
The International Bureau of Education (1925-1968): a platform for designing a 'chart of world aspirations for education'^[1]

RITA HOFSTETTER & BERNARD SCHNEUWLY

Department of Educational Sciences, University of Geneva, Switzerland

ABSTRACT The international conferences and the official publications of the International Bureau of Education (IBE) comprise a platform where a growing number of governments exposed their considerations and concerns with the purpose of building up a better world through education. The resulting recommendations foster the basis of an 'international code for public education'. The voluminous archives of the IBE comprise a particularly fertile source for understanding 'the variants and invariants', and of course also the purposes of school organisations and curricula as promoted by these organisations. The paradoxes of this effort carried out during the first forty years represent both the challenges for its survival and the outline of this article: (a) giving up on all obligations and political statements so as to ensure effective actions at governmental level; (b) documenting local needs so as to establish a world chart; (c) supporting mass schooling through state involvement for promoting individual emancipation; (d) promoting curricula designed on separate subjects so as to guarantee harmonious complete personal growth; (e) advocating scientific objectivity for spreading the methods and principles of New Education; (f) acting upon public schooling, the reserved hunting grounds of nations, for building up international education.

Introduction

Establishing more than a thousand recommendations leads to a 'chart of world aspirations for education'; such is the assessment Jean Piaget made during the 1960s regarding the first forty years of work carried out at the International Bureau of Education (IBE). Our article focuses on this organisation that aims to provide a documentation and educational research centre for 'addressing worldwide educational issues', and for promoting 'an international perspective'. It comprises four parts. In Part 1, we will describe the changes the IBE went through during the period considered, from 1925 to 1968, so as to highlight the context from which arose the International Conferences on Public Education (ICPE) that are at the heart of our inquiry. The IBE became an intergovernmental organisation in 1929 and was associated with UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) in 1947. From then on, the IBE redesigned its statutes, its operative approach, the main promoters and their mandates. Studies of the concrete actions of IBE are at the core of the next parts. Whilst describing the organisation of the ICPE, Part 2 offers a synthetic view of material produced, including the sources and the approaches implemented for conducting inquiries. A systematic analysis of inquiries addressing, first of all, school organisations (Part 3), and then curricula (Part 4) leads to outlining the variants and invariants, and therefore the purposes that the partner governments of IBE drafted collectively, building up in the process what was then called an 'international code for public education'. This code encompasses a discursive account on conceptions of schooling, based on monographs and comparative studies, and as such represents a prescriptive framework for schooling in the twentieth century. Without doubt, it contributes to promoting and differentiating mass schooling. And for

this reason, we can query to what extent the concepts of '*forme scolaire*' or grammar of schooling give evidence of this.

Bringing together a growing number of states, the IBE faced many challenges that were tackled so as to increase its impact without giving up on its principles and values. We address them as the paradoxes that outline this article: (a) giving up on all obligations and political statements so as to ensure effective actions at governmental level; (b) documenting local needs so as to draft a world chart; (c) supporting mass schooling through state involvement for promoting individual emancipation; (d) promoting curricula designed on separate subjects so as to guarantee harmonious complete personal growth; (e) advocating scientific objectivity for spreading the methods and principles of New Education; (f) acting upon public schooling, the reserved hunting grounds of nations, for building international education.

Part 1. The Metamorphoses of the International Bureau of Education (1925-1968)

The first IBE (1925-1929) was a private organisation founded by the Institut Rousseau/Ecole des sciences de l'éducation in 1925 as a 'centre for information, scientific research and coordination of organisations promoting international cooperation in educational matters'. It claimed to be neutral from a national, political, philosophical and religious point of view and intended to operate independently in a 'strictly scientific and objective state of mind', which explains the option of a collaborative association with no governmental links (IBE statutes, 1929). The founders of the IBE – Edouard Claparède, Pierre Bovet, Adolphe Ferrière, Béatrice Ensor, leading figures of New Education – advocated for learner-centred education rather than organisational, curricula and teacher-centred education.

We argue that the founding of the IBE represents a manifestation of what Rasmussen (2001) calls the 'transnational turn' at the end of the nineteenth century, steered by the 'arrow of progress' (pp. 27-32), leading, in the first decades of the twentieth century, to 'institutionalising internationalisation'.^[2] As a consequence of several other initiatives of the same type, the IBE assigned itself the purpose of creating *the* platform for rallying the numerous organisations at work worldwide promoting intellectual cooperation, international solidarity and educational renewal. The IBE achieved this through the newly acquired international vocation of Geneva at the end of the Great War, not without obstructing rival cities' claims to become the capital of humanity.^[3]

The history of the first IBE is plentiful in developments and has been accurately documented (Suchodolski et al, 1979; Fernig, 1993; Hofstetter, 2010). Supported by the League of Nations (LN) and a committee of 50 prominent people under the patronage of Einstein and the director of the International Labour Office (ILO), the Rousseau Institute, sponsored by a Rockefeller fund allocated due to the quality of its research agenda, was in fact the mainspring of the IBE regarding human and financial resources and its work schedule. Available archives give evidence of the young organisation's exuberant activity and, to be precise, mostly of its small office with only 3 to 4 people, partly voluntary workers: a correspondence with thousands of 'friends of childhood', 'pioneers of reformed education', conferences, courses, exhibitions, miscellaneous inquiries, bibliographies and publications on topical issues, education for peace and intellectual cooperation, fighting illiteracy, reducing rural emigration, promoting children and women's rights. No area worldwide was left out of its international fervour despite the fact that the much-required national carriers were lacking. The IBE's actions followed those of the Rousseau Institute and, in doing so, illustrated the latter's programme: it was not only about promoting educational alternatives, individual initiatives and specific institutions with the label '*Ecole Nouvelle*' decreed by Ferrière, the purpose was also to highlight nationwide reforms in order to inspire a worldwide movement for educational reforms.

Support and resources did not measure up with expectations, promises and needs. The Rousseau Institute and the director of the first IBE (Bovet) threw in the towel after three years of hard labour. Under the expert care of researchers Pedro Rosselló and Jean Piaget and the head of the Ministry of Public Education of Geneva, Albert Mache, stable legal foundations were assigned to the organisation, which then became a public organisation of common interest. The key change concerned reorganising the partnerships: from then on, the legitimate members became the governments, the main bodies concerned by growth of educational systems, who financed,

managed and monitored the IBE's activities (IBE statutes, 1929). In other words, in order to secure survival and independence, the IBE gave up its private organisation status to become an intergovernmental organisation. Only three states joined the enterprise in 1929. The number doubled in 1930 and reached 20 in 1950 (46 in 1960).[4] Any government interested could take part in the work of the IBE, whose international conferences brought together a rising number of states (almost a hundred at the end of the 1960s) representing all continents for the benefits of the increasing audience of the IBE. The 1929 statutes frame the role and tasks of IBE for the next four decades, despite the fact that the organisation would go through another changeover when it got closer to, and then was associated with, UNESCO at the end of World War II, leading to complete integration in 1968 [5], which is the buffer date of our inquiry.

