CHAPTER 5
DEFINING THE PROBLEM

Introduction

This is the first of a series of analyses which will be structured around the seven stages of the policy process depicted on the vertical axis AB of the conceptual model: problem definition, aggregation, agenda setting, policy decision, design, administration and execution. In general, this corresponds to the chronological development of the IB but there will be times when the formation and implementation stages do not reflect a chronological sequence. For example, some aspects of implementation may be considered during the formation stage, just as events during implementation may reshape the original policy. Chapter 11 contains chronologies of events relating to the origins and development of the IB diploma and the IB Office.

As each stage is treated, the other two axes of the conceptual model - actors and factors influencing their behaviour - come into play. Arising from the discussion, a geometric three-dimensional representation of the main actors and influential factors is composed for each stage of the policy process. These chapter analyses respond to the research question: what are the characteristics of policy formation and implementation which led to the establishment of the IB diploma and the IB Office? The first step in defining the problem is the perception of a situation which needs a solution. The growth of international schools is a major event which led to the creation and perception of a problem and its subsequent clarification.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section discusses the influential factors (many of them related to the environmental context) and actors leading to a growth in international schools, beginning after the First World War. The national diversity of the student population in international schools then gives rise to problems associated with the educational program which is outlined. The second section concerns the appearance and behaviour of various actors as they perceive and clarify problems regarding international schools. It begins with a discussion of headmasters supported by UNESCO (an organisational actor) followed by the contribution of parent actors and non-education professionals principally employed by the UN and its organisations. This section concludes with the ISA consultant and the headmaster and chairman of the Board of the International School of Geneva in the early 1960s. Actors and influential factors are categorised according to the nomenclature of the conceptual framework.

The third section is a synthesis of the preceding discussion centered around a figure depicting the founding of the International School of Geneva and subsequent international schools, followed by a table of five problems related to these schools as defined by various actors for different
reasons. The chapter concludes with a geometric representation of the problem definition stage or layer of the conceptual framework arising out of the analysis. A final table summarises in chronological order the important actors discussed in this chapter and the significant events with which they are associated.

Factors Influencing Problem Definition

The Rise of International Schools

The Great War of 1914-1918 demonstrated in a terrible manner the way in which nations were distrustful and intolerant of each other. In the uneasy peace of the 1920s and 1930s, national leaders began the first tentative steps towards global cooperation which were to result in the foundation of the United Nations. In 1920-21 the League of Nations and the International Labour Office established their headquarters in Geneva with staff drawn from many countries. There was a need for a school which would cater for students with a diversity of languages and cultures, a school which could prepare them for university education in their home countries. So it was that in 1924 the International School of Geneva was founded by a group of parents predominantly from the League of Nations and the International Labour Office in conjunction with Adolphe Ferrière, a sociologist, and Elisabeth Rotten, a German scholar, both of the Rousseau Institute (1912) in Geneva. The parents, motivated by a belief in the objectives of the organisations they served, wanted a school which would give the child

a complete and rounded view of the world which was the workshop of his parents; not only the view, but the knowledge and understanding; not only knowledge, but the love and the desire for peace, the feeling of the brotherhood of man (Maurette 1948: 3).

Ideology rather than practicality was the prime factor which propelled these parents into action. Ferrière housed the first class in his family's chalet and was technical adviser to the school from 1924 to 1926, during which time the Rousseau Institute launched the International Bureau of Education with Ferrière as Assistant Director (Avanzini et al. 1979: 44).

World leaders were the actors responsible for the creation of political environmental factors - the League of Nations and the International Labour Office whose employees became the parent actors to whom the International School of Geneva owes its existence. Its objectives were 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'" (International School of Geneva Student-Parent Handbook 1924). It was founded for this ideological reason but also for the practical purpose of enabling students to continue their studies in the schools and universities of other countries (Oats 1952: 2). The International School of Geneva is regarded as the first of the truly international schools; that is, a school offering a number of national and
some international curricula for a culturally varied expatriate student population.

In 1925 the Director of the school, Paul Meyhoffer, circulated a questionnaire to seventeen European leaders in educational reform seeking their reactions to a proposed *maturité internationale*. (In Switzerland the secondary leaving certificate is still called the *maturité* or the *baccalauréat* in France). This was the first known suggestion of an international school-leaving examination. The full text of the questionnaire and accompanying letter is to be found in Appendix 4. The idea of a *maturité internationale* had arisen through parental concern over university acceptance in other countries of their children after completing studies at the International School of Geneva. There is no record of the responses. The call was perhaps too early as international schools had not yet spread very widely (Peterson 1987: 15). Nevertheless world geography and world history courses for primary and early high school were developed at the school during the 1930s by Monsieur Dupuy and his daughter, Madame Maurette, Headmistress from 1929 to 1949 (Oats 1952: 26-28). The motive was that such courses were indispensable as a basis for gaining a perspective on the history and geography of any individual country (Oats 1952: 21).

The League of Nations gave way to the United Nations (UN) Organisation (a political contextual factor) whose charter was established in San Francisco in 1945 and whose headquarters was (and still is) in New York. Its principal goal was to maintain world peace. The tragic experience of two world wars inspired the creation of this organisation. Just as the League of Nations’ personnel had given birth to the International School of Geneva so did United Nations Organisation employees become instrumental parent actors in founding the United Nations International School (UNIS) in New York in 1947, generally regarded as the second most important school after that of Geneva. Unlike the League of Nations, the UN gave substantial grants to the school during its first twenty-five years (Malinowski & Zorn 1973: 164).

A number of schools sprang up in different parts of the world under the diplomatic umbrella of one or more embassies. For example, the Djakarta International Primary School (Indonesia) was founded in 1951 with assistance from the American Embassy, Kabul International Primary School was founded in 1954 in Afghanistan under the aegis of the French Embassy, and the International School of Ghana at Accra was founded in 1955 under the patronage of “seven ambassadorial officers with the active sponsorship of the Ghana Ministry of Education” (Knight & Leach 1964: 449, 450).

The end of the Second World War saw the decline of the British Empire and the emergence of the USA as a world power. Many former colonies became individual states and the nations of Europe began to unite for common economic and political ends. With the approaching end of colonisation in the late 1950s, there were many displaced nationals on
various missions, technical aid or business in countries throughout the

world.

Rapid air travel, telecommunications, the electronic computer and the
rise of information technology all contributed to the development of a
world which was increasingly interdependent and international. Many
industrial companies, which formerly had a predominately national role,
took on multinational dimensions in this new political and

technological climate.

UNESCO, an important agency of the UN, was formed in 1945 after the
end of World War Two with its headquarters in Paris to promote
international intellectual cooperation in the fields of education, science
and culture. Another UN specialised agency, the World Health
Organisation, was created at the same time in Geneva and others
followed in the years to come. These represent important political, social
and ideological factors which added to the international displacement of
national public servants.

After the Second World War international education exchanges between
the USA, Europe and the Middle East occurred. The USA government
launched itself into “bilateral internationalism” by supporting student
exchanges particularly at university level. Many foreign students studied
at universities and colleges in the USA and the 1946 Fulbright Act
allowed many Americans to study overseas (Leach 1969: 132). In 1950
UNESCO sponsored teacher exchanges across the world in conjunction
with the Conference of Internationally-Minded Schools (CIS) which is
mentioned in this chapter and discussed more fully in Chapter 5. These
were significant educational environmental factors which also
contributed to the growth of international schools to serve the rapidly
expanding population of students residing in countries other than that of
their first nationality.

At the same time in the Europe of post-World War Two, international
schools were appearing in part to serve foreign personnel in cities such as
Copenhagen, Frankfurt and Paris (Fox 1985: 54). During the late 1950s and
1960s developing countries received a substantial influx of foreign aid,
investment and expatriate families who needed an education if it would
enable their children to easily reintegrate into their national education
systems or to systems in other countries; this economic factor contributed
to the growth of international schools in a number of places around the
globe.

Hence, from the beginning of the International School of Geneva in 1924,
the need for schools to cater for the children of expatriates working
abroad increased rapidly after the Second World War. This was due to a
political, social, ideological, technological and educational context
brought about by a number of non-education professional actors, both
individual and organisational: heads of state, company executives,
national governments and scientists. The constant mobility and cultural
displacement of students was not assisted by variations of curricula and the divergence of university entrance requirements. The nationally diverse population of international schools, while providing a rich, cultural experience also led to a number of problems.

The Educational Program of International Schools

As international schools started to grow in many parts of the world the most pressing problem was that of preparing senior students for university, either in their home country or elsewhere and of facilitating international exchange or transfer of students at various stages of schooling. An international academic passport was required. Parents and their children were most affected by this; school teachers and administrators also perceived the problem. Three types of student had to be catered for:

1. the student abroad for the first time, arriving from a different national education system;
2. the student returning home from abroad having attended schools in one or more countries; and
3. the student abroad destined to move to countries other than the home country for school and university education.

Confronted with a diverse cultural mix of students, what should the academic program be? No international program existed, although Madame Maurette and Monsieur Dupuy had pioneered and taught world history and geography at the International School of Geneva in the 1930s and 1940s (Oats 1952: 26-28). International schools had to work with existing national academic programs which would be recognised at least by the universities of those nations.

Some international schools prepared all students for the one national examination and relied upon "equivalence" agreements (which were not always easy to negotiate) to secure university placements in other countries. For example, the UWC of the Atlantic in Wales offered only English "A" levels when it was founded in 1962, yet its students came from all over the world (Peterson 1968: 274). Others prepared a number of national examinations within the one school such as the International School of the Hague (later to become the American School of the Hague), founded in 1953, where three national streams operated leading to the pre-university examinations of France, Germany and the USA (Knight & Leach 1964: 452). UNIS offered American Advanced Placement and British "A" Levels (Malinowski & Zorn 1973: 128). From the outset the International School of Geneva prepared students for the national university entrance examinations of England ("A" levels), France (baccalauréat), Germany (abitur), Switzerland (maturité), and later (in the 1940s) the American College Board Advanced Placement examinations (Mowat 1968: 280). At the International School of Geneva after the Second World War there were small numbers of students undertaking courses in classes grouped according to nationality. A similar situation existed or would soon exist in other international schools such as UNIS. This led to difficulties, perhaps the same as those
which had prompted Paul Meyhoffer’s call for an international university entrance examination some twenty years before.

A problem had, then, emerged from an international school phenomenon created by political, technological, social, ideological, educational and economic events which had demographic repercussions on student mobility. This began in a small way after the First World War and escalated after the Second World War. The political environment was dominated by actions towards world peace. The key event was the creation of the United Nations Organisation (and its predecessor the League of Nations) by the Heads of State of a number of countries who were united in a desire to prevent ever again the destruction caused by the two world wars. It gave a feeling of security which facilitated movement between countries in an effort to rid the world of xenophobic attitudes. Some parts of the world were joining forces in the fields of education, science and culture (UNESCO) and in health (World Health Organisation) for example. At the same time decolonisation gave rise to many expatriate missions abroad.

Economically there was a resurgence of activity after the depression of the war years and companies seized the opportunity to become multinational with research and production sites in many parts of the world. Educationally the USA took a lead in promoting student exchanges across the globe.

This combination of environmental factors led to a large demographic shift of families, particularly to international cities like Geneva where many foreign businesses (in addition to international government organisations) became established after the Second World War. The English speaking population of Geneva increased rapidly at this time; the International School of Geneva went from a very personal family-type school during the 1920s and 1930s to a much larger school, principally due to an influx of American business interests. French-speaking students became a minority in the school for the first time (as they remain today) and the Advanced Placement examinations of the American College Board were added to the programs taught (Goormaghtigh interview 1991).

In addition to the practical problem of international transfer between schools offering different programs and preparation for university entrance world-wide, a pedagogical problem was also perceived by teachers and headmasters. It concerned the inappropriateness of national curricula for providing a truly global dimension and international experience in the academic program. The informal relationships between culturally diverse individuals in an international school setting should be enhanced by formal recognition in the academic program of subjects, methodological approaches and international comparisons which would enable individuals to see their own cultural identity in relation to the rest of the world. Such a program would go a long way towards teaching tolerance of other ways of thinking and being, and would contribute to
world peace through mutual understanding amongst nations, a theme which was prevalent after the First and Second World Wars. Pedagogical problems could arise where, for example, mathematical procedures and thought processes or the perception of historical events vary between nations. This could lead to difficult conflicts within the individual who transfers from one system to another, particularly if national programs do not allow for culturally different approaches.

Referring to the multicultural and transitory nature of international school students, one writer describes international schools as “veritable Towers of Babel filled with adolescent nomads” for whom an international program and world-wide university access are indispensable (Hanson 1971: 10).

Actors

The League of Nations had given, then, the impetus for the creation of the International School of Geneva in 1924 just as its successor, the UN, did for UNIS in 1947 in New York. Other international schools were springing up in Africa and the Middle East, usually because of the presence of large expatriate populations connected with government or business ventures. This growth of international schools provided an educational environment which spawned a number of important organisational and individual actors who played a part in defining the problem. Individual actors such as headmasters, parents, teachers and education officials, important to defining the problem, are identified and discussed.

During the discussion these actors are identified first by the positional approach of Gergen (Bauer & Gergen 1968: 180-204); that is, the formal amount of leverage is related to the official position held. The actual leverage may be more or less than that designated by the official position according to whether the incumbent has personal influence beyond his or her official status or not. For some actors, then, the reputational approach supplements the positional approach: “knowledgeable” people were asked their opinions about the effectiveness of individuals and the esteem in which they were held.

*Meyhoffer, Parents and the League of Nations (prior to World War Two)*

Appendix 4 contains the full text of Meyhoffer’s letter to seventeen European leaders in educational reform proposing a maturité internationale. In addition to being Director of the International School of Geneva, Meyhoffer was also Director of the International Bureau of New Schools which had been established by Ferrière in 1899.

The New School is a family boarding school in the country where intellectual education is based on the child’s personal experience - with recourse to manual work (school through work) - and on moral education through the practice of pupils’ self-government (Avanzini et al 1979: 43).
In 1912 when the Rousseau Institute was formed, Ferrière's International Bureau of New Schools became one of its sections.

The idea of a *maturité internationale* had arisen in discussions within the League of Nations and this had been raised at a board meeting of the International School of Geneva since a majority of the board members were parents employed by the League. The first question of Meyhoffer's questionnaire clearly exposes the impetus behind the suggestion: to provide a basis for the equivalence of university entrance qualifications across national boundaries, thus easing access to these institutions. Parents, then, were motivated by concerns about international mobility as it affected their children's pursuit of higher studies in the university of their choice. The prime factor influencing the parents was demography.

In view of the current profile of the IB diploma the *maturité internationale* idea was interesting. Question 7 of the questionnaire sought opinions on the following structure:

1. A minimum obligatory program of seven disciplines - history, native language, geography, biology, physics, maths and a "manual occupation" (which included the arts).
2. An optional extended program based on the seven disciplines above with students choosing at least two of the seven subjects to study in more depth.
3. A supplementary program to include any subject needed as a pre-requisite for particular university faculties.

While ancient and modern languages do not figure here specifically they are in question 4 of Meyhoffer's communication where he asked for advice on teaching methodology and content in these and other subjects.

*Headmasters and UNESCO*

In 1948 Mr Kees Boeke, Director of the Werkplaats International Children's Community in Bilthoven (Holland), persuaded the Education Division of UNESCO of the importance of support for international schools (Oates 1950: 1). Boeke wrote to the Assistant Director-General of Education, UNESCO proposing a world institution with branches in various countries so that children of all nationalities could be educated for world citizenship through international student exchanges which would eventually require an international diploma.

It will be necessary for reaching success that an international diploma be awarded as a result of the coordinated studies completed in different branches of the world institution and that this diploma is recognised for entrance in the universities of various countries (Boeke 1948).

UNESCO was interested at the time in the mutual appreciation of various cultures and was concerned that progress be made in this direction. As a result UNESCO convened a meeting which was attended by the heads of fifteen schools wishing to develop an international outlook.
The importance of influential people in gaining UNESCO support did not escape Monsieur Roquette of the International School of Geneva who, in a letter of the 11th of April 1949 to the Secretariat of the UNESCO Education Department, asked for three copies of the minutes of this first historic meeting in order to give one to Mr Bertram Pickard, “President of our School Board, a very good friend of Mr P. Martin highly placed in the Social Sciences Department of UNESCO” (Roquette 1949).

Two major items were discussed at this first meeting: Boeke’s idea of an international educational institution with branches all over the world to facilitate student exchanges, and the desperate need to train teachers in international schools which was raised by Monsieur Roquette. A subcommittee of the inaugural meeting, chaired by Roquette, organised the first ever Course for Teachers Interested in International Education in 1950 at the International School of Geneva.

Boeke’s proposal included the need for an international diploma for which government recognition was to be obtained in different countries thus enabling students to study in universities all over the world. It is interesting to note that the Collège Cévenol, a boarding school in a fairly remote area of central France was founded as an international school in 1938 by two protestant ministers, Messieurs Trocmé and Theis. The November 1946 Handbook of the school contains the following statement by a former Minister for Education, André Philip:

On sent de plus en plus la nécessité d’orienter l’enseignement secondaire dans le sens des écoles internationales. Celles-ci devraient pouvoir délivrer un diplôme à caractère international, sanctionné par l’UNESCO, comportant une équivalence avec les diplômes correspondant de chaque nation.

