
>
> However far it may be from the perfect realisation of its ideal, this education must seek to produce a man conscious of the fact that **all peoples have common problems to solve, that their interests are often identical**…[263]

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259 Hill, "The History and Development of International Mindedness."
260 Hill, "The History and Development of International Mindedness," 1.
261 Hill, "The History and Development of International Mindedness," 2.
262 Hill, "The History and Development of International Mindedness," 3.
263 Hill, "The History and Development of International Mindedness," 5. Emphasis added.

There are at least two important aspects in this introductory section of Maurette's address. First, the use of the term 'international understanding' is defined as an ideal with practical ramifications – a pedagogy of 'successive stages.' Another similar term was introduced a year later: 'international mindedness.' International understanding and world peace were inseparable in Maurette's mind but, as she translated her ideals into pedagogical reality, other terms such as 'international mindedness' were also used, often interchangeably.[264] In the first 20 years or so of the IB, the term 'international understanding' was much more commonly used than 'international mindedness' and broadly associated with the education of the whole person in a context where students are exposed to teachers and students of many nationalities. Regardless of the connotations of the various terms, there is a long-lasting tension between those who associate international understanding in schools as primarily a product of cohabitation with a diverse staff and student body and those who think international understanding can only be pursued through carefully articulated curriculum goals. In short there is a long history of divergence of opinion as to whether international understanding (or 'being international') is "caught" through proximal contact or can be "taught" through learning experiences in and out of the classroom. Maurette and Leach were pioneers in that they both argued that the diversity of staff and students was a necessary but insufficient resource for an education for international understanding; they both advocated for an international curriculum and school culture that required and rewarded student agency. Twenty years before the IB was founded, Maurette clearly articulated how schools could develop international understanding – lessons which influenced Leach and many others at Ecolint, such as Gérard Renaud and Phil Thomas, who were to become the pioneers of the International Baccalaureate. George Walker, a Director General of Ecolint and the International Baccalaureate, wrote a biography of Maurette sixty years after her UNESCO speech, providing further evidence of her long-lasting influence.[265]

The second and perhaps more important observation about Maurette's version of international understanding was that it downplayed cultural differences and emphasized, instead, a common humanity and common goals. This is only hinted at in the text above through "what we all have in common", "common problems to solve", "their interests are often identical"[266], but Maurette's desire to minimize the differences between nationalities that might lead to conflict has had a long-lasting influence on the teachers and students at Ecolint, which will be explored in this and subsequent chapters. This desire to erase or minimize the national differences that might lead to

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[264] As discussed in chapter 3, the term 'internationally-minded' appears to have been first used in 1949 in the secondary school educational context when UNESCO convened the "Conference of Internationally-minded Schools" in Paris to discuss international education.

[265] George Walker, *Marie-Thérèse Maurette: Pioneer of International Education* (Geneva: International School of Geneva, 2009).

[266] Hill, "The History and Development of International Mindedness," 5.

conflict and create a balanced, representative international community at Ecolint needs to be read alongside the rising dominance of American culture, money, and students. Teaching 'international understanding' had to be conceptualized within the context of out-sized American influence.

The majority of her 1948 address to UNESCO was an attempt to share how Ecolint was developing "international understanding."[267] It was, an "experiment,"[268] which, in 1948, had been going on for about 25 years since the school was founded by internationalists associated with the League of Nations who sought to create a "world at peace and with understanding between nations."[269] For 25 years teachers had employed "empiric methods, adjusted as time went on…now these methods have become traditional and even risk becoming hard and fast rules"[270] for teaching international understanding in schools. She began by citing the diversity of the student body. "The children are mixed together. Nationalities jumbled."[271] This is "not enough…, but it provides exceptional conditions."[272] A "common attitude on the part of the adults to minimise the idea of nationality, and never to speak of it as something that mattered"[273] was critical. She outlined the school's "synthesised geography"[274] course, referred to as International Culture,[275] as critical to presenting students with destabilizing or "disturbing" facts[276] - for example, that the Ganges Delta is as big as Switzerland - and argued that it was essential that the students start from the abstract, the general, the world map, "the unknown" before moving to the "known."[277] In history, she claimed that the school taught "universal history" starting with "stories" and decried the fact that in other schools, the "general history in the countries of Europe and America is a programme in which the history of Europe is dominant." She taught "Asoka as thoroughly as Alexander, Charlemagne and Napoleon." For students 8-10 years old, the curriculum focused on explorations, the study of which was pursued from an "authentic text;" for 10-12 years old the school adopted the Belgian Decroly system focused on themes such as "food, or clothing, or housing, or transport."[278] From the age of 12 students started with history that went back more than 1000 centuries. "No revolution is more profound than that which changed hunters and gatherers…to agriculturalists and breeders." Students then learned the "avatars of all the peoples."[279] The role of languages was also critical and Maurette

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267 Walker, *Marie-Thérèse Maurette*, 20.
268 Walker, *Marie-Thérèse Maurette*, 3.
269 Walker, *Marie-Thérèse Maurette*, 3.
270 Walker, *Marie-Thérèse Maurette*, 3.
271 Maurette, "Educational techniques for peace," 3.
272 Maurette, "Educational techniques for peace," 4.
273 Maurette, "Educational techniques for peace," 6.
274 Maurette, "Educational techniques for peace," 7.
275 Ferretti, "Geographies of peace."
276 Maurette, "Educational techniques for peace," 7.
277 Maurette, "Educational techniques for peace," 7.
278 Maurette, "Educational techniques for peace," 11.
279 Maurette, "Educational techniques for peace," 11.

argued that the "daily use of two living languages"[280] (French and English) was essential to promoting international understanding at Ecolint. The real challenge, however, was not awakening the "consciousness of man…in the domains of thought and feeling, but **also** of those of action.[281] To this end she cited team sports and collaborative academic work, where working together was not seen as "cheating"[282] but contributing to a culture of greater self-governance in the student body. She concluded with a plea to UNESCO that they help with these experiments by supporting the development of truly international pedagogical materials including textbooks, videos, and radio stations to promote international understanding.

The desire to develop a truly international curriculum, starting with the humanities, was already present and clearly articulated in 1948. Maurette understood the practical details of this venture, not only in terms of the pedagogical framework and attitudes, but in terms of the resources required and communication challenges when convincing parents and students of its importance. Maurette's thinking on international understanding was remarkably forward looking and a great many similarities can be found between her 1948 paper and more recent research, such as that commissioned by the IB in 2012 on the teaching of international understanding:

> This report provides conceptual tools for bringing forward as much as bringing to the fore the changing character of international mindedness, and especially in a critical relationship with the privileging of Western knowledge in the internationalisation of education…For the IB three conceptual tools are identified as being integral to international mindedness: 1. Multilingualism 2. Intercultural understanding 3. Global engagement.[283]

Maurette's recommendations over 60 years before this publication were nearly identical, with the exception that she also recognized the importance of staff and student diversity. There are also significant similarities between Maurette's 1948 speech and the 1974 UNESCO paper, "Recommendation on Education for International Understanding."[284]

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[280] Maurette, "Educational techniques for peace," 12.
[281] Maurette, "Educational techniques for peace," 12. Emphasis added.
[282] Maurette, "Educational techniques for peace," 16.
[283] Michael Singh and Qi Jing, "*21st Century International Mindedness: An exploratory study of its conceptualisation and assessment*," (University of Western Sydney, 2013) 14.
[284] UNESCO, "Recommendation on education for international understanding," Paris, UNESCO General Conference, 1974. http://www.unesco.org/education/nfsunesco/pdf/Peace_e.pdf

Over the decades following the 1948 address, Ecolint continued to boast international diversity and cultivate multilingualism, the cultural range of the curriculum, and an emphasis on student autonomy to develop a sense of agency in students. The cultural range of the curriculum was visible in more diverse case studies and in curriculum content, but also in travel and other extra-curricular activities. The desire to educate for "action" or "global engagement" was notably promoted through progressive tenets of education such as real-world educational contexts and an approach to disciplinary and social management that treated students like adults. There was, nevertheless, significant tension between the highly experimental ethos of the school expressed at educational conferences and communications with parents and students, which tended to favor more traditional expressions of educational quality. As Maurette said: "Let us avoid the phrase 'experimental schools'; it frightens parents."[285]

5.3. William Oats: Gauging the Impact of an International Education on Alumni

The Australian Quaker William Oats provides another perspective on international understanding at Ecolint from 1949-1951 as he reflected[286] on his time as a teacher (1938 – 1940) and Assistant Principal (1949 – 1951). Of particular interest is a survey[287] that he sent to alumni in 1951 "attempting to evaluate the influence of the school on the international attitudes of its old scholars and hence the school's significance as an experiment in international living." [288] He wrote up his analysis of these survey results in 1952. Oats argued that, for alumni, three components emerged as the most frequent and powerful understandings around internationalism. These were:

1) "An experience of 'Friendship without frontiers'…
2) "tolerance, involving not only the acceptance of difference, but the affirmation of the positive value of difference"
3) "faith in humankind."[289]

Whereas Maurette's address was synthetic and prescriptive, Oats's was largely descriptive. In his estimation, students' comments supported the successful image of Ecolint's instruction of international understanding that Maurette projected at the 1948 UNESCO conference. A Dutch student replied to Oats's survey that, "Nationality played no part in my choice of comrades," and a

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[285] Maurette, "Educational techniques for peace," 20.
[286] William Nicolle Oats, *Headmaster by Chance (*Tasmania: Aguerreendi Press, 1986).
[287] Oats sent his 1951 survey to 500 potential participants and received 107 replies. Twenty of these replies were from teachers or students who were still at Ecolint (employed by or in school) in 1951. William N. Oats, "The International School of Geneva," 32. Stereva Archive, International School of Geneva, STE.E.1/3.
[288] Oats, *Headmaster by* Chance, 158.
[289] Oats, *Headmaster by Chance*, 158.

Swiss student added, "This community of nations is created almost imperceptibly in spite of oneself, and one realizes in a remarkably short time this interdependence without friction."[290] Oats, like Maurette, seemed to find the evidence of behaviors that underpin international understanding well-anchored in students' reflections on their own learning. "I learnt not to judge others simply because they were different from myself' (Rumanian)."[291] More personal responses to this survey indicate the power of individual relationships and emotional associations. I received a "vaccination against prejudice, both personal and national...the strongest influence of the school on me is that I cannot, as the people around me do, hate the Germans and I haven't been able to rejoice when atomic bombs had fallen on Japan. For me, Japan is not a far-distant country but the home of the most beautiful girl in my year at Ecolint - Kasu Sagimura (British)."[292]

Oats also noted in 1951 the structural challenges linked to demographics and the increasing domination of the school by English speakers and, within this group, Americans.

> The school was double the size I had known before (the Second World War). Among the 360 students were now 36 nationalities but there was already a forewarning of a growing imbalance between the English and French speaking sections of the School. The effect of the Marshall Plan on the European economy was beginning to be evident. There was a steady flow of American personnel to Europe to set up factories and help with the rebuilding of the economy. This in turn meant increasing pressure on the school to admit American children, many on a short-term basis...a process of expansion which was to endanger the quality of the school's unique sense of international community.[293]

Maurette did not speak at length in her UNESCO address about the importance of education beyond the classroom, but it is clear that she appreciated the importance of assemblies, sports, travels, and extra-curriculars in educating international understanding. Maurette told Oats, before he returned in 1949 to take on a leadership position, "Of course you must teach...and of course you must take assemblies, often. That is the place where the real international and moral atmosphere is created. Also, you could take the direction of sing-songs. They have sadly degenerated since your time."[294] Oats helped organize a school folk festival entitled "Unity in Diversity" in July 1950 and remembered performances of national songs and dances in the open-air theatre that were informal

[290] Oats, *Headmaster by Chance*, 156.
[291] Oats, *Headmaster by Chance*, 157.
[292] Oats, *Headmaster by Chance*, 158.
[293] Oats, *Headmaster by Chance*, 158.
[294] Oats, *Headmaster by Chance*, 160.

and involved parents, teachers, and students. "Families wore national costumes and so Indian Saris, Scottish kilts, Chinese robes all added to the colour of the occasion."[295]

Oats, in what he described as "Quaker fashion," also chaired the UNESCO summer conference (1951) that led to the foundation of the International Schools Association later that year. During that conference the goal of international education was defined as inculcating practices of universal respect.

> International education should give the child an understanding of his past as a common heritage to which all people, irrespective of race, or creed have contributed and in which all should share. It does not necessarily follow that this education can be given only in a school of international composition but it is essential that all education in national schools be directed to this end. In such education emphasis should be laid on a basic attitude of respect for all human beings as persons…[296]

When Oats left Geneva and his position at Ecolint in 1951, he went on a speaker's tour in the United States promoted by his Quaker network. Another Quaker, Robert J. Leach, took up Oats's work with the International Schools Association and was to develop the International Schools Examination Syndicate and the first IB curriculum in history.

It is here, with the UNESCO conference that gave birth to the International Schools Association, the establishment of the Council for Internationally-Minded Schools in 1949, and the 1951 arrival of Leach that we can start to explore the institutions and associations that gave rise to the International Baccalaureate as the first internationally recognized secondary school leaving exam that claimed to develop international understanding. Also in 1951, the International Schools Liaison Committee, which sought to facilitate exchanges of materials and ideas between teachers in international schools, was founded. This organization changed its name in 1956 to the International Schools Association (ISA) when it was given UNESCO EcoSoc consultant status.

5.4. Robert Leach's Education for International Understanding: 1951 – 1969

This next section focuses on the tensions that arose in the 1950s and '60s at Ecolint between internationalism and Anglo-American dominance. The desire for the school to be internationally representative, like a U.N. organization, was most forcefully expressed by Robert Leach. He wished

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[295] Oats, *Headmaster by Chance*, 162.
[296] Oats, *Headmaster by Chance*, 169.

for the students, teachers, and Governing Board to reflect the diversity of the world's nationalities, and saw the school's increasing reliance on the British for their teachers and American students for their tuition as a very limited form of internationalism. These ideological tensions were sometimes linked to geopolitical issues such as the Cold War. For instance, when Arthur Sweetser, founding father of Ecolint, learnt that Marie Thérèse Maurette was allegedly joining the French Communist Party (PCF),[297] this "very definitely raised the question if she ought to continue on as its head."[298] She never did join the PCF based on their records but, nevertheless, resigned from her position on the Governing Board in December 1950.[299] It wasn't just Cold War rivalries that defined views of internationalism. Many felt that whether because of its cultural influence or financial might, the United States's dominance was making it difficult to hear other points of view.

International education was a battleground for these two competing ideologies: capitalist liberal internationalism and communist internationalism, but Maurette's example demonstrates how communist internationalism was stamped out as soon as it was expressed at Ecolint. Capitalist liberal internationalism, promoted by Western countries, particularly the United States, emphasized individual freedoms, democratic governance, and market-based economies. This form of internationalism was deeply intertwined with the spread of liberal democracy and capitalism, advocating for a world order based on free trade and open societies. International schools, Ecolint included, were vehicles for promoting these values, fostering a sense of global citizenship aligned with Western ideals.[300] In contrast, communist internationalism, led by the Soviet Union, aimed at spreading Marxist-Leninist principles, focusing on social justice through class struggle, state control of the economy, and a one-party system. These divergent approaches shaped the landscape of international education.

One area in which the United States was able to flex its influence financially at Ecolint was through enrolments. There was strong growth in the number of US students at all international schools during this period and the International School of Geneva was no exception.[301] Mayer, exposed to the reality in a wide range of international schools, wrote:

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[297] Arthur Sweetser, Letter to Ecolint's Governing Board, 6 September 1948, 6. International School of Geneva Archives, STE.B.1.3/11. Sweetser cites Maurette as saying: "I am resigning from the School this spring and returning to France to join the Communist Party."

[298] Arthur Sweetser, Letter to Ecolint's Governing Board, 6 September 1948. International School of Geneva Archives, STE.B.1.3/11.

[299] Minutes of the Governing Board of the International School of Geneva, 18 November 1948. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.1.1/12.

[300] Philip Altbach and Gail Kelly, *Education and Colonialism* (New York: Longman, 1978).

[301] Anne Collignon, "The origins and early development of Copenhagen International School, 1962-1973." (PhD Diss., University College London, 2022) demonstrates this for Copenhagen International School; Karen Lillie, "Transnational Class Formation in a School for the Global Elite," (PhD diss., UCL, 2020) also made this point for Leysin American School.

> 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.[302]

In the 1954 – 1955 school year there were 333 students in the English Language Program (ELP) and 277 in the French Language Program (FLP); by 1961 there were 926 in ELP and only 365 in FLP.[303] The growth in the ELP was largely due to arrivals from the United States. United States citizens accounted for 586 of the 1291 students, nearly half the student body. So, whilst there were 52 nationalities represented in the student body, many nationalities were only represented by single-digit numbers. In 1975 the percentage of American citizens in the student body fell to 30% (618 students), but the United Kingdom and the United States together still made up over 50% of the student body.[304] There was also a change in the kind of American who attended. Whereas up until 1950 Americans with children at the school tended to be diplomats, the majority of American parents in the 1950s and 1960s were employed by US companies in the process of expanding internationally. The 1970 Report of the Governing Board included, for the first time, a list of specifically American multinational fee-payers. The fees paid by Dupont numbered 131, Caterpillar paid for 93, and other US companies and banks paid for 248. By 1971, at least 472 of Ecolint's 1550 fee paying students were paid directly by US multinationals.[305] In the 1930s and 1940s, the percentage of fees paid by American multinationals, or parents employed by these companies, would have been in the low single digits. Thus, the globalization of the American economy spurred the growth of international schools. One needs, therefore, to be careful applying Robertson's definition of globalization as "the compression of the world" and "the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole."[306] In the 1950s, at Ecolint, globalization was also Americanization.

By the 1950s and 1960s, it became clear that any international education project would require significant financial investment if it was to gain international recognition from the kinds of universities attractive to global elites. Ultimately, it was a dynamic, globalizing US economy as much as any idealistic universal humanism that funded much of the curriculum research into teaching of international understanding and the setting up of an internationally recognized

[302] Martin Mayer, *Diploma: International Schools and University Entrance* (Hartford, Connecticut: Twentieth Century Fund, 1968), vi.

[303] Report of the Governing Board, 1962, International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/11.

[304] Report of the Governing Board, 1975, International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/15.

[305] Report of the Governing Board, 1971, 29. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/14.

[306] Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 1992), 9.

curriculum and examinations framework. An initial grant of USD $75,000 from the Twentieth Century Fund in 1963 allowed for the creation of the International Schools Examination Syndicate, the precursor to the International Baccalaureate, to pursue the creation of international social studies curricula and examinations.[307] The International Schools Examination Syndicate received a further Ford Foundation grant of USD $300,000 in 1967 to establish an international university entrance examination.[308] The Ford Foundation and the Twentieth Century Fund were directly responsible for financing the creation of the curriculum materials and institutional links that led to the first IB curricula and examinations. From 1961 – 1966, Ecolint and the ISA / ISES also benefitted from four UNESCO grants. Leach was especially delighted to receive UNESCO grants because both the funding and the project objectives were aligned with his internationalism. The funds were primarily focused on producing a curriculum and examinations system which that would be recognized by universities around the world but, from 1968 on, the creation of a curriculum that would be appropriately diverse in content and perspectives to mirror the supposed heterogeneity of Ecolint's students was of secondary importance to the International Baccalaureate. Arguably, Ecolint enjoyed a greater focus on international understanding and a more internationally diverse curriculum before the IB than after, even if the strengthening of the IB from the mid-1970s meant increased international recognition for those who obtained the diploma. I explore this argument further in Chapter 6.

Between 1951 and 1968, associations promoting international education proliferated through international conferences uniting all kinds of educationalists. These conferences were the broadest of churches and they brought together diplomats, civil servants, teachers, school administrators, researchers, representatives of universities, and politicians. Uniting prestige, power, and theoretical influence with practical know-how was to prove a productive and empowering approach. The conferences themselves, the networks created, and the associated publications deeply influenced the definitions of education for international understanding. The International Schools Association (ISA) was one such organization and its purpose was to assist international schools with pedagogical and administrative support and to establish some common standards in international education. The ISA also sought to represent international schools to intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations. From 1962 the association received grants from UNESCO to pursue its work, but although UNESCO supported the development of international secondary education, it did so indirectly through other partner organizations and through conferences,

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[307] Peterson, *The International Baccalaureate*, 10.
[308] Peterson, *The International Baccalaureate*, 13.

seminars, grants, panels of experts etc. rather than directly seeking to form an international school curriculum.[309]

The ISA organized its social studies conference in 1962 with the support of UNESCO, the American Federation of Learned Societies, and the Institute of Education in London. It was at this conference that Leach first presented the proposal for an "International Schools Baccalaureate" and it was from this conference that history was selected as the first pilot subject. 1963 saw another ISA conference on international understanding, hosted between UNESCO Paris and the CIEP building in Sèvres, focusing on modern languages. In 1964 ISA decided to create another organization, the ISES (International Schools Examination Syndicate), which would supervise the creation of secondary leaving syllabi and accompanying examinations and was composed of teachers from Ecolint and from the United World College of the Atlantic.

Despite Leach's fears that the United States' power would make a truly international education impossible, the ISES demonstrates that, if anything, British educators dominated and A-level content appeared to have had far more influence on IB syllabi than Advanced Placement exams or the national examination systems of any other country.[310] From 1965-67, the ISES international committees worked to create syllabi and examinations for anthropology, visual arts, biology, chemistry, geography, history, languages, philosophy, physics, and mathematics. Of the 170 participants, 101 were secondary school teachers and 69 represented international organizations, governments, and universities.[311] The British were better represented than any other nationality, a pattern that was repeated at the level of the Governing Board of the ISES. Desmond Cole, Director of UNIS, John Desmond Cole-Baker, Director of Ecolint, Sir W. Hayter, Warden of New College, Oxford, and Alec Peterson, Director of the Department of Education at Oxford University, were all British. Other nationalities represented were two French nationals, one German, one Belgian, one Greek, one Dane, one Swiss, and an American.[312]

In the case of the Ecolint's partnerships and the fact that the development of the IB project relied on ideas borrowed from technical experts primarily located in Switzerland, the United States, France, and the UK, making it difficult to explain the program's development without reference to its

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[309] Chloé Maurel, *L'Unesco de 1945 à 1974* (PhD. Diss, Université Panthéon-Sorbonne, Paris, 2006).

[310] The Ecolint Governing Board Report of 1962 lists 40 of the 60 full-time ELP teachers as British. Four were American.

[311] Leonora Sonia Dugonjic-Rodwin, "Les IB Schools," 148.

[312] "Memorandum introducing the ISES. A Unique Organization Created Towards Establishing an Authentic International Orientation in Secondary Education," and "Documents relating to the International Schools Examination Syndicate (ISES) and the International Baccalaureate 1965-1967." International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG/G.1.2, 11.

reliance on transnational professional networks. The pursuit of international understanding in education was also increasingly mainstream and prestigious during the 1960s. When the International Schools Association was founded in 1951, it federated just seven international schools in Geneva, New York, Tehran, Beirut, Wales, Montevideo, and Paris. By 1965, Leach counted nearly 400 international schools around the world.[313]

'Internationalism' at Ecolint was partly a pragmatic effort to identify and emulate the best ideas in the world when it came to education and for the majority of Ecolint's teachers, who were British, and the majority of parents, who were American, there was no doubt that the world leaders in curriculum development were to be found in the US and UK. But Ecolint's international ethos embraced much more than this. The transnational efforts that led to ISA, the ISES, and the eventual creation and development of the IB were rooted in a consciousness of the world and humanity as a single entity. According to this notion, globalization is not just the flow of people, things, and ideas; it is a state of mind where it is natural to view problems and solutions on a global level as opposed to at the level of nation states.[314] This last definition fit Leach's internationalist discourse, the single most influential thinker at Ecolint on what it meant to be 'international.' In another sense, although part of a rapidly globalizing world and benefiting from the arrival of hundreds of new expatriate families in Geneva in the 1950s, Ecolint's teachers and leaders were not in favor of globalism as a homogenization of culture or alignment with the values of a highly mobile cosmopolitan capitalist elite. If anything, the school constructed its identity around commitments to and stories of radical diversity. Leach and others were consistently strong advocates for the kind of "Internationalist international education [which] celebrates cultural diversity and promotes an international-minded outlook."[315] The ties between Ecolint and UNESCO, which were formed through four educational grants in the 1960s and membership as an UNESCO associate school, were less munificent than donations from many American sources but, symbolically, they were of great importance to Leach and other internationalist educators keen on tying Ecolint's identity to the United Nations.

Leach's contributions to making international understanding an educational goal were better documented than any of his peers, but it was the Head of the English Language Program, Desmond Cole-Baker who supported Leach's efforts. Leach kept records of the meetings and conferences he attended, the organizations he partnered with, and he wrote books, chapters and articles on the subject. It is, therefore, tempting to see him as the initiator of project, but he was more of a high

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[313] Leach, *International Schools and their Role*, 152.
[314] Robertson, *Globalisation.*
[315] James Cambridge and Jeff Thompson, "Internationalism and Globalization as Contexts for International Education," *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 34, no.2 (2004): 161-175.

priest who defended the purity and integrity of an ideal form of internationalism. Ecolint's first administrative effort to establish an internationally recognized curriculum that was international in spirit started in 1959. That year, the Governing Board of the International School of Geneva, appointed an education committee.[316] This led to concerted curriculum planning and, at Desmond Cole-Baker's request (as Head of the English Language Program), cooperation with other international schools to develop an international school leaving qualification. Without this initiative and Cole-Baker's support for Leach's sabbatical it is unlikely that any International Baccalaureate would have been developed at Ecolint. It is with Robert Leach's 1962 report on his findings and the articulation of an "International Baccalaureate's" viability that this study begins in earnest. It is also after Leach's 1962 fact-finding trip that he began writing about internationalism. Phil Thomas, who began his work at Ecolint as a Geography teacher in 1963, recalls:

> Most of us seem to agree that the real impetus came from Desmond Cole-Baker who became head of the ELP at Ecolint in 1961, picking up on the sporadic work of ISA which, at the time, was "housed" at the School. He was critical of the policy reigning at the school of having four national systems. His aim was to produce a genuine international education programme. He persuaded John Goormaghtigh, then chair of the Governing Board, to release someone to do a survey of some of the international schools then appearing around the world to see if they would be interested in a project. He chose Bob Leach – an inspired choice in my opinion.[317]

The central institutional and financial structures to support further exploration of the teaching of international understanding at Ecolint were put in place between 1959 and 1962 by Cole-Baker. For some, such as Leach, it remained a necessarily idealistic project focused on implementing the ideals of internationalism that they had spent so much time researching and articulating. Others such as Cole-Baker were primarily interested in developing a pre-university examinations system with international recognition.

Despite his boundless energy and ambition Leach was unable to play the central role in the development of the IB because his zealous idealism made him a prickly ally for those educational pragmatists who were trying to 'get things done.' Leach was not even allowed to take the role of a "founding father" – a role which went to Alec Peterson – and Leach was relegated to the position of an estranged and eccentric uncle and had very little to do with the IB after it was founded. Leach,

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[316] Report of the Governing Board, 1963, 7. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/11.
[317] Phil Thomas, Private correspondence with the author, January 31, 2017.

though himself American, denounced "American cultural imperialism."[318] He was concerned about American influence at Ecolint and on international education through soft power, the presence of its citizens, and the power of American non-governmental foundations. The Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Twentieth Century Fund, the Carnegie Endowment,[319] and other American foundations contributed to Ecolint's financial stability and supported its educational projects. This kind of influence was emblematic of American confidence and power.[320] The Rockefeller, Ford, and Carnegie Foundations all believed that the American, democratic approach to scholarship in a free market of ideas would lead to better education than what the Soviets could produce.[321]

The historian Sandrine Kott summarizes the relationship between this soft power and elites through education as follows:

> "Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the three big private US philanthropic foundations (Carnegie, Rockefeller and Ford) had built an extended network of experts that continued to grow during the Cold War. In particular, they funded education and the training of elites, exporting Western knowledge to the rest of the world. By doing so, they disseminated the liberal democratic values that they embodied and protected the economic interests on which they were built. They particularly targeted the elites, who were seen as the best vehicle to further diffuse the core values that they wished to promote. In the famous Point Four of his speech of January 1949 calling for international development aid, US President Harry Truman launched a crusade."[322]

Leach saw that the American democratic way was dominating educational discourse, he just didn't think that this was an internationally balanced approach and this, for him, was the key. Most people at Ecolint were simply thinking of balance in terms of not allowing the English Language Program to overwhelm the French Language Program in the 1950s and 1960s, but Leach was interested in a much more multilateral approach to international balance.

Leach's ambitions to create a curriculum that would teach international understanding appears to have been the driving force in his role as one of the central figures of early IB curriculum

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[318] Robert Leach, "The International School of Geneva," 38. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG COLL.3/4.

[319] John Goormaghtigh was simultaneously Director of the European Office of the Carnegie endowment for International Peace, Chairman of ISES, and the Chairman of the Board of the International School of Geneva.

[320] Ludovic Tournès, *L'Argent de l'influence. Les fondations américaines et leurs réseaux européens* (Paris: Autrement, 2010).

[321] Volker Berghahn, *America and the Intellectual Cold Wars in Europe: Shepard Stone between Philanthropy, Academy, and Diplomacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Olivier Zunz, *Philanthropy in America: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 148; John Krige, *American Hegemony and the Postwar Reconstruction of Science in Europe* (Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 2006).

[322] Sandrine Kott, "Cold War Internationalism." In *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History*, ed. Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 353.

development. For Leach, as for Maurette, the process of theorizing international education allowed him to define his identity as an international educator and sustained his tremendous energy. In an open letter 1966 entitled, "The International School of Geneva and its projected image," Leach defined international education as "education which cannot be dominated by any one nation or natural system of education." He states categorically, and with pride, that based on extensive surveying the graduates of Ecolint "came to regard mankind as a common entity."[323] Publicly voicing his convictions not as a history teacher but as a member of a transnational organization provided important and lasting motivation that allowed him to dedicate the time and resources necessary to develop an international history curriculum and contribute to the birth of the IB.

As a record of curriculum developments and institutional partnerships from the 1950s to 1967, Leach's *International Schools*[324] is a valuable primary source. It is an unapologetic argument in favor of multilateral internationalism, meaning, in his view, that true international schools should not be dominated by the interests and ideologies of any one nation. Leach believed that this approach was essential if students are to be truly exposed to and interested in other ways of thinking. He also asserted that international education will only be an education for peace if schools genuinely gave equal weight to a number of competing national traditions. Leach's history includes a large amount of financial information as well as details of the curriculum meetings he attended, schools he visited as an ambassador for the International Schools Association, and collaborations with international organizations such as UNESCO and a range of NGOs. He remained critical of his colleagues in the early years of the IB and what he saw as their closed-minded European perspective when it came to curriculum and assessment. It seems clear that his uncompromising positions on what 'international' meant made it difficult for him to continue close collaboration with the International Baccalaureate after 1968. Leach argued that the IB approach to language assessment "suffers from its too Occidental outlook;"[325] and in the exam for philosophy, "nothing is said to indicate that students will be taught to analyse the national mythologies from which they have emerged;"[326] and the ISES does not do enough to keep teachers at international schools from falling into a mentality of the "colonizers' enclave."[327]

Leach's educationally pragmatic reason for teaching international understanding and promoting an internationally recognized educational qualification was based on two closely related macro trends:

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[323] Leach, "The International School of Geneva," 2.
[324] Leach, *International Schools and Their Role*.
[325] Leach, *International Schools and Their Role*, 115.
[326] Leach, *International Schools and Their Role*, 118.
[327] Leach, *International Schools and Their Role*, 90.

increased economic inter-dependency and increased mobility of families to support this.[328] The increased mobility of school-aged students highlighted a problem, and the solution lay in a coordinated curriculum.

> "A generally coordinated curriculum can be planned by integrating as many disciplins (sic) as possible around the social studies' core. The main problem lies in defining the exact areas in which integration and interdependence are possible and desirable…This curriculum must be the basis for the International Baccalaureate…It must be a programme that is part of a whole educational pattern, aimed at furthering international citizenship, an end in itself."[329]

Although Leach could adopt pragmatic concerns more in line with how Peterson or Cole-Baker expressed the 'raison d'être' of the IB, he remained firm in his belief that the IB should not simply be about subject matter and exam recognition, but about creating 'international citizens.'

> First it would seem reasonable to postulate an education free of "culture shock" – that is, to put it in a more affirmative stance, to incorporate not only the highest common denominator between and among known national and ethnic education techniques, but to exclude nothing that is common to man. Second, it would seem reasonable to stress those elements which affirm the solidarity of mankind as an entity in such a way that the one-time international school students will find themselves "at home" in all cultures and human situations. But more important, they should feel their lives incomplete in less that universal situations.[330]

In 1970, Leach authored a short paper, "Response to questionnaire on the definition of 'International' as related to Ecolint," in which he highlighted the shortcomings of Ecolint as an international school. It is unclear if or where this was published but it is likely that it was shared with the school leadership and the Governing Board. It can be read, in part, as an expression of frustration that the implementation of the International Baccalaureate, which he had initiated at Ecolint, had not resulted in a more truly international institution. First, he bemoaned how IB was a "private initiative" as opposed to a "corporation created by the ministries of education of two or more countries." Ecolint did belong to the International Schools Association (it was granted

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[328] "Since World War Two countries have become more dependent on each other than ever before; the world has grown smaller; people move around more and more and an increasing number of families are forcibly or voluntarily having the problem of having their children educated away from "home"…These children must ultimately be given the opportunity to enter a university of their choice anywhere in the world." Leach, *International Schools and Their Role*, 1.

[329] Leach, *International Schools and Their Role*, 2.

[330] Leach, *International Schools and Their Role*, 79.

consultative status by EcoSoc in 1956 and by UNESCO in 1962), but Leach did not see this as the "official sponsorship" by the United Nations that he craved throughout his career. Second, although "regulations prevent the governing board from being composed of a majority of nationals from a single country, even the host nation," he decried that no such restrictions applied to administrative or teaching staff or to the student body.[331] Despite all his efforts he still found there to be "little explicit 'internationalism' to be encountered as a concept, ideal, or practice in the school. What internationalism is achieved comes largely from the fact that 90% of the student body is non-Swiss (~60% non-European) and that 80% of the staff is non-Swiss (though only 10% non-European)."[332] The most urgent goal, in his view, was to reduce the funding inequities between the French and English Language Programs by integrating them. In this way the "highest qualities from each nationality – and culture and way of thinking can be emphasized. A Frenchman could look at a problem pragmatically; and an Australian according to the German idealistic standards; an Englishman could use Cartesian reasoning; and a Swiss evaluate matters according to the four ideals of Hinduism. An American might even learn to think Marxist or Maoist."[333] This would allow the school to prepare internationalists, "men and women whose allegiance is world-wide, whose appreciation and sympathies to all that is good, beautiful and true in all cultures and ethnic groups is active – no matter where they live."[334] One of the most arresting qualities of Leach's writing is the stark contrast between his lofty idealism and the attention to detail in these high standards – a combination of qualities that led him to be scathingly critical of the school and his colleagues whilst still believing passionately in the necessity of teaching international understanding well.