The turning point of 1929-1930 is not without ambiguities and strains. From the beginning, proud of its independence, the IBE never ceased to claim its forerunner role and to struggle for recognition from the blooming other organisations pursuing similar or related ambitions (e.g. the International Conference for Intellectual Cooperation [ICIC]; the Union of International Associations; the ILO).[6] Relations with the LN seemed to have been more peaceful, since the latter initially put aside education from its own programme [7], hence acknowledging the IBE's privileges in the matter. Not surprisingly, in 1936, the IBE proudly moved into the majestic Palais Wilson and convened the delegates to the same room occupied by the Council of the LN (ICPE V, M, 1936, p. 28).[8] The year 1936 is an auspicious one for the IBE, when its director received an *honoris causa* degree from Harvard, not only as a scientist, but precisely also as director of the IBE, a fact that his biographers easily overlook. Nevertheless, when UNESCO was established in 1946, the IBE had to face the fact that it could not compete with the giant, but would gain from being associated with it should it die out - a trial marriage, the pragmatic diplomatic Piaget claimed; a marriage of convenience that would in time become a marriage of affection as stated by the under-director general of UNESCO (ICPE XI, M, 1948, p. 21). The metaphor was regularly used: the marriage must be fruitful (ICPE XIV, M, 1951, p. 125) and assessed against the impact of its decisions. The IBE maintained its role as a technical and scientific organisation at the disposal of UNESCO, which operated according to a practical rationale and, as a fact, a more restrictive, political and furthermore worldwide agenda.[9] The operative and internal organisation was gradually framed, more still after 1947, when the ICPE were organised jointly with UNESCO.[10] The (political) tensions that flowed through UNESCO would inevitably reach the IBE, although the latter would never cease to claim its technical mission, i.e. documentary and scientific.[11]

Becoming part of intergovernmental wheels through links with the imposing UNESCO radically changed the structures, the actors, the working orders and the activities of the IBE. Does this mean that the theses, the action plans and the agendas of the founders were no longer powerful motives? The answer is complex and subtle. Claims for independence, that implied asserting and guaranteeing a non-political and, furthermore, objective and scientific position, arose at the time the organisation became intergovernmental. The directors (Piaget and Rosselló) would not cease to repeat to the representatives that this attitude was requested in order to ensure the efficiency of actions. Efficiency was all the stronger, since the IBE ceaselessly stayed clear from interfering with educational freedom of partners who jealously defended their prerogatives in matters of schooling.[12] The IBE's challenge was more ambitious: the intention was to take into account the specific needs of each region so as to highlight the main trends in order to shape the worldwide educational movement. Although the IBE was suspicious of all forms of standardisation, it did clearly advocate for universality (ICPE III, M, 1934, p. 158).[13] Since the governmental delegates worked together on educational recommendations, they were therefore fully responsible, and engaged their countries likewise (ICPE III, M, 1934, p. 30). The responsibilities of member countries did not diminish in any way the importance of the mission taken on by the IBE, as mentioned in this quote selected amongst many of the same type:

One of our biggest concerns is to put our research and information facilities at the service of educational growth of IBE member countries. And you will fully understand this concern since we feel that to some extent we are morally co-responsible for the education of the schooling population of all these countries whose total population amounts to more than 250 million heads. (ICPE V, M, 1936, p. 145)

These figures would explode in the coming decade.

Analysing all available archives indicates that the organisational evolution did not fundamentally interfere with the IBE's agenda, and even less with the causes it defended, and the first of them developing education for the progress of humanity. The works of the International Conferences for Public Education were the main IBE tools for doing so.

Part 2. The International Conferences on Public Education

The IBE International Conferences on Public Education and the work carried out within comprise a heuristic source from which to address the issues at the heart of this volume. First of all, the ICPE were undeniably conceived as a platform from which governments presented and tackled the 'main facts of educational movement' in their countries, mutually putting together evidence for 'understanding the trends of education worldwide' (ICPE IX, M, 1946, p. 7). The ICPE also present the possibility to get acquainted and discuss the results of the IBE inquiries carried out with organisations responsible for the world's educational systems, based on previously identified core issues, with the purpose of jointly establishing recommendations. The delegates convened were ministers, diplomats, educationalists, and researchers. It is claimed that their collaboration undoubtedly represented the originality of the enterprise, ensuring as a result its fruitfulness: 'specialists are sometimes glad to be brought back to reality ... inasmuch as realists like to be reminded of idealism' (ICPE V, M, 1936, p. 31).

In short, the ICPE worked like this. Before each Conference, an 'international directory of education' brought together monographs on recent reforms carried out in each country - a 'world educational round-trip', regularly including a foreword that provided a synthesis of the movement.^[14] In parallel, a questionnaire on a given theme was designed and sent to all member states (and also to other interested states, Länder, regions, etc.). The theme was chosen in function, above all, of previous ICPE discussions. On the basis of the findings of this inquiry, a publication was prepared for the Conference, comprising all of the answers to the questionnaires and a report that synthesised them. For discussions during the Conference itself, another report based on this publication was presented and a list of recommendations was elaborated. These recommendations were broadly discussed and then voted on, article by article. The result of the vote was generally ^[15] unanimous. The short report and the discussion on the recommendations were edited in the proceedings of the Conferences. These texts consisted of sustained reflections and were the basis for defining issues to be addressed in future inquiries. As such, the IBE and the ICPE that it organised contributed to developing schooling and defining its main features.

Voluminous manuscript archives, most of them remaining unexploited, help access what went on behind the scenes at this 'international platform' and provide an understanding of the scenography. Thousands of letters and manuscripts give evidence of the daily work of the IBE and they offer a glimpse of how the main promoters worked and interacted: first, the members of the bureau, its secretary, and in particular the director's board (which comprised, for the forty years under study, a core group of 3 to 6 people, of whom only half were duly remunerated), and then the representatives of member governments, and later of associated governments. They also indicate the relations that these actors kept up with associations, organisations and prominent leading figures of the world of education and in particular the professional societies, whose opinions the bureau of the IBE took care to voice. Looking at these archives, one can get a better understanding of how the bureau of the IBE, the mixed IBE-UNESCO committee and the councils of both the IBE and UNESCO designed the questionnaires and discussed the first drafts of the various publications, or went over the texts handed in by the member governments. A deeper analysis will be discussed in another publication. Here we are making use of the sources in order to contextualise and historically frame the official documents of the IBE.