(The necessity for secondary teaching to align itself with international schools is felt more and more. These schools should be able to deliver an international diploma authorised by UNESCO and having equivalent status with the corresponding diplomas of each nation.) (Collège Cévenol Handbook, November 1946).

(Coincidentally the Collège Cévenol is one of the schools in France which has been offering the IB for a number of years). At the first CIS meeting Monsieur Theis of the Collège Cévenol spoke of the serious obstacle to student exchanges caused by the rigidity of prescribed national curricula and university entrance requirements.

Monsieur Theis hoped very much indeed that an international diploma could be instituted which would in time be accepted for entrance to all or most of the universities of the world (Conference of Principals of International Schools, Minutes 1949: 12).

The meeting agreed in principle but felt that the task was too demanding for their group and that an organisation such as UNESCO
might be able to take it up. (A preliminary statement was available from a study of university entrance requirements already undertaken by the International Association of Professors and Lecturers with financial assistance from UNESCO).

Nevertheless the genuine interest of the meeting in Theis’ and Boeke’s idea is reflected in a compromise resolution whereby all schools present “should experiment in 1950 with the award of an international diploma at the end of secondary school in addition to the regular diploma” (Conference of Principals of International Schools, Minutes 1949: 13). Each school was to be free to make its own regulations for this diploma, but two aspects were essential: “satisfactory” knowledge of a language other than the student’s own and the preparation of a mini-thesis on a subject of world significance. Were these the dawns of the Foreign Language and Extended Essay requirement of the IB?

As the Conference of Internationally-Minded Schools (CIS) had no consultative status with UNESCO, little financial assistance was provided and the idea lapsed. It is, however, important to know that one of the acknowledged founders of the IB, Desmond Cole-Baker, was aware that “an internationally acceptable university entrance examination was raised by the CIS but the task was considered too enormous” (Cole-Baker 1990: 38).

Without Kees Boeke’s initiative the CIS may never have formed and the IB may have taken much longer to bring about. It was the actions of individual actors, leaders in international education (as it existed at the time), that created associations or a succession of events which realised a goal. In studying the correspondence file of the CIS (in the UNESCO archives in Paris) one realises that it is the insistent letters and innumerable conversations initiated by people like Kees Boeke and successive executive officers of the CIS which made things happen. This is, of course, equally true of most undertakings.

*Teachers*

During the summer vacation of 1950 an historic four week “Course for Teachers Interested in International Education” took place at the International School of Geneva under the auspices of UNESCO and as a response to Roquette’s request for the training of teachers for international schools at the 1949 “CIS” inaugural meeting. By the end of the course, agreement on a definition and aim for international education was reached:

*It should give the child an understanding of his past as a common heritage to which all men irrespective of nation, race, or creed have contributed and which all men should share; it should give him an understanding of his present world as a world in which peoples are interdependent and in which cooperation is a necessity.*

*In such an education emphasis should be laid in a basic attitude of respect for*
all human beings as persons, understanding of those things which unite us and an appreciation of the positive values of those things which may seem to divide us, with the objective of thinking free from fear or prejudice (Final Report of the Course for Teachers Interested in International Education 1950: Section I).

The importance given to history at the beginning of this definition may explain why the first international program to be devised for the IB was in history. (World history and geography courses for primary and junior secondary school had previously been taught at the International School of Geneva by Monsieur Dupuy and Madame Maurette in the 1930s and 1940s.)

In response to Kees Boeke’s project of a worldwide network of schools with common curricula to facilitate an international exchange of students, the Final Report expresses reservations about a chain of international boarding schools based chiefly on concerns about the lack of a real family life in boarding away from home. Such students would also become disoriented without a country or a religion. Of most importance for this study is the comment concerning an international exam:

We do not think that it is possible or even desirable to unify school programs and final secondary school exams on an international basis. They depend to a large extent on the needs of each country (Final Report of the Course for Teachers Interested in International Education 1950: Section II).

A fear of losing national identity and not accommodating local educational imperatives through conforming to common programs seems to be at the root of this statement. The enormity of the task may also have been a deterrent. Participants in this course did want an international curriculum perspective, particularly in history. Their call was eventually taken up when the Conference of Social Studies Teachers met in 1962; by then the idea of common curricula and examinations was considered a way towards university access and an international curriculum perspective.

The Final Report went on to address the following issues: international training of teachers, international interchange between schools and teachers, relations with education authorities, collaboration of parents and colleagues in international education, the teaching of foreign languages and literatures, national characteristics to be presented in international education, and religious instruction in international education. Many resolutions on these matters were taken up by the CIS. The idea of an international pre-university exam seems, however, to have been laid to rest for almost the next ten years.

Nevertheless the virulent activity surrounding the actions of Boeke, Theis, Roquette and others had paved the way for the first ever gathering of teachers to discuss international education in 1950. This Course for Teachers Interested in International Education was an educational environmental factor of major importance for the
involvement of teacher actors at the problem definition stage.

Parents, Non-education Professionals and the UN

Bertram Pickard, a UN civil servant and chairman of the board of the International School of Geneva established the International Schools Association (ISA) in 1951 to provide an organisation for the schools serving the children of international public servants. Parents played an important and active role in this organisation for many years. Russell Cook, also a UN public servant and member of the Board of the International School of Geneva, was chairman of ISA for eighteen years from 1952 to 1970. These two parents had substantial leverage because of their official positions within the school community but more so because they were UN employees with considerable contacts and a vision for intercultural understanding. They wanted the best for the children of the internationally mobile community. While they were non-education professionals they acted in their capacities as elected parent representatives on the board of the school and their involvement with ISA came about because they had children at school. Hence, they were principally parent actors influenced by idealism for a peaceful world which they had either inherited or brought to the UN. They were also imbued with an educational mission to assist international schools in all matters including administration, pedagogy, curriculum and teacher training.

During the 1950s, ISA organised annual conferences for its growing membership of international schools. As a result of these meetings and some UNESCO contracts, ISA decided, late in the second half of the 1950s, to concentrate on the creation of a common curricula for the final two years of secondary education.

In 1955 ISA formed the International Schools Foundation based in New York with the purpose of “raising money for international schools” (ISA Annual Conference Report 1968). This became International Schools Services, a private, non-profit organisation currently housed in Princeton, New Jersey to serve American international schools overseas. In the same year an American member of ISA reported that the Ford Foundation agreed to provide, through their Fund for the Advancement of Education, US$85 000 for the development of international curricula by UNIS. This was to assist with the expenses of planning for the future of the school and for a study of the application which might be made in the USA of the experience of UNIS. This was not funding for an IB-type curriculum as UNIS was essentially a primary school only; it commenced its first junior high school year in 1955 not reaching grade 12 until 1961-1962. Yet it was an important educational factor in the formation of a context conducive to the birth of the IB. The Ford Foundation continued to be a significant actor in funding international education projects, including the IB.
In 1956 the ISA discussed the need for establishing equivalence amongst the various university entrance examinations. One idea was to seek acceptance from as many countries as possible for pupils holding a certificate covering equivalent school work (ISA Fifth Assembly Minutes 1956). The problem still existed but the European Community had devised their own solution which helped revive interest in an international pre-university examination. A lawyer outside ISA, Dr Albert Van Houtte, co-founded the European Schools in 1957. He was invited to address an ISA meeting in 1959 about the European Baccalaureate Examination which was offered for the first time in the same year (Ecole Européenne: Informations Générales 1991: 1). It is a common examination allowing transfer of students to universities of the participating countries. Dr Van Houtte pressed the ISA to look seriously at an international university entrance examination for international schools (ISA Eighth Assembly Minutes 1959). Mayer incorrectly attributes Van Houtte’s speech as the first attempt to push for an international university entrance examination when in fact it was Meyhoffer in 1925. He goes on to say that few international schools were preparing students for university at that time, so the topic was forgotten for a few years (Mayer 1967: 215).

The advent of the European Baccalaureate strengthened the educational context in terms of the awareness of curricula and examinations which went beyond national boundaries. Dr Van Houtte’s contribution marks the intervention of an important non-education professional influenced principally by a demographic context within Europe at this problem definition stage of IB policy development.

In 1960 Aleck Forbes, a New Zealander and co-director of the International School of Geneva, suggested that ISA arrange a conference for teachers on internationalising the social sciences. This was favourably received by Cook and others. The course took place in 1962 and one of the recommendations was to prepare an advanced level ISA examination in Contemporary History as a first step towards international curricula.

The ISA Consultant

The focal point of ISA’s charter was to assist international schools throughout the world. At the ISA Tenth Assembly in July 1961, Desmond Cole-Baker, head of the English Language Section of the International School of Geneva, offered to second a senior staff member, Robert Leach (in charge of the history department) as consultant to ISA (International School of Geneva, General Assembly Minutes 4 June 1962). Leach acknowledges the foresight, commitment to international education and support given him by Cole-Baker: “He is one of the few good administrators I’ve seen. He knew how to delegate, how to get things done” (Robert Leach interview 1991). The International School of Geneva provided US$7 000 in advance to ISA for the consultant’s expenses. His
project was to visit international schools around the globe to:
- assist with "knowhow" accumulated at the International School of Geneva;
- gather questions to which ISA might provide solutions; and
- link the schools visited (ISA Tenth General Assembly Minutes 1961).
The consultant visited schools in Asia, Africa and Europe during the 1961-1962 school year. Robert Leach was, at the same time, able to promote the impending conference for teachers of Social Studies.

The consultant's report was written in the latter half of 1962, just before the Conference of Teachers of Social Studies at the International School of Geneva in the same year. The following extracts are pertinent as the term "international baccalaureate" is used for the first time:

Until an international baccalaureate is operative, the essential ideal of the international school falls down in practice (Leach 1962: 3).

... the development of an international baccalaureate has no value in itself as one more examination system. Its virtue lies in the good influence which it will bring in diminishing the divisive pull of national examination requirements (Leach 1962: 7).

There is a clear reference to the ideological mission of international schools to unite people of different cultural backgrounds and to provide an education which will prepare its students for world citizenship. The potentially restrictive nature of national curricula for international students and the division into cultural groups to undertake national examinations within the one school go against the pedagogical and ideological objectives of international schools. Throughout Asia, Africa and Europe, Leach had found international schools unanimous that an IB was vital for their success (Leach correspondence 1991) although this was only one of three needs which became apparent. Leach's survey showed that international schools required a great deal of assistance with curriculum development and administrative restructuring as well as an acceptable school leaving qualification. "The isolation of many schools was terrible to see" (Cole-Baker correspondence 1989).

Leach was an important actor in shaping the problems for which the IB was to be the eventual solution. As head of history and a well-travelled Quaker, Leach had credibility. "He saw the practical necessity for an IB; a national curriculum perspective, particularly in history, offended him intellectually. He was respected and liked by his students" (Hanson interview 1992).

The International School of Geneva: Headmaster and Chairman of the Board

The school's system of offering diverse national programs as a response to the problem of university entrance had the following drawbacks:
- it created uneconomically viable class sizes;
- it clashed directly with the ethos of international schools by separating
students into national groups;
. students still had difficulties being accepted by a number of universities when they held a national school qualification not of the country of the university; and
. in addition to the disparities between national systems of education (even within national systems), curricula and methods intended for a national community were often inappropriate to the socio-pedagogical needs of an international community (Renaud 1975: 112).

Some of these problems were confirmed by Leach's report and were applicable to other international schools. In the early 1960s the uneconomical viability of small classes was a factor which influenced the chairman of the board of the International School of Geneva - John Goormaghtigh, a parent actor of considerable importance as the Director of the European Office of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Other board members were also concerned at the effect on tuition fees of the small classes (Goormaghtigh interview 1991). Goormaghtigh, however, as a result of active service in the Second World War, was not applying only fiscal reasoning to the problem of small class sizes; he was also prompted by ideological concerns about the separation of students into national groups within a school and believed that a truly international program and examination could help create a more tolerant world and lead to university entrance across the globe.

Goormaghtigh's influence did not rest on his impressive international position alone. He had a physical presence and assertiveness which people respected. He was a man of "considerable political vision; an authoritative figure with clout in academic and political circles" (Sutcliffe interview 1991). This impression is confirmed by others who found him "intelligent, resourceful, articulate" (Leach interview 1991), "an excellent chairman, realistically idealistic" (Gather interview 1992), "a gifted linguist, very practical" (Carus interview 1992), "sometimes provocative; he had contacts in the UN and with influential academics and politicians in the USA and Europe" (Bonner interview 1991). "He was imposing, confident, had important political connections and understood the need for an IB" (Hanson interview 1992). Renaud (interview 1991), one of the early architects of the IB and a former director-general of the IB Office, sums Goormaghtigh up by saying he had "le calibre international." The researcher confirms these reputational comments having spent some time with Goormaghtigh and heard him speak publicly.

This ideology was shared by the headmaster of the International School of Geneva for most of the 1960s: Desmond Cole-Baker. The latter had been drawn into teaching in international schools because of active service in the British Corps of Signals in Africa, Sri Lanka, India and Burma during the Second World War. He saw it important to mix cultural groups in schools as a way towards mutual, world-wide understanding (Cole-Baker correspondence 1989). Cole-Baker was also a forceful character - convincing and idealistic. "He had an excellent
reputation as a leader in education” (Bonner interview 1991). “He ruled the staff with an iron hand and enthused with his missionary zeal” (Thomas interview 1992). “He caught you up in his enthusiasm; he had vision and courage” (Poirel interview 1991) and was “not always tactful; he could be like a bulldozer” (Renaud interview 1991). Gellar (interview 1991) commented: “he was the kindest man in the world.” Elisabeth Briquet pays tribute to him in the following terms:

I think he was the most popular teacher the English Language Program has ever known. Popular, not only because of his geniality and efficiency, but by reason of this heartfelt, almost fanatical belief in the clear duty of the International School of Geneva to lead the international schools of the world, springing up year after year in Asia, Europe, Africa, America, destined to help lead, as he hoped, quarrelling humanity into the path of peace. (Ecole Internationale de Genève: 50e Anniversaire 1924-1974: 225).

He was concerned that senior secondary classes were divided into four national examination groups. This “did not reflect the ideal of international education nor his own vision of world wide education for international understanding” (Poirel 1990: 39).

Like Goormaghtigh, Cole-Baker was also concerned with the cost of small classes as the school was going through a financial crisis in the early 1960s. The economic context was, then, a compelling contributory factor which prompted these two men with important leverage to focus on the problem and its solution.

The difficulties of gaining university entrance with other than the known diploma of the same country preoccupied parents and educators as individual cases came to light in quick succession. Students were not active in drawing attention to this aspect of the problem which affected them directly; their parents saw the potential negative ramifications of unacceptable credentials for university entrance more vividly. A combination of economic, ideological and educational factors influenced the thoughts and behaviour of actors as they identified the problem and possible solutions. Concern for family welfare naturally played its part for board members, all of whom had children at the school.

The United World College of the Atlantic

The United World College (UWC) of the Atlantic opened in September 1962 at St Donat’s, Wales, overlooking the Bristol Channel. It is a boarding school where, since its inception, 200 students selected for scholarships by national UWC committees in countries around the globe, join together for the last two years of secondary school. It was founded through the inspiration of Kurt Hahn, a German of Jewish origin, who was “one of the most remarkable educators of his time” (Peterson 1987: 1). He became headmaster of Salem School (Germany) in 1920. In 1932 he wrote to all former pupils saying they must break with Hitler or break with Salem. He was arrested but escaped to Britain and founded Gordonstoun School in Scotland which Prince Charles, current
president of the UWC board, attended. He also founded the Outward Bound Movement, the Duke of Edinburgh Award and the United World Colleges. These achievements embodied the profound educational and ideological convictions which governed his life. He wanted to change prejudices and the causes of war, and reverse the decline in physical fitness, enterprise, memory and imagination, skill and care, self-discipline and compassion (Peterson 1987: 2). Hahn with assistance from Sir Laurance Darvall of NATO set about establishing Atlantic College. A French businessman, Antony Besse, bought and donated St Donat’s castle; he was chairman of the UWC board for some years and is currently very active as vice-chairman of that board and of the International Baccalaureate Council of Foundation. Peterson first met Hahn at a conference on international education at Bruges (Belgium) organised by NATO. This led to Peterson’s involvement with Atlantic College when he was a headmaster in Britain until 1962 and then as the director of the Department of Education at Oxford. A non-educationist, Rear-Admiral Desmond Hoare of the British Navy and a close associate of Sir Laurance Darvall, accepted appointment as the first headmaster.

Robert Blackburn (deputy director-general of the IB Office until his death in 1990) was appointed deputy headmaster of Atlantic College from his post as head of history in a British school. During the summer of 1962 Peterson worked with him on the curriculum for the new Atlantic College. Since students would represent a diverse cultural group what curriculum should be offered? Peterson had been questioning the narrowness of the three “A” levels in England. Atlantic College now faced a problem which the International School of Geneva had had for many years: no international university entrance examination was available. The immediate solution was to offer the Advanced Level (“A” levels) of the British General Certificate of Education (GCE) and adopt English as the language of instruction. “Success in these examinations qualified the students to apply for admission to the university in the seventeen member countries of the Council of Europe under the European Convention on the Equivalence of Diplomas of 1953” (Peterson 1987: 10). American universities presented no problem since admission depended on Scholastic Aptitude Tests (SAT) with no prescribed curriculum.