Although Leach was critical of Ecolint's internationalism, he was even more so when it came to other schools, national systems, and even the International Baccalaureate itself. This is evident in his 1972 paper, "International Schools: A New Evaluation," where he recalls his 1961-1962 trip to 26 countries on three continents to evaluate the viability of an International Baccalaureate. On this trip it struck him that "Americans had become the most ardently nationalist in our supposedly international twentieth Century." He qualified this in 1972 by saying that this was a "false image" as the USSR was clearly guilty of far greater coordinated nationalism in their schools as a Russian student will "cover the same data from the same book and even the same page as his peer in Leningrad, Moscow or Kiev." American schools, like French lycées or the British council or similar schools set up by "Germans, Spaniards, Turks and Swedes" were ostensibly "demonstration

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[331] Robert Leach, "Response to questionnaire on the definition of 'International' as related to Ecolint," Leach Archives, (1970), 1.
[332] Leach, "Response to questionnaire," 3.
[333] Leach, "Response to questionnaire," 8.
[334] Leach, "Response to questionnaire," 8.

centers" that do accept foreign nationals for the most part, but still promote "ethnocentric nationalism."[335] Leach pointed to the International school of Paris, dismissing it as a French owned private school before turning to London where in 1972 there were no international schools, as examples of the fact that international secondary school education was still in its infancy. He was certainly correct when he identified the potential for growth in international schools.

Yet because of his ardent convictions, Leach's quest was frequently a lonely one, even at Ecolint. He recalled being buoyed by Johnson's "International Education Act of 1966," but a month after this act, when Leach spoke at a "Conference of Education for International Understanding" just outside of Washington D.C., he was among Americans again and the conference was devoid of a single foreign voice. He was pleased that there were two special assistants to President Johnson in attendance but added that he still felt like "Don Quixote" as the other participants were solely interested in promoting international understanding for American citizens and doing this "state-side."[336] "I can make no pretense," he writes, "that I won converts" to the cause of multilateral internationalism.[337]

In 1971, a decade after Leach began work on the IB project, only 600 candidates sat IB exams. Even at Ecolint "only 76 students sat the full diploma, of whom 54 passed."[338] In 1972, the IB was in its second year of examinations and had achieved a recognizable subject package of six subjects from five groups with three higher level subjects and three subsidiaries plus Theory of Knowledge (TOK).[339] Leach was busy trying to launch another initiative: the "culture of cities" course. Ecolint had prepared three units with audiovisual aids on Geneva: one historical, one geographic, and one economic. Leach presented this at an ISA conference in Sèvres hosted by the French Pedagogical Institute (housed in Mme Pompidou's pottery). He was clearly excited by the initiative and the commitment from the International Schools of Tehran, Ibadan, and Copenhagen that they would develop similar units to share with the network of schools. Teaching would begin, Leach stated, in autumn 1973. It was his hope that by 1975 the IB would be incorporated into UNESCO so that it would not be controlled exclusively by American interests. He warned that ECIS was currently the most powerful federating force of international schools in Europe and that "ECIS is an American affiliate of the International Schools Foundation in Washington and in turn an associate of the US State Department."[340] U.S. dominance in the world of international education was anathema to his

[335] Robert Leach, "International Schools: A New Evaluation," Leach Archives, unfiled papers, 1972, 3.
[336] Leach, "International Schools," 3.
[337] Leach, "International Schools," 6.
[338] Report of the Governing Board, 1972. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/14.
[339] Theory of Knowledge, a mandatory epistemology course, was introduced partly to respond to the French requirement that the IB include philosophy.
[340] Leach, "International Schools," 11.

understanding of internationalism as fundamentally multilateral. It was to remain a frustration for Leach that the International Baccalaureate was never incorporated into an international governmental organization such as UNESCO.

5.5. Peterson and Leach: Conflicting Priorities

When Alec Peterson took on the full-time role of Director General of the IB in 1967 his priorities became more visible and more influential in charting the course of the IB, but they also had an impact on relations with Ecolint and its teachers.

Peterson aimed to use the IB to establish "the best possible education for their pre-university pupils in their two terminal years" and he identifies five "qualities" of this education: "capacity for conceptualization and analysis, a memory good enough to enable the student to hold a number of facts or concepts in the mind simultaneously, an unslaked curiosity, a capacity for recognizing and, in rare cases, formulating new interpretations of available information, and a commitment to the intellectual formulation and solution of problems." [341] Peterson became involved in international education because, he was unable to carry out reforms in his own national educational system. And, as he himself said, he gathered a group of reformers with similar problems to support the development of the IB. These people were not internationalists first and foremost and their motivation was not to promote internationalism but to use internationalism to promote educational reform.

Peterson, like many other curriculum reformers involved in academic research and governmental organizations, sought to combat over-specialization and achieve a more balanced, expansive pre-university educational program. If we analyze the profiles of the additional members to the International Schools Examination Syndicate Council in 1966 and 1967 we can see that all of them[342] were well placed to increase the IB's recognition within their respective countries. The group added Jean Capelle, former Director of Pedagogy at the French Ministry of Education, who had spoken out repeatedly in favor of reforming the French Baccalaureate, Madame Hatinguais, Directrice of the Center for Educational Research at Sèvres, Hellmut Becker, Founding Director of the Max Planck Institute and President of the Bildungsgrat (German Educational Council). Peterson summed up the primary attraction of the IB for these reformers thus: it "was the opportunity to try

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[341] Peterson, *International Baccalaureate,* 33-34.
[342] Dr Andren, Rector of the University of Stockholm, Mohammed El Fasi, Rector of Moroccan Universities, Heinz Wollpert, Rector of the Goethe Gymnasium Frankfurt; Lord Hankey, former British Ambassador to the OECD, Senteza Kajubi, Director of the Intitute of Education at Makarere University in Uganda, Charles Sa'd of Choueifat National College Beirut and Madame Zakowa an inspector of the Polish Ministry of Education.

out in practice some of the reform proposals which were making such slow progress in our respective countries."[343] These reformers found at Ecolint a school which, for financial reasons, needed access to a curriculum which could be a legitimate course of study for all nationalities. It found an ideological platform which had united a group of like-minded international schools and an organizational network which would give reformers access to over a dozen schools in diverse national contexts to experiment in designing a curriculum which would better prepare students for universities than the respective national models which had resisted their entreaties. All these reformers had to do was deliver university recognition and a qualification which wasn't associated with one country over another.

From Ecolint's perspective, the IB project began in the 1920s with the idealistic imaginings of Adolph Ferrière in 1925 and 1926 with the Maturité Internationale,[344] an ethos maintained by Paul Dupuy, through his approach to teaching international understanding through 'synthetic geographies,' and his daughter, Marie-Thérèse Maurette and her international assemblies and work with UNESCO. International understanding and internationally-recognized education for peace remained a federating idea which united generations of idealists who saw education as the only way of overcoming personal and national prejudices. Maurette, Oats, Schaller, and Leach's influences have all been or will be discussed in this thesis. The height of the influence of teacher led action research in international understanding was not during the 1970s after the founding of the IB but rather from the 1950s to the mid-1960s – a period which, arguably, came to end with the Sèvres conference in 1967, a year before the founding of the IB. Sèvres, in Peterson's words, "included governmental delegates…together with representatives of universities, of OECD, UNESCO, The Council of Europe, and the national examining bodies of the countries concerned."[345] By Sèvres, teachers as researchers who were able to sit at the table of curriculum reform had been sidelined and replaced by experts whose opinion would matter in convincing universities and governments to recognize the IB.

Of course, this did not happen overnight. From 1967 onwards, when Peterson decided to dedicate himself fulltime to the IB project, educators whose mission was advancing international mindedness played second fiddle to the educational reformers interested in curriculum balance and assessment. Martin Mayer, who, as a consultant to the ISA, followed the development of the ISA and the ISES into the IB very closely, wrote the following: "In 1966 when negotiations for a larger grant from the Ford Foundation began to lag, Oxford moved reluctantly but firmly to take over the project.

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[343] Peterson, *Schools Beyond Frontiers*, 25.
[344] Ian Hill, "Early stirrings."
[345] Peterson, *Schools Beyond Frontiers*, 30.

Peterson agreed to serve as director of IBO[346]. Only when Peterson took over the ISES (which was to become the IBO) did the Ford Foundation confirm the funding for the IB project.

Whilst the first IB syllabus guides in history, languages, geography and economics were born out of a grassroots process of action research, by the time the IB was founded in 1968 the imperative was university recognition rather than teacher action research and the focus shifted from classroom practice to university recognition and to experts who worked for governments and universities. This shift of power and focus was made possible by the access which Peterson had as an Oxford don, which Harlan Hanson, the IB's most influential advocate in the United States[347], had through his role as Director of Advanced Placement at the College Board and his connections at Harvard and Princeton.

The only secondary school teacher to obtain a high-ranking position in the IBO in 1968 was Ecolint's Gérard Renaud, who Peterson saw as valuable because of his years of involvement with French overseas schools and his abilities at the March 1965 ISES curriculum conference, to strike compromises with André van Smeevoorde, one of France's *inspecteurs généraux*. Peterson saw that Renaud would be critical, not only in obtaining the support of the French governments – and through this the universities, but also in maintaining the connection with Ecolint and a visible, symbolic connection to 'la francophonie.'[348]

It was the teachers and leaders of international schools who kept placing international understanding back on the agenda – and who advanced the teaching of it in schools. From 1968, teachers were able to provide feedback to the IB and they did, but as more emphasis was placed on recognition of the IB and its growth teachers became valued for their implementation of a standardized IB rather than pursuing the pockets of innovative collaborative curriculum development which had first given rise the ISES / IB history and languages trial examinations which preceded Sèvres.

Changes in power dynamics in the IB were not all the result of Peterson's leadership. Pragmatic developments linked to wider socio-economic pressure and greater competition for desirable university places were also factors. Ecolint teachers who supported the development of the IB hoped for an education for peace, designed and implemented experiences to further international understanding and, in turn, discovered that many parents and students were primarily seeking an

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[346] Meyer, *Diploma: International Schools and Their Role*, 225.
[347] Harlan Hanson joined the ISES Council in 1966 and advised that the IB seek recognition by universities not simply for admission in the United States but for advanced placement. He was able to render legitimate an equivalency between the IB and the AP subjects as he was also Director of the Advanced Placement Program of the College Entrance Examination Board.
[348] Peterson, *Schools Beyond Frontiers*, 29.

education for mobility. Geographical and cultural mobility were certainly important, but the value of these was also tied to increasing the chances of lucrative employment. The recognition of the Diploma, the breadth of the curricular requirements and the challenge of the courses delivered, promised a valuable, widely recognized, and prestigious qualification.

5.5. The Language of International Understanding Beyond Ecolint

When it came to defining and outlining education for international understanding, Maurette, Oats and Leach recognized that teaching internationalism was what made Ecolint distinctive. More than this, the language used by Maurette, Oats and Leach, and the language of many others connected to Ecolint and the International Baccalaureate, mirrored the language of UNESCO in the Faure Report, a 1972 educational study commissioned by UNESCO entitled "Learning to be." This report provided Ecolint's educators with a kind of intellectual touchstone to justify their beliefs and clarify the ultimate purpose of their role as international school teachers. Ecolint teachers were not alone. Maren Elfert,[349] a researcher on international education, argues that the Faure Report successfully articulated the spirit of cosmopolitan global justice that had infused the 1960s. This section will demonstrate that the emphasis on international understanding was far from unique to Ecolint in the 1960s and, beyond this, many teachers, even in state run schools in the UK, were engaging in efforts to teach international understandings – efforts which were closely aligned with the spirit of peacebuilding through international understanding which had animated curricular reform at Ecolint.

 Geopolitically, the period after the Second World War saw a surge in interest and funding for international organizations and international education. This was especially intense in the United States to the extent that Congress passed and President Johnson signed the 'International Education Act' of 1966. In 1967, Johnson convened the International Conference on the World Crisis in Education. The 1960s were a euphoric time for advocates of international education even if government funding for international education projects fell far short of the numbers stipulated in the International Education Act. The intensity of the rhetoric and, crucially, funding faded with the early 1970s oil crisis. The exuberant, idealistic language of the 1960s appears to fit both Ecolint's institutional context as well as geopolitical trends. The IB's rhetoric mirrored and continues to mirror the Faure Report. The IB also sought to promote the kind of education that would create a 'complete man' who is an 'agent of development and change,' 'promoter of democracy,' 'citizen of the world,' and 'author of his own fulfilment.'[350] The report reminds the reader that education

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[349] Maren Elfert, "UNESCO, the Faure Report, the Delors Report, and the Political Utopia of Lifelong Learning," *European Journal of Education* 50, no. 1 (March 2015): 88-100.

[350] Edgar Faure et al., *Learning to be: the world of education today and tomorrow* (Paris: UNESCO, 1972), 158.

should provide students with the ability to reflect and develop 'political consciousness' freely so that human beings can 'understand the structures of the world they have to live in' and 'where necessary [show] a personal commitment in the struggle to reform them.'[351] I am not arguing for a causal relationship between Ecolint's and the IB's approach to international understanding and UNESCO rhetoric. However, Ecolint's policy talk plainly aligned with UNESCO's internationalist rhetoric and the school's curriculum development for international understanding unfolded over the course of numerous transnational conferences, publications, and research groups that frequently were funded by or linked to UNESCO.

The Leach archives include a well-read copy of *The Year Book of Education 1964. Education and International Life*,[352] to which Leach and Michael Knight, another Ecolint history teacher, contributed a chapter. Published in Association with the University of London Institute of Education and Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, the volume is one of many examples of the transnational cooperation that influenced the theorizing and practice of teaching for international understanding. It is worth noting some of the contributors' ideas if only to highlight the enthusiasm and significant degree of alignment in 1964 when it came to supporting teaching for international understanding. Teaching international understanding was clearly an objective of many non-international schools in the UK, the Commonwealth, and the United States, and this objective was expressed in a common language. There was also notable alignment as to how schools did or might teach international understanding.

In a chapter entitled "International Understanding: the challenge to education," W.F. Connell, a Professor of Education at the University of Sydney, explored the question: "Is education for international understanding a fit and proper aim for a school to adopt?"[353] His answer, unsurprisingly, was an enthusiastic 'yes.' Connell highlighted two aims of teaching international understanding: "Live together" in a way that promotes both social justice and a constructive "cooperation" between peoples. Both objectives can be found in Ecolint's approach, though teachers tended to favor "cooperation between peoples" as it echoed the school's lofty goal to promote world peace. Students tended to focus on friendship as a demonstration of their ability to transcend divisive national boundaries and "live together" harmoniously. As a researcher in the field of international and comparative education, Connell corroborated what teachers at the school felt: "In the seventeen years since UNESCO held its first international seminar on the subjects at

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[351] Faure et al., *Learning to be*, 151.
[352] W.F. Connell, "International Understanding: the challenge to education," in *The Yearbook of Education 1964.*.
[353] Connell, "International Understanding," 161.

Sèvres in 1947, interest in the problem (of educating for international understanding) has considerably increased."[354]

Connell's advice is uncannily similar to the approaches voiced and put into practice by Ecolint in the 1950s and 1960s and allows us to interrogate claims of Ecolint's exceptionalism when it came to teaching internationalism. Connell's rhetoric, like that used by Ecolint's teachers and leaders, fused progressive, social approaches to education with internationalism:

> Practical work, therefore, of group observation, and group participation in various types of situation may well have to be incorporated in the programme if it is to be an effective one.

> Students and teachers should "examine rationally the bases of their own and their societies' beliefs and values and to realize the extent to which they may fall short of what is required for international understanding…[and] Knowledge concerned with international relations should be taught," including the functioning of UN, UNESCO, regional treaty organisations, etc…[355]

Connell's text demonstrates a progressive desire to apply theoretical knowledge to real world constructs through social / group work and visibly international frameworks such as Model UN. Founded by Leach in 1953, Ecolint's simulation of the United Nations, the Students' United Nations, was among the first of these United Nations simulations, and appears to be the first which was organized by a secondary school and not a university.[356] In the 1950s and 1960s, Leach certainly favored regional treaty 'games' in his classroom which involved students finding diplomatic solutions to incidents based on their research of current political realities. He also developed extracurricular activities such as SIMEX which were built around a crisis whereas the Students' United Nations was built around a more classic Model United Nations model where students represent countries and debate resolutions.[357] Both SIMEX and Students' United Nations are treated in more detail in chapter 6.

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[354] Connell, "International Understanding," 161.
[355] Connell, "International Understanding," 168.
[356] Berkley MUN and Indianapolis MUN (University of Indiana) are sometimes referred to as the first Model United Nations (1952) and both were organized with support from universities.
[357] SIMEX stood for diplomatic "simulation exercises." It was a day-long experience where students represented different countries and situated on different parts of the campus were presented with a diplomatic crisis to resolve in a day.

The emphasis on experiential knowledge is often justified because the purpose of international understanding is not just a change in knowledge, but a change in attitude and adoption of a value system, which can make international mindedness education sound more like a cult than a curriculum. Connell, for instance, dismisses the importance of "factual knowledge" in favor of assessing "the change in attitude":

> The work is concerned with building and changing attitudes; its effectiveness can be measured, therefore, only by measuring the change in attitude that has occurred during the educational process. No test of factual knowledge or acquired skill is relevant...It is certainly much easier to teach facts and skills than to develop attitudes. And it is far easier to test facts and skills than to devise adequate tests of attitude.[358]

Maurette had also emphasized the critical importance of changing attitudes through the Ecolint approach, as expressed in her 1948 UNESCO address. She also asserted that educators had a better chance of changing student attitudes through experiential rather than factual knowledge. History teachers such as Michael Knight and Robert Leach, in their class notes, assessments and interviews take the learning of historical knowledge as relevant. But students, on the other hand, often adopted this "knowledge counts less than attitude" approach to international understanding as I will later evidence in chapter 6.

In "Courses for Teaching International Understanding in Traditional Schools," E.D. Lewis, a Welsh teacher and headmaster, was at odds with much of what was said and published by Ecolint's teachers. He did not believe that an internationally diverse population was necessary to teach international understanding. He also dismissed that a tolerant environment was all that was required, suggesting that it would merely create "well-adjusted morons" with "vague sentiments of goodwill."[359] His chapter instead argues that international understanding can be taught by any school provided it develops student attitudes underpinning international understanding: "Unselfishness, intellectual integrity, tolerance, justice, sensitivity, restraint, involvement."[360]

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[358] Connell, "International Understanding," 171.
[359] Connell, "International Understanding."
[360] Ed Lewis, "Courses for Teaching International Understanding in Traditional Schools," in *The Yearbook of Education 1964. Education and International Life*, ed. George Bereday and Joseph Lauwerys (London: Evans in association with the University of London Institute of Education and Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1964), 470. Lewis was Phil Thomas's headmaster before the latter arrived at Ecolint in 1963 to become an early architect of the IB's Geography course and a long-lasting contributor to the International Baccalaureate.

The following quotation from Lewis's chapter, though long, is important in that it demonstrates that the teaching of international understanding was being carried out enthusiastically and every bit as professionally outside Ecolint and well away from curriculum and assessment discussions around the birth of the International Schools Examination Syndicate or the IB.

> Teaching for international understanding, therefore, calls not only for the creation of an outward-looking, liberally minded school environment, but also for the provision of an academic course where human problems are studied in a disciplined manner. Methods discussed to encourage 'maximum student participation" include "group competitions, quizzes, formal or informal debates, discussions, individual talks, the analysis of recently seen television programmes or films, and criticism of headlines of news items in newspapers. Opportunities should be made to meet individuals of different races, religions and beliefs, as such visiting speakers can make distant peoples come most vividly to life. Use should be made of films, film strips, tape-recordings, letter exchanges; foreign dances, music, and cooking methods can be noted and particular festivals celebrated - Armistice Day, United Nations Day, etc...and practical help can be given through the Freedom from Hunger Campaign, the sale of UNICEF cards, Christmas gifts to refugees, the leper mission and through other channels to the deprived or unfortunate people both abroad and in the school area.[361]

Lewis also advocated extracurricular activities such as an "international club" or a UNESCO club, arguing that course design should be drawn up so students could,

> Describe difference in different part of the world, recognise similarities in terms of aspirations and human rights, acknowledge a common cultural inheritance, emphasize the possibilities of cooperation afforded by international organisations and, finally, indicate ways in which students could make a personal contribution.[362]

Lewis explained how, in response to some students' intolerant remarks about West Indian immigrants, the Dane School at Ilford designed and delivered a 60-hour course for students taught across history, geography, English, Art, music and dance, domestic science, and current affairs. Lewis's own Ystalyfera Grammar School in South Wales discussed courses in international

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[361] Lewis, "Courses for Teaching," 471.
[362] Lewis, "Courses for Teaching," 472.

understanding for third-year students. Either India or Southeast Asia was studied. History and Geography students studied the role of international organizations in helping India to tackle challenges linked with economic and social development. Students considered statements such as "poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere"[363] and wrote to and received over 150 letters from pen pals at Hiroshima High School about the effects of the atomic bomb. Lewis did not mention his own experience as a prisoner of war in Japan but it clearly shaped his vision of education and desire to build links between his school and Asian students. He also surveyed the "New Era School" in Bombay, which devoted a week to many different countries in the course of the year as well as a setting a project that aimed to improve understanding between Gujaratis and Marathis. Students were required to carry out some form of social activity and one example cited was a visit to the Thakur hill-people in which their dance and music were studied. In return, the students helped by "spraying houses with DDT...and organizing exhibitions on health and hygiene."[364] Whilst spraying houses with DDT is no longer a model of social service, many of the activities that Lewis led at Ystalyfera Grammar School were as adventurously international as the activities at Ecolint.

In her essay, "The Contribution of the Traditional Subjects to International Understanding with special reference to Britain," a retired Lilian E. Charlesworth, O.B.E., who had served as the headmistress of Roedean, Kensington High School, Sutton High School, and as the President of the Headmistresses Association made a strong case for teaching international understanding through the curriculum. Charlesworth identified a range of reasons why there was a need for change to provide a more international curriculum: the ease and speed of travel, improved facilities for visiting foreign countries, documentaries, television, and immigration. The barriers she cited to these much-needed reforms were the "great effort" associated with devising a new curriculum and "the spectre of public examinations" that tied teachers to tested content and methods. In addition, aspiring teachers faced an "absence of suitable textbooks." She concluded by stating that, up until now, only "a very bold pioneer would venture to begin work in such virgin soil."[365] Better international understanding was important for Charlesworth to permit students to reckon with "the world's great problems" (race relations, inadequacies of the world's food resources, burdens of population growth etc), understand the "supranational organs of government," and grasp the need to resolve these problems

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[363] Lewis, "Courses for Teaching," 476.
[364] Lewis, "Courses for Teaching," 478.
[365] Lilian E. Charlesworth, "The Contribution of the Traditional Subjects to International Understanding with special reference to Britain," in *The Yearbook of Education 1964. Education and International Life*, ed. George Bereday and Joseph Lauwerys (London: Evans in association with the University of London Institute of Education and Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1964), 482.

by forming "decisions based on facts and…free of prejudices."[366] She was opposed to teaching these issues through the "scrappy" teaching of a subject called 'international understanding', which she felt was encouraged by some of the early "publications on this subject put out by UNESCO."[367]

Mirroring Leach's belief that historical study must include a treatment of current events, Charlesworth cited a survey of history syllabuses prescribed for public examinations in different countries that was commissioned by the Parliamentary Group for World Government showing that a surprising proportion included sections on international affairs or world history. "If it is to be a living study, it (the history curriculum) must be brought as nearly as possible up to the present day."[368] Students and colleagues remarked that Leach's desire to study contemporary events through the subject of history was unusual, but this appears not to be the case.

In their chapter about their efforts at Ecolint to devise secondary school examinations and curricula to teach international understanding, Michael Knight and Robert Leach struck a more pragmatic note:

> It is hoped that the I.S.A. advanced examination programme will pull together much that has been separated…the social studies programme is consciously designed to meet a world-wide grouping of international schools. Even the G.C.E. programme has been widely adapted to meet this point of view. Especially interesting has been the experiment of presenting medieval Europe, medieval North Africa, and medieval Middle East at the G.C.E. ordinary level. The annual Students United Nations General Assembly (from 1954) is perhaps the outstanding extra-curricular activity with specific international implications run by this school.[369]

There was no shortage of initiatives to illustrate individual and schoolwide efforts to teach international understanding and it is worth noting that these initiatives originated from state (publicly funded) schools, private schools, international schools, international organizations, and university professors. The first challenge was to implement a curriculum within an organization in a consistent matter. The second hurdle was to use conferences and transnational networks and publications to see if a curriculum devised in one context could work in another one. In 1964, the same year as the publication of *The Year Book of Education*, a document in the Leach Archives,

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366 Charlesworth, "The Contribution of the Traditional Subjects," 482.
367 Charlesworth, "The Contribution of the Traditional Subjects," 483.
368 Charlesworth, "The Contribution of the Traditional Subjects," 485.
369 Michael Knight and Robert Leach, "International Secondary Schools," in *The Yearbook of Education 1964. Education and International Life*, ed. George Bereday and Joseph Lauwerys (London: Evans in association with the University of London Institute of Education and Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1964), 472.

entitled "Confidential document: A Study of the Problem of Coordinating Academic Standards and Curricula in International Schools," recorded a meeting in Geneva on March 15 1964 with Eugene Wallach (rapporteur), Assistant Head, History Department, International School of Geneva, Gerald Atkinson, Head, Inter-community school Zurich, Paul Chu, International Labor Organization education division, and Jean Hackl, UN Nursery School Geneva, which attested to the difficulties encountered in attempting to coordinate international curriculum in a single department, let alone a school. There was agreement on the importance of teaching international understanding, even what it was and how it might be taught, but asking teachers to commit to changing their habits and lesson plans was a different matter entirely. This is where Leach proved to be an extraordinary leader and the International Schools Examination Syndicate a powerful tool – because, with respect to the curriculum, it was more outcome than input focused.

If coordinating curriculum content and standards between schools internationally was difficult, there was certainly no shortage of experimentation around curriculum linked to international understanding in the 1960s. Terms such as 'pilot', 'laboratory', and 'trial' appear in a wide range of curriculum documentation and conferences from the 1960s and 'international understanding' was only one of many ideas favored by this generation of progressive educators. At Ecolint, teaching international understanding was the idea that resonated most vibrantly with the institution's origin and goals. In 1960, the Council for Internationally-Minded Schools published, with the assistance of UNESCO, a 29-page pamphlet, "Experiments in International Education," which reported the educational experiments of 50 schools either associated with CIS projects or that had recently received CIS travel bursaries. The foreword, written by Professor Dobinson of the University of Reading, states:

> "the future of mankind, as everyone knows today, lies in international understanding, cooperation and goodwill. Moreover, we have discovered internationally since World War I the fact that trade recessions, influenza epidemics and other disasters such as radio-active fall-out show an utter disregard of the frontiers…all over the world today teachers of every nation are seeking to provide opportunities for their pupils to learn not only that national stereotypes are fiction, but that good and evil exist in every race, in every nation and in every individual."[370]

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[370] Elizabeth H. Maxwell, *Experiments in International Education*, 2. International School of Geneva, Leach Archives. Maxwell was a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference of Internationally-minded Schools. The pamphlet was published with the assistance of UNESCO 1960. Foreword written by Prof C. H. Dobinson of the University of Reading.

The experiments shared in the pamphlet are teachers' conferences, young people's camps, festivals of the arts, study courses, drama tours, international magazines, travel bursaries, inter-school exchanges, and inter-school associations.

Despite the widespread agreement on the urgency and importance of teaching international understanding, a tension between CIS' approach, at least in the 1950s and 60s, which tended to highlight cultural exchanges between 'true nationals,' and the cosmopolitan approach taken by Maurette, Leach, and prominent internationalists at Ecolint, remained ever present. Samuel Moyn and Andrew Sartori[371] in identifying the hazards of embarking on a global history of ideas, and establish that there "are two ways to think across cultural and ethnic frontiers, which I call common humanity and the anthropological turn." Ecolint's approach was that of "common humanity" while CIS, in its early years, and many national schools interested in internationalism, adopted more of an "anthropological turn."

Ecolint's approach resonated with the internationalism of international civil servants and organizations and was close, for example, to Frederick Honig's famous 1954 description of the 'international man.' Of the necessary attributes international civil servants needed in the League of Nations or the United Nations Honig wrote: "while, in the purely formal sense, an official is not required to transfer his loyalty and allegiance from his home State to an organization which lacks all the attributes of a State, he is, nevertheless, expected to some extent to loosen the natural bond of affinity to his country of origin."[372] This transfer of loyalty, which, for those students and teachers at Ecolint was from nation-state to Ecolint, under the rhetorical guise of allegiance to common humanity, was the critical element in understanding Ecolint's approach to international understanding. Ecolint's mission to create 'internationalists' was similar to the zeal many English public schools showed for creating 'gentlemen' in the 19th and early 20th centuries. As Matthew Arnold is purported to have said, "what we must look for here is, first, religious and moral principle; secondly, gentlemanly conduct; thirdly, intellectual ability."[373] For Ecolint, internationalism was religion, moral principle, and gentlemanly conduct combined. Intellectual achievements were always less important to Ecolint as an institution than their vaunted internationalism.[374]

[371] Samuel Moyn and Andrew Sartori, *Global Intellectual History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013) 35.

[372] Frederick Honig, "The International Civil Service," *International Affairs* 30, no. 2 (April 1954): 175–185, 178.

[373] https://www.rugbyschool.co.uk/about/history/ accessed July 15, 2024.

[374] "The status, cultural tastes and standards of conduct that a liberal education provided frequently trumped any real knowledge or talent." If you replace "liberal" with international, you have Ecolint. Duncan Stone, "Deconstructing the Gentleman Amateur," *Cultural and Social History* 18, no. 3 (2021): 315-336.

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that education for international understanding was an area of significant interest to a wide range of schools during the period under study. Ecolint's two most influential champions of education for international understanding, Marie Thérèse Maurette and Robert J. Leach, were active in international organizations and transnational networks and they published widely, which extended their influence beyond Ecolint. Maurette advocated multilingualism, diversity of students and staff, and a curriculum that was more representative of the diversity of the world. She wanted curriculum to encourage students to become politically and socially active. Leach broadly agreed with these points, but went even further and was more forceful in his arguments for balanced representation. Leach's creation of the Student United Nations, SIMEX (Diplomatic Simulation Exercises), and new history and world religions courses, which included material from less represented parts of the world, as well as his writing on the subject. Leach felt students could only be educated to be international if all countries were represented and no one country or culture was allowed to dominate the school's curriculum, leadership, governance, or parent and student body. Alec Peterson's rise within the working groups which were to become the IB and his eventual role as Director General highlighted stark contrasts between his pragmatic priorities for implementing the IB and the idealism surrounding education for international understanding represented by Maurette, Oats, Leach and other teachers at Ecolint.

John Dewey wrote that "the conception of education as a social process and function has no definite meaning until we define the kind of society we have in mind."[375] Ecolint's 'society' valued a particular kind of internationalism above all else. It celebrated its success through the erasure of national differences. The ritual involved celebrating, first, the diversity of the school's community through the signifier of national diversity and then signaling that this diversity didn't matter because we are all the same in our common humanity. This approach, when applied in a superficial manner, can allow for social milieu to create the illusion of international understanding. It is an approach which bypasses potentially significant cultural differences in favor of the kind of homogeneity needed to create a community for students and families to feel they belong to. I argue that Ecolint's approach stood in contrast to many other efforts for international understanding, such as the Council for International Schools, which sought to build bridges to allow for cooperation between peoples through sharing and highlighting their differences.

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[375] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: MacMillan. 1916), 97.

This next chapters examine how teachers at Ecolint worked to develop an international education that was multilingual, culturally diverse, and promoted student agency right up until 1968 and the birth of the IB. Exploring student and teacher perspectives then and now provides a textured picture of what curriculum reform focused on developing international understanding in Ecolint's Secondary School meant for those who experienced it first-hand. Dewey's dictum that "things gain meaning by being used in a shared experience or joint action"[376] guides my approach. With this in mind, the experiences of students and teachers (even anomalous or dissenting voices) play a prominent role in the following chapters.

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[376] Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, 16.

Chapter 6: Diversity as Prestige

6.1. Introduction

Chapter 6 focuses on the relationship between Ecolint's international population and the teaching of international understanding. First, I argue that teachers, sometimes individually but certainly as a group, developed a dual discourse: taking pride in student and staff internationalism as a resource, whilst also arguing that internationalism was a curricular and co-curricular educational objective which could only be achieved through commitment to certain values and knowledge. There was a celebratory tone among teachers when they claimed that Ecolint was the most nationally diverse school on the planet. There was also frequent, though sometimes grudging, recognition from teachers that a school where most teachers were British and most students American was not diverse enough. Robert Leach, as discussed in chapter 5, was the most vocal advocate for limiting the influence of any single nationality in the school, but many others, including members on the Governing Board, argued that greater efforts had to be made to guarantee that both the teaching staff and school's governance represented the diversity of the world. This was in line with the common rhetorical links made between Ecolint and international organizations such as the United Nations. The tension between celebrating existing international diversity and pushing for a more representative internationalism, which would involve a more representative balance between nationalities in the school, defined the parameters of the most common adult non-curricular discussions around teaching international understanding. Secondly, I argue that the alumni perspective which emerges from students of the period is more unified: as students they felt that simply being part of an international community such as Ecolint demonstrated international understanding. I conclude the chapter by exploring some of the limitations of the of international understanding which emerged during interviews, personal correspondence, and archival research.

6.2. Internationalism and Ecolint's Teachers

In, 1966, the nationality of the teachers appeared in the Board Report for the first time. Out of 80 full-time teachers in the English Language Program, 56 were from the U.K., 6 from the U.S., 6 from Switzerland, 1 from Canada, 2 from New Zealand, and 3 from France. "Only Ghana (1), Lebanon (1) and UAR (1) represent non-European or Anglo-centric perspectives. The French Language Program was dominated by French (25) and Swiss teachers (33) with some UK, US and two Italians."[377] The decision to publish these statistics, which after 1966 appeared annually in the

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[377] Report of the Governing Board, 1966. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2.

Annual Report of the Governing Board, indicated a growing awareness that the school wanted to highlight and increase the national diversity of its teaching staff.