Whilst mapping out how the partners of the IBE addressed the educational movement in their corresponding countries, these publications also capture how they jointly built a common framework for educational reforms to sustain. In other words, they set the 'common denominator' (the wording is ours) – the variants and invariants – of the structures and programmes, and the educational principles and values to promote. All this is all the more obvious in the IBE's inquiries, since the questionnaires contained master plans for the answers that reflect the trends supported by the organisation. This 'common denominator' is even more visible in the resulting synthesis and

recommendations, since they were meant to be digests of contents, and were therefore more abstract and generic, whilst simultaneously reinforcing the contents. This led to a genuine process of discursive distillation. Elaborating discourses, ultimately aiming at transforming schools, inevitably yielded an ideal dimension, purified through distillation in the same way that distilled matter comprises a concentration of fruit, herbs or fermented grain for alcohol. The density of discourse can also be appreciated from the span: the monograph covers from 100 to more than 500 pages; the summaries were reduced to 10 to 20 pages; this was reduced to 2 to 4 pages of recommendations; and the whole process contributed to outlining the ‘chart of world aspirations for education’.

In each case, a comprehensive and synthetic analysis of the inquiries and recommendations leads to a primary classification of the IBE’s work and of its ICPE. Based on a reorganisation of Roselló’s (1961/1978) classification, in Table I we distinguish three main categories of themes and recommendations.

	<i>N</i>	%
Administrative and organisational problems	26	40.0
Problems of curriculum and teaching	23	35.4
Education and status of teachers	15	23.1
Others	1	1.5
Total	65	100.0

Table I. Categorisation of the recommendations.

We are now going to focus on the first two that comprise three quarters of the recommendations.

Part 3. Efficient Management of Mass Schooling Aligned with Social and Economic Growth: from Malthusianism schooling to equal opportunities

What is most striking when reading the ICPE-related publications between 1934 and 1968 is how much emphasis was put on issues that Roselló (1961/1978) classified as administrative, as shown in Table I. Actually they reflect the structural dimensions of public organisations that are linked to the mandate of the state in educational matters. Debates echoed concerns for relevant, efficient and inclusive management of educational systems, which required an appropriate legal basis, as well as appropriate educational organisation and management. It was acknowledged that public organisations were responsible for primary and secondary education and that it was their duty to reinforce schooling through a reliable educational framework and appropriate infrastructure. This relates to structural features of mass schooling overlapping dimensions contained in the concepts of form (Vincent, 1980) and ‘grammar of schooling’ (Tyack & Cuban, 1995).[16] There are four particularly relevant dimensions that we will now distinguish for purposes of clarity, although they are strongly related to each other:

- Promulgating an educational jurisdiction encompassing all educational systems and actors (pupils, teachers, administrative personnel and also parents) for promoting standardisation and unification of the enterprise, and the mandates of the main promoters.
- Generalising an educational organisation based on the principle of putting pupils in classes of similar age group or level, under the responsibility of a professional teacher in a location dedicated to teaching and separate from other spaces of socialisation (family, workplace, etc.).
- Defining an educational organisation that sets classrooms in a precise educational framework based on separate subjects and situated in a growing complex system.
- Allocating the necessary financial resources and infrastructures for increasing schooling – namely, teachers’ salaries, buildings, classroom layout, schoolyards and refectories, school supplies and furniture.

During the period studied, the ICPE partners agreed on all these points that represent common ‘features’ and ‘traits’ of modern educational systems, the ‘ABC for establishing normal public education’ (ICPE XIX, 1946, p. 20). Digging deeper into the publications, the debates and statements indicate in fact that this unanimity conceals a wide range of interpretations, and furthermore, deep contradictions as far as the scope of state involvement and intentions are

concerned. Let us focus on two crucial aspects related to the basics of public education, and also the priorities of state policy [17]: on one side, compulsory schooling and its prolongation (ICPE III, 1934; ICPE XIV, 1951); and on the other side, access to secondary education (ICPE III, 1934; ICPE XI, 1946).

Both these issues were addressed twice as specific themes. Actually many other Conferences tackled these basics as they were inevitably mentioned when the ICPE discussed issues in educational organisation, particularly at kindergarten level, but also issues in post compulsory education and vocational training, in financing education, and in educational and vocational guidance. Furthermore, work conditions, hiring and training of teachers were regularly reviewed (in all, there were 15 Conferences which considered that teachers were the main wheels of their actions). Debates always claimed to be inclusive, as shown not only by the previously mentioned Conferences but also by those that addressed the issues of special education (1936, 1960), and access to education for women (1952) and rural populations (1936, 1958).

Debates and publications related to 'prolongation of compulsory education' are particularly relevant. The definition of the subject of the inquiry in itself is interesting: compulsory education was taken for granted (as well as its corollary – namely, free access to primary education), with an emphasis on prolongation. In 1934, based on the regulations in force, the ICPE established that 6 to 8 years of compulsory education was the rule in most of the countries that responded to the inquiry. The first version of the recommendation suggested a minimum of 6 years. Governments counteracted by voting for 7 years. However, the promoters immediately acknowledged the gap between decrees and practices (particularly according to the type of populations concerned), evidence for which increased as statistical data improved. The 1951 Conference acknowledged this and, based on the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights of UNESCO, refined the recommendation in order to increase its relevance. The number of recommendations on this topic went from 12 to 66, and they further took into account the diversity of the problem according to regions, cultures and populations, as well as considering generalisation and feasibility (financing, spending, backing, penalties). From thereon a less linear vision seems to have emerged, maybe less idealistic, but nonetheless more pragmatic and integrative of complexity, and therefore with more awareness of the difficulties by really solving them.

Prolongation of compulsory education was strongly related to social and economic issues, therefore highlighting the crucial question of age at which children gained access to work. One of the first inquiries carried out (in 1927) by the IBE, under the care of the Rousseau Institute and at the request of the ILO, was precisely on the occupation of children released from compulsory education before the age of 14, an inquiry 50 countries took part in. The issue is embraced through the data collected through this inquiry and the 1934 and 1951 Conferences (47 countries responded in both cases). The socio-economic context largely governed the debates and options: managing school flows during the big depression of the 1930s was considered an instrument for regulating employment (reducing rural emigration, rushes towards saturated occupations and professions, and social downgrading and, inversely, educational pretensions – namely, social - that were deemed abusive), thereby reinforcing the moral dimension of education that must also instil enjoyment of work, contempt for luxury and acceptance of one's fate.

During the 'Glorious Thirties' a new social and economic role was assigned to schooling (via human capital theory) that called for scientific instruments for educational guidance and selection aspiring for self-realisation of personality and building up everyone's capacities. Merit became the only legitimate criterion for access to the newly established curricula for supporting prolongation of compulsory education.