There were, however, a number of difficulties associated with the British GCE “A” level program in an international school:

1. The 1953 convention guaranteed that the foreign student would not be rejected on the grounds that he had a foreign qualification. Students were, however, refused admission where they lacked qualifications in compulsory prerequisite subjects for certain faculties.
2. Most European university entrance examination results appeared in early July while those of the GCE “A” levels were not available till mid-August after the completion of admission procedures by many European universities.
3. The highly specialised nature of the program meant that students who had not taken a foreign language or maths could not be admitted to
many faculties.

4 The stress on translation from and into English in foreign language examinations disadvantaged all students who did not possess native-like proficiency in English.

5 The examinations were norm-referenced. Grades were therefore awarded with reference to a very large cohort of candidates sitting each year for whom English was the mother tongue. Students for whom English was a foreign language were therefore handicapped by this process.

In an effort to overcome these difficulties, Blackburn and Peterson added three "subsidiary" courses, as opposed to the "higher" advanced level courses; achievement in the former was recorded on an "Atlantic College Leaving Certificate." Students had to complete at least one course from each of the following groups, three at "higher" and three at "subsidiary" level:

1. the mother tongue
2. the first foreign language (usually English for overseas students)
3. a further language or literature course
4. social sciences
5. maths or sciences
6. arts and crafts

In addition, religious instruction and current affairs were compulsory (Peterson 1987: 10-13). The similarity between this and the IB curriculum which was adopted is obvious, the main difference being that the IB demands both maths and science.

In 1963 the first graduates were received at a number of European and American universities but the national character of the British examination was not consonant with the needs of the international student population. The school adopted the IB exclusively from 1971.

The flurry of curriculum activity by Blackburn and Peterson at Atlantic College is a further representation of the problems of international schools. It occurred at the same time as, but quite independently from, the beginnings of the international contemporary history course at the International School of Geneva by Leach and his staff. Atlantic College was founded too late to have any effect on the ISA decision makers. The school had, however, an independent impact on the problem definition stage and was an important contributor during the implementation stage where a number of the actors involved in the early years of the school became staunch allies of the IB.

Synthesis

Actors may be influenced by their own beliefs and professional knowledge. For example, an educator is less likely to perceive a political problem than an educational one; a businessman will generally be more sensitive to an economic need than an educator. The preceding discussion has highlighted the contextual factors which also affect the perception of problems by actors. The mesh of an individual's personal
and professional experience, influenced by the context operating at the
time produces problem definitions. The definition of the problem or
problems which led to the solution of the IB spans a little over forty
years from approximately 1920 to 1962. Various actors at different times
saw problems or needs which should be addressed. This section
synthesises the background to the founding of the International School
of Geneva (and other similar schools) and the identification of the
problems which followed according to the actors and factors involved at
different times.

The Creation of the International School of Geneva and Subsequent
International Schools

The major event giving rise to needs which had not existed before was
the creation of international schools along the lines of the International
School of Geneva. The actors and factors influencing this event are
represented in Figure 5.1; they form an important part of the preceding
discussion in this chapter. The nature of the influential factor (political,
economic, etc.) and of the actor (headmaster, teacher, non-education
professional, etc.) is indicated in parentheses. The background setting for
the creation of the International School of Geneva in 1924 and
subsequent similar international schools is portrayed.

The outer circle depicts elite actors on a global scale and the second last
outer circle the environmental factors to which the actors contributed.
The contextual factors then produce a further set of actors who appear in
the circle surrounding the centre; these are the actors who directly
influenced the creation of the International School of Geneva and
subsequent schools. Heads of State as non-education professionals
brought about the League of Nations and the International Labour Office
in 1920, and the UN and UNESCO with its associated organisations in
1945. Their reasons were political and ideological: to bring the nations of
the world together so that discussion on a world-wide parliamentary
scale could take place, and thereby to promote understanding and
tolerance of others with a view to reducing conflict.

Heads of state of colonised countries were instrumental in agitating for
independence, sometimes with, sometimes without, the support of the
head of state of the colonising power. This political independence also
came about for social reasons: colonised countries were afraid of losing
their cultural independence - of seeing the imposition of another
culture which might eventually dominate and usurp their own.
Governments of developed countries, together with private enterprise,
invested in developing nations: non-education professionals such as
company executives and heads of state took this action for economic
reasons, expecting some sort of return in the long term. These same
actors profited from the building boom which followed the ravages of
the Second World War and a general economic optimism. Construction
companies and other private enterprises became international, and
national governments provided aid to other countries.
Figure 5.1 Actors and Factors Influencing the Creation of the International School of Geneva and Subsequent International Schools
Another group of non-education professionals - scientists - contributed to the rapid technological advances after the Second World War which brought the countries of the world closer together in many ways: the first international radio broadcast occurred in 1922, the first international fax transmission occurred in the same year (by radio) but it was not until the late 1970s that the fax machine became indispensable office equipment, the first round-the-world telephone call took place in 1933, the first xerox machine was invented in 1948, the first video-tape recording was in 1956, a commercial jet plane was used for the first time in 1958, the first satellite of Intelsat (International Telecommunications Satellite Organisation) was launched in 1965, Concorde's first supersonic passenger flight took place in 1976, and so on. Governments, private companies and individuals were able to instantly contact each other across the globe with increasing ease and via an increasing number of modes of communication.

Unidentified education officials in the USA established the Fulbright Act of 1946 and the world-wide exchanges of students (and teachers) were promoted. The International Bureau of Education (IBE) was established in 1925 by the Rousseau Institute to promote comparative education around the globe by education officials such as Ferrière.

This environmental context depicted in the second last outer circle (brought about by a combination of political, ideological, economic, technological and educational factors) gave rise to international mobility patterns on a scale never before seen. Public servants were displaced to the inter-governmental organisations such as the UN, UNESCO and its associated agencies, business executives and company employees were transferred abroad, many missions of economic and social assistance were established in countries becoming decolonised, and a conscious effort for students to undertake international exchanges was being made.

International communities sprang up across the world with an initial emphasis in Geneva and then New York. Most parents of the expatriate children were working either for one of the large inter-governmental organisations or for private companies and they voiced the need for schooling which would suit a diverse cultural student body and which would respond to the idealism of creating a united world - an important objective of the League of Nations and its successor, the UN. Local schools of the country were inappropriate, often because of the language of instruction, but also because of the unknown acceptance of the final secondary school qualification abroad. The need for special schools to cater for this new clientele was apparent and the considerable influence of highly placed parents in companies and international governmental organisations (together with the educational vision of Monsieur Ferrière in the case of the International School of Geneva) led to the growth of international schools.
As outlined in the methodology chapter, data collection for the problem definition stage is directed by the basic question: who perceives what and why? Table 5.1 addresses this question. It shows how different problems associated with the spread of international schools (with particular reference to the International School of Geneva) were perceived by various actors over time. Five problems are identified for international schools by different actors for different reasons. Actors tended to propose a solution as soon as a problem was perceived; each solution is attributed to its proposer with corresponding contextual factors which may have contributed to the conception of the problem.

All of the problems identified came about because of the displacement of nationals around the globe and the subsequent creation and growth of international schools. The root cause was, then, a demographic factor which hindered university admission across the world and across the countries of the European Community before the advent of the European Baccalaureate. Although it is not regularly mentioned in Table 5.1, it was a factor understood to be present for all actors. Boeke and Theis, however, were not so much responding to the increased international mobility patterns of parents and their children as promoting student exchanges across the globe (ideological motivation with demographic repercussions) through the coordinated curricula of a network of schools, culminating eventually in an international university entrance qualification. That is, they wished to create demographic shifts of students (in the same way as the Fulbright Act of 1946). Actors were, then, motivated by factors beyond that of the given underlying demographic cause to pinpoint problems and propose solutions perceived according to particular influences operating at the time.

The researcher has selected from the data collected what are considered to be the most prominent influential factors - those which actors themselves and others considered to be their main reason for behaving as they did. In fact, action and perception were usually prompted by other subsidiary factors in addition to the main factor; such gradations of influence are too difficult to determine accurately and are therefore not shown. Where combinations of factors seem to be of equal importance for a single actor, these are indicated.

The policy process is not necessarily a chronological sequence; hence a problem or need may appear at one time, disappear, and resurface some years later after other problems have been identified in the intervening period. Table 5.1 commences with the difficulty of university acceptance around the globe. Meyhofffer's 1925 call for a maturité internationale expressed the feelings of many parents seeking a response to the problem of university recognition of different national secondary school qualifications brought about by a demographic factor: international mobility. Philip as Minister for Education was an education official who,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Problem/Proposed Solution</th>
<th>Actor</th>
<th>Influential Factor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNIVERSITY ACCEPTANCE WORLD-WIDE</td>
<td>Meynster, 1920 (headmaster) &amp; Board</td>
<td>demographic: international mobility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manute International</td>
<td>(parents) Int Sch of Geneva</td>
<td>self-interest/ideological: good political platforms contribute to world peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO International diploma</td>
<td>Philip 1946, French Minister for Education (education official)</td>
<td>educational: to assist coordination of curricula globally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International diploma</td>
<td>Boekela, 1948, Director, Werkplaat Int Children's Community</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thesis 1949, Director, College Geneva</td>
<td>(headmaster)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International diploma as extension of European Bac of 1959</td>
<td>Van Houtte 1957, Lawyer, Co-founder of EC schools (non-ed prof)</td>
<td>demographic: awareness of international mobility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIS international diploma</td>
<td>Forbes 1961 (UNIS headmaster)</td>
<td>demographic: (as above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UWC of the Atlantic modified “A” levels</td>
<td>Blackburn (3/headmaster)</td>
<td>educational: access to many univ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peterson (univ staff)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERNATIONAL STUDENT EXCHANGE</td>
<td>Boekela 1948, 1949 (headmaster)</td>
<td>cultural: to widen students' horizons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World school network of coordinated studies</td>
<td>Thesis 1949 (headmaster)</td>
<td>educational: prescribed national curricula an obstacle to exchange of students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ideological: to promote bicultural understanding across cultures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL CURRICULUM PERSPECTIVE</td>
<td>Maurette (headmaster) &amp; Dupuy (teacher) 1930-49</td>
<td>educational: world history necessary to understand one's own country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World history/geography</td>
<td>UNESCO 1945-65</td>
<td>cultural: &amp; political</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutual Appreciation of Eastern &amp; Western Cultures</td>
<td>Course for Tche Interested in Int Ed 1950, Geneva (teachers) Roquestra (headmaster)</td>
<td>educational: to give a world perspective on historical interpretations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching history internationally</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dev of int curriculum at UNIS</td>
<td>Ford Foundation 1955 grant (funding organization)</td>
<td>educational: int program for US citizens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International social studies</td>
<td>ISA (parents &amp; headmasters), Forbes (headmaster) 1960</td>
<td>ideological: to promote international understanding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social studies first exam</td>
<td>ISA (parents &amp; headmasters), Cont of Tche of Scc Stude in Int Schie (teachers) 1962</td>
<td>educational: coordination of standards internatianally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common grading scheme - all subjects</td>
<td>ISA 1962 (parents &amp; headmasters)</td>
<td>educational: (as above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlantic College Leaving Certificate</td>
<td>Blackburn &amp; Peterson (headmasters)</td>
<td>educational: int curr inst perspective &amp; univ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIVISION OF STUDENTS INTO NATIONAL GROUPS</td>
<td>Goormagtlh 1960-62, Chairman, Board of Int Schi of Geneva, Director, European Office of the Carnegie Endowment for Int Peace, Treasurer of ISA (parent)</td>
<td>ideological: national divisions not consistent with preparation for an int community family welfare; int movement restricted as a family; boarding may be compulsory, children in the school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International diploma taken by all</td>
<td>Cole-Baker 1962 Secretary ISA, Int Schi of Geneva (headmaster)</td>
<td>ideological: national divisions not conducive to international spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leach 1962 Head of History, Report as ISA Consultant (teacher)</td>
<td>educational: national curricula not appropriate for int students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>educational: too difficult to teach different national curricula in one class where separate classes not possible ideological: to promote world peace (as a Quaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNVAILABLE CLASS SIZES</td>
<td>Goormagtlh 1960-62 (parent)</td>
<td>economic: class size too small, risky in financial crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International diploma taken by all</td>
<td>Cole-Baker 1962 (headmaster)</td>
<td>economic: (as above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>educational: small classes provide little stimulation &amp; dynamics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1 Factors Influencing Problem Definition and Proposed Solutions by Actors with Particular Reference to the International School of Geneva
in 1946, promulgated the idea of an international diploma awarded by UNESCO. He may have been displaying the idealism of that organisation for a united world of peace but one could equally speculate that he was driven by self-interest and that there was a political platform which few would deny was important in the aftermath of the Second World War. Given that his message appeared in the Handbook of the Collège du Cévénol, this researcher tends towards the view that the impetus for international student exchanges (eventually necessitating a common pre-university qualification) came from the headmaster, Theis, (and the founder, Trocmé) who sought political acceptance and support from higher places. In fact the idea of sending students abroad probably arose from discussions between Boeke and Theis who knew each other professionally. It was the former who broached the idea with UNESCO in 1948 and at the time of the first meeting of the headmasters of internationally-minded schools in 1949. Theis and Trocmé had hidden many Jews during the Second World War in and around their school at Chambon-sur-Lignon and had accepted students displaced from other countries by the ravages of war into their school. There was doubtless a sense of idealism behind their actions although the educational need of internationally coordinated curricula seems to have predominated the contribution of Theis at the 1949 inaugural Conference of Principals of International Schools.

Boeke also supported an international diploma which he saw as a means of facilitating student exchange amongst the international network of schools he proposed in his letter to UNESCO of 1948. Boeke saw student exchanges across the world as the first need which would necessitate some international curriculum coordination and eventually a common diploma “to be awarded as a result of the coordinated studies” (Boeke 1948) completed in different schools across the globe. Theis shared Boeke’s vision of a global school network for student exchange and saw that this was constrained by rigidly prescribed national curricula.

A number of actors were concerned that national curricula lacked an international dimension which was essential for the culturally diverse and well-travelled student body of international schools. The origin of the world history and geography courses, developed and taught at the International School of Geneva from 1930 was not directly related to the growing international population of the school. Monsieur Dupuy, a retired professor of geography, was a pioneer in the teaching of world geography (Oats 1952: 26) which he had been developing when at the Sorbonne in Paris. He obviously influenced the thinking of his daughter, Madame Maurette, director of the school, who was a history specialist. The most prominent influential factor was educational: they believed that world history and geography were indispensable as a background for gaining a perspective on the history and geography of any individual country (Oats 1952: 21). UNESCO had, since its inception, launched a project of “Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultures” and therefore was interested in an international curriculum
The Course for Teachers Interested in International Education took place in 1950. It considered that history, a subject prone to chauvinism more than any other, must be taught from an international perspective in order to appreciate other points of view and to make informed judgments on a global scale. The aim of international education emerging from this gathering emphasised the pivotal role of history: to provide an understanding of the past as a common heritage to which all cultures and nations have contributed - this is essential to an appreciation of the present world.

In 1960 Forbes, the head of the middle school of the International School of Geneve, at an ISA meeting, called for the school to investigate the development of an international social studies program for reasons similar to those of the Course for Teachers Interested in International Education in 1950. Apart from the publication of a world history syllabus in 1951 by Madame Maurette, no other action had been taken in this direction. This educational actor (headmaster) was motivated by the ideology of promoting international understanding.

A major Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools took place in 1962. Forbes was now director of UNIS (NY) but came to the conference with two reports on a world history and geography course for the first four years of secondary school. Other participants provided similar reports on how social studies was taught from Grades 3 to 12. This conference recommended that “a joint social studies final exam be explored by ISA as the first step toward the establishment of basic standards” (Report of the First Conference of Social Studies in International Schools 1962: 5). This spurred the ISA Eleventh General Assembly (which took place at the same time) to recommend that the International School of Geneva formulate an advanced level ISA examination in contemporary history with joint sponsorship from English GCE, French baccalaureate and American College Board officials. It further recommended the development of common standards for grading and marking systems (ISA Eleventh General Assembly Minutes 1962). The conference was an important organisational actor of teachers who believed an international social studies program would contribute to a world vision. They were also motivated by a practical need to regulate standards across the globe.

At the same time as the social studies conference, Blackburn and Peterson were grappling with the curriculum problem caused by the lack of an international program and pre-university qualification for the culturally diverse student enrolment at Atlantic College. In a school founded by Hahn, Darvall and Besse to promote world peace and intercultural understanding they improvised a program (not dissimilar to the current IB format but based on the GCE “A” Levels) to minimise
any disadvantage to the many students for whom English was not their native tongue and to attempt to facilitate access to universities worldwide. Atlantic College was a supreme example of a school in need of an international program. Notice that Peterson is classified as a headmaster which he was until 1962 when he took up his appointment at Oxford. It was during his time as headmaster that he became disillusioned with GCE “A” levels and was seeking new curriculum ideas, hence his involvement with Atlantic College.

The lawyer Van Houtte saw a demographic and educational need fulfilled by the European Baccalaureate.

Maurette and Dupuy were influenced more by pedagogical concerns although ideology played its part. The Course for Teachers Interested in International Education (1950) and, ten years later, the ISA and the Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools also were influenced by a pedagogical need but different in intent. It was a direct response to the international student population whereas Maurette and Dupuy’s initiative was a methodological innovation applicable in both national and international schools. The ISA, as an organisation of non-educators (parents) and educators (headmasters), acted initially to create a world vision (ideological motivation) via a coordinated social studies and history program.