From interviews carried out with teachers at Ecolint during the 1960s, it is clear that, for some, their decision to teach at Ecolint was driven in part by a desire to escape the parochialism of their national systems. In Northern Ireland, geography teacher Joan Holden, who joined Ecolint in 1965, was fed up with the sectarianism that forced her to choose either a Catholic or a Protestant school. She read an interview in the *Times Educational Supplement* and interviewed with Principal Desmond Cole-Baker. Teaching an international mindset "was why you were there. If you didn't believe that then you shouldn't have been there... the majority of people were very much of that mindset." When I intimated that a Northern Irish principal hiring a Northern Irish teacher may not have been particularly international in terms of advancing staff diversity, she emphasized the importance of mindset over national diversity and the fact that "many of the students had never had a woman teach them before... Saudis and students from many Muslim countries."[378] Phil Thomas cited the beauty of Switzerland ("a geographer's dream") as well as a desire to leave behind an insular Wales[379] as part of his drive to teach internationally. And yet he also found strong Welsh representation at Ecolint and by the 1970s there were three other teachers from his hometown of Swansea alone employed by Ecolint.[380]

Teachers were aware of some structural and pragmatic limits to internationalism at Ecolint. Andy Bassam, a history teacher who also joined Ecolint in 1970, highlights, as do Leach, Thomas, and many others, the major structural limits on the school's ideal of international understanding. The first was the schism between the French Language Program and the English Language Program, which limited student's experiences of diversity in both programs and highlighted the difficult task of forging a truly international curriculum. The second was the cost of recruiting teachers from outside of Europe. Bassam acknowledges both points in the following quotation:

> There was a French section – the FLP (French Language Programme – as opposed to the ELP or English Language Programme), in the Chateau, guarded by Madame Gazut, the FLP secretary! (We never went there!) There were a few teachers from the US (Frank Dorsay in Art, Bob Leach History and Gene Wallach History/US Guidance Counsellor) and the Antipodes but most were from the UK, largely as they were easier geographically to recruit and were cheap with regard to Home Leave payments.[381]

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[378] Joan Holden, interview by author, November 8, 2020.
[379] Phil Thomas, interview by author, July 15, 2019.
[380] Marie-Thérèse Maurette et al., *École internationale de Genève*, 229.
[381] Andy Bassam, private correspondence, October 27, 2020.

Yet teachers also highlight successes in overcoming these barriers. In the English Language Program there were concerted efforts to recruit teachers who spoke French and English. Burt Melnick, who arrived in 1968 as an English teacher, stated:

> I remember Derek Campbell saying that when you join a Scottish regiment you had to learn how to dance and when we hire teachers at Ecolint they have to learn to speak French. I already spoke French so I was fine with that, but this was part of a move towards more internationally minded teachers.[382]

That Derek Campbell and the school chose to make the hiring and development of French/English bilingualism staff a priority was relevant and urgent because most teachers in the ELP didn't speak French and, conversely, many FLP teachers either didn't know English or refused to speak it with their colleagues. It is also worth noting that obtaining work permits for staff from outside Switzerland was not easy and always costlier than hiring local staff. This was also a barrier to creating a truly diverse staff. Melnick's application was initially rejected when he applied from the US due to the cost of recruiting staff internationally but was accepted the following year after he settled in Switzerland at another international school.

School values, enshrined in teachers and highlighted by alumni, are useful in identifying the characteristics which were properties of an international identity. Alex, a student in the 1960s, recalled that "Sydney Estrop was the perfect Ecolint teacher. He joined the school in 1970 and then became head of the English department. He was born in Malaysia, suffered the Japanese invasion, his family had been killed and as an English teacher he was superb... he had a diplomat's polish but was so even-tempered and serene that his classes were disciplined simply because of his courtesy." The fact that the international credentials of Sydney Estrop were highlighted even before his teaching skills emphasizes the pride that many students and staff took in the international legitimacy conferred by the staff's diverse origins. There is also the reference to the 'diplomat's polish' which is frequently highlighted as an Ecolint characteristic – where teachers, too, were playing, or at least modelling the kind of behaviors needed for international peacebuilding. An assertion that Sydney Estrop was a "true Gentleman" reinforces the impression that, although diversity is admirable, the diplomatic behavioral norms of self-restraint were the common values which made it possible to combine diversity harmoniously.

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[382] Burt Melnick, interview by author, May 18, 2021.

Alumni also argued that nationality, as a way to signal identity, was often the starting point in discussions, but that the values teachers placed on a wide range of personal attributes and experiences, and the ways in which teachers shared their own life experiences, were every bit as important as their nationalities. Alumni recall that these approaches supported open class discussions and an open-mindedness among individual students. One former student recalls that

> "international understanding during those years was enriched by understanding where the teachers were from. Most shared this. They linked their origins to their perspectives and views, which were broader than most teachers at my local public school in Canada. Some teachers talked about larger socio-political/ cultural issues… and they had travelled to and seen other countries and talked about that. The teachers who promoted a sense of comradery/and acceptance of all other students in the classrooms had the biggest impact in allowing students to get to know and appreciate other students from different backgrounds… This was crucial as they were not using the same rubric of 'who was popular' based on the student view (and American view of what was popular) rather they helped us 'see' the other student as having assets in their own right.[383]

The dogma that all nationalities were worthy of respect, spread rapidly into a much wider, institutionally-sanctioned valuing of difference. Teachers were not simply escaping what they often referred to as the limiting parochialism or rigidity of their own national systems. They were also seeking a type of internationalism tied to a global mission. Phil Thomas, who had not lived outside of the United Kingdom before joining Ecolint, stated: "I sensed that Ecolint in 1963 could be a place where I would find kindred spirits willing to innovate and to contribute to a better world."[384]

Beyond hiring practices there were efforts to diversify teacher training. In 1963, the Report of the Governing Board signaled that "close cooperation between the school and the International Schools Association… has continued… at the end of 1962 the school was host to the conference of this Association on the teaching of social studies."[385] And in 1964: "In order to keep the teachers of the school up to date with the present developments a relatively large number are being annually sent on courses or on periods of exchange to other schools. In this connection the school is exceptionally grateful to the Ministry of Education of Great Britain and Northern Ireland which has given much advice and also freely permitted teachers to join courses given by this ministry."[386] That same year,

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[383] Anonymous, private correspondence by email, May 19, 2020.
[384] Phil Thomas, private correspondence by email, October 21, 2020.
[385] Report of the Governing Board, 1963, International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/6., 3.
[386] Report of the Governing Board 1964, International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/7., 15.

Ecolint teachers attended the International Schools Association Conference in Milan. The Congress of the European Federation of Teachers in Sèvres (March 1964), organized by the French Section, was an example of further efforts towards transnational professional development and international curricular development.

The annual reports of the Governing Board were keen to emphasize to parents that their children were receiving the best that every national system had to offer and, although the teachers' professional development was largely European and American, the fact that professional development took place across a variety of countries was presented as a badge of excellence. The 1965 Report of the Governing Board drew the community's attention to the school's transnational efforts to "keep abreast of modern thinking and we are adopting revised syllabuses in Biology, Chemistry and Physics in line with those recognized by study groups in the United States and Great Britain."[387] These were aligned with Nuffield science, which emphasized practical hands-on skills for scientific learning. The trend to emphasize the increasingly international nature of professional development was also visible in the 1971 Board Report, which stated that 14 teachers were sent on professional development courses in France, Spain, the UK, and USA. It also highlighted the school's role as a recognized pioneering force in international education. "The School's history, its geographical location, its varied human element, its ambition, all tend to give it the character of a pilot school." It was with great pride that, after years of adopting elements piecemeal from different national curricula and training programs, in 1971 Ecolint graduated its first IB cohort and hosted 100 US superintendents sponsored by Kent State University, 16 Japanese teachers, and others from Nigeria, Montevideo, and Moscow.[388]

Statistics for teacher nationality continued to be published annually and in 1971 the Board took the unusual step of announcing a new student council president. Jean Claude Massangu, from the Congo, was identified by the Board as the first president of a unified FLP ELP student council.[389] The Board may have wanted to announce this because it was a public step in the unification of the ELP and FLP language sections and there may also be a subtext in the minutes, in celebrating his nationality, that having a student council president from the Congo was something which would only happen in a place which tolerant and truly international.

6.3. Student Appreciation of Internationalism

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[387] Report of the Governing Board 1965, International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/8., 13.
[388] Report of the Governing Board 1971, International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/14., 8.
[389] Report of the Governing Board 1971, International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/14.

In 1962, 56 nationalities were represented at Ecolint and over half the total 1,472 students came from the United States, the United Kingdom, or Canada. Of these 1,472 students there were 678 students from the United States, 168 from the United Kingdom, and 40 from Canada.[390] In the surveys and interviews I carried out between 2020 and 2021, I did not specifically ask about the diversity of the student or teaching body, thinking that such matters would speak for themselves in the school's enrolment and hiring statistics. And yet, even without a question speaking to the diversity of the community, well over 60% of the survey's respondents and every person interviewed mentioned the international makeup of the community as an essential resource in promoting an education for international understanding.

Even more importantly, internationalism is a statement of identity for alumni and is worn as a badge of honor. It is striking how the alumni, some speaking 50 years after their Ecolint education, described themselves as 'products' of Ecolint. Nigel, who worked for the European Space Agency for 40 years, said: "Ecolint made me who I am today."[391] Stuart started his interview the same way: "Ecolint was a life changing experience and it made me who I am."[392] Dozens of other survey respondents identified something similar to a "total connection"[393] between their Ecolint education and who they became, listing "person they married," "who they worked for," "where they ended up living," and a number of other factors central to identity construction.

Participants all reminded me that things that everyone takes for granted in the 21st century – such as regular international travel – remained exceptional in the 1960s and 1970s and that this, in and of itself, made those who attended the International School different from students at other schools. They self-identified as "people who moved around"[394] and the International School of Geneva held a special place in their hearts because it was a community of likeminded individuals with similar life experiences. As Stuart put it: "Now people travel a lot. I had grown up travelling a lot, but that wasn't normal then and then I arrived at Ecolint where everyone travelled, and we were ALL the 'new guy'. I'd grown up travelling from city to city in the States and I arrived, and everyone was a new kid. We had a common goal regardless of where you came from (to fit in and make friends). Everybody except the Russians of course. They just kept to the side. My closest friends in the world are from this era and I keep in daily touch with them."[395]

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[390] Report of the Governing Board 1962, International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/5.
[391] Nigel, interview with author, January 22, 2021.
[392] Stuart, interview with author, January 28, 2021.
[393] Ronald, survey response, February 7, 2020.
[394] Laura, interview with author, February 4, 2021.
[395] Stuart, interview with author, January 28, 2021.

Alumni responses allowed me to better contextualize the discourse on international diversity, which really seemed to be about finding a tribal identity that would travel with them. The tribe to emerge from this common experience of international education travelled. They had been places and could go anywhere, a defining characteristic that alumni wanted me to note and appreciate. As Billy stated: "many students at Ecolint had a very fluid life geographically. I just grew up thinking I could live anywhere. You're not cross culturally sensitive. You're just more comfortable with people from other places."[396] As I was closing the interview with Nigel, I asked him if he was living in the UK. He replied: "I'm in southern Germany. I continue to be an international person."[397] He was consciously positioning himself in opposition to 'national people' in response to my supposition that he had retired to the U.K. So while it is difficult to pin down exactly what made Ecolint educationally distinctive in the minds of students, all alumni seem to have a self-image that they are from travelling families and are themselves travelers. Athar, for instance, introduced himself to me in exactly this way: "I was born in Belgium. My father was a Pakistani diplomat. On two occasions I lived in Pakistan for 18 months… My children also benefited from international education as we moved to IB schools in Malaysia and other countries."[398] Athar evoked a sense of pride in his situation and identity and in that of his children, suggesting pride in multi-generational internationalism.

During initial survey responses and many of my interviews, participants were bemused by my attempts to analyze or understand international understanding as an educational objective. At Ecolint, I was told, internationalism was simply a reality that everyone absorbed through osmosis. Respondents to the survey wrote that international understanding was simply "a by-product of living in Geneva"[399] as "we WERE international by definition… and were immersed in a fully international environment in all respects."[400] An alumna who had attended schools in thirteen countries wrote "The school WAS international. We lived it."[401] Here respondents may have been referring to a dictionary definition of 'international,' which simply requires the presence of more than one nationality. However, it became increasingly clear to me that 'being international' was the central pillar of their identities. Students who had grown up in one place had a rooted allegiance to that place and its people; these students had given that up and, not having a single place or people to which to tie themselves, they identified as 'international' with the same fervor with which a nationalist might identify with their country. When I asked him if it was difficult for a local Swiss

[396] Billy, interview with author, January 25, 2021
[397] Nigel, interview with author, January 22, 2021.
[398] Athar, interview with author, February 26, 2021.
[399] Anonymous, private correspondence, February 7, 2020.
[400] Alan, private correspondence, February 2, 2020.
[401] Anonymous, private correspondence, February 7, 2020.

boy to integrate into this international environment for his final two years of school, Mikael, a Swiss student whose uncle was a famous Genevan politician and the head of public education, responded "My parents were international as journalists and my mother worked for the Red Cross so when I finally joined Ecolint I felt like I was among my people - real international people among whom I felt I belonged."[402] Internationalism's centrality to respondents' description of their identities may explain the occasionally defensive responses I received when in asking what made the curriculum international, it appeared I was questioning the extent to which the school was truly international.

Respondents painted a utopian vision of perfect social integration regardless of national affiliation. "We socialized in and out of school, at parties, acted in plays and partook in sports together. We all levelled up quickly and understood it was personalities that worked or did not work together. Bias and prejudice was nowhere to be seen or felt."[403] "I had the most extraordinary experience of a child coming from a communist country and accepted by all... Americans, British, South-Americans, Egyptians, Palestinians and Israelis...etc…etc."[404] The doubling up of 'etc.' was a frequent trope in survey responses and interviews mentioning nationalities, doubtlessly emphasizing that the list could go on and on and that this is evidence of their internationalism. It points to the importance former students placed on the range of nationalities that, perhaps, justified the pride they could feel in overcoming these national labels. Indeed, differences of all kinds were displayed as prestigious badges of accomplishment. "I dated a black girl, loved a Russian girl and an Arab girl, but she had already been promised in marriage so wasn't allowed to date me."[405] Several respondents included statistics (not always correct) on their peers' nationalities as a way of emphasizing how international their experience was: "86 different nationalities at the time";[406] "we were from 52 different countries/nationalities."[407] Athar said: "Two American girls, a Mexican girl, a South African were my closest friends, and a Lebanese boy. The friendship groups were not segregated with all the Asians friends like in the UK or anything like that."[408]

Despite alumni's emphasis on the school's egalitarian nature, it was notable that respondents frequently mentioned their friendships with the children of business moguls or royal families in the same breath as they listed nationalities, a further indication, perhaps, of the association between international diversity and the prestige it conferred on them by association. Mikael recalls: "I was

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[402] Mikael, interview with author, April 9, 2021.
[403] Anonymous, private correspondence, February 7, 2020.
[404] Anonymous, private correspondence, June 8, 2020.
[405] Jim, private correspondence, February 7, 2020.
[406] Jimmy, private correspondence, March 7, 2020.
[407] Jaako, private correspondence, February 7, 2020.
[408] Athar, interview with author, February 26, 2021.

friends with a Turkish Prince, Americans, French and Swiss and English. American culture dominated, with the importance of English and French culture coming next."[409]

If the listing of nationalities as a prestige good is the first thing that struck me in alumni responses, the second was the depth of friendships. "We were a close-knit bunch of students, and I loved having friends from so many different nationalities and religions. Among others I was very close friends with a Pakistani student. I dated a Cuban boy and a Brazilian boy who also attended Ecolint."[410] Nearly fifty years after playing in a rock band with a South Korean student, an American alumnus expressed remorse and grief that he was not able to see him before he died. Fifty years after graduating, many of the friendships endured, expressed through regular conversations, reunions, and a high degree of presence on social media. Indeed, the alumni office confirmed that the students who attended the school during the 'experimental period' setting up the IB (1962-1975) were more likely to respond to messages from the school and more engaged than any other group.[411]

Despite American culture's outsized presence, on the world stage as much as at Ecolint the egalitarian approach espoused by the school and its students was often referred to as the reason for the easy integration and deep friendships formed between students of different nationalities. "Being an equal with over 150 different cultures was a transformational experience."[412] Respondents also noted the pressure from peers and the school to demonstrate tolerance, visible in this response: "I mostly learned from the norms espoused by the other students, their attitudes and the sanctions of those students who showed disrespect towards another nationality or religion."[413] Although the discourse of diversity and egalitarianism can sound glib, it was central to how students saw themselves, and remains central for alumni as adults.

The student body's diversity also allowed for personal connections to current affairs and world history. Friendship gave students an emotionally powerful connection to world events such as the Palestinian/Israeli conflict, Taiwan's separation from China, the partition of India and subsequent tensions, the war in Vietnam, and the divisions between the west, the communist bloc, and the non-aligned countries. "I was friends with Abba Eban's niece, knew Palestinian students who had lost lands and, in one case, a leg, from the time when the English abandoned Israel. I met Africans from

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[409] Mikael, interview with author, April 9, 2021.
[410] Jan, private correspondence, March 7, 2020.
[411] Alumni office Ecolint, private correspondence, January 10, 2020.
[412] Anonymous, private correspondence, February 2, 2020.
[413] Anonymous, private correspondence, February 7, 2020.

Ghana and other nations and was enthralled with their internationalism and difference from African Americans I had met at home. I feel I had a life-changing experience and way of looking at the world. I learned about the Taiwanese/China conflict from one of my best friends, Patsy Chang, who was from Taiwan. I went to the movies once with a girl, the daughter of missionaries, who had grown up in Tanzania, and understood the Swahili language spoken in the film! My first two years were spent in the British O level system, so I was definitely not only with Americans."[414] While the vast majority of these links were expressed in affective terms rather than in ways that intellectualized or factualized the learning, the emotional impact that world events had on students due to knowing a citizen from that country undoubtedly created ties of allegiance that were more complex than purely nationalist allegiances.

6.4. Limits to Ecolint's Internationalism

Several survey responses and interviews echoed the concerns of internationalists such as Leach that Americans had too much influence. As an American alumnus recognized, the "large dominance of American influence which in retrospect was too much." But he was quick to point out that this did not affect the internationalism of his own experience as "my closest friends coming out of the school were not just Americans but others as well. We remain in contact and friends until this day."[415] Non-Americans expressed ambivalent attitudes. America was 'cool' but, in spite or perhaps because of its global influence, there was also some resentment of a country that increasingly dominated not just the military, economic, and cultural spheres, but also their school. "Culture at Ecolint was largely driven by the Americans. It was just the way people spoke. The accents. It was clear to most of us who were not American that Americans were big. They stood too close and talked too loudly. Even a lot of the non-American students were setting their sights on the American collegiate system."[416]

Other respondents took issue with Ecolint claiming that its internationalism allowed for an understanding of the world when it operated as an expensive, economically selective, private school. Most respondents argued that wealth was not an issue at Ecolint and that, as students, they were not aware of their comparative privilege or the extraordinarily affluence of the families who sometimes attended the school. Yet despite its efforts to encourage egalitarian discourse, it catered to a cosmopolitan elite. "Ecolint students all came from the affluent classes of their countries and formed a supra-national class of the wealthy. International understanding was within the parameters

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[414] Anonymous, private correspondence, February 7, 2020.
[415] Stuart, private correspondence, March 3, 2020.
[416] Nigel, interview with author, January 22, 2021.

of that global class. A… classless internationalism could not be developed in the Geneva context."[417] Many Americans enjoyed a privileged position in Europe. As Stuart, talking about the joys of being American in Europe in the 1960s, put it: "The world was fantastic with dollars. But most of the Americans coming over were very encapsulated in American ideas and culture."[418] He contrasted this with his own family whom he felt used their economic advantages to see Europe and learn about its cities and cultures.

As Ecolint's mission was never about educating the poor, perhaps a more fundamental observation is that Ecolint promoted homogeneity while praising diversity. Several respondents noted that the statistics on national diversity were misleading as there was little genuine cultural diversity. Shanta used himself as an example: "I left Sri Lanka at the age of 8 and then lived in New York until 16 so I didn't really know Sri Lanka."[419] This was the case for many students at Ecolint. Even those who stayed for short periods of time were often the children of diplomats who had little knowledge or experience of their home countries. "There is no diversity at the International School. They may look different. The color of their skin might be different. Take the accent. You can't even tell where people are from because they all learn to speak the same. In French too, 95% of the lessons were about pronunciation, and learning to pronounce words like a Parisian. I mean there can be and often is a diversity of ideas and perspectives, but not nationally [in terms of culture] even if there are many passports on paper."[420] This argument, that nationalities are only representative short hands for culture when the students with those nationalities are representative of the cultural norms of the country in question identifies a major difference – that between international and intercultural understanding. As long as international was the focus, the nationalities of the students and teachers stood out in focus and the limited range and depth of the cultures represented in the community was treated as a matter of secondary importance.

There were tokenistic approaches in student attitudes towards national diversity which clearly demonstrate a limitation when compared to an ideal of international understanding. Laura was American but had grown up in the U.S., the U.K., France, and Switzerland, and she mentioned several times the many nationalities of her friends during her time at Ecolint. She described herself as a girl who received a lot of attention from boys and partied a lot. "My best friends were a guy from Nigeria and girls from Holland and Japan. And there were all these Yugoslavs I was friends with, and I just took it for granted."[421] But amidst all this tolerance, there was a tokenism in the

[417] Sutton, private correspondence, March 7, 2020.
[418] Stuart, interview with author, January 28, 2021.
[419] Shanta, interview with author, April 28, 2021.
[420] Shanta, interview with author, April 28, 2021.
[421] Laura, interview with author, April 2, 2021.

listing of nationalities and kind of superiority associated with being American provided you were a cultured, Europeanized American. Laura was not the only respondent who adopted different national or transnational allegiances depending on the questions I asked. When I asked if tensions ever arose between Americans and others due to mixing of all these nationalities, or if any cliques formed as a result of certain nationalities and languages being heavily represented, she replied: "If we were all European, we would hang out together. It was no big deal. The Yugoslavs would sometimes talk of their parents' persecution."[422] Laura is sometimes American and sometimes European and sometimes Swiss, a chameleonic characteristic that is typical of Ecolint graduates who switch national allegiances so fluidly in conversation.

When the thrust of the discussion was not about internationalism, but a recollection of anecdotes, many alumni appeared much more willing to stereotype and use national labels as an explanatory text. One student described a teacher as a "Creepy [redacted nationality] teacher who would stand behind me and rub my shoulders."[423] She also had good friends who were from the same geographical region as the teacher, but her use of "creepy" and the fact that he allegedly wore "sleezy silk suits" seemed to act as a racially driven amplifier to solidify the image of an exotic pervert. When pushed to reflect on student relations with other non-Anglo-Americans, she remembered a history teacher as "a young woman from Lebanon. She was very exotic." Scott, referring to the same Lebanese history teacher, said "there was this new American student, and she [the teacher] asked the question: "how would you describe an Arab" and he stuck up his hand and gave a very disparaging review of what Arabs were which I won't repeat… very disparaging… and he finished and there was silence and she said: 'You know I'm an Arab.' That certainly taught me you need to be careful about your cultural baggage."[424]

With more than double the numbers of any other nationality in the student body the Americans "had a tendency to stick in their little cliques, but at the same time we got to know **those people** and they got to know us. In retrospect I wished I had spent more time with these people, many of whom I only really got to know after school."[425] The use of "those people" referred to a question where I had asked about the interactions between Americans and others but, as I learned in a subsequent interview with Manu, a Cuban and Spanish dual citizen, being 'American' had as much to do with an aspiration to be cool as anything else. Manu talks about being exposed to plenty of difference in the homes of his friends, but there was never any doubt that America represented what he wanted to

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[422] Laura, interview with author, April 2, 2021.
[423] Anonymous, interview with author, April 2, 2021. I removed the nationality of the teachers as well as the interviewee as an ethical decision in line with the research guidelines outlined in Chapter 2.
[424] Scott, interview with author, April 2, 2021
[425] Stuart, interview with author, January 28, 2021.

be. "Sure, a friend of mine was Indian. He lived down in 'Philosophes'. I would go to his house. There were curtains, it was dark, it smelled of curry… just kind of put me off. I was more attracted to modern life than to traditional. I can't think of anything cultural that shocked me… there were some pretty orthodox Jewish families with cluttered houses with tables covered in plastic. Those are memories… well at that time I didn't think that was very positive."[426] For Manu, Americans were influential not just because they were the majority of the student body: "they were the avant garde… everyone was kind of coming out from the dark ages… or so it seemed anyway. I certainly looked up to the American lifestyle."[427] Manu also recognized that his Amerophilia was not shared by everyone: "A lot of other friends were too caught up in their own culture to become Americanized. Those who did, they joined the group, but a lot went home and hung out with their families and didn't join our group."[428]

No Europeans or Americans I interviewed expressed any culture shock in terms of the contrast in culture between different nationalities in the school which, perhaps, suggests a limit on the claim that Ecolint was truly culturally diverse as opposed to cosmopolitan. Indeed, the participants seemed to express surprise that I would even ask a question linked to tensions between different nationalities of cultures. Bill was categorical: "Never saw any culture clash [in Ecolint]. Not at all." For others, difference appears to have been an invitation to introspection: "There was excellent teaching but the real thing [that made the school international] was the general environment and needing to be a little bit careful about the way you say things."[429]

When the term 'culture shock' was used or referred to by European or American alumni, it described the clash between Ecolint's culture and other nationally bounded, parochial cultures. It was used to describe the surprise and pleasure they found in a more permissive and relaxed Ecolint community when they arrived at the school. It is also a concept they turn to when they discussed returning to their home countries for university studies or work. For instance, Nigel referred to students at Cambridge who had done A-levels as "monomaniacs. Very good in a narrow kind of way. But when A level students were forced to branch out, they were completely lost."[430] Laura "was quite annoyed with my parents that they put me on a track to go to an American college. I hated it and would much preferred to have studied in Europe. I didn't want to go to the US with all these hippies and drugs and I was just this little girl from Geneva."[431]

[426] Manu, interview with author, January 29, 2021.
[427] Manu, interview with author, January 29, 2021.
[428] Manu, interview with author, January 29, 2021.
[429] Nigel, interview with author, January 22, 2021.
[430] Nigel, interview with author, January 22, 2021.
[431] Laura, interview with author, April 2, 2021.

One commonality in the interviews was a dismissive and sometimes derogatory attitude toward the majority of their fellow citizens in their home countries. Nigel, who arrived from an English grammar school at the age of 13, said he was "remarkably naive and with very little knowledge of other cultures." He had received "the typical British education, which is really not a very good one in terms of preparing you for the modern world. I learnt off by heart the succession of British kings and Queens and Ecolint converted me to a person of the world. It was fantastic."[432] When I expressed surprise at the difference, he noted between his U.K. education and Ecolint, given that majority of Ecolint's teachers were British, he simply affirmed that Ecolint's British teachers were "different" from those in England. He had come from a 'unisex' grammar school with uniforms to Ecolint where there were girls and no uniforms, which was relaxing, and the teaching was "really great."[433]

Mikoko's recollections are interesting as they are representative of her experience as a student who arrived at Ecolint with little to no English. As a Japanese student, the school's diversity was not hampered by American students dominating the student body or British teachers dominating the teaching staff. For her, there was no doubt that she had an international experience. For obvious reasons, her earliest memories of Ecolint revolve around the barriers of language. "I finished the 9th Grade in Tokyo and then in April I flew to Geneva and my English was not sufficient and so a lot of Friends helped me and the teachers too… I attended the regular classes. Things like maths, chemistry, physics I could understand fine with a little language, but French I had not had before, and English reading was too difficult for me. I was the only Japanese student in my year, but there was 1 Japanese student in almost every year. There were some Indian students, almost no Chinese, but some Africans, many with mixed parents white and black, many Americans. Everybody was very helpful to me. I could help others who were not so good in maths and they would help me with English."[434] This atmosphere of mutual aid, where students would help each other with homework and revision, was a theme repeated by a wide range of former students.

Given how few students seemed to experience cultural difference, it is worthwhile identifying the three socio-cultural elements in the Ecolint community that Mikiko remembered most vividly. First, "There were some Arabic people from the Saudi Royal family who came in 1971 and the girl, she could not fit because she didn't want to set (make) her bed because that was a servant's job. That

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[432] Nigel, interview with author, January 22, 2021.
[433] Nigel, interview with author, January 22, 2021.
[434] Mikoko, interview with author, March 3, 2021.

was a very shocking thing that I observed. I knew her well because she was another one who did not speak good English so we would walk together, but she was only there for a few months because she could not set the bed. The Arabic families would drive shiny cars in the campus in the years when oil was very expensive, so this was very surprising."[435] The school's culture was one of discreet wealth and in their memories numerous students expressed surprise at discovering, quite accidentally, that their classmates were from some of the world's wealthiest families. Secondly, "Another thing that really struck me is that a lot of high school students' parents were about to be divorced. When the youngest student graduated from high school, the parents were prepared to get divorced and that was really hurting the children really badly. The Asian parents were not even thinking about divorce, but Americans and Europeans they were all getting ready for divorce. Some of the girls and boys would have other places to live at the age of 17 and 18 and the parents would also live separately. And that was really tough."[436] Third, "Classes were often divided into 2 or 3 by levels and those students who could do higher level of studies were put into the higher levels of classes so I felt a lot of pressure to work hard… My parents would invite a lot of guests home as it was a very international environment and Europeans eat very long time, like two hours, so I would lose two hours of study when we had guests or were invited to others… I have observed so many different kinds of people and this really helped me. Most Japanese are almost the same, but in the international community I really saw a difference. Different strengths and difficulties." But for most Ecolint students, they did not have this experience of cultural difference, nor, it appears, did they seek it out. "Students never asked me about Japan. We weren't thinking much about nationality because we were children and a lot of people had not lived in their country and so nationality was really not an issue…"[437]

6.5. Conclusion

Teachers and students of Ecolint from 1950-1975 frequently expressed a strong desire to erase any sense of difference associated with nationality. Only in a small number of students, as in Mikiko's case, were there clear memories and evidence that friendship with citizens of another country allowed students to learn specifics about another culture or country. For most alumni of the period, their friendships were repeatedly presented as concrete evidence of the school's and students' triumph in erasing national affiliation or cultural background to allow for human connection between internationally-minded people. One statement recalled how, "Being thrust in with students from across the world at an early age made me oblivious to national identities. I consequently

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[435] Mikoko, interview with author, March 3, 2021.
[436] Mikoko, interview with author, March 3, 2021.
[437] Mikoko, interview with author, March 3, 2021.

married an Iranian (Muslim) and ended up living in the U.S. while missing the rest of the world!"[438] Another respondent concluded: "My biggest gain was an understanding that people are just people. They have the same emotions, goals, tastes, family units, and responsibilities."[439] There are dozens of further quotations to which I could point, but at least two participants directed me to the 1963 yearbook (see Fig. 5) and a quotation that seemed to resurface again and again in online alumni forums.

What do I remember about Ecolint?
Is it the school's internationalism?
No, for early on in the year, the
concept of nationality is crushed by
the weight of universal friendship."

The Echo Yearbook, 1963
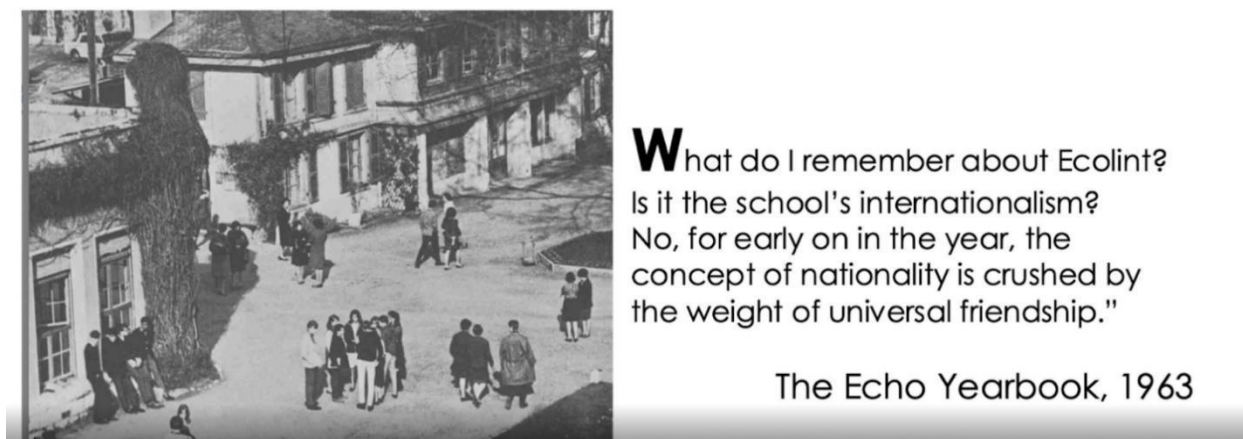
Figure 5: Quote from 'Essay' in 1963 Echo Yearbook[440]

Instead of a disciplined curiosity to learn about the individual national cultures represented in the student body, many alumni are proud of their indifference to nationality. They were able to be friends, go to barbeques, drink, play sports, and make music together, partially, it seems because they ignored international or inter-cultural differences. Or as Bill stated, the activity was more central than national culture in student interactions: "Sports brought students together, getting high brought students together. There was **a lot** of friendship between language groups and nationalities."[441] This cosmopolitanism was a badge of honor to be worn prominently, articulated as often as possible, and touted as an easy outcome of being at Ecolint. Ecolint students frequently defined their internationalism as defined by effortless ease. John, highlighted the connection between diverse friendships and 'open-mindedness.' "Having friends from many different countries did lead to more open-mindedness. There were many Indians, Iranians, fewer Africans, but there were certainly Chinese and Japanese students… we used to go [to one of my Indian friend's house] because the food was so good and his mother played the sitar, but I guess I felt at home… We

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[438] Ash, private correspondence, February 2, 2020.
[439] Anonymous, private correspondence, February 7, 2020.
[440] Bill, private correspondence, April 2, 2021.
[441] Billy, interview with author, January 25, 2021.

didn't really dig into politics and what was happening in their countries. They were friends."
Regarding a more explicit instruction in international understanding, John went to great pains to
emphasize that there were no ideological straight-jackets and that international understanding just
happened. "The school didn't force things on you. It was just a very welcoming community."[442]

Perhaps this is an important distinction: while open-mindedness is associated with internationalism
and frequently presented as a necessary pre-requisite to achieving greater international
understanding, it does not, on its own, allow for understanding. International understanding also
requires knowledge of countries and cultures other than your own – not just an openness to learning
about them. There were certainly teachers who supported greater international understanding by
expanding students' cultural knowledge through curricular and co-curricular experiences. However,
for most Ecolint alumni of this period international understanding is less about specific knowledge
and more about demonstrating that they could be comfortable in an international environment.

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[442] John, interview with author, April 1, 2021.

Chapter 7: International Understanding: Teaching and Learning

7.1. Introduction

International understanding has been and continues to be the single most important factor in distinguishing international schools from other schools.[443] In the previous chapter, I addressed the belief, common among students at Ecolint in the 1960s, that international understanding could be absorbed "through osmosis"[444] thanks to the many nationalities represented in Ecolint's student and teaching bodies. However, in the years preceding the establishment of the International Baccalaureate in 1968, teachers also adopted structured curricular approaches to developing international and intercultural understanding in students. This work continued after 1968 but this chapter will argue that the number and the significance of the major initiatives designed to teach international understanding declined after the first IB exams in 1971.

For Ecolint's students, many of the self-reported gains in international understanding took place through clubs, co-curricular activities, and during trips. In the written curriculum, efforts to teach international understanding are most visible in history, geography, and the languages. Ecolint's requirement that all student study three languages in secondary school up until the final two years was one formal curricular commitment to internationalism, as were the efforts to teach culture alongside language acquisition (discussed in depth in chapter 8). In the humanities curricula, efforts to raise international understanding can be seen both in the geographic range of chosen case studies and in the lessons designed to teach critical thinking. Little evidence suggests that these efforts were re-doubled or further improved upon during the experimental phase of the IB from 1968 – 1975. In fact, almost all the advances in teaching international understanding occurred before the introduction of the International Baccalaureate. The one exception was co-curricular: Leach's development of SIMEX, a geo-political simulation exercise game developed during the 1968-69 school year after he was released from his official involvement in the IB - after, in his words, he "no longer [sat] on any of the directing organs of the IBO."[445]

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[443] Terry Haywood, "A simple typology of international-mindedness and its implications," in *The Sage Handbook of Research in International Education*, ed. Mary Hayden, Jack Levy, and Jeff Thompson (London: Sage, 2007), 79–89; Ian Hill, "Evolution of education for international mindedness," *Journal of Research in International Education* 11, no. 3 (2012): 245–261.