Since compulsory education addresses the issue of educational provision, prolongation was always strongly linked to another crucial theme - secondary education.[18] The evolution of problem defining for the inquiries reflects this: in 1934, the theme was 'access to secondary schools', and in 1946, 'equal access to secondary education', explicitly addressing issues of educational guidance, leading to a specific inquiry in 1963. During the first debate focusing on access to secondary education (1934; 55 respondents), many statements relating to prolongation of compulsory education referred to educational Malthusianism (that was debated during the same Conference). Some members thought it would be more appropriate to focus on improving primary education rather than prolonging secondary education. Others deemed it more important to build up fences between various curricula in order to reduce saturation and unemployment. Debates

addressed the issue of defining elite populations, the plural being upheld so as to value less recognised professions, and they also considered the importance of some educational programmes that might have been seen as 'diversion tracks' (Petitat, 1982): so-called medium school, upper primary, practical and professional primary. Free education at secondary level was debated, as were scholarships and other facilities, and how they could benefit the more deserving with few resources. The resulting recommendations called for organising educational guidance and improving selection so as to reduce errors and dropout rates, but also insisted on further taking into account individual abilities.

In short, during the 1930s, promoting primary and secondary education contributed in a certain way to keeping everyone in his or her place by multiplying educational programmes, either vocational or professional, that were adapted to the working and rural classes and to women, without causing a harmful flow into programmes and professions deemed saturated.

At the end of World War II the issue was more about 'rebuilding the world' through education. The fiery debates of the 1946 Conference acutely put together social and educational justice 'so as to measure up to the new political aspirations of nations in terms of education' (ICPE IX, 1946, M, p. 20). Amongst the key words, 'democratisation' and 'equal opportunities' were taken for granted as if the 'growth of education worldwide' was on its way.[19] Aligned with the animated pleas of the organisers of the ICPE (UNESCO and IBE, together with the Swiss and Geneva organisations that were included), numerous debates advocated for self-realisation of human beings and equal access to education whatever the ethnic, social, racial and sexual attributes might be. Debates on equal access to secondary education provided lively accounts of this: challenging the now obsolete elite meaning of secondary education, debates advocated for homogenising frameworks and increasing recruitment procedures for secondary education programmes through improvement of selection, differentiation, educational guidance approaches and substantial aids allocated to deserving pupils. These principles tend to be confirmed during the next Conferences, minus the emphatic discourses after the war, in favour of a more realistic vision of the long pathway leading to the 'worldwide chart'. Furthermore, increases in partners (with about a hundred governments involved in the 1960s) and in the audiences of the Conferences, as well as technical and scientific progress with the inquiries, led to more sophisticated recommendations that were often more polished and pragmatic. Was this done in order to emphasise their impact?

The IBE debates developed a vision of schooling that retrospectively can be qualified as emancipatory, a vision that expanded in times of economic growth. The rationale was one of developing individual character, social cohesion and democratisation and improving international cooperation, aiming in the long term for no less than a 'worldwide reorganisation' thanks to education placed under the guardianship of solidarity, freedom and peace.

Part 4. Subject-oriented Curricula: from active methods to harmonious growth of individuals and populations

What should be taught? Why and how? The ongoing reflections of these issues are another of the main trends of the ICPE. We will be examining them from the material related to the 19 Conferences dedicated to them. Table II indicates that the IBE addressed the issue from a disciplinary approach.

The IBE took over subjects as a means of organising knowledge and teaching activities, both characterising schools since the implementation of public education was put under state care (Chervel, 1998; Julia, 1995; Goodson et al, 1999; Benavot & Braslavsky, 2006, pp. 135-154; Chapoulie, 2010). As a reminder, this is an essential component emphasised by both the concept of 'grammar of schooling' (Tyack & Cuban, 1995) and the concept of '*formes scolaires*' (Vincent, 1980), although with different foci. The former considers subjects as a framework with which actors tinker in order to adapt them to their needs and to the numerous, albeit contradictory, expectations of society. The second criticises the roles of subjects whose main function is not developing knowledge but submitting to rules. 'Knowledge through principles. Doing according to the rules. In drawing we come across two procedures relevant in other subjects'; and the inevitable

consequence is 'the child stopped liking drawing from the moment it was taught' (Vincent, 1980, p. 201). This is a conception of subjects that is at the antipodes of what the IBE defended.

1937	The teaching of modern languages
1938	The teaching of classical languages
1939	The teaching of geography in secondary schools
1946	The teaching of hygiene (health education) in primary and secondary schools
1947	Physical education in secondary schools
1948	The teaching of handwriting
1949	The teaching of geography as a means of developing international understanding
1949	The teaching of reading
1949	Introduction to natural science in primary schools
1950	The teaching of handicrafts in secondary schools
1950	Introduction to mathematics in primary schools
1952	The teaching of natural science in secondary schools
1955	The teaching of art in primary and secondary schools
1956	The teaching of mathematics in secondary schools
1958	Preparation and issuing of the primary school curriculum
1960	Preparation and issuing of general secondary school curricula
1965	The teaching of modern foreign languages in secondary schools
1967	Health education in primary schools
1968	Education for international understanding as an integral part of the curriculum and life of the school

Table II. Years and headings of comparative studies and recommendations on didactical issues.

The IBE comparative studies highlighted the strong disciplinary structure of curricula in all countries examined. Two comprehensive studies (1958 and 1960) indicate the supremacy of languages, mathematics, natural and social sciences (approximately 75%), the other fields taking up more or less a quarter of the curricula. The leitmotiv was acknowledging the continual increase of notions to master, inevitably leading to an overload of work. Several recommendations resulted from these observations and the need to adapt curricula to social changes and knowledge growth in educational sciences. Three aspects were highlighted: 'knowledge to be assimilated, skills to be mastered, and means of satisfying physical, emotional and spiritual needs of an individual and social nature' (R 46, 1958, p. 199). The growing concern of getting a better balance between intellectual education on one side and moral, physical and art education on the other was also emphasised (see e.g. ICPE XXIII, 1960, p. 128). Disciplinary-focused structure was not challenged - quite the opposite. It was the equilibrium between the subjects that was on the agenda. How was this achieved during the forty years we are now examining?

The IBE first stuck to moderating the balance between subjects by operating on their value, in terms of being compulsory or not, the number of teaching hours and the importance of assessment. The generic table of subjects established by the IBE shows that mathematics and natural science took the lead for primary and secondary education. As mentioned by a reporter, there was a 'high mathematics conjuncture never attained before' (ICPE XIX, 1956, p. 140), and knowledge in natural science was particularly valued 'in view of the ever-increasing inroads of technical science into everyday life' and 'to ensure economic welfare', which also implied studying 'the problem of the conservation of natural resources' (ICPE XII, 1949, p. 103). Not only must introduction to natural science start in the early years of primary schools (R 27, 1949, p. 72) [20], children should also be in contact with elementary relationships 'even in the nursery-infant schools' (R 31, 1950, p. 84).

In order to counteract what could have appeared as a scientist drift, another topic was developed in line with what had previously been established by the Rousseau Institute: handicraft, physical education and art are promoted for 'complete and harmonious development of individuals' and 'comprehensive education' (R 22, 1947, p. 59; R 30, 1950, p. 81; R 41, 1955, p. 159). The conclusions of the comparative studies concerning these subjects are unequivocal. Taught almost everywhere in primary schools, they struggled to be considered in secondary schools and, on the whole, they were of lesser worth. They therefore needed to be established as distinct and, if

possible, compulsory subject matters. As for modern languages, they gradually took over from classical languages, nonetheless upholding the educational value of the latter whilst opening up to communication and, as repeatedly stated by the IBE, to international understanding. A similar mission was conferred on geography.