Since the international diploma proposed in 1925 and then in the late 1940s had not materialised, international schools like that in Geneva continued to offer a number of national pre-university examinations and negotiated equivalences with universities (not an easy task) as the interim solution. This led to an ideological, administrative (as opposed to curriculum) problem and a financial need which were then perceived principally by a parent of the International School of Geneva - Goormaghtigh - and the school headmaster, Cole-Baker.

Goormaghtigh and Cole-Baker saw the division of students into national class groups, to take the courses of different countries, as contrary to the ideals of an international school. Moreover, it created small uneconomical classes in a school which was already having grave financial problems (Ecole International de Genève: 50e Anniversaire 1924-1974: 268). They both saw an international diploma as the solution ideologically, economically (all students taking the one exam would result in larger class sizes) and as the ultimate response to a problem which was, at its roots, demographic. During his frequent travels abroad Goormaghtigh had also heard from parents who had had to leave their children in boarding school against their wishes or who had turned down attractive job offers overseas because they were unsure whether their children would gain university acceptance with an entrance diploma different from the home country (Goormaghtigh interview 1991). A family moving overseas without their children or deciding not to go deprives the whole family of the cultural and educational experience that internationally mobile families accumulate. These are
important facets of the influence of family welfare on actors.

Cole-Baker had a vision of international education at all levels of schooling and hoped to achieve this through ISA. Because of his belief in international education he seconded Leach as ISA consultant to visit schools overseas and report back on their problems. Leach's report confirmed the ideological, educational and financial implications for schools of students divided into national groups that had concerned Cole-Baker and Goormaghtigh at the International School of Geneva. Leach was a Quaker and therefore also had an ideological vision about world peace to which an international diploma might eventually contribute.

Given the momentum for an international social studies and history syllabus which had built up with the coalition of headmasters (CIS), parents and headmasters (ISA) and teachers (the Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools), the IB would have been a natural extension at some time in the future. Other events, however, precipitated the need for an IB. The ideological and financial factors which were pressing for Goormaghtigh and Cole-Baker, gave the necessary impetus for action which accelerated the focus on an international diploma and its subsequent development. (In fact the one international examination and curriculum offered in English and French was to have assisted Cole-Baker in merging the English and French sections of the school, thus producing even more viable class groups. The proposed dismissal of superfluous teachers did, however, cause major resentment amongst the staff and a rift in the governing board and parent organisation. Therefore the two sections were not amalgamated and continued to offer a French baccalaureate in the French section, the IB being offered in the English section).

In a 1989 interview, Blackburn, deputy director-general of the IBO, expressed his perception of the raison d'être of the IB.

The problems for international schools with 30 or 40 nationalities ... were that they were in fact using the curriculum and examinations from particular countries (quite often the American and British systems) which were designed for particular and entirely legitimate national needs but were quite inappropriate in the international context... The schools needed, then, international curricula at upper secondary level, and they also wanted an international examination for university entrance with something like universal validity (Blackburn interview 25.09.89 in Jonietz & Harris, eds 1991: 217).

Conclusion

In terms of the Cobb & Elder (1972) model of issue emergence referred to in Chapter 2 (under "Systems Theory") all actors discussed so far fell more neatly into Cobb & Elder's (1972) category of "circumstantial reactors": they are initiators responding to events and not readjusting a conflictual situation between two parties, nor are they "exploiters."
Some actors may be considered "do-gooders" where they are driven by a concern for world peace but this ideology is rather a reaction to the world wars and therefore fits more aptly the category of "circumstantial reactors." Moreover Cobb & Elder's term "do-gooders" has unfortunate negative connotations and does not suit sincere, ideology-driven behaviour. According to their model, the formulation of a problem is dependent on the dynamic interplay between an initiator and a triggering device. As Harman points out, one weakness in the Cobb & Elder model is that a single initiator is difficult to identify "because issues often emerge out of a new climate of opinion developed over time, with a number of actors involved" (Harman 1985: 36). This is particularly appropriate for this study where the main triggering device - the advent of international schools (itself brought about by antecedent triggering devices) - led to a number of problems perceived by different actors (initiators) over a period of more than forty years.

Other events occurring after the main triggering device gain in significance if perceived as urgent. The difficulty of university acceptance was never regarded as an urgent problem, nor was the ideologically motivated need for an international curriculum perspective. Ideological (and educational) issues are rarely critically urgent but they are persistent. This analysis has attempted to show how the need for university acceptance world-wide, for international student exchanges and for an international curriculum, all defined from the non-urgent perspectives of education, ideology and culture, continued to emerge and recede over a long period of time with varying degrees of support from individual and organisational actors. When the issue is defined in critical economic terms (the small nationally divided classes at the International School of Geneva) the other influential factors take on more significance to justify the solution of an international diploma for the financial crisis of the school in Geneva (and to a lesser extent other international schools offering similar national programs). Whose definition prevailed? - that of Goormaghtigh and Cole-Baker. Their definition of the problem included ideological, educational and family welfare perspectives which had been evoked before, but none of these would have closed the school - the economic circumstances could have, and were therefore a dominating factor which precipitated a definition via a situation requiring action. Their perception of the problem also fulfills the criteria of a good problem definition which must:

- be clear about objectives;
- provide realistic alternatives to improve outcomes;
- focus attention on a manageable set of factors; and
- consider the whole problem (Weiss 1989: 117).

The objectives are those of the factors influencing their problem perception: to alleviate the financial crisis, to provide a curriculum with an international perspective, to facilitate university entrance across the globe, to amalgamate various cultural groups and to increase the dynamic interplay and competition within each class, to minimise disruption to families and to help their own children. All factors were
manageable (although negotiating university acceptance of an international diploma was to prove a long, yet successful, process) and had the potential to bring about both practical and ideological improvements. The perceptions of the issues over time had a cumulative impact on later problem definitions and suggest that the whole problem associated with international schools had been considered from a variety of angles.

Figure 5.2 depicts the problem definition layer of the conceptual framework. It is not a representation of the rise of international schools but of the actors and factors involved in defining the problems which arose as a consequence of the creation of international schools. The reader is reminded that the purpose of the conceptual framework is to structure the research and to give a visual impression of who was included and why. It cannot and does not give fine detail concerning the timing of issue emergence nor gradations of influence. The appearance of a cubic space means that the researcher considers the actor and influential factor so designated to have been significant for that stage of the policy process.

Figure 5.2 is self-explanatory. Each cubic space is identified and its significance explained in relation to the discussion of this chapter. Students, university staff and education officials played no important role at this stage of the policy process. The Ford Foundation grant to UNIS in 1955 represents the first known funding for the development of international curricula. (Before this date UNESCO had agreed on some contracts with the CIS concerned with teacher training and intercultural understanding but not specifically curriculum development for "internationalism").

Headmasters are the most prominent and consistent actors followed by parents. Educators (headmasters and teachers) influenced by cultural, educational, economic and ideological factors, paid most attention to the problems arising from international schools; parents in general were concerned predominantly for family welfare and ideological reasons while Goormaghtigh and other school board members (parents) were also influenced by an economic factor.

Influential factors of importance to more than one group of actors are ideological, economic, cultural and educational. The reader is reminded that international family mobility is the "given" demographic environmental factor which influenced the creation of international schools which, in turn, led to subsequent issues. As Figure 5.2 post-dates the creation of international schools, demography therefore does not appear consistently.

In terms of leverage the most influential actors were headmasters and parents (because of their positions in international government agencies and international businesses). Personal assessments of the influence of actors by others support this claim in relation to Goormaghtigh (parent
AC1 AD7 (1) Booke & Thess wishing to organise international student exchanges to widen students' horizons (cultural) (2) Meyhofer proposes maturité internationale: for demographic reasons
AC1 AD6 (1) Meyhofer. Booke & Thess see need for international coordination of curricula & exams
(2) Maurette & Dupuy develop World History/Geography courses
(3) Hahn sees the need for an international curriculum and experience
AC1 AD5 Cole-Baker worried about the financial implications of small classes
AC1 AD3 Cole-Baker and Hahn wishing for a peaceful, cooperative world
AC2 AD6 (1) Teachers in the Course for Tdbl Interested in Int Ed 1950 recommending a world perspective on historical interpretations but not a common program or exams
(2) Tdbl in the Conf of Tdbl of Soc Studs in Int Schs 1962 recommended coordination of curricula & final exam in Social Sciences
AC3 AD5 Goernaghingh worried about the financial implications of small classes
AC3 AD3 Goernaghingh wanting a peaceful world
AC3 AD2 Goernaghingh seeing the family welfare problem
AC2 AD6 Ford Foundation funds int curriculum development at UNIS for educational reasons
AC8 AD6 UNESCO wishing to create world political harmony
AC8 AD3 UNESCO assistance via its mutual appreciation of other cultures project (cultural)
AC9 AD7 Van Houvse: common uni entrance in Europe due to family mobility (demographic)
AC9 AD3 Darvall, Haare, Basse (Atlantic Colleges): int cooperation & tolerance

Figure 5.2 The Problem Definition Stage of the Policy Process
actor) and Cole-Baker (headmaster). The headmasters were responsible for the educational initiatives which brought teachers together in 1950 and 1962. Amongst their group were people of international renown such as Kurt Hahn of Gordonstoun, the founder of Atlantic College and the UWC movement, and the Prince of Hannover of Salem.

For the purposes of this study an international actor had been defined as one who is an executive officer of an organisation comprising members from different countries and having an international, rather than a national, focus. Goormaghtigh as ISA treasurer (and director of the European Office of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace) was an international actor with considerable leverage. Leach in his capacity as ISA consultant and Cole-Baker as secretary of ISA were also international actors.

Table 5.2 summarises significant events and corresponding actors in relation to the problem definition stage as discussed in this chapter. After each event appears a classification corresponding to one or more factors on the AD axis of the conceptual framework which influenced the actor to produce the event. The actors responsible for the event or idea appear in the right hand column; they are identified according to categories on the AC axis. Each event itself contributes to one or more of the environmental factors (not necessarily the same as the factor which prompted the actor to produce the event) which will be an important influence for certain actors at another particular time. For example, the 1955 Ford Foundation grant to UNIS was given for educational reasons, yet this funding also represents an economic factor which may influence future financial assistance for the IB by the Ford Foundation or other funding organisations. As a precedent for resourcing international curriculum development activity, this is an important contribution to the later economic context in which the IB developed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Significant Events</th>
<th>Actors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920-21 League of Nations, International Labour Office (Geneva) founded political</td>
<td>heads of state non-ed profs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924 Int Schl of Geneva founded educational &amp; demographic (social)</td>
<td>League of Nations employees parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925 &quot;Maturité Internationale&quot; proposed to 17 European Educational Leaders - no response educational &amp; demographic</td>
<td>Meyhoffer (director of Int Schl Geneva) headmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IBE founded, Geneva educational</td>
<td>Ferrière education official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-41 world geog &amp; hist courses developed at Int Schl of Geneva educational</td>
<td>Mme Maurette headmaster &amp; Mr Dupuy teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945 United Nations (NY) established to maintain world peace - UNESCO (Paris) and World Health Org (Geneva) political, social, ideological</td>
<td>heads of state non-ed profs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946 international student exchanges cultural &amp; educational</td>
<td>Fulbright Act (USA), undefined ed officials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significant Events (Continued)</td>
<td>Actors (Continued)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int diploma under the auspices of UNESCO proposed in Collège Cévenol Handbook <em>educational</em></td>
<td>A Philip (Mins for Ed, France) ed official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945-50 decline of British Empire USA becomes world power decolonisation begins political, <em>demographic</em> companies become multinational in new financial climate <em>economic</em> advances in telecommunications, air travel, electronic computers, etc <em>technological</em></td>
<td>world leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1947</strong> UNIS (NY) founded <em>educational &amp; demographic</em></td>
<td>company executives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949 CIS first meeting <em>educational, ideological</em> int network of schls to facilitate stud exchange need for tch training for int schls int pre-univ diploma proposed</td>
<td>scientists <em>non-ed professionals</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schl based int diploma to be awarded with two compulsory elements: a FL &amp; a mini-thesis</td>
<td>United Nations (NY) employees parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1950</strong> Course for Tchs Interested in Int Ed(Geneva) with 50 participants int univ entrance diploma not supported <em>educational</em></td>
<td>Kees Boeke headmaster &amp; UNESCO K Boeke Roquette Theis (Collège Cévenol) &amp; Boeke headmasters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951 ISA formed <em>educational, ideological</em></td>
<td>CIS 1949 meeting including Hacket (US), Kurt Hahn (Gordonstoun), Mme Hattinjans (Sévres), Prince of Hannover (Salem) hdmsters Dobinson (Oxford) univ staff Cheng Chi Pao (UNESCO) education official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-52 ISA</td>
<td>Roquette, Oats, Boeke headmasters Final Report of Course teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-70 ISA</td>
<td>B Pickard (chair of board of Int Schl of Geneva) parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957-1962 ISA</td>
<td>Roquette as chairman headmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955 Int Schls Foundation (NY) formed <em>educational</em> US$85 000 grant to UNIS for int curriculum dev <em>educational</em></td>
<td>R Cook as chairman (member of board of Int Schl of Geneva) parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956 equivalence bet univ entrance exams discussed <em>educational</em></td>
<td>Goormaghtigh as treasurer (&amp; chairman of the board of Int Schl of Geneva) parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ISA parents &amp; headmasters Ford Foundation funding org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ISA parents &amp; headmasters</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Significant Events (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>European Community Schls established educational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>first European Baccalaureate exam educational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950s-1960s</td>
<td>foreign aid &amp; investment to developing countries economic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>idea of a conference on soc studies edal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>ISA consultant educational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Conference for Tchs of Soc Studs in Int Schls-Recommendations: dev of a history exam &amp; common standards &amp; grading system for int schls educational &amp; ideological</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ISA consultant's report: difficulty of teaching a no of national curricula in the one schl edal &amp; ideol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UWC of the Atlantic opens in Wales ideological &amp; educational</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Actors (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Van Houtte, lawyer &amp; co-founder non-ed prof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Van Houtte urges ISA to pursue an int dip non-ed prof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>company executives, national govs non-ed profs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forbes at ISA meeting, support from a no. of schools headmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leach teacher supported by Cole-Baker headmaster &amp; $7000 from the schl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers, UNESCO grant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leach teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurt Hahn, Robert Blackbum headmasters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alec Peterson univ staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir Laurance Darvall, Rear-Admiral Desmond Hoare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antony Besse non-ed professionals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 5.2 A Chronological Summary of Significant Events and Actors Related to the Problem Definition Stage

The next chapter deals with four formal groupings of actors pertinent to the aggregation stage: two of them were associations of international educators which held regular meetings while the remaining two were single events which brought people together to discuss international education. The creation of each of these groupings is then analysed as four separate policy processes using the conceptual framework of this study. The chapter concludes with a synthesis of the four clusters and their contribution to the development of the IB in terms of actors and influential factors.
CHAPTER 6

AGGREGATION

Introduction

Aggregation is concerned with the identification of official and unofficial groups which form to address issues. Such clusters are usually bound by a common ideology; certainly formal associations almost always have a set of objectives to which all members pledge adherence. Aggregations affect stages before and after the place given to this aspect in the linear presentation of the policy process. Several formal associations or gatherings of actors have already been mentioned in relation to the problem definition stage - in particular the action of headmasters, parents, teachers, the UN and UNESCO.

This chapter will discuss four formal aggregations which comprise individual actors usually from one category on the AC axis of the conceptual framework: the Conference of Internationally-Minded Schools, the Course for Teachers Interested in International Education, the International Schools Association and the Conference of Teachers of Social Studies. These groupings themselves constitute organisational actors, like UNESCO, which behave as a collective entity in response to influential factors and in accordance with the ideology which binds the individuals together.

Conference of Internationally-Minded Schools 1949

This group was first convened as the “Conference of Principals of International Schools” by UNESCO at the instigation of Kees Boeke, director of the Werkplaats International Children’s Community in Bilthoven (Holland), in 1949 at UNESCO House in Paris. The list of invitations to the first meeting was compiled by Kees Boeke who had had previous contact with a number of internationally-minded educators. Appendix 5 provides a list of all participants. Schools in Holland, England, Switzerland, Scotland, Germany, France, Sweden and the USA were represented. Dr F. Hackett from Riverdale Country School USA was the only non-European present. Dr Kurt Hahn of Gordonstoun School, Scotland (who later founded the United World College movement where the IB is taught almost exclusively), Madame Hatinguais of the Centre International d’Etudes Pédagogiques at Sèvres (an important French influence in the development of the IB), Monsieur Roquette of the International School of Geneva (where the first IB curricula were conceived) and the Prince of Hannover from Salem School, Germany (previously directed by Kurt Hahn) were four of the most distinguished educators at the meeting. In addition there were four observers including Mr C.H. Dobinson, Reader in Education at Oxford whose Department of Education was later to play an important
administrative and pedagogical role in the development of the IB (through Bill Halls and Alec Peterson). UNESCO provided the venue, full secretarial assistance and translators. As Dr Cheng Chi-Pao, acting head of the Education Department of UNESCO observed in his opening address, this was the first such meeting concerning international education ever to be held. It established contacts which were later to be important for the development of the IB and it explains the involvement of certain individuals and organisations.