[444] Russ, private correspondence, July 2, 2020. A student at Ecolint from 1960-73 Russ argued that this was how international understanding happened and how he and others understood international understanding to be transmitted at Ecolint.

[445] Leach, "International Schools," 123.

The focus for teachers and students on the IB program from 1968-1975 appears, from minutes of meetings and student reflections, to have largely been directed towards understanding the application of the IB assessment model and avoiding content overload for teachers and students alike. Interviews and archival material suggest that this concern with course coverage and assessment protocols, shared by almost all Heads of Department at Ecolint, displaced international understanding as the primary focus for teachers and students during this period. Extra-curricular and co-curricular activities continued to promote international understanding successfully throughout this period. There is some anecdotal evidence that students enrolled felt they had less time to participate in trips and activities, but this is difficult to quantify. Given the importance respondents ascribe to co-curricular activities in teaching international understanding, I start with them before analyzing the efforts made by teachers to 'internationalize' the formal academic curriculum.

7.2. Co-curricular Learning: Students' United Nations (SUN), SIMEX, and School trips

Almost all of the hundreds of survey responses and interviews with former students and teachers argued that the most memorable and, in some cases, most valuable educational lessons supporting international understanding came from trips and activities outside of academic lessons. Respondents referred in more colloquial ways to what Haywood and Bailey have described, in their definition of internationalism, as a "person's capacity to transcend the limits of a worldview informed by a single experience of nationality, creed, culture or philosophy and recognize in the richness of diversity a multiplicity of ways of engaging with the world."[446] Those transcendent and, in many cases, transformational moments, that crystallized international understanding for teachers and alumni appeared most vividly and with the highest degree of regularity in their remembrances of the Students' United Nations (SUN), SIMEX (another diplomatic simulations exercise), and school-sponsored trips.

Students' United Nations

The Students' United Nations (SUN), founded by Robert Leach at Ecolint in 1953, appears to be the first example of a Model United Nations organized by a secondary school for secondary school students.[447] SUN was a popular simulation of the United Nations where students represented

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[446] Richard Harwood and Kathryn Bailey, "Defining and evaluating international-mindedness in a school context," *International Schools Journal* 31, no. 2 (2012): 79.

[447] Lafayette College's MUN in 1946 is widely recognized as the first Model United Nations at university level involving undergraduate students. Berkley MUN organized by the University of California, Berkley, was founded in 1952 and is widely recognized as the first MUN which also invited secondary school, but it is tied to a university and is not the product of secondary school organization. There is no evidence of any other Model United Nations conferences organized by and for secondary schools before Leach's in 1953.

countries other than their own (typically two students represented each country) and debated resolutions pertaining to topical matters. SUN further emphasized the close relationship between the school and the United Nations, both in terms of physical proximity (SUN sessions took place at United Nations offices as well as on the premises of other international organizations such the CERN assembly room and the International Labour Organisation) and in terms of human connection (many students enjoyed the experience because it provided further insight into their parents' professions). Ecolint's goal after the First World War had been to provide an education for peace and, at its inception, SUN provided an elite and quasi-vocational training for students that would allow them to master the rules and procedures of international diplomacy, and practice the skills needed to build peace on an international stage.

Students remember SUN as reinforcing ties with their parents' professions. "I attended SUN... I was taken with it, because my father had given his life to diplomacy."[448] Another former student remarked: "I represented Chad and the Sudan, countries I later visited with my role in the UNHCR. UN things and diplomatic receptions were very normal to me because of my father's career."[449] Highlighting the links between their parents' professions, the world of international diplomacy and business, and their own subsequent careers recurred frequently in interview and survey responses. For many students, SUN's vocational utility went beyond just professionalization and those who, "had to represent a country and visited the embassies to get their views on the issues of the day." Making an appointment at an embassy and interviewing professionals as a student was an important part of the bridge-building between the student experience and the world of international diplomacy.

Part of the SUN experience was learning to comply with a set of rules designed to simulate the protocols of formal diplomatic negotiations. After 1969, Robert Leach also ran another diplomatic simulation – known as SIMEX – on school grounds, which occupied a whole weekend and required students to represent different governments trying to resolve an immediate crisis. SUN, SIMEX, and the student council were cited as important instances where students learned to "comply with rules of procedure."[450] By 1969 there were 67 rules of procedure for the SUN, many a full paragraph long. The rules were so important – and proliferated to such a degree – because its organization and management was led by students. "It was really student driven. Teachers stayed in the background. You had to do a bit of homework to learn the rules and figure out what it all

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[448] Billy, interview with author, January 25, 2021.
[449] Athar, interview with author, February 26, 2021.
[450] Annual Report of the Governing Board, 1971, 4. FEIG.C.2/13.

meant."[451] Discerning the rules of procedure was part of initiating students into the world of diplomacy. In an interview that turned to his SUN experience, Billy started by confessing that he had forgotten much about SUN, but "I remember that to speak you had to speak within a framework. You couldn't go here or there. You had to speak within certain rules. It was great practice in learning how to speak without creating animosity and offending. Students joined because it was a by-product of the kind of education we were getting, but this was taking it to the next level."[452] One former student learned a very different lesson: "The SUN (Student United Nations) contributed to my understanding that there was a lot of hot air and waste of money in those international organisations."[453] In this quotation and in others like it, even those who expressed distain for or distrust in the UN saw connections between their student SUN experience and the reality of the UN and international diplomacy. The reference to 'hot air' evidently applies to both the pseudo and real diplomatic exchanges. However, most respondents said something to the effect that the "Students' United Nations, if well prepared, required research of a country's international political position" and participants still remembered these countries and their positions over fifty years later. "Guatemala was my first assigned country, South Africa second"[454] was a typical answer crisply conveying the facts without the hesitancy which sometimes fogged responses and with a degree of pride and some sense of ownership.

The venue was as critical as the rules in lending SUN gravitas. Not only did the annual session take place over several days in the UN assembly halls, the International Labor Organization, or CERN, but in 1969, the Graduate Institute of International Relations began organizing 'mock' sessions.[455] Leaving the school and entering the world of adult diplomacy was a critical part of the ritual. With the venue came the expectation that students 'dress up' to look like adult diplomats. Laura remembers that she "did SUN two times and that was the most wonderful experience, going to the old BIT[456]. It was very serious. Boys put on ties and it was a real fake UN".[457] Being immersed in the adult world of power politics, dressing in business clothes, and pretending to be one another in all kinds of ways led to some theatrics, high emotions, and indelible memories. This certainly goes some of the way towards explaining why SUN and SIMEX were among the first things alumni thought of when it came to international understanding. The impact these experiences had on students ranged from the superficial to the profound. There was doubtless a frivolous side to the

[451] Stuart, interview with the author, January 28, 2021.
[452] Billy, interview with author, January 25, 2021.
[453] Marianne, private correspondence, February 7, 2020.
[454] Anonymous, private correspondence, July 7, 2020.
[455] Annual Report of the Governing Board, 1969. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/12.
[456] Bureau International du Travail (BIT) or International Labour Organisation (ILO) in English.
[457] Laura, private correspondence, February 4, 2021.

'dress up' and the 'make believe' staging of diplomatic negotiations among children. A school publication even noted the public criticism levelled at the school by many parents who "did not entirely approve of children's dabbling, emotionally or intellectually with politics" but also noted, in defense, that "this activity remains among the most beloved of our students."[458] One alumna recalled being "greatly influenced by United Nations activities, especially post-war refugee issues. I became community director of the third largest resettlement program of Hmong refugees in the Midwest of the USA."[459] There may not be enough evidence to draw a causal relationship, but well over a quarter of respondents claimed that SUN was one of the most important initiatives in developing international understanding and that this understanding influenced their career and life decisions.

In his 1972 paper, "International Schools: A New Evaluation," Robert Leach reiterated the importance of extracurricular activities such as SUN. Debating themes such as "Long range planning for humanity" (1970,) which recommended the "Helvetization" of a world federal government with seven capitals, seven executives, and a tri-cameral legislature,"[460] or the "One world of None" resolution of 1971, which recommended extensive population controls to limit global population growth to 0%, were radical approaches to including students in re-imagining of global politics. Leach also stressed that the students from six schools (some of them local Geneva state schools) at SIMEX in July 1972 were negotiating using "two-way radio communication, closed television circuits, and the use of diplomatic pouch" so that students could experience, as closely as possible, the contemporary realities of international diplomacy.[461] This was the critical point for Leach: that simulations be realistic simulacra of diplomacy. Student participants also learned this lesson. Referring to SIMEX, one former student remembered a "weekend exercise where we simulated a crisis in the Middle East - I was a journalist on the *Zurich Times* trying to find out what was going on. This exercise brought home how difficult it could be to get the facts about international events. This interaction with students from all over the world increased my understanding of international issues and cultures."[462] SUN's aim was to have students think like diplomats, with one major difference: in the real world, a diplomat acts in the interests of the country they represent; in SUN students were not allowed to represent their own countries as the goal was to create an experience that helped students to become more knowledgeable about how to create peace though international organizations and more empathetic by approaching the world's

[458] Elizabeth Briquet, "The Students' United Nations," in *International School of Geneva: The first fifty years*, ed. Marie-Thérèse Maurette (International School of Geneva, 1974), 241.
[459] Kel, private correspondence, July 27, 2020.
[460] Robert Leach, "International Schools: A New Evaluation," unpublished paper (1972): 9. International School of Geneva, Leach Archives.
[461] Leach, "International Schools," 9.
[462] Relpa, private correspondence, February 2, 2020.

conflicts from a new perspective. Stuart and other SUN participants say exactly this, though their language indicates that in most cases they were only trying out another perspective for a brief time before returning to their previous point of view. "It got you in there so you could see the situation from the other side, put yourself in their shoes. It served me very well. I spent my life travelling, spending a lot of time in Arab countries and that experience really served me well... Part of the learning experience was realizing that there were cultural differences and then learning to accept those cultures, even the crazy ones."[463] The last few words indicate that despite empathy, there remained limits to student respect for and acceptance of the range of global political interests.

Leach's SIMEX program only began in the late 1960s while SUN dated to 1953. Today, SUN is still running (renamed the Student League of Nations) in a recognizable format almost 70 years after it was founded. With Leach's retirement, SIMEX ended in 1981. Nevertheless, SIMEX played an important part in the school's activities for over a decade. The 'thank you letters' from Head of School Phil Thomas to Bob Leach indicate that staff involvement grew substantially from the 3-5 teachers involved in the late 1960s to "20 or so colleagues who generously committed their weekend to the exercise."[464] In the late 1960s and 1970s, the games took place over a Spring weekend. Dr Leach, Michael Knight, and M. Douin coordinated the exercise, but it was always student led and was advertised as such in communications from the school in 1970 and in subsequent years. "The responsible students are: Jonathan Greenhill, Secretary General of SUN and Marcelo Sanchez, Chairman of the 'Forum des Jeunes.'[465] The club's first meeting was on November 26, 1970, and the first event took place on March 27-28, 1971. Each year, a student was appointed "historian of the game" and wrote a "History of the International School Political Games," a clear attempt by Leach to remind students of the historian's important role in politics and peace. For 1970 the historian was Hisham El Naggar and his record provides some insight into the lengths that student organizers went to cultivate a sense of immediacy and tension to create more realistic diplomatic negotiations. The historical précis of the situation reads as follows: "India, worried about its own safety in case of an Indo-Pakistani war, asked for Soviet military help…" Other problems and tensions ensued, including "a Japanese statement in which Japan denied that it thought of colonizing S. Korea… Most Western countries seem reluctant to interfere; the USA so as to maintain the 'balance of power' in Asia; Britain according to its former decision of abandoning all its military bases east of the Suez and the rest of the western allies because they had no wish to

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[463] Stuart, interview with author, July 6, 2020.
[464] Letter from Phil Thomas to Bob Leach, April 8, 1981. Folder "SIMEX (1976-1981)," International School of Geneva Leach Archives.
[465] Letter from the Director General, November 19, 1970. Folder "SUN papers," International School of Geneva Leach Archives.

endanger their safety by taking part in the war."[466] The history is twelve pages long and documents, month by month, the development of the crisis. Other schools from the Canton of Geneva, such as the Collège Calvin and the Collège du Léman, also took part.

A sense of the proceedings can be pieced together from the schedule and rules:

- The day started 09h30 on Saturday in the conference room. "Conference delegates will take part in this session around the conference table, under the chairmanship of Finland to establish an agenda" and allow for an informal exchange of views after a presentation by the press corps.

- Students then had 90 minutes to produce a position paper from their country on the scenario that had been presented.

- Countries, of which there were approximately 20, were grouped by political ties (United Stated, UK and Canada in one room; Hungary, Romania, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in another, etc.).

- The position papers were ratified by the control room and governments could send messages via a messaging system, referred to as TELEX.

- The Press was also present as were other governments as observers (if they were not directly involved in the crisis).

As the scenarios developed and intensified over the years, it is apparent that Leach and the students valued the 'crisis' as an instructional tool to lend authenticity to the exercise and better support learning. SUN might be about rules, procedures, and the United Nations, but SIMEX was about crisis response and realpolitik and the scenarios were meant to elicit an emotional response as well as intellectual engagement. In 1972, the "Crisis Scenario for Lebanon" read:

> At 5.30 AM the Palestinian Commandos, most of whom had moved across from Syria, organized a raid on Israeli soil from its Lebanese base. This group responsible to Yasar Arafat (who was present in person) blew up a school and a community hall of a frontier kibbutz, in which action seven Israelis were killed.[467]

Immediately afterwards, student participants received additional crisis documents:

> At 8 AM on the 15th Pres Khadafi received a code message from the Dassault company headquarters indicating that 40 mirage 5 jets which were being assembled in

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[466] Hisham al Naggar, "History of the Game." Folder "SIMEX 1970," International School of Geneva Leach Archives.
[467] Robert Leach, "Crisis Scenario for Lebanon, 1972." Folder "SIMEX (1970-1975)," International School of Geneva Leach Archives.

South Africa might be available with pilots by a secret agreement with South Africa, upon whose soil they were being assembled.[468]

Each one of these crisis docs was longer than a typed page and contained significant details to which students could refer as they attempted to diffuse or escalate the crisis. The histories of the SIMEX games tend to show how quickly a crisis situation tended towards escalation. Where SUN was about protocol and calm, SIMEX taught lessons on the dangers of escalation in the event of an international crisis.

Yearbooks, conversations with alumni, and written histories - whether produced in the 1960s before the introduction of the IB or after – emphasize the political simulation exercises, and SUN in particular, as the single most important educational experience in international mindedness. It was frequently described as fun, exciting, and theatrical, but it was a chance to be someone else rather than a chance to be better than other people. This point about school activities being inclusive of Ecolint students (even when they were undoubtedly elitist in some other respects) rather than competitive was critically important. It seems to have been a large part of what inculcated a spirit of international cooperation – something that sounds pompous in school newsletters and assemblies, but was recognized as true by students. "People liked to make it exciting so students would try and be Khrushchev and take their shoe off and bang it on the table. But I think what's interesting is that none of these – SUN, SIMEX – they weren't competitions. They weren't about being better than someone else; not like spelling bees or trivia games – it was all about working together."[469]

Working together, yes, but equally important was the exercise of pretending to be one another. SUN and SIMEX were further exercises in empathy or, perhaps in the chameleonic qualities which are also associated with 'being international.' It is also true that there was no attempt to quantify the gains in international understanding as a result of SUN. The documents in archives of the creator of these events probably represent selection bias which would encourage researchers to see positive impact on international understanding. And self-reports by participants 50 years after the fact attesting that the experience advanced international understanding can't all be taken at face value. But together, I would argue that these represent enough evidence to infer that these events advanced international understanding more than they detracted from it. In any case, contemporary documentation and more recent interviews demonstrate that these activities were closely tied to the identity of a school because of their common claim to value and promote international understanding.

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[468] Leach, "Crisis Scenario for Lebanon."
[469] Amy, interview with author, March 7, 2020.

Trips

If SUN allowed students an opportunity to wear a costume, try on different ideas, and be someone else, memories of school trips often associated learning with the exoticism and adventure of travel. An Indian, Dalip, remembered having to obtain a special passport as India and Israel did not have diplomatic relations in 1968:

> It was just months after the Six-day war. A troupe of about 80 students and 8 faculty chaperones. Dinner on Easter Sunday – the management of the hotel we were staying in said it was a tradition that everyone had to have four glasses of wine. Imagine what a thrill for the students – the junior ones especially, and the teachers could do nothing about it! What an evening it was with the occasional sound of shell-fire in the far distance.[470]

Amy, a Jewish-American, remembered the same 1968 trip to Israel:
> They were blowing up school buses. I don't know why my parents let me go. But the expectation in the school was that you could go on these trips. I was the only Jew on that trip. It was right before Passover and I found myself explaining a lot of what we were seeing to my friends. But there was also a lot of scariness. 'Oh, those sounds you're hearing, that's just bombing on the other side of the Golan Heights…' There were soldiers everywhere and they were very excited about seeing young girls speaking English and listening to music out of the back of the bus.[471]

The connection between the ordinary and the high-risk elements of the trip – the confusion between the excitement over bombs and wine and music out of the back of a bus – was all part of a narrative that demonstrated students' exceptional ability to bridge worlds. And, as Dalip said, all this, his passport, everything… "the school had organised all of this."

The stories former teachers and students collected during their travels, retold with an emphasis on the exotic and the unusual, became badges of internationalism. The Governing Board also repeatedly emphasized the importance of these wide-ranging trips as consonant with Ecolint's mission of promoting international understanding and students often made clear connections

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[470] Dalip, private correspondence, April 12, 2021.
[471] Amy, interview with author, March 7, 2020.

between trips and their subsequent choices of career or even partner. These adventures all came at a financial cost in addition to school tuition. "As a teacher's daughter, some activities were too expensive… [yet]… some of my classmates travelled to China or Russia and in those days, that was amazing."[472] Even if the trips were somewhat financially exclusive, the stories students brought back to their peers further catalyzed the desire to travel internationally. There is also anecdotal evidence to show that these trips also enriched social ties and classroom discussions.

The 1966 Annual Report of the Governing Board included references to the teachers' hard work in advancing the IB project and highlighted that "educational voyages were organised to Egypt, Israel, the USSR and, in conjunction with Oxfam, to Algeria." These trips included large numbers of students. For instance, just the visits to Russia and Italy over the 1969 Easter holiday included over 100 students.[473] In the 1973 Annual Report, the "In Quest of the World" section asserted that "cultural trips have once more been an aim of the school. More than 300 pupils have set off on voyages of archaeological, ethnographic or artistic discovery in the places where spreading civilisation, whose worn stones, having defied the centuries, still bear witness. Rome, Florence, Pompeii, Naples, Istanbul, Ankara, Ephesus, Milet, Izmir, Pergamo, Budapest, Moscow…"[474] For the Governing Board, and for teachers and students, what was exceptional was not so much the particular learning objectives of a trip but the fact that students travelled to unusual (for school trips) and far-flung destinations such as Israel, the USSR during the Cold War, Greece, Yugoslavia, and North Africa. For some students, ski trips on weekends were already seen as cultural and sporting adventures and all the former students and teachers I interviewed framed the school trips as adventures. It is easy to dismiss co-curriculars as mere leisure time and to focus solely on the classroom, but if we accept that important learning stands the test of time, the responses of former students who graduated from secondary school fifty years ago attest to the enduring influence of these extracurriculars: in terms of teaching international understanding, "spring break trips were far and away the most important activities (Greece, Russia, Algeria). These resonate with me almost daily. The trip to Russia was during the Cold War. We learned that the Russian people were just like us, and that that all the propaganda was hogwash."[475]

Students reflected on trips as a valuable form of experiential learning that allowed them to develop greater cultural and international understanding. Led by teachers, the trips were associated with the school even though they typically took place over holidays or weekends. Joan Holden emphasized

[472] Catherine, private correspondence, February 2, 2020.
[473] Annual Report of the Governing Board, 1969. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/12.
[474] Annual Report of the Governing Board, 1973, 12. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/16.
[475] Anonymous, private correspondence, March 7, 2020.

the importance of trips and activities for teachers as well as students. "Teachers weren't paid for this; they wanted to do it." As a teacher, Joan Holden went on canoe trips, half term trips, skiing with students almost every weekend, and helped run the alpine club. "There were times when the weekend wasn't a weekend... every weekend from January to Easter and that was just skiing…You worked hard. It was very much a community. It was one school." Colleagues and students were, "like family." Annual field trips were important and exciting and they "turned the kids around in some cases."[476]

One student, who left in 1968, remembered school-sponsored trips to other countries as

> "one of the best aspects of my education. It helped me understand many different peoples and lifestyles. On the trips we would interact with students from the country we were visiting. On the trip to Israel we divided up and each stayed with an Israeli family for a long weekend. This type of mind-broadening experience cannot be taught in the classroom!... I learned that people can live in many different ways, have different customs, different foods, politics, etc., but we all share a common humanity. It has made me more open-minded, tolerant of all, and a better person. When I listen to the news, I try to see the perspective of all sides. I wish everyone could have the experience of attending an international school with students from all over the world. It is an amazing education in and of itself!"[477]

In this description, like many others, the respondent alternates between crediting the school for supporting character dispositions such as open-mindedness because of specific experiences travelling and yet also elides this with the benefits of day to day immersion in a school with 'students from all over the world.'

Almost everyone interviewed wanted me to understand that, with respect to organizing travel for its students, "**what the international school did then was the exception to the rule**. People didn't just go back and forth between the United States and Europe as many people do today."[478] The implication in many of the interviews is that students were living remarkably different lives – more adventurous and exceptional than not only their contemporaries, living in countries or schools that were not international, but also students and teachers today.

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[476] Joan Holden interview, November 8, 2020.
[477] Jan, private correspondence, March 3, 2020.
[478] Scott, interview with author, February 4, 2021.

Memories of trips to the USSR and Israel that highlighted the danger, discomfort, difference, and clear connection to the narrator's future, were typical of the travel stories told by former students and teachers.

> I went on the Russian trip and when I went to Georgetown, I majored in Russian studies. Those trips to Hungary, across the Black Sea in a Russian Ship, the trip to Israel, definitely set me on my way. In Russia, the KGB arrested students we were talking to and just took them away. I must have been 15 years old. It was organised by the school and the teachers were chaperones. And they regretted it. We were trading blue jeans and records and gum and anything. I remember walking around Red Square and some young people wanting to know more about our culture came to speak with us and the police or KGB came and dragged them away. And this trip was a catalyst for my interest in Russia.[479]

The history teacher Michael Knight organized several of the Russia trips and recollected the complex logistics of an operation that involved one group of students and teachers flying to Warsaw, where they were met by the other half who had travelled by train via Vienna and Budapest. Having taken the train with his group of students, Knight recalled "sinister and amusing episodes" that marked the participants and provoked conversations that continued decades later. The sinister involved "the sound of metal springs laid between the rails clanging on the carriage axles to remove potential stowaways" and "the searchlights on the watchtowers" as well as being treated to a delicious porridge that they later realized was minced brains. The amusing was also accompanied by a frisson of adventure: smuggling champagne into the ballet, the "fierce wardresses on each floor"[480] of the hotel, and the invitations to black market barter or sell their clothes. The sense that the experience of difference as an adventure was more powerful than the intellectualization of international understanding pervaded Knight's writings and many alumni interviews.

At Ecolint, teachers were trying, independent of the IB project, to provide students with the time, space, and experiences to develop their whole person, to be emotionally alive and engaged with the world as their classroom. At Ecolint, these different perspectives were grouped under the aegis of internationalism, a concept alumni respondents didn't always find easy to conceptualize

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[479] Scott, interview with author, February 4, 2021.
[480] Michael Knight, "Travel," in *International School of Geneva: The first fifty years*, ed. Marie-Thérèse Maurette (International School of Geneva, 1974), 241.

intellectually but one which they knew, with certainty, that they were a part of.[481] The creation of this international identity, to the extent that abstract ideas can be linked to concrete occurrences, always involved experiences that encouraged students to see other realities and adopt different perspectives, and students believed, whether travels, SUN, SIMEX, the IB, or sports competitions, that they were part of an elite that defined itself through an unusual openness to the world.

7.3. International Understanding in the Classroom

Classroom instruction, supported by transnational and internationally minded curriculum development, promoted international understanding by exposing students to a diverse range of case studies and by adopting pedagogical approaches from a range of countries that teachers felt represented international 'best practice' in their subjects.

For Ecolint's science and math teachers, their learning objectives were not as explicitly linked to international understanding as in the humanities subjects. Science and math teachers felt that mathematics and science already represented an international language that rose above cultural differences. They were teaching universal truths and an internationally recognized methodology and therefore spent less time than the humanities in teaching students to identify and reflect on culturally situated truths. However, the choice of curriculum in the sciences and math nevertheless invited international comparisons and an open-mindedness to new pedagogical approaches. Teachers sought out international 'best practices' and were proud to say that they could cherry-pick the best curricula and most innovative teaching and learning practices from other countries. Students of physics and chemistry, for instance, followed the Nuffield teaching project, a curriculum approach described by the Head of Chemistry as "influenced by modern thoughts and trends" so that students could understand "what it means to approach a problem scientifically."[482] Nuffield,[483] like many other pedagogical programs, sought to emphasize a deep understanding of the sciences rather than factual recall. Its aim was to create students who would think like scientists rather than simply being able to recall science facts. The Head of Physics added that, "wherever possible the work of the Department is related to the specialised studies of International

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[481] Anonymous, private correspondence, May 19, 2020.

[482] Reg Unitt, "Revue," 1967, 15. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.K.1.3/1.
    Unit also wrote that Revue, as the magazine of the PTA: "set out to replace ill-informed grumbles and gossip with reliable information and to reveal something of the dedication that the teachers and administration feel for their work." Revue, 1968, 2. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.K.1.3/1.

[483] Nuffield science was born out of a 1956 UNESCO conference in Hamburg attended by the Chairman of the Science and Education Subcommittee (Henry Boulond). In 1961 the Nuffield Foundation decided to grant £250,000 to improving science teaching in England and Wales. Based on principles of discovery learning, it was not a full curriculum, but it did provide teachers with experiments and materials to support science learning.

Organisations such as CERN, WHO, and ITU."[484] In mathematics, "The International School of Geneva with its progressive teaching character could not lag behind… over the past four years the mathematics department has been adjusting to the revolution in curricula and teaching methods in the United States, England, Belgium, Switzerland, France and other countries."[485] The head of mathematics, Asmy Naswar, said that he and his colleagues drew on curriculum and pedagogical influences from the SMSG[486] in the US; the Leicester and S.M.P. projects in England; and Papy, Bréard, Donadieu, and Suter from Switzerland and the European continent.[487]

Searching out innovative opportunities for teaching and learning such as Nuffield Science were often transnational or international in origin, but while teachers sought to make interesting connections through the curriculum, in the 1950s, 60s, and 70s the sciences and math at Ecolint did not prioritize international understanding as part of their written or taught curricula.

Languages and the humanities stand out as subjects whose 'raison d'être' was the teaching of international understanding. Fundamentally different from the role humanities courses played in educating citizens in the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and many other countries at the time – where the primary goal was to inculcate some form of national knowledge, identity, and common heritage – the principles at work at Ecolint, first introduced in through Paul Dupuy's synthetic geography and Madame Maurette's assemblies in the 1920s and 1930s, sought to develop close familiarity and even emotional connection with heretofore alien parts of the world. Such courses emphasized the commonalities among all peoples and the parallels between places. Yet, by 1968, and after an extensive audit of the curriculum by the MSA (Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools), the chairman of visiting committee Albert Oliver wrote a terse assessment of internationalism at Ecolint: "The student body reflects many nations – the faculty does not. Some programs reflect internationalism; others do not."[488]

It is hard to quarrel with his assessments when the English department declared in 1967 to parents that their role as a department was "to prepare students for their eventual sitting of the American College Board examinations and the Advanced Placement test or the British General Certificate of Education."[489] Hardly a bold commitment to teaching international understanding. In 1967 the

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[484] Anthony Montgomery, "Revue," 1967, 17. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.K.1.3/1.
[485] Asmy Naswar, "Revue,", 1967, 16. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.K.1.3/1.
[486] The School Mathematics Study Group (SMSG) was an American academic think tank focused on reforming education in mathematics. It was financed by the National Science Foundation in the wake of the 1958 Sputnik launch and produced innovative support materials for teaching mathematics until 1977.
[487] Asmy Naswar, "Revue,", 1967, 17. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.K.1.3/1.
[488] Desmond Cole-Baker, "Revue," 1967, 16. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.K.1.3/1.
[489] Elizabeth Martin, "Revue," 1967, 7. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.K.1.3/1.

argument that you were international because you were preparing students for multiple types of national exams was not a convincing demonstration of radical internationalism. World literature's rise had yet to make a significant impact on the language departments and even if there was evidence that teachers in the department were discussing the introduction of a wider range of international literature, Burt Melnick, an English teacher who arrived at the school in 1970, recalled that other members of the department argued they were teaching world literature through the Bible and classics like the Iliad and Odyssey. The English department's priority was to expose students to the classics of Western Literature rather than teach cultural difference and internationalism through its texts.

Ecolint's humanities curricula represented the most robust effort to design a curriculum to promote international understanding, even if the curriculum was not as international as zealots such as Robert Leach would have liked. But for many alumni, who compared their experiences at Ecolint to the education they would have received in a national system, they recognized again and again that history, geography, philosophy, languages, and other humanities subjects offered them the possibility to experience other worlds.

> The... subject I could say that really taught internationalism was history. In the U.S. you memorized American state capitals and dates and here you learned world history... There was a Lebanese lady, a history teacher, who was magnificent. We studied Byzantium and all kinds of things you never would have studied in the United States. You might have studied a little bit about the Roman Empire in the states, but the Byzantine Empire and the rise of Islam? That you never would have learned [in the United States] in the 1960s.[490]

History also seems to have been used to good effect to contextualize current events.

> History class all four years certainly did [teach international understanding], and we studied the Israeli/Palestinian conflict and Vietnamese history during the 1967 Israeli War, and of course, the Vietnamese War. History was very definitely world history and not American history - good thing I studied that in elementary/middle school![491]

Just as its language requirements set Ecolint apart from typical national schools, teachers hoped that their teaching of history, geography, philosophy, and economics would do so too.

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[490] Stuart, interview with author, January 1, 2021.
[491] Anonymous, private correspondence, February 7, 2020.

Robert Leach's History of Civilization Course taught the sort of universalist history first developed by Paul Dupuy and outlined by Marie-Thérèse Maurette in 1948. It sought to eliminate student perceptions that national borders were more significant than our common humanity. The following course outline, first conceptualized by Leach in the late 1950s, provides a notable example in that it does not specify national regions.

Story of the civilization of mankind is a <u>unit.</u>

A) In the course we will try to grasp the <u>interrelationships</u> of cultures – chiefly lecture based on outline of text
1) To provide <u>understanding</u> of why we are what we are.
2) To appreciate the inheritance which have come from the various cultures which have existed.
3) Four great periods of history are discernible each to be treated more extensively than the last
a) Pre-literary history when mankind developed from savagery into barbarism
b) Second there is the great emergence of civilisation in certain regions of Asia and America.
c) After a decline into barbarism in western Asia, comes the great flowering of the Greek-Roman civilization
d) A second decline is followed by the Renaissance and Reformation and Industrial Revolution

Our second semester is reserved for the development of our present stage of culture. In the light of Spengler's *Decline of the West* (1918) and the atomic bomb, sometimes we wonder if our great civilization is not in danger of vanishing as did the earlier two.[492]

Words such as 'savagery' and 'barbarism' highlight the often dated and potentially demeaning terminology in his notes (and in the classroom given that many of these phrases feature on his overhead projector transparencies) which suggests a rather limited approach to anthropological diversity – by today's standards. The course outline also illustrated Leach's pessimistic view of human progress, a pessimism for which the United Nations, international diplomacy, and global peace efforts presented the only possible antidote.

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[492] Robert Leach, "History of Civilisation Course," International School of Geneva Leach Archives.

As was often the case in Leach's courses, the content was vast and the assessments demanding given the time allocated. The course included regular quizzes, an exam after six weeks, and a term paper at the end. Students were expected to "read 30 pages a week" of primary and secondary sources. The course for years 7 to 11 concluded with the end of the 19th century and, by the 1968-69 school year, had been fully updated to incorporate, in Leach's words, "the audio-visual revolution," as part of the history curriculum, which comprised 12% of lessons on average in the upper years (year 10 – 13) and 20% of lessons in the lower years.[493] He and his fellow historians (especially Michael Knight, who was the department's audio-visual expert) were proud of this initiative because their use of audio-visual resources placed their curriculum development on the cutting edge of humanities curriculum reform, and their adoption of novel sources was later compared, by Ecolint teachers, to Bruner's MACOS project. The difference between assessments devised internally by the school and those to be put in place by the IB was that teachers in the school frequently adjusted content and assessments to respond to the class. We know from Leach's end of year curriculum reflections[494] that he rarely finished courses as he planned them and often had to cut significant content or assessments. With the IB courses, initially taught over the final three years, this was not possible, and the pressure to cover content at the cost of developing student attitudes related to international understanding was pronounced. This was a critical tension, which developed in the 1970s, and to which I will return.

Leach followed Maurette's suggestion, and his own belief, that the teaching of history should be less Amero- and Euro-centric and that case studies and topics should be drawn from around the world in a comparative approach. For instance, when teaching on Vietnam, he chose to begin in 500 BCE and drew remarkable comparisons with other parts of the world, which one can only hope were clearer in his actual lectures than in his lecture notes. For instance: "In 111 BC (Vietnam) became a straight Chinese province. Revolts occurred as in Jewish Palestine, notably in 40 AD."[495] The following periods and regions are represented in Leach's teaching notes: "ancient and classical civilisations", "E. Roman Empire", "Medieval Europe, Modern Europe, Middle East (976 – 1970)", "A short course on African history" (Lecture 1: "West African Story" starting with the Phoenicians, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines and Arabs and moving through to the 1960s touching on Sierra Leone, Ghana, Gambia, Senegal, Liberia and Morocco, Lecture 2 title: "French West African Story"), Lecture on East Africa AD 120 -1976, Turkey 1900-1975, Lecture on Contemporary Syria, Contemporary history focusing on the US, Western Europe and tensions with the USSR, and Cuba and China. Amidst the archival folder labelled "Visual Aids" and stuck between diagrams outlining

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[493] Robert Leach, "A Year's History Teaching: 1968-1969," 12. International School of Geneva Leach Archives.
[494] Leach, "A Year's History Teaching: 1968 – 1969," 1.
[495] Robert Leach, course notes, International School of Geneva Leach Archives.