It is difficult to express clearly whether this mediation that was related to the value of subjects really changed the balances described. We can nevertheless observe a contradiction between the specialist view on subjects, that led to promoting each one, and a broad approach that noticed and contested work overload, a contradiction resulting from the disciplinary approach espoused for curriculum development. All the same, this approach did open up a wide range of possibilities that the IBE used in order to act upon the specific values of the subjects – that is, their ‘general economy’ (the wording is ours) – so as to change them according to the educational goals promoted.

The ICPE also tackled the issues of what teaching methods to use for different subjects. The positions were unanimous and intangible: active methods were the only ones that ensured efficient learning. The message that was tirelessly repeated was that ‘[e]ducational authorities prefer so-called active methods’ for subjects as unlike as natural science (ICPE XV, EC, 1952, p. 30) and art (ICPE XVIII, EC, 1955, p. 45). These trends are enclosed in several firm recommendations such as the following: ‘Sound natural science teaching calls for the greatest possible activity from the pupils, and requires them to observe facts and study their inter-relationships, to experiment, and to discuss the results, so that they may pass from concrete cases to abstract laws’ (R 35, 1952, p. 107).

In order to implement these teaching methods, curricula required the needs and interests of children to be addressed. The IBE made this a leitmotiv for the recommendations, thereby tracking the programme and publications of the Rousseau Institute that had by then been incorporated in the University of Geneva under the name of the Interfaculty Institute of Sciences of Education:

- Geography: ‘The subject matter should be presented with due regard to the degree of maturity and the mental development of the pupils’ (R 18, 1939, p. 48).
- Mathematics: ‘That the introduction to mathematics be adapted step by step to the mental processes peculiar to each stage of the child’s intellectual development and make full use of all his powers’ (R 31, 1950, p. 84).
- Art: ‘The various stages of the mental growth of the young child and of the adolescent, as well as their interests, should be taken into account in elaborating the art syllabus and teaching method’ (R 41, 1955, p. 154).

Curricula therefore had to be designed according to children’s possibilities and interests since they develop in stages that must be respected. And studies in psychology revealed these stages. The argument was powerful. In mathematics, indications for curriculum design derived directly from descriptions of intellectual development: ‘Even in the nursery-infant schools a child [should] be given opportunity, through his own activities, to discover the elementary relationships (that the part is contained by the whole, order, similarity, etc.) of number and space’ (R 31, 1950, p. 84). Elements relating to the Piagetian theory of construction of number are literally reproduced here.[21] References to data from studies in psychology are just as important regarding reading: ‘methods based on psychology (the so-called sentence or ‘global’ methods), conform more to the mental capacity of a child’ (R 28, 1949, p. 75). And this goes without any reminder of Piaget’s critique on geography during the ICPE. He was afraid that if the report ‘were read hastily, it might give the impression that competent, intelligent and honest geography teaching would in itself embrace international understanding. With regard to such an understanding [it] should be borne in mind the egocentricity of a child which made him believe that his own country was the center of the world’ (ICPE XII, 1948, p. 36). Sweeping up all the IBE and the following ICPE, Piaget thought of curricula not only from the point of view of subjects – ‘competent, intelligent and honest ... teaching’, but more and more from the point of view of children’s and adolescents’ development.

The Copernican shift, so sought after by Claparède, came into action with worldwide considerations regarding curricula. Research in psychology became an indispensable partner of curriculum development: ‘The advances made in educational psychology and experimental teaching suggest the possibility of methods progressively being better adapted to the latent capacity of the child.’ (R 23, 1948, p. 61). Of course, there is nothing new in this. The approach was nevertheless considered a recognised principle, which, in secondary schools, was not at all obvious.

As a result there was another inflection of the worldwide code of educational psychology and experimental teaching: the invariant for the need for curricula and syllabuses went through a transformation. Curriculum development was exposed to a developmental perspective that was nourished by research in psychology.[22]

General recommendations suggested for 'establishing general curricula' highlight the quintessence of what the IBE was trying to achieve and represent the climax of a long sequence of work:

- 1) ...2) it is nevertheless recommended that a proper balance should be maintained in the relative importance given in curricula and syllabuses to such things as the pupil's intellectual, moral, social, manual, physical and aesthetic education, in order to ensure the complete and harmonious development of the individual child.
- 3) In order to achieve this balance, it is desirable to bear in mind ... the varied contribution which each subject can make not only to the pupil's store of factual knowledge, but also to the development of his personality and to his attitude to the world around him.
- 4) It is important to give moral education the emphasis demanded by present-day conditions and to ask all teachers to stress the moral and social implications of what they teach and of the situations with which pupils may be confronted within and without the school community. 5) ...
- 6) It is important when drawing up syllabuses to stress, though without adding a new subject to the curriculum, the contribution which the teaching of some subjects can make to good relations, peace and understanding between nations and races. (R 50, 1960, p. 220)

In all the recommendations on teaching, the aspects 'intellectual, moral, social, manual, physical and aesthetic' are mentioned in one way or another, with the target of 'complete and harmonious development'. The various subjects – clear designers of schools for all partners of the ICPE – contribute just as much to knowledge growth as to personal growth. The human dimension emphasised here is one of the oldest traditions of education in a modern sense, as it grew over time. One recommendation was entirely dedicated to moral education. Moral is defined from a social perspective, in line with the Piagetian tradition. The terms do not allow any doubts, such as 'to stress the moral and social implications of what they [the teachers] teach'. Subject matters heavily contributed to the core missions of the IBE, as reminded by recommendation 6, referring to the contribution they 'can make to good relations, peace and understanding between nations and races'. It is therefore not surprising that the ICPE initiated by the IBE and directed by Piaget ended in 1968 with '[e]ducation for international understanding as an integral part of the curriculum and life of the school'.[23]

Conclusion

The paradoxes characterising the IBE never ceased to puzzle us throughout our inquiry. At the end of our venture, our conclusion is unequivocal: the paradoxical proposals, that may appear contradictory to an external observer, represented quite the opposite for the promoters of the IBE: they were consubstantial, shaping each other. They characterise the organisation that was established as a protected space for discussing worldwide educational issues and listing possible solutions in a setting supposedly free from external influence, protected from political, social and economic turmoil. A utopia? Quite likely! Clearly a condition for the viability of the enterprise.[24]

Therefore rejecting restrictions and claiming political independence comprised the framework of the so-called technical work of the IBE based on objectivity, systematic scientific comparison and, furthermore, universalism. This enabled information to be collected on reforms carried out by the partners without seeming to judge, and for numerous governments to be convened who sometimes held diametrically opposed political views. The purpose pursued the following goals: defining the problems encountered and providing possible solutions, in order to agree on educational principles that comprised a 'common denominator'. The approach is particularly original since it ensured at all times that each delegate could take part, equally and under no pressure, in defining the recommendations, at least according to the principles settled on by the IBE. The counterpart of this liberty is clearly stated: through his interventions and his vote

the delegate was involved, thereby committing the government he represented. Let it be known that the apolitical attitude did not prevent IBE members drawing attention, even officially, to political positions, in particular strongly condemning colonialism. Nevertheless, at the end of World War II the IBE was taken over by countries seeking their independence as a platform for addressing issues related to decolonisation. This was not without difficulties, some that even threatened its existence (see in particular the controversies of 1963-1964 mentioned above), but the IBE, thanks to the diplomatic ingeniousness of its directing board revealed in hundreds of letters, managed to overcome the conflicts and hand over the solving of the problems to other organisations, such as the United Nations (UN).