This was followed by a second meeting in 1951 where the CIS was then founded and UNESCO later agreed to continue to convene an annual meeting. The geographical distribution of schools at this meeting was greater than for the 1949 meeting. Twenty participants representing schools in the following countries were present: France, Germany, Holland, Hong Kong, India, Jordan, Scotland, Switzerland, USA. Considering that travel and communication across the globe was of the pre-jet and pre-tax era, it was a noteworthy achievement to bring together people from schools outside Europe - America, Asia and the Middle East.

Membership was open to schools which “consciously aim at furthering world peace and international understanding through education” (Report of the Second Conference of Principals of International Schools and Schools Specially Interested in Developing International Understanding 1951). The association was legally constituted in the country of its secretariat to collect funds for its purposes. Mr Frank Button of Badminton School, England was the first secretary. A membership fee of not less than £1 for individuals and £5 for schools was struck. In addition to providing a venue and secretarial assistance, UNESCO funded a number of projects for the CIS during its lifetime. It brought together headmasters mainly from national schools in Europe with an increasing interest from American schools. The aims of the association were:
1 to provide training for teachers in international schools;
2 to foster student exchanges via a network of internationally-minded schools across the world; and
3 to work towards recognition of the equivalence of university entrance diplomas in all countries and the development of international diplomas for university acceptance everywhere (Report of the Second Conference of Principals of International Schools and Schools Specially Interested in Developing International Understanding 1951).

The CIS met annually in April at UNESCO, organised workshops for teachers in different places and provided three publications:
- “CIS Bulletin” three times a year in English and French;
- “International School Magazine” three times per year, produced by students and a teacher at the International School of Geneva for some years; and
- reports of teacher workshops.
So the Conference of Internationally-Minded Schools, a formal aggregation of headmasters, was established for reasons of pedagogy (training of teachers), culture (student exchanges) and demography (the promotion of student mobility). The first significant organisational actor in sowing ideas about an international qualification and international education in general was born. The political, technological and social (demographic) environment of post-World War Two encouraged its formation. It continued to meet annually at UNESCO House in Paris and concentrated on providing international student exchanges and training for teachers in international schools until its amalgamation with the International Schools Association was agreed to in 1968 and was put into effect in 1969 (ISA Seventeenth Assembly Minutes 1968.)

Leadership of CIS was vested in the usual office-bearers of an association - president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer and executive committee members. Roquette (headmaster of the International School of Geneva) was the first chairman. His emphasis was on training teachers for international schools. Two members of the executive committee - Boeke (Holland) and Theis (France) - were the people who, according to the minutes (and Boeke's letter to UNESCO), wished to promote student exchange, coordination of curricula across the globe and a common pre-university diploma. They occupied formal leadership status within CIS as members of the executive committee, but had no authoritative influence or hierarchical advantage over the membership who were their peers.

As an organisation CIS played no further role in proposing or working towards an international university qualification; the third aim, then, lapsed. However, two CIS members - Desmond Cole-Baker of the International School of Geneva and Madame Hatinguais of the French Ministry of Education - became important actors in the development of the IB. The inaugural meeting of headmasters in 1949 led to a conference for teachers in the following year which responded to three issues (corresponding to the three aims of CIS stated above). The debate on international education had formally begun. The CIS represents an important aggregation during the problem definition stage.

Course for Teachers Interested in International Education 1950

This four week summer course at the International School of Geneva was organised and led by Roquette assisted by W.(Bill) Oats, the Australian Quaker who had returned to the school in 1949 from his position as headmaster of the Friends School, Hobart, Tasmania. The fifty participants comprised teachers and some headmasters from international schools in Australia, Belgium, Ceylon, Denmark, England, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, Hong Kong, India, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Pakistan, Switzerland and the USA. Kees Boeke from the Children's Community in Bilthoven was there. This gathering of teachers occurred because of a common desire to discuss
how schooling could be made more international both in content and teaching methodology; the influential factors were, then, educational, cultural (there was much discussion about exposing students to other ways of life) and ideological ("internationalising" schooling would contribute to world peace).

This aggregation of teachers resulted in an important definition of international education and comments on coordinating school programs and examinations throughout a global network of schools. (These were presented in Chapter 5). The negative response to an international diploma was noted by the CIS and the idea was dropped by that association altogether but was revived almost ten years later by a sister organisation - the International Schools Association (ISA). This course for teachers was an important element of the problem definition stage. (Similar courses continued in the form of CIS professional development programs for teachers in various disciplines almost annually thereafter in conjunction with UNESCO). It kept alive the discussion on international education launched by the first meeting of headmasters in 1949.

Formal leadership was vested in discussion group animateurs: Roquette, Oats, Boeke, Louis Johannat (director of the Institut "Léo Rosey", Switzerland), Miss Mary Wilson (warden of Women's Hall of Residence, University College of North Staffs, Keele, England) and Miss Louise Wood (one of the directors of the International Quaker Centre, Paris). These people, in particular Roquette, Oats and Boeke (as headmasters imbued with an international ideal of education) had a hierarchical advantage over the conference participants, most of whom were teachers. The final report was, however, a consensus amongst the teachers present as it was compiled from group summaries over the period of the conference.

The conference was financed by a US$1 000 grant from UNESCO; participants paid their own travel and board.

**International Schools Association 1951**

The CIS brought together "schools of countries affected by the Second World War. These were mainly national schools of the private category but did include the International School of Geneva" (Cole-Baker 1990: 37). Heads of schools made up the membership of this association. The ISA, on the other hand, was created in 1951 by parents who were international civil servants in Geneva, New York and Paris, all of whom were initially members of school governing boards. These people saw a need to link schools serving the children of international public servants, that is, schools with a diversity of expatriate nationalities amongst the student population whereas CIS membership consisted almost exclusively of internationally-minded national schools. Moreover the parents, acting out of ideology for world peace and cooperation (which stemmed from the UN
organisations where they were employed) and family welfare concerns for their own children, wanted an association in which parents could take a lead. Headmasters of international schools did attend ISA meetings, but UN civil servants were the initial driving force and continued as active executive officers for the first twenty-five years.

The chairman and instigator of the inaugural meeting of the 20th of November 1951 at UNESCO House, Paris was Bertram Pickard, also chairman of the governing board of the International School of Geneva. Members of this board were UN officials who hoped to develop close relations with and support from UNESCO (Leach 1969: 16). Pickard already knew of the existence of CIS as Roquette (who also attended the inaugural ISA meeting) had asked UNESCO to send him the minutes of the 1949 meeting. The organisation was initially called the International Schools Liaison Committee and became the International Schools Association (ISA) from the third meeting. The inaugural gathering consisted of representatives from four schools associated with the UN plus some advisers as follows:

International School of Geneva
UN Nursery School (Geneva)
UNIS (New York)
UN Nursery School (Paris)

Advisers: R Cook, UN Geneva, member of the International School of Geneva board
H Abraham, Dept of Ed, UNESCO
R Lenz, legal advisor
Mrs A Myrdal

(Minutes of the International Schools Liaison Committee, 20 November 1952)

The presence of parents as non-education professionals is noticeable together with the assistance of UN (and UNESCO) personnel, some of whom were also parents. When the second meeting took place in 1952 the three chief executive offices were filled by UN employees who were also parents; a similar pattern remained during the first twenty years of the association:

Chairman: R Cook, UN Geneva, board member of the Int Schl of Geneva
Secretary: Dr W Wall, chairman of Ed C’ttee, UNESCO Staff Assoc
Treasurer: F Wilson, World Health Org (Geneva), board member

UN Nursery School Geneva

(Minutes of the International Schools Liaison Committee, 6 December 1952)
For practical reasons the ISA met thereafter at the International School of Geneva when UN officials from New York and Paris were there for other meetings. ISA had consultative status with UNESCO and its secretariat was established in Geneva. Participating schools paid an annual subscription which was set at 50 Swiss francs for 1952.

After the inaugural meeting and until December 1952, Fred Roquette (director of the International School of Geneva) was ISA chairman. This short chairmanship was followed by Russell Cook, a member of the governing board of the International School of Geneva and a UN public servant at the World Health Organisation. He was chairman of ISA for eighteen years from December 1952 to August 1970. He was the longest-serving and last parent to be chairman; the evolution of the organisation was such that international civil servants were gradually replaced by directors of schools, particularly after the amalgamation with CIS from January 1969. Russell Cook was to be an influential parent actor and the ISA an important organisational actor (as an aggregation of parents and headmasters) in the development of the IB.

The ISA was established to fulfil four purposes:
- to develop close cooperation between existing international schools by means of regular or occasional consultations on educational or administrative questions;
- to stimulate, facilitate or carry out research work on educational or administrative questions;
- to promote the establishment of new international schools; and
- to publicise aims and principles of international schools (ISA Sixth Assembly Minutes 1957).

The provision of an internationally recognised common curriculum and examination later arose from the first two purposes.

The organisation was registered with articles of association under Swiss law. Its constitution proscribed any single national dominance in the governance of its member schools. An "ISA Bulletin" was published four to five times a year.

During the first twenty-five years ISA was governed by UN public servants who were also members (sometimes chairmen) of international school boards. The membership of ISA did consist of some headmasters who grew in numbers over the years, but it was a parent initiative. Since school boards hire and fire headmasters, the ISA was not, therefore, a gathering of colleagues of equal status. Moreover the parent actors (as non-educators) in control of the association for some time did not always agree with ideas put forward by the headmasters as professional educators. For instance, Cole-Baker's initiative to assess the needs of international schools by appointing an ISA consultant was not well received by Russell Cook and other executive officers according to the consultant (Leach interview 1991). The same opinion is expressed by Cole-Baker:
The ISA was remarkable in that it was established by non-academics and no teacher sat on its Executive Committee. ... I needed an umbrella for this project so I decided to try and open up the ISA. This was traumatic as we had to remove a number of well-intentioned gentlemen and get headmasters playing an active part in the organisation (Cole-Baker correspondence 1989).

While headmasters participated more as time went on, executive control in the beginning was largely in the hands of parents (with good intentions) who wielded considerable power due to their positions of triple leverage:
1 their elected executive status in ISA;
2 their standing as elected members or executives officers of school governing boards (to whom the headmasters were responsible); and
3 their rank as highly-placed employees in UN organisations or embassies which gave them considerable political clout on an international level.

The influential status of these elite parent actors could hinder or advance the cause of "internationalism." In spite of some hesitations and opposition to specific ideas, their leverage was, finally, a positive aid to the establishment of the IB. This relationship between formal leadership positions and membership status of ISA was different from that of the CIS where elected executive officers and members were of equal status - all headmasters.

The ISA was, then, an aggregation of parents and headmasters drawn together for reasons of education (to support, advise and improve international schools) emanating from an ideology concerning world peace and cooperation - the philosophical 'case of the UN organisations where the parents worked. The latter were also prompted by natural motives of concern for the welfare of their children. As discussed in Chapter 5 the ISA was particularly important in defining the problems associated with international schools. Unlike the two previous aggregations, however, its role did not stop there; it was central to other stages of the policy process.

Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools 1962

In 1960 Mr Aleck Forbes, co-director of the International School of Geneva, at an ISA annual meeting, proposed that ISA should arrange a conference on the philosophy and international concepts of the social sciences up to the final secondary year. Goormaghtigh, as treasurer of ISA, said that for fifty years the Carnegie Endowment (of which he was director for Europe) had been interested in the teaching of social sciences as a means to further international understanding and he wholeheartedly agreed with the idea. Russell Cook suggested the International School of Geneva as the venue. Support was also forthcoming from representatives of a number of schools including the International School of Brussels, Stichting International School (the Hague), UNIS (New York), Ghana International School and the
International School of Belgrade (ISA Ninth Assembly Minutes 1960). An ad hoc committee, chaired by a parent, was immediately formed to organise the event and a plan was submitted and approved by the ISA the next day.

Experts on cultural relations and social studies would be asked to speak to teachers from international schools. Requests for expert lecturers were sent to UNESCO, the director of the European College (Bruges), International Bureau of Education (Geneva), the Fulbright Organisation and the National Professional Teachers' Associations of Social Sciences in a number of countries in Europe, Africa, the Middle East and America. This conference was to have been held in 1961 but eventually took place in 1962 with the assistance of a small grant from UNESCO. Some school administrators attended but the majority of participants were teachers. The conference had the following published purposes:

- to discuss aims and objectives of teaching social sciences in international schools;
- to draw up syllabuses for teaching cross-cultural knowledge; and
- to rethink ideas and attitudes expressed in international schools in the light of international ideals and the multi-national student.

From these aims it is clear that this aggregation of teachers assembled because of factors concerned with education, culture and ideology. Leaders and participants were teachers and therefore enjoyed a peer relationship.

All participants provided reports on how social sciences were taught from grades 3 to 12 in their international schools. The conference made the following recommendation:

The Conference asks ISA to issue a statement of educational aims acceptable to all member schools. It further requests that the development of a joint Social Studies final exam be explored by ISA as the first step toward the establishment of basic standards (Report of the First Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools 1962: 5).

This outcome spurred the ISA Eleventh General Assembly (which took place at the same time) to recommend that the International School of Geneva take steps to:

- formulate an advanced level ISA examination in contemporary history (and political and economic affairs) to be jointly sponsored by English GCE, French Baccalaureate and American College Board officials; and
- develop common standards for grading and marking systems (ISA Eleventh General Assembly Minutes 1962).

These proposals were put into practice and are discussed in the next stage of the policy process - agenda setting.

ISA had arranged the conference in conjunction with the social studies
departments of the International School of Geneva and UNIS. Relationships between those attending and those leading the conference were, then, collegial as it was a conference by teachers for teachers. Leach claims to have suggested the conference recommendation of preparing a final history examination in the social sciences (Leach correspondence 1991).

This conference was not an annual event although ISA (like CIS) arranged conferences for teachers from time to time around a particular educational theme or subject area. This gathering, as a unique occurrence, was an essential link and catalyst in the chain of events which created the IB.

**Aggregation as Policy Process**

The two associations and conferences discussed in this section each represent sub-policy processes of formation and implementation. Since they are formal aggregations they each stem from a policy decision to create a grouping of common interest. Surrounding such a policy decision are all the same policy process steps of the conceptual framework carried out by actors working within a context of influences. In other words, the framework which guides this study may also be used in its entirety to determine why and how each cluster in the aggregation stage occurs; it is the concept of "wheels within wheels." The sub-policy process of the CIS can be stated simply as in the following table:

**Conference of Internationally-Minded Schools**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy Process Stage</th>
<th>Actor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PROBLEM DEFINITION</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need to bring international school administrators together to discuss:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an international network of schools to facilitate student exchange</td>
<td>Boeke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curricula coordination and international diploma</td>
<td>Boeke and Theis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teacher training for international schools</td>
<td>Roquette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>headmasters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AGGREGATION</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boeke discusses with colleagues who agree</td>
<td>Boeke &amp; other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>headmasters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AGENDA SETTING</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boeke writes to UNESCO stating reasons &amp; collegial support for a meeting, 5 Aug 1948</td>
<td>Boeke headmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>POLICY DECISION</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreement to hold a meeting of headmasters of schools with an international outlook</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.1 The Creation of the Conference of Internationally-Minded Schools as Policy Process

Boeke was influenced by cultural (student exchange) and educational (curriculum coordination) factors. Thes responded principally to educational (curriculum coordination, international diploma) and ideological (internationalism for world peace) concerns. For Roquette, the training of teachers for international schools (an educational factor) was a main motivating force. (The reader is reminded that these statements do not exclude other influences but indicate those which the research has shown to be the most important. Roquette, for example, may have also been moved by ideological concerns about international cooperation but the research has highlighted the educational factor). UNESCO responded for cultural (the “Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultures” project) and political (universal parliament) reasons.

The policy decision resulted in a unique occurrence of the first meeting of headmasters of internationally-minded schools. This was an event which UNESCO quickly defined as a contribution to its intercultural understanding project; the organisation accepted the proposal and implemented it. The time frame for this policy process was about one year, from 1948 to 1949. This short period allowed little scope for multiple actor involvement or for the same actor to respond to different influences throughout the stages of the policy process. Hence Boeke and UNESCO were the principal actors responsible for the meeting and they responded to the same influential factors throughout the policy process.

Course for Teachers Interested in International Education

Table 6.2 depicts, again in simplified form, the policy process which led to the Course for Teachers Interested in International Education at the International School of Geneva in 1950.
AGENDA SETTING
Request for assistance to UNESCO
Raised at CIS meeting

POLICY DECISION
Agreement to do the course
Some funding assistance

DESIGN
Organising program, accommodation, etc 3/4 Nov 1949

ADMINISTRATION
Invitations to participants

EXECUTION
Course takes place July/Aug 1950

Table 6.2 The Creation of the Course for Teachers Interested in International Education as Policy Process

Roquette was responding to an educational need for teacher training, while Boeke was again influenced by cultural (student exchange) and educational (curriculum coordination) factors throughout these policy process stages. The CIS was both an agenda-setting body by asking UNESCO for financial assistance and a decision-making body to which Roquette and Boeke, as chairman and executive committee member, took agenda-setting roles regarding the proposed course. UNESCO was also a decision-making actor when it provided some funding towards the venture.