Plantagenet lineages is a "Chart of Government of Old and New Persian Empires" drawn up in Robert Leach's own hand. Considering that Leach's specialization was the history of whaling and Quakers on Nantucket Island, his notes testify to an impressive and remarkable dedication to expanding his personal learning to support a more diverse curriculum.

One of the most innovative facets of social studies teaching at Ecolint in the 1950s and 1960s and a factor that influenced the IB was the willingness of historians, economists, and geographers to grapple with current events and recent history. In his course description, Leach wondered "if our great civilization is not in danger of vanishing as did the earlier two,"[496] and it is clear from this and many other of his notes that he cast history as a cautionary tale to alert students to current political threats. Leach sought out contentious contemporary issues to include in his classes. Lecture notes on the Bay of Pigs, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Poland are lists of dates and events with little or no emotive language or argumentation – perhaps because he was looking to engage different student perspectives or, more likely given how former students remember him, he already knew which side he would be arguing. There was, however, a tension between his natural inclination to convince students of his ideological positions and his stated desire to be more progressive and allow students to arrive at their own conclusions. In a class folder entitled "Soviet Russia vs. Soviet China," he presented the students orally with five pages of detailed notes but ended creatively by requiring student participation. His notes end with a nod to one of his signature classroom exercises: the simulation. "Russians have now blocked new discussions… **simulation exercise** takes over at this point."

Robert Leach was a complex individual with passionate convictions. He could, and did, lecture for hours in a didactic format, but he was also committed to developing engaged critical thinkers. He was opinionated yet constantly worked to expand his knowledge and make historical education more comprehensive and international. His focus was mostly on curriculum development. If students learned how to think about a diverse range of historical periods and regions, then Leach was confident they would understand the contemporary world. He could be forceful in his curriculum decisions with his colleagues yet, as head of department, he appears to have permitted his colleagues considerable leeway in their teaching. He was clearly trying to inculcate values and attitudes as well as critical thinking skills that would equip students to engage with the world as responsible citizens.

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[496] Robert Leach, "History of Civilisation Course," International School of Geneva Leach Archives.

Leach's "Cold War Lecture Notes"[497] make clear that he shared his personal opinions and ideological biases with students but, as opinionated as he was, he was also devoted to teaching students *how* to learn and how to think. Such approaches were not always specifically international and many of them were more closely aligned with a course in critical thinking than a course in international understanding. One example of his efforts to teach students how to think as historians can be found in the lessons he gave on propaganda analysis. In a subsection entitled, "How to judge if account of Facts is Accurate and Objective," he identified two challenges to studying 'human situations which, according to him, were challenging because unlike mathematics and scientific experiments most human situations occur only once. The challenges are that the historian:

1. Must be dependent on accuracy and objectivity of witnesses
2. Problem is that we see what makes sense to our individual collection of experiences (example - what child of family sees in comparison to an adult)

   To top this, each person, particularly thoughtful people, develops a <u>philosophy of history</u> - a pattern adopted <u>provisionally</u> to account for otherwise meaningless welter of events.[498]

 In his notes, Leach identifies a short list of concepts that his 15-18 year olds must master if they are to learn to think critically about society:

- Danger of wishful thinking must be faced
- Certain basic principles can be established as reasonably accurate
- Organic relationship between ends and means
- Acton- 'All power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely'
- Democracy is judged by the humanity it practices towards its dissident minorities
- Kant's Categorical imperative – application of what is good for an individual to the whole[499]

Leach alerted students that an even bigger problem that "comes when a history writer or current information center purposely distorts facts to deceive outsider… the more totalitarian a forum, the more it is forced to distort truth." He followed this assertion with a long list of specific propaganda

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[497] Robert Leach, lecture notes, International School of Geneva Leach Archives.
[498] Robert Leach, Cold War folder, International School of Geneva Leach Archives.
[499] Robert Leach, Cold War folder.

devices including: the 'Great Lie' (example of Jews under Nazi Germany); the 'Scapegoat device' (his example is Nasser's emphasis on Israel as the chief problem in the Middle East); the 'Hit and Run'(McCarthyism); the Bandwagon (Stockholm Pledge 1949); the Transfer Device (Adenauer is a German therefore he is a Nazi); and so on.[500] His list demonstrates his effort to use international examples to further critical thinking as well as his belief that there are universal principles that underpin clear thinking and which must be applied regardless of national context.

Given that Leach was head of department and an outspoken teacher, his influence on the history curriculum's and, to a lesser extent, geography, economics, philosophy, and other humanities, was considerable. But he was only partially successful in influencing even his closest colleagues such as Michael Knight, with whom he co-authored articles and developed courses. Knight felt that good history teaching followed common principles whether the context was international or not. Knight's 1956 article in the ISA Bulletin, entitled "Some Techniques of Teaching History,"[501] presented those universally good approaches to teaching history. "It will be clear that this is based on the premise that history in schools should be taught as a discipline of argument and discussion, without the expectation that absolute answers to problems can be arrived at."[502] Although Knight's focus was less explicitly on internationalism, his values were certainly aligned with pluralism in terms of opinions and his examples with the diversity of a multi-cultural context. The irony is that Leach, who was quite dogmatic in his approach to internationalism and in his teaching in the classroom, is often hailed as the great internationalist founder of the IB, but Michael Knight, his colleague who was less motivated by the ideology of internationalism, appears, based on feedback from his former colleagues and students to have adopted an approach to history that was far more tolerant, open-minded, and inclusive of differing viewpoints.

In his conceptualization of history, Knight did not focus, as Leach had, on teaching on 'internationalism,' but he did advise teachers to make use of 'disconcertingly various' sources and to introduce engaging exercises in applying the historical method so that students can "deal with the material of their subject in a skilled and critical way."[503] Indeed, Knight stated that used his examples in practice and found that they were useful in encouraging students to develop a more critical approach to "source material, their text books, and their teacher."[504]

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[500] Robert Leach, Cold War folder.
[501] Robert Knight, "Some Techniques of Teaching History," *ISA Bulletin* (April 1956): 25-40. International School of Geneva Leach Archives.
[502] Knight, "Some Techniques," 25.
[503] Knight, "Some Techniques," 25.
[504] Knight, "Some Techniques," 25.

Because Knight published examples that he used in the classroom, it is worth reviewing them and how he thought he might use sources to teach critical thinking through history at Ecolint. The First document discussed by Knight was "The Twelve Articles of the men of Memmingen: 1524." He believed the document was useful for asking students the following question aimed at understanding intention: "What is the aim of the compilers of this document?" He then explores ways he might extend this question in class to support more probing student analysis:

a) What is the <u>apparent</u> aim and what is the <u>real</u> aim?"

b) I the material <u>factual</u> of is it the <u>expression of propaganda</u>?

c) Is the experience based on <u>first hand</u> or <u>second hand</u> contact?

d) Is the text <u>exact</u> or in any way <u>corrupt</u>?

e) What is the effect of our own twentieth century viewpoint in our reading of it?

f) What are the secondary implications of the document?[505]

Other examples included a textbook Knight used in class to encourage students to highlight emotive and 'detached' language in the text.[506] The third example was a diagram that related some salient features of the 19th century European Congress System in the form of a combined timeline and lines of action, decision, and effect. This included statistics. "This has been proved helpful to students whose visual imagination is stronger than their ability to grasp abstract concepts."[507] Fourth, in order to teach students to move from facts to arguments, he used, "A conventional set of notes on the state of Kiev in the ninth to the twelfth centuries," and asked students to order facts in logical sequence to form an argument.[508] So, while all of his examples were European and relatively traditional in that most European students would have studied them in their history curricula, he demonstrated that he was a reflective practitioner, keen on challenging students to think as historians but not particularly preoccupied with making them internationalists.

The divergence in priorities between Leach and Knight illustrated how difficult it is to talk about a school as a homogenous, unified institution. Yet, in 1962, the International Schools Association conference publicly committed the department to focusing on creating an explicitly international social studies curriculum. This external conference and the accountability Ecolint teachers felt to colleagues outside of Ecolint galvanized the community.

As Ecolint became increasingly tied to the International Baccalaureate project, from the 1961 feasibility study through the pilot courses to the first exam classes, efforts to demonstrate internationalism (and international understanding) in the curriculum became more and more

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[505] Knight, "Some Techniques," 27.
[506] Knight, "Some Techniques," 30.
[507] Knight, "Some Techniques," 32.
[508] Knight, "Some Techniques," 33-39.

explicitly documented. The head of the French Language Program's Geography Department, Gilbert Champendal, is quoted in the 1967 Revue stating that students learned geography from following current events around the world in areas as diverse as Cyprus, Kashmir, and Vietnam, and that students often drew on current events for their personal projects showcased every June. He concluded by suggesting that Geography, more than any other subject, should promote international understanding by highlighting the "value of solidarity" and the "interdependency" and "complementarity" of diverse cultures.[509]

In the same Revue, Phil Thomas, the Head of Geography and principal creator of the IB Geography syllabus as well as an economics teacher and staunch believer in the importance of international understanding as a curriculum goal, described for parents Geography at Ecolint in remarkably traditional terms. Geography's objective, according to Thomas, was, "To train future citizens to imagine accurately the conditions of the great world stage so as to enable them to think wisely about political and social conditions in the world around them." This involved four central attitudes or ideas that defined the secondary school geography curriculum:

> 1) Man's physical environment
>
> 2) Man – Land relationships – the main theme of Geography
>
> 3) Spatial distribution and interaction – an appreciation of the growing economic, cultural and political interdependence of people and areas
>
> 4) The dynamic nature of geographic analysis
>
> [A] regional treatment is favoured… We are extremely conscious of the restricting requirements of national examinations syllabuses – those notoriously conservative bastions of the pedagogical world. We therefore welcome the development of the ISES and have played a pioneer role in the formulation of its Geography syllabus.[510]

This tension between national examinations and the IB curriculum projects characterized this period. In 1967, the French Language Program prepared students to sit the French Baccalaureate and the Maturité Fédérale Suisse.[511] The French Baccalaureate required students to study history

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[509] Gilbert Champendal, "Revue," 1967, 21. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.K.1.3/1. "Les élèves, en plus de notions géographie physique, apprennent la géographie à travers les principaux évènements de l'actualité : question de Chypre, du Cachemire, guerre du Vietnam, Journée Européenne du 5 mai, tremblement de teerre, éruption volcanique, innondations, etc…Les travaux personnels restent une tradition bien ancrée dans cette division. Ce sont parfois des chefs-d'ouevres, des vrais joyaux pour l'exposition traditionelle de Juin…La géographie est la branche par excellence qui est au service de la compréhension internationale. Elle donne le sens de l'espace, élargit les horizons de l'esprit, met en valeur la solidarité des hommes, l'interdépendance et la complémentarité des diverses nations."

[510] Margueritte Weber-Perret "Revue," 1967, 22. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.K.1.3/1.

[511] Weber-Perret, "Revue," 1967, 23.

from 1914-1960 and to be examined orally on a variety of world civilizations, while the Maturité Suisse oral focused more on the Swiss government. The FLP head of history, M. Weber-Perret, was keen – perhaps as a jab at his English counterparts – to emphasize that the Francophone history teachers did not find it necessary to deliver long, dull lectures while the students frantically tried to take notes. They preferred to provide academic support texts and reserve class time for discussion and explanation.[512] He seemed to be referring to Leach and other English Language Program teachers' claims of innovative international practices when he stated that continental European school systems stopped teaching national histories at least a decade prior and that picking up a French, Belgian, Swiss, or German textbook would underline this fact. Margueritte Weber-Perret argued that Ecolint, as an international school was distinctive because the student body was so diverse ANY and EVERY historical case study would resonate with at least one student and, therefore, applying principles of solidarity, would be relevant for all the students in the class and that using the diversity of the student body is not something you can dictate pedagogically, but a culture which the teacher needs to create with the students.[513]

As elegant as this formulation was as a means to dodge the call to create a curriculum that better supported international understanding, it failed to recognize the progress made by the English Language Program's History Department in implementing internationally representative case studies, which by this stage had certainly started to be incorporated into some national educational systems. It is worth looking in more depth at the history course for years 7, 8, and 9 when all students were required to study history. Leach explained it thus:

> During these years the theme is the development of civilised communities, increasingly complex in social and political organisation. There is an emphasis upon the way in which these early world cultures were inter-related, upon the contributions each made to the other in the social, cultural and political fields. The guideline used in selecting the material which informs the syllabus in these three years is the question of inter-relationships. It seems to the History Department that this is a very valid approach in teaching history to multi-national classes.[514]

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[512] Weber-Perret, "Revue," 1967, 24.

[513] Weber-Perret, "Revue," 1967, 24. "La particularité de notre Ecole est ailleurs. La multiplicité des nations et des races a pour conséquence que n'importe quel fait culturel a des résonnances pour au moins un élève et par solidarité pour tous. Il ne peut pas exister de doctrine pédagogique pour dicter l'attitude du professeur. C'est dans la pratique, au gré des leçons, qu'il apprend, avec ses élèves la tolérance, ainsi qu'à utiliser les richesses d'une telle diversité. Et l'apprentissage du maitre n'est pas terminé tant qu'il ne s'élève pas à l'idée que tolérance ne signifie pas indifférence."

[514] Weber-Perret, "Revue," 1967, 25.

In year 9, students who intended to continue their history studies in years 10 and 11 pursued an extended course in world history to the beginning of the 18th century, while those students who did not intend to continue studying history studied a global, thematically organized course that ended in the mid-13th century.

7.4. Caution Around the Adoption of the International Baccalaureate

Ecolint's institutional approach was always supportive of education for international understanding in principle, but the school was much more cautious when it came to adopting the new, less-recognized International Baccalaureate as the school leaving exam. This tension can be seen in the annual reports of the Governing Board. It is also evident in PTA magazine, the Revue, and in the annual report produced by teachers, administrators, and the PTA to explain changes in teaching and learning in the school. In 1966, after the school had already committed significant resources to developing the IB curriculum, the report states, referring to the IB and in order to mollify parents, that, "caution is necessary together with a measure of skepticism regarding innovations as yet untried, or that may be ill-fitted to our needs. For this reason, we have devoted the current year to a thorough analysis of the experiments we have introduced within the past two or three years, with a view to their perfection and the assessment of their educational value. Prudence is our watchword."[515] The school, pressured by parents who knew the value of recognized examinations and questioned their children's chances with the IB, hedged its bet on the IB by continuing to offer and promote O and A levels, the French Maturité, the College Boards, and other exam qualifications.

When, in 1970, the Governing Board revisited the IB, it emphasized not caution but the quality of the curriculum. The IB, the report stated, was "characterised by balanced curricula, by its cultural value, and the flexibility of the various forms of the examinations." [516] The cultural value, if other school documentation from the early 1970s is any help, focused on a broad-based education rather than anything specific about the IB's capacity to prepare students for greater international understanding. It was not until 1973, two years after the first IB diplomas were awarded and more than a decade after the school launched its feasibility study, that the school decided to "adopt the International Baccalaureate in place of the French Bac and the 'A' level GCE." But there was still significant reluctance and an almost apologetic tone in delivering the news to parents, for example

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[515] Annual Report of the Governing Board, 1966, 7. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/9.
[516] Annual Report of the Governing Board, 1970, 2. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/13.

when the Board explained that they "could hardly fail to join this movement since it fits in with the deepfelt vocation of the school which gave birth to it."[517]

The movement from national curricula to the IB was extremely divisive, and not just among parents. A sizeable number of teachers continued to feel that the A-levels and French Bac offered more reliable assessment models and models which they felt more comfortable teaching. Some teachers complained that the IB courses were encyclopedic in nature and that the desire to satisfy universities in a range of countries had led to an unreasonable amount of content in many courses. In 1972, the school dealt with this by simply starting the IB courses a year earlier so they were taught over three years rather than two.[518] A statement in 1972 about the History Department could already have been made in the late 1950s, combining Knight's interest in teaching critical thinking and Leach's desire to build an international curriculum. The History Department stated in documents published by the Governing Board, that it "is endeavouring to form the judgement of students in the face of political realities, rigorously avoiding, of course, any kind of indoctrination. In an international school, the civic sense must have a universal outlook and an attitude of world solidarity."[519] Whilst this gives a nod to internationalism, it is hardly a rousing endorsement of the IB's transformative quality as a curriculum.

After he resigned as Ecolint's Director in December 1968, Desmond Cole-Baker encouraged ADC Peterson, the Director General of the IBO, to write "An Open Letter to Parents" in June 1969.[520] Cole-Baker's request and the letter itself highlighted the extent of parental reticence when faced with a new and untested examination system as well as the public reasons for adopting the IB. With all the authority that he could wield as the Chair of Oxford University's Department of Education, Peterson wrote the following to parents:

> We believe this examination will provide a better education for at least three reasons:
> it is geared to the needs of pupils in international schools; it is flexible in meeting
> individual needs; and, not being tied by governmental regulations or the demands of
> vast numbers of candidates, it is more rapidly adaptable to the most modern
> techniques of teaching and examining.[521]

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[517] Annual Report of the Governing Board, 1973, 2. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/16.
[518] Annual Report of the Governing Board, 1972 International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/15.
[519] Annual Report of the Governing Board, 1972, 8. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/13.
[520] Robert Leach, "IB-Ecolint relations", International School of Geneva Leach Archive.
[521] Leach, "IB-Ecolint relations."

The modernity and adaptability of this 'laboratory of education,' a term Ralph Tyler and Peterson had both used to describe the IB[522], was evident in the sciences where "the… syllabuses mirror the contemporary desire to develop fundamental skills and to absorb concepts rather than to memorise facts."[523] In the languages, he also argued that its pedagogical and evaluative approaches were cutting edge as the IB's "emphasis is on the ability to speak, read, think and write in a language rather than to translate from one language to another." But they also billed the IB as a program that "prevents undue specialisation and tries to avoid undue emphasis on compartmentalised subjects which blur the unifying function of the intellect and tend to crowd out aesthetic and creative experience."[524]

Peterson suggested that the IB was geared towards students in international schools, perhaps to convince parents that it was designed with their children in mind and must therefore be a good program for them. Teaching international understanding may have seemed a less convincing reason for parents. If the purpose of the letter was to convince parents of the value of the IB, then either Peterson did not think international understanding was the top priority of an IB education or he didn't think that advertising this facet of the program was likely to convince the parents – or both. If he had believed in the centrality of international content of the courses then presumably, he would have put more of an emphasis on this goal given that 1972 was a critical year for IB uptake at Ecolint. Interest in the IB at Ecolint remained low among students and parents with fewer than one-quarter of Ecolint students registering for IB exams in 1971-1972. However, instead of advertising the significant efforts made to develop international humanities courses that would support international understanding, he simply stated that these courses had been freed from the poison of "national bias."[525] Indeed, for the humanities, he seemed to argue that student choice was likely to be a stronger argument for raising enrolments: "other subjects, very relevant to the modern world and therefore of more appeal to the student may be offered for examination such as Economics, Social Anthropology and Psychology."[526] The primary aim of his letter was to convince parents not only of the IB's educational value, but that it would be recognized by universities. "If… your son would have obtained a place [at a university] on GCE A levels or senior placement on the AP Examination, he is certainly not less likely to win it on the IB."[527] Peterson's top priority for the IB

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[522] Peterson, *International Baccalaureate,* 14. This 'vital and essential role of the initial international schools as voluntary laboratories', is also explored in Tristan Bunnell, "The International Baccalaureate and the Role of the 'Pioneer' International Schools," in *International Education and Schools: Moving Beyond the First 40 Years*, ed. Richard Pearce (London: A&C Black, 2013), 179.
[523] Leach, "IB-Ecolint relations."
[524] Leach, "IB-Ecolint relations."
[525] Leach, "IB-Ecolint relations."
[526] Leach, "IB-Ecolint relations."
[527] Leach, "IB-Ecolint relations."

was clearly not to develop a curriculum which advanced international understanding; pragmatic concerns linked to organizational finances, enrolment in IB programs and recognition of the qualification were far more urgent.

While it is tempting to argue that the IB's internationalism and values ultimately won the day, it is less clear that this was the case during the IB's 'experimental period' which ended in 1975. Ecolint, on the other hand, already had a clearly stated track record of initiatives to advance international understanding long before the IB arrived. Ecolint's teachers and students made considerable efforts to advance international understanding during the twenty years leading up to the IB's first exams. Ecolint already had curricula that was at least as international as that found in the IB's history, geography, economics and philosophy and language guides. Indeed, those departments had been involved in IB pilot programs long before their first graduates started their IB courses.

The Annual Report of the Governing Board in 1971 made it clear that the IB was an expression of some of the school's values, but that it was only one expression among many. Ecolint's leaders felt they had a moral duty that it expressed in ways which went far beyond curriculum choice.

> It is the school's duty, with the help of family and society, to instill firm ethical values in the child's mind…Regard for others, individual liberty, solidarity and respect for law are universally accepted principles. The School's rich tradition definitely ensures that such principles do not remain in the abstract. With the setting up of student government, an attempt has been made to translate these topics since 1934.[528]

This report,[529] as well as every issue of *Echo*, *Amoeba*, and the other school magazines, provide substantial evidence that CASS (creativity, aesthetics, and social service) was in spirit already up and running for many students well before the IB and CASS were introduced formally (though even later the spirit of CAS was more often referred to as 'the principle of solidarity').

The IB project (the years leading up to the founding of the IBO in 1968) filled Ecolint with a sense of progress and purpose, but it also highlighted the gap between rhetoric and reality and inspired renewed commitments from its educators. The director of the school, René Francois Lejeune, in more rousing a tone than much of the IB focused documentation, reminded the community in December 1969, over a year after the first students began their IB Diploma, that:

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[528] Annual Report of the Governing Board, 1971, 4. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/13.
[529] Annual Report of the Governing Board, 1971, 6. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/13.

We therefore must develop a truly universal educational theory. Our humanities departments must examine in depth, extend and perfect their particular syllabi. They must cross the frontiers of fragmentary specialised or national viewpoints, and give their subjects a universal dimension. In particular, the thought, history and traditions of the East must find a place in our curriculum more benefitting their true importance in the development of humanity. In view of the state of conflict of our world which confuses so many of us, the History Department has the urgent duty to draw up and institute a course of international civic instruction which would serve as an example.[530]

History department teachers such as Robert Leach and Michael Knight had been working on exactly this problem for over a decade. The 1971-1972 school year saw numerous curricular reforms that clearly emerged from dissatisfaction with the IB courses' lack of internationalism as well as a desire to regain the influence that Ecolint's teachers had during the pilot projects of the 1960s. Robert Leach, Phil Thomas, and others drew up subject guides for courses entitled "Culture of Cities" and "International Business" that "required the cooperation of our departments of History, Geography and Economics."[531] These courses sought not only to be transdisciplinary but also international in their content. The "Culture of Cities" course was a particularly interesting comparative course promoting the study of global development of large urban centers through historical, geographical, and economic lenses, but it was never adopted by the IB.

Teachers in other departments also argued that there was significant evidence that the introduction of the IB examinations led to curricular overload and the view that the IB was for the academic elite rather than a pedagogical program to promote international understanding. Elizabeth Martin, Head of the English Department at Ecolint, presented her conclusions to the IB Evaluation Conference at Sèvres in April 1974: "Much has been said about the workload incurred by the present content of the syllabuses: the school day is too long, the students are overburdened with homework, they have no time for extracurricular activities, they are excessively exam-orientated etc…"[532] She stated that the only way to manage the workload was to teach the IBDP over three years. Paul Decorvet, Head of the Mathematics Department for the FLP, also wrote: "the content of the programmes currently represents an unrealistically heavy load"[533] and cited his ELP counterpart, M. Ghosh, who felt that

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[530] René Francois Lejeune, "Revue,", 1969, 17. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.K.1.3/2.

[531] Annual Report of the Governing Board, 1972, 4. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/14.

[532] Elizabeth Martin, "I.B. Evaluation Conference at Sevres – April 1974," in folder entitled "Gerard Renaud's Report on the Experimental Period and School's Comments on IB to Date," International School of Geneva Leach Archives.

[533] Paul Decorvet, "Rapport du department de mathématiques," in folder entitled "Gerard Renaud's Report on the Experimental Period and School's Comments on IB to Date," International School of Geneva Leach Archives. The original French reads : "le contenu des programmes est actuellement beaucoup trop lourd."

the time allocated to mathematics was "absurdly inadequate." Decorvet continued on to urge that the IB should not be about "selecting the most brilliant candidates from the most prestigious schools, but should be contributing to real international pedagogical innovation."[534] The Physics Department noted a similar experience: "the workload imposed on average or below average students is too heavy." The tension between subjects which require depth and specialization in their curricular assessments and the ethos of the IB which implemented "a broad curriculum" were noted. Trying "to satisfy both requirements, [is] to the detriment of our students."[535]

7.5. Conclusion

By the time the IB was founded in 1968, the most pressing concern – what would make or break the IB - was not developing a truly internationally-minded curriculum, but rather a certification that was internationally recognized so as to support "student mobility" and "professional mobility."[536] These pragmatic goals, achieved through assessments which were challenging enough to satisfy representatives from a wide range of countries, were prioritized by the IB over advancing teaching for international understanding. There were still experimental dimensions involved in terms of avoiding overspecialization and identifying the most effective curricular practices, but at Ecolint international understanding as an educational goal was furthered by school-based practices rather than the requirements of the IB curriculum.

In 1967, the American curriculum expert Ralph Tyler was enthused by the ISES pilot projects not because of their international content but because "The international Schools could be used as a living laboratory for curricula or examining innovations which directors of national systems might be happy to see tried out, but unable to introduce on a national scale."[537] After reviewing the IB syllabus guides, in 1969 Harlan P. Hanson, the Director of the Advanced Placement Program of the College Entrance Examination Board (USA), wrote an open letter to parents, schools, and American Universities.

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[534] Paul Decorvet, "Rapport du département de mathématiques." The original French reads : "Nous croyons que le B.I. n'a pas pour but la sélection des candidats les plus brillants des écoles célèbres mais qu'il contribue à un réel renouveau pédagogique international."

[535] Anthony Montgomery, "Circular Concerning IB Evaluation," in folder entitled "Gerard Renaud's Report on the Experimental Period and School's Comments on IB to Date," International School of Geneva Leach Archives.

[536] Gérard Renaud, "The Experimental Period of the International Baccalaureate: its objectives, its results, its continuation," in folder entitled "Gerard Renaud's Report on the Experimental Period and School's Comments on IB to Date," International School of Geneva Leach Archives. The IB had committed already to exams through 1976 but the longevity of the IB was not guaranteed even if Renaud stated that it would be "hard to conceive of such an undertaking being finally abandoned."

[537] Peterson, *The International Baccalaureate*, 14.

In most subjects the curricular difference involved in such a shift [to the IB] will be no greater than that presently between many pairs of strong American schools. Physics will remain physics; Latin, Latin; and mathematics, mathematics; taught perhaps more freely and, one hopes, more wisely than under the inherited constraints of separate national systems. American history, to be sure, may appear less central and more complex to international eyes. But surely this is precisely what you should expect of an international school.[538]

In his estimation - and in Peterson's too - the IB was an exam board with high standards that ably prepared students for university studies at institutions around the world. In 1970, the IB stated that its philosophical raison d'être was not specifically internationalism, but to create a generalist educational qualification that maintained high academic standards, encouraged students to avoid overspecialization, and applied with a wide variety of learning methods. "The main principles of the system can thus be seen to be the flexibility and the impossibility of early and undue specialisation… education will be on the lines of developing the 'whole man,' who is so often neglected in other patterns of study."[539] Ecolint, which benefitted from the growth of the IB pragmatically in terms of consolidating its many examination sections and facilitating the entry of its students into university, maintained rhetorical alignment with the value of international understanding, which remained a source of pride for teachers and students alike.

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[538] Harlan Hanson, "The International Baccalaureate in the American Perspective," in folder entitled "Gerard Renaud's Report on the Experimental Period and School's Comments on IB to Date," International School of Geneva Leach Archive.

[539] International Baccalaureate, "A Policy Statement IBO, 1970," 4. International School of Geneva Leach Archive.

Chapter 8: Language Learning and International Understanding

8.1. Introduction

Modern foreign language learning was cast as innately international at Ecolint. Unlike history or economics, which required teachers to construct a curriculum to ensure the course was building international awareness and identity, foreign language learning was clearly related to internationalism. Progress in language learning was significantly easier to assess than progress in international understanding. For these reasons, the teaching and learning of foreign languages during the period under study presented a stronger, more visible commitment to internationalism. Global commercial interests also created new elites by rewarding those willing to learn new languages, be 'flexible,' and travel.[540] Outside of the curriculum, which ensured that all students who completed their primary and secondary schooling at Ecolint were competent in at least three languages, the multilingual profile of the members of the school community exposed students to a wide range of other languages. For some students, the knowledge of those other languages only extended to swear words uttered during sport, but these memories of being exposed informally to a range of languages was a source of pride for students. This chapter draws on my survey and interview data to argue that Ecolint's students and teachers strongly equated language learning with international understanding, and that multilingualism conferred both social status as well as social possibilities. Being 'international' was a desirable marker of prestige and plurilingualism was a clear path to improved social interactions.

Language learning at Ecolint was important in legitimizing the school's internationalism in the 1960s. It has been powerfully argued that the reason "international" is so difficult to define when it is an adjective attached to a school or a person is precisely because it is acting as a signifier of status, or in other words, as a symbolic marker of elite status.[541] Given that the value of learning a language was closely allied with becoming 'international' - a marker that generated a sense of belonging within the Ecolint community - language learning's value was socially reinforced. Through acquiring a new language or exploring culture through literature the study of language was

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[540] Agnès van Zanten, "Educating Elites: The Changing Dynamics and Meanings of Privilege and Power" in Agnès Van Zanten, Stephen J. Ball, and Brigitte Darchy-Koechlin, eds., *World Yearbook of Education 2015. Elites, Privilege and Excellence: The National and Global Redefinition of Educational Advantage* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2015), 1-12.

[541] Leonora Dugonjic-Rodwin, "Le Privilège d'une Éducation Transnationale: Sociologie Historique du Baccalauréat International," (City: Open Edition Books, 2022), 34. "Comment saisir l'international quand se dire international est une forme de distinction sociale?" (translation: How do you define what is international when calling yourself international is a form of social distinction?).

instrumentalized as a gateway to accessing professional possibilities and a cosmopolitan cultural elite.

8.2. Connecting Language Learning and International Understanding

Assuming that teaching modern foreign languages would transform students into agents for peace may seem naive, but learning foreign languages was certainly more likely to increase international understanding rather than decrease it. And at Ecolint, all students, regardless of age, studied between two and four languages at a time. Another distinctive element of language learning for students coming from national systems was that Ecolint's language teachers tended to be native speakers of their subjects. Teachers seem, broadly, to have followed trends in language teaching. Peter Doye's research into the history of language teaching argues the following:

> When, in the first half of this century, foreign language teachers were asked what the aim of their teaching was, they would answer: 'Linguistic Competence.' And they regarded this as Progress.…[Soon] teachers began to realise that producing well-formed sentences was no longer enough, but that the ability to use such sentences in communication was required. The overall aim of foreign language instruction was changed from Linguistic Competence' to 'Communicative Competence.' The aim of foreign language teaching and learning, according to this [cultural studies] approach, can be called 'Intercultural Communicative Competence.'[542]

When it comes to language teaching this pragmatic reform captures the ethos of the period, and though it is difficult to pin down this movement's exact dates, the earlier proponents were familiar with these ideas in the late 1950s. By the 1970s, support for pragmatic reforms had made their way into many classrooms.[543]

In his 1951 analysis of his survey on international understanding (discussed in Chapter 5) former Ecolint teacher and assistant principal William Oats analyzed survey data from recent graduates, which allowed him to argue that "language learning is rated as the most valuable element in Ecolint training."[544] He argues that some of this sentiment was for idealistic reasons linked to the pride they felt in the close connection between the school and the multilingual world of international diplomacy, the United Nations in particular. However, there were also strong pragmatic reasons. Of the 74 former students who answered the question, 44 said there was a close connection between

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[542] Peter Doye, "Foreign Language Teaching and Education for Intercultural and International Understanding", *Evaluation & Research in Education* 10, no. 2 (1996): 104-112, 104.

[543] John L. Austin's *How to Do Things with Words* (1955) and John Searle's *Speech Acts* (1969) are two influential books that were widely read by those interested in language teaching during this period.

[544] Oats, "The International School of Geneva," 53. International School of Geneva Archives: STE.E.1/3.

language learning at Ecolint and their choice of career. The most popular career choice for the respondents who claimed this connection was "international commerce" (11), followed by "Translation and interpreter work" (9), "bilingual secretarial work" (6), and "teaching" (6). "Diplomatic missions" as a category received five responses, significantly fewer than "international commerce."[545] When in 2021 I asked Ecolint students from the 1960s and 1970s what made their education 'international', survey and interview respondents also identified the exposure to and study of foreign languages as the most critical curricular element. The number of students who mentioned language study as an important element that supported the development of international understanding (13 responses) was the most popular choice, while humanities classes came a close second (11 identified a humanities class). The "requirement of studying several languages, reading literature in several languages, learning songs in several languages"[546] were all deemed central to the teaching of international understanding.

The connections made by alumni and former teachers between multilingualism and internationalism in both time periods (the 1950s in Oats's survey data and the 2020s in mine) were based on three strongly held beliefs. First, learning foreign languages was equated with learning another culture and therefore another way of viewing the world. Second, speaking more than one language fluently automatically conferred 'international' status. Third, fluency in a language was accompanied by an obligation not only to understand the cultures of the target language, but also to use this access to read works in translation in order to better understand other national or linguistic cultures. The teaching of language and literature was accompanied by strong rhetoric at conferences and in the IB curriculum materials that emphasized the necessity of teaching works in translation so that students could experience the best of world culture rather than simply those texts produced in the subject's target language. In practice, most texts chosen by Ecolint teachers remained canonical and were written in a historically distant period that did not directly reflect on current cultural realities. Texts in translation such as the Bible, Oedipus Rex, or the Odyssey were often used for their textual influences on English or French literature rather than as a gateway to exploring another culture. Alumni from the period also highlighted a fourth context when considering the relationship between language and international understanding, namely that the school's internationalism was apparent in the social ease with which numerous languages were deployed. This chapter will explore these four elements through the expectations of language learning in terms of Ecolint's requirements and the IB's curriculum guides of the 1960s and 1970s. It also aims to highlight teachers' pedagogical approaches and, critically, how students linked language learning to international understanding.

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[545] Oats, "The International School of Geneva," 53.
[546] Anonymous, private correspondence, July 2, 2020.