Implementing this way of working depended on the huge know-how of the IBE as attested by the scrupulous designing of questionnaires, their distribution in the most remote regions of the planet, their wide range and voluminous data collecting, and dissemination of the results worldwide. Through comparative education, that was promoted as the model discipline [25] (both for scholarly approaches and for organisations such as the IBE that define themselves as centers of comparative education), the purpose was to 'bring together diversity and not to reduce it to unity'. Local realities provided the material for the thousands of articles that comprise the world chart of education. Far from standing out as a paradox, which retrospectively could be seen as the case, local knowledge creation was the basis of a consensus stretching beyond national boundaries. Under the responsibility of the IBE, the questionnaires and their analyses were surely shaped by a fixed point of view, a master plan, an 'arrow of progress' that drew on education for improving humanity. The distiller craftsmen continually stepped in to give the product its scent, emphasising at times a trend whilst concealing another.

The IBE promoters never challenged the historically constituted educational system – that is, state-governed mass schooling, assured through an imposing legislative infrastructure and characterised by specific buildings dedicated to teaching and organised around classrooms and curricula. The ICPE seem to have regarded the educational system as a fixed invariant – most probably because the first partners of the organisation were the states responsible for public education – and was committed to improving it, which implied expanding and opening up access to education. Whatever the social, sexual, racial or confessional attributes of the target publics, education is deemed an essential component for individual emancipation, thereby supporting social connectedness.

Organising education in separate subjects was also considered an invariant, nevertheless opening up a wide range of possibilities for achieving educational goals, be they intellectual, aesthetic, practical or moral, and also for ensuring the most harmonious development possible for all. Promoting the specifics of each subject was at stake, as much as supporting their balance whilst adjusting to social requirements that put more emphasis on sciences and modern languages. In the end, this huge endeavour of restructuring schooling and curricula had a noble aim – the founding principle of IBE: international understanding, a goal that spans all the documents like a leitmotiv.

The natural development of children as evidenced by studies in psychology was upheld as the ultimate invariant. It was precisely this pre-established developmental path that set the requisite of adopting active teaching methods that took into account the needs and interests of children. Respecting the phases ensured that children's activities led to learning. Whatever the issues, the districts and the discrepancies, the promoters seemed to gather around a core maxim stated in 1934: 'There is no such thing as universal teaching. What is common to all educational systems is the child or at least some general attributes of his psychology' (ICPE III, M, 1934, p. 94). The main invariant was therefore the child. Educational systems and their characteristics, as described by theories of '*formes scolaires*' and by grammar of schooling, comprised the framework, with the necessary and nevertheless flexible invariants, to ensure, as then claimed, each child's education according to diversified cultural, national and local realities. Whilst supporting this view of a national, universal, non-historical child, the IBE could escape the crucial issue of the contradictory attributes of educational systems by exercising reasoning according to an emancipatory approach advocating knowledge creation versus learning the rules from a prescriptive approach. This second approach, described as, and accused of being, submissive, is very present in the works related to '*forme scolaire*', which even tend to reduce the role of schools to this dimension. The idea of a natural child advocated by the IBE is connected to that of a *paedagogia perennis*, an eternal

pedagogy, condemned by Vincent (2004, p. 39), that claims, based on a romantic view, that schools liberate by essence beyond their imperfections.

During those forty years, the IBE took part in the movement of transforming educational systems, which was particularly powerful at the time. It did so by reconciling what appeared to be paradoxical trends, thereby contributing to building up educational discourse, and developing a 'chart of world aspirations' established as an 'international code for public education' that has without doubt influenced policies of governments. Far from refusing schooling because of its limiting dimensions, and far from wanting to restructure it [26], the IBE promoters adopted, before its time, Tyack and Cuban's suggestion (1995) 'that reformers take a broad view of the aims that should guide public education and focus on ways to improve instruction from the inside out rather than the top down' (p. 134) – in other words, they considered grammar of schooling as a powerful tool for creating possibilities and building up variants within the educational system and with its own actors.

Notes

- [1] Our deepest gratitude goes to the representatives of the Archives of the International Bureau of Education and of the Archives of the Institute J.-J. Rousseau for their warm welcome and assistance as we ploughed through their precious records. Thanks also are due to our colleagues, members of ERHIES, A. Akkari, as well as anonymous experts for their prized comments on the first version of this article, and most of all to Nicole Rege Colet-Johnson, who translated the text. To translate in a meaningful way always yields two benefits: first, it reveals forms of language that conceal paucities of thought; and second, it involves reviewing a text in detail in order to get a deep understanding of its general coherence, thereby highlighting inconsistencies. As a result, Nicole helped us improve our text.
- [2] As discussed by Rasmussen it was more an inflection in the conception of worldwide unity and cultural and national differentiation as a result of the Great War. This applies also to the IBE and other international organisations established between world wars, as highlighted by historians who claim to be part of the transnational turn paradigm. As for the field of education, Droux (2011, 2013) states that this 'transnational turn' helped step back by looking beyond national policies at circulatory transnational activities. She gives evidence of this for international organisations by looking at their educational policies – a particular relevant example for us – asserting that policy-making cannot be reduced to a diplomatic game but opens up a space where hybrid networks of actors contribute to establishing a universal framework. See also Caruso and Tenorth (2002); Steiner-Khamsi (2004); Fuchs (2006); Kott and Droux (2012); and the works of Nóvoa (in particular 1998, 2006) as well as Schriewer (i.e. 1997, 2004).
- [3] The IBE received the honour of being presented as the institutional embodiment of the founder projects of Zollinger, but mostly of Andrews, who did not succeed as a result of the First World War. In May 1926 the permanent committee of the International Congress of Moral Education acknowledged the IBE as a successor of its International Bureau of Moral Education in The Hague, entrusting it to pursue its own enterprise (Archives Institute Jean-Jacques Rousseau [AIJIR], IBE).
- [4] The statutes assigned a role both to public or common interest organisations and to international unions. However, only the founder organisation, the Rousseau Institute, was allocated an official seat next to governments. As indicated further along, the number of participants at the ICPE was much higher: 36 in 1934, 43 in 1938, 46 in 1948, 74 in 1958, and 68 in 1968. The IBE member states agreed to pay a membership fee (that the IBE bureau had difficulties in collecting regularly), and they could take part in defining the agenda: the other governments obviously appreciated taking part spontaneously in the ICPE, eager to participate in the worldwide movement in favour of mass schooling and building a more harmonious world through education, as stated in the abundant correspondence available on this issue. It was also a good opportunity to meet influential educational and political figures, especially since the Conferences were held in Geneva in a combined effort with other international organisations.
- [5] The IBE became fully part of UNESCO in 1969 whilst maintaining intellectual and organisational autonomy.
- [6] From the beginning, the IBE maintained strong links with the ILO. The connivance of the heads of the two organisations, their common interests and their publications, focusing on the same humanist