During the design and administration stages of the implementation phase a specific committee of CIS was established. It included Roquette and Boeke, prominent actors throughout the policy formation stage, with Madame Maurette (previous director of the International School of Geneva) and Dobinson of Oxford Department of Education. Madame Maurette had seen her school disrupted by the Second World War and was a fervent promoter of world peace; she was influenced principally by these ideological concerns. Dobinson was more interested in curriculum coordination and common standards and was therefore motivated by educational concerns. Roquette and Boeke were joined by Oats and other group leaders for the execution stage. Oats, a Quaker, had returned to the school from Tasmania (Oats 1986: 151-179) and was influenced by the ideology of world peace which was part of his faith. He was also a dedicated educator of young people and was concerned about internationalising the curriculum (Oats conversations 1989-90).
**International Schools Association**

The creation of the International Schools Association (ISA) is portrayed in Table 6.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy Process Stages</th>
<th>Actors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROBLEM DEFINITION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need to assist international schools serving the children of international public servants</td>
<td>UN employees parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGGREGATION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal grouping of UN employees 1949-50</td>
<td>Pickard &amp; other parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGENDA SETTING</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussions with UNESCO</td>
<td>Pickard parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLICY DECISION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To host a meeting of people concerned with international schools at UNESCO in Paris</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESIGN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>program, venue arrangements</td>
<td>Pickard parent &amp;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADMINISTRATION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>invitations</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXECUTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meeting takes place, 20 Nov 1951</td>
<td>Pickard &amp; representatives parents of 3 other “UN” schools</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 6.3 The Creation of the International Schools Association as Policy Process*

Pickard (chairman of the board of the International School of Geneva) was clearly the driving force at almost every stage. He had knowledge of the CIS in 1949 through Roquette and had direct connections with people highly placed in UNESCO. A parent actor working for the UN, he was concerned with the promotion of world peace and with the need for some common standards for internationally mobile children, including his own; he was, then, influenced by factors of ideology, demography and family welfare. UNESCO took the decision to provide a venue and secretarial assistance. This first meeting was quite small compared with that of CIS: two schools in Geneva, one in Paris and New York (UNIS) were represented by parents. Roquette also attended. Being launched under the imprimatur of UNESCO, a supreme and more powerful international organisation then it now is, was an auspicious and appropriate start for the ISA, as it was for many years controlled by parents who were UN employees. The problem definition stage probably commenced shortly after the 1949 meeting of headmasters of internationally-minded schools with Pickard seeing a need for a similar organisation for international (not just internationally-minded) schools.
The duration of this policy process was approximately two and a half years.

Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools

The policy process stages of the creation of the Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools 1962 is shown in Table 6.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy Process Stage</th>
<th>Actors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PROBLEM DEFINITION</td>
<td>Course for Tchrs Interested in Int Ed 1950 teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reducing world conflict through the Social Sciences</td>
<td>Forbes headmaster, Cook &amp; Goormaghtigh parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGGREGATION</td>
<td>(As above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some parents &amp; headmasters within ISA</td>
<td>ISA parents &amp; some headmasters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGENDA SETTING</td>
<td>ISA ad hoc c'tee: Van der Valk (chairman),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive officers of ISA</td>
<td>Ostergaard, Mme Métraux parents &amp; Forbes headmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLICY DECISION</td>
<td>(As above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISA 9th Assembly July 1960</td>
<td>UNESCO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESIGN</td>
<td>Social studies depts of Int Schl of Geneva &amp; UNIS teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program, venue, etc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESIGN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADMINISTRATION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invitations, etc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXECUTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conference takes place Aug/Sept 1962</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.4 The Creation of the Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools as Policy Process

The 1950 Course raised the issue of teaching world peace through the social sciences. Maurette’s world history course was published in 1951 by UNESCO, but it was more a methodology for history teaching rather than coordinating a number of cultural view points with input from teachers around the globe. This latter idea, discussed at the 1950 course, was not taken up in any organised way until Forbes raised it in 1960. Ten years passed between problem definition and aggregation and from aggregation to execution, two years. The longer time span allowed for a greater variety of actors to be involved.

The teachers at the 1950 course were reacting to an ideology of creating world peace through understanding culturally different points of view. Goormaghtigh (chairman of the board of the International School of
Geneva and treasurer of ISA) was quite clearly responding to the same ideology and one may presume that Cook's support (as a UN employee and chairman of ISA) was similarly motivated. Neither the minutes of the ISA Ninth Assembly nor the recollections of those interviewed provide enough information to clarify what influenced Forbes to raise the idea of a conference of social studies teachers. His initial motivation resulted from prompting by Leach who saw that the principal "sustainable argument for an international examination in purely curriculum terms resides in the subjects of history and geography" (Knight correspondence 1992). The ensuing discussion at the ISA meeting focused on international understanding through the social sciences. The ad hoc committee was appointed to carry out the policy decision in the same spirit in which it had been made: for ideological reasons.

Interestingly enough, when the teachers did gather together in 1962 their recommendations (not in the above table) responded not just to promoting international understanding but to assisting family mobility through having a number of common courses across the world and that a trial should begin with an international contemporary history course. The most influential factor which prompted actors to work towards the conference was the ideology of international mutual understanding to avoid war.

Summary

This chapter has dealt with four formal aggregations: the Conference of Internationally-Minded Schools (first convened in 1949 under another name), the Course for Teachers Interested in International Education 1950, the International Schools Association 1951 and the Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools 1962. These represent important groupings of actors in the policy process which led to the creation of the IB and the IB Office.

The first two groupings were important contributors to the policy definition stage but thereafter served no purpose directly related to the creation of the IB. The CIS concentrated more on teacher training and international student exchanges in accordance with UNESCO policies of the time while the Course for Teachers Interested in International Education was a unique event which enabled for the first time organised discussion amongst teachers about international education. The ISA aggregation is important for all stages of policy formation, but not for implementation as will be seen. The Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools was a unique event which precipitated clarification of the problem and action by the ISA, action which led to the creation of the IB.

Each association or conference is then treated as a policy process within the larger conceptual framework of this study. They are seen as sub-policy processes which conceptualise the creation of each aggregation in terms
of actors operating throughout the formation and implementation stages, in response to influential factors. This sub-analysis is not, of course, as detailed as the overall analysis of this study, but it serves two purposes. Firstly it shows that decisions to create aggregations (or to grant money) can be analysed in terms of the policy process model outlined in Chapter 3 of this study. Secondly, the convoluted nature of the policy process is demonstrated whereby sub-policy processes can be applied to at least the aggregation stage of the overall policy process analysis.

Figure 6.1 provides a summary of the discussion of this chapter in terms of the conceptual framework of this research. Parents, teachers and headmasters formed their separate aggregations, although headmasters played a gradually increasing role in the parent-initiated ISA. Educational, ideological and cultural contexts had the most influence on actors at this stage. Family welfare was important for the parent actors. UNESCO was a decision-making actor for all but the Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools where the conference would have gone ahead without the UNESCO funding which was forthcoming and certainly facilitated the task. UNESCO offered more than funding: as a super power in intergovernmental relations, its approval and secretarial assistance gave much prestige and respect to each of the aggregations. The political context influenced UNESCO’s participation but not that of any other actors.

Since Dobinson (of Oxford) was the only university staff actor involved, this category is not included in the figure because it is not as significant compared with the three main groups of actors: headmasters, teachers and parents.

The next chapter will discuss agenda setting and the policy decision in terms of actors and the influence on their behaviour. It concludes the formation phase of the policy process with a decision which marked the formal beginning of the implementation phase and work on an international diploma for university entrance. The chapter contains separate conceptual model syntheses of the agenda setting and decision stages.
Conference of Internationally Minded Schools (CIS) 1949
AC1 AD6 Headmasters concerned about teacher training for international schools
AC1 AD7 Headmasters promoting international student exchanges (cultural & demographic)

Course for Teachers Interested in International Education 1950
AC2 AD3 Teachers enhancing international cooperation through curriculum development
AC2 AD6 Teacher training for international education: content and methodology
AC2 AD7 Teachers looking at ways of exposing students to other cultures (cultural)

International Schools Association (ISA) 1951
AC3 AD2 Parents concerned about their children’s welfare
AC3 AD3 Parents wanting to contribute to world peace
AC3 AD6 Parents aggregating to improve international schools

Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools 1962
AC2 AD3 Reducing world conflict by teaching the Social Sciences from different points of view
AC2 AD6 Teachers discussing the objectives of teaching the Social Sciences in int schools
AC2 AD7 Teachers emphasising cross-cultural knowledge (cultural)

AC8 AD7 UNESCO support for cultural reasons (for each aggregation)
AC8 AD8 UNESCO support for political reasons (for each aggregation)

Figure 6.1 The Aggregation Stage of the Policy Process
CHAPTER 7

PART 1: AGENDA SETTING

Introduction

This stage is concerned with making decision makers aware of an issue and proposed solutions. The problem has to be treated with enough importance to place it on the agenda of elite actors who will make a decision. This analysis will be structured around the five indicators of issue attractiveness discussed in Chapter 3 "The Conceptual Framework":

1. the size and nature of the population affected;
2. evidence that the problem is serious and real;
3. the availability of an economically viable solution which is understandable;
4. the quality of the representation and its access to decision makers; and
5. the preoccupations of the policy makers.

This discussion is followed by a synthesis in which the major actors and factors influencing their behaviour are identified.

Size and Nature of the Population Affected

In comparison with a government policy decision affecting most of the population of a country, the number of students needing an international university entrance qualification in the early 1960s was very small indeed; it was probably around 2000 although international schools continued to grow rapidly to accommodate the expanding number of mobile families. It was more the nature of the students and families affected which had an impact on decision makers.

Those affected were a relatively small but select group of children of international public servants working for the UN and its organisations, for embassies and, to a lesser extent, for private companies. There could scarcely have been a more important organisation in the world than the UN, concerned as it was with intercultural understanding and promoting world peace through its universal parliamentary structure. Its success depended very much on bringing together representatives of many countries in various places around the globe so they could cooperate to avoid international conflict. The largest concentrations of expatriates were in Paris (UNESCO), New York (UN) and Geneva (World Health Organisation, International Labour Office, etc).

Since a matter of no less importance than world peace was at stake, the parent employees of the UN and its associations, although relatively small in number, had tremendous political status and influence. Appropriate educational opportunities for children were essential to
attract good UN employees, and this included, above all, a program that would open university doors world-wide.

The International School of Geneva (1924) owed its creation to parent employees of the League of Nations, and UNIS (1947) to UN parent employees. The ISA was established in 1951 by a UN parent employee to provide a service to international schools teaching the children of international civil servants. UN employees held executive offices in the association for some 25 years. It was the ISA which was the decision-making body.

The Seriousness and Reality of the Problem

The discussion of the problem definition stage in Chapter 5 showed a number of perceptions occurring over time and with different actors. The initial solution adopted in international schools from 1924 to the early 1960s (teaching national curricula) itself created other problems which precipitated agitation for a different response (which eventually became the IB). This response was seen as the answer to the range of issues perceived during the problem definition stage.

The first problem was to provide an education that would be appropriate for students displaced across the globe. There were families who were expatriated for their work, particularly in the UN and its agencies, and there was also the desirability of international student exchanges via a network of schools. The latter was promoted for educational, cultural and ideological reasons by the Fulbright Act and Boeke, for example. Family mobility was a demographic fact which had to be accommodated educationally.

International curriculum coordination and the establishment of a secondary school qualification acceptable for university entrance world-wide were seen by some actors as solutions to these two aspects of student mobility. In the meantime, and in the absence of an international school program, schools had no alternative but to offer some national exams (quite often in the one school) which would be accepted by universities in the corresponding country. Some individual schools successfully negotiated equivalences with universities across countries but they were spasmodic, not centrally managed, and it was often difficult to reach agreement.

This interim solution gave rise to other problems:

. the separation of students into national groups was contrary to the ethos of intercultural understanding of international schools;
. teaching smaller national groups was not economically viable from a school management point of view; and
. national curricula were not necessarily the most appropriate for expatriate students in an international school setting.
Parents as school board officials and school administrators at the International School of Geneva saw a real and immediate problem. The university of one's choice was not always possible for internationally mobile students, student exchanges were less successful through uncoordinated curricula across the globe, and national programs were not the most apt for international students, yet none of these on its own or collectively would have brought an international school to a standstill. It was far from perfect, but students were being educated and accepted at universities, even if the choice was restricted, and they were receiving an international experience, at least outside the formal curriculum, in the culturally diverse environment of an international school. The most serious problem was that connected with the small student/teacher ratio operating in each of the national program classes in a number of schools including the International School of Geneva: it was not cost-effective. The latter school was in a state of financial crisis and here was an organisational problem which contributed to that predicament. Hence, any action which reduced the financial liability was of the utmost importance.

Some parents and school administrators saw the reality of an economic problem which was urgent and which had also been previously defined in cultural, ideological and educational terms. Given the active military service background of Goormaghtigh and Cole-Baker, the goal of world peace through international education was an important contributing factor.

The Availability of an Acceptable Solution

An acceptable response is one which is easily understood and economically viable. Several related solutions were mooted over time, beginning with the *maturité internationale* by Meyhofer in 1925, a UNESCO international diploma by Philip in 1946 (at the instigation of Theis), an international diploma by individual schools (the “CIS” in 1949) and a UNIS international diploma by Forbes in 1961. These were conceptually easy to grasp but presented large practical problems of implementation: creating a subject profile for the diploma which would be universally accepted, devising subject curricula and examinations, negotiating with universities world-wide, marketing the international diploma to school administrators and teachers as well as to students and parents, providing teacher professional development, gaining the cooperation of ministries of education, and deciding in which languages the diploma should be available. The enormity of the task led the first CIS gathering of headmasters to look towards UNESCO. Although this latter organisation assisted the CIS and the ISA in many ways in their early days, UNESCO did not become engaged in establishing an international pre-university diploma.

Concurrently with the idea of some type of world-wide diploma, the need for a global curriculum perspective, particularly in the social sciences, was
an important development. Maurette and Dupuy's world history and geography courses from 1930 and UNESCO's project of "Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultures" from 1945 were contributing factors to the recommendation of the first gathering of heads of internationally-minded schools in 1949 (where Roquette was a principal actor): that a Course for Teachers Interested in International Education be held the following year at the International School of Geneva. One of the main recommendations from this 1950 course was that history should be taught from an international perspective. An equally important resolution was that an international diploma was not "possible or desirable" because it could not and should not accommodate the educational needs of each country.

On the other side of the Atlantic the need for a world vision in education was also being actively pursued by UNIS (New York) which was established in 1947. The Ford Foundation granted US$85 000 to UNIS in 1955 to develop international curricula for the primary (and later the middle) school and to investigate their applicability in US national schools. The curriculum development activities on both sides of the Atlantic - at the international schools in Geneva and New York - focused on the social sciences as the point of departure for an international school program. There was also the same practical consideration that had held back any progress on an international diploma since 1925: the enormity of the task which was certainly beyond the capacity of any individual school, however dedicated.

At the Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools (1962) the International School of Geneva and UNIS took leading roles. The viability of trialling an international social science course was accepted by the teachers and recommended to ISA.

Representation and Access to Decision Makers

The ISA was the decision making body concerning the establishment of the IB. UNESCO's assistance, including small financial support, gave encouragement and authority without which the ISA decisions might not have proceeded so readily. The interest and financial contribution of the Ford Foundation for international curriculum development at UNIS (which was represented on ISA) was also a contributing factor to the credibility of an IB.

There were two formal representations to ISA during 1962 which set the agenda for the ISA decision to investigate the possibility of an international university-entrance diploma. The first was the report of the consultant to ISA, Robert Leach, head of history at the International School of Geneva. (Leach's consultancy and subsequent report were also important for defining the problem). He articulated the needs of international schools in Asia, Africa and Europe in a report which appealed to the ideological concerns of ISA members but which could
also be directly related to the economic problem at the International School of Geneva. Leach argued for an "international baccalaureate" (and used those very words) to "diminish the divisive pull of national examination requirements" (Leach 1962: 3). His report had been prepared and had been sent to over 150 schools and individuals as newsletters before the ISA General Assembly and the Conference for Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools which took place concurrently from the 26th August to the 1st September 1962 (ISA Eleventh Assembly Minutes 1962).

The second representation was the articulation of a need by the Conference for Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools for the development of an international examination for university entrance with a "joint social studies final examination ... as the first step toward the establishment of basic standards" (Report of the First Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools 1962: 5). Leach claims to have been the driving force behind this recommendation within the first two days of the conference and it was taken to the ISA Eleventh Assembly which was meeting at the same time in Geneva. The aggregation of teachers of social studies from around the globe was the important second formal representation; this interest group expressed its voice to the elite actors of ISA.

Leach had suggested an international examination in 1961 to Leo Fernig, an Assistant Director General of UNESCO, in Paris who had promised sympathetic support to ISA to carry out such a pilot project (Leach correspondence 1991). Before the conference of social studies teachers finished, Cole-Baker asked all delegates (some 60 people), in turn, if they would be a member of a committee to get the project under way. All had reasons why they were unable to assist, except a teacher from UNIS, Colin Nimmons, who gave considerable help from a distance. I then spoke with Goormaghtigh and we decided to go it alone (Cole-Baker correspondence 1992).

Hence the recommendation went to ISA, the body which had been promised UNESCO funding through Leach's contact in Paris in 1961.

The Ford Foundation grant to UNIS in 1955 for the development of international curricula for the junior and primary school was an action which did not go unnoticed by the ISA on which UNIS was represented. This constitutes an indirect form of representation to the decision makers (and was also the recognition of a need in the problem definition stage).

Parents in a number of ISA international schools had also expressed concern about access to universities around the globe (Goormaghtigh interview 1991). Educators such as Boeke, Theis, Roquette and Cole-Baker together with parents working for the UN or its agencies were conscious of the inadequacies of national curricula for international school
students.