If many alumni speak about language learning in social terms, academic requirements, or career advantages, for Ecolint's Governing Board there was also a political element to the most visible and embarrassing social divide – that between the French and English language programs. Teaching these two languages in a bilingual school, whose purpose was to build bridges and erase the cultural elements that divided humanity into 'tribal' groups, the curricular initiatives associated with the IB provided administrators and curriculum leaders a pressing reason to align language teaching across the two language streams. In 1963, the Governing Board wrote that, given the obstacles towards unifying a school that was divided according to these two language streams, "It was felt that co-operation between the two language streams was more likely to be achieved through extra-curricular activities."[547] Yet by 1965, the year of the first IB language curriculum conferences, progress was underway. A concrete example of this can be found in the literature program and the agreement among Ecolint teachers that the teachers should communicate with other language teachers when choosing their text list. "When a French teacher deals with a particularly important author or period… he should reach agreement with the English and German teachers of his section (year) so as to ensure their pupils… are prepared to make a comparative study in such a domain."[548] The tone of the Governing Board reports was increasingly optimistic, given that IB preparation has "provided further impetus to the close co-operation between the two language sections… the results of this particular co-operative enterprise are, however, unlikely to affect the present generation of senior students; for them a more concrete sign of the collaboration of the two sections is the reorganization of the daily timetable which results in both sections following the same schedule. Consequently, pupils of the two sections have many more opportunities of meeting one another than was the case hitherto."[549] This meant that a German class or an Art class could finally be scheduled in such a way as to allow for ELP (English Language Program) and FLP (French Language Program) students to join the same class.

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[547] Annual Report of the Governing Board, 1963, 8. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/6.
[548] Gerard Renaud, "Proposal for an Experimental Application of the International Baccalaureate in 1964-66," 1. International School of Geneva Leach Archive.
[549] Annual Report of the Governing Board, 1965, 3. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.C.2/8.

8.3. Language Learning as Learning About Other Cultures

When Buttjes and Byram[550] argued in 1991 that intercultural learning should be a key concept in foreign language learning, and that no other discipline possessed such extensive resources to support intercultural education than foreign language teaching, they were making a similar case to the one Ecolint's language teachers and students made when reflecting on their experiences in the 1950s and 60s.

John Cole-Baker studied at Ecolint in the 1950s and 60s, identified himself as a scientist, and went on to study engineering, but he studied four languages during his time at Ecolint. "Obviously if you're learning other languages you're automatically learning about other cultures. That's a hugely important part of an international education. If you are reading plays written in Russian or German, as I did, then you are learning to think differently, you're coming across new ideas."[551] Ecolint can take credit for teaching many anglophones French and another language, but for the majority of students (and certainly those in the English Language Program), English became the lingua franca. Non-anglophone students studying in the English language program expressed amazement at how quickly students arrived and learned English. "You had people in your class from every country, arriving and speaking no English and then a year later they were kind of fluent."[552] In looking through student work in the archives, fluency and technical mastery vary widely, but Japanese alumna Mikiko's notebooks are an astonishing example of a student who arrived with almost no English achieving near perfect fluency in two years. She attributes this to her complete immersion in English, made possible because few other Japanese families lived in Geneva.[553] But much the same can be said for the French Language Program (FLP) and former students, such as Dutch FLP student Rudolf Bijlenga, attest to this.[554]

Language learning was not as rapid for the English and American students in the English Language Program learning French and German or French and Spanish. This is clear both from the curriculum programs, student work, and from interviews with former students. But students do remember that the teaching methods still favored 'natural conversations' to mimic an immersive setting. This was not a unique approach, but the complexity of applying this approach to an international secondary school setting was significant. The first Curriculum Study Conference for Modern Languages was

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[550] Dieter Buttjes and Michael Byram, *Mediating languages and cultures: Towards an intercultural theory of foreign language education* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1991).
[551] John, interview with author, January 4, 2021.
[552] Manu, interview with author, January 21, 2021.
[553] Mikiko, interview with author, March 3, 2021.
[554] Rudolf, interview with author, April 8, 2021.

held in March 1965 in Geneva and chaired by Ecolint's Head of English, Elizabeth Martin. She wrote:

> In international schools, the importance of language teaching can hardly be exaggerated. Such schools enjoy a privileged position in this respect, for not only do they draw upon pupils' various nationalities, who by their very contact, widen one another's understanding of other languages and cultures: they offer a challenge to teachers and educators to make the most of the privilege offered to them by practising the most up-to-date methods of language teaching and devising the most comprehensive examination-system possible.[555]

The 'privilege' Martin refers to is teaching languages in a context in which multilingualism and multiculturalism are the norms - a privilege because in an environment such as Ecolint, foreign language teaching did not require justification. The purposes of such study were evident to the students. Just as Robert Leach or Philip Thomas felt that being a history or geography teaching in an international school required you to be innovative with respect to teaching international understanding, Elizabeth Martin clearly felt fully committed to applying the best of language teaching well before the IB and its examination standards were established in 1968.

Students also described language teaching at Ecolint as "cutting edge."[556] Amy compared it favorably to her experience in the United States where there was less emphasis on foreign language learning. She also compared it favorably to her experience in France, which she remembers as dry, traditional, and based on repetition and dictées. At Ecolint, she states, "we did everything orally / audio-visually until the third year of French. It wasn't like I was doing dictation, which is how they taught French everywhere else. We didn't do a lot of that. We would look at visuals and hear tapes of conversations and repeat the conversations. I remember Monsieur Achkar playing these tapes over and over."[557] Rote learning was not discarded, but the technology of language labs made it possible for teachers to value aural comprehension and oral expression in addition to written accuracy and give access to a wide variety of contexts for language learning with which teachers could support situational (and authentic) learning. Students at Ecolint certainly felt that they had the opportunity to employ languages in a social context more quickly, but this was not solely because of the language labs. The context of international Geneva encouraged them to engage with a living oral culture as opposed to a grammatical, written, and literary culture.

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[555] Elizabeth Martin, "Curriculum Study Conference for Modern Languages (March of 1965)," ISES Folder 1. International School of Geneva Leach Archive.

[556] Amy, interview with author, March 31, 2021.

[557] Amy, interview with author, March 31, 2021.

For expatriates learning French, this approach encouraged early and regular practice in Geneva. For francophone students learning English, there were plenty of anglophone bubbles at Ecolint where they could practice. Before the IB was introduced and required students to study two languages in their final two years, many students had already chosen to study two to three languages in their final years and sit national exams such as the A level, the College Board Exams, the French Bac, or the Swiss Maturité. Making foreign language learning a requirement was a badge of internationalism vis à vis other national qualifications, but two languages fell below the average number of languages studied in Ecolint's secondary school. The typical student was not discouraged from studying more languages than had previously been the case. But requiring the study of at least two languages did go some way to responding to the concerns of Elizabeth Martin and other participants in the Curriculum Study Conference for Modern Languages when, in 1965, they expressed regret that current national examinations had "reduced" the school's international aims and ideals and pushed Ecolint in "the last years of study" to become "glorified national schools."[558] The foremost objective became exam success in languages rather than 'passing' as a native speaker and culture user by having learned to wear a language well.

From 1971, the language B courses of the International Baccalaureate actively addressed teaching students about other cultures in their language acquisition (language B) classes. The study of 'Life and Civilisation' topics represented an opportunity "to develop a sound knowledge of the country or countries whose language [was] being studied, therefore a stereotyped or too facile approach should be avoided. By encouraging an awareness of diversity within the country in question, and relating this knowledge to his personal experience, the students' understanding and tolerance is increased."[559] The media was used as a lens through which the foreign culture was studied and the units explored the press from the "technical and commercial point of view," the "power of the press" by exploring interest groups and "religious and other ideological pressure groups in the country," and who reads which newspapers. Finally, each student was required to choose and follow "their theme in groups… using one or two newspapers. Examples of themes: the Common Market, armament and disarmament, inflation, birth control, educational reform, the sources of energy, pollution, the environment."[560] There is no doubt that the study of a second language was framed, both in the lead up to the first IBDP exams, and afterwards, as a study of culture and language and that the subject was considered as central to constructing international understanding.

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[558] Martin, "Curriculum Study," 1.
[559] International Baccalaureate Organisation (IBO), "Life and Civilisation Language B: Instruction to Teachers," 1. International School o Geneva Archives, FEIG 6.2.4/2.
[560] IBO, "Life and Civilisation Language B," 3.

8.4. Multilingualism as a Signifier of International Identity

For alumni, and especially for American and British students during this period, fluency in more than one language meant that you were already 'international' and the desire to learn languages demonstrated commitment to the values of internationalism. Former students perceived the connections between multilingualism, internationalism, and the students' own identities as strongly linked. Multilingualism, here as elsewhere in this chapter, transcended the boundaries of classroom experience. Former students' memories of French outside of class were clearly stronger than their experiences in classroom French. As one student put it, "I went to francophone films and had francophone friends… Many remain my friends to this day. I became bi-lingual. Geneva was my home."[561] The acquisition and use of French to integrate into Geneva, even through transactional relationships such as shopping, was an important signifier for identity. Language learning was clearly emphasized in the classroom and out as having a practical as well as a cultural and social value.

The Ecolint alumni and physicist Douglas Hofstadter, joined many other former students in speaking passionately about the importance of language learning as a student at Ecolint.[562] The following text is his description of language's power to signal cultural differences and awaken in him, as a Californian from Palo Alto, the excitement of international life:

> Accent marks everywhere! And salespeople greeting little 13-year-old me with « Bonjour, monsieur ! Vous désirez?», and when I left, «Merci, monsieur ! Au revoir!». Such amazing courtesy and respect… Thanks to the French class I took and to my Swiss next-door neighbor, Roger Stauffer, a friendly boy one year older than myself who was being groomed by his parents to take over their pâtisserie, my French rapidly bloomed and by the time our year was concluding, I spoke the language pretty fluently and was deeply smitten with languages in general. I was bowled over by the multilingual households of some of my friends, such as Cyril Erb, who with his parents and sister would flip back and forth without batting an eyelash between English, French, and German all with perfect accents. Wow! Being with them was such a heady experience for me. I would have given my right arm to have grown up trilingual like that. And these kinds of effortlessly polyglot families were quite common."[563]

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[561] Anonymous, private correspondence, February 2, 2020.
[562] 1957-1958
[563] Douglas Hofstadter, "Que Vive L'Ecolinternationalisme", Address to Ecolint, June 20, 2018. Shared via private correspondence.

The effortlessness with which Hofstadter moves from pragmatic, commercial interactions to more personal links between language learning and friendship typifies alumni reminiscences. 'Foreign' language learning was both immediately useful and emotionally gratifying and multilingualism was trumpeted as the norm in the international milieu. The "effortlessness" with which true polyglots could shift back and forth and this effortlessness and "perfect accents" are all part of demonstrating not only that true internationals were mutable and could fit in anywhere, but that they did so with ease. Writing as he was about an experience in the late 1950s, a decade before the International Baccalaureate was founded, it is clear that for him many of the goals of international understanding were already being successfully pursued by students and teachers well before there was an internationally recognized syllabi or examinations regime to formalize this instruction as a brand.

Hofstadter's account presents us with a nostalgic, personal picture of Ecolint. Perhaps this is why many alumni reacted with such incredulity to my attempts to explore internationalism in the curriculum. For alumni, as they looked back at their education forty, fifty, or sixty years ago, what they remember is not having been taught lessons but having learned lessons from a context in which international understanding might have been applied to the facets of everyday life. There was, in almost every conversation and email, a concern that I would try and reduce the breadth and wonder of their linguistic encounters; that I would try to link their personal experience to a curriculum they couldn't entirely remember and establish some kind of pseudo-scientific formula for internationalism.

Languages are closely tied with identity and it transformed individuals in the sense that students learnt to pass for locals and learnt to adopt another culture. Language learning made students aware of the plasticity not only of culture, but of one's own personality and was therefore a very sensitive topic in survey responses and interviews. As one anonymous respondent put it, "The French classes were also important. I discovered that I had a knack for French. (I later studied at the Sorbonne.) It is remarkable how speaking another language can change one's outlook and behavior. I have noticed this in many other people over the years; their personality seems to change when they switch languages."[564] This protean quality of the cosmopolitan, the ability to alter your identity not only by learning a language but employing it as a new script that allows you to introduce yourself as a new character, represents more a performative than a declarative understanding of other cultures.

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[564] Anonymous, interview with author, March 7, 2020.

For students arriving from the United States, the UK, and indeed most other countries, joining a school that taught in French and English and required students to study a third language was visibly and memorably international. Not only did former students recall that "the study of French and German languages helped"[565] support the internationalism of the school, but it was important to them that these "foreign language classes were taught by Swiss and German teachers."[566] As a result, language learning at Ecolint was markedly different from some of their experiences in the United States or UK where French was often taught by British or American nationals. According to alumni this distinction was crucial because "Learning languages other than English, taught by the relevant nationalities, was about culture and not just language. An appreciation of French culture, particularly the romantic mythologies of the left, was much enhanced by French teacher Maurice Achkar, a Lebanese national."[567] Ecolint required the study of three languages during a student's secondary schooling, right up until grade 11 when many students started to prepare for national exams or the IB.

Michael Byram's theory of 'tertiary socialization' as part of foreign language teaching is helpful for theorizing what happened at Ecolint. Tertiary socialization is "the ways in which learning a foreign language can take learners beyond a focus on their own society, into an experience of otherness, or other cultural beliefs, values and behaviors. That experience can and should give them a better purchase on their previous culturally determined assumptions."[568] This thesis does not attempt to measure the significance of the experience of otherness in causing students to reflect on their own cultural practices, but it is clear that language learning went well beyond grammar and even pragmatic purposes and was linked to socialization. It worked as both a bridge and a mirror.

We now turn to how this same objective – to link language with culture – was pursued by educators working to create the International Baccalaureate. Teachers were every bit as determined to connect internationalism with the challenges and joys of language learning. Documentation from the period illustrates that, for Ecolint's language teachers, the desire to pursue language as a cultural experience rather than what they perceived to be the dominant view in national examinations that language was a technical and grammatical matter, is what motivated them. Combined with the initial progress made by Ecolint's history and geography teachers, developing an international curriculum is what energized teachers to attend conferences and write the first IB language course syllabus guides.

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[565] Anonymous, personal correspondence, February 7, 2020.
[566] Anonymous, personal correspondence, February 7, 2020.
[567] Anonymous, personal correspondence, July 7, 2020.
[568] Michael Byram, *From foreign language education to education for intercultural citizenship: Essays and reflections* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2008), 29.

Building on the March 1965 conference at Ecolint in Geneva, participants met again on October 22-25, 1965 at the International Schools Examination Syndicate's Curriculum Study Conference at Atlantic College, Wales, to draft and ratify the first comprehensive languages guides to the "International Schools Baccalaureate." The conference's aim was "To study the objectives and method of language teaching in International Schools… to establish syllabuses… and to define the structure of language examinations."[569]

This first IB Languages Guide provides the most comprehensive insight into the role of language teaching in international schools in the mid 1960s. The conference's 29 participants came from a range of international schools including Atlantic College, Ecolint, Goethe Gymnasium Frankfurt, American dependent schools, Community School Tehran, UNIS in New York, Ecole Active Bilingue in Paris, International School of the Hague, Collège Français of Berlin, and St. Clare's Hall Oxford, as well as two 'Inspecteurs Général' from the French government and a range of representatives from the universities of Oxford, Reading, and Sussex. Nancy Poirel (Head of English), Gérard Renaud (representing French and World Languages), and Elizabeth Martin (Modern Languages) attended from Ecolint and all three chaired their respective conference committees: Poirel and Renaud oversaw languages taught as "Language of Instruction," while Martin oversaw the committee dealing with "Languages taught as Foreign Languages."

The examinations for the First Foreign Language consisted of two oral examinations and an emphasis on the language's practical use as well on its "life and civilisation" at the higher level. In this oral exam, students were required to demonstrate familiarity with some "geographical, historical, social and artistic aspects of the countries whose languages they are studying."[570] Students opting for the exam at the higher level would conduct translations and compose an essay on literature. Some representatives felt this was too challenging but "the experience of the International School of Geneva seemed to indicate that this was not a major problem."[571] At the subsidiary level, equal weighting was given to oral and written expression, and translation, comprehension, and free composition were all assessed.

The teachers and other delegates attending the conference agreed that the aim of teaching languages in international schools should be to "equip all pupils with the mastery of at least one of the major

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[569] International Schools Examination Syndicate, "Languages Guide for the International Schools Baccalaureate," 5. Curriculum Study Conference at Atlantic College (22-25 October), ISES folders, International School of Geneva Leach Archive.
[570] International Schools Examination Syndicate, "Conference at Atlantic College," 21.
[571] International Schools Examination Syndicate, "Conference at Atlantic College," 12.

world languages, but without divorcing them from their native language and culture."[572] In most international schools in Europe, Ecolint included, what this meant in practice was that the school made efforts to teach a range of European languages, but schools found it financially prohibitive to teach non-European languages due to the small numbers of students involved and the complexity of recruiting teachers. The ISES Atlantic College conference recognized that international schools "differ in the organisation of the languages taught" in that there are "schools based on one Language of Instruction," schools "based on one Language of Instruction but making special provision for the teaching of various mother tongues at the same level," and, finally, "schools in which the 'local language' remains the Language of Instruction but which gives special attention to the First Foreign Language." The conference recognized the difficulties schools faced when they were not able to provide instruction in the mother tongues of all of their pupils and committed themselves to "further research" in this area. A central problem, specific to international schools, was that "the Language of Instruction and the Foreign Languages are by nature much closer [in terms of student levels] than in most national schools."[573]

8.5. The Study of Literature to Promote International Understanding

At the same Atlantic College ISES conference in 1965, the challenges of ethnocentrism in international school literature courses were discussed. To address this matter, it was agreed that "A course of World Literature in translation will supplement the Language of Instruction and of the Foreign Languages studies. This course will aim to co-ordinate the various literatures and cultures studied by the study of the great masterpieces of world literature… [to allow the student to]… trace the cultural rise of humanity through the centuries."[574] The aim of World Literature[575], which was to be taught for a minimum of two periods per year over three years, was for students to acquire "a truly international literary culture."[576] If international schools were to stand out from their national counterparts by promoting international understanding, learning a truly world literature was another way of establishing difference. Interestingly, the assessment of this course did not try to measure international understanding but instead continued to emphasize traditional literary analytic skills over cultural connections.

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[572] International Schools Examination Syndicate, "Conference at Atlantic College," 9.
[573] International Schools Examination Syndicate, "Conference at Atlantic College," 10.
[574] International Schools Examination Syndicate, "Conference at Atlantic College," 11.
[575] Johann Wolfgang Von Goethe was writing about 'Weltliteratur' at the beginning of the nineteenth century, so the idea was hardly developed by the IB. In his journal *Propyläen*, Goethe writes: "It is to be hoped that people will soon be convinced that there is no such thing as patriotic art or patriotic science. Both belong, like all good things, to the whole world, and can be fostered only by untrammeled intercourse among all contemporaries, continually bearing in mind what we have inherited from the past." Fritz Strich, *Goethe and World Literature*, (London: Routledge, 1949), 35.
[576] International Schools Examination Syndicate, "Conference at Atlantic College," 13.

In response to the two 1965 conferences, Robert Shade, the assistant principal at Ecolint, synthesized the school's experiences in a document shared with teachers' and the IB's different working groups entitled "Draft Proposal for an International Baccalaureate." Shade wrote:

> an essential part of a student's education should be knowledge, however summary, *of man's achievements in all parts of the world*… hence it is urged that a world literature course, for example, be introduced as an integral part of the curriculum and should be available to all students whether they be naturally gifted in sciences or the arts.[577]

In the *General Guide to the International Baccalaureate: 1971, 1972, 1973*, the chapter on languages states: "The emphasis in Language A is on an in-depth study of literature enabling the pupil to penetrate not only the fundamental style of the language itself but also the kind of understanding of the ethos of a people that emerges from the detailed study of literary masterpieces. It is in Language A that the pupil will study World Literature in translation."[578] As these examples suggest, the priority was always and everywhere to fight against overspecialization. The scope of a generalist curriculum was difficult to define, but it was very much conceptualized in direct opposition to the A-Level curriculum in Britain or the Advanced Placement program in the United States. An emphasis on "achievements" meant that, given their own education, for most teachers this still meant a choice of textual materials from the Anglo-American literary canon. Whilst it is worth recognizing that teachers had been exploring literary syllabuses that required cultural comparison before the imposition of any rule from the IB, it is worth noting that even after the introduction of the World Literature section of the IB Language A course it took decades for most schools to take this as an opportunity to explore a range of contemporary cultures.

The 1965 syllabus outlines what the leading international schools at the time thought was an appropriate representation of "man's achievements in all parts of the world." In the first year, "texts from Biblical, Oriental and classical cultures will be studied." The second year would focus on literature from the Middle Ages (suggestions included Celtic legends, the courtly poetry of Provence, and German Epic poetry), while the third year would cover Romanticism, Realism, Symbolism, Surrealism, Modern Drama, the 'new' novel, and 'Littérature engagée.'[579] It was suggested that "a certain number of themes be chosen and their development traced through various

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[577] Robert Shade, "Draft Proposal for an International Baccalaureate 1965-1966 school year," 1-2. International School of Geneva Leach Archive. (Emphasis added)

[578] IBO, *General Guide to the International Baccalaureate*, (Geneva: IBO, 1970), 29. International School of Geneva Leach Archive.

[579] International Schools Examination Syndicate, "Conference at Atlantic College," 15.

literatures."[580] In practice, suggestions for texts and authors included in the guide all indicate a highly canonical approach defined by an overwhelming Anglo-American Eurocentrism.[581]

Not only was the choice of texts not particularly internationally representative but, according to Burt Melnick, who started teaching English at Ecolint in 1968, there was almost no discussion about how these texts could be used to teach international understanding.

> All the conversations were about choice of text. We really talked very little, not at all about HOW to teach. A lot of the texts were very traditional. Teachers were internationally minded, but there were many British teachers and their approach was: I learned Hardy and Shakespeare at school so I'm going to teach Hardy and Shakespeare. Teachers made an effort to include some American texts because of the number of American students.[582]

In interviewing both teachers and students, it became clear to me that for teachers, as Melnick suggests above, nationals with traditional approaches to text selection could still be described as "internationally minded." The fact that they chose to relocate from their home country and work at Ecolint was sufficient proof of the teachers' international mindedness. For students, however, being international usually meant the blurring or removal of the importance of their nationality / nationalities. Despite the push to embrace world literature, a cursory glance at the categories of world literature reveals the ease with which teachers could and did select Eurocentric texts. Of the twelve categories (teachers had to select texts from a minimum of three), six were European, the seventh was the Bible, and the eighth was 'North America.'[583] India, China, Africa, and Latin America comprised the remaining four categories and there the least popular, according to Melnick, because the English teachers themselves were not familiar enough with texts from these regions to feel confident teaching them. Nonetheless, the biases in the guide itself strongly favored European literature in translation. An example given for a good choice of text – a "masterpiece" – was "a

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[580] International Schools Examination Syndicate, "Conference at Atlantic College," 13.

[581] By 1970, Section A of the English Language A course required "Two plays of Shakespeare." Section B allowed for more choice, as can be seen from the following excerpt from the IB's syllabus guide: "Seven of the following, authors or groups of poets, etc., to be studied more extensively in their characteristic works: Elizabethan Lyrics – Milton – the Metaphysical Poets – Dryden – Pope – The 18th-century Poets (e.g., Gray-Clare-Crabbe)-Blake – Wordsworth – Coleridge – Keats – Shelley – Byron – Tennyson – Browning – Hopkins – Yeats – Poets of the First World War and post-War Period – T.S. Eliot – Auden – Dylan Thomas -- Poe – Crane – Lowell – Frost – 20th-century American poetry. Bunyan – Defoe – Fielding – Jane Austen – Scott – Dickens – George Eliot – Hardy – Conrad – Joyce – Virginia Wolf – D.H. Lawrence – Orwell – Greene. Hawthorne – Melville – Thoreau – Henry James – Mark Twain – Steinbeck – Fitzgerald – Hemingway – Faulkner. The Short Story (e.g., Mansfield, Maugham, Wells, Maupassant, Turgenev, Tchekov). 18th-century Drama (e.g. Sheridan, Goldsmith) – Wilde – Shaw – Contemporary Drama (e.g., Pinter, Osborne, Bold, Wesker and others). O'Neill – Arthur Miller – Tennessee Williams. In translation: Voltaire – Beaumarchais – Ibsen/Strindberg – Tolstoi – Dostoievski – Camus – Kafka." Peterson, *International Baccalaureate*, 139.

[582] Burton Melnick, interview with author, May 18, 2021.

[583] IBO, *General Guide to the International Baccalaureate*, (Geneva: IBO, 1970), 32.

great classic like Goethe's *Faust* [which] strengthens the students' grasp of both the language itself and the human concepts it attempts to convey."[584]

Melnick remembers two Ecolint English teachers, Nancy Poirel and Nan Martin, as being particularly influential in shaping English teaching at Ecolint. Both women also were involved in creating the IB's language curriculum guides. Indeed, both attended the first two conferences in 1965. Burt remembers Nan Martin's "role as head of department was making sure that the teachers followed the rules of the IB around text selection, genre, region and all the constraints of the assessments – the oral, everything like that, but the meetings were all about making sure teachers were following the rules."[585] That she is remembered like this by her colleagues is somewhat ironic given that one of the few records in the archives produced by Elizabeth (Nan) Martin is a report she wrote in 1974 for the IB Evaluation Conference at Sèvres in which she pleads for greater autonomy in text choice, at least at the school level. In addition to commenting that the students seem "overloaded," she "would hate to see the IBO impose a single list of texts and authors on all schools. What may be valid in a national system is not so in an international. We greatly appreciate the present width of choice in the World Literature course."[586]

The hope of internationalists was that by giving teachers choice, these teachers would choose to expose their students to a range of cultures which would provide students with windows into life around the world, but, at least at Ecolint, it did not have this effect. Traditional text choices proved slow to shift.

> World literature was interesting. We taught the Bible and only realised much later that maybe the Bible and Greek myths wasn't really world literature… I remember a colleague arriving and saying 'What's all this stuff about world literature? It just means teaching the classics.[587]

Nonetheless, in the context of Ecolint, traditional text choices or not, the international population demanded flexibility from the teachers. "The spirit of Ecolint, to the extent that it exists, involves a respect for other people's values. I remember a Kuwaiti student, a Muslim Arab, and his father told

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[584] IBO, *General Guide to the International Baccalaureate*, (Geneva: IBO, 1970), 31.

[585] Burton Melnick, interview with author, May 18, 2021.

[586] Elizabeth Martin, "I.B. Evaluation Conference at Sevres – April 1974," in folder entitled "Gerard Renaud's Report on the Experimental Period and School's Comments on IB to Date," International School of Geneva Leach Archives.

[587] Burton Melnick, interview with author, May 18, 2021.

the son that he didn't want the son reading the Bible in English class before he could be educated in Islam and that was fine. Sure, we said, he didn't have to study it."[588]

Melnick's recollections suggest that although the IB in the 1970s and 1980s homogenized *what* people in the department taught, it did not influence *how* they taught. "The IB had very little impact on how you taught or even what you taught… When I arrived, in the younger years the curriculum was very British. We spent a lot of time teaching the students how to write things like a précis. That changed over time and became more about literary response. I was really influenced by new criticism." Melnick does not credit the IB directly for this shift – in fact, he is clear that he thinks the American Advanced Placement exam is a much better assessment of a student's appreciation of literature – but, implicitly, he recognizes that as more and more students signed up for the IB it became a curricular necessity to teach all students how to write a literary response. For Melnick, and he claims that the same was true for other teachers, instructing students in how to write and think was much more important that any agenda to push international understanding. The day after a long interview with Melnick, he wrote me to clarify and emphasize the lack of connection between the IB's introduction and any change to teaching methodologies.

> "I felt sorry that every time you asked how the IB had influenced actual teaching I had to say that in my experience the answer was that, except for matters of syllabus, it hadn't. I do think that this is true. But I should have stressed that I was talking mainly about myself and largely about the English Department. Other teachers, even in my department, may have modified their teaching on account of the IB without my knowing about it… As I remember, what changes there were in teaching methods came more from administrative fiat within Ecolint than from the IB. Often when someone was given a position of responsibility he or she began by announcing pedagogical changes. Students would be required to keep notebooks in a certain way, for example. Or teachers would be required to set more or less homework than previously. Or the teaching of grammar would be forbidden. (Yes, it really was.) A lot of the time these announcements were ignored in practice, but it wasn't possible to ignore them on every occasion. Hence practice changed."[589]

Although changes occurred, according to Melnick they were mostly driven from within Ecolint and were gradual in nature due, at least in part, to engrained pedagogical habits. The fact that some Ecolint teachers wrote, in 1965, the first language guides three years before the founding of the IB,

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[588] Burton Melnick, interview with author, May 18, 2021.
[589] Burton Melnick, private communication, May 19, 2021.

based on what they considered established best practices, would seem to support the argument that these teachers influenced the IB more than the IB influenced them.

While this curriculum was clearly unrepresentative of world cultures, the foundation of the IB and its syllabus guides starting in 1968 did not make any attempt to change this situation in the period under study. That British students were learning American and French literature, or that Americans were studying Ancient Greek and German authors was, for most literature teachers, already a much more open-minded and pluralistic approach to the canon than could be found in any of the national systems or in the corpus of texts typically required for the French Bac or English A levels. Indeed, in 1972 the IB's Consultative Committee recognized the need for "Less eurocentrism in World Literature."[590]

By the 1990s, there is more evidence that teachers were using the World Literature requirements to explore different cultures. Initially, in the 60s and 70s, teachers at Ecolint, in the tradition of Maurette and Dupuy, chose those texts that could best represent "the cultural rise of humanity," and the inclusion of terms such as "masterpieces" in the guide meant that text choice remained tied to the canon. In the English and French departments, efforts to think beyond the English or French canons often concentrated on classical texts that had influenced English or French literature such as the Iliad, the Odyssey, and the Bible. The desire that literature be part of a well-rounded and balanced education was sincere, but it was often positioned against the rising importance of the sciences. Arguments by literature teachers tended to be grounded more in canonical notions of cultural capital and less in internationalism. It is easy to criticize omissions in the mid-twentieth century from the standpoint of the twenty-first, yet Dalip cannot have been the only student to ask why, "in Class 10 or 11, [in an international school] we were studying World War I poetry and "Genesis" from the Bible as literature… was there no literature from other parts of the world that could have been selected?"[591]

While the choice of texts was not as representative as one might expect from an international school, Dalip and others also highlight how critical languages were in terms of teaching them to observe the world and clearly communicate their observations. His memories included writing classes which he likened to life-drawing classes where students would be required to observe human actions in detail. "I recall one assignment at that time: we were to follow a customer in a local departmental store for 10-15 minutes making close observations which were to be then

[590] IBO, "Fourth Meeting of the Consultative Committee, Minutes," United World College of the Atlantic, St. Donat's Castle, 12-13 July 1972, 7. International School of Geneva Leach Archive.
[591] Dalip, private communication. April 12, 2021.

transposed into an essay."[592] These qualities of observation were echoed by Plotnick and others when it came to the close reading of texts, an education which certainly supported the kind of open-minded, observant citizens who would be well-placed to identify and appreciate cultural differences. For many students who spoke several languages at the mother-tongue or near mother tongue level, the boundaries between language learning and literature were repeatedly blurred as both demonstrated an interest in culture. "Spanish and French classes stressed culture and literature along with basic grammar [and although] almost all of the content in English class was U.K. based and choir music and performances were geared to British composers or [European] religious themes, they gave me a huge background in Shakespeare, Austen, etc…" The texts may have been largely canonical, yet thematic choices and discussions were carried out with a sensitivity towards international understanding. "*The Diary of Anne Frank*, *The Crucible* were plays with themes of tolerance/injustice--with multicultural casting."[593]

8.6. Conclusion

There was a clear awareness that when culture was taught alongside language and when themes helped to emphasize international understanding, language learning was central to Ecolint's mission. Ecolint teachers in the 1960s and 70s were also aware that linguistic diversity presented the school with significant challenges, which were highlighted by teachers and parents in a 1978 report submitted for the Middle States Association accreditation. To begin, there were clearly imbalances that influenced the relationship between language learning and international understanding at Ecolint. American culture, as previously discussed, was more widely understood than others. Because culture and language are so closely enmeshed, those with advanced English or French operated from a position of linguistic superiority and from a privileged cultural position. Integrating into the Ecolint community was possible with English or French, even if English was the dominant language. Integrating into the local community required French. Although children had "less trouble integrating because they are apt to learn French faster" it was "not easy... to become part of the Swiss community."[594] Plans to integrate the ELP and FLP argued that, with French being the second most represented language after English, the presence of FLP students in the ELP might further enhance "the opportunity of picking up another language."[595] This was largely wishful thinking. If, in the ELP, 70-80% of students spoke English at home, only 20-30% of

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[592] Dalip, private communication. April 12, 2021.

[593] Amy, interview with author, March 31, 2021.

[594] Ecolint, "School and community report submitted in 1977 for the self-evaluation of the 1978 MSA accreditation visit," 2. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG 6.2.4/2.

[595] Ecolint, "School and community report," 2.

FLP students spoke French at home.[596] Such varied linguistic profiles make it difficult to generalize about a linguistic 'experience.' However, it is clear that linguistic diversity made it challenging for teachers to push a single set of high academic standards and that a language of inclusion and plurality (when it came to languages and academic goals) was socially necessary. The school needed to create a different value system students and parents could buy into because:

> "Owing to the constant change of residence, some of the students have a smattering of many languages but have never mastered one. Some students were born in one country, possess the passport of another country and speak the language of a third. Therefore, despite the high educational background of the parents, some students do poorly on standardised achievement tests and suffer reading and writing difficulties."[597]

The challenge for Ecolint was to convince parents who themselves had been high academic achievers to measure success by the power of their child's experiences rather than more traditional academic linguistic tests. This, combined with the popularity of research in 'applied', 'pragmatic' or socially-contextual language learning helps to explain why the emphasis was increasingly put on communication rather than grammatical accuracy. The social proximity of different linguistic groups and the close connection between identifying as 'international' and being a polyglot meant a more that more communication with a greater variety of people was possible. The 'cultural turn' – the introduction of 'intercultural competence' to complement 'communicative competence' – has further refined the notion of what it is to be competent for communication with [others]."[598] Given that Ecolint sought, for idealistic as well as pragmatic reasons, to educate for international understanding since its founding in 1924, it is no surprise that in its language teaching it would also embrace cultural awareness as an objective. What is remarkable is that, 50 years into teaching foreign languages, Ecolint did not possess a common approach to language teaching involving language phases, how to teach grammar, or even which elements of a foreign culture should be introduced first. Quite the contrary, how students learned language depended as much on the teacher and the language as it did the school. The common denominator of Ecolint's magpie approach to research in language teaching is that Ecolint was able to normalize multilingualism and make it a part of student identity even for students who came from monolingual backgrounds. This was a triumph of culture.

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[596] Ecolint, "School and community report," 4.

[597] Ecolint, "School and community report," 4.

[598] Michael Byram, Prue Holmes and Nicola Savvides, "Intercultural communicative competence in foreign language education: questions of theory, practice and research", *The Language Learning Journal* 41, no. 3 (2013): 251-253.

Chapter 9: Freedom, the Will to Act, and International Understanding

9.1. Introduction

Chapter 9 argues that student autonomy was culturally anchored as an educational and social practice in Ecolint in the 1950s and 1960s. Providing students with freedom was rhetorically framed by respondents and contemporary school documentation as a deliberate strategy to support the capacity of students to act independently. This was, partially, a salute to progressivism, and was sometimes linked to an association between individual expression and social activism – educating students who wanted to make a difference in the world through their actions. Former teachers and students comment that Ecolint was less rigid than national schools in terms of expectations and that students were treated as adults from a young age. The justification for this was also clear to almost all alumni and teachers I interviewed: freedom allowed students and teachers to be themselves. This chapter explores the relationship between the introduction of the IB and students' and teachers' experiences of freedom at Ecolint.