- and pacifist causes, are evidence of this. Some of the internal organisations and publications of the IBE strongly reflect those of the ILO (inquiries, delegations, conferences, directories, recommendations). Nevertheless, the IBE did not implement a tripartite organisation and refrained from establishing binding conventions and codes (as opposed to the ILO, whose infrastructure is gigantic in comparison with the IBE, that was held together by a handful of men).
- [7] Things got a bit more complicated when the ICIC was implemented, and then, later, the Organisation for Intellectual Cooperation (Renoliet, 1999).
- [8] Inspired by the classification developed by the IBE, we will be quoting publications as follows: when referring to all of a Conference: ICPE, number in roman, date; the following abbreviations are also used: when referring to a comparative study, (CS); when referring to the minutes of a meeting, (M). Recommendations (R), available at <http://www.ibe.unesco.org/fr/domaines-daction/conference-internationale-de-leducation-cie/archives-des-sessions-et-recommandations-cie.html>, refer to the numeration elaborated by Rosseló (1961). Before the Second World War the texts are published only in French; the translations are always ours.
- [9] Decreed straightaway by UNESCO, the principle of universalism was widely interpreted, clearly aiming initially at a 'sole worldwide culture' before appealing for standardisation, and then respecting diversity, and gradually conciliating universalism and multiculturalism (Maurel, 2010, pp. 35ff.). The head of UNESCO from 1949 to 1952, Torres Bodet aspired to raise UNESCO to the status of 'Universal ministry of education' (p. 54), a position that clashed with IBE's vocation to be a centre for comparative education. Nevertheless, despite opposing views, the two organisations managed to collaborate, jointly organising their conferences for twenty years.
- [10] As head of the IBE in 1949 Piaget became the under-director general for education of UNESCO.
- [11] The most significant example of this is the 1963 and 1964 ICPE which brought together more than 80 nations since several recently independent African nations gained full access to the Conferences. They took advantage of the worldwide platform in 1963 to protest against the colonial policy of Portugal, which was offending 'human and children's rights and the sacred principles of education', and requested its expulsion. Whilst condemning colonialism, the director of UNESCO as well as the director of the IBE jointly rejected the right for the ICPE to ban a convened member, bearing in mind that other bodies and organisations could take on that responsibility. Passing over this, the African delegations managed to get their 'resolution' adopted on 4 July 1963. The ICPE continued working before concluding that a regulation was necessary for circumscribing the attributions of the Assembly. The statutes and the regulations were included in the agenda of the 1964 ICPE so as to frame the coming Conferences. So the African delegations present objected again: opposition was raised, a resolution proposal from the delegations of Latin America attempted a conciliation, order motions and compromise proposals spread, whilst the directors announced their intention to leave and to suspend the Conference if it did not stick to its mandate and was exposed to external political interferences. The African delegations managed to get their resolution through on 13 July 1964 (43 votes – the majority of African delegations supported by the Arabic and the Eastern European delegations, USSR and India – seven abstentions, half the countries having left the room or having refused to vote; 1964, PV, p. 75). Speaking as a single voice, the director of the IBE and the under-director of UNESCO deplored these interferences that were considered illegal and suicidal as they eroded the Conference's technical, scientific and universal features. The 23rd Conference of the IBE was interrupted before even starting work. In 1965, it went back to work after having adopted the statutes and regulations, thereby confirming the working order and the missions assumed as from the beginning.
- [12] See in particular the emblematic inaugural speech of Lachenal, president of the executive committee of the IBE at the 1934 Conference and the first delegate of the Swiss Federal Council (ICPE III, 1934, p. 22).
- [13] Dreading excessive normalisation and standardisation and always insisting on the specificities of each educational system, the IBE never aimed to evaluate systems on the basis of their outputs using 'tests', as they are now used on a large scale. In 1958 a number of researchers convened at the UNESCO Institute of education of Hamburg to create the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) that carried out numerous inquiries, of which the best known is the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS).

- [14] From the beginning, these monographs and the international directory of education that is responsible for them have comprised a precious resource for comparative studies carried out both by researchers and by states interested in understanding reforms introduced in other regions.
- [15] 'Always,' claims the IBE, which our own analysis does not confirm.
- [16] In particular, these are elements related to the organisation of educational systems. Let us remember that what motivated Tyack and Cuban's work was at the opposing point of the approaches regarding school forms: 'At its best, debate over purpose in public education has been a continuous process of creating and reshaping a democratic institution that, in turn, helped to create a democratic society And this is the main reason that Americans long ago created and have continually sought to reform public education' (Tyack & Cuban, 1995, p. 136). However, because of the political and administrative context from which the principles stemmed, the approach to educational systems adopted in the ICPE went well beyond components located by grammar of schooling and '*forme scolaire*'. It also included the legal framework in which schools are set, which indicates the decisive role that states played in educational organisation. This ties in with the huge investments that society put into this effort and which then played a significant role in organising schools. Also, Tyack and Cuban mention such aspects when they discuss their concepts but that they do not consider them as definitional.
- [17] In particular as they affect masses of people - hundreds of millions, as repeatedly stated.
- [18] See the analyses proposed by Magnin and Zottos (2005), including the Conferences until 1986; as they show for the period dealt with, other Conferences addressed this issue – some were dedicated to teachers in secondary education (1954, 1967), some to programmes (dealt with further on) and some to educational guidance (integrated here).
- [19] Only 26 countries took part in the inquiry since it was carried out when the ashes of the war had not quite been smothered.
- [20] Piaget interceded also with a signed text in the volume dedicated to the teaching of natural science in primary schools (ICPE XII, 1949, 35-45).
- [21] For a presentation of his theory on primary education, see Piaget, 1950 – the year of the publication of his recommendations.
- [22] The range of goals set for mathematics (R 43, 1956, p. 165) clearly reflects the main trends of the recommendations. There are references to the pair 'intellectual capacity' and 'formation of character'. The contribution of mathematics is considered from the point of view of its specificities ('logical process in action', 'the concepts of space and numbers'), as being shared with a group of subject matters ('formation of the scientific outlook') and generic ('observation', 'perseverance').
- [23] See also Magnin's (2002) contribution.
- [24] It is as if the principles discussed by Habermas (1991) in *Erläuterungen zur Diskursethik* were acknowledged as a common fiction for all the members of the Conferences which truly led, for a limited time and space, to certain cultural realities that were very separate from each other.
- [25] The assistant director of the IBE, Rosseló, was recognised as one of the pioneers of comparative education, lecturing on the subject from 1931 before obtaining a professorship in comparative education.
- [26] Tyack and Cuban's (1995) remark that '[t]he ahistorical nature of most current reform arguments results in ... a magnification of present defects' (p. 134) perfectly applies to Vincent's proposals to renew the ideals of the *Ecole normale de An III*.