A parallel unanticipated representation occurred at the UNESCO General Conference of 1962 when the Arab United Republic put forward a project to realise a coordinated program throughout international schools, interchangeable in different countries (Renaud 1974: 6-7). This motion assisted further funding by UNESCO to ISA in April 1963 for "Coordination of Academic Standards and Curricula Among International Schools." The support from UNESCO was itself a form of representation or approval of the direction in which the ISA was moving with regard to an international diploma.

Preoccupations of the Policy Makers

ISA brought together parents and some school administrators with a keen interest in international education, spurred on by ideological, educational and family welfare factors. The core of executive officers of ISA for years comprised parents and administrators from the International School of Geneva and UNIS. A parent initiative, ISA benefitted from the cross-fertilisation of experience by UN employees and professional educators.

Their preoccupations were to improve international education and international schools and, with assistance from UNESCO, they had created their own organisation to do it. The idea of a common course in contemporary history was very much in line with the thinking of ISA members: that internationally mobile children needed an education with a global perspective. The founder of ISA, Bertram Pickard, had (from Roquette) the report of the first meeting of (what then became) the CIS in 1949 in which coordinated curricula and a world-wide international diploma were discussed. Minutes of meetings from 1951 to 1960 indicate that these ideas were never far from the minds of the ISA, although no decisive action occurred until 1962. For instance, in 1956 equivalence between university entrance exams was discussed (ISA Fifth Assembly Minutes 1956). Cole-Baker, at that time Head of the Science Department at the International School of Geneva and responsible for secondary school curriculum and admissions, had raised the problem of university acceptance with Forbes, a member of ISA and co-director of the school (Cole-Baker correspondence 1992). ISA, however, saw its priorities more in terms of assisting international schools with administrative problems and organising training conferences for teachers during its first ten years.

In 1959 a co-founder of the European Baccalaureate addressed an annual meeting of the ISA in the Hague urging them to pursue an international diploma (ISA Eighth Assembly Minutes 1959). Then in 1960 Forbes proposed a conference for teachers of social studies. Leach (correspondence 1991), Cole-Baker (correspondence 1992) and Knight (correspondence 1992) credit Leach as the initiator of the idea of a common social studies course for which he thought a meeting of teachers
of that discipline should be arranged. Forbes was Leach’s conduit for proposing the idea at the ISA meeting. The outcome of this 1962 conference was discussed in the preceding section.

The decision makers were not preoccupied with competing but complementary, even identical, interests to those of Leach and the teachers of social studies. Agenda-setting was therefore not at all like lobbying to a government busy with a multitude of diverse problems. Here was a private organisation specifically created to further international education. The establishment of a common history program in 1962, as the first step towards a harmonisation of standards amongst international schools, fitted neatly into the purposes of ISA.

The relationship between those representing the problem and the decision makers was hierarchical. ISA comprised board members of schools (parents) who held responsible positions, mainly in the UN or embassies, and headmasters. Representation was by a teacher (the ISA consultant) and an international group of teachers. But both the consultant and the group of social studies teachers owed their existence to elite ISA actors. Therefore the decision makers were already looking for ways of improving the lot of students in international schools; they set up the course and approved the consultancy (although at first with some reluctance from one or two individuals) in order to identify problems and possible solutions. The ISA decision makers were responsive to the agenda-setting demands for ideological, family welfare and economic reasons.

Synthesis

Table 7.1 provides a chronological summary of significant events and actors relating to the agenda-setting stage of policy formation. Actors are identified according to the conceptual framework categories and the factors which influenced them to act appear in italics after each event.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Significant Events</th>
<th>Actors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1955                               Grant to UNIS of $85 000 to develop int curricula educational</td>
<td>Ford Foundation funding org</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962                               Need for preparation for univ entrance world-wide demographic &amp; educational</td>
<td>Parents informally &amp; formally (Int Schl of Geneva board minutes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More economically viable class groups economic</td>
<td>Goormaghthigh parent Cole Baker headmaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July/Aug: project of school programs interchangeable in different countries proposed to the Gen Conf of UNESCO cultural &amp; educational</td>
<td>Arab United Republic non-ed professional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ISA consultant’s report recommends an int diploma
educational & demographic

Aug/Sept: ISA was asked to launch a pilo. program in
contemporary history as a first step towards common
international curricula cultural, demographic, edal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leach teacher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conf of Tehs of Soc Studs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Int Schls (Leach plays major role) teachers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.1 Chronological Summary of Significant Events and Actors
Related to the Agenda Setting Stage

The 1955 Ford Foundation grant to UNIS was also an important element of the problem definition stage. It served as an influential backdrop to the thinking of ISA members. The Ford Foundation responded to a proposal from UNIS to establish an international curriculum for their culturally diverse student body; the Foundation agreed to the funding because it recognised the lack of any program for students in international schools. Such a benevolent foundation constitutes an actor of major importance in persuading the ISA officials that an international curriculum should be pursued.

Parents, including those who were board members at the International School of Geneva, were persistently concerned about ready access to any university for their children. While this presented problems, quite a number of students were able to enter the university they wished or one close to their choice; it was, however, a nagging irritation which prevented completely open choice on the world university scene. Clearly these parents were acting for educational reasons in the interests of their families and others.

The economies of scale to be had with a common university entrance course were attractive to the headmaster and board chairman of the International School of Geneva who were also extremely influenced by an ideology concerning world peace and international cooperation.

UNESCO gave small grants to a number of ISA projects and supported the thinking about international curricula and common university entrance standards. Approval and assistance from an actor of such stature gave credibility to ISA’s pursuits. As a vicarious decision maker concerning some contracts associated with the eventual appearance of an IB (e.g., the Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools and the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultures Project), UNESCO had an extremely persuasive influence on ISA decision makers who were themselves part of the circuit of international civil servants. The draft resolution put forward by the Arab United Republic was for the study and implementation, in consultation with international schools, of common curricula to be taught in schools in different countries. This educationally motivated action was an expression of interest which, in turn, positively influenced UNESCO in
its support for the development of international curricula.

Leach was a "tremendous teacher with a passionate and infectious enthusiasm for the IB" (Rite's interview 1992). As a Quaker he acted for ideological, educational and cultural reasons which have been evoked before. Leach's impact was crucial at the agenda-setting stage; his ISA consultant's report and the Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools (which he organised) provided the impetus to press ISA for a decision and support.

The conference of social studies teachers acted more out of educational and cultural concern than perhaps ideology, although the latter factor no doubt had a place with some. The point is that they were gathered together for an educational purpose: to discuss the internationalising of the social sciences. HRH the Prince of Wales notes in his foreword to Peterson's Schools Across Frontiers that the establishment of the IB was due to the enthusiasm and commitment of a group of teachers based at the International School of Geneva. The idea received support from UNESCO, from parents working for the UN and later from educators and beneficent foundations, but the initiative was not taken by governments or international organisations such as UNESCO and the International Bureau of Education, it was finally taken by teachers (Peterson 1987: vii).

The most important agenda setters were the teachers. The need for an international diploma could scarcely have come from a more fitting group of actors; they were closest to the real needs of the international student and would be the first deliverers of the new curricula. They addressed a private organisation - the ISA - which had been created to serve the needs of international schools, particularly those educating the children of international public servants.

Figure 7.1 summarises this discussion: it gives a graphic representation of the actors and factors influencing their behaviour for the agenda-setting stage of the policy process. The Ford Foundation grant to UNIS, the Arab United Republic proposal to UNESCO, and the teachers, parents and headmasters of the International School of Geneva were the significant actors at this stage. Above all, the teachers were the instigators of the formal recommendations to the ISA. They were principally influenced by the educational and cultural context. (The reader is reminded that the conceptual framework shows the type of actors involved and the factors which influenced them, but not the magnitude of these elements - that is brought out in the discussion).
1NFL. UENfIAL FACTORS (Nos. sod*l context includm demography, demography, culture, history, geography, demography, culture, history, geography).

AC1 AD3 Cole-Baker wanting a tolerant, peaceful world
AC1 AD2 Cole-Baker & other heads: economic teacher-student ratio with one int curriculum
AC2 AD3 Conviction of Leach ISA consultant) about a peaceful world
AC2 AD6 Conf of Tchrs of Soc Studs in Int Schls: International perspective on history
AC2 AD7 Conf of Tchrs of Soc Studs in Int Schls: need for intercultural understanding
AC3 AD3 Int Sch of Geneva ISA parents: need for peaceful world (in line with UN ideals)
AC3 AD5 Goormaghgh, Coak & others: economic teacher-student ratio with one int curriculum
AC3 AD6 Parents wanting access to universities world-wide for their children
AC6 AD6 Ford Foundation Funding to UNESCO for international curriculum development
AC9 AD8 Arab United Republic proposal to UNESCO: interchangeable curricula

Figure 7.1 The Agenda-Setting Stage of the Policy Process
PART 2: THE POLICY DECISION

Introduction

This is the culmination of the policy formation phase. The discussion will identify the decisions made, how they were arrived at and who made them. Information networks to the decision makers are identified and graphically illustrated. The nature of the policy statement itself and its implications for implementation are considered. This section concludes with a synthesis of the policy decision in a table and as part of the total conceptual framework where actors and factors influencing their behaviour are identified.

Since the policy process is not sequential, reference to some aspects of the policy decision stage have already occurred, particularly in the agenda setting stage. That discussion will not be repeated here.

The Policy Statement

The ISA responded immediately to the recommendations of the Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools. At the Eleventh Assembly in August/September 1962 the following decisions were taken in the form of recommendations to the International School of Geneva:

To investigate the possibility of an advanced level ISA examination in contemporary history to be jointly sponsored by English GCE, French Baccalaureate and American College Board officials.

To develop common standards for grading and marking systems.

To formulate a transfer certificate and graduation certificate to be used by member schools.

(ISA Eleventh Assembly Minutes, 1962)

These were three amongst many of the recommendations from the Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools. The teachers acted principally for educational reasons associated with the need for an international approach to the teaching of subjects, commencing with history. Some, like Leach, were also enthused by the ideology of creating international tolerance and understanding.

These recommendations to the International School of Geneva form the policy statement issued by the ISA. It was an organisation which could influence UNESCO for grants as the majority of its membership consisted of parents who were non-education professionals with high leverage in the UN and its agencies. The ISA itself, however, had almost no human resources or educational expertise (as it comprised principally parents with full-time positions in the UN or elsewhere) to provide sufficient
services to international schools and develop new curricula. It therefore depended on staff at the International School of Geneva to do its work, often voluntarily, and for the school to contribute financially along with UNESCO to small projects. Leach and Cole-Baker, for instance, undertook considerable work for ISA, often in their spare time and for no payment except expenses. Leach's consultancy to ISA was mainly financed by his school. Certainly the magnitude of curriculum development expertise needed to fulfill the policy statement above was completely beyond the ISA and, as the work spread to other subjects, beyond teachers at the International School of Geneva.

It was an adventurous decision, but not a new one as it had been mooted several times in the past. Discussions on internationalism from as far back as Madame Maurette at the school in Geneva had always seen history as the starting point for an international curriculum. "It is not surprising that it was a history teacher at the International School of Geneva who promoted and enthused others about an international diploma. History is the case in point for internationalism" (Ritchie interview 1992).

ISA was, then, the formal decision making body, but in fact the idea came from the teachers, many of whom were at the International School of Geneva. If the teachers had not put forward the recommendations, those at the international school in Geneva who did the pioneering curriculum development work might not have cooperated so readily. The eventual deliverers of the international curricula wanted it; the elite of ISA and of the board of the International School of Geneva (virtually one and the same) gave their unstinting support.

The ISA elite performed what Jones (1984: 108) calls an "important linkage function" between problems and policies; they were aware of the past discussions which had contributed to a definition of the problem and they had a feel for how acceptable and possible an international diploma might be in the political and economic context of the time. They judged it worth proceeding although the details of the implementation phase were not clear, except that three examining groups in each of three different countries would be called upon to sponsor the venture. These groups had not been consulted prior to the policy statement being made (Leach interview 1991).

Arriving at the Decision

When discussing the conceptual framework, four ways of making a decision were suggested:
1 unilaterally by an elite;
2 by an elite after selective consultation;
3 by an elite as the result of interest group demands, aggregated and adequately represented; and
4 by a committee comprising elite and interest group representatives.
Clearly the ISA decisions fall within the third type above. The Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools was the interest group of some 60 teachers from a number of countries who put forward demands to the ISA, the association which had organised the conference.

Grindle and Thomas (1989: 223) identify four possible determinants of a policy choice when a small group of elite actors is involved. Technical advice can be a persuasive, rational element but no technical analysis or advice on program design and administration was sought by ISA. The decision was non-technical with no specifications and sought to indicate support for proceeding in a general direction.

A second factor concerns the extent to which individual career opportunities (partly related to the self-interest influential factor) or the future of the agency may be enhanced. There is no evidence to suggest that the decision makers were seeking professional opportunities or that the ISA would benefit from the proposal - the facts show that it did not. ISA gave moral support but did not become a larger administrative structure to develop and deliver the IB although Cole-Baker agitated for this while he was executive director of ISA from 1968-71 after having left the International School of Geneva. He became disappointed when nothing occurred. He had initially opposed the formation of ISES and IBO but had accepted that a separate structure had been necessary when ISA was not prepared to widen its objectives as Cole-Baker would have liked.

What I had really wanted to do was to create an independent international education authority which could consider education world-wide, without political strictures. I felt that there could be a great deal of useful exchange of views and material between such an organisation and governments. The IB would have been part of this organisation and not a separate body. I could not get enough people to think on this scale (Cole-Baker correspondence 1989).

The ISA awaited the results of the first attempts before considering the formation of an infrastructure to cope with IB development.

Thirdly, decisions are made according to whether they will contribute to the prolongation of the leaders and government in power. Since the ISA elite were all giving voluntarily of their time, ideological rather than pecuniary or political concerns were the main motivating force. ISA has continued and is now in its fourty-second year (in 1992) but this is all quite independent of the decision to explore an IB program.

With modification, Grindle and Thomas' fourth determinant has some relevance: decisions are made in relation to the extent of international economic and political dependency. The IB decision stage was important for international educational dependency between schools and universities. There was no international political dependency and the economic advantage pertained initially to individual schools being able
to offer one program to many students, not to some international economic interplay. (After 1976 schools payed an annual subscription to keep the IBO operating; hence there was then an economic disadvantage which was considered by schools to be outweighed by the educational opportunity that the IB offered).

Grindle and Thomas (1989: 233) also recognise that policy elites arrive at decisions according to two major circumstances prevailing at the time: a perceived crisis or politics-as-usual (see Table 2.1 page 43). Their construct relates to government politics but has relevance to this study. During a perceived crisis in government, the decision process is characterised by high political or economic stakes. This leads to quite dramatic, rather than incremental, decisions by a small group of high level decision makers who are most concerned about the survival of the regime in power. The small group of elite ISA actors were partly influenced by the financial crisis at the International School of Geneva which threatened the future of that institution. Devising international curricula to be taken by all students would produce more economical class sizes and assist other schools with the same problem.

There was also the growing difficulty of accessing universities with foreign qualifications, of the inappropriateness of national curricula for internationally mobile students and the separation of students into broad national groupings to teach the pre-university entrance courses of three or four different countries. While these were not crisis circumstances, they were becoming important enough to require more earnest attention than “politics-as-usual” issues. The concerns of the policy elite were not political but economic, demographic, educational, cultural and ideological. They were disturbed not only about a school which might cease to function for economic reasons but also about the lack of an educational program to prepare citizens of the world who could contribute to harmonious relations between different cultures - their ideology concerned peaceful survival, on an international scale, of the human race.

Hence the policy decision stage approached the “crisis” circumstances of Grindle and Thomas. Certainly the “politics-as-usual” criteria did not apply: lower level officials were not involved, the decision was not incremental, but cautious and pioneering, and the stakes were not low but ideologically, culturally and educationally very high. The economic crisis of the Geneva school was a contributing factor.

Finally, the nature of the policy constituency affects the capacity to make decisions and to ensure compliance.

In general policy making and implementation activities will reflect the interests supported by dominant elements within the constituency whether hostile or supportive (Anderson 1984: 93).
The constituency was pro-IB and comprised teachers, particularly from the International School of Geneva, influential parents (non-education professionals) principally associated with the UN, and their children. It was initially a small, select group which grew relatively large and more geographically dispersed. An agency with foreign clientele draws little political support or criticism from that constituency since the articulation of demands is fragmented on an international scale making it almost impossible (or at least very expensive) to gather all the stake-holders together in one place to press for changes and take extreme measures such as protest marches. Nevertheless formal annual meetings have developed to bring teachers, headmasters and government representatives together, but not students and parents. The latter are the clients. Their only power is economic: not to subscribe to the IB program if they are dissatisfied.

In arriving at a decision the ISA executive were not dealing with a policy that would be enforced by legislation and fear of reprimand by law. Here was a policy decision where compliance (during the implementation stage) would depend on self-interest (Anderson 1984: 94). There would be no compulsion. The IB would have to compete with national programs and be selected by students and parents who, even today, on a world scale, represent a very tiny number of all students preparing pre-university entrance examinations: about 16 000 in 1992 sat examinations for IB diplomas and certificates.