Ecolint's approach to international education, as outlined in 1948 by Marie-Thérèse Maurette[599], posited that international understanding was more than an intellectual foundation. Because she argued for the kind of international mindedness which aimed to root students in a service mentality, where they were learning to act in the world's best interest, this notion of an education for a better world remained in the school's rhetoric and in the curricular aims of many teachers. But, for Ecolint's students, the notion that they should contribute to a better world was rarely framed and seldom experienced as a Victorian-style duty ethic. Instead, former students recall it primarily as freedom from the strictures of more traditional schools.

Laura Tisdall, applying Isaiah Berlin's *Two Concepts of Liberty* to the world of progressive education wrote that, while utopian progressives offered the child freedom from constraints, non-utopians thought their job was to give the child the freedom to develop into a psychologically healthy adult."[600] Ecolint appears to have had a foot in both camps and as a result there was certainly variation when it came to teachers approaches to freedom. Alumni surveys and interviews certainly indicate a preponderance of the utopian approach where students were given significantly more freedom than they could have expected in many other schools during the period and this holds true for both boarding and day students.

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[599] Marie-Thérèse Maurette, "Educational techniques for peace."

[600] Laura Tisdall, *A progressive education? How childhood changed in mid-twentieth-century English and Welsh schools* (Manchester University Press, 2020), 26.

In the International Baccalaureate, from the early 1970s, there was a more clearly defined sense of what students should do with their freedom as pro-social actors in an international community than there was at Ecolint. The idea that students should use their freedom to act in service of others is most visible in CASS learning (Creativity, Aesthetic, or Social Service) and the origins of this are well documented as coming from Kurt Hahn, via Atlantic College. Alec Peterson's "Schools Across Frontiers: The Story of the International Baccalaureate and the United World Colleges" begins by quoting Kurt Hahn, who himself was referring to Plato's doctrine that "He who wishes to serve his country must not only have the power to think, but the will to act."[601] Peterson argues that the IB's approach, influenced by Kurt Hahn, was one which aimed to reverse "spectatoritis" in youth, "the preference for watching other people do things rather than doing them oneself."[602]

At Ecolint, service learning was a less important part of the introduction of the IB than it was at Atlantic College, where economics teacher Andrew Maclehose notes that the College already had expectations which "greatly exceeded what came to be the IB CAS requirements."[603] At Ecolint the public argument for the benefit of the introduction of the IB, as we have seen in previous chapters, was linked, instead, to the international recognition of its academic curricula and examinations. This chapter argues that Ecolint's approach to creating engaged citizens predates the International Baccalaureate movement, just as CASS predated the IB requirements at Atlantic College.

 Ecolint's culture around how it would develop the capacity to act in its students was closer to a freedom from social strictures than a freedom to institutionalize projects which might be directly and immediately helpful to bringing about a more peaceful world. The way Ecolint set about developing the capacity to act to improve the world did not require much self-sacrifice or service on the part of the students; learning to act through learning about the world was consistently viewed as a tool of self-fulfillment and individual flourishing within a small community experimenting with utopian ideals.

In practice, although students appreciated the freedom of Ecolint, many also felt that they would have learned more and 'done better' academically had the school pushed them a little harder.

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[601] Alexander Peterson, *Schools Across Frontiers,* vii.

[602] Alexander Peterson, *Schools Across Frontiers*, 2.

[603] Andrew Maclehose, "United World Colleges and the International Baccalaureate" in Andrew Maclehose, David Sutcliffe, Philip Thomas, *The International School of Geneva and the United World Colleges in the early years of the International Baccalaureate.* (UWC Atlantic College 2017), 42. "Meetings were held at Atlantic College to discuss what was first called CASS. As the format of the programme was being developed, meetings were held at Atlantic College to discuss what was first called CASS. The College already had expectations for physical and aesthetic activities and for service…which greatly exceeded what came to be the IB CAS requirement."

Students balance this criticism by noting that they felt more mature than their peers when they arrived at university and that they were confident in taking decisions and managing their time. Relating student autonomy in school to values-driven life choices is a complex matter, but qualitative analysis of over a hundred and forty survey responses and in-depth interviews indicates that former students frequently made a causal link between the freedom they experienced at school and the confidence they felt as adults working in complex multi-cultural contexts. Students and teachers alike perceived that this freedom suffered due to the content-heavy International Baccalaureate examinations. To what extent this had an impact on their international understanding is much less clear. The students signing up for the IB exams in the first years tended to be academically strong and it is therefore possible that the data says as much about that population as about the IB exams themselves. It is also worth considering the relationship between the introduction of IB and participation in co-curricular (additional to the subject-specific curricula) activities and clubs. There is no compelling evidence that I can find to demonstrate that the introduction of the IB's approach to CASS (Creativity, Aesthetic and Social Service) increased participation in additional / co-curricular activities which were often associated by alumni with increasing international understanding.

9.2. Victor Schaller: A History of Giving Power to Students

There is compelling documentary evidence demonstrating Ecolint teachers' experimentations throughout its history and much of this experimentation was around creating socially engaged internationally-minded students. This section explores a very important example of this. Maurette's address to UNESCO refers to the 'cour d'honneur', a progressive approach to monitoring school behavior, which had been developed and refined by Victor Schaller, a history and geography teacher in Ecolint's French Language Program between 1925 – 1967. In 1977 Schaller published *Activités Pédagogiques: Expériences Vécues*[604], an account of lessons learned over a lifetime of teaching. The publication is interesting for several reasons. First, it is of historical interest because the number of decades he had spent teaching at Ecolint and the similarity between his approach and Maurette's explanation of the school's pedagogical traditions allow us to see his views as representative of Ecolint's approach rather than the approach of a single teacher. Secondly, the book is of interest because Schaller retired the year before the founding of the International Baccalaureate and, unlike many other Ecolint teachers, was not involved in the IB's curriculum development in any way. This allows us to understand Ecolint's culture independently of the influences IB working groups may have had on other teachers. When Schaller gave a copy of his publication to the school

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[604] Victor Schaller, *Activités Pédagogiques: Expériences Vécues,* (Genève, Centre de Recherches Psychopédagigiques, Département de l'Instruction Publique, 1977).

library in January 1978, he made it clear that the book was a summary of his professional experiences – what worked and what didn't. His methods and objectives are progressive in the sense that they give students greater choice and power within school and they are based on his close relationship with the pedagogy of the 'écoles nouvelles' in Switzerland and his own experience as a scout leader. Schaller's driving ambition as a teacher was clearly to get students to take responsibility for their actions and for the world around them and to encourage students to learn by interacting with the world. Internationalism was only central to his interest in the sense that he recognized that the world students were interacting with was a world which was becoming increasingly international.

Alumni remember the "Cour d'Honneur", referred to by Maurette in her UNESCO address[605], with pride as well as the "Committee d'Action" which accompanied it. Former student, Rudolf, says that "Schaller wanted to institutionalise the fact that students dealt with discipline themselves. The Cour d'honneur was for serious infractions where someone's honor was damaged. Then there was the Committé D'action or the Committé de Classe. For example, we had a tradition then that there should be no more than two tests a day. When teachers set too much work, the student body would meet and if they decided that there were too many assessments on a day, then we were empowered to negotiate with the teacher." Schaller cites a student's comment in the school newspaper with pride: "I am very happy to come to school…It does not seem to be a strict school. This is maybe why people say we don't work here, but I'm certain we work better and with more joy in a school that believes in their students and gives them the power of representation through committees and the Cour d'honneur' than we would in a school where teachers wait looking for reasons to punish students."[606] Rudolf identifies this free-spirited, progressive open-mindedness as the central characteristic of Ecolint at the time ("Ouvert d'esprit...c'est ça l'esprit Ecolitien."[607] Open-mindedness…that's the spirit of Ecolint) and gave several examples drawn from the cour d'honneur, which Schaller set up, as to how student self-governance also helped enforce genuine tolerance.

One example which illustrates the connection between the freedoms granted to student government and student empowerment involves students standing up for more tolerance, by threatening a student who had made racist comments with exclusion.

[605] Marie-Thérèse Maurette, "Educational techniques for peace."
[606] Victor Schaller, *Activités Pédagogiques: Expériences Vécues,* (Genève: Centre de Recherches Pschopédagigiques, Département de l'Instruction Publique, 1977) 126.
[607] Rudolf, interview with author, April 8, 2021.

"There was the son of an important far right pied noir Algerian politician. I was 16 and he was around the same age and he was very radical and dictatorial and had some violent and racist ideas especially with respect to Arabs. The students summoned him to a cour d'honneur and we told him that here at Ecolint that wasn't how you behaved. You need to respect your teachers and your students. And he got the message. We threatened him, with the support of the school, that we would ask him to leave the school if he continued. And it was because it was first of all the students that told him that his behaviour was not acceptable this was powerful because it wasn't hierarchical - and a boy like him might have just rebelled against that. The approach of the school to discipline was very important to Schaller. He almost never called students into his office, but if he did for a disciplinary reason, you could be sure that it was serious because he preferred students to deal with this among themselves."[608]

This story and others which highlight instances in which students were intolerant of intolerance and stood up for social justice, present the outline of the limits of the 'ouverture d'esprit' to which students refer.

Encouraging students to be autonomous and responsible was also part of Schaller's academic approach to classes. He sought practical applications of progressive ideas in his guided learning ("travaux dirigés") which involved students choosing the curriculum and teaching it to the members of the class and project-based learning ("Brevet d'aptitudes particulières") which allowed students to take responsibility for their studies by creating a contract with the teacher and the school so that they could obtain credit for demonstrated mastery in a particular domain. Furthermore, Schaller was a proponent of combining individual creativity with group work and called this balancing act individualized group work ("travail en commun individualisé").[609]

Schaller discussed the impacts that a 'shrinking world', due to improved communication, would have on education: "The world has shrunk and paradoxically our horizon finds itself singularly enlarged"[610] Schaller was a Swiss man living in Switzerland and, unlike most teachers at Ecolint, had not chosen to live in a foreign country. In that sense he may have been less international and less committed to identifying as international, but he understood that globalization meant that all education had to be international to some degree. He acknowledges that, as a Swiss citizen living in his country, "until recently the election of a president in the United States or a politician in a

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[608] Rudolf, interview with author, April 8, 2021.
[609] Victor Schaller, *Activités Pédagogiques,* 30.
[610] Victor Schaller, *Activités Pédagogiques,* 3. "Le monde...s'est singulièrement rétréci et paradoxalement notre horizon singulièrement élargi."

country in East Asia would have left us entirely indifferent...now the reaction has changed." He tells the story of an American mother who arrived at the airport with her daughter wanting to sign her up for a private school and finds herself surprised when there is no space. Schaller seems genuinely surprised that you could travel to live half-way around the world without registering your child for school...that the ordinariness of travel had left people so nonchalant. He quotes a conclusion in a UNESCO report (UNESCO appears influential in his thinking - as it was again and again for many Ecolint teachers): School is a tool, not an end. The end goal is the harmonious integration of the individual in society where competence, culture and knowledge must play more and more of a driving force. [611] Schaller frames knowledge here as a motor for action within a society.

Schaller was first and foremost a progressive proponent of the "écoles nouvelles" and one might describe him as a reluctant internationalist, however his scouting and his affiliation to the New Education movement provided him with international connections and interests. He cites influences from Bedales, the Odenwaldschule, Dewey, Freinet, Ferrière, Bovet, Dalton, Decroly, and Washburn throughout his reflections on his teaching. His influences were clearly transnational. He was more interested in the universal than the national or even the international. Regardless of a student's or a teacher's original culture, he argued that all pedagogical masters, seek the same goals. to:

> Stimulate curiosity, understand student interest, learn how to learn, improve auditory and reading comprehension, improve written and oral expression, develop a personalized approach to work, and develop a taste for well executed work.[612]

Schaller organized regular field trips with detailed learning objectives to the Lausanne hospital, rivers, airports, highway construction projects, to small villages and Chateaux in the Jura to observe the living conditions of locals, and, as a scout leader he also took students hiking, climbing and cycling. His field trips formed the backbone of his academic courses. He comments on the internationalism of his students and on their needs in an era of "education permanente" – what today is often referred to as 'life-long education'. For Schaller, international education simply meant educating students so they would be "optimally adaptive"[613] which meant that students

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[611] Victor Schaller, *Activités Pédagogiques,* 5. "L'école est un outil, pas une fin. La fin, c'est l'intégration harmonieuse de l'individu dans une société ou le savoir, la culture et le progrès des connaissances doit jouer de plus en plus un role moteur."

[612] Victor Schaller, *Activités Pédagogiques,* 7. Original French text: "D'eveiller la curiosité, de capter l'intérêt, d'apprendre à apprendre, d'excercer la comprehension (audition, lecture), d'excercer l'expression (orale, écrit), de permettre l'acquisition d'une méthode personnelle de travail, de développer le goût du travail bien fait."

[613] "une adaptation optimale."

would be able to seek a sane hierarchy of values which would allow them to be socially responsible adults and that they would be able to use the "calm balance of nature" as an antidote to the "excess of speed"[614] he identified in society.[615] He never became involved in the theoretical discussions around international understanding and what it meant to be an international school or have an international education the way Robert J. Leach, or Philip Thomas did. He was focused on helping students adapt to the world and thrive in it rather than on designing a system to reshape the world.

Victor Schaller taught at an international school and taught students with multilingual and multicultural backgrounds, through a thematic approach (teaching transportation for instance) and because of this context, he certainly tried to move past the specifics of a single country, but, as a progressive educator his real focus was on creating a supportive environment and letting students take action. It was not just about "je sais" (I know) Schaller insisted, but "je suis" (I am)[616] and character was visible in students' actions. This is why he talks so much about "participation" and the various pedagogical approaches to active participation. He was physically active with the students too: "Chef Schaller used to do acrobatics on this bicycle, standing on the seat, sitting on the handlebars...and I used to try and imitate him in the parking lot. We always used the formal 'vous' addressing each other, but we could go to his house, which I only did a couple of times, once with a bicycle problem. He also brought me climbing on the Salève. I was terrified of heights, coming from a flat country, but he had such authority, I followed."[617]

Schaller's approaches represent one example at Ecolint where students were encouraged to be active citizens and active learners with a significant amount of freedom in what they learned and how they learned it. Thankfully there are detailed records of his work and of students and teachers' appreciation of his style. These sources confirm that he was an especially able teacher but that his approach was ideologically in line with what other teachers were also trying to do. In this way, he exemplifies the school's approach during the 1950s and 1960s to a culture of student action. A 1966 report written by nine section and departmental heads of the French Language Program[618] affirmed that "the school must lead our students first to accept and understand society and then to take an active role in shaping that society." And the methods used remained true to its origins as an "Ecole nouvelle" which demands that students activate their "creative powers". Theses "méthodes actives"

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614 "excès de Vitesse"
615 Victor Schaller, *Activités Pédagogiques,* 5.
616 Victor Schaller, *Activités Pédagogique,* 10.
617 Rudolf, interview with author, April 8, 2021.
618 Marie-Thérèse Maurette et al., *École internationale de Genève*, 212.

formed the schools pedagogical backbone "and will always remain front and center in our consciousness."[619]

Student engagement was promoted through the types of democratic interactions with teachers in the classrooms; through the school's approach to discipline; and through extra-curricular choice. Students were encouraged to be engaged in the world by understanding as much of it as possible - partly because that represented opportunity and partly because Ecolint's more idealistic brand of internationalism encouraged students to see themselves as connected to all of humanity. But Ecolint also encouraged its students to have a special relationship to government and power. They had to be the future leaders of the world if they were also to be the future peace brokers. Students were encouraged to exercise choice and found that they were remarkably free to choose - from what they studied to what kind of school they wanted Ecolint to be. Students were encouraged to exercise their right to choose where their choices reflected both a desire to engage with the school and with the wider world as well as an open-mindedness to allowing others their choices. These were the rules of engagement, but unlike with the IB, there was no checklist, no number of hours, no official requirements around this; there was simply a strong culture of belonging and the sense of duty that comes with understanding that you belong to something which has connections far beyond any identity you could construct for yourself at the time.

9.3. "Life in Colour": Freedom as Felt by Students

When alumni remember what it was like arriving at Ecolint, liberation is the common emotion. Nigel remembers his British grammar school as:

> A teacher standing up, speaking. You took notes and learned and stayed quiet. The Ecolint system was so different in all respects. So interactive. And no school uniform. The teachers were much more open to discussion for the most part. And the other students also behaved differently. Retrospectively they were far more adult. There was much less teasing and nastiness. People were respectful. I know that sounds weird and almost implausible, but it really is the way I remember it.[620]

Manu, a student of Cuban and Spanish nationalities who had attended a Swiss state school the year before coming to Ecolint had this to say:

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[619] Marie-Thérèse Maurette et al., *École internationale de Genève*, 216. "L'école conduira l'enfant à accepter la sociètè, puis à y assurer un rôle actif." "et [ceci] restera, toujours, notre souci permanent."
[620] Nigel, interview with author, January 22, 2021.

> Ecolint was really a very progressive school especially compared to the local Swiss schools…in Swiss school the girls and boys were separated. Ecolint was multilingual, it was integrated, both sexes…It was like life in colour.[621]

The Pakistani alumnus Athar, comparing Ecolint to other schools, remembers that

> Ecolint was completely different. You had more space. You could express yourself. You were not shy to raise your hand. Ecolint gave space to students to develop. At Collège du Léman there was a man every month who would check that your hair didn't touch your collar. At Ecolint, my hair was down to my shoulders. Ecolint students were free and we thought we were the coolest kids in town. Like we were Woodstock.[622]

Athar graduated from Ecolint in 1974 and would have joined Ecolint shortly after the original Woodstock Festival in 1969. It is possible that these connections, made over fifty years later as he remembered his time at Ecolint were first articulated in the early 1970s as he completed his high school years. These are three examples among many which identify freedom, if not by name, then by implication as a factor which set Ecolint apart from other schools. Words such as "no uniform" or references to single sex schools or stricter rules around personal appearance all allude to the fact that students appreciated freedom from more constrictive school environments. But the freedom to be respectful, to speak many languages, to talk to girls, to be 'cool' are equally important and highlight the personal development which resulted from this freedom. Michael, a Swiss citizen who went on to work internationally for the Red Cross remembers that "the years I spent at Ecolint…[were]...the best years of my life. I developed my ability to write, my taste for freedom and the maturity to reflect on this freedom. I felt tremendously free."[623] This freedom which is so consistently referred to by alumni from this period was not a haphazard outcome, but the result of decades of emphasizing diversity, tolerance and inclusion over homogeneity; student choice over expert knowledge; and student experience over excellence.

Freedom as a common reference was doubtless also reinforced by the wider social changes in the 1960s. But it is worth emphasizing that when former students spoke of their freedom, they were generally not contrasting their freedom to past ages (though they certainly could have), but rather to other schools their contemporaries were attending. Instead of focusing on financial privilege and on

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[621] Manu, interview with author, January 29, 2021.
[622] Athar, interview with the author, February 26, 2021.
[623] Michael, interview with the author, April 9, 2021.

themselves as an elite, alumni focused on freedom, further reinforcing the historian Brian Simon's observations on the mechanisms through which students who are elite may actively reject the concept of being an elite.[624]

9.4. Student Government and Student Voice

The relationships between students and teachers were developed over time and were probably far more influenced by social norms rather than written documentation. But there is also significant documentary evidence in the archives which indicate that rules were written in a way which emphasized student freedom and empowerment within the school. For instance, this had been clearly defined in the student constitution of 1934 - a constitution which was re-published in highly visible school publications every year throughout the period in question. The 1967 "Teachers' Handbook" outlined the seven points which comprised the "guiding principles of our school community as enshrined in the constitution."[625] Indeed, the seven points had been published in all documents linked to behavior, school rules, discipline and student government since 1934.

The "seven points of the student constitution"[626] articulated the school's desire to be a "community where adults and young people work together in friendship and confidence." The language then takes a significant turn from the school's outward facing rhetoric in choosing not to state that the aim was to bring about world peace, but rather that without "friendship and confidence it is impossible to create the peaceful world which we desire." It is a humble, minimalist approach to necessary but not sufficient conditions for world peace and it is in this first point of the student constitution that we can find the key to unlocking the core ideas around how the school was going to provide an education for peace. This rhetoric perhaps places less emphasis on the desire to transform the world through action and more on the smaller actions required to create a model global village in which the possibility of harmony amongst different peoples could be fully demonstrated. Indeed the "school's honour" is gained through "effort in work and effort in sport." We "study so that we may become useful men and women, we play sport to learn how to pull together and show courage in defeat as well as in victory." The success of the school's utopian experiment in creating a model of world peace through a microcosm of a global community rested on its links to student behavior. Students were given the responsibility as members of a "democratic community…where each member knows how to shoulder his responsibilities." Even if it was always clear that for major decisions, if the "need arises, the final decision must be taken by

[624] Brian Simon, *The Politics of Educational Reform 1920-1940* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1974.)
[625] Ecolint, *Teacher's Handbook*, 1. International School of Geneva Archives, STE.C/30.
[626] Ecolint, *Teacher's Handbook*, 1. International School of Geneva Archives, STE.C/30.

[adults]" Ecolint took important steps to empower students and give them more control over behavior in the school.

Ecolint's efforts to emphasize student participation over the disciplinary expertise of teachers and administrators can also be seen in the Ecolint Student Constitution's section on the Courts of Honour and Arbitration. Article 27 of the Constitution guaranteed that students from the Courts of Honour and Arbitration would "give its opinion on matters of general discipline. (For example, on the possibility of modifying school rules.)" and give an opinion (though not a final decision) "on the disciplining of individual students."[627] However, from 1971 onward (the year of the first IB exams at Ecolint) it was impossible for me to find, in interviews, or in documentation, evidence that the Courts of Honour and the Courts of Arbitration continued to deal with disciplinary and behavior cases such as the one referred to by former student Rudolf in the late 1950s and early 1960s.[628] The practice appears to have simply fizzled out at some point in the early 1970s.

 The Ecolint archives are full of examples from the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s of teachers trying to share power and responsibility with students, but one of the most interesting examples, given student stories of the prevalence of drugs at Ecolint in the 1960s and 1970s, is a "Declaration of Principle on Drugs" written by Burt Melnick which proposed that, if the school needs to move to expel students for 'pushing' drugs or possessing drugs then "any expulsion connected with drugs will be taken by the majority vote of a special committee, composed of a teacher, a senior student, and a member of the administration. This committee will be elected at the beginning of each school year by universal suffrage within the secondary school."[629] It is unclear why, in the early 1970s, a separate disciplinary committee was needed beyond the Courts of Honour and Arbitration, but one explanation, backed up by a number of testimonials, is that by the early 1970s the Courts of Honour and Arbitration were no longer functioning in practice, even if they are occasionally referred to in some school publications in the early 1970s. This decline of student involvement in disciplinary cases may have to do with growth of the school, a shift in focus by the school leadership to the IB and more pressing financial concerns, or simply the retirement of some key figures such as Schaller who had supported formal systems which allowed for students to set and enforce behavioral norms for themselves. It is also worth noting that, although Burt Melnick's proposal to involve students as part of the disciplinary committee in any cases involving drug use, although in line with Ecolint's

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[627] Ecolint, *The International School of Geneva Student Constitution of Secondary Divisions,* 27. International School of Geneva Archives, STE/K/1.
[628] Rudolf, interview with author, April 8, 2021.
[629] Burt Melnick, "Suggestions for a 'Declaration of Principle on Drugs'," International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG K. 2/5.

tradition of empowering students, does not appear to have been adopted or even trialed. Quite the contrary, the 1970s seem to chart a decline in student autonomy.

9.5. Student experience valued more highly than achievement

In the decades leading up to the creation of the IB, students had more freedom when it came to choosing the type of exam they wanted to sign up for and their subjects and teachers had almost complete autonomy in constructing their curriculum. To some extent, students and teachers were able to co-construct the curriculum when it was based around research projects or students' experiences. The complexity of catering for many school leaving examinations meant that teachers didn't have a single school leaving exam as a 'target' which they could use to measure learning success and this would have meant more ambiguity around goals and a higher degree of teacher autonomy in curricular choices. A school which prepared students to graduate with A levels, French Bac, Swiss Maturité, American College Board tests or the American High School Diploma allowed students not only different visions of success but different systems through which they could measure their achievements.

For teachers, science teachers could choose to follow Nuffield science, while history teachers could write their own international history curriculum and language teachers could experiment with language labs and other humanities teachers could open audio-visual labs. In Chapter 7, I explored some of the richness of this choice and the extent to which it energized teachers. Across a wide range of student and teacher interviews both groups remembered education as experience rather than as performance and this may explain why teachers were able to exercise their curricular freedom as well as why there was some frustration with the lack of clear coordination or sequencing between year levels or even between teachers. The purpose of an Ecolint education was not so much to teach math or languages or English but to have a certain kind of experience - and, yes, the context was international, but what that experience was, appears to have been largely left up to teachers and students.

Educational freedom at Ecolint meant the possibility of choice and the encouragement to make choices which, according to former students, would have been unorthodox in other schools. As Mikael said: "Ecolint had high standards, but it was all about high standards WITH CHOICE. THAT was what was really revolutionary. No other school that I knew of at that time had that much choice. I studied philosophy and anthropology at the higher level which was fascinating as a

combination with history and French."[630] An alumna, Amy, contrasts her experience in the United States where schools were highly selective for choir and drama with Ecolint's inclusive approach. "Where I came from you had to be good to do something. You had to pass auditions. At Ecolint, if you wanted to do it, you just did it. It was a very open approach. I had a drama teacher, Mr. Price, who pushed me to sing. I told him I couldn't and he told me to do it and I ended up singing in front of an audience. That would not have happened in States."[631]

This invitation to participate appears to have been felt by a wide range of students within the classroom. Mikiko, comparing Ecolint to her native Japan, recalls "much more discussion at Ecolint and the teachers would really listen to the students very well and then other students would react to what students said."[632] Part of this was that the classes of 15 at Ecolint made this easier than the classes of 50 in Japan but she also noted significant differences in the culture around learning. "I really enjoyed the maths at Ecolint which was more about logic. In Japan it was just calculations. In maths, like history, [at Ecolint] it was all about HOW you reason, how you arrive at your conclusions; not just the answer." For Amy, some of her best discussions came out of electives and these highlighted for her not only the freedom that she had to choose a course, but also, the freedom the teacher's felt, which allowed them to provoke thought. Amy remembers the Comparative Religion class (started by Leach in 1957) "discussions being very lively." Part of this, she felt, was linked to the fact that she was a young Jewish woman from a relatively conservative family being in a class led by a Quaker with strong opinions. But she also remembers a friend who was a Jain and "a discussion of their practices was very interesting to me" in terms of learning about a religion she had not been familiar with from one of her friends. This mixity was part of what teachers meant when they referred to the school as a laboratory of international education, but Bob Leach wasn't just facilitating interactions; he was using his freedom to take the liberty of advising his students on personal ways they could support internationalism.

> Dr Leach said that it was everyone's duty to marry someone outside of your group. He
> believed that really strongly that you should marry outside of how you were brought
> up, outside of your comfort zone so that you would help the world mix
> harmoniously…I remember having a discussion with my parents about this and later
> my father telling me "that's fine, but you remember that marriage is difficult at the best
> of times. [633]

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[630] Michael, interview with author, April 9, 2021.
[631] Amy, interview with author, March 31, 2021.
[632] Mikiko, interview with author, March 3, 2021.
[633] Amy, interview with author, March 31, 2021.

The above quotation only reinforces the sense that, at least for some of Ecolint's teachers, the school was not just an academic institution, but an experiment in social engineering freedoms.

Whether it was Bob Leach or Burt Melnick - from the arrangement of desks, to the assessments, to the necessity - whether students had read the texts or not - that they participate in discussions student engagement clearly mattered most and controversy was a hallmark of that culture of freedom.

> Burt Melnick was special as an English teacher. He was so different. He was really thinking out of the box. He prepared me to read texts in remarkable ways. I remember reading Emerson and he would just find things to look for that you would never imagine. In the US it was all about multiple choice; the Ecolint way was writing out your explanation long-hand with a fountain pen. Reading was imaginative. Melnick would sit on the desk and he rearranged desks so students were all around him. He would start out be asking if students had read the readings and then he would tell students who hadn't to participate, to make it up. Red flags kept flipping up in Burt Melnick's class. We were always looking at each other and saying 'my God, did he just say that?[634]

The contrast between progressive methodologies, traditional texts and fountain pens, and the freedom for teachers to be provocative and opinionated and the encouragement they gave students to engage with the discussions certainly did not represent absolute freedom. But students, contrasting their experiences in a range of countries with those at Ecolint certainly appear to have felt liberated.

It is tempting to draw connections in the interviews between internationalism as a kind of alternative culture in which students and teachers could be free from more rigid national cultural expectations, but several alumni told me that I was mistaken in framing it in this way. "This has nothing to do with nationality or internationalism, but this school allowed people to be different and share their gifts…there was a Japanese boy who would knit all day long, sweaters with Kabuki faces on either side of the sweater"[635] and this was fine at Ecolint. Mikiko remembers another boy

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[634] Amy, interview with author, March 31, 2021.
[635] Mikiko, interview with author, March 3, 2021.

who "used to read physics textbooks for fun like they were comic books. He went to Oxford I think at the age of 15 but he used to play with young children in Ecolint, not students of his own age."[636] It is true that many of the examples of student and teacher behaviors might be better classified as eccentricity rather than 'internationalism.' It may be true that students felt more freedom to be who they were and that this had nothing to do with internationalism, but even decades later, the boy who loved physics textbooks was introduced to me as "the father was the head of an African country in the middle of a civil war and the mother was from Holland" and the "Japanese boy" was knitting Kabuki faces. Acceptance may be a more accurate way to describe the school's values in these cases than 'international understanding' but it is also true that, in these cases and others, we are never far from using nationality as the primary label to describe difference.

9.6. The early IB examinations and links to international understanding

In 1968, Robert Leach assembled a "Report on Experience of I.B. Examinations (TRIAL)". It was the sixth year that "some form of I.B. experimental examination has been tried at the school, the second time that the two linguistic programs have collaborated, the second year that other than history alone has been presented. Parenthetically it is the second year that another school has participated – this being Atlantic College."[637] Whilst the report marks the onward march of the new international examinations regime, Leach was also "bitterly disappointed" in the "somewhat parochial attitude on the part of the examiners"[638] In all subjects Leach's reports invite examiners to visit the schools to learn more about what is being taught in the curriculum.

Elizabeth Martin, Head of the English Department wrote in her "IB Evaluation" presented at the Sevres Conference in April 1974 that "Much has been said about the workload incurred by the present content of the syllabuses: the school day is too long, the students are overburdened with homework, they have not time for extra-curricular activities, they are excessively exam-orientated etc…"[639] Paul Decorvet, as Head of Mathematics for the French Language Program wrote: "The curriculum content is too great. The programme is vast and covers everything and we don't know if the breadth of the programme permits a more superficial teaching of the topics…we are

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[636] Mikiko, interview with author, March 3, 2021.

[637] Robert Leach, "Report on the Experience of the International Baccalaureate Examinations (Trial)," 1. ISES papers, International School of Geneva Leach Archives.

[638] Robert Leach, "Report on the Experience," 2.

[639] Elizabeth Martin, "I.B. Evaluation Conference at Sevres – April 1974," 1. In folder entitled "Gerard Renaud's Report on the Experimental Period and School's Comments on IB to Date," International School of Geneva Leach Archives.

happy…when the most able students don't fall into depression!"[640] The Head of Physics wrote "we are agreed that the workload imposed on average or below average students is too heavy."

 As Deputy Director General (he was only appointed Director General in 1977) Gérard Renaud wrote, in 1974, as a justification for the wide-ranging subjects and depth of the IB exams: "it is most encouraging to find a unanimity of aspiration which associates the training of the "whole man" with the development of international understanding."[641] And yet, in practice, at least some teachers and students seemed to feel that developing the 'whole man' was crushing the individual student and focusing them on overwhelming content for the exams rather than on developing international understanding through the international context of the school.

Examiners and IB directors such as Gérard Renaud, who had been a teacher at Ecolint, knew of the impacts these exams would bring on the freedom of curriculum and the free social life which many students identified as being central pillars supporting their international experience. But, beyond the desire to gain university recognition, Renaud's quote above also links capacious knowledge and wide-ranging academic studies with international understanding and appears to place the cognitive aspects of international understanding above the affective and experiential dimension. Instead, Mikiko remembers weekly potluck dinners as being the social highlight and most striking international experience she had, and experience which she would find limited by the introduction of the IB.

> English girls would bring meat pies; Indian girls would bring curry; I would bring
> teriyaki beef and other things. About 10 girls would come. This continued for about
> three years, but then the IB studies came and it was more difficult and we had it less
> often towards the end.[642]

Nigel Head remembers that "the IB crew became a little bit incestuous. Very concentrated on ourselves." And, because it was presented as such a tough exam "they only wanted the very top tier students for the IB."[643] Many students enjoyed the academic challenges of the IB, but it is worth

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[640] Paul Decorvet, "Rapport du department de mathématiques," in folder entitled "Gerard Renaud's Report on the Experimental Period and School's Comments on IB to Date," International School of Geneva Leach Archives. The original French reads: "Le contenu des programmes est actuellement beaucoup trop lourd…le programme touche à tout et on ne sait pas si son ampleur autorise la superficialité…on est heureux…quand les plus consciencieux ne font pas une dépression!"

[641] Gérard Renaud "The Experimental Period of the International Baccalaureate: its objectives, its results, its continuation," 1974, 8. International School of Geneva Leach Archive.

[642] Mikiko, interview with the author, March 3, 2021.

[643] Nigel, interview with the author, January 22, 2021.

noting that, even when alumni looked back nostalgically at the challenge presented by the nascent IB, they often noted exactly the kind of sacrifices which other students claim promoted international understanding. In one such case, an alumni responded: "My last year coincided with the first classes in what was to become the IB. I took those classes. I had to write a long paper (50 pages, I think): The Due Process of Law in Emergent Nations. I actually had to cancel a trip to Spain in order to finish it."[644] Many evaluations of the introduction of the IB present it as an addition to the offering and therefore a positive step, but no evaluations of this period that I know have considered what might have been lost as a result of its introduction into international schools.

The International Baccalaureate project, which began in the 1960s with the International Schools Examination Syndicate, was different from other examinations systems because international understanding became an explicit curriculum goal espoused, not only by teachers and individual schools but by the examinations body itself.[645] Ecolint, before the IB, had nearly fifty years of teaching and learning promoting international understanding. The IB adopted the rhetoric of some of the founding internationalist teachers, but it would be a stretch to say that, in the IB's early years, these words were fully supported by the IB's curriculum. It is true that other schools adopting the IB which only taught one language in upper secondary school or only taught national history or geography may have had to adapt their curriculum, but, in Ecolint's case the introduction of IB exam syllabi does not appear to have advanced the push for international understanding; indeed, it is worth considering the possibility that it may have had the opposite effect.