References

- Benavot, A. & Braslavsky, C. (Eds) (2006) *School Knowledge in Comparative and Historical Perspective*. Dordrecht: Springer. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4020-5736-6>
- Caruso, M. & Tenorth, H.-E. (2002) *Internationalisierung – Internationalisation. Semantik und Bildungssystem in vergleichender Perspektive. Comparing Educational Systems and Semantics*. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Chapoulie, J.-M. (2010) *L'Ecole d'Etat conquiert la France. Deux siècles de politique scolaire*. Rennes: PUR.
- Chervel, A. (1998) L'histoire des disciplines scolaires : réflexions sur un domaine de recherche, *Histoire de l'éducation*, 38, 59-119

- Droux, J. (2011), L'internationalisation de la protection de l'enfance: acteurs, concurrences et projets transnationaux (1900-1925), *Critique internationale*, 5, 17-31.
- Droux, J. (2013) Une contagion programmée: les réseaux internationaux et la circulation du modèle des tribunaux pour mineurs (1900-1940), in M. Kaluszynski & R. Payre (Eds) *Les sciences du gouvernement: circulation(s), traduction(s), réception(s)*. Paris: Economica.
- Fernig, L. (1993) *The IBE in Geneva: a centre of the progressive education/New Education movement*.
<http://www.ibe.unesco.org/en/about-the-ibe/who-we-are/history/ibe-directors/leo-r-fernig.html>
- Fuchs, E. (2006) *Bildung International. Historische Perspektiven und aktuelle Entwicklungen*. Würzburg: Ergon.
- Goodson, I, Hopmann, S. & Riquarts, K. (Eds) (1999) *Das Schulfach als Handlungsrahmen. Vergleichende Untersuchung zur Geschichte und Funktion der Schulfächer*. Cologne: Böhlau.
- Habermas, J. (1991) *Erläuterungen zur Diskursethik*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.
- Hofstetter, R. (2010) *Genève: creuset des sciences de l'éducation*. Geneva: Droz.
- Julia, D. (1995) La culture scolaire comme objet historique. *Paedagogica Historica*, Supplementary Series, 1, 353-382.
- Kott, S. & Droux, J. (Eds) (2012) *Globalizing Social Rights: the International Labour Organization and beyond*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Magnin, C. (2002) 'Si tu veux la paix, cultive la justice!' Les débats sur l'éducation à la paix tenus sous l'égide du Bureau international d'éducation (BIE) entre 1927 et 2001, *Cahier du SRED*, 9, 37-57.
- Magnin, C. & Zottos, E. (2005) Enseignement secondaire et 'transferts' de modèle éducatif: le cas de la Conférence internationale de l'éducation (CIE) 1934-1986, *Cahier du SRED*, 14, 179-199.
- Maurel, C. (2010) *Histoire de l'UNESCO. Les trente premières années. 1945-1974*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Nóvoa, A. (1998) *Histoire & Comparaison (Essais sur l'Education)*. Lisbon: Educa.
- Nóvoa, A. (2006) *La construction du «modèle scolaire» dans l'Europe du Sud-Ouest (Espagne, France, Portugal) Des années 1860 aux années 1920*. Unpublished doctoral thesis, Université Paris IV - Sorbonne.
- Petit, A. (1982) *Production de l'école – production de la société. Analyse socio-historique de quelques moments décisifs de l'évolution scolaire en Occident*. Geneva: Droz.
- Piaget, J. (1950) La genèse du nombre chez l'enfant, in *Initiation au calcul* (Cahiers de pédagogie moderne pour l'enseignement du premier degré), pp. 5-20. Paris: Editions Bourrellier.
- Rasmussen, A. (2001) Tournant, inflexions, ruptures: le moment internationaliste, *Mil neuf cent, revue d'histoire intellectuelle*, 19, 27-41.
- Renoliet, J.-J. (1999) *L'UNESCO oubliée. La Société des Nations et la coopération intellectuelle (1919-1946)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.
- Rosselló, P. (1961/1978) Aperçu historique, in *Conférence internationale de l'instruction publique, Recommandations 1934-1977*. Genève: UNESCO-BIE.
- Schriewer, J. (1997) Système mondial et réseaux d'interrelation. L'internationalisation de la pédagogie, un problème des sciences comparées de l'éducation, in G. de Meuris & G. de Cook (Eds) *Education comparée. Essai de bilan et projets d'avenir*. Brussels: De Boeck & Larcier SA.
- Schriewer, J. (2004) L'internationalisation des discours sur l'éducation: adoption d'une 'idéologie mondiale' ou persistance du style de 'réflexion systémique' spécifiquement nationale? *Revue française de Pédagogie*, 146, 7-26. <http://dx.doi.org/10.3406/rfp.2004.3090>
- Steiner-Khamsi G. (Ed.) (2004) *The Global Politics of Educational Borrowing and Lending*. New-York: Teachers College Press.
- Suchodolski, B., Roller, S., Stock, R., Avanzini, G., Egger, E. & Darcy de Oliveira, R. (1979) *Le BIE au service du mouvement éducatif*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Tyack, D. & Cuban, L. (1995) *Tinkering toward Utopia: a century of public school reform*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Vincent, G. (1980) *L'école primaire française – Étude sociologique*. Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon.
- Vincent, G. (2004) *Recherches sur la socialisation démocratique*. Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon.

Archives

Archives Fondation Jean Piaget.

Archives Institut J.-J. Rousseau (particularly the boxes concerning the IBE and the Ferrière archives).

International Bureau of Education, including all official publications between 1925 and 1968, particularly the *International Yearbooks of Education*, the minutes of the *International Conferences on Public Education* and the publications concerning the different thematic inquiries.

RITA HOFSTETTER is full professor in history of education, and studies in particular the history of educational sciences (including that of the Institute Rousseau), the construction of the teacher state and of teacher professions, and international networks in education, among them the history of the International Bureau of Education. *Correspondence:* rita.hofstetter@unige.ch

BERNARD SCHNEUWLY is full professor in educational sciences. His research interests are in history of teaching, mainly first-language teaching, analysis of classroom practices in language teaching and the historico-cultural approach of teaching and learning. *Correspondence:* bernard.schneuwly@unige.ch