Interest Group and Elite Theories

In elite theory, the elite actors influence the public or policy recipients by initiating a decision. In interest group theory, interest groups (who may be potential policy recipients) lobby the elite decision makers with quite different proposals; the elite then make incremental decisions to appease conflicting interests. The decision making stage of the IB policy process seems more in line with interest group theory because the process started with the teachers, not with the ISA elite, but thereafter the similarity declines. There were no opposing aggregations and consensus, rather than conflict resolution, united the interest group of teachers with the intra-elite coalition of ISA. The latter were therefore not obliged to seek conciliatory decisions involving minor adjustments. They made a cautious but pioneering decision, inviting the board of the International School of Geneva to agree to its teachers proceeding with the construction of an international contemporary history program; further internationalising of other subjects could then be explored.

In terms of interest group theory actors surrounding the decision process may be represented as in Figure 7.2
Interest group theory identifies three groups of actors: groups in the public arena, administrators and elite decision makers. The impetus comes from interest groups within the public who put pressure on administrators and/or elite policy decision actors. The interest group of social studies teachers lobbied the elite policy making actors of ISA who passed a recommendation on to another group of school policy makers (the board of the Geneva school). The latter then supported the construction of new international curricula and urged the teachers of the International School of Geneva, who comprised the essential part of the interest group which had raised the matter with the ISA, to proceed. The elite ISA group of international actors had responded positively to a demand by the aggregated interest group of teachers. The policy makers had not shaped opinion amongst the teachers at the agenda setting or decision stage (but they played an important role in shaping public opinion towards the IB during the implementation phase, particularly those with high leverage). Once mobilised, the ISA elite actors created an administrative structure - ISES/IBO - for implementing the IB program. It was the task of this administrative body to deliver the IB to schools where a new international group of students and parents were involved as policy recipients, but this group had not been active lobbyists. Teachers were deliverers of the program and some of them had been part of the social studies conference and hence interest group members. The teachers, students and parents comprised the school community for whom the IB was intended. Some of the teachers were also designers of the program.

In terms of public policy processes the influence of an interest group
depends on its internal characteristics, its relative tactical position and the politics of the government. The 1962 Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools consisted of a core group of idealists for international education from the International School of Geneva, Atlantic College and UNIS plus many other teachers from schools around the globe. This was a geographically disparate group united by a common philosophy. Moreover these were the potential designers and classroom deliverers of the IB. Internally, then, the group had very positive characteristics for success.

Strategically they were well-placed vis-à-vis the decision makers since the ISA parents were the employers (via their individual school board membership) of many of these teachers. The interest group shared the same ideals and had positive communication channels to the boards of their schools and hence to ISA (via their headmasters), and Leach's ISA consultancy brought him into direct contact with the ISA as Figure 7.3 shows in the next section, "The Decision Making Elite." The teachers and ISA executives were not constrained by any party politics.

Government decisions are often hindered because there are too many bureaucratic layers between the policy decision and its execution, layers comprising actors often far removed from the decision. By contrast, in the IB policy process there is a direct link between the elite decision makers and implementation. Since the chief protagonists were identical in ISA and the board of the International School of Geneva, they could be considered as one body which encouraged the teachers of the Geneva school to get on with the task. When ISES was created, and then IBO, their contact was directly with schools, sometimes via governments. There was no passing through regional bureaucracies, there was no conflict of goals because schools chose to participate, therefore no people were pursuing a different agenda. The designers and implementors of the IB program went straight to the schools; there were no middle men and hence no distortion of the IB message. In addition there was a continuous stream of workshops to train teachers, receive feedback and generally promulgate the philosophy, pedagogy and assessment techniques of the IB.

**The Decision Making Elite**

It is hardly surprising that the ISA supported so readily the recommendations of the Conference of social studies teachers. ISA had proposed the conference in July 1960 with the full agreement of Cook (ISA chairman), Gourmaghtigh (ISA treasurer) and Forbes (ISA member who had since left the International School of Geneva for UNIS). At the time of the decision in August 1962, Gourmaghtigh was treasurer of ISA (1957 to 1962) and chairman of the board of the International School of Geneva (1960 to 1966); Russell Cook, a member of the board of the International School of Geneva, was ISA chairman (for eighteen years from 1952 to 1970). Roquette who was now head of the French Language Section was
present; he had always had an interest in teacher training for international schools and was very partial to the idea of an international diploma. He had been chairman of the CIS and main organiser of the Course for Teachers Interested in International Education (1950). Cole-Baker, now head of the English Language Section and of the whole International School of Geneva, was elected ISA secretary for 1962-63. He had been the main support for Leach's consultancy. Leach had spoken to Roquette and Cole-Baker of the social studies teachers' recommendations before they were raised officially at the ISA meeting (Leach interview 1991).

The decision makers were, then, those same individuals who had aggregated under the ISA label to promote international education and international schools. They knew each other well and were enthused by the same ideology. They were also people of vision, willing to take a risk. Given the highly responsible positions of parents in the UN and the past performance of educators like Roquette, such initiative should not be unexpected. Because those affected by the consequences of the problem were very much the decision makers (parents and school administrators), access to them was automatic. The teachers' recommendations were represented by the decision makers themselves.

The conviction that an IB must exist carried the ISA forward; the support of UNESCO and the calibre of the ISA elite involved, with their important international connections, provided a solid base for officially launching the project. Goormaghtigh, in particular, who saw the IB through its gestation period and for many years after, was a tremendous asset.

Goormaghtigh played a capital role and made the IB politically acceptable. He was a man of international stature and was held in high standing in the city of Geneva. When he gave his imprimatur to the IB idea he automatically brought with him people in the highest educational and political circles in Europe and the United States (Ritchie interview 1992).

While there were other important international public servants who were directly involved, their presence and support was usually more spasmodic as they came and left Geneva. Goormaghtigh, on the other hand, contributed over a long period of time.

The ISA decision makers were not confronted with an example of an international history curriculum on the basis of which they might reach a decision. No technical analysis of the curriculum to be created, even in terms of aims or objectives, preceded the policy decision. The ISA elite subscribed to the need for an international perspective in education, for intercultural understanding and for access to universities throughout the world. They left the detail of the curriculum and the objectives which would shape it to those with the expertise: the teachers. There were substantial communication channels from the ISA executive and the
board of the International School of Geneva through to the teachers via Roquette and Cole-Baker. But the faith of the decision makers that the teachers would be equal to the task also came through a personal and more powerful source: the children of the ISA executive and board members; they inevitably conveyed impressions of the teachers to their parents. There is evidence to suggest that the International School of Geneva did attract a group of particularly gifted and dedicated staff. The bicentenary volume *Ecole Internationale de Genève 1924-1974* contains many testimonials from ex-students concerning the high regard in which they held certain teachers. These include the pioneers of the IB curriculum in the early 1960s. Some teachers stayed at the school for approximately thirty years such as Bob Leach (history) and Nansi Poirel (English), and others are still there (in 1992): Phil Thomas (economics), Reginald Unitt (sciences) and Michael Knight (history).

Formal and informal networks operated to keep the elite informed. In addition, Leach, through his ISA consultancy, had direct access to the ISA executive and the board of his school, and informally to UNESCO. The latter's support for a number of projects concerned with international cooperation was another influential force on the decision makers.

Figure 7.3 depicts the information networks to the elite actors at the time of their decisions of August/September 1962.

![Figure 7.3 Information Networks to the Decision Making Elite](image)

The ISA recommendation was immediately taken up by the International School of Geneva. Leach convened a team of history teachers at his school to work on the international contemporary history syllabus and examination. The project had the blessing of the board of the International School of Geneva where Goormaghtigh was chairman and Cook was a member (Goormaghtigh interview 1991). Cole-Baker and Roquette were also members as heads of the English and French
Language Sections. Hence an important part of the ISA executive membership also sat on the board of the International School of Geneva. Yet, the decision to proceed with a course for international schools in contemporary history does not appear in the minutes of the board meetings of the International School of Geneva. The only reference is as follows:

Le Conseil de Direction a noté la Conférence pour les Professeurs de Sciences Sociales dans des Écoles Internationales qu'a organisée récemment l'Association des Écoles Internationales et qui a eu lieu à l'école. Le Conseil a félicité Monsieur Leach du succès de la conférence.

(The board noted the recent Conference for Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools organised by ISA at the school and congratulated Mr Leach on its success).


Goormaghtigh (interview 1991) and Cole-Baker (correspondence 1992) remember a brief discussion of the recommendations from this conference at the board meeting and general nods of approval, but this was not recorded in the minutes. A careful reading of the board minutes from 1955 to 1966 shows that matters concerning the curriculum and examinations were rarely discussed except to list final year examination results in the various national diplomas taught separately. There were more immediate problems of finance, conditions of employment, appointment of senior staff, recruitment of students, use of buildings, acquisition of property, and so on which made up the agenda of most meetings. Not all board members saw the potential of an international university-entrance qualification for reducing the economically unviable senior classes leading to five national diplomas (at the time of the board meetings between 1955 and 1966). Goormaghtigh, Cook and Cole-Baker were much more alert to this aspect.

Nevertheless the problem of access to universities world-wide had been officially raised just a few months before by a board member, Mrs Peterson, who said: "The education here has to be such as to enable any student to be acceptable to any university in the world" (Minutes of the General Assembly of the International School of Geneva, 4 June 1962). The board may have had this need uppermost in their mind when commenting about the success of the Conference of Teachers of Social Studies in International Schools at their September 1962 meeting.

The Nature of the Policy Statement

The statement is devoid of reasons or educational objectives associated with the decision to establish the contemporary history examination. It in fact does not mention the development of a new curriculum; only the word "examination" appears. The policy statement does not specify the content of the examination nor the rationale behind it.
terminology of Pressman and Wildavsky (1984: xxii) it is policy expressed as a “disembodied objective.” Taken in isolation and given to a group of implementors there would be a number of questions to ask before anything could be started. For instance, there is no mention of the fact that the examination is to be an international one. The statement must be read in light of the political, educational and ideological context which led to the conference of social studies teachers in 1962. This ISA policy statement was for an audience who, like the elite of ISA, were familiar with the rationale for international education that had been evolving from as far back as Meyhoffer’s call for a maturité internationale in 1925. Moreover, this rationale was reiterated in the Report from the social studies Teachers’ Conference: the problems associated with university entrance, the need for an international approach to education in an international school and the importance of breaking down cultural barriers in a bid for a peaceful world. It was clearly understood that the requirement was for the development of a curriculum as well as an examination and that the course was to have an international perspective (Leach interview 1991).

Educational aims, so essential to the creation of any curriculum, were developed over the next few years as subject committees met frequently and thrashed out views from different cultural perspectives. The ISA policy statement left this task up to the implementors.

The statement is not a prescriptive decision. It is cautious. It asks for an exploration of the possibility. Even before the positive feedback on the contemporary history course and examination, the teachers at the International School of Geneva started work in other subject areas, with the help of a small UNESCO grant, and the ISA made further decisions associated with the implementation phase. This first decision gave no direction about the design, delivery, marketing and administration of the international diploma. The mention of sponsorship from the authorities responsible for the three most sought-after university-entrance qualifications at the time - English GCE “A” Levels, French Baccalaureate and American College Board Advanced Placement - refers to possible sources of curriculum and examination development expertise from different countries, and perhaps funding and marketing. The administrative mechanism by which this would take place is not specified.

While the policy statement indicates assistance from the three examining boards, the elite policy makers of ISA knew that the teachers of the International School of Geneva were willing to commence the task. Cole-Baker had had no offer of assistance from teachers in other schools at the end of the social studies teachers’ conference with the exception of the one teacher from UNIS previously mentioned.
Synthesis

Table 7.2 shows the actors and events concerning the policy decision stage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Significant Events</th>
<th>Actors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>ISA: Cook, Goormaghtigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug/Sept: Int Schl of Geneva was asked to develop int</td>
<td>parents: Cole-Baker, Roquette headmasters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contemporary history course &amp; to look at common international standards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept: decision taken to devise a contemporary</td>
<td>Bd of Int Schl of Geneva:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>history exam &amp; syllabus</td>
<td>Cook, Goormaghtigh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>parents: Cole-Baker, Roquette headmasters</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 7.2 Chronological Summary of the Policy Decision Stage and Actors Involved*

The actual decision involves one action by ISA leading to a subsequent action by the board of the International School of Geneva. The decision to proceed with the contemporary history syllabus and examination was the turning point and the culmination of the policy formation phase. If this decision had not been made, the IB might not have occurred. Note in Table 7.2 that although ISA suggested the idea to the International School of Geneva whose board then agreed, the main protagonists listed for both entities are identical. Goormaghtigh and Cook (parents) were acting for ideological (an interdependent world free from conflict), cultural (intercultural understanding and appreciation), demographic (university access) and educational (international curriculum) reasons. Cole-Baker and Roquette (headmasters) were moved to action by similar concerns.

Goormaghtigh and Cook are categorised as parents because that was the reason they became involved in ISA. They were equally non-education professionals, a category which is applied to Goormaghtigh when he became chairman of the ISES Council in February 1964; from this time his important position with the European Office of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace gave him much influence for the future benefit of the IB project. He also stayed with the IB long after his children left school. Cole-Baker, headmaster, and Goormaghtigh (parent), chairman of the board, were also influenced by the economic crisis at the International School of Geneva.

Cook, Goormaghtigh and indirectly other parents were concerned about the welfare of their families which would suffer if their children could not enter universities of their mother country or elsewhere after having studied in Geneva. In order to preserve the student's educational opportunities, boarding away from the family or the rejection of an overseas posting by the bread-winner were solutions which could be detrimental to the long-term benefit of family members.
Figure 7.4 depicts the policy decision stage (or layer) of the policy process in terms of the conceptual framework components. Since the ISA and the board of the International School of Geneva comprised some headmasters as well as parents, AC1 and AC3 collectively represent the elite actors of both bodies.

Chapter 8 presents the design stage from two aspects. First, the design of the program is concerned with curriculum development which reflects the spirit of the IB, exploration of assessment techniques leading to examination papers of a good academic standard, and arriving at the right mix of subjects to make the diploma acceptable to universities worldwide. The other aspect addresses the planning of subsequent action which leads to the execution of the IB program in terms of marketing, delivery, human and material resources, and funding. Summaries of events related to each aspect and a final conceptual framework synthesis of actors and factors which influence them complete the chapter.
Gooramaghigh & Cook (Parents) AG3; Cole-Baker & Kooyers (Headmasters) AGJ.
AD5 influenced by their ideologies
AD5 influenced by economic considerations
AD6 concerned about international education & access to universities
AD7 seeing the need for intercultural understanding & educational coordination
to overcome problems caused by demographic shifts

Gooramaghigh, Cook & other Parents AG3
AD2 concerned about the welfare of their children

Figure 7.4 The Decision Stage of the Policy Process
Chapter VI: Conditions for the award of the Diploma

Article 9

1. The Diploma will be awarded to candidates whose total score, including any bonus or penalty points, reaches or exceeds 24 points and does not contain any of the following failing conditions:

   A. Higher level subjects

      (a) a grade 2
      (b) a grade 3 not compensated by a grade 5 or above in another HL subject

   B. Subsidiary level subjects

      (a) a grade 1
      (b) more than one grade 2

   C. Overall result

      (a) more than three grades 3
      (b) more than one grade 3 if there is a grade 2 at SL.

2. Award of a Diploma on overall score

   Candidates with only one failing condition as set out in Article 9.1 above, but with a total score of at least 28 points, including any bonus or penalty points, will be awarded the Diploma.

3. Excluding conditions

   The Diploma cannot be awarded, whatever the total score, to candidates who have:

      (a) received a grade 1 in any HL subject
      (b) not submitted an Extended Essay
      (c) not followed a course in the Theory of Knowledge
      (d) not engaged in CASS activities, as defined in Article 2.2(c).
4. Arbitration

The Arbitration Committee will review the results of candidates whose performance may have been affected by special circumstances duly reported by the school to IBO.

Article 10

Candidates over the age of 23 at the time of the award of the Diploma will be exempted from the provisions of Articles 2.2(b) and 2.2(c), and may present results in the six subjects required for the Diploma achieved at an indefinite number of examination sessions.

Chapter VII: Award of the Diploma

Article 11

Candidates who satisfy the requirements of Chapter VI will be awarded the Diploma.

Candidates who have taken examinations in at least one of the subjects from Groups 3 or 4 in a language other than their language A, or who have offered two languages A, will be awarded a Diploma classified “Bilingual”.

Annex 1 to the Diploma will show the grades obtained in each subject, and any bonus or penalty points awarded.

Annex 2 to the Diploma, bearing the signature of the Head of the school, will show the title of the Extended Essay, details of the coursework participation in the Theory of Knowledge, and a report on the candidate’s involvement in extra-curricular activities (CASS).

Chapter VIII: Award of Certificates

Article 12

Candidates who do not fulfil the requirements imposed by Chapter VI for the award of the Diploma will receive a Certificate indicating the results obtained.
Candidates for the Diploma wishing to offer subjects in excess of the six required as defined in Article 2 may register as Certificate candidates for the extra subjects.

Candidates who have been awarded the Diploma and who resit one or more subjects to improve their grade(s) will be classified as Resit candidates and will receive a Certificate indicating the result(s) obtained at the resit session.

Candidates who do not seek the award of the Diploma may enter for one or several subjects, provided that the number of hours of study for each subject recommended in Article 2 has been completed. Such candidates will be classified as Certificate candidates and will receive a Certificate indicating the result(s) obtained.

**Article 13**

Results obtained by a Certificate candidate cannot subsequently contribute to the award of a Diploma for that candidate.