There is scant evidence that the introduction of the IB curriculum or examinations increased the rhetoric or practices linked to international understanding at Ecolint in any way. The IB as an organization was, understandably, more focused on recognition and university acceptance (a focus which is visible in the board minutes of the IBO from this period and the way that successive IB Directors General spent their time). Arguably, this was also the case for Heads of School, such as Desmond Cole-Baker, the Ecolint Headmaster who did most to support the IB's development. Desmond Cole-Baker wrote an article for the journal *Comparative Education* in 1965 in which his reason for promoting the IB project was far more focused on the growing competition for university

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[644] Anonymous, private correspondence, March 7, 2020.

[645] "It may well be that one of the most important aspects of the scheme [ISES] is to secure a balance between the various cultural areas of the world in the educational field. It may help future generations to accept a diversity of viewpoints and ways of living and to cease judging the world from the viewpoint of what is good or bad for their own country alone. The world has become too small for notional considerations to have over-riding importance: our children will have to be concerned with the welfare and peace of the whole human race." ISES, "The International Schools Examination Syndicate Created to Establish the International Baccalaureate" (unpublished circular) 1965, 5. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.G.1.2/1.

places and the need for equivalency and recognition rather than promoting international understanding.

> Up until the early 1950s places in universities were not open to such fierce competition, and the fact that a student had studied in Geneva often compensated a lower examination achievement which was, in the main, due to frequent moves from place to place that families of international civil servants and business people are subject to. With the continual increase in competition, and also the fact that now there is widespread 'foreign' population in every country, it is essential that the child of this moving population be able to compete on equal terms with those of his own country.[646]

The article concludes with the hope that the International Baccalaureate would "help overcome the complex problem of equivalences."[647] There is no mention at all of an education for international understanding. Only his mention of the "four basic subjects (Language of Instruction and World Literature, one Foreign Language, History or Geography and Mathematics and / or science) gives some indication of the international nature of the curriculum which would be studied by students. The same can be said about Alec Peterson's focus or Gérard Renaud's or indeed any of the Directors General of the IB up until George Walker in 1999. As a student at the start of the IB, Amy says: "I don't think I was aware of the IB's philosophy or anything until Phil Thomas started coming on IB trips to the US long after I graduated. The major selling point of the IB [in the 1970s and 1980s] always seemed to be that it would be recognized by other schools and universities around the world."[648]

However, credentialing is also not the full story when it comes to explaining the motivations behind the IB project. For many of the teachers involved in the IB Project, notably Bob Leach and Phil Thomas at Ecolint, the project was always linked to promotion of a radical international mindedness. This was actively pursued by attempts to increase the likelihood of empathy with those holding different perspectives and by promoting knowledge of different realities around the globe. Teachers in international schools had been trying to teach international understanding for decades before the IB and the rhetoric espoused by the founding schools and the teachers involved was more radical than that of the International Baccalaureate Organization. By focusing students on a content

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[646] Desmond Cole-Baker, "Towards an International University Entrance Examination," *Journal of Comparative Education*, Vol. 2. no. 1, (November 1965): 43. International School of Geneva Archives, FEIG.G.1.2/1.
[647] Desmond Cole-Baker, "Towards an International University Entrance Examination," 45.
[648] Amy, interview with author, March 31, 2021.

heavy examination, there was certainly a theoretical risk, supported by actual anecdotal evidence that students found it increasingly difficult to do the trips, activities such as SUN and have the kind of classroom discussions which most supported international understanding. Of course, one form of international education supported by the IB's examinations was and is a pragmatic benefit which allows students, from all countries, wherever they are, access to the world's most prestigious universities. Degrees from these prestigious universities, in turn, allow these same students to secure themselves positions which often require the willingness and ability to resettle in new countries. These goals can also be traced back to ISES documentation in 1965, three years before the foundation of the IB. "The standard of the International Baccalaureate is intended to be that of the highest common denominator between and among the better national systems of the world."[649]

9.7. Conclusion

When international students, through living large parts of their lives 'abroad,' feel excluded from a national identity they appear to seek other identities. Surveys and interviews indicate that Ecolint provided many with this freedom to construct a personal identity which was frequently linked to an international identity. International understanding may, in fact, only partly describe what students and teachers gained by attending Ecolint in the 1950s, '60s and early '70s. The freedom so many respondents referred to does not appear to be centered around serving the world or creating world peace, but rather establishing a personal identity within an international community which allowed students the possibility to belong.

The values which Ecolint alumni from the 1950s-70s refer to as promoting this belonging are inclusive, democratic, egalitarian, western liberal values closely aligned with the IB's and Ecolint's professed values. A tension, however, arose with the arrival of the IB exams. The problem was that, if the IB was an international exam then it should be the first choice for all those who were international. Before its arrival, everyone at Ecolint could be international. And then, as a separate, question, not necessarily related to nationality or culture, students needed to choose which certification to follow at the end of their studies. After the introduction of the IB, some students (a minority for many years) were truly international and followed an 'international curriculum' and others, without the IB were left questioning and asserting their 'international' identity. As such, it is worth considering that the IB fragmented Ecolint's international community before, years later, becoming a more unifying force once the vast majority of Ecolint's students began completing the

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[649] ISES, "Statement of the Basic Principles upon which the International Schools Examination Syndicate has Developed its Programmes." 1965, 2. International School of Geneva Archives. FEIG G.1.2/1.

IB Diploma. Another paradox I explored in this chapter is that the effort to gain international recognition from universities, starting with prestigious universities such as Harvard and Oxford, led to a content heavy curriculum which was not particularly international in nature, but which appears to have excluded some students and required other students to reduce their co-curricular activities and focus on preparing for challenging exams. The kind of solitary studying which preparing for these exams often required seems, for some, to have prevented the very experiences - the trips, sports, performing arts, and social activities - which alumni remember as critical in promoting international understanding.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

10.1. Introduction: The Implications and Limitations of the Research

This thesis aims to investigate the relationship between Ecolint and the establishment of the International Baccalaureate from 1948-1975. It represents a case study of intrinsic value which allows for a historical appreciation of the student experience and the role which teachers had in systemic education reform.

Through this intrinsic case study, I aim to provide a social history of the educational experiences within a particular school, triangulating data from surveys, interviews, archival documents, and secondary sources which answers the following research questions:

1. What did it mean to teach international understanding in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s at Ecolint?
2. What were the impacts of the curriculum innovations at Ecolint which aimed to support both international understanding and the development of the IB?
3. What insights might this social history give us into the interplay between social values, identity, and curriculum reform within the context of this case study?

My responses to these questions are based on published and unpublished primary sources written by those who participated in the early years of the IB as well as secondary academic sources. I draw on over 140 survey responses and 21 semi-structured interviews with former students; 9 semi-structured interviews and numerous additional exchanges with former educators; and a vast range of archival material at Ecolint, much of which has never been published in academic research. The Leach Archives in Ecolint have not been catalogued and Leach's unpublished curriculum and class notes constitute significant archival material which better allows us to appreciate the perspective of an innovative teacher's experience in teaching international understanding at the birth of the IB. The primary sources I draw on represent new additions to knowledge surrounding the origins of the IB and the role Ecolint played in this. Together, these sources indicate that the grassroots mission to establish the IB was hugely energizing for many staff and students, but that a causal relationship between its introduction and the advancement of international understanding at Ecolint is less convincing.

While this study has yielded significant insights, it is important to acknowledge its inherent limitations.

Firstly, the case study is inherently limited by its scope. Focusing on a single school means that the findings are highly contextualized and may not be generalizable to other educational institutions or contexts. As Stake posits[650], intrinsic case studies are primarily designed to explore the unique characteristics of a specific case rather than to draw broad generalizations. Thus, while the detailed narrative offers deep insights into this particular educational setting, its applicability to other schools, especially those with different cultural or socio-economic backgrounds, is limited.

Moreover, the reliance on oral histories gathered through surveys and interviews introduces potential biases. Respondents' recollections are undoubtedly personal and therefore subjective.[651] While every effort was made to triangulate these accounts with archival documents and secondary sources to ensure accuracy and reliability, the subjective and individual nature of personal narratives cannot be entirely mitigated and many of my arguments cite self-reported appraisals of international understanding.

Another limitation is the historical scope of the archival material. The periods of time and the actors involved are not evenly documented. For instance, although interviews with teachers highlighted the practices of many teachers in supporting internationalism the availability and richness of the data on these teachers could not compare to that provided by the Leach Archives. This resulted in far greater representation of Leach in this thesis and undoubtedly a historical bias which does not reflect the full experience of the teachers. Available documents certainly do not cover all relevant aspects of the school's history and there is always strategy, not to speak of bias, behind the curation of an archive.[652] Consequently, while the archival research enriches the study, it is not exhaustive. Because of this, every effort was made to take into consideration the position of the creators of the records and the purposes for which they were originally intended as well as to seek additional perspectives from oral histories.

Despite these limitations, this study contributes valuable new data to the field of history of international education. The rich, qualitative data gathered through this case study offers a nuanced understanding of the school's educational practices, community dynamics, and historical development. It sheds light on the complexities and particularities of international education in a way that broader surveys or purely quantitative studies may not capture. This work, while not universally applicable, illuminates the intricacies of one educational environment, offering a detailed lens through which similar institutions might be understood and appreciated.

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[650] Stake, *The Art of Case Study Research*.
[651] Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia.*
[652] McCulloch, *Documentary Research in Education.*

There is still much historical research to do at school level which would provide contextualization for the excellent research carried out by Ian Hill, Robert Sylvester, Mary Hayden, Jeff Thompson, Tristan Bunnell, Dugonjic-Rodwin and others on the connections between the IB and education for international understanding, intercultural understanding, and international-mindedness. Further comparisons of curricular and co-curricular learning and their impacts on these understandings over time, within schools, and across groups of schools would continue to advance this research. For instance, it would be interesting to explore how the IB has changed over its first fifty years in terms of the ways they involve teachers in action research and curriculum review.

10.2. The Significance of the Research

Research question 1: What did it mean to teach 'international understanding' in the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s at Ecolint?

The goal of international understanding, from the foundation of Ecolint in 1924 until after the end of the Second World War, had been rhetorically focused on establishing and preserving peace between nations. International understanding at Ecolint, in line with this goal, sought to reduce the perceived differences between national and cultural perspectives which might cause friction. However, beginning in the 1950s and 60s, in addition to this approach, international understanding also meant developing a cosmopolitan identity, which had more to do with 'being' international as a statement of identity. This statement of identity is often expressed in opposition to rooted, national, locally-minded people who were frequently monolingual and had not lived in multiple countries. Being 'international' between the World Wars was associated with internationalism and defined by instrumentalizing humanistic values to prevent conflict. Although this rhetoric persisted well into the 1970s (and still persists today in the IB's mission statement[653]), from the 1950s business families outnumbered diplomats in international schools[654] and what it meant to 'be international' shifted to better represent the ties to educating the children of all internationally mobile professionals rather than just those involved in international peace-building through diplomacy or non-governmental associations.

Many of the changing realities around internationalism in schools in the 1950s and 1960s were directly linked to the growth in the political and economic influence of the United States during this period. During the 1950s and 1960s, internationalism evolved from a more multi-lateral internationalism in schools like Ecolint to one dominated by the Cold War struggle between the

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[653] International Baccalaureate Mission Statement, https://www.ibo.org/about-the-ib/mission/ accessed July 20, 2023.
  "Create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect."
[654] Alexander Peterson, *International Baccalaureate,* 20.

United States and their allies and the USSR and theirs. Given that Soviet students typically attended Soviet schools in embassies even when living overseas, the United States exerted far more influence in international schools. I explored the connection between the political and economic power of the United States and their influence on elites internationally in Chapter 5.

This global trend was visible in the power dynamics within Ecolint even if teachers such as Leach tried to resist this trend by emphasizing the need for multi-lateral internationalism. Although the IB and international schools certainly benefitted from money from the United States, the IB, as an organization, was led by Europeans rather than by Americans. International understanding, for Americans - who represented half of the student body during this period - often meant learning about Europe. For many other students, being at an international school meant learning about America and Americans. Those students who were from other cultures occasionally brought elements of those cultures to school and to friendships, but my research indicates that this was unusual. It was far more common for students to attempt to blend into the dominant Anglo-American culture of the ELP (English Language Program) or the dominant Franco-Swiss culture of the FLP (French Language Program).

Although internationalism during this period was heavily influenced by the financial and cultural power of the United States and the overwhelming dominance of the United Kingdom in terms of teachers' nationalities, there were significant efforts to resist these dominant influences within Ecolint and increase the school's internationalism which pre-date the IB. The most radical proposals can be found in Leach's theories of multi-lateral internationalism and in the practical implementation of curricular and co-curricular activities to support international understanding. This thesis demonstrates the ways in which Leach and others were building on a pre-existing tradition in Ecolint and on a global trend.

Research question 2: What were the impacts of the curriculum innovations at Ecolint which aimed to support both international understanding and the development of the IB?

Impact on the IB and the Wider World

The relationship between the curriculum innovation at Ecolint in the 1950s and 1960s linked to international understanding and the development of the IB was a symbiotic one. Without the efforts of Ecolint's teachers and administrators in writing course guides, hosting conferences and articulating a strong demand for and ideology around international education, there would have been no IB project to attract Peterson or other academics. However, what excited the university

level academics who were central to turning the IB into a functioning assessment program was not, primarily, the goal of international understanding, but rather the access that the IB provided to a network of schools which would allow them to test out and implement curricular reforms. I outlined the evidence behind this claim in chapter 5.

Although the first IB course guide was written by an Ecolint teacher, it would be wrong to infer that the IB in its current form was solely a product of grassroots curriculum innovation by classroom practitioners. The IB only became an educational force because it received the backing of hundreds of thousands of dollars from US philanthropic funds and because university academics and governmental educational policy makers also chose to buy into and build the IB as an educational experiment. The biggest innovation brought about in the decade following the founding of the IB was not a revolution in education to develop international understanding. The IB's singular innovation was creating the first secondary school leaving qualification, created by experts from a range of countries which aimed, from the outset, to be recognized by universities in all countries. In short, it is also highly improbable that Ecolint or any other school would have managed to get the widespread university recognition necessary to launch a secondary school leaving qualification if it had not been for the power of Peterson's network.

Nevertheless, arguably the most globally visible long-term impact of Ecolint's curriculum efforts to develop international understanding is its role in creating the IB, an organization which now provides curriculum guidelines for over 5800 schools.[655] Ecolint's teachers carried out pilot programs and viability studies to secure the funding from the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller and Twentieth Century Fund necessary to launch the IB. Even in the 1960s the demand for international education was already such that it was no longer just about promoting the ideals of peacebuilding, but also an educational framework which could support a superpower in full expansion. The fact that the IB adopted a rhetoric of education for peace through international understanding, as opposed to a more neo-liberal discourse, also has its origins in Ecolint's traditions of education for international understanding, which this thesis has explored at length.

Other examples of Ecolint initiative which may have had significant impact is Leach's Student United Nations and SIMEX. Leach appears to be the first teacher in the world to organize a full Model United Nations (MUN) for secondary school students, and was certainly the first to organize

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[655] "As of June 2024, over 8,000 programmes were being offered across over 5,800 schools in over 160 countries." https://www.ibo.org/about-the-ib/facts-and-figures/ accessed July 15, 2024.

a MUN with the United Nations in 1953.[656] Leach was certainly an early adopter and promoter of these simulations of real-world international diplomacy and he contributed significantly to creating at least two interesting models for student learning. Despite Leach's innovations, the highly democratized and de-centralized nature of model UN's and the number of influential educators in this area makes it difficult to prove definitively that the tremendous popularity of Model United Nations today relies on Leach's leadership.[657]

Without Ecolint's teachers it is conceivable, given the growing demand for education for expatriates in the 1960s that the IB could still have been developed by another school or led by experts and funded by American philanthropists. But it is unlikely that it would have placed the same emphasis on international understanding in the curriculum and the ideal of multilateral internationalism[658]. That emphasis came from Ecolint's tradition and not from Peterson, as Director General, who was primarily seeking a well-balanced education which could rival, and possibly even replace the narrow qualifications presented by the A-levels in England.

Impact on Teachers

The notion of an international curriculum, in the sense of a course of study which would promote international understanding had no greater advocate at Ecolint or within the IB during this period than Robert Leach. His Student United Nations and SIMEX (diplomatic simulation exercises), his World Religions and Culture of Cities courses, and his role in drafting the IB's first history pilot course all demonstrate substantial innovations which were to influence school practices in many international schools. Leach was certainly a pioneer, but he was also only one member of an important group of teachers and academics promoting internationalism through education during the period covered by this thesis. Maurette, Oats, the Knights, Poirel, Martin, Schaller, Holden, Roquette, Cole-Baker and many other teachers at Ecolint are remarkable examples of this tradition.

Curriculum reform, whether it was making Ecolint's curriculum more international or establishing a curriculum and examinations framework which sat outside of the confines of national systems, lies

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[656] Lafayette College's MUN in 1946 is widely recognized as the first Model United Nations at university level involving undergraduate students. Berkley MUN organized by the University of California, Berkley, was founded in 1952 and is widely recognized as the first MUN which also invited secondary school, but it is tied to a university and is not the product of secondary school organization. There is no evidence of any other Model United Nations conferences organized by and for secondary schools before Leach's in 1953.
[657] University Model United Nations almost certainly had a greater influence internationally, though this goes beyond the scope of this thesis.
[658] Leach, *International Schools and Their Role*, 124.

at the heart of this thesis. For Ecolint's teachers and leaders this was an exciting and prestigious opportunity for 'action research.' Ralph Tyler was a celebrity of the education world and others such as Harlan Hanson, Director of the Advanced Placement Program for the College Board, or Alec Peterson, as Head of Oxford University's Department of Education, also offered connections with prestigious institutions. Working on a project with experts such as these certainly reinforced the importance of the work and the pride with which Ecolint's teachers worked on IB projects. Tyler was a consultant assigned to the ISES by the Ford Foundation from 1965 and he worked with Alec Peterson on the IB project. Leach, Renaud and other teachers referred to Stenhouse's action research and saw their early work setting up the IB as an example of this. Action research and access to prestigious academics and institutions gave teachers authority and prestige beyond what they had in individual schools and allowed them to take part as experts at international conferences and frame their experiences in ways which transcended the walls of their classrooms. It is also true that academics also benefitted. For Peterson, the IB also represented action research[659] and it gave him the chance to implement his conclusions from comparative education and his vision of a well-balanced education.

During the decades leading up to the IB, the transnational networks and conferences which preceded it and laid its foundations energized the teaching of international understanding throughout this period by providing many teachers with a noble ideal which motivated individual and collective action.[660] Whilst this idealism also gave rise first to prolonged, sincere and impactful experimentation, then the IB project, and ultimately the IB, the focus on international understanding arguably waned once Peterson took on the IB as a full time project in 1967.

Tensions in the IB can certainly be found between Ecolint's ideology of internationalism and the desire to create an internationally recognized school leaving qualification which avoided the pitfalls of excessive specialization. These tensions have been thoroughly explored in this thesis. Where Leach and Maurette would have ranked Ecolint's primary purpose as teaching international understanding for peace; Peterson would have identified a balanced education. Whereas Leach and others at Ecolint focused on designing educational experiences such as SUN and trips to promote international understanding, Peterson was far more interested in focusing on those aspects of curriculum which could be reliably assessed. International understanding could not, it was felt, be

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[659] Peterson, *Schools Beyond Frontiers*, 23.
[660] Rita Hofstetter and Bernard Schneuwly, "The International Bureau of Education (1925–1968): A Platform for Designing a 'chart of World Aspirations for Education'." *European Educational Research Journal* 12 no. 2 (2013): 215-230.

reliably assessed and Peterson, positioning himself as a pragmatist, even questioned the idea that the IB could be genuinely innovative – especially with respect to the internationalism of its curricula. The "problem", Peterson said, "was…that if the IBO were to develop genuinely innovative syllabuses, the schools would still not choose to offer them, because they had no teachers who had been trained or felt competent, to teach them" and because of this, Peterson refers to the "unrealistic purism which affected the ISA."[661] The ISA and the proposed notions of internationalism and the teaching of international understanding which had arisen out of Ecolint and other ISA schools were simply too ambitious or idealistic for Peterson. He did not believe they would have launched the IB had 'purists' such as Leach continued to be as influential in the IB as he was in the ISA. He was almost certainly right. The IB project required idealists who were motivated by quasi-religious zeal. There was a huge amount of work and next to no money and a high chance of failure. The IB organization, however, had clients to satisfy and, faced with little time and few resources it had to reward pragmatists and those able to compromise if it was going to deliver anything. As Peterson said: "the more pragmatic among us were more concerned with meeting existing needs and made continual use of the saving clause 'as far as possible'."[662]

Impact on Students

It is hard to overstate the overwhelming consensus of former students and teachers: what they remember as the most effective experiences when it came to increased international understanding were the co-curricular activities – the trips, Student United Nations, clubs, theatrical and sporting events. Not surprisingly the international diversity of staff and students and the learning of languages was also presented as a valuable resource. More surprisingly, there is also a strong association made by respondents between the freedom afforded at Ecolint and internationalism. Although individual teachers and students reflected on how they found less time to do these with the adoption of the IB's content heavy curricula, the experimentation leading up to the formal exams was a rich and active period in terms of students' international experiences. We can draw inferences from this. However, just because something is memorable as an international experience does not mean that it actually increased international understanding. It is also plausible that students who spent the extra time on IB academics may have developed international understanding of a different nature, though this is not what the survey responses and interview data suggests. What we do know is that there is an overwhelmingly high rate of association between the activities listed

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[661] Peterson, *Schools Beyond Frontiers*, 35.
[662] Peterson, *Schools Beyond Frontiers*, 63.

above and self-reported increases in international understanding. This is important in terms of identity development and the self-identification as 'international.'

However, student and teacher claims of Ecolint's 'exceptionalism' as a utopian school with some form of internationalist moral authority are also not entirely convincing. On one level, it is deeply ironic that a school which trumpeted internationalist ideals had two language sections, visible tensions between some national and linguistic groups and a haphazard approach to developing international understanding. Much of the rhetoric around international understanding was based on ideals which needed to be constantly negotiated and revisited. And what it meant to 'be international' or teach international understanding was constantly under review. This thesis demonstrates the wide range of ways in which Ecolint's educators and students dealt with the complexities of providing an international education. The school was intellectually inclusive but financially elitist; international and yet dominated by Anglo-American people and culture; progressive and often innovative, but largely traditional when it came to how it measured academic success. Perhaps the greatest paradox lies in the tendency of one Ecolintien to celebrate their tolerance by accepting another Ecolintien whilst dismissing those with fewer international credentials as narrow minded and parochial. It is here that cosmopolitanism begins to feel less like a possible solution for world peace and more like a 'members only' club where diversity is celebrated as long as the person is 'one of us.'

Research question 3: What insights might this social history give us into the interplay between social values, identity, and curriculum reform within the context of this case study?

The generations of students who predate the arrival of the IB at Ecolint or were part of the IB's first examinations remind us that international education and the teaching of international understanding predate the IB. Their internationalism was more closely tied to Ecolint as a marker of internationalism and they are not dependent on the IB in their claims to 'be international.' For today's students the distinction is not so easy to make. The IB has argued that international education is superior to national education[663] - and it is the only educational system for K-12 schooling which aims to develop internationally minded students through internationally recognized primary and secondary educational qualifications. As discussed in Chapter 9, Leonora Dugonjic-Rodwin[664] provides a compelling argument outlining how the IB and the international schools using

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[663] "IB students often perform better: IB students develop strong academic, social and emotional characteristics. They are also likely to perform well academically – often better than students on other curricula." https://www.ibo.org/benefits/benefits-for-students/ accessed June 25, 2023.

[664] Dugonjic-Rodwin, "Le Privilège d'une Éducation Transnationale."

the IB programs have consistently presented "international" as superior to "national" education. She argues that the term 'international' has become closely associated with privileged expatriates as opposed to 'migrants' and that this elitism has fueled the IB's growth. Because there was no widely accepted definition of what constituted an 'international school', the IB, through the 'international' in its branding and through its universal aspirations and global reach, has bolstered perceptions that 'international' is better than 'national.' Furthermore, she argues that the IB, through its accreditation and authorization processes and through its relationships with universities, has established an effective monopoly on the adjective 'international' when placed before the word 'school'.

If the International Baccalaureate has effectively positioned itself as synonymous with 'international' education at the secondary level, both as an ideological objective and a branding exercise, the arguments presented in this thesis provide some evidence that this was not always the case. There was a significant presence of 'internationalism' in schools prior to the IB's first exams, suggesting that fostering an international ethos within a school is not exclusively dependent on the IB. Equally problematic, in a historical sense, is the legitimacy with which the IB can claim to have always prioritized the 'international' in its approach to curriculum. In fact, we can trace this criticism to the day before the IB's first graduation ceremony, when Shanta, one of the IB's first graduates, criticized the IB's history course and its delivery by saying the following in Ecolint's Greek Theatre: "African history, taught by an American using British textbooks, is not African history."[665] Devarajan was careful to make the point in his interview with me, fifty years later, of how grateful he was for his IB education and to argue that it is because of this that he needs to point out the gaps between its ideals and its implementation. Indeed, many of the alumni interviews where participants clearly felt a strong sense of belonging linked to the Ecolint community and, in some cases, the IB, were also critical of any attempt to exaggerate achievements linked to international understanding.

In international schools which opened their doors in the 1970s or later and adopted the IB from day one, it is difficult to completely untangle the rigor and prestige of the IB's international recognition from the IB and the school's support of international understanding. Ecolint is an interesting case study precisely because it had a long tradition of teaching international understanding before the arrival of the IB and this thesis demonstrates that many innovative and seemingly impactful approaches to teaching international understanding had little to do with the formal introduction of the IB Diploma Program's curriculum or assessment program.

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[665] Shanta, private correspondence, April 18, 2021.

For decades preceding the IB, internationalism was Ecolint's central cultural value. Parents, teachers and students, all of whom had either chosen to work abroad or to select the most internationally diverse schooling option in Geneva, demonstrated their international mindedness simply through their affiliation with Ecolint. It is not surprising, given that the IB was academically selective during its first years at Ecolint, that the IB is less strongly associated with the pre-existing value of internationalism than with academic elitism by Ecolint's graduates and its teachers from this period.

Many of these tensions between the ideal and the pragmatic can be better understood by identifying the social factors surrounding the tensions between values and identity construction. Students and teachers and even parents at Ecolint often arrived at the realization that they were no longer part of national communities, whether they wanted to return to their 'home' countries or not. The desire to form a community in exile was strong. These relationships which underpinned learning were framed by the common virtue of international understanding which also, not coincidentally, would promote the kind of learning experiences which built community. Life at Ecolint, bounded by ordinary pragmatic concerns, tested the school's commitment to the virtues which underpin international understanding, but the fact that internationalism was a virtue for those who attended Ecolint in the 1950s, '60s and early '70s would be difficult to contest.

Internationalism for most students and even most teachers was not fundamentally about knowledge and skills but about a sense of belonging. Anne-Catherine Wagner[666] and Julia Resnik argue that, more than anything, "international culture is about learning a lifestyle and producing an international habitus."[667] This thesis has also noted the power of 'being international' as an identity label even if it is a loosely defined construct which can be situated socially and understood, alternately as signaling idealistic alignment or filling an absence of belonging. My survey and interview data challenge notions that 'being international' is a class construct defined along lines of common economic interest or a measure of factual understanding about other cultures – though both arguments have their strengths. So, if 'being international' is not entirely intellectual or economic and social, then what is it? This thesis has documented many successful ways in which Ecolint's teachers taught the emotional and cognitive competences which underpin international understanding, but the examples themselves are anecdotal and do not fully explain the tremendous power of the mythology around internationalism as an identity at Ecolint.

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[666] Anne-Catherine Wagner, *Les stratégies transnationales en France*. (Skeptronhäften: Skeptron, 1997), 13, 3–15.
[667] Julia Resnik, "*The Construction of the Global Worker Through International Education*" in *The Production of Educational Knowledge in the Global Era*, (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2008), 151.

Internationalism and international understanding are often presented by former students and teachers as a pervasive and transmissible ethos and as an immersive learning experience which they experienced simply by virtue of being part of Ecolint. 'Being international' at Ecolint during this period can be described as a kind of belonging - a 'clubbiness' as well as a competence. Ecolint's community identity would not want to be defined by 'class' but it can be understood in the light of E.P. Thompson's assertion that "class is a relationship and not a thing."[668] In this case the 'clubbiness' offers those in the international community, specifically those who are part of Ecolint, a privileged relationship – a place to feel they belong and the possibility to exclude others who are not international. My assertion that international understanding, for alumni of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, has more to do with 'belonging' than competence explains one of the reasons why international understanding has been so complicated to assess and why alumni and teachers alike reacted so negatively to the suggestion that the 'international' could be taught or assessed. It also explains why the experiential knowledge, which binds alumni with common memories, was so important and so closely associated with international understanding even when respondents were not exactly sure what they might have learned about other countries and cultures. Instead, what the experience of internationalism did give alumni appears to be greater confidence in interacting with other internationals. The educational experiences explored in this thesis did create a group of people who identify strongly as international.

10.3. Conclusion

As the IB's experimental period concluded, the concept of international understanding had begun to move into the mainstream of global educational thought. This shift was underscored in 1974 when UNESCO's General Council adopted the *Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding,* declaring that fostering international understanding should be a central goal of all educational programs. The recommendation called on Member States to "formulate and apply national policies aimed at…strengthening [their] contribution to international understanding and co-operation." [669] While international schools had been pioneers in promoting international understanding, they never held a monopoly on innovation in this field. Yet, by the mid-1970s,

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[668] Edward Palmer Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963; reprinted, Harlow: Penguin Books, 2013), 1.

[669] UNESCO, "Records of the General Conference, 18th session, Paris, 17 October to 23 November 1974," vol 1: Resolutions, 146.

UNESCO's advocacy reinforced the idea that these objectives should not be confined to international schools but should permeate national education systems worldwide.

This mainstreaming of international understanding challenged the identity of international schools, including Ecolint. As governments increasingly embraced international understanding as a core educational objective, international schools faced a critical question: in a world where all schools were encouraged to promote these values, how could they maintain their distinctiveness? From the 1980s onward, this challenge became central to the evolving mission of international schools.

Despite the widespread adoption of international understanding as an educational goal, it remains the cornerstone of international schools' distinctiveness. This thesis traces the historical foundations of this identity, focusing on the innovative contributions of Ecolint during the IB's formative period of 1948–1975. Reflections from teachers and students involved in this study highlight that the energy driving Ecolint's pioneering curriculum reforms often stemmed from the creation of meaningful curricular experiences which also extended to a wide range of co-curricular activities. These experiences were valued not only for their role in fostering a sense of belonging but also for their broader impact on educational philosophy, placing value on efforts to transcend the more easily measurable outcomes like those included in the IB Diploma Program's school-leaving examinations. Ecolint's success with curricular innovations in international understanding and the IB project (1948–1975) lay in its ability to create transformative experiences. These experiences shaped communities that chose to define themselves by their commitment to internationalism above all else.

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- Parent and student handbooks
- Histories of the school
- Maps and architectural plans and pictures of the school
- Articles written by teachers and school leaders
- ISA and CIS conference reports
- Reports to the Governing Board
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Primary sources from 1951 – 1980 consulted in the Leach Archives include:
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- departmental minutes
- course notes
- lists of textbooks
- private correspondence with a range of individuals ranging from A.D.C. Peterson (the first Director General of the IBO) to heads of other international schools to philanthropic foundations.
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Appendix I: Consent Form

<u>Information Sheet accompanying survey questions and interview requests</u>

About the Study
The research is part of a PhD program undertaken at University College of London, Institute of Education, under the supervision of Dr. Gary McCulloch and Dr. Georgina Brewis.
The purpose of the research is to explore the teaching and learning in humanities classes at Ecolint from 1949-1972 in order to gauge the relationship between the steps taken to set up an IB curriculum and teaching and learning in the classroom.
Conan de Wilde, who will be carrying out the interviews and writing his doctorate partially based on these interviews, is a doctoral student at the Institute of Education in London (UCL) and an Assistant Principal at the International School of Geneva.

Taking part in the research
All material gathered during this research will be treated as confidential and securely stored. We are bound by the ethical procedures laid down by the Institute of Education, University of London and work in accordance with the ethical guidelines of BERA (British Educational Research Association). These govern the use we make of data gathered from the individuals who help us. If you wish to see a copy of the transcript of your recording, then please let us know.

How will the research be used?
The outcome of the research will be a doctoral thesis. Other outcomes might include book chapters, articles and conference presentations as well as short bulletins and reports. With your consent, the data we collect (including transcripts, written reminiscences and oral history recordings) will be archived so that researchers can use it in future.
Should you wish to retract anything said during our interview your wishes will be fully respected.

Yours sincerely,
Conan de Wilde
Emails: Conan.dewilde@ecolint.ch; conan.wilde.17@ucl.ac.uk
Phone: 41 76 3479667
I hereby agree to be interviewed for the purpose of Conan de Wilde gathering information and materials for his doctoral studies which he is undertaking at University College London, Institute of Education.

Name …………………………………………………….

Signature ……………………………………………. Date …………………….

Consent Form

Please tick 'Yes' or 'No' against each statement concerning the collection and use of the research data.

1. Taking part in the research project

I have read and understood the information sheet.	Yes		No	
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	Yes		No	
I have had my questions answered satisfactorily.	Yes		No	
I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time without having to give an explanation.	Yes		No	

2. Use of the interview and associated documentation by the research project:

I agree to the interview being audio recorded and to its contents being used for research purposes.	Yes		No	
I agree that any written and e-mail communications with Conan de Wilde which are relevant to the research can be used for his research.	Yes		No	
I wish my contributions to be anonymised in any publications, presentations or other research output.	Yes		No	

3. Archiving the interview and associated documentation at the British Library and use of the archived data:

I agree to my recorded interview becoming part of the Ecolint Archives. I understand that it will become a permanent public reference resource for use in research, publication, education, lectures, and the internet.	Yes		No	

Please outline here any restrictions you have over the use of the recordings. Please ensure that there is an end-date for any restriction specified.

4. Copyright in my contribution:

I agree to assign the copyright in my contribution to the author of the study, Conan de Wilde.	Yes		No	

Name (interviewee) (printed)

_____

Signature _____

Date of interview _____

"During which years did you attend Ecolint?"

"What did you learn from humanities classes at Ecolint?"

"I am…male / female."

"Did you spend most time enrolled in the… English Language Program / French Language Program?"

"When you were at school, how would you have described your background (family, nationality, ethnicity, etc.)?"

"What activities (books, films, plays, debates, etc.) took place in Ecolint classroom and for homework which served to develop your international understanding?"

"How did extra-curricular activities contribute to better international understanding?"

"What connections do you see between the school's emphasis on international understanding and your life after Ecolint?"

"Is there anything else you would like to add about how Ecolint did / didn't teach international understanding during your years at school?"

These questions were followed by

1) Would the researcher be able to contact you by email if he has further questions to do with your responses? (yes / no tickbox)

2) Would you prefer to be quoted by name/ have your responses anonymized?

3) Click HERE if you wish to receive a copy of your response by email.

4) By pressing the 'send' button below you agree to allow your comments to be published as part of this research project and understand that you may be cited as a historical source by this research project and other researchers in the future.

If at any stage you wish to change your answers or withdraw your comments, please email conan.dewilde@ecolint.ch.